Not Seeing Snow

Musō Soseki and Medieval Japanese Zen

Molly Vallor

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Cover illustration: Portrait of Musō Soseki (14th century) Important Cultural Property, Jisaiin.
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Prologue

FIGURE 1
Statue of Musō Soseki (14th century), Important Cultural Property, Zuisenji
PHOTO COURTESY OF KAMAKURA KOKUHOUKAN MUSEUM

Despite playing a prominent role in the political, religious, and cultural life of the fourteenth century, Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275-1351) remains largely shrouded in obscurity. An elite monk who was the author of a highly influential Buddhist tract, a skilled poet, a noted calligrapher, and an active garden designer, Musō was also a major contributor to the Gozan 五山 (Five Mountains) system of Zen monasteries that spanned the country.[1] Throughout his life, he traversed the bounds of what are modernly—and narrowly—defined as art and religion, politics and literature. He navigated the upper echelons of

1 In this book, the term "Zen" 禅 will encompass Chan, Sŏn, Thiền, and Zen unless otherwise specified.

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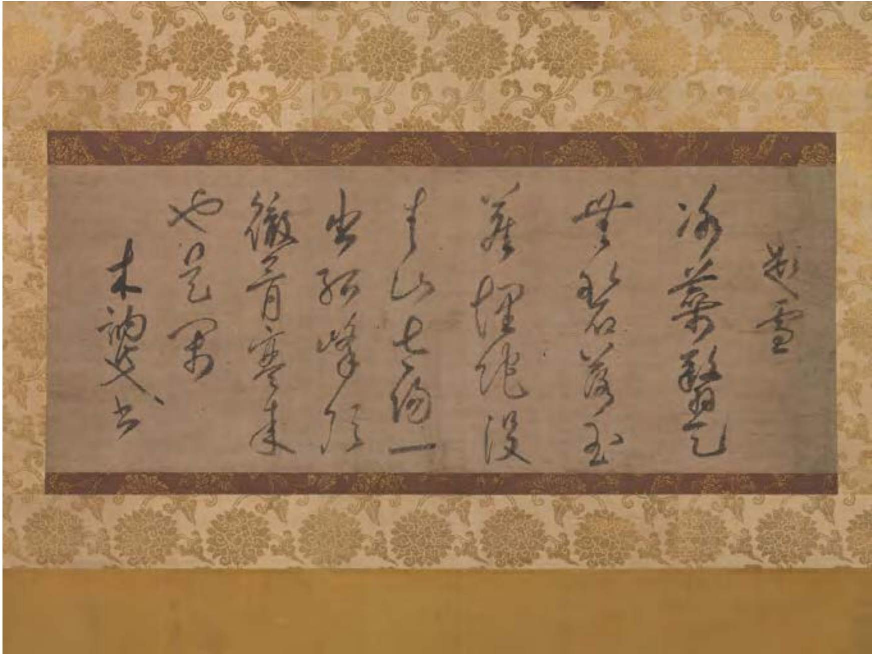

FIGURE 2 Poem on the Theme of Snow (Sino-Japanese) by Musō Soseki (14th century). Gift of Sylvan Barnet and William Burto, in honor of Maxwell K. Hearn (2011)
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (NEW YORK)

the court and aristocracy and rubbed elbows with the warrior elite. He engaged in solitary religious devotions in the far-flung provinces and negotiated a maze of social ties strung between two capitals.

In his time and after, Musō was a highly revered Buddhist figure. He was anointed with the title of State Preceptor (*kokushi* 国師) an unprecedented seven times,[2] making him one of the most honored figures in Japanese Buddhist history. He left behind a remarkably large number of students; one medi-

2 Musō is known as the Imperial Preceptor to Seven Courts (*shichichō teishi* 七朝帝師), in reference to the following seven instances in which the title of "State Preceptor" was bestowed upon him (three of them during his life): Musō 夢窓 (by Emperor Godaigo, 1335), Shōgaku 正覚 (by Emperor Kōmyō 光明天皇, 1346), Shinshū 心宗 (by Retired Emperor Kōgon 光厳上皇, 1351), Fusai 普済 (by Emperor Gokōgon 後光厳天皇, 1358), Gen'yū 玄猷 (by Emperor Goen'yū 後円融天皇, 1372), Buttō 仏統 (by Emperor Gohanazono 後花園天皇, 1450), Daien 大円 (by Emperor Gotsuchimikado 後土御門天皇, 1471). See Tamamura Takeji 玉村竹二, *Musō Kokushi: Chūsei zenrin shuryū no keifu* 夢窓国師：中世禅林主流の系譜 (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1958), 90, 352, 357, 359. My translation of *kokushi* as "state preceptor" follows Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez Jr. See entry for "Musō Soseki" in Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez Jr., eds., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 556-557.

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eval hagiography indicates that he had more than twenty dharma heirs (*hassu* 法嗣) and over thirteen thousand students, including monks and nuns, lay men and lay women.[3] Musō was also an important contributor to medieval culture. He was well known for his widely read sermon in *kana*, *Muchū mondōshū* 夢中問答集 (1342), and celebrated for his poetry and efforts at temple and landscape design. His notable detractors included the powerful Tendai monks of Mount Hiei, who petitioned, albeit unsuccessfully, for his exile. *Muchū mondōshū*, likewise, inspired fierce critique in the form of two written rebuttals from monks associated with the Pure Land and Shingon traditions, both of whom took issue with Musō's characterization of their schools[4] in the highly influential text.[5]

The world in which Musō lived was one plagued by political instability. In a span of less than ten years, he saw the violent end of the Kamakura *bakufu* (1185-1333), the establishment of imperial rule under Emperor Godaigo's 後醍醐天皇 (1288-1339) Kenmu regime (*Kenmu shinsei* 建武新政, 1333-1336), and the founding of a de facto rival government by the Ashikaga *bakufu,* ushering in the tumultuous Northern and Southern Courts period (*Nanbokuchō jidai* 南北

3 Dongling Yongyu 東陵永與, "Tenryū kaisan tokushi Musō Shōgaku Shinshū Kokushi tōmei narabi ni jō 天龍開山特賜夢窓正覚心宗国師塔銘並序," in *Musō Kokushi goroku* 夢窓国師語録, ed. Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo 禅文化研究所 (Kyoto: Daihonzan Tenryūji Sōdō, 1989), 376.

4 In this book, I use the imperfect word "school" as a translation of the term *shū* or *shūha* 宗派, while reserving "line" or "lineage" for the terms *ha* 派 and *monpa* 門派. I am well aware that many recent studies translate *shū* as "lineage" in order to avoid the nuances of factionalism or intellectual separatism that "school" often carries. Nevertheless, given that the Zen *shū* was a broader tradition that consisted of multiple—and often competing—*ha* or *monpa*, I nonetheless use "school" in order to differentiate the whole (*shū*) from its constituent parts (*ha* or *monpa*). I must stress that I use this term with caution. As Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士 notes, the term *shū* as used in the time of early Zen advocate Yōsai 栄西 (1141-1215) lacked connotations of exclusivity, for the contemporary Buddhist landscape consisted of multiple *shū* and monks regularly studied various *shū*. Although the situation had changed somewhat by Musō's time, thanks to the growth of Zen institutions, *shū* continued to be multiple and permeable in most contexts. At the same time, as William E. Deal and Brian D. Ruppert note, single institutions were often home to more than one *shū.* Accordingly, I translate *shū* as "school" not in allusion to isolated, sectarian entities but in reference to specific religious traditions. Sueki Fumihiko, "*Yōsai-shū sōsetsu*『栄西集』総説," in *Yōsai-shū* 栄西集, vol. 1 of *Chūsei Zenseki sōkan* 中世禅籍叢刊, ed. Chūsei Zenseki Sōkan Henshū Iinkai 中世禅籍叢刊編集委員会 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2013), 507. On the difficulty of translating *shū*, see William E. Deal and Brian D. Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism* (West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 10.

5 Harada, *Chūsei Nihon no Zenshū*, 350-352. The first was by Chōen 澄円 (also known as Chien 智演, 1290-1371), who objected to Musō's characterization of the path of the *nenbutsu* in the three-fascicle *Muchū shōfūron* 夢中松風論. The other rebuttal was *Kaishinshō* 開心抄, authored by the Shingon monk Gōhō 杲宝 (1306-1362) in 1349. See Chapter One for a discussion of both these texts.

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朝時代 1336-1392). It was in this splintered political landscape that Musō would come to be patronized by players on all sides, beginning with the Hōjō (the last leaders of the Kamakura *bakufu*), then Godaigo, and finally the Ashikaga and their Northern Court allies. Through these associations, Musō added to his resume the abbotships of some of the most powerful Zen temples in Kamakura and Kyoto and built a solid foundation for one of the most powerful lines in medieval Japanese Zen.

Despite his clear significance, Musō has not received attention in the modern period even roughly commensurate with the renown he enjoyed in his time and after. Moreover, attitudes towards him in academic and popular discourse have often been mixed or negative, for the reasons I outline below. As a corrective, this book attempts to reconsider this noteworthy figure and his representative works apart from these longstanding biases. Since Musō's activities cannot be neatly categorized within the realms of religion, literature, art, or politics, this book borrows from the disciplines of religious studies, literary studies, art history, and history to offer views of Musō's many sides in order to clarify his wide-ranging influence on different areas of medieval culture. In addressing aspects of Zen that have largely been treated separately by previous studies, this book not only offers the fullest picture possible of Musō, it also provides a multidimensional view of metropolitan Zen during a critical period of expansion. In doing so, it sheds new light on how elite Zen culture was formed through a complex interplay of politics, religious pedagogy and praxis, poetry, landscape design, and the concerns of institution building.

1 Not a Model Zen Master: Musō Soseki's Modern Image

Although Musō lingered in collective memory for centuries after his death and has continued to enjoy a certain degree of popular renown, he has received much less scholarly consideration than other figures associated with Japanese Zen. Of the studies that do exist, few are balanced. As Martin Collcutt observes in his pioneering overview of Musō's life:

> In spite of this prominence, perhaps partly because of it, [Musō] remains something of an enigma. And what people know of him they generally do not like very much. He has earned an unfortunate reputation as a second-rate Zen master, whose enlightenment was questionable and whose Zen was polluted by Tendai and Shingon practices, a monastic administrator and institution builder rather than a truly insightful religious leader…[6]

6 Martin Collcutt, "Musō Soseki," in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 262.

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As a consequence of this tarnished reputation, Musō has been largely overlooked in the modern period and has only recently begun to again attract scholarly interest. This increased attention has been made possible by reexaminations of the notion of "pure Zen" that scholars identify as having been constructed and retroactively projected onto the history of Zen during Buddhism's and Zen's complex negotiation with modernity. To recap briefly, beginning in the late nineteenth century, modern interpreters of Zen Buddhism for the West sought to present Zen as a "rational," ahistorical experience, devoid of "superstitious" elements and ritual, that operated extra-institutionally and apart from social forces.[7] As an institutional builder and politically active figure who affirmed other styles of Buddhism, Musō won few followers among modern seekers of "pure Zen," academic or otherwise.[8] While a number of important recent studies have shed new light on aspects of pre-modern Zen long dismissed as "impure," Musō has yet to attract significant scholarly interest, thanks in no small part to his line's relative lack of influence on the field of modern Zen studies.[9]

In stark contrast to his image as a subpar Zen master, Musō is nonetheless held in deep reverence as a garden designer, particularly in popular accounts. While some scholars, such as prominent garden designer and historian

7 Robert H. Sharf, "Whose Zen? Zen Nationalism Revisited," in *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyōto School and the Question of Nationalism*, ed. James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 44-49. T. Griffith Foulk, "Ritual in Japanese Zen Buddhism," in *Zen Ritual: Studies of Zen Buddhist Theory in Practice*, ed. Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 23.

8 On Musō's line as "Japanized," "a compromise with *kenmitsu* (exoteric-esoteric)" Buddhism, and a form of "blended Zen" in contrast to "Song-style pure Zen," see, for example, Imaeda Aishin 今枝愛真, *Zenshū no rekishi* 禅宗の歴史, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1986), 114. See also Tamamura's biography of Musō, which extensively documents Musō's influence while also indicating his supposed limitations. These include his supposed "Japanized" style of Zen, his purported laxity in observing Zen norms of transmission, and his alleged overreliance on the scriptures. Tamamura's study of Musō nevertheless remains the most detailed effort to date and is essential for understanding Musō and the development of his line. Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 28, 130-131, 157, 183-185. In English, see for example, Sir George Bailey Sansom, *History of Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963), 102; and Akamatsu Toshihide and Philip Yampolsky, "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System," in *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, ed. John Whitney Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 313-324.

9 There are a number of critical studies in English responsible for rewriting longstanding narratives of "pure Zen." These include: William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993); the works of Bernard Faure; Duncan Ryūken Williams, *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); and Dale S. Wright, "Introduction: Rethinking Ritual Practice in Zen Buddhism," in *Zen Ritual*, 3-20; On modern notions of "pure" and "syncretic" Zen (including a discussion of the bias against Musō), see Foulk, 24-40.

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Shigemori Mirei 重森三玲 (1896-1975) and Wybe Kuitert, are skeptical of the extent to which Musō's gardens can be construed as his original works,[10] by and large, Musō is celebrated as a genius landscape artist. He is generally credited with the creation of some of the most well-known and influential gardens in Japan, the philosophical import of which has been examined in numerous studies in Japanese and other languages. This is particularly true for English-language treatments of Musō, where he is often affirmed as "the father of the Zen garden" and celebrated for his achievements as a garden designer.[11]

While several recent studies, including Collcutt (1993), Tamakake (1998), Nishiyama (2004), Sueki (2008), and Yanagi (2018),[12] have begun the work of reassessing aspects of Musō, there is still much to be done. While fully acknowledging that it is not possible to create a complete depiction of the medieval Musō, this study nevertheless attempts to examine key facets of this critical figure to the extent allowed by extant medieval sources. As a poem quoted by Musō in *Muchū mondōshū* and discussed in Chapter One begins, "Although I paint a picture, it is not complete," so too this study is limited. Nevertheless, it is my hope that it will help clarify Musō's place in the religious, cultural, and political landscape of his time and after.

Feedback, advice, and assistance from numerous professors, colleagues, and classmates helped shape the direction of this work from beginning to end. To name just a very few, I would like to thank my graduate adviser, Steven D.

10 See for example Shigemori Mirei and Shigemori Kanto 重森完途, *Kamakura no niwa* 鎌倉の庭, vol. 3, bk. 1 of *Nihon teienshi taikei* 日本庭園史大系 (Tokyo: Nihon Teienshi Taikei Kankōkai, 1969), 52-53. See also Wybe Kuitert, *Themes in the History of Japanese Garden Art* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 72-74.

11 Quote is from Francois Berthier, *Reading Zen in the Rocks*, trans. and ed. Graham Parkes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 52.

12 On Musō's political thought, see Tamakake Hiroyuki 玉懸博之, "Musō Soseki to shoki Muromachi seiken 夢窓疎石と初期室町政権," in *Nihon Chūsei shisōshi kenkyū* 日本中世思想史研究 (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1998), 228-269. On Musō's privileging of Zen, see Sueki Fumihiko, *Kamakura Bukkyō tenkairon* 鎌倉仏教展開論 (Tokyo: Transview, 2008), 253-271. For a literary study of the texts that resulted from Musō's association with the Ashikaga *bakufu*, see Nishiyama Mika 西山美香, *Buke seiken to Zenshū: Musō Soseki o chūshin ni* 武家政権と禅宗: 夢窓疎石を中心に (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2004). For a discussion of the significance of Yongming Yanshou's 永明延寿 (J. Eimei Enju, 904-975) *Zongjinglu* 宗鏡録 (*J. Sugyōroku*) to Musō's thought and pedagogy, see Yanagi Mikiyasu 柳幹康, "Musō Soseki to *Zongjinglu* 夢窓疎石と宗鏡録," *Higashi Ajia Bukkyō gakujutsu ronshū: Kan, Chū, Nichi kokusai Bukkyō gakujutsu taikai ronbunshū* 6 (2018): 298-302. On Musō's Sino-Japanese poetry, see Sasaki Yōdō 佐々木容道, *Musō Kokushi: sono kanshi to shōgai* 夢窓国師：その漢詩と生涯 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2009). For essays on Musō and his *waka*, garden design, and Sino-Japanese poems, see Kumakura Isao 熊倉功夫 and Takenuki Genshō 竹貫元勝, eds., 夢窓疎石 = *Zen Master Musō Soseki Life and Legacy* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2012).

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Introduction

Zen in the Generations before Musō: The Growth of the Gozan System in Medieval Japan

Though known to Japan since the ancient period, Zen did not begin to attract significant interest until late in the Heian period (794-1185), when Retired Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河上皇 (1127-1192) and the Taira 平 clan renewed ties with the continent, sparking elite interest in Song dynasty culture, technology, and Buddhism.[1] At this time, lay Buddhist patrons and reform-minded monks looked to Southern Song Buddhism, comprised of Zen 禅, the scripture-based traditions (*kyō* 教), and Ritsu 律, for an answer to the problem of the dominant *kenmitsu* (exoteric-esoteric 顕密) institutions, such as Enryakuji 延暦寺 and Kōfukuji 興福寺, that had grown extremely powerful and, at times, violent. Zen and Ritsu monks, with their emphasis on the upholding of the Buddhist precepts, proved especially attractive to those seeking changes to the existing Japanese Buddhist system.[2]

It must be noted that Zen at this early point does not appear to have operated as an exclusive or independent movement, as newly emerged documents from the Ōsu archive (Ōsu Bunko 大須文庫) at Nagoya's Shinpukuji Temple 真福寺 suggest. While more research is needed to address the role of Zen in Japanese Buddhism at this time, preliminary research suggests that early Zen proponents like Myōan Yōsai 明庵栄西 (also Eisai, 1141-1215),[3] and Enni Ben'en 円

1 A comprehensive overview of the spread of the Zen school in medieval Japan is beyond the scope of this chapter. For a thorough overview of this topic, see Harada Masatoshi's 原田正俊 groundbreaking study, *Nihon chūsei no Zenshū to shakai* 日本中世の禅宗と社会 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998). In English, see Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981) on the Gozan system. See also Steven Heine, *From Chinese Chan to Japanese Zen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

2 Nakamura Tsubasa 中村翼, "Kamakura bakufu to Zenshū 鎌倉幕府と禅宗," in *Higashi Ajia no naka no Kenchōji*: *Shūkyō, seiji, bunka ga kōsa suru Zen no seichi* 東アジアのなかの建長寺—宗教・政治・文化が交叉する禅の聖地, ed. Murai Shōsuke 村井章介 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2014), 236. On the dominance of the *kenmitsu* institutions in medieval Japan, see for example, Kuroda Toshio, "The Development of the *Ken-mitsu* System as Japan's Medieval Orthodoxy," trans. James C. Dobbins, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, nos. 3-4 (1996): 233-269; Harada Masatoshi, "Muromachi Bukkyōron o kangaeru 室町仏教論を考える," *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 佛教史学研究 58, no. 2 (2016): 75-76.

3 Yōsai was a Tendai monk who travelled to the continent twice in 1168 and 1187. During his second visit, he received transmission in a Linji 臨済 (J. Rinzai) lineage from Xuan Huaichang 虚庵懐敞 (J. Koa Nejō, n.d.). After returning to Japan, Yōsai founded Kenninji 建仁寺 in

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爾弁円 (1202-1280)[4] were not seeking to establish Zen as an independent school but were instead actively taking up Zen in conjunction with esoteric practices and thought.[5] Nonetheless, the creation of new groups and communities by these and other figures paved the way for Zen to develop as an institution.[6]

While the Kyoto court was among Zen's first prominent patrons, it was the Kamakura *bakufu* that would eventually lay the foundations of its state-sponsored form.[7] Evidencing their growing interest in the tradition, the Hōjō family invited the emigre monks Lanxi Daolong 蘭渓道隆 (J. Rankei Dōryū, 1213-1278) and Wuxue Zuyuan 無学祖元 (J. Mugaku Sogen, 1226-1286) to serve as founding abbots of Kenchōji 建長寺 (established 1253) and Engakuji 円覚寺 (established 1282), respectively, two Zen monasteries that they built to continental standards in Kamakura.[8] While these early temples were private in nature, they soon took on a more official character when the head of the Hōjō family (*tokusō* 得宗) assumed control over the Kamakura *bakufu* in his capacity as regent (*shikken* 執権), beginning in the late thirteenth century.[9] Although information about the origins of the Gozan system is scant, it is likely that the

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Kyoto and authored *Kōzen gokokuron* 興禅護国論 (1198), a treatise arguing for the utility of the Zen tradition to the state. He also served as chief fundraiser (*daikanjin* 大勧進) for the rebuilding of Nara's Tōdaiji 東大寺.

4 A Tendai monk, Enni received transmission from Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (J. Bushun Shipan, 1177-1249) in a Linji line on the continent before returning to Japan in 1241. He served as founder for Kyoto's Tōfukuji 東福寺 temple.

5 Sueki Fumihiko, *Paneru shushi to matome* (*Shin hakken Ōsu Bunko shiryō ni yoru Nihon chūsei Zenshūshi no tenkan, paneru, kenkyū hōkoku, tokushū, dai 74 kai gakujutsu taikai kiyō* パネル主旨とまとめ (新発見大須文庫資料による日本中世禅宗史の転換, パネル, 研究報告, <特集>第74回学術大会紀要, *Shūkyō kenyū* 宗教研究 89 (2015): 78-79. Sueki Fumihiko, "Shinpukuji Ōsu Bunko shozō shahon kara mita chūsei Zen 真福寺大須文庫所蔵写本からみた中世禅," in *Zen kara mita Nihon chūsei no bunka to shakai* 禅から見た日本中世の文化と社会, ed. Amano Fumio 天野文雄 (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2016), 396-398. See also Kikuchi Hiroki 菊池大樹, "Kamakura Bukkyō to Zen 鎌倉仏教と禅," in Murai, *Higashi Ajia no naka no Kenchōji*, 223-235.

6 Harada Masatoshi, "Muromachi Bukkyōron," 75-76.

7 Harada Masatoshi, "Chūsei Bukkyō saihenki to shite no 14 seiki 中世仏教再編期としての14世紀," *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究 540 (2011): 44. For a detailed account of the Gozan system, see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*.

8 Harada Masatoshi, "Nihon no Gozan Zenshū to chūsei Bukkyō 日本の五山禅宗と中世仏教," in *Ajia no naka no Gozan bunka* アジアの中の五山文化, ed. Shimao Arata 島尾新, vol. 4 of *Higashi Ajia kaiiki o kogidasu* 東アジア海域を漕ぎ出す, ed. Kojima Tsuyoshi 小島毅 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2014), 80-81.

9 Engakuji was declared a temple to pray for the protection of the state by Hōjō Tokimune 北条時宗 (1251-1284) in 1283, and both Kenchōji and Engakuji were designated by the court as official temples (*jōgakuji* 定額寺) in 1308, in response to a petition by Hōjō Sadatoki. Harada, "Nihon no Gozan Zenshū," 82.

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Hōjō patterned it after the Southern Song system of official Chan monasteries bearing the same name so as to enhance the authority of their Zen temples. At the same time, the Hōjō strictly regulated these institutions in order to prevent them from accruing the powerful independence of the *kenmitsu* establishments.[10]

Following his defeat of the Kamakura *bakufu* in 1333, Emperor Godaigo took control of the Gozan, shuffling its ranks so that imperially sponsored Zen temples in Kyoto—the locus of his new regime—occupied its top stratum. When Godaigo's regime was supplanted by the rival Ashikaga administration just three years later, oversight of the Gozan in both Kyoto and Kamakura fell to the victors and their allies in the Northern court. As the Kamakura *bakufu* had done before them, the Ashikaga actively regulated Gozan monasteries, while jointly administering the system with the court, who set its rankings in 1342.[11] Under the sponsorship of the Ashikaga and the Northern court, the Gozan system would eventually develop into a national network of temples in three levels, the highest being Gozan, followed by *jissatsu* 十刹 and *shozan* 諸山. As the Gozan grew, so did its opposition. Rival *kenmitsu* institutions pressured court and *bakufu* to curb their promotion of the Zen school, most notably in the 1345 Tenryūji incident and the 1368 Nanzenji Gate incident.[12] Generous support for

10 Ibid., 81-82. Setting a critical precedent for shogunal oversight of Gozan monasteries, Sadatoki issued a set of rules for Engakuji in 1294. Items such as the prohibition of weapon possession and limits on numbers of residents evidence the *bakufu*'s attempts to maintain order at their temples and prevent the Gozan from developing along the lines of Enryakuji and Kōfukuji. Harada Masatoshi, "Nihon Bukkyōshi no naka no Gozan Zenshū 日本仏教史のなかの五山禅宗," *Chūgoku: shakai to bunka* 中国—社会と文化 24 (2009), 203. Harada, "Nihon no Gozan Zenshū," 84.

11 Harada, "Nihon Bukkyōshi," 198-200.

12 See Chapter Four for a discussion of the 1345 Tenryūji incident. In 1367, Nanzenji was given official permission to fundraise for the rebuilding of its main gate by collecting tolls at a special gate; this angered the Tendai institutions of Enryakuji and Onjōji 園城寺. When an Onjōji novice was killed when he tried to pass through the gate without paying the toll, Onjōji adherents descended upon Nanzenji and destroyed the gate in a violent episode that claimed lives from the ranks of both Nanzenji and Onjōji. Although Onjōji was initially punished by the *bakufu*, the *bakufu* reconciled with Onjōji after the latter sided with Enryakuji and Kōfukuji. Nevertheless, Nanzenji abbot Jōzan Sozen 定山祖禅 (1298-1374) retaliated by launching a written attack on Tendai in 1368. Enryakuji responded by demanding that the gate be demolished and Jōzan and Musō line leader Shun'oku Myōha 春屋妙葩 (1311-1388) be exiled. Although shogunal deputy (*kanrei* 管領) Hosokawa Yoriyuki 細川頼之 (1329-1392) resisted at first, he ultimately gave in to Enryakuji's demands after warrior monks descended on the capital with their portable shrine. Sozen was exiled, the gate was taken down, and Shun'oku Myōha briefly took leave of Kyoto. Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 310-315. Collcutt, *Five Mountains*,

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the Gozan nevertheless continued, such that by the end of the Muromachi period the Gozan was a massive network of more than three hundred temples and several thousand sub-temples stretching across Japan. Without a doubt, the most powerful line in that vast system belonged to Musō.[13]

As important recent research by Harada Masatoshi 原田正俊 has demonstrated, the Gozan at its height was responsible for performing a variety of ceremonies (*hōe* 法会) based on continental Chan precedents. These included offering prayers for the emperor, birthday services for the *shōgun*, funerals for both the imperial family and the *shōgun*, and services to feed hungry spirits (*segakie* 施餓鬼会).[14] Once performed exclusively by the *kenmitsu* schools that dominated state and elite religious life, the performance of these types of rituals of state significance indicated the extent to which Zen in the form of the Gozan institution—and in particular, the Musō line, whose leaders often presided over these services—had carved out a place of prominence for itself alongside the *kenmitsu* institutions.[15]

1 The Life of Musō Soseki

The primary source of information about Musō's life is *Tenryū kaisan Musō Shōgaku Shinshū Fusai Kokushi nenpu* 天龍開山夢窓正覚心宗普済国師年譜,[16] a biographical chronology written by his disciple and nephew, Shun'oku Myōha 春屋妙葩 (1311-1388). Known as *nenpu* 年譜, biographical chronologies were first produced by scholar-officials in the Song who edited personal diaries into posthumous biographical chronologies that were then used to prepare inscriptions for stele. Musō's biographical chronology was no exception, as it inspired two such inscriptions.[17] The first, *Tenryū kaisan tokushi Musō Shōgaku Shinshū Kokushi tōmei narabi ni jō* 天龍開山特賜夢窓正覚心宗国師塔銘並序 (1354) by Sōtō monk and Nanzenji abbot Dongling Yongyu 東陵永璵 (J. Tōryō Eiyo, 1285-1365), was composed for Musō's memorial temple, Ungoan 雲居庵 at Tenryūji 天龍寺. The second, *Nihonkoku Tenryūzenji kaisan Musō Shōgaku Shinshū Fusai*

120-121. Harada, *Nihon Chūsei*, 350. See also Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助, vol. 4 of *Bukkyōshi* 仏教史 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1949), 295-336.

13 Harada, "Nihon Bukkyōshi," 204. Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 295. Imaeda, *Zenshū no rekishi*, 111. Tamamura Takeji, *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū* (*jō*) 日本禅宗史論集(上), 3rd ed. (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1988), 268.

14 Harada, "Nihon no Gozan," 98-101; Harada, "Chūsei Bukkyō," 50-53.

15 Imaeda, *Zenshū no rekishi*, 111; Tamamura, *Nihon Zenshūshi*, 268; Harada, "Nihon Bukkyōshi," 208-209.

16 "Nenpu 年譜," in *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 267-339.

17 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 88.

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Kokushi himei 日本国天龍禅寺開山夢窓正覚心宗普済国師碑銘 (1376), was composed on the continent by the literatus Song Lian 宋濂 (J. Sōren, d. 1379) for Sannein 三会院 at Rinsenji 臨川寺. Indicating its importance to the Musō line, the chronology itself was first printed along with Musō's recorded sayings by Shun'oku in 1365.[18]

It goes without saying that the chronology, like all such works, is a hagiography, and does not present an objective account of Musō's life; we must therefore proceed with caution in our consideration of it. As Harada has expertly demonstrated in his study of the formation of the Musō line in the generations after Musō, this chronology was tactically (re)written so as to elevate the Musō line by underscoring its possession of inherited objects such as *kesa* 袈裟 (monk's stoles), portraits (*chinzō* 頂相), and other legitimizing symbols in the Zen tradition. In a world marked by competition, legitimation was key to attracting patrons in fourteenth century Zen; a line's ability to do so depended, in large part, on the strength of its links to the continent.

As Musō never travelled to the continent nor was certified under an emigre master, his line was at an obvious disadvantage. The founder and his disciples thus repeatedly and variously stressed their ties to the continent, reserving in their rhetoric a special place for the teacher of Musō's teacher: the emigre master Wuxue Zuyuan.[19] Harada's study, as part of the growing body of critical studies on Zen, reminds us that it is necessary to take a critical view of Musō's chronology as we rely upon it to furnish the details of his life. Accordingly, the following account is largely based on the chronology yet nevertheless attempts to draw attention to the unexamined ways in which this source seeks to legitimize its subject. It also seeks to complicate the chronology's narrative by introducing and offering alternate interpretations of Musō's life wherever possible.

18 See Kawase Kazuma 川瀬一馬, *Gozan-ban no kenkyū* (*jō*) 五山版の研究（上）(Tokyo: Nihon Koshoseki Shōkyōkai, 1970), 125-126.

19 Harada Masatoshi, "Nanbokuchō, Muromachi jidai ni okeru Musō-ha no denpōkan to kesa, chinzō 南北朝・室町時代における夢窓派の伝法観と袈裟・頂相." In *Nihon kodai chūsei no Bukkyō to higashi Ajia* 日本古代中世の仏教と東アジア, edited by Harada Masatoshi (Suita: Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu, 2014), 65-96. Musō's direct disciples also stressed their ties to Wuxue's teacher, Wuzhun Shifan, in competing with one another, as well as with other lineages. See Harada, "Nanbokuchō," 76-92. As they are closely based on Shun'oku's chronology, the two inscriptions also place a special emphasis on the line of Wuzhun-Wuxue-Kōhō-Musō. For several references to this line in Dongling Yongyu's 1354 inscription, see *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 363, 366, and 377. For mentions in Song Lian's 1376 inscription, see *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 382 and 389.

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2 Musō's Early Life: A Turn to Zen

The chronology's scant details indicate that Musō was born to the Minamoto 源 clan in the province of Ise 伊勢 as a member of the Uda 宇多 branch, making him a ninth-generation descendant of Emperor Uda 宇多天皇 (867-931).[20] At the age of two, Musō and his family moved to the province of Kai 甲斐, in present-day Yamanashi prefecture, where his mother died not long after.[21] Having displayed an inclination toward Buddhism and study, eight-year-old Musō was sent by his father to study under the monk Kūa Daitoku 空阿大徳 (dates unknown) at Heienzan 平塩山 in Kai in preparation for a monastic life. Perhaps by design, the content of Musō's training under Kūa is not specified in the chronology, leaving scholarly opinion split on whether he trained in Shingon esotericism (*tōmitsu* 東密) or Tendai esotericism (*taimitsu* 台密); it is in any case clear that Musō had some sort of background in esoteric Buddhism.[22] From early on, Kūa recognized the young Musō as most able and gave the boy instruction in the Chinese classics, the Buddhist scriptures, and the arts. In 1292, Musō took the precepts at the prestigious Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara; upon his return to Heienzan, he is said to have abandoned his study of the secular classics and the arts to focus exclusively on Buddhist writings.[23]

According to the chronology, Musō's interest in Zen seems to have begun the following year after he witnessed the troubled passing of a learned Tendai lecturer under whom he had been studying. In a clear slight of *kenmitsu* methods, the chronology explains that Musō came to believe that the senior monk's years of study had not sufficiently prepared him for death, leading him to

20 "Nenpu," 267. Historically, Musō's family background has been the subject of some debate. As Tamamura explains, in contrast to Shun'oku's account, a later lineage presents Musō as an Ashikaga relative by linking him to the Sasaki 佐々木 clan of Ōmi 近江 in sources such as *Musō Kokushi zokufu* 夢窓国師俗譜 (postscript 1663). These documents were apparently produced after a dispute over Musō's origins occurred at Shōkokuji 相国寺 between then-abbot Gukei Tōkō 愚渓等厚 (n.d.) and Sasaki Ujisato 佐々木氏郷 (n.d.). The disagreement was settled when the abbot accepted Sasaki's claims that Musō belonged in his lineage. See Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 3-6. Apart from these two explanations, nothing is known of Musō's familial origins, not even the identities of his parents. Noting Musō's rapid rise in Kyoto's most prominent circles, Yanagida raises the possibility that Musō's mother may have been from the capital, that his father had been an aristocrat, or that his grandparents had been fallen aristocrats. See Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, *Musō: Nihon no Zen goroku* 夢窓：日本の禅語録 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 61-68.

21 "Nenpu," 267-268.

22 For an overview of the various scholarly opinions, see Sasaki Yōdō, *Kunchū Musō Kokushi goroku* 訓註　夢窓国師語録 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2000), 290-291.

23 "Nenpu," 268-269, 271.

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FIGURE 3
Weeping cherry tree, said to be a sixth-generation descendant of a tree personally planted by Musō at Hōjuin 宝寿院, formerly Heienzan

conclude, "Doctrinal wisdom does not amount to the *buddha-dharma*. Is it not for this reason that in Zen there is what they call the separate transmission outside the scriptures (*kyōge betsuden* 教外別伝)?" Filled with doubts about what to do next, Musō began a hundred-day practice period, during which he sat before a buddha-image, contemplated the perpetuity of the Thus Come One (*nyorai jōjū* 如来常住), engaged in repentance, and awaited response.[24]

One evening, with only three days remaining, he had a vision in which a person came and led him to a Zen monastery. When he asked his guide the name of the temple, he was told that it was Shushan 疎山 (J. Sosan), a mountain located in present-day Jiangxi prefecture, which was home to Shushansi 疎山寺, a Zen temple founded by the Sōtō monk Kuangren 匡仁 (J. Kyōnin, 837-909). He was then led to a second temple atop Shitou 石頭 (J. Sekitō), a mountain in present day Nanjing; Qingliangsi 清涼寺 (J. Seiryōji), a temple located at its base, was given in 943 to Chan monk and Fayan lineage founder, Fayan

24 Ibid., 272.

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Wenyi 法眼文益 (J. Hōgen Mon'eki, 885-958). While at this second temple, he was led to the quarters of an elder monk and presented with a scroll containing an image of Bodhidharma (J. Bodai Daruma 菩提達磨, or more commonly, Daruma), the monk who is traditionally credited with having introduced Chan to China from India. On account of this vision, the chronology informs, Musō came to know of his ties to the Zen school.[25]

In the following year of 1294, Musō set out to study Zen under the well-known Muhon Kakushin 無本覚心 (1207-1298)[26] in Yura 由良, province of Kii 紀伊, now Wakayama prefecture. While on his way to Kii via Kyoto, Musō encountered a member of the Zen community at Kenninji 建仁寺, who urged Musō to first learn the rules for Zen monastic life at a training monastery before heading off to solitary practice in the provinces.[27] Deciding to join the community at Kenninji, Musō, now nineteen, formally changed his affiliation to the Zen lineage under Muin Enpan 無隠円範 (1230-1307),[28] taking the name Musō Soseki in homage to the vision that had first led him to the tradition.[29]

3 Practice and Enlightenment

After a period of training in Kyoto, Musō, at age twenty, headed east to Kamakura, then a thriving Zen center. As was common with monks who aspired to Zen, Musō shuttled between various teachers over the next few years before returning to Kenninji.[30] In 1299, Musō headed for Kamakura again, hoping to

25 Ibid., 272-273.

26 Ibid. Also known as Shinchi Kakushin 心地覚心 or by the posthumous honorific title of Hōtō Kokushi 法灯国師, Muhon trained on Mount Kōya and received transmission from Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (J. Mumon Ekai, 1183-1260) on the continent. He founded the Hōtō lineage upon his return to Japan.

27 Kenninji was built in 1202 by second Kamakura *shōgun* Minamoto Yoriie 源頼家 (1182-1204), with Yōsai serving as its founder. Kenninji later became one of the Kyoto Gozan monasteries.

28 Muin Enpan was a disciple of Lanxi Daolong. Muin studied abroad on the continent during the Yuan dynasty before returning to Japan, where he became dharma heir of Lanxi and went on to serve as abbot of several prominent Zen temples in Kyoto and Kamakura.

29 "Nenpu," 273-274. The compound "Musō 夢窓" literally means "dream window," while "Soseki" is a compound apparently fashioned in reference to the two places where Musō was taken in his vision.

30 As Harada explains, it was standard practice for monks to study under different teachers, but as a rule transmission was normally restricted to one teacher in order to preserve the perceived direct line of transmission so highly valued in Zen. See Harada, "Nanbokuchō," 70. "Nenpu," 274-276.

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train under the highly sought-after Yishan Yining 一山一寧 (J. Issan Ichinei, 1247-1317),[31] who had arrived from Yuan China just two months earlier and was residing at Kenchōji.[32] So many people aspired to study with Yishan that they were asked to prove their merit by composing a *geju* 偈頌 (Sk. *gāthā*), or Buddhist poem. The examinants were then divided into three levels based on their abilities. Of several dozen aspirants, Musō was one of two placed in the highest category.[33] Thus accepted to study with Yishan, Musō is said to have doggedly devoted himself to practice.

In the fall of 1300, the twenty-five-year-old Musō departed Kenchōji for the north to meet an old friend in the province of Dewa 出羽 (present-day Yamagata and Akita prefectures). On his way there, he stopped over at temple in Matsushima 松島, where he chanced to hear a monk speak on the key Tendai meditation text, *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止観 (J. *Makashikan*).[34] On a subsequent evening, Musō was engaging in seated meditation when he apparently obtained insight into the differences between the various Buddhist approaches.[35] It bears noting that the inclusion of this episode in the chronology very clearly demonstrates Musō's mastery over different Buddhist styles, which, as we shall see in Chapter One, was central to the image that Musō fashioned for himself as Zen master.

Realizing that the insight he had obtained was but partial, Musō continued his training. In the twelfth month of that same year, he sought to pay a visit to the master to whom he would later become heir: Kōhō Kennichi 高峰顕日 (1241-1316), also known by his honorific title, Zen Master Bukkoku 仏国禅師. The son of Emperor Gosaga 後嵯峨天皇 (1220-1272), Kōhō had studied with several prominent monks, including Enni at Tōfukuji in Kyoto and Wuan

31 Yishan was sent by the Yuan government to Japan in 1299. Upon his arrival, Yishan was suspected of espionage by the ninth regent Hōjō Sadatoki 北条貞時 (1271-1311) and was held at Shuzenji 修禅寺 in the province of Izu 伊豆 (present-day Shizuoka prefecture) until he was cleared of suspicion. He was eventually appointed to many illustrious positions, including abbot of Nanzenji 南禅寺. Known for his literary talents, Yishan is thought to have laid the foundation for Gozan literature, an immense body of literary works in Sino-Japanese produced by monks active in the Gozan monasteries.

32 "Nenpu," 276.

33 Ibid.

34 A compilation of the recorded lectures of Tiantai (J. Tendai) founder Zhiyi 智顗 (J. Chigi, 538-597), this text is one of the three major texts of the Tiantai tradition. It describes in detail the meditative practice of ceasing and contemplation (J. *shikan*, C. *zhiguan* 止観). This text was important not only in the Tiantai/Tendai traditions, but in the Zen tradition as well.

35 "Nenpu," 277.

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Puning 兀菴普寧 (J. Gottan Funei, 1197-1276)[36] before finally receiving the seal of enlightenment (*inka* 印可) under Wuxue Zuyuan in Kamakura, becoming one of seventeen dharma heirs.[37]

When Musō arrived at Unganji 雲巌寺, a temple that Kōhō founded in Nasu 那須 (present-day Tochigi prefecture) in 1283, he learned that the master had taken his leave to assume a position at Jōmyōji temple 浄妙寺,[38] a Gozan monastery in Kamakura. Suffering from beriberi, Musō stayed on for the winter, undertaking a Kannon confessional rite (*Kannon senbō* 観音懺法) and engaging in seated meditation. He returned to Kenchōji in the second month of 1301 and assumed a position as Yishan's attendant; the chronology explains that his only intent in doing so was to receive instruction from the master whenever possible.[39]

Musō continued to study with Yishan for a total of two years during this period. At the age of twenty-eight, in 1303, he appears to have reached an impasse with his teacher:

> One day, knowing well his own faults, Musō said to himself, "Ten years have passed since I left the gate of the scriptures to enter this lineage. During that time, I have only been foraging for words. A buddha of the past once said, 'The teachings of the sutras are like a finger pointing to the moon, the words and verses of the patriarchs are like a tile used to knock on the gate.' I have discarded the finger only to love the tile. How foolish I am!" He gathered up all the records large and small that he had made while studying with the master, threw them into a pot, and burned them. He composed himself and went to the master and said, "Things are still not yet clear for me. I ask you, teacher, to point directly." Yishan replied, "In my school, there are no words and verses, and there is not one teaching to give people." Musō said, "I ask you again, teacher, for mercy (*jihi* 慈悲) and skillful means (*hōben* 方便)." Yishan answered, "There are no skillful means, and there is no mercy." After this, every time Musō entered the master's room, it would be the same. All Yishan would say is, "There are no skillful means, and there is no mercy."[40]

36 Wuan came from China in 1260 and was selected to serve as the second head of Kenchōji by Hōjō Tokiyori. He certified Tokiyori's enlightenment, granting him *inka*, but returned to the continent in 1265 after Tokiyori's death. See Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 68-69.

37 For a list of Wuxue's dharma heirs, see Imaeda, *Zenshū no rekishi*, 55-56.

38 "Nenpu," 277.

39 Ibid., 278-279.

40 Ibid., 280.

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The chronology goes on to explain that Musō took his leave to ponder this exchange, reasoning that he had not yet attained the master's insight. Musō seems to have concluded that although the master had tried to show him the supreme Way, because it cannot be directly expressed in words, his attempts to talk about it in detail had been in vain. Tellingly, the chronology reports in an interpolation that Yishan was a person of Taizhou 台州 (J. Taishū, now Zhejiang province),[41] thereby chalking up Musō's deadlock with Yishan to mere linguistic failure.[42]

Hoping to clear up his doubts, Musō met Kōhō at Manjuji 万寿寺 in Kamakura and relayed the contents of the exchange, per Kōhō's request. Hearing the particulars, Kōhō raised his voice and asked Musō why he did not point out that Yishan had, in fact, let a lot of information slip out. At this, Musō is said to have come to some realization: he vowed to Kōhō that he would not return until he had reached the place of great respite (*daikyūketsu* 大休歇).[43] Musō's decision to study under the courtly Kōhō would be a fateful one, for it would shape the style of Zen he proffered the elite in Kamakura and Kyoto and likely led to Musō's noteworthy involvement in the tradition of *waka*, the subject of Chapter Two.

Departing for the northeast, Musō resided in a cottage before moving again in early 1304 for a year-long stay in Uchinokusa 内草, likely in present-day Ibaraki prefecture.[44] An experience there apparently convinced him that he had at last overcome all doubt: when he saw sparks fly from kindling into the night sky, he was left with an open and pure feeling in his heart. Again, on the following day, he watched the swaying shadows of bamboo blown by the wind and felt unbothered by any commonplace concerns. However, doubts arose again in early 1305 after he fell asleep meditating, only to awaken ashamed. He thought, according to my understanding sleeping and waking are always one, so what shame would there be in sleeping until the appearance of Maitreya[45] (J. Miroku 弥勒)? With this doubt in mind, he left the following month to seek Kōhō's counsel.[46]

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41 Ibid., 281.

42 Arguing that Musō's pedagogy was based at least in part on personal experience, Yanagi suggests that this episode likely led to Musō's later emphasis on skillful means. Yanagi, "Musō Soseki to *Zongjinglu*," 284-285.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., 281-282. Kawase Kazuma, *Zen to teien* 禅と庭園 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1968), 139-140.

45 The next buddha, set to appear in the world 5.67 billion years after the death of Śākyamuni.

46 "Nenpu," 282-283.

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Stopping over in Usuba 臼庭 (present-day Ibaraki prefecture), Musō was asked to stay on by a patron known only as Lay Practitioner Hisa (Hisa koji 比佐居士, dates unknown), who built him a cottage there. Although intent at first on continuing on to Kōhō, Musō decided to remain there to engage in seated meditation after remembering his master's parting words warning him that students who leave even a hair's breadth between the sacred and secular cannot achieve enlightenment. There, at the end of the fifth month in 1305 at the age of thirty, Musō's doubts seem to have at last been dispelled. While sitting under a tree in the garden enjoying the evening cool, night deepened without his realizing it. Fatigued, he returned to his hut and went to lean on what he thought was a wall. In fact, there was no wall and he fell to the floor, only to burst out laughing. The verse commemorating his enlightenment reads as follows:

多年掘地覓青天	For many years, I dug at the ground, seeking the blue sky
添得重重礙膺物	Instead adding layer upon layer of obstacles
一夜暗中颺碌塼	One night, in the darkness I scattered the broken tiles,
等閒擊砕虛空骨	Unexpectedly breaking the bones of the empty sky.[47]

Leaving Usuba for Kamakura in the tenth month of that year, Musō satisfactorily demonstrated his realization in an exchange with Kōhō that took place over the course of two days. Kōhō indicated Musō's status as a successor by personally appending a verse to a portrait that Musō had had drawn of him. He also presented Musō with one of Wuxue's robes on the same occasion and gifted him a sermon of his own the following year.[48]

Immediately after receiving Kōhō's approval, Musō headed to his home province of Kai, where he seems to have taken up residence at Jōmyōji. While in Kai, he paid a visit to a temple in the scriptural tradition where he previously lived, possibly Heienzan, where he met with Jōtatsu Shōnin 静達上人 (n.d.), a figure who may have been his former master Kūa.[49] The chronology tells us that Jōtatsu offered to complete an esoteric transmission begun before Musō moved to Zen, but portrays Musō as having refused, even after Jōtatsu stressed that "Nāgârjuna (J. Ryūju 龍樹)[50] was engaged in both exotericism and

47 Ibid., 284.

48 Ibid., 284-287.

49 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 38-39.

50 A South Indian Buddhist monk who lived in the second and third centuries C.E., Nāgārjuna was a critical contributor to and highly revered figure in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Regarded as the founder of the Madhyamaka school, he is known for his brand of thought

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esotericism and was also a patriarch of the Zen school. He also transmitted the esoteric teachings to help people in his midst. What harm could there be to the Zen school?"[51]

That Musō apparently did not share his former teacher's opinion is made clear in a subsequent interpolation by Shun'oku: "After that, our teacher said, '[The dharma is] wearing thin in the Last Age.[52] Zen adherents and scriptural adherents should not mix their lines. In this age, even if Nāgārjuna himself were to reappear and engage in joint practice, it is certain that there would be no benefit at all."[53] Thus, despite his modern reputation as an enthusiastic proponent of esoteric practices, Musō, in fact, seems to have forbidden dual Zen and esoteric transmissions, in stark contrast to the norms of many other Zen lines in his time and before. The episode also indicates that Musō did not merely privilege Zen over other approaches in theory, as Sueki Fumihiko has demonstrated;[54] rather, he seems to have also discouraged their joint practice. It bears mentioning that, although Musō seems to have encouraged the transmission of Zen apart from other styles of Buddhism among his own disciples, it was not the case that he expected his patrons to solely support Zen. Like many of his contemporaries, he quite clearly viewed Zen as one part of a Buddhist whole that, from his perspective, consisted of Zen, the teachings, and Ritsu, in direct reflection of the Song paradigm.[55] Accordingly, Musō in *Muchū mondōshū* stresses that elite Buddhist patrons should not believe in any single

emphasizing emptiness (*śūnyatā*, J. *kū* 空) and the treatise *Madhyamaka śāstra* (J. *Chūron* 中論). He is revered as the founder of the eight schools (*hasshū* 八宗) of Japanese Buddhism and is counted as one of the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs of Zen.

51 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 38-39. "Nenpu," 288.

52 Terms such as as the "end of the law" (*mappō* 末法) or the "last age" (*masse* 末世) reflect the generalized belief of decline that pervaded medieval Japan. According to this belief, the centuries after Śākyamuni's passing were divided into three periods—True Dharma Age (*shōbō* 正法), the Imitation Dharma Age (*zōbō* 像法) and *mappō*—that were calculated according to different schemes. The first period was thought to be marked by a flourishing of the teachings and correct Buddhist practice that could lead to enlightenment. In the second period, the teachings and practice remain, but without the possibility of enlightenment. In the third period, believed to have begun in Japan in 1052 or earlier, only the teachings remain, with practice having been discarded and enlightenment still unattainable.

53 "Nenpu," 288.

54 Sueki, *Kamakura Bukkyō*, 254.

55 Ōtsuka Norihiro 大塚紀弘, *Chūsei Zen Ritsu Bukkyō ron* 中世禅律仏教論 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2009), 42, 48-50.

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school and neglect other traditions; he is clear that they are to patronize all schools.[56]

4 Recluse and Abbot

In 1309, Musō joined his master Kōhō at Unganji temple, where he was subsequently given the position of secretary (*shoki* 書記). Before long, Musō seems to have attracted the attention of aspiring students. Emphasizing amity between master and disciple, the chronology reports that when the matter was reported to Kōhō, the elder monk shrugged it off, saying it was only natural that someone with Musō's talents should be noticed. However, Musō soon took his leave before the end of the summer practice period, apparently seeking to avoid conflict in the face of spreading rumors. The chronology subsequently documents at length the friendly correspondence exchanged between master and disciple afterwards, thus stressing that the situation in no way damaged their relationship. Perhaps hoping to avoid future conflict, so long as his master was alive, Musō first sent all prospective disciples to Kōhō to receive the precepts before taking them on as students.[57]

After taking his leave from Kōhō's community, Musō seems to have stayed away from larger monastic communities, opting to dwell in small hermitages and temples in Kai before moving to a secluded spot in Mino province (present-day Gifu prefecture), where he founded his Kokeian hermitage 古谿庵, later to become Eihōji 永保寺. In 1316, Kōhō passed away at Unganji temple. Just before the first anniversary of his master's death, Musō suddenly and unexpectedly left his residence in Mino and headed to the Kitayama 北山 area north of Kyoto, a move that has long baffled scholars.[58] The chronology gives no explanation as to why the seemingly solitude-loving monk suddenly headed to an area so near to the busy capital. Musō may have been seeking distance from the community left behind by Kōhō at Unganji, or he may have been

56 *Muchū mondōshū*, Sections 10, 60. Sueki*, Kamakura Bukkyō*, 260. In an apparent attempt to improve relations with the *kenmitsu* schools, Musō is said to have advocated the holding of the Eight Lectures on the *Lotus Sutra* (J. Hokke Hakkō 法華八講) in 1349 to cultivate merit for Takauji's late father. The service was performed by the former abbot of Onjōji and other *kenmitsu* monks. Harada, *Nihon chūsei no Zenshū to shakai*, 354. See entry for 11.7 Kōryaku 康暦 2 (1380) in Kageki Hideo 蔭木英雄, ed., *Kunchū kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū: chūsei Zensō no seikatsu to bungaku* 訓注 空華日用工夫略集：中世禅僧の生活と文学 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1982), 220-221.

57 "Nenpu," 289-290. Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 40-42.

58 "Nenpu," 297-298.

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FIGURE 4 Garden and Kannon Hall (National Treasure) at Eihōji

courting new patrons in the capital. He might also have made the move away from Kamakura to avoid being tapped for official appointments by the Hōjō as Kōhō's successor.[59] At any rate, little is known of Musō's stay in the capital at that time, making it difficult to assess its effect on his future rise.

If Musō had been attempting to avoid the Hōjō, he would not be able to do so for long. Before his death, Kōhō had recommended Musō as his successor to the nun Kakukai Enjō 覚海円成 (d. 1345?), mother to the last regent Hōjō Takatoki 北条高時 (1303-1333), who asked Musō, then still in Kitayama, to come to Kamakura in 1318. Musō was able to evade her summons for a time by fleeing to the far-off province of Tosa 土佐 (present-day Kōchi prefecture), but he ultimately headed to the East country along with the messenger who had ferreted him out by threatening to punish anyone harboring him.[60] Upon arriving in Kamakura and meeting with Kakukai, Musō refused to assume the abbotship of Unganji as asked. Instead, he began living at a cottage near the ocean in

59 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 44. Imaeda Aishin, "Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石," in *Nanchō to hokuchō* 南朝と北朝, vol. 7 of *Jinbutsu Nihon no rekishi* 人物日本の歴史 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1976), 204-205.

60 "Nenpu," 299-300.

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Miura 三浦 (present-day Kanagawa prefecture), where he is said to have turned away his many visitors.[61]

Musō would rely mostly on private benefactors during this period, dwelling at Miura and another small hermitage in the East until 1325, when Emperor Godaigo invited him to serve as the abbot of Nanzenji 南禅寺, the most prestigious Zen temple in Kyoto that enjoyed strong ties to the court.[62] How the reigning emperor knew of Musō is not clear, but it is possible that Godaigo first became aware of Musō through their mutual acquaintance Reizei Tamesuke 冷泉為相 (1263-1328), a poet and aristocrat active in Kamakura poetry circles who also had tight links to the Kyoto court.[63]

As Collcutt explains, Godaigo's interest in Musō may have had several motivations. Nanzenji served as one key component of the Kyoto court's answer to the increasingly powerful Zen monasteries patronized by the Hōjō in Kamakura, and Godaigo may have been seeking to lure a suitable abbot away from the *bakufu*; already, Godaigo's father, Retired Emperor Go-uda 後宇多上皇 (1267-1324), had previously invited Kamakura-based monks, including Yishan, to head the same temple. Alternatively, Godaigo might have been attracted by Musō's aristocratic extraction or his reclusive tendencies and avoidance of the Hōjō.[64] Whatever his incentives, Godaigo's interest in Musō proved invaluable, for it was through this association that the latter would later secure a prominent and permanent base for his line in Kyoto.

Although Musō had originally declined Godaigo's initial request to head Nanzenji on account of illness, he accepted a second invitation and began a term in the eighth month of 1325.[65] While extant sources offer no clue as to whether Musō had been seeking this appointment, some scholars have contrasted Musō's eventual acceptance with his almost complete avoidance of previous Hōjō overtures to suggest that he saw patronage from Godaigo as more promising than support from the waning *bakufu*.[66] Even if the appointment was welcome, Musō's tenure at Nanzenji was short-lived, lasting less than a year. In the seventh month of 1326, Takatoki dispatched a messenger to

61 Ibid. Tamamura sees Musō's actions during this period as a deliberate attempt to avoid the Hōjō and their increasingly fragile regime. Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 49-50.

62 Ibid., 55; "Nenpu," 303-304.

63 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 160.

64 Collcutt, "Musō Soseki," 277. Shinosaki Masaru 篠崎勝, "Musō Kokushi 夢窓国師," in *Musō Kokushi* 夢窓国師, ed. Tenryūji (Kyoto: Tenryūji Kaisan Musō Kokushi Roppyakunen Daionki Jimukyoku, 1950), 91.

65 "Nenpu," 303-304.

66 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 51-52. Satō Kazuhiko 佐藤和彦, *Taiheiki no sekai* 太平記の世界 (1990, repr., Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2015), 105.

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FIGURE 5 Main Hall at Zuisenji

Nanzenji to invite Musō to serve as abbot of Jufukuji 寿福寺 in Kamakura. Although he turned down that invitation, Musō nevertheless left Nanzenji and headed east, founding a temple in his birth province of Ise and visiting Kumano before returning to Kamakura, where he established a small cottage known as Nanpōan 南芳庵 on the grounds of the temple built by Nikaidō Dōun 二階堂道蘊 (also known by his lay name Sadafuji 貞藤, 1267-1334), the future assistant head (*shitsuji* 執事) of the chancellory (*mandokoro* 政所) of the Kamakura *bakufu*.[67]

Musō would not remain at Dōun's residence for long. In early 1327, he was apparently unable to refuse an invitation by Hōjō Takatoki to head the

67 "Nenpu," 305. As one of several figures in Kamakura who apparently gravitated toward Godaigo as the *bakufu* weakened, Dōun would later advocate reconciliation with Godaigo during the latter's initial attempts to overthrow the *bakufu*. He later fought against Godaigo's forces in the final days of the Kamakura *bakufu*, but he took the tonsure after his forces met with defeat at Yoshino. He was initially spared by Godaigo but executed on suspicions of treason in 1334. Mori Shigeaki 森茂暁, *Godaigo Tennō* 後醍醐天皇 (Tokyo: Chūōkōron Shinsha, 2000), 73-77. For a recent study arguing that Musō, looking to establish himself under Godaigo, influenced Dōun's conciliatory attitude toward the emperor during his first attempt to overthrow the *bakufu*, known as the *Shōchū no hen* 正中の変 (1324), see Hashimoto Yoshikazu 橋本芳和, "Shōchū no hen to Musō Soseki (IV) 正中の変と夢窓疎石(IV)," *Seiji keizai shigaku* 政治経済史学 554 (2013): 32-49.

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Kamakura Gozan temple Jōchiji 浄智寺. Less than six months later, he took leave of that post to serve as founder of Zuisen'in 瑞泉院 (now Zuisenji), a secluded new temple built by Dōun high in the hills above Kamakura. In 1329, Musō accepted, apparently reluctantly, a request to serve as abbot of Engakuji, a prominent Kamakura Gozan temple founded by his dharma grandfather Wuxue, that had recently fallen on hard times. Here, perhaps seeking to tie Musō to Wuxue if not distance him from the failed Kamakura *bakufu*, the chronology depicts Musō as assuming this position only out of regard for Wuxue, rather than in response to any kind of official appointment.[68] That Musō may have indeed been seeking to establish his proximity to Wuxue is further suggested by the fact that the two Hōjō appointments he did accept were at Jōchiji and Engakuji, both temples that boasted strong ties to Wuxue's line, known as the Bukkō 仏光 lineage.[69]

At Engakuji, Musō displayed some of the administrative talents that would later win him wide admiration in Kyoto. In less than a year, he succeeded in securing a generous sponsor for the economically enervated temple and delivered well-attended sermons there before departing in 1330 to participate in another Dōun-sponsored project: the founding of Erinji 慧林寺 in Kai. While at Erinji, Musō turned down two requests from Takatoki to head Kenchōji, one in 1331 and the other in 1333. He returned to Zuisen'in in the third month of 1333, just two months before the fall of the Kamakura *bakufu*.[70]

5 Building a Line Under Emperor Godaigo

Whether he welcomed prestige or not, Musō would soon assume a place of prominence as never before, with the aid of Emperor Godaigo. Already weakened by the Mongol invasions and their aftermath, in the fifth month of 1333 the Kamakura *bakufu* was brought to an end by Godaigo and his warrior sympathizers, who aided him in establishing a regime of direct imperial rule. Arriving in Kyoto early in the sixth month, Godaigo wasted no time in summoning Musō to the capital to serve as Nanzenji abbot, dispatching Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-1358) as his imperial messenger on 6.10. Perhaps welcoming the

68 "Nenpu," 306-307. Satō suggests that the chronology's account may not be a completely faithful reflection of Musō's relationship to the Hōjō and thus raises the possibility that Musō's close ties to the defeated *bakufu* may have been edited out at a later point. See Satō, *Taiheiki no sekai*, 103.

69 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 55.

70 "Nenpu," 306-310.

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opportunity, Musō accepted immediately this time, arriving in the capital in the seventh month to begin a second term at Nanzenji. In the eighth month of the same year, Musō was chosen by Godaigo to oversee Rinsenji in Arashiyama.[71]

As the former residence of Godaigo's son Prince Tokiyoshi 世良親王 (also pronounced Tsuginaga, d. 1330), the site had been converted into a temple following the prince's death, with Musō's fellow disciple under Kōhō and Tokiyoshi's instructor in Zen, Gennō Hongen 元翁本元 (1282-1332), serving as the original founder. Following Gennō's death, Godaigo appointed Musō as director to oversee the temple's completion.[72] An imperial directive followed in 1335, re-naming Musō as founder and donating the temple and its landholdings to him. Musō, in turn, was charged with offering prayers for the state and the deceased prince.[73]

Importantly, Godaigo's directive stipulated that the temple be kept under control of the Musō line, effectively designating it a *tsuchien* 度弟院 temple. This style of administration, which had long been standard at *kenmitsu* temples sponsored by the nobility, was also applied at several Zen temples founded by members of the court and aristocracy, with the prominent exception of Nanzenji. As a rule, *tsuchien* temples were not admitted to the prestigious Gozan system, which privileged at its top temples with open, fixed-term appointments in accordance with the *jippō jūji* 十方住持 system. In building a line, however, possession of a *tsuchien*-style temple was essential, for it afforded an enduring base.[74]

Having secured just such a center at Rinsenji, Musō made the crucial move of building a *tatchū* 塔頭 there known as Sannein. *Tatchū* were memorial sub-temples built for or by a master, usually at a temple of his/her founding, that provided a power base and necessary cohesion for his/her line, both at *tsuchien* and *jippō jūji* temples. In the case of the latter, although control by members of any given line was ostensibly forbidden, monks based at a given *tatchū* nevertheless came to exert primary influence as disciples of the founder.[75] Consisting of the prince's memorial, the stupa of Musō as founder, and an

71 Ibid., 310.

72 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 59.

73 *Rinsenji jūsho anmon* 臨川寺重書案文, DNS, 6.2, 634-635.

74 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 60.

75 Kawakami Mitsugu 川上貢, *Zen'in no kenchiku: Zensō no sumai to saikyō* 禅院の建築：禅僧のすまいと祭享 (Kyoto: Kawahara Shoten, 1968), 25. *Tatchū* is a term that appears in the Southern Song in reference to the grave (*tassho* 塔所) of an elite master and was used in the three Buddhist traditions dominant at that time. At first, *tatchū* in Japan

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FIGURE 6 Temple gate at Rinsenji

image of the bodhisattva Miroku in the middle, Sannein went on to serve as the main headquarters for the Musō line, which would come to include more than ten thousand monks.[76]

The autumn of 1333 saw the passing of Reiseimon'in 礼成門院 (also known as Kishi 禧子, 1303-1333), empress to Godaigo, who called Musō to the palace to perform a dedication for her in 1334. Evidencing his close ties to the emperor, Musō made a second visit to the palace in the ninth month, during which Godaigo participated in a ceremonial receiving of the robe (*jue* 受衣), indicating his status as Musō's disciple and symbolizing his support for Musō.[77] It is likely

were constructed in various traditions according to this model, but by the time of the Muromachi period the building of *tatchū* was restricted to the Zen school and required approval from the *bakufu*. Originally, *tatchū* were limited to one per temple. Tamamura, *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, 245-247; Engakuji 円覚寺, ed., *Engakujishi* 円覚寺史 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1964), 98.

76 "Nenpu," 310-311; Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 151; Takenuki Genshō 竹貫元勝, "Musō Soseki to Tettō Gikō 夢窓疎石と徹翁義亨," *Zen bunka* 禅文化 154 (1998): 91.

77 "Nenpu," 311.

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that Musō was given his first illustrious *kokushi* title on this occasion, in reflection of his position as the emperor's teacher.[78] As the highest honor bestowed in the Zen tradition, this title had previously been posthumously bestowed on both Japanese and emigre monks, beginning with Enni in 1311, thirty-one years after his death. Musō, however, was among the rare few to receive it during his lifetime—an unprecedented three times, to be exact.[79]

It was also at this time that Godaigo asked Musō to return to Nanzenji. The chronology has Musō declining at first, citing poor health in old age, but states that he nonetheless accepted after the emperor insisted that the fate of Buddhism was at stake.[80] The chronology explains that since the fall of the Kamakura *bakufu*, some members of the court had been petitioning the emperor to withdraw his support from the Zen school, arguing that patronage of the vanquished Hōjō's school was no longer necessary. These critics were silenced after Godaigo and a hundred ministers made a trip to Nanzenji, where they were favorably impressed by the practice and discipline of the monks, as well as by a sermon and dialogue by Musō. As Tamamura explains, although other monks clearly had a hand in ensuring the continued patronage of Zen, this event was nonetheless instrumental in winning over much of the aristocracy to Zen.[81]

Also during this period, Musō began laying a foundation for his line in Kamakura. After having been ordered by Godaigo to oversee his dharma grandfather's *tatchū* Shōzokuan 正続庵 at Kenchōji in 1333, Musō successfully petitioned the emperor two years later to have Shōzokuan moved to Engaku-ji—the center of the Wuxue line.[82] As Harada explains, this move provided a concrete way for Musō to underscore his ties to Wuxue, asserting not only his legitimacy in a cultural milieu that valued ties to continental Zen but also his place in the Wuxue line.[83] Following Shōzokuan's relocation, Musō moved his master Kōhō Kennichi's *tatchū* from Jōchiji to the more prominent Kenchōji;

78 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 62.

79 Itō Kōan 伊藤康安, *Bukkyō no riron to tenkai* 仏教の理論と展開 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1959), 274-275.

80 "Nenpu," 312.

81 Ibid., 312-313. Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 64.

82 Wuxue died in 1286 at Kenchōji, where a *tatchū* was subsequently built in his honor. Kenchōji, the center for Lanxi's rival Daikaku line, already boasted a *tatchū* built for the founder, and members of Wuxue's lineage would have to make a special trip from Engakuji to the rival temple in order to memorialize their master there. Engakuji, *Engakuji-shi*, 141.

83 Musō's line faced competition from a number of rival lines. These included Yishan's Issan line 一山派, Lanxi's Daikaku line 大覚派, and Wuxue's Bukkō line in Kamakura, as well as Enni's Shōichi line 聖一派 based at Tōfukuji. In addition, the Musō line faced

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that *tatchū* went on to be dominated by the Musō line. At Jōchiji, Musō then built a *tatchū* in honor of Taihei Myōjun 太平妙準 (n.d.), a fellow student under Kōhō. These relocations afforded Musō a foothold in the world of Kamakura Zen that would be further exploited by his disciples, who built a *tatchū* at Engakuji in Musō's honor in 1354. Known as Ōbaiin 黄梅院, this subtemple would develop into one of three power centers for the Musō line, alongside Sannein and Tenryūji's Ungoan.[84]

6 Association with the Ashikaga and the Northern Court

Having laid the foundation for his line under Godaigo, Musō would reach even greater heights with the aid of a new regime. Less than three years into the Kenmu administration, Ashikaga Takauji joined forces with his younger brother Tadayoshi to rebel against his former ally Godaigo, entering the capital in the first month of 1336. With fighting close at hand, Musō resigned his position at Nanzenji to seclude himself at Rinsenji. When a messenger arrived from Kenninji to offer Musō the position of abbot after an unexpected vacancy, Musō refused to even open the gate.[85] Repelled by Godaigo's forces, Takauji soon repaired to Kyushu but not before securing an alliance with former Emperor Kōgon 光厳上皇 (1313-1364), member of the Jimyōin line 持明院統—and rival to the current emperor. After a successful military campaign in the western provinces, Takauji reentered the capital in the middle of the sixth month and established a *bakufu*, after which Kōgon declared his son emperor in the eighth month. That autumn, Godaigo, who had sought refuge among allies on Mount Hiei, returned to Kyoto and ceded the imperial regalia (*sanshu no jingi* 三種の神器, consisting of the mirror, the sword, and the curved jewel) to the new emperor Kōmyō 光明天皇 (1321-1380), in apparent recognition of the rival regime. Less than two months later, however, the former sovereign fled with his supporters to the mountains of Yoshino (now southern Nara prefecture), making the startling announcement that he had retained the real symbols of office. The era of the dueling courts had begun.[86]

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competition from Kōhō's other disciples, some of whom had trained on the continent. Harada, "Nanbokuchō," 68-76, 92.

84 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 276-268. Harada, *Nihon chūsei*, 271-272.

85 "Nenpu," 315.

86 Murai Shōsuke, *Bunretsu suru ōken to shakai* 分裂する王権と社会, vol. 10 of *Nihon no chūsei* 日本の中世 (Tokyo: Chūōkōron Shinsha, 2003), 59-62, 70.

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As a beneficiary of Godaigo, Musō's position at this point was delicate.[87] Nevertheless, it would not be long before the new administration began to approach him. In the ninth month of the same year, Retired Emperor Kōgon proclaimed Musō "State Preceptor" and added Rinsenji, where Musō was then residing, to the third level of the Gozan system (*shozan*), demonstrating not only his power over the Gozan system but also Musō's position within it.[88] Also that year, Ashikaga Takauji sought audience with the State Preceptor, whom he had likely known in some capacity from before.[89] On that occasion, Takauji expressed his desire to become Musō's disciple.[90]

With support from the Northern Court and the *bakufu* assured, Musō continued to fashion his line at Rinsenji, drafting in the third month of 1339 *Rinsen kakun* 臨川家訓, an influential set of rules for the temple's administration, and *Sannein ikai* 三会院遺戒, a set of instructions for his *tatchū* which would become a standard rule set for many medieval Zen monasteries.[91] That same year, Musō was asked by the governor of Settsu, Fujiwara Chikahide 藤原親秀 (n.d.) to head the restoration of Saihōji 西方寺 temple, also in Saga, a Pure Land temple that was to be converted to a Zen temple known as Saihōji 西芳寺. Although Musō had displayed an active interest in temple design and landscaping at Rinsenji and Zuisen'in, his efforts at Saihōji won him special praise, and the complex soon became a playground for aristocrats, warriors, and members of the imperial family. So successful was the Saihōji endeavor that the design served as direct inspiration for other noteworthy projects, including Ashikaga

87 As Sasaki Yōdō notes, Musō at this time must have appeared to the Ashikaga to be an ally of Godaigo. Sasaki, *Musō Kokushi* , 326.

88 Collcutt, "Musō Soseki," 282. See entry for Engen 9.21 延元 1 (1336) in *Tenryūji monjo* 天龍寺文書, DNS 6.3, 759-760.

89 In what capacity the Ashikaga previously knew Musō is unclear. A passage in *Baishōron* states that they first met Musō at Erinji in Kai province prior to the Genkō era, when they, along with Hosokawa Akiuji 細川顕氏 (?-1352) were leading troops west to Awa 阿波 province (now Tokushima prefecture). The text explains that the brothers became Musō's disciples on that occasion. *Baishōron* 梅松論 (Enbōbon 延宝本), in *Baishōron, Gen'ishū* 梅松論・源威集, vol. 8 of *Shinsen Nihon koten bunko* 新撰日本古典文庫, ed. Kami Hiroshi 加美宏 and Yashiro Kazuo 矢代和夫 (Tokyo: Gendai Shichōsha, 1975), 139. For an English translation, see Royall Tyler, Thomas D. Conlan, and Shuzo Uyenaka, *From Baishōron to Nantaiheiki,* vol. 4 of *Fourteenth-Century Voices* (Charley's Forest, NSW: Blue-Tongue Books, 2016), 118. Tamamura points out that it is also possible that Musō became known to Takauji through the Hōjō, whom Takauji closely served, or through Godaigo, who had sent Takauji as his imperial messenger when he summoned Musō to Kyoto in 1333. Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 68.

90 "Nenpu," 315.

91 Ibid., 315-316. See entry for 3 Ryakuō 暦応 2 (1339), *Ōbaiin monjo* 黄梅院文書, DNS, 6.5, 464-470. Harada, *Nihon chūsei no Zenshū to shakai*, 271.

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Yoshimitsu's 足利義満 (1358-1408) Kitayama estate 北山殿 (built in 1397) and Ashikaga Yoshimasa's 足利義政 (1436-1490) Higashiyama estate 東山殿 (built in 1482)—known today throughout the world as the Gold and Silver Pavilions.[92] The current Saihōji garden, now famed for its moss carpet and dry rock waterfall, is perhaps Musō's best-known effort at landscaping, although, as Chapter Three will demonstrate, it held a much different significance in Musō's time and after.

Around this same time, Musō also participated in two major state projects sponsored by the *bakufu*. Under Musō's guidance, Takauji and Tadayoshi designated one temple in each province as a temple to bring peace to the state (*ankokuji* 安国寺) and built a stupa (*rishōtō* 利生塔) at one temple in each province to appease the souls of those who died during the struggles that had brought them to power.[93] Affording the *bakufu* a symbolic and military presence in each province, the system also lent countrywide authority to the Ashikaga regime through the possession and ritual use of relics in a manner based on earlier court precedents.[94] In a clear reflection of the *bakufu*'s religious policy, most *ankokuji* were Gozan Zen temples, and *rishōtō* were mainly located at Ritsu or Zen temples. The *ankokuji-rishōtō* system is thought to have been based on the ancient precedents of the *kokubunji* 国分寺 system, as well as the eighty-four thousand stupas built by King Aśoka in India.[95] Although short-lived, the far-reaching project was among the most ambitious undertaken by the Ashikaga in conjunction with Musō.

92 The Kitayama estate also served as inspiration for Higashiyama. See also Hisatsune Shūji 久恒秀治, *Kyōto meienki* 京都名園記, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Seibundō Shinkōsha, 1969), 252-254.

93 For a military regime governing the country during a time of war, proper memorialization of the dead was essential to securing peace in the realm. Hayashima Daisuke 早島大祐, *Muromachi bakufu ron* 室町幕府論 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2010), 25.

94 Regional Gozan temples sponsored by provincial constables (*shugo* 守護) were designated as *ankokuji*. They also helped provincial constables maintain control over their provinces. Imaeda, *Zenshū no rekishi*, 74-75. On the *rishōtō* as an attempt to legitimize and signal the start of the Ashikaga regime in accordance with historical precedents of relic possession and worship, see Brian D. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha relics and power in early medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 254-259.

95 The network gradually faded away after the deaths of Musō, Tadayoshi, who is believed to have spearheaded the project, and Takauji. Subsequent *shōgun* opted to focus their efforts on the Gozan, now a countrywide system, rather than seeking to revitalize the *ankokuji-rishōtō* system. Nearly all of the *ankokuji* were redesignated as *jissatsu* or *shozan* under Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408). Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 103, 109. Matsuo Kenji 松尾剛次, "Ankokuji rishōtō saikō 安国寺利生塔再考," *Yamagata Daigaku kiyō jinbun kagaku* 山形大学紀要 人文科学 14, no. 3 (2000): 85-94, 98. "Shinzo 陞座," in *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 144.

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The autumn of 1339 brought the unexpected death of Emperor Godaigo, who perished in exile at his Yoshino court. In the ninth month of the same year, Takauji and Tadayoshi successfully petitioned Retired Emperor Kōgon for permission to build a temple in memorial to Godaigo on the grounds of a former imperial residence in Arashiyama.[96] Musō seems to have originally declined the *bakufu*'s offer to head this massive project, but he ultimately heeded imperial orders to become its founding abbot. The building of Tenryūji, although met with resistance from some members of the court and the *kenmitsu* establishments, was perhaps the most visible symbol of Musō's association with the Northern regime that so generously supported him. While it has long been seen primarily as a place to placate the deceased emperor, as I will demonstrate in Chapter Four, Musō, in fact, had a varied agenda for the temple that included a changing array of political, religious, and institutional objectives crafted in direct response to a shifting political reality.

In his final years, Musō's ties to court and *bakufu* deepened. In the spring of 1349, Tadayoshi followed his brother to become Musō's student by receiving the robe and bowl (*eu* 衣盂), as did Takauji's son and future second *shōgun* Yoshiakira 義詮 (1330-1367) that winter.[97] Musō also hosted multiple imperial progresses at both Tenryūji and Saihōji. During one such visit to Saihōji in 1342, Kōgon formally became Musō's disciple; Kōgon also participated in a second ceremony at the palace, where he received the robe and bowl, along with newly retired sovereign Kōmyō and other members of the court.[98] During this time, Musō also took an active role in contemporary politics. When the shogunal house was plagued by strife during the violent Kannō Disturbance (Kannō no jōran 観応の擾乱 1350-1352), Musō participated in repeated efforts aimed at reconciling the feuding siblings, although none of these attempts proved lasting. Musō also worked to facilitate negotiations aimed at bringing about reconciliation between the two courts in the last years of his life.[99]

7 Death and Legacy

In what would be his final sermon, Musō held an elaborate memorial service at Tenryūji in the eighth month of 1351 to mark the thirteenth anniversary of Godaigo's passing. By this point, however, Musō's health was in decline, and soon

96 "Nenpu," 319.
97 Ibid., 325.
98 Ibid., 320, 325.
99 For details on Musō's involvement in contemporary politics, see Chapters Three and Four.

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after the ceremony he resigned the abbotship of Tenryūji to seclude himself at Sannein. Just before his passing, would-be disciples descended upon him from near and far, hoping to become his students by receiving the robe and the bowl. With the end drawing near, Retired Emperors Kōgon and Kōmyō paid visits to Musō, who is portrayed in the chronology as having taught his many disciples right up until his death at age seventy-six on 9.30 1351.[100]

Musō left behind 13,345 disciples of varying categories, an incredibly large figure that includes lay men and women, monks and nuns.[101] In the years after his death, Musō's monastic heirs and their sponsors would take his line to new heights, thanks in large part to their construction of numerous *tatchū* in memory of their master at prominent Gozan temples in Kyoto and Kamakura, including Engakuji (Ōbaiin), Nanzenji (Jōshōin 上生院), and Shōkokuji 相国寺 (Shijuin 資寿院).[102] A key architect of the Musō line, Musō's nephew and heir Shun'oku followed his uncle and master to serve as abbot at many of the most prominent Gozan temples. Together with his patron and student *shōgun* Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, Shun'oku established Shōkokuji, a Gozan temple of the second rank, where Musō was honored as posthumous founder. In 1379, Shun'oku assumed a new position of unparalleled power when he was named Registrar General of Monks (*tenka sōroku* 天下僧録). With this appointment, the Gozan system came to be governed by monks, rather than appointees from the warrior class, who had previously retained administrative control.[103] Evidencing the power of the Musō line, this post and its later iterations would be held exclusively—with a single exception—by prominent monks in that line until the system was halted in 1615 by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542-1616).[104]

100 "Nenpu," 326-327.

101 *Tenryū kaisan tokushi Musō Shōgaku Shinshū Kokushi tōmei narabi ni jō*, 376. On the various levels and different categories of Musō's students, see Harada Masatoshi, "Ashikaga shōgun no jue, shukke to Muromachi bunka 足利将軍の受衣・出家と室町文化," in *Zen kara mita Nihon chūsei no bunka to shakai,* ed. Amano Fumio (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2016) 332-352.

102 Kawakami, *Zen'in no kenchiku*, 25. On Shōkokuji and Yoshimitsu's attempt to enhance his position through city planning and large-scale building projects, see Matthew Stavros, *Kyoto: An urban history of Japan's premodern capital* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 126-132.

103 Harada, "Nanbokuchō," 70. Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 119-120. Translation of *tenka sōroku* follows Collcutt.

104 In the early fifteenth century, the position of *sōroku* came to be held concurrently with abbotship of Rokuōin 鹿王院 temple, the memorial temple to third *shōgun* Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. The joint appointment was known as *Rokuon sōroku* 鹿苑僧録. As this position gradually became reserved for monks from the Fujiwara and other aristocratic families, administrative control was delegated to a monk holding the office of the *inryō* 蔭涼.

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Needless to say, the success of the Musō line was due in no small part to the continuing reverence that the master enjoyed well after his death. Honored an unprecedented seven times as State Preceptor—three times in life and four after death—Musō's memory burned bright for centuries before acquiring the decidedly dim cast in the modern period outlined in the prologue. What follows is an attempt to understand Musō and his strong influence on medieval religion and culture by considering his various (and often overlapping) sides as a religious figure, *waka* poet, landscape designer, and political force.

These positions were occupied by monks of the Musō line, with the sole exception of Ninjo Shūgyō 仁如集堯 (1483-1574), a Yishan lineage monk who was *Rokuon sōroku* from 1560 to 1574. Imaeda, *Zenshū no rekishi*, 108-109, 145.

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CHAPTER 1

A Master Defined: Musō Soseki in *Muchū mondōshū*

Hailed as the clearest expression of Musō Soseki's religious approach, *Muchū mondōshū*, like the rest of Musō's works, has received comparatively little attention in modern scholarship, in contrast to its great influence in pre-modern times.[1] This chapter will seek to illuminate key contours of Musō's thought as revealed in that work by detailing a critical process that has gone almost entirely overlooked by previous studies: Musō's embodiment and definition of the role of Zen master. In doing so, I will demonstrate how Musō used *Muchū mondōshū* to edify readers—and respond to his critics.

Based on a series of conversations between Musō Soseki and Ashikaga Tadayoshi that likely took place from 1338 to 1342, the text consists of three books, with a total of ninety-three sections and two postscripts in Chinese by Zhuxian Fanxian 竺仙梵僊 (J. Jikusen Bonsen, 1292-1348). The first postscript is dated 1342, indicating the remarkable speed with which the work progressed to initial printing in the form of two Gozan-ban 五山版 woodblock editions undertaken in 1342 and 1344 by Daikō Shigenari 大高重成 (??-1362), the Ashikaga-appointed provincial military governor (*shugo* 守護) of Wakasa 若狭 province (present-day Fukui prefecture) and a student of Musō.[2] As one of the few works published during the lifetime of its author—and a rare example of a published work in *kana*—it occupies a special place in publishing history; for these reasons, Kawase Kazuma 川瀬一馬 calls it an "epoch-making publication in the history of Japanese print culture."[3]

Though the text takes the form of dialogues between Musō and Tadayoshi, as Nishiyama Mika 西山美香 has argued, the published version was very likely the result of extensive edits—or even complete rewriting. Indeed, the careful organization and detailed content of Musō's rejoinders strongly suggest that this was no mere transcription of Musō's casual conversations with Tadayoshi. Rather, it is highly likely that the published version of *Muchū mondōshū* was

1 Sueki, *Kamakura Bukkyō*, 254.

2 On the Gozan-ban, see Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A cultural history from the beginnings to the nineteenth century* (Boston: Brill, 1998), 121-123. See also Kawase Kazuma, *Nyūmon kōwa: Nihon shuppan bunka-shi* 入門講話：日本出版文化史 (Tokyo: Nihon Editā Sukūru Shuppanbu, 1983), 112-113.

3 Kawase Kazuma, "Kaisetsu 解説," in *Muchū mondōshū* 夢中問答集, ed. Kawase Kazuma (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000), 499-500. For a discussion of the importance of *Muchū mondōshū*'s publication, see also Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 158-160.

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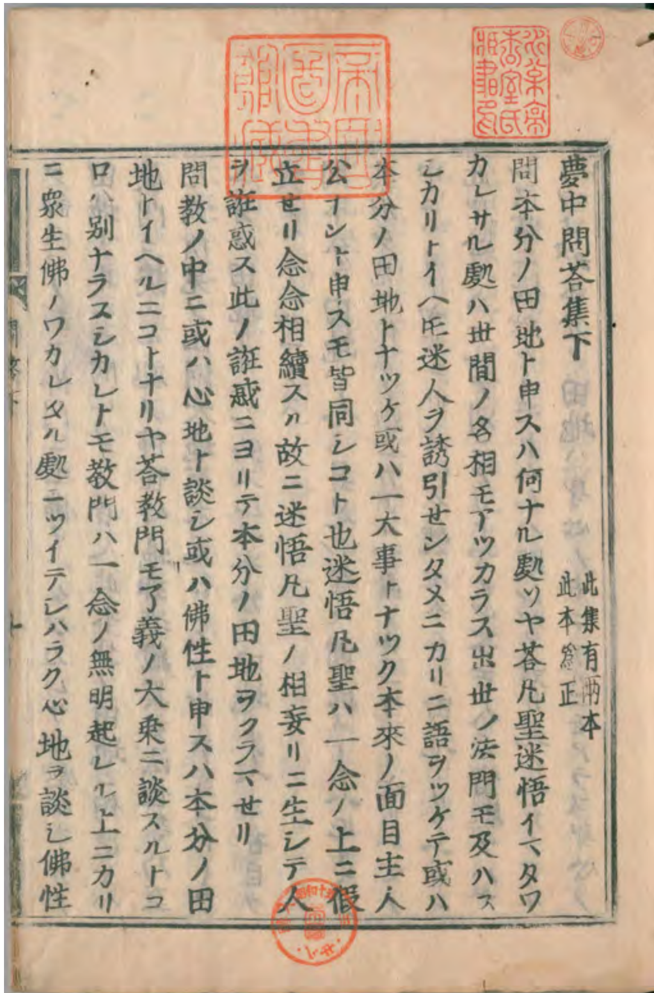
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FIGURE 7 *Muchū mondōshū*, Gozan-ban (1342). Rare Books of the National Diet Library Digital Collection, NATIONAL DIET LIBRARY (TOKYO)

expressly produced with a much broader audience in mind.[4] Little information survives to account for its production. Details in the second postscript suggests that Musō was initially reluctant to allow publication but eventually conceded for the reason that erroneous handwritten manuscripts were already in circulation.[5]

4 Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 164-173.

5 At the time of *Muchū mondōshū*'s printing, Daikō was also engaged in the conversion of Kōjōji 高成寺, a temple in Wakasa where he was based, into a Zen temple as part of the *ankokuji* system. Dainen Hōen 大年法延 (?-1363), a disciple of Zhuxian Fanxian, was named its founding abbot, and it was Dainen who asked Zhuxian to write the second postscript. Given Daikō's participation in the *ankokuji* project and the timing of the publication of *Muchū mondōshū*,

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Following Musō's death, the text was repeatedly republished in several woodblock editions, from the early Muromachi period (1336-1573) all the way up until the middle of the Edo period (1603-1867), securing for it a remarkably wide readership.[6] As the first postscript makes clear, the work was intended for a broad audience of monks and nuns, women, and those with and without education; for this reason, it was written in a mixed *kanji* and *kana* style (*kanamajiri bun* 仮名交じり文) rather than in Sino-Japanese (*kanbun* 漢文), the customary language of Zen literature at that time.[7]

In *Muchū mondōshū*, Musō fields queries by the interlocutor Tadayoshi on a variety of topics, emphasizing the possibility of realizing in each person the inherently awakened original state (*honbun no denchi* 本分の田地).[8] In doing so, the work posits a Zen approach (*zenmon* 禅門) as separate from the approach of the scriptures (*kyōmon* 教門),[9] while harmonizing the two. In doing so, Musō repeatedly characterizes both as nothing more than skillful means used to lead sentient beings to the absolute, non-dual truth of the Mahāyāna. From Section 80:

scholars such as Yanagida and Nishiyama have suggested that there was a relationship between the text and the *ankokuji rishōtō* system. Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 174-177. Yanagida, *Musō*, 391.

6 Woodblock printed editions include: the Mino-bon, a small-print version printed in the late Ōei 応永era (1394-1428) at Jōinzen'an 浄因禅庵 in Ashikaga in the province of Shimotsuke (now Tochigi prefecture); large- and small-print versions, both based on the old edition, produced during or after the Keichō 慶長 era (1596-1615); at least three small-print versions of the old edition produced in the Genna 元和 (1615-1624) and Kan'ei 寛永 (1624-1644) eras; and bound editions with marks for reading Chinese as Japanese first appearing in Kan'ei 11 (1634) that were subsequently reproduced. Kawase, "Kaisetsu," 500-501; Satō Taishun 佐藤泰舜, "Kōteisha no kotoba 校訂者のことば," in *Muchū mondōshū*, ed. Satō Taishun (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), 3-4; Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 158-160. Kinoshita Motoichi 木下資一 calls *Muchū mondōshū* the most widely read *kana hōgo* on Zen in the premodern period. "*Muchū mondō* 夢中問答," in *Zuihitsu bungaku* 随筆文学, vol. 8 of *Kenkyū shiryō Nihon koten bungaku* 研究資料日本古典文学, ed. Ōsone Shōsuke 大曽根章介, et al. (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1983), 292. Also quoted in Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 256.

7 *Muchū mondōshū*, 246.

8 I am grateful to Thomas Yūhō Kirchner for emphasizing the thematic centrality of realization in *Muchū mondōshū.* On *Muchū mondōshū*'s use of *honbun no denchi* as a term for the originally awakened state present in all sentient beings, see Yanagi Mikiyasu, "Takayanagi Satsuki shi no komento ni tai suru kaitō 高柳さつき氏のコメントに対する回答." *Higashi Ajia Bukkyō gakujutsu ronshū: Kan, Chū, Nichi kokusai Bukkyō gakujutsu taikai ronbunshū* 6 (2018): 289-299.

9 Sueki notes how Musō stresses the respective positions of each while presenting the possibility for mutual understanding between adherents of these different traditions. Sueki, *Kamakura Bukkyō*, 266.

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> The Thus Come One Śākyamuni did not say he was an adherent of the scriptures, nor did he call himself a Zen practitioner. The teachings he explained were not divided into categories of "scriptures" and "Zen." This is because the Thus Come One's inner verification is not in the scriptures and it is not in Zen….[10]

In this way, Musō privileges the absolute essence behind the Buddhist teachings over any vehicle used to convey it. To exemplify his point, he draws upon a wide variety of sources in his explanations of Buddhist principles and the Zen tradition throughout the work. He quotes a whole host of Buddhist scriptures, Buddhist tales set in India, anecdotes and poems culled from Zen literature, *waka* poems, as well as examples involving the elite pastimes of landscaping and tea-drinking. The result is a rhetorical style that borrows from a variety of discourses and genres in order to validate all paths to a single truth.

Nevertheless, the text in no way presents Zen and the scriptures on perfect par. Rather, as Sueki explains, Musō's work represents an important departure from earlier rhetorical strategies aimed at fusing Zen and esoteric Buddhism, such as those employed by earlier figures in the Shōichi lineage. Accordingly, Musō repeatedly argues from a position that privileges Zen, albeit in a two-layered fashion. While making allowances for the approach of the scriptures, he clearly affords Zen a superior position.[11]

Still, Musō's endorsement of Zen is highly nuanced and never absolute. For instance, in clarifying "the essence of Zen" in Section 48 he advocates seated meditation as appropriate for all, taking issue with its conventional designation as difficult practice in contrast to easy practices like chanting sutras or the *nenbutsu* 念仏; he also stresses that seated meditation is common to many schools, including the *kenmitsu* and Pure Land (Jōdo 浄土) traditions. Here, he affirms all practices provided one correctly applies one's mind to the Mahāyāna in undertaking them, while maintaining that any practice informed by incorrect aspiration is a cause for transmigration.[12]

10 All of my translations are based on *Muchū mondōshū*, ed. Kazuma (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000). Section 80 appears on pages 216-218. For a full English translation of *Muchū mondōshū*, see Thomas Yūhō Kirchner and Fukazawa Yukio, trans., *Dialogues in a Dream* (Kyoto: Tenryūji Institute for Philosophy and Religion, 2010).

11 Sueki, *Kamakura Bukkyō*, 254. On this point, Yanagi suggests that Musō's basic stance of affirming all practices and skillful means may have derived from the *Zongjinglu*. See Yanagi, "Musō Soseki to *Zongjinglu*," 271-294.

12 *Muchū mondōshū*, 147-148. An in-depth comparison is beyond the scope of this study, but it must be noted that Musō's stance on these two issues closely resembles that of Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (also known as Daitō Kokushi 大燈国師, 1282-1337)—his rival. Although many scholars have unfavorably compared Musō to Shūhō (and Shūhō himself is

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Elsewhere, however, Musō more clearly privileges Zen. In Section 27, for example, he characterizes the six pāramitās[13] and the fifty-two stages of the bodhisattva path[14] as directed toward those of lesser and middling abilities, likening these approaches to a raft used to ferry passengers to the other shore of awakening. In contrast, he presents Zen as tailored to those of superior abilities, equating its practitioners with people who are able to fly straightway to the other shore with no need for the raft.[15]

How, then, are we to understand Musō's clear yet conditional privileging of Zen? As I will argue, Musō's embodiment and definition of the role of Zen master was critical to his simultaneous privileging of Zen and affirmation of all other approaches, as well as his undercutting of the categories of sacred and secular. In seeking to contextualize Musō as Zen master, I will begin by surveying *Muchū mondōshū*'s unique place within the larger genre of sermons in *kana*. Next, I will analyze his turn as Zen master, paying particular attention to how several first-person anecdotes simultaneously offer instruction and affirm Musō as master. Finally, I will demonstrate how Musō's embodiment of enlightenment enabled his pointed yet nuanced critique of Buddhist rivals of all stripes, while also affording him the opportunity to redefine norms for Zen masters.

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said to have criticized Musō's use of the scriptures), the fact remains that both strongly privileged realization and intention over any specific practice. Likewise, both advocated investigation of the self at all times as the proper attitude of practice aimed at realization. Shūhō also affirmed many practices, such as the sponsorship of temple-building and buddha images, provided they were undertaken with the goal of awakening. See Kenneth Kraft, *Eloquent Zen: Daito and early Japanese Zen* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 115-120, 125. For a comparison of Musō and Daitō's views of skillful means, see Osvaldo Mercuri, "Musō Soseki to Shūhō Myōchō no hōben shisō no hikaku: Seizan yawa to Shōun yawa o chūshin ni 夢窓疎石と宗峰妙超の方便思想の比較:『西山夜話』と『祥雲夜話』を中心に," *Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 31 (2011): 287-313. On the differing approaches of Musō and Daitō, see also Didier Davin, "'Kenshū Zen' kara 'junsui Zen' o saikō suru: Chūsei Zen no saikō 10「兼修禅」から「純粋禅」を再考する—中世禅の再考≪10≫," Chūgai nippō 中外日報, December 19, 2018 <http://www.chugainippoh.co.jp/ronbun/2018/1219.html>.

13 *Rokudo mangyō* 六度万行 or the six perfections (*rokuharamitsu* 六波羅蜜) refers to the elements of bodhisattva practice. They are alms-giving (*fuse* 布施), the keeping of the precepts (*jikai* 持戒), perseverance (*ninniku* 忍辱), diligence (*shōjin* 精進), meditation (*zenjō* 禅定), and wisdom (*chie* 智慧).

14 The fifty-two stages of the bodhisattva path (*gojūnii* 五十二位) as outlined in Mahāyāna sutras such as the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (J. *Kegonkyō* 華厳経). The stages are subdivided into the ten faiths (*jisshin* 十信), ten abodes (*jūjū* 十住), ten practices (*jūgyō* 十行), ten dedications (*jū ekō* 十廻向), ten stages (*jūji* 十地), virtual enlightenment (*tōgaku* 等覚), and subtle enlightenment (*myōgaku* 妙覚). English translation of terms here is from entry for "*Avataṃsaka-sūtra*" in Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 83-84.

15 *Muchū mondōshū*, 101-102.

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1 *Muchū mondōshū* and the Tradition of *Kana Hōgo* on Zen

For the reasons outlined in the preface, Musō is no longer widely considered to be a model Zen master. It is nonetheless likely that he was the first person to play this role for a large audience in Japan. Although Zen recorded sayings abound with portraits and performances of the masters, these works were neither widely read nor easily accessible to lay audiences, most of whom could not read Sino-Japanese. Only with the dissemination of works in *kana*, known as *kana hōgo* 仮名法語 (sermons in *kana*), could information about the Zen school reach a broader audience.[16] Despite the importance of these texts, they have attracted only limited scholarly attention. In fact, the entire genre of *kana hōgo* has until recently been largely overlooked, with modern scholars concentrating their efforts on works in Sino-Japanese rather than texts using *kana*, which had been dismissed as geared toward female audiences. In fact, *kana* texts played a vital role that began in the Kamakura period in spreading Zen and other religious movements.[17] Until *Muchū mondōshū*, most of these works existed as hand-copies, save for Jōdo school founder Hōnen's 法然 (1133-1212) *Kurodani Shōnin gotōroku* 黒谷上人語燈録 (1274), which was printed in 1321, more than a century after Hōnen's death.[18]

Musō's text was not only a vanguard publication in *kana*, it also staked out a distinct position with regard to its subject matter. Early works in *kana* dealing with Zen address it as one Buddhist style among many, in keeping with the integrative approach taken toward Zen seen in the Kamakura period. Representative texts in this category include works in *kana* by Mujū Ichien 無住一円 (1226-1312), namely his *Shasekishū* 沙石集 (1279-1283), *Shōzaishū* 聖財集 (1299), and *Zōdanshū* 雑談集 (1305)[19] as well as a recently discovered unnamed late thirteenth-century *kana hōgo* included in the Daruma school text *Zenkesetsu*

16 For an overview of early *kana hōgo*, see Sanae Kensei 早苗憲生, "Hōsa bunko bon *Shōichi kana hōgo* no kenkyū (1) honbunhen 蓬左文庫本「聖一仮名法語」の研究 (1) 本文篇," *Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 6 (1974): 265-266. Kawase, "Musō Kokushi (jō)," 3.

17 Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄, "Kana hōgo no tenkai 仮名法語の展開," in *Nanbokuchō, Muromachi jidai* 南北朝・室町時代, vol. 2 of *Dōgen shisō no ayumi* 道元思想の歩み, ed. Sōtōshū Shūgaku Kenkyūjo 曹洞宗宗学研究所 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1993), 128-129.

18 Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 121. Kawase, *Nyūmon kōwa*, 86.

19 While previously overlooked as a purveyor of mixed style of Zen (*kenshū Zen* 兼修禅), Mujū is at present undergoing a reappraisal. See Sueki Fumihiko, "Mujū no hyōka to *Shōzaishū* 無住の評価と『聖財集』," part 1 of "*Shōzaishū* kadai『聖財集』課題" in *Mujū-shū* 無住集, vol. 5 of *Chūsei Zenseki sōkan* 中世禅籍叢刊, ed. Chūsei Zenseki Sōkan Henshū Iinkai 中世禅籍叢刊編集委員会 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2014), 519-523. A typeset version of the Tenri Toshokan manuscript 天理図書館本 of *Shōzaishū* is included in the same volume.

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禅家説. This offers instructions for seated meditation and presents the practice as suitable for all.[20] All these works offer important insight into how Zen teachings and practices were being incorporated into the existing *kenmitsu* (exoteric-esoteric) worldview at this time.

Several *kana hōgo* specifically addressing Zen teachings and praxis are attributed to prominent monks associated with Kamakura and Nanbokuchō Zen. These include works ascribed to Enni Ben'en and Musō's rival Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (1282-1337).[21] The extent to which these short works circulated in the medieval period remains largely unknown, but it is clear that none were printed until the Edo period.[22]

Likewise, the Sōtō tradition boasts a number of *kana hōgo* attributed to figures active in early periods. While little is known about the provenance of many of them, some famous texts were deliberately kept secret.[23] As William M. Bodiford explains, beginning in the late fourteenth century restricted access was one strategy employed by large Sōtō temples competing to recruit abbots. As a result, only higher-ranking monks were allowed direct access to texts attributed to important Sōtō patriarchs, such as Dōgen and Keizan 瑩山 (1268-1325). This included Dōgen's well-known tract *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼蔵. Although Dōgen had used that text as a basis for his lectures and successive generations of monks had studied and preached from it, the text gradually came to be concealed; by the mid-fifteenth century, it was largely kept in secret and, like many other medieval Sōtō texts in *kana*, would not see wide circulation or publication until the Edo period.[24]

20 Sanae, "Hōsa bunko bon," 266. Wada Ukiko 和田有希子, "Zenkeshū ni tsuite 禅家集について," in *Darumashū* 達磨宗, vol. 3 of *Chūsei Zenseki sōkan*, ed. Chūsei Zenseki Sōkan Henshū Iinkai (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2015), 598-603.

21 Enni's brief text is known as *Shōichi kana hōgo* 聖一仮名法語 and Shūhō's is *Daitō kokushi hōgo* 大燈国師法語. Other *kana hōgo* attributed to figures associated with Kamakura-era Zen include *Hōtōshi hōgo* 法燈師法語 by Muhon Kakushin; and *Daiō Kokushi hōgo* 大応国師法語 by Nanpo Jōmyō 南浦紹明 (1235-1308). See Furuta Shōkin 古田紹欽, "Zen no kana hōgo 禅の仮名法語," *Daihōrin* 大法輪 24, no. 7 (1957): 14-24.

22 Sanae, "Hōsa bunko bon," 266.

23 For a thorough overview of *kana hōgo* in the Sōtō tradition, see Shiina, "Kana hōgo no tenkai." Excluding Dōgen's 道元 (1200-1253) *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼蔵, Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 正法眼蔵随聞記 as edited by his disciple Ejō 懐奘 (1198-1280), and Keizan's 瑩山 (1268-1325) *Denkōroku* 伝光録, Shiina counts eighteen *kana hōgo* that were composed from the Kamakura to Nanbokuchō periods. He excludes these three works from his study on the basis that they were not composed for lay audiences. Shiina, "Kana hōgo no tenkai," 132, 151.

24 William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 133-135. Fabio Rambelli, "Texts, Talismans, and Jewels: The *Reikeiki* and the performativity of sacred texts in medieval Japan," in *Discourse and Ideology in Medieval*

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Apart from *Muchū mondōshū*, only three other *kana hōgo* on Zen were printed in the medieval period as Gozan-ban texts. The first, *Kokkyōshū* 谷響集, was Musō's rejoinder to Jōdo monk Chōen's 澄円 (1290-1371) *Muchū shōfūron* 夢中松風論 (a critique of *Muchū mondōshū*), published in the same style and during the same era as *Muchū mondōshū*.[25] The second was Bassui Tokushō's 抜隊得勝 (1327-1387) *Enzan wadei gassuishū* 塩山和泥合水集[26] (printed in 1386, one year before Bassui's death) and the third was Getsuan Shūkō's 月庵宗光 (1326-1389) *Getsuan Oshō kana hōgo* 月庵和尚仮名法語 (printed in 1402).[27] When it comes to Bassui and Getsuan, the influence of these figures and their representative texts cannot rightly be compared to Musō and *Muchū mondōshū*. *Muchū mondōshū* was not only the first of these texts to be printed—making it highly likely that Bassui and Getsuan's texts were influenced by it—but it was also without a doubt the most widely read. Active in the provinces, in Kai and Harima 播磨 (Hyōgo prefecture) respectively, Bassui and Getsuan never attained the sort of prestige or wide renown that Musō enjoyed in the elite circles of Kyoto and beyond. Nor were their texts reprinted to the degree of *Muchū mondōshū*. *Enzan wadei gassuishū* was printed just once in the Nanbokuchō period, then three times in the Edo period, in 1626, 1649, and during the Genroku 元禄 era (1688-1704); *Getsuan Oshō kana hōgo* appears to have been reprinted in 1646.[28]

Japan, ed. Richard K. Payne and Taigen Dan Leighton (New York: Routledge, 2008), 53. Other Sōtō *kana hōgo* that were not widely available until the Edo period include: *Kōmyōzō zanmai* 光明蔵三昧, a text authored by Dōgen's heir Ejō, first published in 1766; a trio of *kana hōgo* attributed, respectively, to Keizan, Meihō Sotetsu 明峰素哲 (1277-1359), Gasan Jōseki 峨山韶碩 (1276-1366), and Kankai Sōshō 館開僧生 (?-1380), appear to have been largely unknown until their inclusion in *Eihei kaisan Dōgen Daioshō kana hōgo* 永平開山道元大和尚仮名法語, a collection of Dōgen's *kana hōgo* printed in 1657; Shiina, "Kana hōgo no tenkai," 134-141, 146-147.

25 Despite Musō's largely tolerant attitude to other approaches, including *nenbutsu* recitation, Pure Land monk Chōen objected to Musō's portrayal of the Pure Land tradition in the three-fascicle *Muchū shōfūron*. Musō offered an eighteen-point rebuttal in *Kokkyōshū* 谷響集. Kawase, "Kaisetsu," 500-501. On *Kokkyōshū*, see Kawase, "Musō Kokushi no kana hōgo (ge)—Muchū mondō to Kokkyōshū— 夢窓国師の仮名法語（下）—夢中問答と谷響集—," *Shoshi gaku* 書誌学 3 (1966): 1-9.

26 For details on Bassui and *Enzan wadei gassuishū*, see Harada, *Nihon chūsei*, 33-36.

27 Sanae, "Hōsa bunko bon," 266. Harada, *Nihon chūsei*, 34. For a study of Getsuan's teachings for female disciples in *Getsuan Oshō kana hōgo*, see Ebisawa Sanae 海老澤早苗, "Nihon chūsei ni okeru Zensō no nyonin kyōke: Getsuan Sōkō no jirei o chūshin to shite 日本中世における禅僧の女人教化：　月菴宗光の事例を中心として," *Sōtōshū kenkyūin kenkyū kiyō* 曹洞宗研究員研究紀要 46 (2016): 145-162.

28 Takeishi Akio 武石彰夫, "Zen no kana hōgo: *Enzan wadei gassuishū* 禅の仮名法語—塩山和泥合水集," *Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo kenkyū nenpō* 仏教文化研究所研究年報, *bungaku hen* 文学編 2 (1999): 4. Ebisawa, "Nihon chūsei ni okeru Zensō," 148.

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Evidencing *Muchū mondōshū*'s lasting influence, the Edo-period monk Tetsugen Dōkō 鉄眼道光 (1630-1682) of the Ōbaku school 黄檗宗 notes in the postscript to his own *kana hōgo* that only two works prior to his had dealt with the essence of Zen in "the language of Japan" (*Yamato kotoba* 大和言葉): Mujū's *Shasekishū* and the State Preceptor's *Muchū mondōshū*. He notes, "There are many other [*kana hōgo* that address Zen], but none of them are complete in their view."[29] In this way, *Muchū mondōshū* continued to enjoy a special and enduring place in the genre of sermons in *kana* on Zen for centuries after its initial publication.

2 Playing Teacher

In considering the figure of the Zen master in *Muchū mondōshū*, this study is indebted to the growing body of scholarship devoted to examining Zen masters and their myriad images.[30] As Steven Heine and Dale Wright note in the preface to their volume dedicated to the topic, Zen literature is comprised first and foremost of biographies of the masters. Once word of the special abilities of Zen masters spread, elite patrons soon sought them out. "The practice of these Zen patriarchs and the literature that valorized them created, in effect, a new kind of Buddhism and a novel image of enlightenment that held inspirational power for centuries."[31] Musō, honored seven times with the title of State Preceptor and widely memorialized for centuries after his death, exemplifies this development.

It goes without saying that, as with all other such works, the question-and-answer (*mondō* 問答) format of the text, in which a student puts questions to an elite monk, serves to emphasize the authority of the respondent. With its three books comprised of a lengthy ninety-three questions and answers covering a whole host of topics, *Muchū mondōshū* in its very organization attests to

29 *Tetsugen Dōkō kanaji hōgo, keen no sho* 鉄眼道光 仮字法語・化縁之疏, ed. Minamoto Ryōen 源了圓, vol. 10 of *Zen nyūmon* 禅入門 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994), 134.

30 See Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) and *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). For other important recent studies on Chan/Zen masters, see Chapter One of Natasha Heller, *Illusory Abiding: The Cultural Construction of Chan Monk Zhongfeng Mingben* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University East Asia Center, 2014), and Chapters One to Three of Mario Poceski, *The Records of Mazu and the Making of Classical Chan Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

31 "Preface" in Steven Heine and Dale Wright, eds., *Zen Masters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), Kindle edition, location 30.

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Musō's awakened status, a position that is further strengthened by the fact that he had already been named State Preceptor at the time of the work's first printing. As Bernard Faure has noted, "[Chan/Zen masters] are not masters because they have realized the truth and can now teach it (although, of course, this may be the case); rather, they can teach the truth because, having been socially defined as Chan masters, what they teach has the performative power of being the truth."[32] Thus, the very fact that Musō had been "socially defined" as State Preceptor further invested the text with legitimacy.[33]

Likewise, the identity of the work's interlocutor, Ashikaga Tadayoshi, no doubt also served to elevate Musō's status and in turn lend legitimacy to his teachings. In contrast to other roughly contemporaneous *kana hōgo*, such as *Enzan wadei gassuishū* and *Getsuan Oshō kana hōgo*, which feature unidentified interlocutors or interlocutors of local renown, Tadayoshi was one of the most powerful figures in Japan at that time, and Musō's authority is enhanced through close proximity to him. The text nevertheless clearly presents the two in hierarchical relationship, with the State Preceptor instructing his student Tadayoshi in the finer points of Buddhism.[34] Musō also displays a clear moral authority over Tadayoshi in the text, at one point boldly chiding his patron for the numerous sins he committed in the battles that resulted in his rise to power.[35]

Apart from the format of the work, the content repeatedly stresses Musō's realization as it imparts a variety of teachings upon the reader. This is perhaps most clearly demonstrated through several first-person anecdotes included in the text.[36] Intriguingly, a similar strategem is also employed by influential Song dynasty Chan master, Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (J. Daie Sōkō, 1089-1163), another figure whom Musō greatly revered. Miriam Levering has shown that Dahui's image as Zen master derived in large part from his noteworthy inclusion

32 Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, 22.

33 Nishiyama suggests that *Muchū mondōshū* was produced in order to establish Zen as the state religion and, in doing so, to present Musō as the State Preceptor and the text itself as the authoritative text of that state religion. Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 193.

34 While Tamamura and others see Tadayoshi's questions in *Muchū mondōshū* as specifically designed to identify flaws in Musō's teachings, Harada has recently argued that *Muchū mondōshū* is not a critique of Musō by Tadayoshi but instead evidences his study of Zen under Musō. Harada, "Ashikaga shōgun," 335-336. For prior interpretations, see Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 185, and Akamatsu and Yampolsky, "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System," 323.

35 *Muchū mondōshū*, 80-81. Sueki, *Kamakura Bukkyō,* 261. For a discussion of this passage, see Chapter Four.

36 For an alternative reading of the role of first-person anecdotes in *Muchū mondōshū*, see Nishiyama, *Buke seiken,* 206-218.

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of first-person anecdotes of his search for enlightenment in his biographical chronology and recorded sayings. Whether or not such use of first-person accounts was atypical in the Song, similar examples are not to be found in contemporary recorded sayings, suggesting that they were either deleted during the editing process or not included in the first place.[37] As is well known, Musō was intimately familiar with Dahui's writings and quoted from them often. His inclusion of first-person anecdotes may well have been in imitation of this master, whom he held in such high esteem.

In any case, four of the six first-person episodes contained in the text repeatedly foreground Musō's enlightenment to pedagogical ends. The first appears in Section 6, in response to Tadayoshi, who asks why the buddhas and the bodhisattvas do not help sentient beings in distress. Musō responds with a personal narrative illustrating how, although he also once wrestled with the same question, he ultimately came to understand the enigmatic nature of mercy after remembering two easily misunderstood examples of compassion. The first of these is the story of the poet-monk Saigyō 西行 (1118-1190) at Eguchi 江口. Musō prefaces that episode with a recollection:

> Thirty years ago, this doubt occurred to me. When I was dwelling alone at a place called Usuba in Jōshū 常州,[38] I was perambulating around outside my hut at the beginning of the fifth month.[39] At the time, rain had not fallen for quite a while and the paddies and fields were all desiccated… The buddhas and the bodhisattvas should have rain-making virtues that exceed those of the serpent kings[40] and feelings of compassion deeper than our human sentiments. Nevertheless, they do not provide aid in such times of calamity. Why? … These were the kinds of uncertainties that came to mind. However, because they were unrelated to the Great Matter of awakening, I set these issues aside and did not think about them. After one or two months passed, I had a kind of recollection.

37 Miriam Levering, "Dahui Zonggao (1089-1163): The Image Created by his Stories about Himself and by his Teaching Style," in Heine and Wright, *Zen Masters*, 94-95. Levering also notes the presence of first-person stories in Dahui's letters.

38 Jōshū is another name for Hitachi 常陸 province, which was located in present-day Ibaraki prefecture. Musō lived in Usuba for several months in 1305. Significantly, Usuba is also noted in his chronology as the site of his enlightenment.

39 The lunar fifth month was the time of the summer rainy season.

40 Serpent kings (*ryūō* 龍王, Sk. *nāga*) are guardian deities in Buddhism that are believed to have rain-making capabilities.

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> Long ago, when Saigyō tried to rent a room at a lodging in Eguchi and the proprietress would not allow it, he recited this poem:
>
> 世の中をいとふまでこそかたからめ仮の宿りを惜しむ君かな
>
> yo no naka o / truly it is
> itou made koso / difficult
> katakarame / to avoid the world
> kari no yadori o / and yet you will not spare me
> oshimu kimi kana / a temporary abode!
>
> The lady of the house heard this and recited:
>
> 世をいとふ人とし聞けば仮の宿に心とむなと思ふばかりぞ
>
> yo o itou / hearing that you are
> hito to shi kikeba / a person who avoids the world
> kari no yado ni / my only thought was,
> kokoro tomuna to / you should not let your heart dwell
> omou bakari zo / in a temporary abode[41]

The proprietress of the inn thus gestures to Saigyō's status as a monk, which prohibits relations with women, in justifying her refusal to admit him to her house of courtesans. To this, Musō appends the following interpretive comments: "Thus, not gaining people's sympathy nor having one's worldly desires fulfilled becomes an aid to escaping the cycle of birth and death."[42]

In order to further elucidate his point, Musō then offers a second anecdote of misconceived compassion involving a young man who initially resents his father's strict discipline:

> Long ago, there was a man in the capital who was exceptionally well learned in the secular classics. He had his son sit beside him and study. When he had to report to his post, the man used a net hung on a wooden beam to make the boy sit up by himself. He left him with books and made him read. The small boy's stepmother took pity on him and took him down and let him play once his father had gone out, but she made the boy sit as before when it was time for his father to come home. In his heart, the small boy begrudged his father's discipline and rejoiced at his stepmother's kindness to no end. When he reached adulthood, he wound

41 *Muchū mondōshū*, 37-38.
42 Ibid., 38

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> up inheriting the family trade and was appointed a controller, thanks to his daily studies. He had a great change of heart at that time. He came to think gratefully of his father's discipline, which he had once begrudged, and he resented his stepmother's sympathy, at which he had once rejoiced.[43]

Musō then comments: "When I remembered hearing this story, and it was then that I quit making my usual mistake of misunderstanding the blessings of the buddhas and bodhisattvas by thinking that there are none in the Latter Age."[44]

The process by which Musō resolved his doubts and attained insight into the nature of compassion reflects what Natasha Heller has termed the "pattern of searching," a prominent motif of Zen biography wherein a monk seeks answers before personally attaining insight or enlightenment.[45] Having resolved his doubts in the story and thereby evidencing his understanding, Musō's perspective in the rest of the section is very much that of a master, as he engages in a lengthy and detailed explanation of why some prayers go unanswered and a description of the Buddha's abilities—and limits.

Other first-person episodes in the text similarly feature Musō applying his enlightened understanding for the benefit of readers. In Section 76, Musō illustrates the principle of the "separate transmission outside the teachings" by recounting an outing with a group of monks to the scenic West Lake, near Mount Fuji. Struck by the beauty of the surroundings, Musō and his monk companions hire a local fisherman to take them out on the lake. When the monks cry out in delight at the scenery, the fisherman puzzles over their joy in beholding a sight that he sees daily and thus regards as nothing special. Musō, assuming the role of instructor, then explains to the monks the impossibility of conveying their enthusiasm to the fisherman:

> I told the monks, "If we tried to convey to the old man that which captures our interest, how might we do so? If we gestured to the landscape, and said 'What we're enjoying is that place over there,' the old man would likely say, 'That's an area that I have been looking at for years. It's not rare at all.' If in trying to remedy this error, we said that we have different tastes from him, he would probably take issue with our way of thinking, maintaining that there are other famous places that far surpass West Lake.[46]

43 Ibid., 38-39.
44 Ibid., 39.
45 Heller also includes in her definition interactions with others that help the monk arrive at enlightenment. Heller, *Illusory Abiding*, 75.
46 *Muchū mondōshū*, 210.

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Linking the episode back to the present explanation, Musō clarifies: "The essence of the special transmission apart from the scriptures is also like this. There is no difference from the activities of all sentient beings. There is no difference from the principles and phrases of Buddhist and non-Buddhist writings."[47]

It is important to note that Musō not only appears as teacher in the episode itself, wherein he explains to the other monks the impossibility of reaching the fisherman; his realization is also affirmed in the extended analysis of the episode for Tadayoshi's benefit. He concludes that explication in the following manner:

> In order to help people cast aside these ways of understanding, the masters changed their methods to say that the profound principle is not in the Buddhist and non-Buddhist approaches and that all activities of sentient beings are delusion. When ignorant people hear this, they search for the profound principle outside of ordinary matters and seek out the special transmission apart from the Buddhist and non-Buddhist writings. This is akin to the old fisherman looking for a famous place apart from West Lake. The way in which the monks differ from the old fisherman is that their way of seeing is not dependent on the superiority or inferiority of mountains, trees, water, and rocks. It is the difference between knowing and not knowing pure joy in these things. This kind of pure joy cannot be taught to people. It is not something that can be teased out and shown to people. It is known naturally when it resounds in one's mind. The stage of the Original Ground is also like this. When one directly reaches this stage, one knows it for oneself for the first time.[48]

In this way, the story of Musō's encounter with the old fisherman serves to explicate the principle of conventional understanding versus enlightened realization. The impossibility of conveying the monks' delight to the fisherman thus serves not only to illustrate the gap between these two views but also the gap in understanding between Musō and the monks he addresses, as well as the gap between Musō and the reader. In closing, Musō posits that the original state is not something that can be taken out and held up to show people, although it is perfectly inherent in all. It is for this reason, he says, that the ancients at times affirmed or denied everything. He goes on to reject critique of Zen or the scriptures as the activities of those who have yet to realize the profound essence of the patriarchs.

47 Ibid.
48 Ibid., 210-211

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Musō's insight is also applied in two other episodes found in Section 41, both of which feature Musō schooling other monks. In this section, Tadayoshi asks Musō how to address the problem of worldly emotions that disrupt practice, to which Musō replies that this problem exists only within the mind. He offers two anecdotes about his experiences in counseling monks dealing with problematic worldly emotions. In the first episode, a monk given to fighting approaches him and asks for help in remedying his pugnacity. Musō advises the troubled monk in this way:

> I said, "When you know how to fight well, then the thought of fighting will not arise. I will tell you how. Those who know how to fight well first set their sights on the enemy commander and do not consider the ranks of soldiers. When they take out the commander, the ranks of soldiers are automatically eliminated. Among those enemies who go against your will, which of them should you set your sights on as the commander? Even if criticized and attacked by others, one won't fall into hell because of it. It is the momentary anger that arises in the face of such bad conditions that will incinerate the virtuous actions cultivated over countless eons and send one to hell in the end. Because it is so, the great commander who suffers losses does not do so because of others but only because of his own mind. When thoughts of fighting arise, one should first turn one's attention to this thought and then remove it." The monk heard this and left shedding tears. After that he changed and became a docile monk.[49]

Musō thus demonstrates a knowing command of the workings of aggression, and his possession of the cure for this harmful habit is demonstrated when the man he counsels weeps in realization and transforms into an amiable monk.

Later in the same section, a second episode further illustrates Musō's keen insight into the workings of the mind, which he again applies to help another monk:

> That small temple did not have a bathhouse at that time. We bathed by going to a nearby temple of the scriptures. The ladle of that bathhouse was a bamboo pipe of five *sun* 寸[50] that was made to scoop up water in both directions at the joint. This was done to prevent a large amount of water from being drawn up. One fellow monk had bad thoughts come to mind every time he saw this ladle, and he spoke ill of the abbot of that

49 *Muchū mondōshū*, 128.

50 Five *sun* measures roughly fifteen centimeters.

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> temple of the scriptures, calling him small-hearted. I said, "In the first place, all phenomena lack aspects such as large and small. Size is in people's minds. For this reason, when inconceivable liberation is manifested in bodhi, the delusion (*mōjō* 妄情) of size is forgotten, and although Mount Sumeru[51] is contained in a poppy seed, the poppy seed is not large, and Mount Sumeru is not small. Although Vimalakīrti's room was just ten square feet, thirty-two thousand daises occupying eighty-four thousand leagues were contained within it.[52] If you do not maintain conditions of size in your mind, then that bamboo pipe can scoop up a great sea. In that case, then, the abbot's heart is not small, it is your heart that is small. Because I also have not attained inconceivable liberation, I see features of size, yet because I trust in this principle, bad thoughts do not arise for me as they have in your case." After the monk heard this, he said no more bad thoughts came to mind when he looked at the ladle.[53]

Although Musō humbly confesses to the monk that he has not reached "inconceivable liberation"—one of the few places in the text where he makes such a concession—his superior level of realization nonetheless allows him to maintain that size exists only within the mind. At the same time, it is this awareness that effectively serves to liberate the junior monk. As in the fisherman episode, Musō's insight is doubly affirmed in his subsequent analysis. Likening the size of the ladle to other aspects of the secular world, including longevity, wealth, and standing, he advises the reader that liberation from worldly emotion can be attained by casting aside the mind that weighs and discerns these insubstantial features.[54]

In this way, many of the first-person episodes of *Muchū mondōshū* feature Musō demonstrating and applying his insight, in turn affirming his status as master. It is not only through the anecdotes themselves, which stress realization and insight, but also in their analysis that Musō evinces and embodies an enlightened viewpoint befitting a master. Solving the problem of anger and dispelling delusions of greed plaguing his monastic counterparts, Musō clearly

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51 Mount Sumeru 須弥山 (J. Shumisen) is the mountain at the center of the Buddhist cosmos.

52 A reference to Chapter 6 of the *Vimalakīrti nirdeśa sūtra* (J. *Yuimakyō* 維摩経), where Vimalakīrti explains: "For a bodhisattva residing in this emancipation, the vastness of [Mount] Sumeru can be placed within a mustard seed without [either of them] increasing in size." John R. McRae, trans., "The Vimalakīrti Sūtra," in *The Sutra of Queen Śrīmālā of the Lion's Roar/The Vimalakīrti Sūtra* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2004), 134. *Vimalakīrti nirdeśa sūtra* T 475 14: 546b24-29.

53 *Muchū mondōshū*, 128-129.

54 Ibid., 129-130.

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evidences his credentials as master as he imparts a powerful brand of insight capable of remedying even the most stubborn of worldly afflictions.

3 A License to Critique

Elsewhere, Musō's assumption of the role of Zen master proves indispensible to his construction of highly nuanced critiques of contemporary Buddhism. So delicate is Musō's critique that many previous scholars have viewed *Muchū mondōshū* only as a text of reconciliation aimed at unifying Zen and the teachings (*kyōzen itchi* 教禅一致).[55] While Musō does indeed harmonize his brand of Zen with other Buddhist traditions in the text, he nonetheless unleashes a pointed critique of his main rivals—including other Zen monks—that rests on repeated appeals to the preeminence of insight.

Musō was hardly alone in criticizing contemporaries as lacking in insight, for Zen literature is populated by countless examples of just that. In his discussion of references to other Zen masters in the works of Dōgen, Steven Heine has explored Dōgen's critique of both Linji and Caodong (J. Sōtō) Chan masters during the period after his move away from Kyoto. In particular, he examines how Dōgen stresses his ties to Caodong patriarchs, including Hongzhi Zhengjue 宏智正覚 (J. Kōchi Shōgaku, 1091-1157), while critiquing these same figures at other times. He explains that this move was intended, in part, to elevate Dōgen's own line over rival Zen lines descended from Linji that were active in Japan at that time.[56] Dōgen was also well known for his criticism of other practices, having likened constant *nenbutsu* recitation to incessant frog-croaking, dismissed monks who study the scriptures as lacking in understanding, and characterized enlightenment as the exclusive purview of Zen.[57]

55 For discussions of the text's tolerant attitudes to other Buddhist approaches, see: Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 132-133, 137-138; Funaoka Makoto 船岡誠, "Nihon Zenshūshi ni okeru Musō Soseki no ichi 日本禅宗史における夢窓疎石の位置," in *Muromachi jidai* 室町時代, ed. Yamamoto Seiki 山本世紀, vol. 5 of *Ronshū Nihon Bukkyōshi* 論集日本仏教史 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1986), 100-105; and Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 185-187.

56 Steven Heine, "Dōgen, Zen Master, Zen Disciple: Transmitter or Transgressor?" in Heine and Wright, *Zen Masters*, 117-146.

57 Hee-Jin Kim, *Dōgen: Mystical realist*, revised edition (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2004), Kindle edition, 45-46. Both comments are found in "Bendōwa 弁道話," in vol. 1 of *Dōgen Zenji zenshū* 道元禅師全集, ed. Ōkubo Dōsen 大久保道舟 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969), 734-735, 738.

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In contrast, Musō's critique in *Muchū mondōshū* proceeds along much different lines, as he adopts an attitude that is at once conciliatory and critical. Throughout the work, Musō faults contemporary Shingon and Zen monks whose aims run counter to the essence of Buddhism as he sees it: the goal of enlightenment and the liberation of all sentient beings. This is first apparent in Section 15, when Tadayoshi mentions Shingon's use of empowerment rituals (*kaji* 加持) to benefit beings and asks why Zen is at times criticized for not employing such methods.

Exhibiting his famously tolerant style, Musō acknowledges the value of such rituals in aiding beings of limited understanding, while noting that such methods are unnecessary upon realization of the original state as promised by Zen.[58] While conceding the utility of empowerment rituals in helping to orient the ignorant, Musō is clear that there is a difference between the ancient and current practices of these rites:

> Although in recent generations, belief in Shingon has not ceased, it is rare that people want to fully understand their most precious and profound meanings by turning to the true method of empowerment to realize the principle of becoming a buddha in the present body (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成仏).[59] Because prayers are offered solely for worldly purposes, high-ranking monks of the esoteric school, looking to carry on their tradition, perform grand rites and secret rituals to serve the high and mighty, while realizing it is not the original intent of their school. Also, there are Shingon ritualists who do not know the profound meanings in the esoteric school, say prayers for patrons and serve the high and mighty to garner fame and profit for themselves, while thinking that is the point of performing ritual. Because of this, the esoteric school is slowly being cast aside and is no different from the Way of yin-yang diviners. Prudent Shingon teachers of the present are deeply saddened by this. At the same time, because the esoteric school uses these kinds of skillful means, there are still ways in which they offer a little bit of benefit, even in the current state of things.[60]

Here, Musō takes issue not with the approach of Shingon, but with its current state. He identifies three groups of current Shingon adherents: those few who

58 Sueki cites this section as one instance of Musō's privileging of Zen in the text. Sueki, *Kamakura Bukkyō*, 262-263.

59 The central aim of the Shingon sect as taught by the school's Japanese founder, Kūkai 空海 (774-835).

60 *Muchū mondōshū*, 68-69.

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are committed to its fundamental goal of Buddhahood in the present body; those who commit themselves to the performance of rituals while fully recognizing that such activities deviate from Shingon's fundamental aims; and a separate class that pursues fame while unaware of the profound purpose of the rituals they perform. Importantly, Musō stresses that the first class has become rare, thus creating the impression that Shingon is at present populated by practitioners of the second and third categories. As Thomas Donald Conlan has pointed out, this passage very likely targeted prominent Shingon contemporaries, such as Kenshun 賢俊 (1299-1357), who was responsible for performing rituals for the *bakufu*, and, as such, was among Musō's prime competitors.[61] The passage does indeed seem to have inspired a rebuttal in *Kaishinshō* 開心抄 (1349) by Gōhō 杲宝 (1306-1362), a Shingon monk who worked to restore Tōji to its former glory after its eclipse by competing Shingon lineages at Daigoji 醍醐寺 and Ninnaji 仁和寺. As Chiba Tadashi 千葉正 has demonstrated, Gōhō, in apparent reply to this very section, specifically sought to demonstrate the utility of Shingon rites in state protection.[62] Indeed, as Conlan and Chiba suggest, Musō's subtle elevation of Zen and negative evaluation of contemporary Shingon very likely served as an attempt to neutralize some of his closest Shingon competitors.

When it comes to worldly prayers, Musō's attack is not limited to the Shingon school, for—in the very same section—he turns his attention toward similar practices found among some of his compatriots in Zen. Such critique is unsurprising, given that monks like Musō faced competition not only from counterparts in the *kenmitsu* establishments but also from other Zen lines.[63] In this way, Musō, who was well known as a strict temple administrator and per-

61 Thomas Donald Conlan, *State of War: The Violent Order of fourteenth-century Japan* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003), 186.

62 In *Kaishinshō*, Gōhō emphasizes that Zen falls within the category of exoteric Buddhism, and, as such, is not a separate tradition. He also disputes Musō's portrayal of esoteric rites in *Muchū mondōshū*, including the charge that the Shingon school engages in worldly prayers in contrast to Zen, which is concerned with liberation from this world. Harada, *Chūsei Nihon no Zenshū*, 351-352. Chiba Tadashi 千葉正, "Gōhō no Zenshū hihan saikō 杲宝の禅宗批判再考," *Komazawa Daigaku Daigakuin Bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai* 駒沢大学大学院仏教学研究会 30 (1997): 16, 22.

63 Tamamura devotes considerable attention to the issue of competition between rival Zen lines in his *Rinzaishū shi.* On the competition faced by the Musō line, see especially Chapters 5 and 6 of Tamamura Takeji, *Rinzaishū shi* 臨済宗史 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1991). On legitimizing the Musō line in the face of competition from rival Zen lines in the generations after Musō, see Harada, "Nanbokuchō," 65-96. On Kokan Shiren's 虎関師錬 (1278-1346) attempt to elevate the Shōichi line over rival factions in *Genkō Shakusho* 元亨釈書 (1322), see Kikuchi, "Kamakura Bukkyō to Zen," 232-233.

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sonal religious guide to the elite, offers a prescription for a proper style of Buddhist practice that can protect the state.

Musō begins by lionizing the past, idealizing the situation two generations prior when monks such as Lanxi Daolong, who founded Kenchōji at the request of Hōjō Tokiyori, and his own dharma-grandfather Wuxue Zuyuan were active. Noting regent Hōjō Tokimune's devotion to the study of the dharma under Wuxue even in the face of the second Mongol attack in 1281, Musō suggests that Japan was saved because of Tokimune's proper promotion of the Zen school, incidentally providing interlocutor Tadayoshi with a model for official support for Zen that includes patronage of monastic communities engaging in seated meditation, in addition to personal pursuit of Zen teachings and practices. Turning his attention to his contemporaries in Zen, however, Musō discovers a situation of grave decline:

> After these two generations, reverence for the dharma has continued. Yet believing worldly matters to be important and taking the Buddhist teachings lightly, patrons order Zen temples to pray, even for mundane matters that are not very important. Temples immediately arrange for prayer tablets to be put out, assemble monks to read sutras, recite dharani, and with this, regress in their practice of seated meditation. Each has a patron and various prayers are ordered. Those monks are also people who think of their own fame and fortune and pray for these matters as though they are important, thus forgetting the single most important thing. Is this not a cause of Zen's ruination?[64]

Musō thus praises earlier generations for their promotion of seated meditation, while chiding contemporaries who perform rituals aimed at worldly benefit.

Elsewhere, Musō draws a number of unfavorable comparisons between the monks of old and their present-day counterparts. Notably, as he does throughout the work, Musō acknowledges the differences between Zen and the scripture-based approaches but notes that the present proponents of these schools are similar in their inferiority to the ancient masters of their traditions.[65] He reserves special disdain for "those who call themselves Zen masters," that is, those who teach the words of the ancients but lack their self-possession.[66]

64 *Muchū mondōshū*, 69-70.
65 Section 29, ibid., 118-121.
66 Section 30, ibid., 105,106.

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There is evidence to suggest that Musō's portrayal of his contemporaries as lesser than their predecessors may, in fact, have been part of a larger strategy to invalidate the claims of his most stringent critics and fiercest rivals, particularly those active in Zen. Consider, for example, the following passage from Section 27. Here, Musō addresses the topic of wisdom and encourages readers to seek enlightenment for themselves without becoming dependent on any given means to reach realization, including those used in Zen. He explains:

> Among those who study Zen, there are people who think that using the words of the founders as a raft is better than using the raft provided by teachers of the scriptures, thus giving rise to a prideful heart. Even when people are riding on a largely superior raft, if they play around, thinking that they are in the place of ultimate peace, they become attached to this shore and pass their whole lives in vain. Although this is better than those who don't even attend to the raft, it is the same as not reaching the other shore but only floating in vain on the river's current.[67]

Here, Musō extends his critique to Zen adherents who disparage the approach of the scriptures, likely in a rebuff of those who take umbrage at his use of the scriptures to teach Zen, a major concern of the third book of *Muchū mondōshū*, as we shall see.

Musō presents contemporaries who advocate only Zen methods as, in fact, ensnared in attachment, while subtly suggesting that a more varied pedagogy reflects realization. This gesture is echoed in the third book, when Musō repeatedly suggests that some rival interpretations of Zen are rooted in delusion. For example, in a discussion of Pure Land practice, he first attacks contemporary Pure Land *nenbutsu* practitioners for their dualistic views, before then attacking Zen adherents who denigrate that very tradition (Sections 82-85):[68]

> These days, among those who believe in the Zen school, there are those who regard the teaching of the *nenbutsu* as part of the lesser vehicle.[69] Taking *nenbutsu* adherents for fools, they separate themselves from this tradition entirely. This is because they also do not know that each person is fully endowed with the essence of the patriarchs.[70]

67 Ibid., 102.

68 On Musō's Pure Land critique, see also Ogisu Jundō, "Musō Kokushi no Jōdokyō hihan 夢窓国師の浄土教批判," *Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 12 (1980): 121-131.

69 A pejorative term usually reserved for the so-called *hīnayāna* schools, which are presented as oriented toward individual enlightenment, rather than the liberation of all sentient beings.

70 Section 84, *Muchū mondōshū*, 226-227.

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In reconciling this seeming inconsistency, Musō criticizes those Zen monks who he sees as engaged in ignorant criticism, while also making provisions for enlightened critique.

In this way, Musō's rejection of *nenbutsu* critique is only partial, for he soon introduces a legitimate form of criticism. This he defines in his subsequent discussion of *nenbutsu* and notions of "True Practice" in Section 85:

> When clear-sighted masters (*meigen no sōshi/shūshi* 明眼の宗師) criticize the *nenbutsu* school, the import is not the same as ordinary debate. It is not just the *nenbutsu* school; it is the same when they criticize the various other schools as well… Because [those lacking clear insight] do not know that there is not even a hair separating the sagely and the ordinary, they think that their views are superior or that the Buddha's teaching was inferior. It is to destroy such biases that clear-sighted people criticize them.[71]

Musō thus posits two levels of criticism: a deluded form of ordinary debate seen among some of his Zen contemporaries, and a superior brand of critique employed by the clear-sighted masters.[72] While the second type is aimed at eradicating ignorance, the first type is rooted in it. He continues:

> Only after students of the Mahāyāna have achieved the ground [of realization] and have opened the gate of skillful means should they provisionally establish right and wrong within no right and wrong and criticize people and be averse to teachings. If they discuss right and wrong when their conceptions of self and beliefs about the separate nature of phenomena are strong, they are not disciples of the Buddha. How might this conform to the true principle?[73]

71 Ibid., 228.

72 The term *meigen* 明眼 refers to eyes that are capable of clear judgement and have penetrated the dharma, while *sōshi/shūshi* 宗師 denotes a renowned teacher who has attained the essence of his/her school and who embodies learning and virtue. The term is often applied to Zen masters, as opposed to masters of the sutras (J. *kyō* 経), the vinaya (J. *ritsu* 律), and commentaries (J. *ron* 論), who were known as Hōshi 法師, Kyōshi 教師, Risshi 律師, and Ronshi 論師, respectively. See entries for "meigen" and "shūshi" in *Zengaku daijiten* 禅学大辞典, ed. Komazawa Daigakunai Zengaku Daijiten Hensanjo 駒沢大学内禅学大辞典編纂所 (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1985), 1216, 485. In Musō's uses of the term, he seems to be referring to Zen masters, although this is never made explicit, perhaps purposefully so.

73 *Muchū mondōshū*, 228.

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Musō thus affirms the critiques of the clear-sighted masters of old, and in doing so, effectively suggests that his own criticism of the *nenbutsu* reflects a similar understanding.

The reservation of legitimate critique for clear-sighted masters is made clear in Section 78, when Tadayoshi asks Musō to explain why students should refrain from criticizing others when Zen texts abound with masters engaging in praise and blame. Musō in his reply explains that these examples are skillful means. He is careful to note that, "This is not the same as making arguments based on human feelings or attachment to self."[74] In so doing, Musō raises the criticism of the enlightened—and, by extension, his own—to the level of skillful means, while reducing rival critiques to byproducts of worldly feelings and attachments to ideas of self.

4 Calling Little Jade

In *Muchū mondōshū*, Musō does not merely embody the figure of the enlightened master to pedagogical and critical effect; rather, as the discussion above suggests, he also goes to some length to define Zen masters. Nowhere is that effort more apparent than in the third book of the text, in which he offers an extended disquisition on the masters and their varied methods in a manner that foregrounds awakening. In doing so, Musō may have been attempting to respond to critics seeking to portray his instructional style as unbefitting a Zen monk. The most famous of Musō's detractors was undoubtedly rival Rinzai monk Shūhō Myōchō, who dismissed Musō's pedagogy as "not yet free of the 'net of the scriptures' (*kyōmō* 教網)," meaning that Musō relied too heavily on the scriptures in imparting Zen.[75] As we shall see, there is ample evidence to suggest that Musō had precisely this sort of critique in mind when defining Zen masters in *Muchū mondōshū*.

In Section 77, Musō introduces perhaps the most critical metaphor in all of *Muchū mondōshū*: "calling Little Jade," a trope that has been repeatedly cited as evidence of Musō's commitment to setting Zen on par with the scriptures. A closer examination of its treatment, however, strongly suggests that Musō was

74 Ibid., 214.

75 Shūhō's critique is contained in the diary of his patron Emperor Hanazono 花園天皇 (1297-1348), who was a political rival to Godaigo and Musō. See the entry for Shōchū 2 (1325), 10.2 in Murata Masashi 村田正志, vol. 3 of *Wayaku Hanazono Tennō shinki* 和訳花園天皇宸記 (Tokyo: Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1998), 171. Despite the reference to doctrinal differences, Yanagida suggests that Hanazono's objection to Musō was also a reflection of differing political affiliations. Yanagida, *Musō*, 34-36.

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attempting to reconcile the two approaches while simultaneously refashioning contemporary norms for Zen masters.

Section 77 begins with Tadayoshi asking about the differences separating the Five Houses of Zen (*Zenke no goha* 禅家の五派)[76]. As he does in his attempts to unify Zen with the established schools, Musō here affirms a single, original state of awakening common to all of them and minimizes their differences to specifics in approach. In illustration, he introduces the figure of Little Jade, whom he borrows from the writings of Yuanwu Keqin 円悟克勤 (J. Engo Kokugon, 1063-1135)[77] and/or Dahui Zonggao.[78] Both were well-known Song dynasty Chan masters whom Musō greatly revered and frequently quoted in *Muchū mondōshū* and other writings. Musō's explanation of "calling Little Jade" reads as follows:

> Long ago, there was a government official who visited Master Wuzu 五祖[79] and asked about his style of Zen. Wuzu answered, "The style of my house is not one that can be understood by the discriminating consciousness. Nevertheless, the beautiful maiden's poem says:
>
> Although I paint a picture, it is not complete.
> Deep in my bedroom, I speak my laments.
> I call Little Jade constantly.
> But there is nothing the matter in the first place
> I just want him to recognize my voice…
>
> You should be able to get a general sense of the style of my house from the meaning of this poem." This poem is the woman's composition. The gentleman was a man for whom the woman pined, and he had been corresponding with her in secret. Once, he came for some diversion to the area close by her quarters. The woman wanted to let him know that she was inside, but she was wary of rumors so she repeatedly called to Little Jade to open the screen and put down the blinds, but her intention in doing so was not at all to have Little Jade do these things. Rather, it was only that she wanted the gentleman to hear her voice and know that she was

76 The distinction of five houses or styles of Zen as used during the Southern Song dynasty. They are: Guiyang 潙仰 (J. Kigyō), Linji, Caodong, Yunmen 雲門 (J. Unmon), and Fayan 法眼 (J. Hōgen).

77 *Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu* 円悟仏果禅師語録 T 1997 47, 775a29-775b07.

78 *Dahui Pujue Chanshi zongmen wuku* 大慧普覚禅師宗門武庫 T 1998B 47: 946a27-29.

79 Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (J. Goso Hōen, ?-1104) was Yuanwu's teacher.

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> in the room. The styles of the Five Houses are also like this. They are all a means of "calling Little Jade."[80]

Although Musō invokes the analogy here only with reference to the Five Houses, he applies this metaphor ever more broadly in subsequent sections, as we shall see.

Section 79 opens with Musō declaring that, "When seen with the eyes of the Zen approach, all that was preached by the Thus Come One in his lifetime is a means of "calling Little Jade."[81] In the subsequent section, he offers an explanation for the emergence of the scriptural teachings and Zen in the generations after in a manner that takes care to put the two on the same footing:

> After the death of the Buddha, the separate approaches of Zen and scriptures appeared. In the approach of the scriptures, there are the various *kenmitsu* schools. In Zen, there are the differences among the Five Houses. The reason for this is that they used skillful means that accorded with people's various natures and desires in order to help people understand the essence of the Thus Come One's original state. The transformative teachings of the Thus Come One were handed down like so. Some people of great wisdom and high virtue became founders of the schools of the scriptures, and others became patriarchs of Zen. They offered a hand, broke through the bias of delusion, and crossed over the twin peaks of the scriptures and Zen in an attempt to help people reach the ground of the original state. Therefore, to true teachers of the scriptures, the original intention is not found within the scriptures. To clear-sighted Zen teachers, the original intention is not in Zen. Nevertheless, the fact that what is talked about by each differs is because all of it is a means of "calling Little Jade."[82]

In this way, Musō successfully reconciles the approaches of Zen and the scriptures through reference to "Little Jade," but he does not stop there. Instead, his explanation continues with an extended exegesis of the methods of the former:

> Clear-sighted teachers have no teachings stored up in their minds. They merely accord with the occasion and let their mouths move as they would

80 *Muchū mondōshū*, 212-213.
81 Ibid., 214.
82 Ibid., 217.

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> and explain things. There are no fixed methods to which they return. When a person asks about Zen, some quote Confucius, Mencius, Laozi and Zhuangzi, while some use the approaches discussed by adherents to the approach of the scriptures. Others use secular maxims to respond, and still others express what is right before their eyes. Some use the staff, some set down Buddhist verses, some hold up their fingers, and some raise a fist. These are all means used by the masters. This is all called "stirring" (*katsurō* 活弄) in Zen. There is no way to conceptualize it with a deluded mind that has not yet reached the original state.[83]

Significantly, Musō's description of the instructional methods of Zen masters focuses not on their compatibility with the scriptural traditions but instead on their variety. That variety encompasses methods traditionally associated with Zen, such as using the stick or composing Buddhist verses, to less conventional approaches, like citing the Chinese classics or quoting secular proverbs. It goes without saying that the miscellaneous pedagogy celebrated here perfectly matches the varied instructional methods employed by Musō throughout *Muchū mondōshū*, with its rich tapestry of first-person anecdotes, episodes culled from Chan/Zen literature, and quotations from the scriptures, *waka* poems, and the Chinese classics.

It is no coincidence that Musō's final deployment of the "calling Little Jade" metaphor appears in Section 81 in response to a simple query from Tadayoshi about the difference between teaching through reference to the scriptures (*richi* 理知) and teaching by device (*kikan* 機関).[84] This section closely parallels one found in *Seizan yawa* 西山夜話 (*Evening Talks on West Mountain*), an informal talk on Zen compiled by Shun'oku and included in Musō's recorded sayings. In that text, the interlocutor repeatedly questions Musō about the appropriateness of using principle rather than device to instruct students in Zen. This detail strongly suggests that the text also served to answer those critical of Musō's methods.[85] The Musō of that text, in turn, mounts a vigorous defense of his instructional modes that concludes in the following manner:

83 Ibid., 218. While Nishiyama suggests that one might interpret this passage as Musō flattering himself that he is also a "clear-sighted patriarch," overall she takes the perspective that Musō appears in *Muchū mondōshū* as a senior practitioner rather than a realized master. See Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 200-216.

84 A skillful method such as a *kōan* or a verse given by a Zen master to a student to help them attain enlightenment.

85 As Mercuri points out, one critical way in which *Seizan yawa* differs from *Muchū mondōshū* is that the multiple interlocutors in the former ask follow-up questions, which effectively imbues the text with a debate-like quality. Mercuri, "Musō Soseki to Shūhō Myōchō no hōben shisō," 289.

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> Once, a certain person wrote Dahui, saying, “Please give me a *kōan*.” Dahui replied, “I’ve heard that you regularly read the *Sutra on Perfect Enlightenment*.[86] The *kōan* I give you is inside there.” The *kōan* that Dahui regularly gave were Mount Sumeru, dried excrement, Zhaozhou’s “mu” and so on. “Please read a sutra”—where’s the *kōan* in that? If you get it, it’s not just *Perfect Enlightenment*, but the thousand sutras and ten thousand commentaries, and all mundane words—there is not one among them that is not the *kōan* of the patriarchs and the teachings of the Thus Come One. How can you say these are false words? How might you censure me, saying I have lost the style of the masters by lecturing on the sutras?[87]

Musō offers a very similar explication in *Muchū mondōshū*, indicating that that text, too, aimed to silence critics who found Musō’s explanatory style unbefitting a Zen master.

In contrast to the extended, pointed interrogation of Musō’s methods by *Seizan yawa*’s unnamed monk interlocutors, Tadayoshi in Section 81 simply asks for clarification of the two categories. Nevertheless, Musō’s rejoinder reads in some ways like a defense. He begins by dissolving the very difference between the two approaches, once again through reference to “Little Jade:”[88]

> In discussing the original state, there are no approaches that we might name as teaching by the scriptures or teaching by device. Nevertheless, when using skillful means to teach about the essence of our school, we use the term “principle” to refer to the approach of encouraging students with doctrine, and we call use of the staff, shouts, and critical phrases that do not employ reason “device.” All of these are means of “calling Little Jade.”[89]

86 The *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* or *Engakukyō* 円覚経 (C. *Yuanjuejing*) is a key sutra of the Zen school likely dating from late seventh- or early-eighth century China. It addresses the issues of ignorance and illusion as well as appropriate meditation practice for those of varying capacities. For an English translation, see Peter N. Gregory, trans., “The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment,” in *Apocryphal Scriptures* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005), 43-113 <http://www.bdk.or.jp/document/dgtl-dl/dBET_ApocryphalScriptures_2005.pdf>.

87 “Seizan yawa,” in *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 343-344.

88 Mercuri, “Musō Soseki to Shūhō Myōchō no hōben shisō,” 292.

89 *Muchū mondōshū*, 218.

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He then goes on to emphasize the diversity of methods used by Chan masters, such as the masters prior to Mazu[90] and Baizhang[91] (who he says favored principle) and Linji[92] and Deshan[93] (who he says favored device). His comments here echo a portion of Section 77, wherein he affirms the different approaches found among the Five Houses in Zen:

> For this reason, the words expressed to others in Zen are not teachings to be understood; they are a means to help students directly awaken. At times they explained principle; at other times they gave devices. Neither of these methods can be understood by the discriminating consciousness. These are called the barriers of the patriarchs.[94]

The two sections thus amply illustrate Musō's repeated attempts to juxtapose principle and device, and in doing so, present *both* as the orthodox means of the patriarchs. Section 81 also suggests that Musō was especially interested in principle:

> The Buddha preached his methods for fifty years, more than three hundred times. Nevertheless, it says in the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* that from the beginning at Deer Park to the end at Ajitavatī, the Buddha preached not one word.[95] If you understand the gist of this, which approach might be derided as principle?[96]

90 Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (Baso Dōitsu, 709-788) was a student of Nanyue Huairang 南岳懐讓 (J. Nangaku Ejō, 677-744). Mazu was an important Tang dynasty Chan master who boasted more than 130 disciples. He was associated with a style of Chan that did not utilize scriptures or contemplation of the mind.

91 Baizhang Huaihai (J. Hyakujō Ekai 百丈懷海, 720-814), a disciple of Mazu, was best known for formulating the monastic rules that governed Chinese monasteries, known as *Baizhang qinggui* (J. *Hyakujō shingi* 百丈清規).

92 Linji Yixuan 臨済義玄 (J. Rinzai Gigen, ?-866) founded the Linji (J. Rinzai) school that dominated Japanese Zen; he was known for a style emphasizing shouts and blows of the staff. He was the dharma heir of Huangbo Xiyun 黄檗希運 (J. Ōbaku Kiun, ?-856?), who was one of Baizhang's dharma heirs.

93 Deshan Xuanjian 徳山宣鑑 (J. Tokusan Senkan, 780-865). Deshan was known as an expert in the *Diamond Sutra* 金剛経 (J. *Kongōkyō*).

94 *Muchū mondōshū*, 212.

95 As Kirchner notes, this is likely a summary rather than a direct quote of *Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* 楞伽阿跋多羅宝経 T 670 16: 498c16-19. Kirchner, *Dialogues in a Dream*, 169, 232, notes 73, 56.

96 *Muchū mondōshū*, 219.

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Thus, although Tadayoshi's question expresses no preference for either approach, Musō nonetheless highlights the issue of teaching by principle.

Having drawn attention to the diversity of Zen pedagogy in general and the utility of principle in particular, Musō makes one last gesture aimed at defining Zen masters once and for all: he presents the means of Zen masters as defying all categorization:

> People who have attained liberation and freedom can turn gold into earth and earth into gold. How might one define what is in their hands as either gold or earth? The dharma gates are also like this. When a clear-sighted person takes up an approach, you may try to define it as principle or device, but you will not be correct.[97]

In thus appealing to the pedagogical indefinability of the masters, this passage strongly resembles Section 53, in which Musō stresses the ephemerality of the teachings offered by the clear-sighted masters, warning that it is not possible to seek the traces of a strike of flint or a lightning flash.[98] In doing so, he definitively dooms to failure any attempt to define the pedagogy of the masters—including that of his critics.

Interestingly, Musō's insistence on the elusive means of the Zen master echoes a passage found in a 1324 biography of Zhongfeng Mingben written by his disciple Zushun 祖順 (n.d.) and appended to his writings. Zushun refers to the varied methods of the master before finally summing up the master as impossible to record.[99] As noted above, Musō was an ardent admirer of Mingben, whose fame had made its way to Japan even during his lifetime. Like his continental counterpart, Musō seems to have preferred solitude to guiding eager students and serving in the illustrious positions to which imperial and aristocratic patrons appointed him.[100] Given Musō's clear reverence for and emulation of Mingben, it is at the very least possible, if not likely, that Musō had Mingben in mind in imagining the pedagogy of Zen masters as indefinable.[101]

97 Ibid., 219-220.

98 Ibid., 154.

99 Heller, *Illusory Abiding*, 28, 66-67. *Tianmu Zhongfeng Heshang guanglu* 天目中峯和尚廣録, vol. 8 (Kyoto: Murakami Heirakuji, 1643), <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2559877>, panel 69. On Musō and Zhongfeng, see Yanagida, *Musō*, 91-94.

100 On the themes of eremitism and eminence in biographical and autobiographical treatments of Mingben, see Heller, *Illusory Abiding*, 25-86. According to an entry in Musō's chronological biography, Musō even appears to have sent Mingben a poem in 1317, at which the master is said to have rejoiced and offered high praise. Yanagida, *Musō*, 92; "Nenpu," 299.

101 Yanagida has likewise detected Mingben's influence in Musō's rules for his monastic community, *Rinsen kakun*, which he says echoes Mingben's *Huanzhu jiaxun* 幻住家訓

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In any event, the import of Musō's pronouncements is clear. In emphasizing the diversity of the means employed by Zen masters, defending use of principle, and frustrating any attempt to classify the pedagogy of the enlightened, Musō—speaking in his capacity as master—offers a theoretical affirmation of his varied instructional methods while subtly suggesting that any preference for device over principle, such as that espoused by his critics, is reflective only of ignorance.

5 Conclusion

As *Muchū mondōshū* nears its end, the reader is thus left with little doubt about Musō's enlightened status. Nevertheless, it is not until the penultimate section that Musō directly, if humbly, affirms himself as among the few suited to providing guidance in his time. While emphasizing that the proper teachings are delivered interpersonally, Musō notes the ignorance and misunderstandings widespread among contemporary Buddhist practitioners, particularly those aspiring to practice Zen. He thus explains his activities as follows, once again affirming his use of the scriptures:

> The people of the past began their study in the Zen school after having extensively surveyed the classics, both sacred and secular. For this reason, none fell into wrong views of what they understood. Among those with faith in Zen in the latter age, there are people who still cannot discern even the principle of karma and do not know the difference between reality and delusion. If those sorts of people are not half-hearted in their aspiration to the Way and directly investigate their original state at all times, they are better than people with incomplete knowledge, even if they do not know or understand many things. When we look at the world, the practice of seated meditation is not meticulous. People do not heed the sutras, the commentaries, or the Buddha's teachings. There are some people who, when seated in meditation, come to understand the heterodox second vehicle, and they think that they have attained the dharma

(J. *Genjū kakun*), and his informal dharma talk *Seizan yawa*, which contains a categorization of three types of students that resembles a tripartite grouping found in Mingben's *Shanfang yehua* 山房夜話 (J. *Sanbō yawa*). Yanagida, *Musō*, 92. On *Shanfang yehua*, see Heller, 237, 271, 302. Copies of Mingben's extensive record, which includes the above mentioned biography, did indeed circulate in Japan during Musō's lifetime, and prior to the printing of *Muchū mondōshū*, making it at least possible that Musō sought to model himself on Mingben.

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> because they have obtained wisdom while seated in meditation. Others naturally understand the doctrine of what was discussed by scripturalists and think that because they are Zen monks, what they understood is also the original gist of Zen. As for me, my usual lecturing on the sutras and the commentaries is in order to put an end to such ills of the present time. In terms of writing and reasoning, even when the doctrine of cause and effect, reality and delusion are discussed in detail, there are few people who have an understanding of the teachings like this fool. They listen to all the different teachings, praising some and criticizing others. This fool does not join them in doing so.[102]

In this way, Musō's final critique confirms his depth of realization and affirms his chosen modes of pedagogy. Even after having thus vouched for himself, Musō maintains his characteristically humble pose, acquiescing to publication only after reiterating that the true teachings cannot be found in words.

Finally, it must be noted that the text's image of Musō as Zen master is not merely the product of the intricate process detailed above. Rather, this endeavor is bolstered by two postscripts penned by the monk and Ashikaga intimate Zhuxian Fanxian.[103] As both the abbot of the highest-ranking Gozan Zen temple Nanzenji and, perhaps even more prestigiously, a Chinese monk, Zhuxian Fanxian's afterwords lent much-needed standing to the text.[104] At the same time, since Fanxian by his own admission was unable to read the Japanese language text, it is the State Preceptor whom he extolls at length.[105] In doing so, he directly affirms the enlightened image of Musō that is apparent throughout the text.

With its repeated publications, unparalleled among other *kana hōgo* on Zen, *Muchū mondōshū* was undoubtedly one reason for Musō's continued prestige across the centuries. In addition to explaining and promoting Zen for a general audience, the text also depicts Musō as master. Apart from the most obvious effect of disseminating and legitimizing Musō's particular teachings, this gesture served two other distinct purposes. First, it allowed Musō to

102 *Muchū mondōshū*, 244-245.

103 Zhuxian Fanxian first came to Japan in 1329 and was patronized by the Hōjō before subsequently receiving support from the Ashikaga. He held abbotships at several Gozan temples in both Kamakura and Kyoto, including Kenchōji and Nanzenji. He wrote the first postscript at the request of Kosen Ingen 古先印元 (1295-1374), a Zen monk with close ties to the Ashikaga. Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 174.

104 Ibid., 188.

105 Nishimura Eshin 西村恵信, *Musō Kokushi* Muchū mondōshū *o yomu* (*jō*) 夢窓国師『夢問答集』をよむ（上）(Tokyo: NHK Shuppan, 2012), 25.

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criticize Buddhist contemporaries of all stripes—including those affiliated with Zen—while simultaneously affirming and appropriating the very traditions with which these rivals were affiliated. Second, it allowed him to refashion norms for Zen masters at a time when his own modes were under attack.

In promoting Zen in a manner unseen in most earlier works, *Muchū mondōshū* evidences the growing power of Zen as an institution in elite circles at that time. No longer a supplement to the *kenmitsu* system, Zen was coming into its own as a rival establishment—a development that is duly reflected in Musō's rhetorical privileging of Zen in the text. At the same time, Musō's highly nuanced take on the tradition reflects not only the strength of its *kenmitsu* (and other) adversaries; it also reveals the kinds of sub-rivalries that existed within the Zen tradition. These concerns are perhaps most clearly evident in Muso's self-definition as master in *Muchū mondōshū*.[106]

106 On Zen's growth as an institution, see references in note 15 of Introduction. On competition between Zen lines, see references in note 63 of this chapter.

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CHAPTER 2

Beneath the Ice: Musō Soseki and the *Waka* Tradition

115 なくかものかづくこほりのしたまでもげにはかはらぬ冬の夜の月

naku kamo no	there—
kazuku kōri no	beneath the ice,
shita made mo	where crying ducks dive
ge ni wa kawaranu	it has not changed:
fuyu no yo no tsuki	the moon on a winter's night

In this poem from his personal *waka* anthology, Musō Soseki uses the moon to allude to the unchanging nature of enlightenment that shines brightly, no matter if hidden. The same might well be said of that anthology, *Shōgaku Kokushishū* 正覚国師集 (also known as *Shōgaku Kokushi goei* 正覚国師御詠; hereafter, *SKS*), an important collection that has yet to receive extended consideration in the context of the *waka* tradition.

Despite its relatively small size at just 122 verses, *SKS* is nonetheless the largest collection of early *waka* written by a prominent Zen monk. Although Edo-period monks like Takuan Sōhō 沢庵宗彭 (1573-1645) and Hakuin Ekaku 白隠慧鶴 (1685-1768) are known for having composed *waka* and many examples date from late Muromachi and Edo-period texts on Zen, considerably fewer verses are attributed to medieval Zen monks. This is unsurprising, considering that most poet-monks in the Zen tradition tended to compose mainly in Sino-Japanese in the generations after Musō for social, political, and diplomatic reasons. There were, of course, poets by trade who were also Zen monks, the most famous and prolific of whom was undoubtedly Shōtetsu 正徹 (1381-1459), whose personal anthology, *Sōkonshū* 草根集, numbers more than 11,000 verses. Shōtetsu, however, was an exception, for although tonsured in a Rinzai lineage, he made his living primarily as a poet; he thus composed *waka* under very different circumstances from figures like Musō, who made a living primarily as temple administrators and/or ritualists.[1] Apart from Musō, other medieval Zen

* Several paragraphs of the chapter and two translations are reprinted from Molly Vallor, "Waka and Zen in Medieval Japan," Religion Compass 10 (2016): 101-117 <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/rec3.12196/full>.

1 I am indebted to Steven D. Carter for pointing out this crucial difference. See also Steven D.

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monks believed to have composed *waka* in addition to poetry in Sino-Japanese (*kanshi* 漢詩) include: Musō's master Kōhō Kennichi, whose personal *waka* anthology contains around thirty verses; and the well-known examples of Japanese Sōtō school founder Dōgen and Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394-1481).[2]

As is evident in the poems of *SKS*, Musō, like his master Kōhō, used the medium of *waka* variously to affirm ties to prominent supporters, as a form of social communication, and, perhaps most notably, to instruct students. In that sense, Musō's collection is representative of a trend toward pedagogy evident to a lesser extent in contemporary poets like Kōhō and Taa Shinkyō 他阿真教 (1237-1319), regarded as the second patriarch of the Ji lineage 時衆.[3] At the same time, the instructional function so apparent in Musō's *waka* is noticeably absent from his Sino-Japanese poems, although the two display clear similarities in the styles and themes of many verses.[4]

SKS thus offers ample evidence of Musō's instructional use of *waka* in a variety of contexts, shedding new light on his pedagogical modes, which have long eluded scholars who have tended to focus on instructional modes more commonly associated with Zen, such as *kōan*, interviews (*sanzen* 参禅), or instruction in meditation.[5] Accordingly, the *waka* of *SKS* offer unparalleled insight into how *waka* and its aesthetics were pressed into service for the teaching and dissemination of Zen, while offering many representative examples of how Zen influenced the medieval *waka* tradition in the generations before and after Musō.

Carter, *Unforgotten Dreams: Poems by the Zen Monk Shōtetsu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), xvii-xix.

2 For a full-length study of Dōgen's *waka* and a complete English translation, see Steven Heine, *Blade of Grass: Japanese poetry and aesthetics in Dōgen Zen* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989). For an overview of *waka* and Zen in this period, see Vallor, "*Waka* and Zen in Medieval Japan."

3 Inoue Muneo 井上宗雄, "*Koka shōyō 4: dōka, kyōka to chūsei waka to* 古歌逍遥-4-道歌・狂歌と中世和歌と," *Tanka* 短歌 28, no. 12 (1981): 40-41.

4 While Musō wrote both *waka* and *kanshi* celebrating his patrons, the Ashikaga, extolling reclusion, and praising the natural scenery at his various hermitages, Musō's *kanshi* nevertheless tend to lack a clear pedagogical dimension. Unsurprisingly, Musō also tended to use *kanshi* in social exchanges with other Zen monks.

5 On the important role played by collections attributed to Musō—particularly the hundred-verse sequence discussed below—among *waka* collections disseminating Zen teachings, see Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 287. On Musō's pedagogical methods, see for example Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 143-154 and Hirata Takashi 平田高士, "Musō 夢窓," in *Zen no rekishi: Nihon* 禅の歴史—日本—, vol. 4 of *Kōza Zen* 講座禅 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1967), 233-248.

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Despite the text's clear importance, very little research has been devoted to it, save for a handful of brief but illuminating studies.[6] Thus, the significance of this collection and Musō's place in the *waka* tradition have yet to be clarified. After introducing the collection and its murky history, I will shed new light on Musō's involvement in the world of *waka* and consider for the first time his place in medieval discourse reconciling Buddhism and *waka*. In the second half of the chapter, I will turn my attention to the poems of *SKS* to offer insight into how Musō's balance of aesthetic and pedagogical concerns broke new stylistic and ideological ground in the *waka* tradition.

1 *Shōgaku Kokushishū*: An Incomplete Textual History

As the largest extant compilation of Musō's verse, *SKS* is arguably the best source for understanding Musō's poetic activities in Japanese and their reception. With detailed headnotes that render the collection a veritable poetic biography of the State Preceptor, the poems of *SKS* portray him in his various and often overlapping roles as beneficiary and teacher, hermit and religious guide, practitioner, and master.[7] The topics of the verses vary, although most convey Buddhist sentiments in the form of scriptural references and customary religious imagery, some juxtaposed with new interpretations. Most verses are attributed to Musō, but several by others are included in the form of poetic exchanges. The organization of the collection follows the standard pattern of the mainstream *waka* tradition, with roughly the first half of the collection arranged by season. This is then followed by miscellaneous poems,[8] which include *haikai* 俳諧 (unorthodox or humorous) poems, and a series of fifteen exchanges with a lay priest. Of the fifty-eight seasonal poems, thirty-eight are

6 See for example: Ōtori Kazuma 大取一馬, "Ōsaka-shi Ōmori bunko bon *Musō Kokushi goei* to sono denpon ni tsuite 大阪市大森文庫本『夢窓国師御詠』とその伝本について," *Bungakushi kenkyū* 文学史研究 16.9 (1975): 14-28; an explanation of many of Musō's *waka* in Nishino Taeko 西野妙子, *Musō: Seishō tōten* 夢窓：清霄透天 (Tokyo: Kokubunsha, 1985); Inoue, *Chūsei kadanshi no kenkyū: Nanbokuchō ki* 中世歌壇史 南北朝期 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1987), 299-301, 488-490; and Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 256-289. See also Shimauchi Keiji 島内景二, "Waka kara mita Musō Soseki no shisō 和歌から見た夢窓疎石の思想," in Kumakura and Takenuki, *Musō*, 149-183.

7 On *SKS* as a Musō biography, see Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 258, 262. I am also indebted to Professor Abe Yasurō for pointing out the biographical nature of this text.

8 Shimauchi, "Waka kara mita," 151.

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spring poems,[9] many of which were written following sermons at Saihōji and Rinsenji, two of three temples west of the capital where Musō spent most of his final years.

It is hard if not presently impossible to apprehend the textual history of *SKS*. Very little is known about the compilation of the text, although the use of honorifics in the headnotes clearly signals a third-party compiler.[10] The only information regarding this process is found in an undated copy of a manuscript containing a 1551 postscript that attributes the compilation to Kōun Myōgi 耕雲明魏, the religious name of Southern Court poet Kazan'in Nagachika 花山院長親 (?-1429), also known as Shishin Myōgi 子晋明魏.[11] A high-ranking bureaucrat, poet, and scholar of the short-lived Southern court, Nagachika took the tonsure just before the reunification of the Southern and Northern courts in 1392, at which time he returned to the capital. Kōun lived in retirement in the Higashiyama area from 1394 until 1428, when he became an intimate of *shōgun* Ashikaga Yoshimochi 足利義持 (1386-1428) and frequently took part in court poetry gatherings.[12] A Zen monk, Kōun was tonsured in the Hōtō lineage 法灯派 and dwelled for a time at the Nanzenji subtemple Zensuin 禅栖院, which might explain his interest in Muso's personal *waka* collection.[13] If he did in fact compile it, it is unclear when or how he did so. Kōun was not even twenty when Musō died and did not adopt the moniker that appears in the postscript until his tonsure in 1392. If he did assemble the collection while using that name, then he cannot have done so until at least thirty years after Musō's death.[14]

In contrast, other scholars put the compilation date much earlier to soon after Musō's death. In a compelling analysis, Kyūsojin Hitaku 久曽神昇, for ex-

9 Due to the high concentration of spring poems in *SKS*, Shimauchi calls Musō a "spring poet." Ibid., 152.

10 For this reason, Nishiyama suggests that although the poems of *SKS* are Musō's, the work itself cannot be strictly attributed to him. Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 261-262. Shimauchi has also noted that the honorifics indicate a third-person compiler. Shimauchi, "Waka kara mita," 153.

11 Inoue, *Chūsei kadanshi*, 299. Ishihara Kiyoshi 石原清志, "Musō 夢窓," in *Chūsei 3* 中世 3, vol. 5 of *Shikashū taisei* 私家集大成, ed. Wakashi Kenkyūkai 和歌史研究会 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1974), 900.

12 Steven D. Carter, *Waiting for the Wind: thirty-six poets of Japan's late medieval age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 259-260.

13 Harada, *Nihon chūsei,* 207-208. Haga Kōshirō 芳賀幸四郎, "Kokubungaku to Zenshū 国文学と禅宗," in *Chūsei Zenrin no gakumon oyobi bungaku ni kansuru kenkyū* 中世禅林の学問および文学に関する研究, vol. 3 of *Haga Kōshirō rekishi ronshū* 芳賀幸四郎歴史論集 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1981), 398-399.

14 Ōtori, "Ōsaka-shi Ōmori bunko bon," 15.

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ample, analyzed court titles used in the headnotes to suggest that the collection was assembled sometime after Musō's death in 1351 but before the Shōhei 正平 13 (1358) death of Ashikaga Takauji, who is identified as *shōgun* in the text.[15] Still other scholars accept the Kōun attribution, but hypothesize that an earlier version of the collection may have already been in circulation by that time, given that multiple Musō poems had already been included in three imperial anthologies.[16] Although the compilation of the text cannot be pinpointed, it thus appears that it was produced sometime between the mid-fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

At present, the numerous extant texts can be divided into two families: the *Tenryūji zōhan* 天龍寺蔵版 printed edition produced in Genroku 12 (1699),[17] which accounts for the majority of extant copies and can be traced to the 1551 copy purported to be of Kōun's original text; and the *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 version, derived from texts produced from printed blocks produced in Kanbun 寛文 4 (1664) and later hand copies dated Genroku 7 (1694). Both attest to the significant popularity that Musō's *waka* enjoyed in the Edo period. The Genroku 12 text contains both Kōhō's and Musō's collections, while the Kanbun 4 edition is found in a text known as *Musō Kokushi hōgo narabi ni eika* 夢窓国師法語幷詠歌 that consists of an undated sermon in *kana* attributed to Musō known as *Musō Kokushi kana hōgo* 夢窓国師仮名法語 followed by the *waka* collections of Kōhō, Musō, and his brother disciple Gennō Hongen. Musō's collection is by far the largest of the three, with Kōhō's collection, *Bukkoku Zenjishū* 仏国禅師集 (also known as *Bukkoku Zenji goei* 仏国禅師御詠), comprising twenty-eight verses and Gennō's *Buttoku Zenjishū* 仏徳禅師集 counting just three.[18]

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15 Inoue, *Chūsei kadanshi*, 384. Kyūsojin Hitaku 久曽神昇, "*Musō Kokushi goeisō* 夢窓国師御詠草," in Vol. 9 of *Gunsho kaidai* 群書解題, *Waka bu 1* 和歌部1, ed. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1986), 384.

16 Inoue Muneo, "*Musō Kokushi hyakushu* ni tsuite『夢窓国師百首』について," *Rikkyō Daigaku Nihon bungaku* 立教大学日本文学 47 (1981), 58. Chisaka Hidetoshi 千坂英俊, "Chūsei Zenka no waka ni tsuite no kenkyū 中世禅家の和歌についての研究," *Chūō Daigaku kokubun* 中央大学国文 53 (2010): 43-44. The three collections are: *Shinsenzaishū* 新千載集 (1359), *Shinshūishū* 新拾遺集 (1364), and *Shingoshūishū* 新後拾遺集 (1384).

17 My translation is based upon this text, which can be found in *Shinpen kokka taikan* 新編国歌大観. I chose this text over the *Gunsho ruijū* (GSRJ) version because it is uses the Genroku 12 text, which is in turn based on the older 1551 copy. "*Shōgaku Koshishū* 正覚国師集," in *Shinpen kokka taikan* 新編国歌大観, CD-ROM, version 2.0 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2003). All other original poems, unless otherwise noted, are also from *Shinpen kokka taikan*.

18 Ishihara, "Musō," 899-901; see also notes to *Shōgaku Kokushishū* in *Shinpen kokka taikan*, and Ōtori, "Ōsaka-shi Ōmori bunko bon," 25-27. The Edo-period printing of these texts, which included a new preface celebrating Musō and Kōhō as Buddhist poets, clearly

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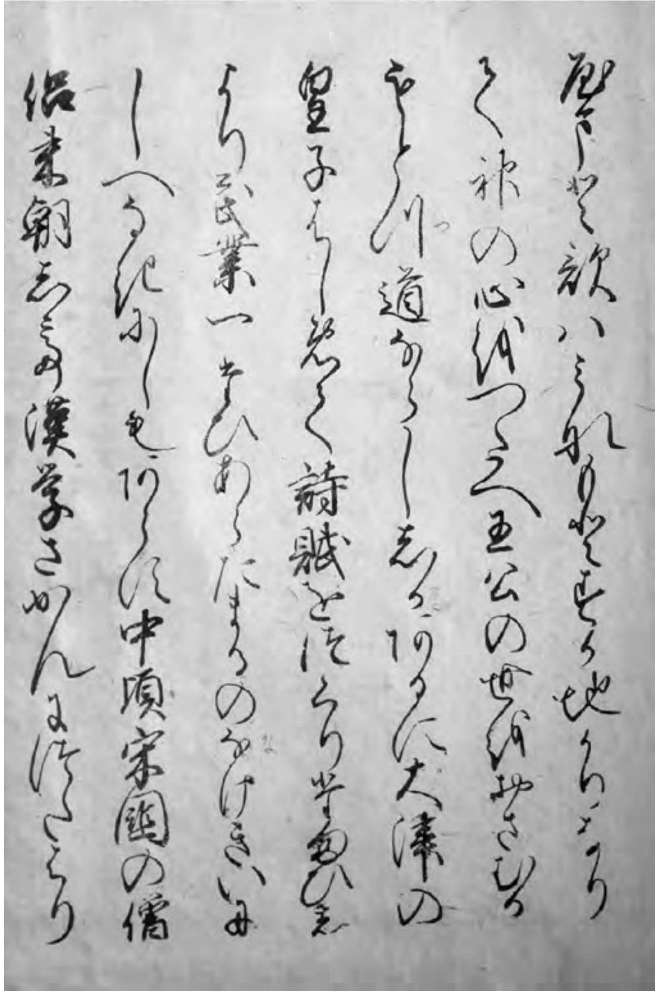

FIGURE 8
Shōgaku Kokushi goei. Undated reprint of Genroku 12 (1699) edition
Author's collection

It is important to note that although the exact provenance of *SKS* remains unclear and extant manuscripts date from quite late, scholars at present agree on the attribution of the poems in the collection to Musō, given the sizable amount of corroborating evidence. First, none of the verses are attributed to other poets elsewhere, as is often the case with more problematic collections. Second, poems attributed to Musō in the imperial anthologies also match those found in Musō's collection.[19] These include four poems in the imperial

indicates that *waka* by medieval Zen monks held special interest for early modern poets who were also Zen devotees.

19 Chisaka, "Chūsei Zenka no waka," 44.

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anthology *Fūgashū* 風雅集 (1349), which was completed during Musō's lifetime. Moreover, the postscript to the *Higashiyama-dono Saishian shōji waka* 東山殿西指庵障子和歌 (late fifteenth century) directly mentions the existence of a collection containing Musō's *waka*.[20] For these reasons, the attribution of *SKS* to Musō is currently regarded as reliable.

2 Musō and the Way of *Waka*

The poems of *Shōgaku Kokushishū* appear to have been composed by Musō during a forty-seven-year period, ending with his death at age seventy-six.[21] Although it is possible, if not likely, that he composed other verses earlier in life, Musō's earliest dated *waka* are from his time in Kamakura—a time that corresponds to the start of his association with the poet Reizei Tamesuke, an heir to one of the chief courtly poetic lineages of the time. Musō had first relocated to the eastern capital in 1299, where he studied under Yishan before seeking the guidance of Kōhō Kennichi in 1303. Kōhō was part of a very active poetic culture in Kamakura at the time, which included warriors, clerics, and courtiers—and Tamesuke.[22]

As Inoue Muneo and Tamamura Takeji suggest, it is likely through Kōhō that Musō came to know Tamesuke, who was a friend of his master.[23] Tamesuke, for his part, had become increasingly well known in Kamakura as a poet and tutor to warriors and aristocrats in the years after 1286, when he first came to the new capital to appeal for inheritance and property rights.[24] By the time Musō reached Kamakura, Tamesuke was quickly becoming the head of its most powerful poetry circles.[25]

20 See transcription in Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 295-296.

21 Nishiyama Mika, "Hōgo ni natta Musō Soseki no waka: *Musō Kokushi hyakushu* o chūshin to shite＜法語＞になった夢窓疎石の和歌『夢窓国師百首』を中心として," *Tamamo* 玉藻 31 (1996): 16.

22 For details on Tamesuke's involvement in Kamakura poetry circles, see Chapter Three of Steven D. Carter, *Householders: The Reizei family in Japanese history* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

23 Inoue, *Chūsei kadanshi*, 327-328. See also Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 158.

24 Regarding this dispute, see Paul S. Atkins, "Nijō V. Reizei: Land Rights, Litigation, and Literary Authority in Medieval Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 66, no. 2 (2006): 495-529.

25 Carter, *Householders*, 81-87, 97-98. For a discussion of the aftermath of an inheritance dispute leading to a split in the Mikohidari 御子左 house two generations after Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241), see Carter, *Householders*, 65-80.

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Extant poetic exchanges indicate that after Kōhō died Tamesuke remained in touch with Kōhō's disciples, including Musō. *SKS* thus contains the following exchange between Musō and Tamesuke, on the occasion of Tamesuke's visit to Musō's hermitage in Yokosuka, where Musō briefly resided from 1319 to 1323.

When [Musō] was living at Yokosuka in Miura in Sōshū at a place overlooking the bay he called Hakusen'an, the Middle Counselor Tamesuke came to visit him. [Musō] saw him off at his boat, reciting:

62 かりにすむいほりたづねてとふひとをあるじがほにて又おくりぬる

kari ni sumu	dwelling temporarily
iori tazunete	in this hermitage,
tou hito o	I pretend to be its owner,
arujigao nite	receiving visitors
mata okurinuru	and seeing them off again

Tamesuke:

63 とほからぬ今日の舟ぢのわかれにもうかびやすきはなみだなりけり

tōkaranu	today's voyage
kyō no funaji no	will not take me far
wakare ni mo	still, in the wake
ukabiyasuki wa	of our parting
namida narikeri	tears come easily[26]

Although Musō is described as a disciple of the Reizei house in *Ungyokushū* 雲玉集 (1514), a private *waka* anthology edited by Junsō 馴窓 (n.d.),[27] Musō would likely have viewed himself primarily as a friend to Tamesuke rather than as a "disciple" of the family in a formal sense. An account in Musō's recorded sayings mentions a ceremony and banquet for the monks (*saie* 斎会) that Musō performed for Tamesuke three years after his death, following an appearance by Tamesuke in one of Musō's dreams. It says that Tamesuke composed a verse for his "old friend" (*kyūyū* 旧友) Musō in the dream and asked for merit to be

26 This poem does not appear in the *GSRJ* manuscript of Kōhō's text.

27 See headnotes to Poem 63 in "*Ungyokushū*," in *Shinpen kokka taikan*. Citing Musō's relationship with Tamesuke and proximity to the Hōjō, who were students of the Reizei house, Ōtori, conversely, affirms the factuality of this statement. Ōtori, "Ōsaka-shi Ōmori bunko bon," 14-15.

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cultivated on his behalf.[28] Although the verse given to Musō by Tamesuke is unfortunately not to be found in extant sources, what we know of the incident is enough to show that the men were much more than mere acquaintances.

There is other evidence to suggest that Musō was not a formal student to Tamesuke. Unlike Taa, another famous student of Tamesuke, who left behind a larger *waka* collection that contains a number of poems with headnotes indicating that they were sent to Tamesuke and others for approbatory marks (*gatten* 合点),[29] no Musō poems marked by Tamesuke remain. This is not to suggest that Musō did not learn from Tamesuke's poetic teachings; in fact, Musō's poetic diction and his choice of allusions are often highly reminiscent of the style popular in Tamesuke's circle. The verses included in his private anthology suggest that Musō was intimately familiar with Tamesuke's techniques and composed in a similar style, and in that sense was engaged in the poetic discourse of the day.

Aside from what we know of Musō's association with Tamesuke, the headnotes in Musō's *waka* collection provide the most information about his *waka*-related activities. As the nature of his association with Tamesuke suggests, Musō's poetic efforts indicate an informal yet relatively intimate involvement in the world of *waka*. Some of his verses are presented as solo compositions, while others are included in pedagogical and social exchanges with his patron-students the Ashikaga brothers, the nun Kakukai Enjō (mother of the last Hōjō regent, Takatoki), Tamesuke, as well as aristocrats, members of the ruling warrior class, and other students.[30] The headnotes suggest that Musō's poetic activities often took place at temples after Buddhist services[31] or through personal correspondence; no poems are included from poetry contests (*utaawase* 歌合せ) or other formal poetry gatherings. Still, eleven of his poems—a considerable number and the greatest concentration of *waka* attributed to any single Zen monk poet—are included in imperial anthologies, and thirteen of his links were anthologized in the *renga* 連歌 (linked verse) collection *Tsukubashū* 菟玖波集 (1356).

As the *Tsukubashū* inclusions attest, Musō also composed *renga*—an activity that always assumed considerable knowledge of *renga*'s parent genre, *waka*.

28 *Musō Kokushi goroku*. 169-170.

29 See "*Niso goeishū* 二祖御詠集," in vol. 3 of *Shakkyō kaei zenshū* 釈教歌詠全集, ed. Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱, Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定, and Fukui Kyūzō 福井久蔵 (Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan, 1978), 15-98.

30 In contrast, in accordance with the contemporary Zen culture of his day, Musō tended to reserve Sino-Japanese poetry for exchanges with his fellow monks, at times also composing them for his patron-students, the Ashikaga.

31 Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 260.

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Although these are the only surviving examples of his efforts at linked verse, this is unsurprising considering that almost no full *renga* sequences are extant from this period.[32] It is probable that Musō participated in many *renga* gatherings, for in the *renga* treatise *Tsukuba mondō* 筑波問答, regent (*sesshō kanpaku* 摂政関白) and *renga* proponent Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320-1388) maintains that Musō and his master Kōhō composed *renga* "night and day" in a section of the preface that asserts the utility of linked verse to the Buddhist Way.[33] It is worth noting, then, that just as more of Musō's *renga* were likely lost, the *SKS* poems are in all likelihood a small fraction of the poems actually composed by Musō.

Waka associated with Musō can also be found in other sources, including *Musō Kokushi hyakushu* 夢窓国師百首 and *Higashiyama-dono Saishian shōji* 東山殿西指庵障子. The former is a hundred-poem sequence said to have been composed by Musō, although research by Inoue indicates that the collection, which contains only pedagogical verses, thirteen of which are elsewhere attributed to others, was compiled by a third party after Musō's death, perhaps sometime during the Muromachi period.[34] With regard to the latter, research by Nishiyama suggests that this sequence of thirty verses, some of which are not found in *SKS*, may have been used to decorate the paper screens of the Saishian residence (no longer extant) of Ashikaga Yoshimasa's Higashiyama estate.[35]

Musō is likewise associated with two dedicatory sequences (*hōrakuka* 法楽歌): *Kōyasan Kongōsanmai-in tanzaku waka* 高野山金剛三昧院短冊和歌 (1344), which contains excerpts from the *Accumulated Merits Sutra* (J. *Hōshaku-kyō* 宝積経) copied on the back by Musō, Takauji, and Tadayoshi; and *Kyōshi waka* 経旨和歌 (postscript dated 1355), a text produced after Musō's death that contains a Musō verse. The latter was produced for the benefit of Takauji's deceased daughter Tazuō 鶴王 (also Yoriko 頼子), who had passed away three years prior. According to the preface, Tazuō appeared in an unnamed person's dream to ask that one hundred *waka* expressing the essence of the Buddhist scriptures and written by high-ranking monks like the late Musō Soseki be collected in order to help her attain rebirth as a celestial.[36]

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32 I am grateful to Steven D. Carter for pointing this key detail out.

33 See Nijō Yoshimoto, *Tsukuba mondō* 筑波問答, ed. Okuda Isao 奥田勲, in *Rengaronshū nōgakuronshū haikaironshū* 連歌論集　能楽論集　俳諧論集, vol. 88 of *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新編日本古典文学大系 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2001), 26.

34 Inoue, "*Musō Kokushi hyakushu,*" 57-58.

35 Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 290-291.

36 See headnotes to "*Kyōshi waka,*" in *Shinpen kokka taikan*. For details on these dedicatory sequences, see Vallor, "Waka and Zen," 111-113.

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Waka attributed to Musō also appear in several medieval texts, including the *waka* and *renga* miscellany *Kensai zōdan* 兼載雑談 (early fifteenth century), the tale (*setsuwa* 説話) collection *Sangoku denki* 三国伝記 (early fifteenth century), and the aforementioned *Ungyokushū*.[37] Likewise, tales about Musō featuring *waka* circulated following his death, indicating his lasting association with the art.[38] In short, although extant poems suggest a more or less casual involvement with the world of *waka*, Musō's considerable representation in multiple imperial anthologies, as well as mentions in later poetic treatises and other collections, suggest that he was not a fringe figure in the mainstream poetic tradition but rather a known and celebrated participant.

3 Affirming the Arts: Musō Soseki and Buddhist Discourse on *Waka*

In addition to composing *waka*, Musō also addressed the theoretical aspects of the art, producing a reconciliation of *waka* and the Buddhist Way unprecedented in medieval discourse on the topic. To give a short overview, inspired by Tang poet Bai Juyi's 白居易 (J. Hakurakuten 白楽天, 772-846) wish that the error of his "wild words and decorated phrases" (*kyōgen kigo* 狂言綺語) be rendered into praise for Buddhism and a cause for its preaching, medieval Japanese poets of later generations sought to reconcile the two Ways of *waka* and Buddhism using a variety of rhetorical and ritual means.[39] Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114-1204) took up this problem in his influential 1197 poetic treatise *Korai fūteishō* 古来風躰抄, which rejects the characterization of *waka* composition as mere generation of *kyōgen kigo*. In doing so, Shunzei elevates *waka* by rhetorically invoking, for example, the Tendai meditative text *Mohe zhiguan*, the notion of the unity of enlightenment and delusion, and the Tendai concepts of the three truths (*santai* 三諦) of "reality as being empty, provisional and their mean,"[40] while also presenting *waka* as a link to the Buddhist Way and its promise of salvation.[41]

37 For *Kensai zōdan*, see *Shinpen kokka taikan*. For *Sangoku denki*, see *Sangoku denki* (*jō*) 三国伝記(上), ed. Ikegami Jun'ichi 池上洵一, *Chūsei no bungaku* 中世の文学 (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1976), 212-214.

38 Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 256-258.

39 Yamada Shōzen 山田昭全, *Kōkai no bungaku* 講会の文学, vol. 1 of *Yamada Shōzen chosakushū* 山田昭全著作集 (Tokyo: Ōfū, 2012), 20-26. On the origins and development of *kyōgen kigo* in Japan, see Section One of the same work.

40 Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez Jr., eds. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 767-768.

41 *Korai fūteishō* 古来風躰抄, ed. Ariyoshi Tamotsu 有吉保, in *Karonshū* 歌論集, ed. Ariyoshi Tamotsu, Hashimoto Fumio 橋本不美男, and Fujihira Haruo 藤平春男, vol. 87 of

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In addition to rhetorical justifications, ritual also played a major role in uniting the two Ways in Shunzei's time, as several recent studies have shown. For example, as Ethan David Bushelle has noted, in *Waka Mandokoro ippongyō kuyō hyōbyaku* 和歌政所一品経供養表白 (1167) the influential Tendai monk and *waka* apologist Chōken 澄憲 (1126-1203) resolves the soteriological problem posed by *waka* by invoking the bodhisattva Fugen 普賢菩薩 (Sk. Samantabhadra), who also features in the *Guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing* (J. *Kan Fugen bosatsu gyōhō kyō* 観普賢菩薩行法経),[42] a sutra that describes how to meditate on Fugen to remove negative karma. Emphasizing repentance for the sin of composing *waka*, the dedication redeems the courtly art by casting it as a dedication to the *Lotus Sutra* (J. *Hokkekyō* 法華経), while, in a key section of the concluding prayer, it quotes the *Nirvana Sutra* (J. *Nehankyō* 涅槃経) to affirm that "language, whether coarse or refined, always returns to the form of the ultimate truth."[43] A similar rationale can be found in the works of Tendai head abbot (*Tendai zasu* 天台座主) and active *waka* poet Jien 慈円 (1155-1225),[44] who justified the compatibility of the Ways in light of the same *Nirvana Sutra* quote, while also suggesting that Japanese (*wago* 和語) serves to soften the language

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Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 新編日本古典文学全集 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2002), 250-254. In addition to suggesting that *Mohe zhiguan* and *waka* both have the power to help people understand the deep essence of things, Shunzei also likens the transmission of Buddhism over the ages detailed in that text to *waka*'s transmission. For analyses of *Korai fūteishō* in English, see: William R. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 80-106, and Chapter 2 of Ethan David Bushelle, "The Joy of the Dharma: Esoteric Buddhism and the Early Medieval Transformation of Japanese Literature" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2015).

42 *Fo shuo guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing* 仏説観普賢菩薩行経 T 277 9: 389b24-394b11.

43 Bushelle, "The Joy of the Dharma," 230-247. Translation is by Bushelle. For a typeset version in Japanese, see Yanase Kazuo 簗瀬一雄, *Shun'e kenkyū* 俊恵研究, vol. 1 of *Yanase Kazuo chosakushū* 簗瀬一雄著作集 (Tokyo: Katō Chūdōkan, 1977), 253-264. More recently, Michael E. Jamentz has discussed an almost wholly unknown text known as *Tōdaiji Toshokan Fugen kōshiki* 東大寺図書館普賢講式 (mid-Kamakura) that also seeks to resolve the problem of poetry through ritual by emphasizing repentance and arguing for the unity of *waka* and the Buddhist Way. Jamentz provides evidence to suggest that the work may have been produced by Chōken himself. See Michael E. Jamentz, "The Buddhist Affirmation of Poetry and Locating a Thirteenth-century *Fugen kōshiki* in Liturgical Literature," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 43, no. 1 (2016): 59, 63-64.

44 A son of regent (*kanpaku* 関白) Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097-1164), Jien held the position of Tendai chief abbot four times and was active in contemporary politics. He is also known for his historical work *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (c. 1220) and his numerous dedications (*ganmon* 願文). Ishikawa Hajime 石川一, "Kaisetsu 解説," in *Shūgyokushū* (*jō*) 拾玉集(上) ed. Ishikawa Hajime and Yamamoto Hajime 山本一, vol. 58 of *Waka bungaku taikei* 和歌文学大系 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2008), 534.

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of the sutras and positing an equivalence between Sanskrit (the sacred language of the Buddhas) and Japanese in Japan.[45]

By the close of the thirteenth century, *waka* and Buddhism were being reconciled in a new fashion, with *waka* increasingly portrayed as *dhārāni* 陀羅尼, or esoteric spells believed to be imbued with sacred power. As R. Keller Kimbrough has demonstrated, Mujū Ichien's characterization of *waka* in *Shasekishū* is representative of this shift in the reconciliation of *waka* and Buddhism.[46] In this work, Mujū extolled *waka* as a *dhārāni* in *Yamato kotoba* (the language of Japan). In doing so, he echoed the well-known emphasis on the power of poetry to move found in the preface of the first imperially ordered *waka* anthology, *Kokinshū* 古今集 (905).[47] Noting the correlation of *waka*'s thirty-one syllables to the number of chapters of the fundamental esoteric text the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* 大日経 (J. *Dainichikyō*), Mujū underscores *waka*'s expression of principles that "provoke responses in Buddhas and bodhisattvas and move gods and humans alike."[48] Moreover, he posits that:

> Although *dhārāni* are composed in the Indian vernacular, they have the power to expiate transgressions and eliminate suffering in those who take them up. Japanese *waka*, too, are composed in the ordinary language of the land, but if one should express one's feelings in *waka*, there is sure

45 The allusion to the *Nirvana Sutra* and the notion that Japanese softens sutras are found in the preface to *Hokke yōmon hyakushu* 法華要文百首, which is also known as *Hachiman hyakushu* 八幡百首 (c. 1220), while the equalization of Sanskrit and Japan is found in a prose segment that is believed to be either the preface or postscript to *Koi hyakushu utaawase* 恋百首歌合 (1208?). Hirano Tae 平野多恵, *Myōe: Waka to Bukkyō no sōkoku* 明恵—和歌と仏教の相克 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2011), 359-360. For the *Hokke yōmon hyakushu* preface, see *Shūgyokushū* (*jō*), 327. For *Koi hyakushu utaawase*, see *Shūgyokushū* (*ge*), 3; 252-257; 287, n. 5732.

46 R. Keller Kimbrough, "Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry: Spells, Truth Acts, and a Medieval Buddhist Poetics of the Supernatural," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32, no. 1 (2005): 4.

47 The relevant passage of the Japanese preface reads: "Japanese poetry has the human heart as seed and myriad words as leaves. It comes into being when men use the seen and the heard to give voice to feelings aroused by the innumerable events in their lives. The song of the warbler among the blossoms, the voice of the frog dwelling in the water—these teach us that every living creature sings. It is song that moves heaven and earth without effort, stirs emotion in the invisible spirits and gods, brings harmony to the relations between men and women, and calms the hearts of fierce warriors." Translation is from Helen Craig McCullough, *Kokin Wakashū*: *The first imperial anthology of Japanese poetry; with 'Tosa Nikki' and 'Shinsen Waka'* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 3. See also "*Kokin wakashū*," in *Shinpen kokka taikan*.

48 Translation is from Kimbrough, "Reading the Miraculous Powers," 7.

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> to be a response. Furthermore, in that they contain the essence of the dharma, there is no doubt that they are *dharani*.[49]

As Kimbrough notes, per Mujū's logic, "*waka* are effective because, as *dhārāni*, they express a 'natural truth' that transcends human language. In that they necessarily express that truth in 'thirty-one syllables'—the standard *waka* format—their power results from both their content and their form."[50] Similar rationales presenting *waka* as *dhārāni* appear in *Nomori no kagami* 野守鏡 (1295) and a sixteenth-century text by Tendai monk Sonshun 尊舜 (1451-1514) *Hokekyō jurin shūyōshō* 法華経鷲林拾葉鈔, both evidencing the persistence of these theories.[51]

Despite these tendencies to affirm *waka* in light of Buddhism, *waka* continued to be seen as a hindrance to the Buddhist Way in certain circles and circumstances. Sōtō founder Dōgen, who in all likelihood hailed from a family of professional poets and is associated with a *waka* collection, is nevertheless quoted in *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 正法眼蔵随聞記 (1235-1238) as clearly discouraging his disciples from composing poetry.[52] Similarly, Myōe 明恵 (1173-1232), a prominent Kegon school 華厳宗 monk who was also a prolific poet, is said to have stipulated in his later years that *waka* not be pursued by beginners on the Buddhist path; rather, he advised that one should first follow the Buddhist path and purify the mind before attempting to compose verse.[53]

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49 Translation by Kimbrough, ibid. Mujū Ichien, *Shasekishū*, ed. Kojima Takayuki 小島孝之, vol. 52 of *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2001), 252-255.

50 Kimbrough, "Reading the Miraculous Powers," 7-8.

51 Ibid., 5-8.

52 *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki* was recorded and edited by Dōgen's successor Ejō. The well-known lines read: "The meaning of life and death is the great problem. In this short life, if you want to practice and study, you must follow the Buddha Way and study the *buddha-dharma*. The composition of literature, [Chinese] poetry, and [Japanese] verse is worthless and must be renounced." Translation is adapted from Steven Heine, *Blade of Grass*, 4. He also says, "Zen monks are fond of literature these days, finding it an aid to writing verse and tracts. This is a mistake… Yet no matter how elegant their prose or how exquisite their poetry might be, they are merely toying with words and cannot gain the truth." Translation is from Reihō Masunaga, trans., *A Primer of Sōtō Zen: a translation of Dōgen's* Shōbōgenzō zuimonki (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1971), 33. *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*, ed. Mizuno Mieko 水野弥穂子 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1963), 67, 113. For a discussion of Dōgen's poetry in light of the *Zuimonki* injunctions, see Chapters 1 and 2 of Heine, *Blade of Grass*. *Muchū mondōshū*, 163-164. See below for a discussion of this episode.

53 Hirano, *Myōe*, 355-358. For Myōe's restrictions on poetry, see "Gedatsu mongi chōshūki 解脱門義聴集記," *Kanazawa Bunko kenkyū kiyō* 金沢文庫研究紀要 4 (1967): 57.

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Musō, in contrast, adopted a much more accommodating stance toward *waka*—one that differed notably from previous attempts to reconcile the two Ways. Although *waka* was not a major focus of Musō's writings, there are at least two extant documents that offer insight into his attitude to the practice as he presented it to students. The first mention occurs in a letter sent from Musō to his patron-student Kakukai, apparently in response to a question about whether composing *waka* is compatible with the pursuit of the Buddhist Way. Although the document is badly damaged, Musō appears to reply in the affirmative, with his approval concretely illustrated by his inclusion of an instructional verse in reply to a *waka* by Kakukai.[54] These two poems are discussed in detail in a subsequent section of this chapter.

A more substantial explication of the relationship of *waka* to Buddhist practice can be found in *Muchū mondōshū* in Section 57, which addresses the utility of landscape to the Buddhist Way. While this passage has attracted significant attention from scholars of landscape history, it has yet to be examined within the tradition of Buddhist discourse on *waka* poetry, despite its clear relevance. That section begins with interlocutor Tadayoshi questioning Musō as to why some Buddhist teachers encourage students to cut ties with the world. In his reply, Musō affirms that enlightenment is not separate from the material world, citing an episode (discussed in detail below) involving one of the Buddha's disciples who reaches the stage of *arhat*[55] amid the luxuries of his palace.

The same section also unveils the possibility of applying the arts—including poetry—to the cultivation of the Buddhist Way. In a discussion centering on landscape that he later extends to other arts, Musō introduces various categories of garden enthusiasts. First are people "enamored with the common dust of the world" who merely engage in landscape to ornament their homes so as to impress others or to collect things. Second are those who enjoy landscape and compose poetry but do not mix with the common world, instead reciting poetry as an aid to cultivating their minds. Although Musō affirms this group as refined, he cautions that a lack of aspiration for the Way may turn this kind of love of landscape into a cause for transmigration. Next are those who pursue the Buddhist path and use landscaping in order to keep themselves awake or dispel boredom. Although Musō regards this class as superior to

54 Kanagawa Kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko 神奈川県立金沢文庫, ed., *Zenseki* 禅籍, vol. 1 of *Kanazawa Bunko shiryō zensho* 金沢文庫資料全書 (Yokohama: Kanagawa Kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko, 1974), 245-247; 278-280.

55 In Mahāyāna thought, the level of *arhat* (J. *rakan* 羅漢) is regarded as the highest attainable level of so-called Hīnayāna practice. Having attained enlightenment, the *arhat* has effectively escaped the cycle of death and rebirth.

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regular lovers of landscape, he chides their inability to see the unity of landscape and practice.[56] Finally, he celebrates the following category as comprising the highest class of practitioner:

> Other people believe that the mountains, rivers and land, grasses, trees, clay and rocks are all their own original state. Although their love of landscape resembles worldly passion, as such, their worldly passions are their aspiration to the Way, and they use the sight of the spring, rocks, grasses and trees in the four seasons in their practice (*kufū* 工夫).[57] When done well in such a way, this can be a model for loving landscape in aspiring to the Way. In that case, then, we cannot always say that taking delight in landscape is a bad thing. It is also difficult to say it is always a good thing. There are no merits and demerits in the landscape. Merits and demerits are in a person's mind.[58]

Musō extends this first to tea-drinking and ultimately—and importantly, for our purposes—to poetry and music. Comparing the different levels of tea enjoyment, he explains:

> Although the fondness of tea is the same, depending on a person's mind, there are merits and there are demerits. It is not only favoring landscape and tea. Poetry and music are also like this. Although the types of poetry and music differ, they are meant to bring into harmony the vices of people's hearts and make them refined. Even so, when we look at the state of the present, they are treated as arts, and this brings about an attachment to the self. The way of refinement has been cast aside and it has become a cause for vice. For this reason, there were times when the great teachers of the scriptures and Zen indicated that there is no practice outside of all things. There were also times when they encouraged disposing of all things in favor of practice. It is not something we should be surprised by.[59]

56 *Muchū mondōshū*, 163-164.

57 My translation of this term follows Kirchner and Fukazawa, *Dialogues in a Dream*, 134.

58 *Muchū mondōshū*, 164.

59 Ibid., 165. On the relationship of Zen to material culture in *chanoyu* 茶の湯, see Morgan Pitelka, "Form and Function: Tea Bowls and the Problem of Zen in *Chanoyu*," in *Zen and Material Culture*, ed. Pamela D. Winfield and Steven Heine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 70-101.

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Once again, Musō emphasizes that the attitude of the practitioner is the determining factor. Musō echoes both the *Kokinshū* preface and Mujū in extolling *waka*'s ability to bring the mind/heart into harmony, but he departs from prior affirmations and justifications of the Way of *waka* in emphasizing the motivations and minds of practitioners. Drawing attention to the dangers of attachment in art, Musō clearly derides some aficionados of the Way, like Bai Juyi, as non-Buddhist in their pursuit of the arts, while lionizing other groups of practitioners for their use of the arts in their aspiration to the Buddhist path. He reserves the highest level of praise for those who pursue the arts as part of their practice of the Way—a difference that is apparent only in the orientation of the practitioner.

Once again displaying his tolerant and highly nuanced argumentative style, Musō nonetheless lends support to the methods of other teachers, such as Dōgen and Myōe, who encouraged students ensnared in attachment to cast aside secular pursuits. For his own part, however, Musō promises students of all levels that, so long as they cultivate a proper mindset, artistic pursuits can constitute religious practice. Interestingly, despite *Muchū mondōshū*'s wide circulation, Musō's particular manner of reconciling *waka* and Buddhism does not seem to have been widely taken up in subsequent poetic treatises addressing that topic, including *Shōtetsu monogatari* 正徹物語 (c. 1450) and Shinkei's 心敬 (1406-1475) *Sasamegoto* ささめごと (1463), both of which offer different rationales.[60] Nevertheless, this message must have been welcome to Musō's legions of students, both lay and monastic, many of whom were practicing poets. This affirmation, in turn, provided a theoretical justification for Musō's own participation in the Way and his use of *waka* in instructing students, two aspects that will be addressed in the subsequent examination of Musō's poetry collection, *Shōgaku Kokushishū*.

60 Shōtetsu refers to dream revelations beheld by Shunzei and Teika, in which the Sumiyoshi *kami* affirms the unity of *waka* and Buddhist practice. Shinkei refers to the same Shunzei anecdote, while also using a variety of other strategies to affirm the two. For example, he quotes Saigyō as saying that the Way of *waka* is meditation and also maintains that *waka* is *dhārāni*. See Shōtetsu, "*Shōtetsu Monogatari* 正徹物語," in *Karonshū nōgakuronshū* 歌論集 能楽論集, ed. Hisamatsu Sen'ichi 久松潜一 and Nishio Minoru 西尾實, vol. 65 of *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977), 184. In English, see Shōtetsu, *Conversations with Shōtetsu*, trans. Robert Brower, ed. Steven D. Carter (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1992), 89-90. See Shinkei 心敬, "*Sasamegoto* ささめごと," in *Rengaronshū, nōgakushū, haironshū* 連歌論集, 能楽集, 俳論集, ed. Ichiji Tetsuo 伊知地鐵男, Omote Akira 表章, Kuriyama Riichi 栗山理一, vol. 51 of *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1973), 96-97. In English see, Shinkei, *Murmured Conversations*, trans. Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 153-154.

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4 Ambivalence and Abstraction: Literal and Figurative Representations of Reclusion in *SKS*

In Kōshū, on the upper reaches of the Fuefuki River at a place called Kawaura in the mountains,[61] *there was a deep valley about thirty* ri[62] *from the village. Musō set up a hut at a spot where the arrangement of the rocks in the water had an air of refinement. He composed the following verse when melting snow in the cottage's front garden resembled a person's footprints.*

1 わが庵をとふとしもなき春の来て庭にあとある雪のむらぎえ

wa ga io o	spring has come
tou to shimo naki	to my hut
haru no kite	where no one calls—
niwa ni ato aru	tracks left in the garden,
yuki no muragie	spots of melted snow

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In this first verse of *SKS*, Musō offers a very conventional treatment of the mountain hut, thus employing a trope found throughout the tradition in interpreting melting winter snow as tracks left behind by a personified spring.[63] In doing so, he evidences his mastery of *waka*, its well-established rhetorical

61 Kōshū 甲州 is another name for the pre-modern province of Kai 甲斐 (modern day Yamanashi prefecture). Kawaura 河浦 refers to an area in Eastern Yamanashi prefecture. Musō built and dwelled in a cottage called Ryūzan'an 龍山庵 for approximately one year at this location, beginning in the spring of 1311. See Kawase, *Zen to teien*, 147.

62 The *li* 理 was a pre-modern unit of measurement corresponding to three hundred paces or 3.9273 kilometers.

63 Nishiyama notes the likely influence of the following *Shinkokinshū* 新古今集 poem on Musō's verse:
Shinkokinshū · Miscellaneous 1 Fujiwara no Ariie 藤原有家 (1155-1216)
Composed imagining "lingering snow at a mountain home" at the residence of the Tsuchimikado Palace Minister [Minamoto no Michichika 源道通親 (1149-1202)]
1437 山かげやさらでは庭に跡もなし春ぞきにける雪のむら消
yama kage ya — ah mountain shadows—
sarade wa niwa ni — were it not for you there would
ato mo nashi — be no footprints in
haru zo kinikeru — my garden spring has come and
yuki no muragie — left spots of mountain snow.
Translation of poem and its headnote adapted from Laurel Rasplica Rodd, vol. 2 of *Shinkokinshū: new collection of poems ancient and modern* (Boston: Brill, 2015), 589. Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 318-319.

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techniques, and its standardized vocabulary of images, topics, and tropes. Elsewhere, however, Musō is not content to merely adhere to tradition; rather, he breaks new stylistic ground in his more ambivalent handling of these same conventions. While at times embodying and employing well-established tropes, Musō elsewhere calls into question some of the most entrenched motifs of the tradition in the service of his teachings.[64] His poetic persona is no more consistent, for he appears variously throughout the collection as master and beneficiary, recluse and insider, a man of feeling and a man who has transcended all feeling. As we shall see, the result is a poetic body of work that at once affirms the tenets of the orthodox poetic tradition and rejects their underlying ideological pretenses.

As noted above, the first third of the collection is dominated by spring poems on the blossoms, all dated to a period late in Musō's life, when he was based in the Arashiyama area outside of Kyoto and enjoyed close ties to elite figures associated with the Ashikaga *bakufu* and the Northern Court. Musō's many verses on the blossoms at Saihōji extend blessings to the imperial house and praise the *shōgun*'s regime, all with an eye to the future of his temple, a topic to be discussed in detail in Chapter Three. However, on another occasion under the blossoms, Musō manipulates conventions in order to school the very patrons he elsewhere praises. For example:

The Kamakura lord[65] *and the Imperial Guard Lord Tadayoshi came to Rinsenji for a sermon that was followed by a meeting in the garden. This poem was recited while looking at the blossoms of Arashiyama, after the other people at the gathering had composed their poems.*

3 たれもみな春はむれつつあそべどもこころの花を見る人ぞなき

tare mo mina	any and everyone
haru wa muretsutsu	gathers in spring
asobedomo	to play
kokoro no hana o	yet no one sees
miru hito zo naki	the flower in the heart

64 The pedagogical nature of many of *SKS*'s verses has been noted in previous studies. For example, Inoue sees the pedagogical orientation of many verses in Kōhō, Taa, and Musō as characteristic of late Kamakura verse, when didactic *waka* began to become more prevalent. Inoue, "Musō Kokushi hyakushū," 57. Chisaka has also noted the pedagogical function of much of Musō's and Kōhō's *waka*, as has Nishiyama. See Chisaka, "Chūsei Zenka no *waka*," 44-46, and Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 260-265.

65 Ashikaga Takauji.

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Alluding to vernal outings centered on blossom-viewing, Musō's poem is suitable for a garden gathering with his benefactors, while at the same time his inclusion of the phrase "*kokoro no hana o miru hito zo naki*" (literally, "there is no person who sees the flower in the heart") turns an otherwise simple seasonal poem into a religious statement.[66] It is at least possible, if not likely, that he intended his verse to be a rejoinder to the following poem by Tadayoshi anthologized in *Fūgashū*:

Spring 2, Poem 152
On blossoms.

花見にと春はむれつつ玉鉾の道行く人のおほくも有るかな

hanami ni to	in spring they gather
haru wa muretsutsu	to see the blossoms
tamahoko no	how many there are—
michi yuku hito no	people traveling
ōku mo aru kana	on the jewel-pike road[67]

The fact that both share the phrase "gather in spring" (*haru wa muretsutsu*) and treat the theme of the crowds strongly suggests that these two poems are in dialogue. When we compare the two, the Musō poem clearly reflects his status as a Buddhist teacher providing spiritual guidance to his students, encouraging them to consider the "flower of the heart." This is further hinted at in the headnote where the later compiler indicates not only that these poems were composed following a sermon, but also that Musō composed his after everyone else, thereby creating the impression that the State Preceptor had the last word.[68]

Although Musō appears here as a sort of spiritual teacher, his poetic persona shifts throughout the collection. The old monk under the blossoms instructing students on the Way who appears at the beginning becomes at its middle

66 As Shimauchi has noted, Musō appears to be criticizing blossom viewers who ignore the "flower of the heart" to focus on flower viewing and parties in spring. Shimauchi, "Waka kara mita," 155-156.

67 I use the term "jewel-pike," a *makura kotoba* 枕詞 for *michi* (road), after Edwin A. Cranston. For an explanation of the term, see Cranston, *Grasses of Remembrance*, vol. 2 of *A Waka Anthology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 703.

68 Nishiyama has noted the pedagogical function of Musō's *waka* in light of the fact that some verses bear notes indicating that they were composed after dharma talks. She also points to the inclusion of the two verses from Musō's reply to Kakukai, as well as his use of *waka* for instructional purposes in *Muchū mondōshū*. Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 260-264.

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an itinerant hermit who remains perpetually aware of the inevitability of transience. However, as in life, the Musō in the collection does not remain in isolation perpetually, and in fact displays varying attitudes to isolation. While heir to the reclusive tradition typified by earlier poets such as Saigyō, Musō simultaneously espouses an abstract form of eremitism, in which the secular world becomes a place of reclusion in the mind of the practitioner.[69]

First, let us consider some examples in which Musō composes on the theme of reclusion in a very conventional fashion:

Putting up a hut in Kiyomizu in Nōshū,[70] *he composed the following poem, while thinking about moving in and out:*

65 いくたびかかくすみすてていでつらんさだめなき世にむすぶかりいほ

iku tabi ka	how many times
kaku sumisutete	have I moved in
idetsuran	only to move out like this?
sadamenaki yo ni	in an uncertain world,
musubu kariio	I set up a temporary hut
	FŪGASHŪ 1793 · Miscellaneous 2

Composed when he was living deep in the mountains at a place called Kokei in Nōshū, at the end of a single road where no letters could reach him. Still, those who had the aspiration to study with him came calling, which left him displeased.

59 世のうさにかへたる山のさびしさをとはぬぞ人のなさけなりける

69 Shimauchi has discussed the prominence of the theme of reclusion in *SKS*, noting in particular the importance of the theme of "hideaway" (*kakurega* 隠れ家) to the collection. Shimauchi, "Waka kara mita," 158. For a discussion of the theme of reclusion in *Higashiyamaden Saishian shōji waka*, see Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 310-326. Nishiyama notes that collection's inclusion of a verse celebrating reclusion in the city to suggest that Ashikaga Yoshimasa's Higashiyama estate was intended to be just such a place. She further suggests that the emphasis on reclusion in the poems of that collection—some of which are also included in *SKS*—was inspired by portrayals of reclusion found in Zen literature, especially the notion of "the recluse in the city" that is also found in Musō's Sino-Japanese poems. Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 312-331.

70 Musō relocated from his Kokei hermitage to a cottage on the grounds of Kiyomizudera 清水寺, then a Shingon temple, in present-day Gifu prefecture in 1315 in order to evade the many student hopefuls who had begun calling on him and his companions. However, the monks at Kiyomizudera, too, aspired to study with Musō, and he returned to Kokei seeking solitude in the spring of 1316. See "Nenpu," 297-298.

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yo no usa ni / people of feeling
kaetaru yama no / do not come calling
sabishisa o / to ask about the loneliness
towanu zo hito no / of the mountain taken on in exchange
nasake narikeru / for the sadness of the world

When he lived on the upper reaches of the Fuefukigawa in Kōshū.[71]

79 ながれては里へもいづるやま川に世をいとふ身の影はうつさじ

nagarete wa	so long as you flow
sato e mo izuru	out to the village,
yamakawa ni	mountain stream,
yo o itou mi no	do not reflect the shadow
kage wa utsusaji	of this one who avoids the world[72]

In all three of these poems, Musō appears as a recluse in a decidedly literal sense, adopting the pose of hermit poet, a thoroughly established trope in the Japanese poetic tradition frequently employed by Saigyō and other poet-monks that also reflects the consistent image of Musō as hermit found in his collection of Sino-Japanese verses.[73] At the same time, Musō's *waka* also feature more abstract conceptions of eremitism that appear to reject it in any concrete sense. This is especially evident in an exchange between Musō and his patron and disciple, the nun Kakukai, which is also contained in the aforementioned letter discussing the appropriateness of composing *waka* while practicing Buddhism. Kakukai's reply is apparently a rejoinder to Poem 57, in which Musō ponders his final dwelling place on a mountain somewhere.

Composed when he thought, if there is a mountain somewhere that is to my liking, I will make it into my hideaway.

57 世をいとふわがあらましのゆくすゑにいかなる山のかねてまつらむ

yo o itou	at the end
waga aramashi no	of all my hopes

71 Present-day Yamanashi prefecture.

72 "*Nagarete wa*" in the first line means both "as long as you flow" (in reference to the river) and "as long as I live on."

73 For a complete English translation of Musō's Sino-Japanese poems, see W.S. Merwin and Sōiku Shigematsu, trans., *Sun at Midnight: Poems and Sermons by Musō Soseki* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1989).

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yuku sue ni / what sort of mountain
ikanaru yama no / awaits this one
kanete matsuramu / who avoids the world?

Here Musō expresses feelings of uncertainty over his future in a fairly conventional construct. Rather than offering the usual sympathetic response, however, Kakukai in her reply reminds Musō that, even in seclusion, he cannot avoid the impermanence of this world.

Composed when Takatoki's mother was living among the Izu Hōjō.[74]
Kakukai:

69 あらましにまつらん山ぢたえねただそむかずとても夢の世の中

aramashi ni / the mountain road
matsuran yamaji / that awaits you
taene tada / let it come to its end—
somukazu tote mo / even if you don't turn your back,
yume no yo no naka / the world is as if a dream[75]

Kakukai thus enters into dialogue with her teacher. In his rejoinder, we might expect Musō to champion the hermit-like lifestyle lionized in his original verse; instead, he affirms not the merits of actual isolation but only an *attitude* of eremitism in a conceptual move that suggests a superior understanding:[76]

His reply:

70 夢の世とおもふうき世をなほすてて山にもあらぬ山にかくれよ

yume no yo to / abandoning
omou ukiyo o / the dreamlike world
nao sutete / that I think so sad,
yama ni mo aranu / I will hide in a mountain
yama ni kakureyo / that is not a mountain

74 In present-day Shizuoka prefecture. Kakukai moved to Izu after the fall of the Kamakura *bakufu* in 1333.
75 Poem does not appear in GSRJ version. Musō's reply appears in the collection, but with the headnote "topic unknown."
76 For an alternate interpretation of this poem, see Shimauchi, "Waka kara mita," 173.

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In introducing this abstract notion of reclusion—an outlook of reclusion, rather than the act itself—the symbol of the mountain, presented throughout the tradition and elsewhere in the collection as a physical site where one detaches from the world in order to devote oneself to practice, is reinterpreted in a didactic move that implies that true eremitism takes place not in the world but in the mind.

Musō's conception of reclusion as a matter of the mind is also perceptible in several other verses included in *SKS*. In the following exchange, for instance, Musō takes issue with the inclination to eremitism displayed by his student, the warrior-poet Sonkō 存考.[77]

120 あはれはやしばのいほりのおく山にありともしらぬ世をすぐさばや

aware wa ya	ahh, how I wish
shiba no iori no	I could pass my days
okuyama ni	in a brushwood-roofed hut
aritomo shiranu	deep in the mountains
yo o sugusabaya	no one knowing if I am alive

Musō's reply:

121 身をかくす庵をよそにたづねつるこころのおくに山はありけり

mi o kakusu	apart from the hut
iori o yoso ni	in which you hide yourself
tazunetsuru	deep in the mind
kokoro no oku ni	into which you inquire
yama wa arikeri	there is a mountain

While his student celebrates the thatched-roof hut in the mountains as the ideal way to pass a life in the world, Musō the master is quick to disabuse his student of any escapist fantasies. In doing so, he once again relocates the mountain in the recesses of the mind (*kokoro no oku*), thereby placing it in opposition to the physical hut constructed by Yorisada in his poem.

77 Sonkō, known in lay life as Toki Yorisada 土岐頼貞 (1271-1339), was a general, Ashikaga ally, and *waka* poet who boasted an inclusion in *Gyokuyōshū* (1313). He was also a patron of Musō. After assisting Takauji in his rise to power, Yorisada was rewarded with the designation of provincial constable of Mino province.

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This is not to say that Musō was the first poet in the tradition to represent reclusion figuratively, for he was indeed not. To give an example, a similar verse dating from slightly before Musō's time is anthologized as a miscellaneous poem in the *Shokukokinshū* 続古今集 (1265). It reads:

On the essence of the mountain home. Junior prelate Jōen 定円 (n.d.)

1692 やまふかくなにかいほりをむすぶべき心のうちにみはかくれけり

yama fukaku	why should I set up
nani ka iori o	a hut
musububeki	deep in the mountains?
kokoro no uchi ni	it is in my heart
mi wa kakurekeri	that I seclude myself

It goes without saying that this poem closely resembles the abstract forms of reclusion that Musō presents throughout his collection; the inclusion of one such verse in an imperial anthology indicates that such abstraction was to some extent accepted within mainstream Buddhist poetry in the generations before Musō and that Musō's verse was indeed reflective of this trend. What is absent from the *Shokukokinshū* sequence and other contemporaneous collections, however, is precisely what we see in Musō's poetry: a repeated rejection of literal forms of eremitism to didactic ends even as the poet himself embraces its outward forms of expression.

Musō's abstraction of reclusion stands in marked contrast to mainstream images of eremitism that are inextricably linked to the best-known recluse–poet, Saigyō. As the following verse makes clear, the mountain is the only possible place for him to achieve seclusion, although even there he cannot be free of worry:

Sankashū Miscellaneous

909 いづくにか身をかくさましいとひてもうき世にふかき山なかりせば

izuku ni ka	where might I seclude
mi o kakusamashi	myself
itoite mo	in this sad world
ukiyo ni fukaki	if not for deep in the mountains
yama nakariseba	no matter if I grow weary of it there too

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Thus, for Saigyō, although the mountain guarantees no delivery from the sadness of the world, he still lauds it as the only viable venue for reclusion. Musō, conversely, maintains in the following similarly worded verse that seclusion does not require a mountain:

Topic unknown

73 世にすむとおもふこころをすてぬれば山ならねども身はかくれけり

yo ni sumu to	abandoning
omou kokoro o	all thoughts
sutenureba	of living in the world,
yama naranedomo	I go not to the mountains,
mi wa kakurekeri	but I am in hiding

Such affirmation of an intangible eremitism is for Musō part of a larger critique of the pretensions of renunciation seen not only in other poems but also in his other writings.[78] In challenging these eremitic paradigms, the Musō poem presents a mountain hut that is in unintentional yet perfect harmony with the Buddhist Way. This seems obvious from a poem with a long explanatory headnote that was clearly written to foreground a religious reading:

When he was heading to a place in Sagami province called Sokokura hot springs,[79] he saw a mountain dweller living meagerly in a hut between two rocks in the bottom of a valley, deep in the mountains away from any villages. If one were to live like this, it would "indeed be abandoning the world," he thought, remembering the old poem. He repeatedly thought to himself that people who have abandoned the world have an impurity of mind such that they put on airs of having left the world. Thinking how much the sight of this mountain dweller fitted the principle of the Buddhist teachings, he recited:

61 世のなかをいとふとはなきすまひにてなかなかすごき山がつの庵

yo no naka o	a dwelling that shows
itou to wa naki	no aversion
sumai nite	to the world;

78 For another analysis of Musō's rejection of renunciation in *SKS*, see Shimauchi, "Waka kara mita," 174-176.

79 The Sokokura hot springs 底倉温泉 are located in Hakone (Kanagawa prefecture).

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naka naka sugoki — how impressive it is
yamagatsu no io — the mountain dweller's hut

The verse referenced in the headnote as a point of contrast may be the following verse by Jien, another famous cleric-poet. As is well known, Jien was a major poet of the Kamakura period, honored with ninety-two inclusions in *Shinkokinshū* 新古今集 (1205)—a number surpassed only by Saigyō at ninety-four. Jien's voluminous personal *waka* anthology, which includes numerous dedicatory sequences and consists of 5,803 verses, demonstrates a deep commitment to the Way of *waka* that far exceeded Musō's limited and relatively casual engagement. Jien composed in all styles, as befitting a more active poet. The following verse, from a hundred-verse sequence on leaving the world, celebrates the poet's decision to do so.[80]

Shūgyokushū 687, Miscellaneous 2 — Jien

世とともにあるかひもなき身にしあれば世を捨ててこそ世をば厭はめ

yo to tomo ni — nothing for me to gain
aru kai mo naki — by staying on
mi ni shi areba — in the world;
yo o sutete koso — indeed, in abandoning the world, I at last
yo o ba itowame — become averse to it[81]

Here, the Jien verse celebrates the act of renunciation by declaring that in deciding to leave the world, he will become fully able to reject it. Musō, in contrast, downplays this sort of grand gesture toward eremitism by instead lionizing an unknown, inconspicuous, and unpretentious mountain dweller, who has not purposely sought separation from the world and yet so perfectly achieves it[82]—a fact of which, in a further twist of irony, he is likely unaware.

A similar gesture is made in a verse that warns of the danger of attachment to the hut—the premier symbol of reclusion in the *waka* tradition at that time:

80 The sequence is *Onri hyakushu* 厭離百首 (1187). It was composed in response to a hundred-verse sequence sent by Seishin 晴真 (n.d.), who secluded himself in Ōhara 大原 at the foot of Mount Hiei ahead of Jien, who was planning to join him there. *Shūgyokushū* (*jō*), 76; 85; 87.

81 Possible allusion identified by editors in Sasaki et al., *Shakkyō kaei zenshū*, 128.

82 Shimauchi, "Waka kara mita," 174-175.

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When living at Taikōan in Sōshū, a visitor composed a poem about how the dwelling's rare refinement stayed with him.[83] *Musō replied:*

71 めづらしくすみなす山のいほりにもこころとむればうき世とぞなる

mezurashiku	even this mountain hut
suminasu yama no	where I dwell
iori ni mo	in rare refinement
kokoro tomureba	becomes part of the sad world
ukiyo to zo naru	when the heart stays there[84]

Here, the "sad world" (*ukiyo*) for Musō is not a static entity to be juxtaposed with a total freedom to be found at one's hermitage. Rather, even a splendid mountain retreat becomes a part of the sad world, i.e. a source of suffering, for those who fixate upon it. As such, this poem evokes Kamo no Chōmei's 鴨長明 (1155?-1216) famed struggle with his attachment to his hut which lent dramatic tension to his 1212 essay, *Hōjōki* 方丈記. Nevertheless, even after Chōmei, the trope of the mountain hut had largely persisted to suggest the promise of detachment from the trials and tribulations of life in the world. In contrast, the hut in *SKS* does not guarantee certain refuge from the world's sadness, which can find the dweller even there. Thus, the collection repeatedly questions the mountains that are so often celebrated in the poetic tradition, even as it extols them.

Notably, the rejection of renunciation apparent in many of the poems of *SKS* mirrors the ideological position found in *Muchū mondōshū*. Although refutations of the notion that the Way is found only apart from the secular world appear throughout that text, this sense is perhaps most apparent in a section we have already considered: Section 57, in which interlocutor Tadayoshi asks why most masters encourage students to throw everything away and cut ties with the world. As we have already seen, Musō devotes the latter half of that section to explaining the utility of the arts to the Buddhist Way. The first part of the rejoinder, however, establishes in no uncertain terms the inseparability of the sacred and the secular realms, making renunciation unnecessary:

83 In the first month of 1323, Musō moved to Taikōan 退耕庵 in Sōshū 総州 (modern-day Chiba prefecture) from Hakusen'an. He lived there until 1325, when he assumed the abbotship of Nanzenji at the invitation of Emperor Godaigo in the eighth month of that year. "Nenpu," 302-304.

84 This poem also appears in Story 21 of *Sangoku denki*, although it is not attributed to Musō there. See *Sangoku denki* (*ge*), 297.

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> An ancient man said, "The dharma has no set characteristics. The main point is to act in accordance with conditions."[85] There are no set characteristics when it comes to the teachings used by wise teachers to lead students. The pervading truth of the Mahāyāna is that there is nothing separating the Buddhist and worldly laws.[86]

He then recounts the story of the enlightenment of the Buddha's disciple, Deva Subhūti (J. Shubodai 須菩提), a celestial reborn as a member of the king's family who hesitates to take the tonsure and abandon the fineries he so loves, even when King Śuddhodana urges all members of the Śākya clan to do so.[87] When Subhūti decides to delay his entry into religious life, the Buddha responds by asking his disciple Ānanda 阿難[88] to go borrow fineries from the king's palace, decorate a room with them, and have Subhūti spend the night there. Ānanda follows the Buddha's orders, and Subhūti attains enlightenment that same evening in his ornamented accommodations: "His habitual longings were satisfied that night, his chaotic thoughts cleared away of their own accord, and clear insight came forth. In the late evening, he manifested the fruits of the *arhat* and flew up in midair."[89] Baffled by Subhūti's apparent enlightenment under such circumstances, Ānanda questions the Buddha about it, to which the Buddha replies,

> There are those who decorate their clothing and homes and advance their determination to follow the Way. For these kinds of people, decorating their clothing and homes is yet another form of assistance on the Buddhist path. There are those who harm their determination to follow the Way by decorating their clothing and homes. In those cases, then, it is something people of the Way should be fearful of. Awakening to the Way and attaining enlightenment depend completely on the mind of the practitioner. They are not related to clothing and homes.[90]

85 A quote that appears in multiple Buddhist sources, including the recorded sayings of Wuxue. See *Bukkō Kokushi goroku* 仏光国師語録 T 2549 80: 130c13.

86 *Muchū mondōshū*, 161.

87 King Śuddhodana (J. Jōbon'ō 浄飯王) was Śākyamuni's father and king of Kapilavastu (J. *Kabirae* 迦毘羅衛).

88 Ānanda (J. Anan) was Śākyamuni's cousin and disciple.

89 *Muchū mondōshū*, 161.

90 Ibid., 162-163.

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Mirroring the Buddha he just quoted, Musō then affirms the truth of these words in his own time:

> If people nowadays, too, are like Subhūti, their love of beautiful houses and attire should not be restricted as an impediment to their conducting themselves in accordance with the Way. There are those who use this example as a pretext and do not direct their minds to Buddhism at all, instead decorating their homes and playing with precious treasures. To say that this does not constitute an impediment is an explanation of Deva Māra 天魔.[91]

In his repeated insistence on realizing the unity of the sacred and the secular throughout *Muchū mondōshū*, Musō affirms not the external forms of dwellings and clothing embraced by practitioners but the depth of their aspiration to and realization of the Way. Echoing these teachings in *Muchū mondōshū*, Musō in *SKS* questions the mountains that are so often celebrated in the poetic tradition as symbols of religious reclusion. While at times appearing as a recluse and exhibiting a clear longing for mountain life, in other places he critiques the pretensions associated with such reclusion and warns of its trappings, commending in these cases only an attitude of eremitism, as symbolized by his relocation of the mountain motif to the mind.

5 New Takes on Old Tropes: Mind Over Lament

Just as Musō simultaneously incorporates the traditional handling of the mountain retreat even as he questions its presuppositions, elsewhere he displays a strikingly ambivalent attitude toward other well-established tropes, including laments (*jukkai* 述懐). In keeping with *waka*'s conventions, Musō at times grieves over the fall of the cherry blossoms and portrays his hut as a locus of loneliness while elsewhere dismissing these same emotions as mere mirages of the mind. In two very conventional verses, Musō highlights his advanced age by underscoring the sadness inspired by the scattering blossoms:

91 Ibid., 163. Deva Māra (J. Tenma) is the Demon King of the sixth heaven who works to disrupt those engaged in the practice of Buddhism.

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On the twenty-first day of the third month of Kannō 3 (1352),[92] *the Commander of the Left Imperial Guards*[93] *and the Middle Captain of the Imperial Guards*[94] *came to Saihōji for a visit. Composed following a dharma talk, after people recited poetry under the blossoms.*[95]

36 又もこん春をたのまぬ老が身を花もあはれとおもはざらめや

mata mo kon
haru o tanomanu
oiga mi o
hana mo aware to
omowazarameya

unable to hope
for another spring,
old as I am,
how could I not think of
the sadness of the blossoms?

37 行すゑの春をもひとはたのむらん花のわかれは老ぞかなしき

yukusue no
haru o mo hito wa
tanomuran
hana no wakare wa
oi zo kanashiki

people hope for spring
even as it takes its leave;
the blossoms' parting
is indeed what makes
old age so sad

As though amplifying the sense of sadness already apparent in these poems, a note appearing immediately after Poem 37 announces Musō's death in the ninth month of the same year.[96]

While the content and arrangement of these verses very clearly establishes the sadness of the blossoms' fall, other verses such as this one directly call into question these same sentiments:

Again, when he was viewing the blossoms:[97]

7 さくと見るまよひよりこそちる花を風のとがとぞおもひなれぬる

92 There seems to be an error in date here, since Musō died on 9.30 Kannō 2 (1351). According to *Entairyaku* 園太暦, this visit occurred on 3.21 Kannō 2 (1351). This entry states that Takauji was also present. See vol. 3 of *Entairyaku*, ed. Saiki Kazuma 斎木一馬 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1971), 439.

93 Tadayoshi.

94 Ashikaga Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (1330-1367).

95 Headnote is for a group of poems beginning with Poem 33.

96 Shimauchi, "Waka kara mita," 164.

97 Headnote refers to a group of poems beginning with Poem 4.

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saku to miru — the illusion
mayoi yori koso — of the blossoms in bloom
chiru hana o — makes me blame
kaze no toga to zo — the wind
omoinarenuru — for their fall

Presenting the very bloom of the cherries as an illusion, Musō likewise renders as delusion the tendency to begrudge the wind that carries them away. In a related gesture, Musō personifies the blossoms as bereft of sadness at scattering, instead locating the lament in his heart alone:

Composed after people were reciting poems on the occasion of a visit by the Captain of the Imperial Guards Egen[98] *at the time of the blossoms.*[99]

12 ちればとて花はなげきの色もなしわがためにうき春の山かぜ

chireba tote — the blossoms show
hana wa nageki no — no shade of sorrow
iro mo nashi — at scattering;
waga tame ni uki — the mountain wind in spring
haru no yamakaze — is sad on account of me

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This sentiment is notable, for it clearly contrasts with the laments of most mainstream poetic predecessors. For example, the following similarly worded verse by Dharma Prince Chōkaku 澄覚法親王 (1219-1289) typifies the traditional attitude toward the autumn sky:

Shokushūishū · Autumn — Dharma Prince Chōkaku
From among his autumn poems.

239 心からながめて物をおもふかなわがためにうき秋の空かは

kokoro kara — gazing at it with
nagamete mono o — my heart
omou kana — and thinking of things—
waga tame ni uki — is the autumn sky
aki no sora ka wa — sad on account of me?

98 Egen 恵源 was the Buddhist name adopted by Tadayoshi after taking the tonsure.
99 Headnote refers to a group of poems beginning with Poem 11.

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As any student of the *waka* tradition knows, the answer cannot but be in the negative, as the autumn sky was seen as a symbol of sadness by poets across the ages.

It must be noted that Musō's efforts at recasting the sadness of the scattering blossoms as subjective in the Buddhist sense were not wholly unprecedented. Rather, similar attempts can be found in the young Myōe. As Hirano Tae 平野多恵 demonstrates, Myōe, in what appear to be some of his earliest *waka*, also questions the traditional lament of falling blossoms, composing two poems that recast the conventional lament—only to delete them. The poems as reconstructed by Hirano read:

~~山桜ちるおもしろき春風をなにかいと[はん]花のかたみに~~

~~yamazakura~~ ~~why despise~~
~~chiru omoshiroki~~ ~~the spring wind~~
~~haru kaze o~~ ~~of beautiful falling~~
~~nani ka ito[wan]~~ ~~mountain cherries?~~
~~hana no katami ni~~ ~~it is the flowers' souvenir~~

~~山桜ちるなさけなき春風もなほなつかしや花のゆかりに~~

~~yamazakura~~ ~~how very dear it is, too~~
~~chiru nasakenaki~~ ~~the spring wind~~
~~haru kaze mo~~ ~~heartlessly scattering~~
~~nao natsukashiya~~ ~~the mountain cherries~~
~~hana no yukari ni~~ ~~links to the blossoms~~

As is apparent, Myōe replaces the first poem—a clear questioning of the usual lament of falling blossoms—with one that acknowledges the sadness of scattering yet nonetheless reworks it into a scene worthy of praise.

Apparently unsatisfied with both gestures, Myōe composed the following verse, which he also edited:

木本に花見るときの春風を~~おも~~いとふ心もいろや見ゆらむ

ko no moto ni the mind that ~~thinks of~~ laments
hana miru toki no the spring wind
haru kaze o while gazing at the blossoms
~~om~~itou kokoro mo fallen under the tree

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iro ya miyuramu — sees charm too[100]

Hirano interprets the final product as a verse befitting a practitioner of Buddhism, with its objective portrayal of a mind beholding the fallen blossoms.[101] Intriguingly, a similar verse can be found in Musō's collection:

On the twenty-sixth day of the second intercalary month of the sixth year of Jōwa (1350), the Shōgun (at that time Major Counselor) and the Director of the Imperial Stables Yoshiakira[102] came to Saihōji for a dharma talk. Afterwards, people went out to enjoy the blossoms of the double-trunked tree in the garden and composed poems:

30 いつも身はかくめづらしきことあらじちりしも花のなさけなりけり

itsumo mi wa	never again
kaku mezurashiki	will I behold
koto araji	a sight this rare—
chirishi mo hana no	beauty too
nasake narikeri	in flowers fallen[103]

Despite the similarity, it is unlikely that Musō was aware of Myōe's early poetic experiments, since these verses were not included in Myōe's personal *waka*

100 As Hirano notes, the poem alludes to the following well-known verse by Retired Emperor Kazan 花山院 (968-1008):
Shikashū • Miscellaneous 1 276 — Retired Emperor Kazan
Composed when he was engaging in religious practice and stopped to rest at the foot of a flowering cherry tree:
このもとをすみかとすればおのずから花見る人となりぬべきかな

ko no moto o	when one makes one's home
sumika to sureba	at the base of a tree
onozukara	quite naturally
hana miru hito to	one becomes
narinubeki kana	a blossom-viewer!

Hirano, *Myōe*, 46-48. Myōe's poems are found in *Kōben waka sōkō* 高弁和歌草稿. For a transcription, see Hirano, *Myōe*, 21-22; for a photograph of the original manuscript, see Hirano, *Myōe*, 474.

101 Hirano, *Myōe*, 43-58.

102 Ashikaga Yoshiakira.

103 GSRJ version has the homophone 見 ("to see") in the first line instead of 身 ("me" or "I").

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anthology or in imperial collections. Moreover, similar efforts to recast the fallen blossoms do not appear in any of his later poetry.[104]

In contrast to Myōe's early and obscure experimentations, Musō's personal anthology abounds with multiple reinterpretations of scattered blossoms, along with other pedagogically-oriented challenges to accepted motifs. As with the scattered cherries, many other established poetic tropes employed in the collection are handled in a similarly ambivalent manner. In the collection's first verse composed on the summer moon—the brevity of which was a source of constant consternation for *waka* poets—Musō displays his apprehension of the trope by expressing his wish to behold the moon's light just a little bit longer:

When the Prince of the Board of Censors[105] came for a visit, people were composing poems on topics selected at random. He recited the following poem after others had composed.

40 ゆふぐれをなにいそぎけんまちいでてのちもほどなきみじか夜の月

yūgure o	dusk
nani isogiken	for what reason do you hurry?
machiidete	awaited, it appears
nochi mo hodo naki	and in no time it's gone:
mijika yo no tsuki	the moon on a short night

The very next verse, however, evidences a striking reversal, wherein Musō negates the very concept of the short summer night's moon:

On the occasion of a visit by the Imperial Guard,[106] on the topic of the summer moon.

104 As Hirano explains, in contrast to these early experiments, many *waka* dating from Myōe's next phase seem to have been composed for diversion. Conversely, his later poems address Buddhism more explicitly. Among them are verses that employ lunar motifs to celebrate his luminous state of mind after practice. Other poems, dating from his final years, appear to have been used to educate students. Hirano, *Myōe*, 368-370.

105 Inoue suggests that the Prince of the Board of Censors (*danjō shinnō* 弾正親王) refers to Prince Kunimi 邦省親王 (1302-1375), who was the son of Emperor Gonijō 後二条天皇 (1285-1308). See Inoue, *Chūsei kadanshi*, 489.

106 Tadayoshi.

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41 月をみる心にながき夜はあらじふけゆくうさは夏のとがかは

tsuki o miru	when you see the moon
kokoro ni nagaki	in your heart
yo wa araji	there are no long nights;
fukeyuku usa wa	is this deepening sadness
natsu no toga ka wa	the fault of the summer?

As with the autumn sky poem, this rhetorical question, too, is meant to be answered in the negative. It thus posits that sadness is a product of the mind rather than an essential quality of the moon in summer.

A close look at the preceding examples demonstrates that while verses presented as solo compositions often—but not always— convey conventional understandings of sadness brought about by impermanence, the emphasis on the mind's status as producer of these emotions tends to appear in verses composed by Musō in the presence of his patron-students, suggesting that Musō's contributions to these informal poetry gatherings were oriented to pedagogical ends to some degree. This is especially evident in Poem 84, a verse specifically denoted as having been composed after a dharma talk:

Composed after others had recited poems following a dharma talk given when the Prince of the Board of Censors[107] *was at Saihōji.*[108]

84 おもひなすこころからなる身のうさを世のとがとのみかこちけるかな

omoinasu	thought up
kokoro kara naru	in the mind
mi no usa o	the sadness
yo no toga to nomi	I lament as
kakochikeru kana	the fault of the world

While the verse may be short on artistry, it is undoubtedly appropriate for an enlightened master, who unequivocally identifies for the benefit of his students the very source of their laments.

Musō's emphasis on emotions as products of the mind rather than essential qualities of the phenomena with which poets associated them apparently proved influential, as a nearly identical notion can be found in Zeami's 世阿弥

107 Most likely Kunimi.

108 Headnote refers to a pair of poems beginning with Poem 83.

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(1363?-1443?) famous *nō* drama, *Saigyō and the Cherry Blossoms* (*Saigyō zakura* 西行桜). The play hinges on a dialogue between Saigyō and the spirit of a cherry blossom tree that takes issue with Saigyō's characterization of its supposed "fault" in attracting the blossom-seeking hordes who disrupt the poet-priest's solitude. Taking the form of an old man known as none other than "Muchū no okina 夢中の翁" (Old Man in a Dream)—an apparent reference to *Muchū mondōshū*—the spirit argues that that the fault lies in the mind of the beholder.[109] In arguing for Zeami's possible gestures to Musō in this play, previous scholars have alternately pointed to the naming of the *shite*, Musō's *waka* on the blossoms—especially those lamenting their faults—and his use of the term "the blossom in the heart" (*kokoro no hana* 心の花), a phrase that is also uttered by the *shite.*[110] Although none of Musō's verses in *SKS* directly state that the fault of the blossoms is a product of the mind, as we have seen, Musō's *waka* does indeed seek to reframe as subjective other well-established "faults" in this way. For this reason, we might also add to the list of Zeami's possible influences Musō's pedagogical verses that locate flaws associated with various phenomena within the mind.

6 Rarefying the Pine Wind

Just as Musō simultaneously affirms the traditional handling of established tropes even as he questions their suppositions elsewhere, he alternately laments and celebrates the pine wind, that most dreaded reminder of loneliness. Musō's first verse on the subject is very conventional, echoing the well-established association of the pine wind and feelings of isolation it conjures:

109 Zeami 世阿弥, "*Saigyō zakura* 西行桜," in *Yōkyokushū* 1 謡曲集 1, ed. Koyama Hiroshi 小山弘志 and Satō Ken'ichirō 佐藤健一郎, vol. 58 of *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1997), 487-498.

110 Itō Masayoshi 伊藤正義, "Kakukyoku kaidai 各曲解題," in *Yōkyokushū* 謡曲集, vol. 2, ed. Itō Masayoshi 伊藤正義, *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* 新潮日本古典集成 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1986), 441. Ikegami Yasuo 池上康夫, "*Saigyō zakura* oboegaki「西行桜」覚書," *Karuchūru: Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kyōyō Kyōiku Sentaa kiyō* カルチュール: 明治学院大学教養教育センター紀要 5, no. 1 (2011): 6. For additional discussion of Zeami's and Musō's *waka*, see Ōtani Setsuko 大谷節子, "Zeami to Zen oboegaki—Musō Soseki *Muchū mondōshū* o chūshin ni— 世阿弥と禅覚書—夢窓疎石『夢中問答集』を中心に," *Bungaku* 文学 1, no. 6 (2000): 61-62. For Musō's poems on the fault of the blossoms and the fault of the wind in scattering the blossoms, see Poems 7 and 9 respectively in *SKS*; for his poem on the blossoms in the heart, see Poem 3.

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Again, in the mountains of Kamakura, there was a hut that someone had set up and abandoned. He spent one night there, with the pine wind blowing all night at the eaves.

60 わがさきにすみけん人のさびしさを身にききそふる軒の松かぜ

wa ga saki ni	the sadness of
sumiken hito no	the person who lived here
sabishisa o	before me
mi ni kikisouru	I hear to no end
noki no matsukaze	in the pine wind at my eaves

The situation presented here is the conventional one of a traveler seeking shelter, and Musō shows his knowledge of poetic traditions by incorporating the well-established *waka* trope associating the pine wind with isolation, which began with the *Goshūishū* 後拾遺集 anthology in the late eleventh century. Given that *matsu* means both "to wait" and "pine" (as in the tree), poets often used this expression to depict waiting for someone who never comes.[111]

Although Musō interprets the pine wind in the usual sense in the above verse, elsewhere he offers a very different take:

78 ふくたびにいやめづらしきここちしてききふるされぬ軒のまつかぜ

fuku tabi ni	each time it blows
iya mezurashiki	I feel
kokochi shite	it is even more magnificent,
kikifurusarenu	I never tire of hearing
noki no matsukaze	the pine wind at my eaves

The idea of never tiring of the sound of the pine wind is a clear departure from the established tradition that he himself invokes elsewhere, in which the sound of the wind in the pines so often leaves the poet pining (per the pun), with a keen sense of loneliness. This sense of the pine wind is captured by Musō's younger contemporary Tonna 頓阿 (1289-1372) in a poem that uses wording that closely resembles Musō's own phrasing. From Tonna's personal *waka* anthology, *Sōanshū* 草庵集 (1359):

111 Heavily influenced by trends in *kanshi*, some uses of the term feature confusion with the sound of rain or a likening to the sound of the *koto*. The association with loneliness became primary from the time of the *Gosenshū* 後撰集 (951). See Fukutome Atsuko 福留温子, "Matsukaze" in Kubota Jun 久保田淳 and Baba Akiko 馬場あき子, eds., *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten* 歌ことば歌枕大辞典 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1999), 806-807.

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Ten-verse contest at Konrenji 金蓮寺.

1193 さびしさは思ひしままの宿ながら猶ききわぶる軒のまつかぜ

sabishisa wa	the loneliness of life
omoishi mama no	here in my lodging
yado nagara	I had expected
nao kikiwaburu	but ah, how I tire of hearing
noki no matsukaze	the wind in the pine at my eaves.[112]

Whereas Tonna grows weary (*kikiwaburu*) of the pine wind at his eaves, Musō celebrates it, even exclaiming how magnificent (*iya mezurashiki*)[113] it is and making the polar opposite poetic pronouncement: that he never tires of hearing it (*kikifurusarenu*). Notably, the phrase *kikifurusarenu* also occurs in a poem by that other famed Buddhist recluse poet, Saigyō, on the *hototogisu*, or cuckoo:

Sankashū · Summer

From *five verses on the hototogisu.* Saigyō

189 待つことは初音までかと思ひしに聞き古されぬ時鳥かな

matsu koto wa	I once thought,
hatsune made ka to	isn't the wait over
omoishini	upon the first cry?
kikifurusarenu	how I never tire of hearing
hototogisu kana	the *hototogisu*

112 Translation adapted from Steven D. Carter, *Just Living: Poems and prose by the Japanese monk Tonna* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 106.

113 The same phrase, found often in the poems of the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (late eighth century) is also employed in an anonymous *Fūgashū* poem, in a reference to a more conventionally magnificent delight:

Book 1 · *Spring*
79 人毎に折りかざしつつ遊べどもいやめづらしき梅の花かも

hito goto ni	everyone
orikazashitsutsu	breaks off a branch to wear as decoration
asobedomo	for fun
iya mezurashiki	yet how magnificent they are!
ume no hana kamo	plum blossoms

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Here, Saigyō's poem employs the well-worn trope of the poet eagerly awaiting the call of the *hototogisu* to herald the start of summer, and thus his exasperation at being made to wait between its subsequent infrequent cries is unsurprising—a manipulation of the trope, for sure, but nothing truly unusual or iconoclastic. Musō's treatment, on the other hand, truly stands the old trope on its head.

Naturally, we cannot know whether Musō had Saigyō's poem in mind when he used the same *kikifurusarenu*, but when we compare the two, it is clear that Musō's application of the phrase to the pine wind conveys a quite different and more unusual sentiment. It must be noted, however, that Musō was not alone in attempting praise of the pine wind, for similar gestures appear in Myōe's posthumously edited personal *waka* collection, *Myōe Shōnin kashū* 明恵上人歌集 (1248). Of particular interest is the following verse, which later made its way into the Buddhist poems section of *Shinsenzaishū* (1359), indicating its interest to poets active just after Musō's time:

When going to the meditation hall, the moon was clouded over; having emerged from meditation, the moon came out from between the clouds accompanied by the pine wind. He couldn't help but recite:

88 心月のすむに無明の雲はれて解脱の門に松風ぞふく

kokoro tsuki no	the clouds of ignorance
sumu ni mumyō no	cleared away
kumo harete	in the limpid moon of the mind;
gedatsu no mon ni	at the gate of liberation
matsu kaze zo fuku	the long-awaited pine wind blows
	SHINSENZAISHŪ • Buddhist poems 874

As Hirano explains, this poem, which features a reappraisal of the pine wind in a clearly Buddhist context, is typical of later *waka* by Myōe specifically identified as having been composed after meditative practice and thus functioning as a reflection of the poet's luminous mental state at that time.[114]

Musō might also have found inspiration in the tradition of Chan/Zen poetry in literary Chinese. Musō's juxtaposition of the pine wind and *kikifurusarenu*

114 Hirano Tae, "Naze Myōe wa waka o yonda ka なぜ明恵は和歌を詠んだか," in *Nihon ni okeru shūkyō tekusuto no shoisō to tōjihō: "tekusuto fuchi no kaishakugakuteki kenkyū to kyōiku"* 日本における宗教テクストの諸位相と統辞法：「テクスト布置の解釈学的研究と教育」, *Dai yonkai kokusai kenkyū shūkai hōkokusho* 第4回国際研究集会報告書 (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyūka, 2008), 215-217.

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may be one example of this, for however unprecedented it may be in *waka*, it is highly reminiscent of the treatment of the pine wind found in the Chan/Zen tradition, specifically in a poem attributed to Hanshan (J. Kanzan 寒山, n.d.), a quasi-legendary Tang dynasty hermit poet idealized in Chan/Zen literature and a favorite topic in Gozan art and poetry.[115] This poem appears in full in the commentary by Yuanwu Keqin to Case 34 of the Chan text *Blue Cliff Record* (C. *Biyanlu*, J. *Hekiganroku* 碧巌録, 1125), a text well known to Musō. The relevant lines read:

微風吹幽松	A gentle wind blows in the dense pines;
近聴声愈好	heard from nearby, the sound is even better.[116]

It is important to note that Hanshan is certainly not the first Chinese poet to have praised the sound of the pine wind; however, his place (and the place of this line in particular) in the tradition of Chinese poetry and Chan/Zen literature is significant, especially when we consider its inclusion in the *Blue Cliff Record*, a *kōan* collection referenced throughout the Zen tradition. Whether Musō was echoing Myōe or paying homage to the *Blue Cliff Record*—or both—cannot be known. Nevertheless, the effect of Musō's poem in his collection is clear, insofar as it works to celebrate what would otherwise be a sad sound of solitude, in contrast to ordinary apprehensions—including his own—of the pine wind as a bearer of sadness.

7 Elegantly Unconfused

Elsewhere, Musō calls into question other fundamental motifs, also in the service of the Buddhist teachings. This includes the well-established poetic custom of the elegant confusion (*mitate* 見立て) of blossoms and snow. For instance:

115 For an introduction to Hanshan, see Robert G. Henricks, *The Poetry of Han-shan: A complete, annotated translation of Cold Mountain* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), 3-26.

116 The Hanshan poem as quoted in the *Blue Cliff Record* reads as follows: "If you want a place to rest your body, you can preserve it long on Cold Mountain. The gentle wind blows in the dense pines; heard from nearby, the sound is even better. Underneath is a man with half-grey hair furiously reading Daoist books. For ten years he couldn't return, and forgot the road he took when he came." English translation is from Thomas Cleary, trans. *The Blue Cliff Record: Taishō Volume 48, Number 2003* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1998), 181. *Foguo Yuanwu Chanshi Biyanlu* 仏果円悟禅師碧巌録 T 2003 48: 173, b19-20.

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Composed while gazing out at Arashiyama from the abbot's quarters at Tenryūji on a day when snow was falling.

56 雪ふりて花かとみゆるあらしやま松と桜ぞさすがかはれる

yuki furite — snow falls
hana ka to miyuru — looking like blossoms
Arashiyama — on Arashiyama,
matsu to sakura zo — and yet pines and cherry trees
sasuga kawareru — do differ

This verse seems to be taking issue with the poetic tendency to confuse snow and blossoms that began around the time of the *Shinsen man'yōshū* 新撰万葉集 (Book One, 893) and the *Kokinshū* in the early tenth century. It is unclear whether he had a specific poem in mind, but representative examples include:

Shinsen man'yōshū 新撰万葉集 · Winter

松之葉舟宿留雪者四十人舟芝手時迷勢留花砥許曾見禮

87 松の葉に宿れる雪はよそにして時惑はせる花とこそ見れ[117]

matsu no ha ni — snow resting
yadoreru yuki wa — on pine needles—
yoso ni shite — seen from afar
toki madowaseru — looks just like flowers
hana to koso mire — confusing me about the season

Gosenshū 後撰集· Winter — Poet Unknown
Topic Unknown.

475 年ふれど色もかはらぬ松がえにかかれる雪を花とこそ見れ

toshi furedo — late in the year and yet
iro mo kawaranu — their hue is unchanged,
matsu ga e ni — snow
kakareru yuki o — on pine branches
hana to koso mire — looks just like flowers

117 *Shinsen Man'yōshū* Kenkyūkai 新撰万葉集研究会, ed., vol. 1.2 of *Shinsen man'yōshū chūshaku* 新撰万葉集注釈 (Osaka: Izumi Shoten, 2005), 325-331.

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Toying with this convention, Musō seems to be insisting that a distinction should in fact be made between blossoms and snow, despite the fact that one of his own *kanshi* on the subject employs the phrase "ice flowers" to compare snowflakes to blossoms.[118] His reasons for doing so here likely come not from the poetic tradition itself but instead, as the editors of *Shakkyō kaei zenshū* note, to suggest that "even in equality, there are characteristics,"[119] a phrase that appears in the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*.[120] In making this reference, Musō is perhaps reminding us that, contrary to the tendencies of the poetic tradition, the forms of blossoms and snow are not the same, although both are part of an absolute equality.

As yet another poem challenging the confusion of blossoms and snow demonstrates, Musō does not merely seek to affirm the differences of individual phenomena, for elsewhere he uses the very same motif to emphasize the unity of all things vis-à-vis the fundamental buddha-nature:

> Composed when he remembered the phrase "grasses, trees, and land all become buddhas"[121] in the snow.

52 わきてこの花さく木をとうゑけるは雪みぬときのこころなりけり

wakite kono	thinking that
hana saku ki o to	a flowering tree
uekeru wa	was planted here
yuki minu toki no	is the essence of
kokoro narikeri	not seeing snow

In this case Musō's poem seems to be challenging the poetic convention of searching for the plum blossoms that are virtually indistinguishable from fallen snow, a poetic convention that begins in poems like this from the time of the *Kokinshū:*

118 See for example, "Snowy Valley" and "Reply to Master Sūzan's Snow Poem" in Merwin and Shigematsu, *Sun at Midnight*, 28; 84. *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 220; 238.

119 Sasaki et al., *Shakkyō kaei zenshū*, 124.

120 *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* 大般若波羅蜜多経 T 220 6: 1053b21-b22.

121 A phrase that appears throughout medieval Japanese Buddhist writings and alludes to the enlightenment of insentient beings.

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Kokinshū · Winter
On plum blossoms in the snow Ki no Tsurayuki

336 梅のかのふりおける雪にまがひせはたれかことごとわきてをらまし

ume no ka no	if the plum's fragrance
furiokeru yuki ni	were to penetrate the snow
magaiseba	lodged on its branches,
tare ka kotogoto	who could make a distinction
wakite oramashi	and break off a flowering bough?[122]

Composed while watching snow fall. Ki no Tomonori

337 雪ふれば木ごとに花ぞさきにけるいづれを梅とわきてをらまし

yuki fureba	snow falls
ki goto ni hana zo	and flowers bloom
sakinikeru	on each tree
izure o ume to	how might I pick out
wakite oramashi	a plum blossom?

A comparison with these precedents makes Musō's point apparent, for instead of playfully searching for the flowers disguised in the snow, Musō—seemingly playing the role of teacher—chides those who get caught up in the search for plum blossoms and make the mistake of "not seeing snow," that is, not acknowledging the buddha-nature found in all phenomena, including grasses, trees, and the snow itself.[123] Calling into question the search for blossoms, *SKS* presents a new conception in which snow is equally as desirable as blossoms. The choice of snow is particularly apt in that it is something that covers the entire landscape without exception and thus skillfully illustrates the pervasiveness of buddha-nature.

8 Conclusion

Despite his relatively informal involvement in Japanese poetry, Musō was nonetheless a celebrated participant in the Way of *waka* and an inventive con-

122 Translation adapted from McCullough, *Kokin Wakashū*, 81.
123 Sasaki et al., *Shakkyō kaei zenshū*, 124.

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tributor to medieval Buddhist poetic discourse. His *waka* collection bespeaks his knowledge of the poetic canons, while his rhetoric is nonetheless one that allows for the coexistence of seemingly contradictory images and treatments of poetic tropes borrowed from the tradition with re-interpretations and even challenges to those motifs for instructional purposes. Accordingly, the text affirms Musō's place in the *waka* tradition through the inclusion of poems that uphold its norms, while verses in violation confirm his status as Zen master, thereby complementing the image forged in *Muchū mondōshū*.

On the surface, the poems of *SKS* may present grass huts, blossoms, pine wind, and the moon, but those images often open up other larger panoramas that transcend the aesthetic and engage the pedagogical. An influential example of Zen's encounter with *waka*, *SKS* and its inconsistencies serve as an important reminder that this meeting, even when oriented to pedagogical ends, was taking place firmly within the established *waka* tradition. *SKS* thus offers ample insight into how Zen's absorption into the *waka* tradition was negotiated vis-à-vis the established poetic diction, as the courtly art and its conventions in turn shaped modes of Zen pedagogy in medieval Japan.

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CHAPTER 3

Blossoms Before Moss: Medieval Views of Musō Soseki's Saihōji

Behind the gate to the modern Saihōji, a voluminous weeping cherry tree grows quietly near the main hall, yet even those visitors who see this tree at the height of its spring bloom may leave without knowing of the temple's long association with cherry blossoms. Now better known as Kokedera or "the Moss Temple," Saihōji features a resplendent emerald moss mantle and is undoubtedly one of the most well-known gardens in all of modern Japan. Although the credit for this masterpiece, designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1994, is almost always given to Musō, the appearance of the present precincts has changed substantially since the medieval period.[1]

Destroyed almost completely by fires during the Ōnin Wars (1467-1477), Saihōji was rebuilt with support from prominent patrons, including Jōdo Shinshū head Rennyo 蓮如 (1415-1499) in 1486 and Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) in 1568. The temple also suffered extensive flood damage on two occasions in the Edo period, after which the temple and its grounds were reconstructed, albeit in altered fashion.[2] Scholars estimate that the luminescent moss that thrives today overtook the temple's grounds only in the late Edo period;[3] it was not until the twentieth century that Saihōji became widely

* This chapter incorporates portions of the following article: Molly Vallor, "Koke yori sakura: Saihōji ni okeru Musō Soseki to Zenshū 苔より桜：西芳寺における夢窓疎石と禅宗." *Nihon kenkyū* 日本研究 42 (2012): 31-43.

1 Hisatsune Shūji, *Kyōto meienki*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Seibundō Shinkōsha, 1969), 125-128. Most structures at the present Saihōji bear little resemblance to their predecessors and date from the repairs that began in 1878, with the exception of the current Shōnantei 湘南亭, which was built during the Keichō era (1596-1615). Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 126. It goes without saying that the present cherry tree is not the original tree.

2 During the Ōnin War, all structures were lost to fire, save for the Shōnantei 湘南亭, which was built on a sandbar in the middle of the pond. After being rebuilt over a period of time, the temple was lost to the fires of war in 1534 and again rebuilt only to be devastated by two major floods in the Edo period, one in the Kan'ei 寛永 era (1624-1644) and the other in 1688. These events left the garden covered in mud, and the pond that exists today was later reconstructed on a smaller scale. See Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 126-128; Hida Norio 飛田範夫, *Teien no chūsei shi* 庭園の中世史 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006), 63-64.

3 As Kunimitsu Shirō 邦光史郎 explains, it is unclear why and how the more than 50 varieties of moss that cover the grounds today first grew at the temple. Scholars estimate that this likely occurred in the late Edo period, although there is no documentary evidence attesting to moss growth at this time. See Kunimitsu Shirō, "Koke musu yūjaku no sekai 苔むす幽寂の世界,"

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FIGURE 9 Weeping cherry blossom tree at Saihōji

known as the Moss Temple, attracting visitors from around the world. Today, the temple remains a popular sightseeing destination for tourists seeking the lush moss brocade and the dry rock waterfall, said to sound like rushing water when viewed against the backdrop of the silent precincts.[4]

Because Saihōji's appearance kept changing over the centuries due to repeated disasters and constant rebuilding, it is extremely difficult to know how the temple might have looked in Musō's time. No illustrations exist from that period, and contemporary descriptions are not detailed enough to facilitate a total replication of the precincts, although a good deal can be ascertained.[5]

in *Tanbō Nihon no niwa* 探訪日本の庭, vol. 7, ed. Aiga Tetsuo 相賀徹夫 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1978), 58.

4 Graham Parkes, "The Role of Rock in the Japanese Dry Landscape Garden," in Berthier, *Reading Zen in the rocks*, trans. and ed. Graham Parkes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 106-107.

5 Much of the medieval garden has been accounted for in previous studies, thanks to detailed accounts such as *Nihonkoku Saihōji gūshinki* 日本国栖芳寺遇真記 (1443) by Korean envoy Shin Sukju 申叔舟 (1417-1475). For research on the appearance of the medieval garden, see Shigemori Mirei and Shigemori Kanto, *Kamakura no niwa*, Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, and Toyama Eisaku 外山英策, *Muromachi jidai teienshi* 室町時代庭園史 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1973). For a partial translation of Shin Sukju's account, see P. Richard Stanley-Baker, "Mythic and Sacred Gardens in Medieval Japan: Sacral Mediation in the Rokuonji and Saihōji Gardens," in *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency*, ed. Michel Conan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 143-145.

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FIGURE 10
Dry rock waterfall at Saihōji

Medieval accounts of the temple nonetheless afford us a view of a very different Saihōji—one that challenges the modern "Zen" aesthetic that has been projected upon the garden in its current form.[6]

While texts produced in the decades following Musō's restoration do mention hillside moss in passing, the dry rock waterfall located midway up the slopes of Kōinzan 洪隠山 is perhaps the most celebrated "Zen" feature in the garden today, and yet it is not directly attested to in documentary sources until the Edo period.[7] Sources from after Musō's time do list a Laṅkā Cave (*Ryōga*

6 For a re-consideration of Ryōanji 龍安寺, Japan's most famous Zen garden, and the process by which this historically uncelebrated garden came to be a symbol of Japanese culture in the twentieth century, see Shoji Yamada, *Shots in the Dark: Japan, Zen, and the West*, trans. Earl Hartman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

7 The first example of this feature being interpreted as a dry rock waterfall is the diagram found in *Tsukiyama niwatsukuriden* 築山庭作伝 (1735). See Takahashi Tōko 高橋桃子, "Chūsei Saihōji no rekishi to teienkan 中世西芳寺の歴史と庭園観," in *Nihon kodai chūsei no seiji to*

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kutsu 楞伽窟) that may refer to this element, yet no source provides any direct details about that feature's appearance or its reception.[8] For this reason, scholars of landscape architecture disagree over whether the dry rock waterfall predates Musō, was created by him, or was a later addition.[9] What medieval sources do make clear, however, is that Musō's Saihōji was radically different in appearance from what currently exists, and that medieval interpretations of this site tended to emphasize very different features from those "Zen" elements that garner so much attention today.

As Takahashi Tōko 高橋桃子 has noted in her consideration of medieval accounts written by visitors to the temple, guests at Musō's Saihōji sought not moss and rocks, but came for boating, music making, and seasonal activities such as maple-leaf viewing in autumn, and especially, springtime cherry-blossom viewing.[10] Although these diversions are not usually associated with Zen gardens in the modern mind, it appears that by the time of the early Nanboku-

bunka 日本古代中世の政治と文化, ed. Saeki Arikiyo 佐伯有清 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1997), 354-355.

8 Many modern scholars have sought to shed light on the mystery of the rock waterfall. Suggesting that this feature is named for the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* (J. *Ryōgakyō* 楞伽経), a sutra well known in the Zen lineage, Hisatsune conjectures that it simultaneously symbolizes the Laṅkā castle, at which the Buddha preaches in the sutra, as well as the three criteria for dwelling places of practitioners set forth in the sutra. These are: under trees, in rocky caves, and at a sacred site. Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 215-217. Takahashi likewise conjectures that the Laṅkā Cave refers to this feature and attributes the lack of medieval references to the fact that it was located in an area that was designated for practice and not widely visited. See Takahashi, "Chūsei Saihōji no rekishi," 377-378. Hida Norio, conversely, reasons that this feature corresponds to the Kongōdan 金剛壇 (Diamond Platform), given its platform-like arrangement; he also argues that because the shape of the structure is not reminiscent of a cave, it cannot be the Laṅkā cave. See Hida, *Teien no chūsei shi*, 60-61.

9 One of the foremost garden designers of the twentieth century, Shigemori Mirei suggests that the Saihōji garden in fact predates Musō to the late Heian or early Kamakura period and was not created by him. See Shigemori and Shigemori, *Kamakura no niwa*, 53, 78-79, 82. Hida argues that the arrangement dates from sometime after the death of Ashikaga Yoshimasa, possibly during the renovations of Rennyo or Nobunaga. Hida, *Teien no chūsei shi*, 60-64. For an outline of the various arguments linking the arrangement to Musō, see Umezawa Atsunosuke 梅沢篤之介, "Karesansui no kenkyū 1: Saihōji kōinzan karesansui no sakusha oyobi sono sakutei nendai ni tsuite 枯山水の研究1: 西芳寺洪隠山枯山水の作者及びその作庭年代について," *Zōen zasshi* 造園雑誌, 23, no. 4 (1960): 1-2, <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/naid/110004660059>. Umezawa himself argues that the rock arrangement may date from the Edo period.

10 Takahashi, "Chūsei Saihōji no rekishi," 376-377. As Toyama Eisaku notes, it was not until the time of third Muromachi *shōgun* Ashikaga Yoshimitsu that the temple became known for its maple leaves in autumn. See Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teienshi*, 420. Indeed, accounts of the temple dating from Musō's time and just after do not mention maple leaves, thus suggesting that cherry blossoms were the uncontested centerpiece of the temple immediately after Musō's renovations.

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chō period (1336-1392), imperial progresses featuring the above leisure activities were indeed taking place at Saihōji and Tenryūji—both of which were Zen temples founded (or re-founded, in the case of the former) by Musō.[11]

In addition to challenging modern ideas about the nature and function of Zen gardens, these findings contrast sharply with modern interpretations of Musō's Saihōji as a private retreat and isolated place of practice. For example, Tamamura juxtaposes Saihōji with the more public locus of Rinsenji, the center of the Musō line, to present Saihōji as satisfying the reclusive tendencies displayed by Musō earlier in his life. To Tamamura and others scholars, Saihōji was a place of unseen power for the Musō line, where seasoned elder monks left the secular world to devote themselves to practice.[12] While Saihōji was indeed a small, privately operated temple that was home to just sixteen monks, it was also an important social space for parties and play and, as medieval accounts make clear, a place where ties between the Musō line and its prominent patrons could be forged beneath the blossoms.[13]

Building on previous research, I will examine medieval narratives of the temple to further challenge the modern notions of an austere and "Zen" aesthetic found in many interpretations of the medieval temple.[14] My intent in doing so is not to detract from the splendor of the modern garden but to enhance our appreciation for the garden by shedding light on medieval views of the temple in Musō's time and after. In particular, I will focus on accounts produced by members of the Musō line, for it was this group, rather than casual

11 Previously, imperial garden recreation in the early Kamakura period had taken place mainly at imperial and aristocratic residences. Sekinishi Takayasu 関西剛康, "Kamakura-kōki kara Nanboku-shoki ni okeru jōkō, tennōra no teien no riyō no hensen ni kansuru ichikōsatsu 鎌倉後期から南北初期における上皇・天皇らの庭園の利用の変遷に関する一考察," *Randosukeepu kenkyū* ランドスケープ研究, 78, no. 5 (2015): 491-492.

12 Tamamura, 67-68. This view is echoed by Nomura Shun'ichi 野村俊一, who views Saihōji as a place of practice for a community of Musō's most trusted disciples, in contrast to Tenryūji and Rinsenji, both of which were official monasteries. Nomura Shun'ichi, "Chūsei Zen'in no sansui to Musō Soseki: Saihōji to Zuisenji 中世禅院の山水と夢窓礎石 : 西芳寺と瑞泉寺," in *Nihon fūkeishi: Vijon o meguru gihō* 日本風景史—ヴィジョンをめぐる技法, ed. Taji Takahiro 田路貴浩, Saitō Ushio 齋藤潮, and Yamaguchi Keita 山口敬太 (Kyoto: Shōwadō, 2015), 116. Kuitert, conversely, argues that Saihōji was not a place for strict Zen practice but was rather "a pleasure park for the ruling elite." Wybe Kuitert, *Themes in the History of Japanese Garden Art* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 230, n. 12.

13 "Saihō ikun 西芳遺訓," in *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 425.

14 For other interpretations of Saihōji, see Berthier, *Reading Zen in the Rocks*, 20, 24-25 and Keir Davidson, *A Zen Life in Nature: Musō Soseki in His Gardens* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies, 2007), 265. On visits to the Saihōji garden by the Ashikaga shoguns as a means to enhance the symbolic power of their regime, see Stanley-Baker, "Mythic and Sacred Gardens."

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FIGURE 11 Garden at Saihōji

visitors, who most actively—and strategically—projected their interpretations onto the temple and its landscape.

I begin by recounting the legends associated with the temple as detailed in the main narrative of the temple's history, *Saihō shōja engi* 西芳精舎縁起 (1400), in order to highlight the sacred history of Saihōji as envisioned by the Musō line. I then explore how Musō and his disciples appropriated the temple's famed cherry blossoms—its primary symbol—to bind the temple to prominent patrons and establish the Zen tradition at the site. Finally, I consider the nature and significance of Musō's improvements to explain how the temple took on an identity as a memorial to Musō, while also retaining its associations with the Pure Land tradition.

1 A Long and Sacred History in *Saihō shōja engi*

Written in 1400 by then-abbot Chūi Nakai 急渓中韋 (n.d.), *Saihō shōja engi* offers perhaps the most detailed narrative of Saihōji's long history, although little

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is known about its author, the work itself, or its reception.[15] The *Engi* was nevertheless produced during a time of intense interest in Saihōji. Preceded by two major renovations of the garden undertaken by third Muromachi *shōgun* Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408) in 1386 and 1391, the *Engi* was composed just three years after Yoshimitsu began work on his Kitayama estate. A sprawling residence that would later be converted to a temple known as Rokuonji 鹿苑寺 (now most commonly referred to as Kinkakuji 金閣寺—the Golden Pavilion), the Kitayama project was greatly influenced by Saihōji.[16]

In keeping with its function as a temple origin story, *Saihō shōja engi* stresses the sacred nature of the site by invoking its ties to *kami*, buddhas, and eminent personages from past and present. A brief overview of the temple's legend as it is presented in the *Engi* will serve to introduce the sacred nature of Saihōji as envisioned a half century after Musō's death. While the *Engi*'s postscript maintains that it was compiled in response to official order and faithfully follows old records, a wide variety of which are quoted in the work, what concerns us here is not the precise facts of history but rather legend, particularly the way in which Saihōji and its blossoms were presented as sacrosanct at the time of the *Engi*'s production.[17] As Hisatsune points out in his overview of the *Engi*, although the prominent personages that appear in it likely had some relationship with Saihōji or its surrounding areas, it is highly probable that many of

15 *Saihō shōja engi* 西芳精舎縁起, in *Kokubun tōhō Bukkyō sōsho* 國文東方佛教叢書, vol. 6, ed. Washio Junkei 鷲尾順敬 (Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1927), 261-274. As Ishii Hideo's 石井英雄 notes to this text explain, apart from the *Saihō shōja engi*, which was written in *kana*, there was also a *mana* 真名 (*kanji*) version (no longer extant) that is quoted in *Yamashiro meishōshi* 山城名勝誌 (1705). Ishii Hideo, "*Saihōji engi* 西芳寺縁起," in *Shakkebu* 釈家部, vol. 7 of *Gunsho ruijū kaidai*, ed. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1982), 374.

16 Ishii, "*Saihōji engi*," 374. Nomura, "Chūsei Zen'in no sansui," 113. For a discussion of Rokuonji and Saihōji and the Muromachi regime, see Stanley-Baker, "Mythic and Sacred Gardens." On the political significance of Yoshimitsu's Kitayama estate, see Stavros, *Kyoto*, 119-122.

17 Ryūichi Abé explains the utility of *engi* in this way: "[E]ven with ancient narratives whose nature is essentially fantastic and mythological, it is possible to recover in their rhetorical, poetic, and metaphorical dimensions the manner in which relationships between the past, present, and future were imagined and used to explain new sacred events in relation to the past. *Engi* therefore provide a fertile ground for investigating the historical consciousness and rationality animating the episteme within which Japanese religious discourse operated." Ryūichi Abé, "Revisiting the Dragon Princess: Her Role in Medieval *Engi* Stories and Their Implications in Reading the *Lotus Sutra*," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 42, no. 1 (2015): 31. It is precisely the "historical consciousness" of the medieval Saihōji and its landscape that this chapter aims to uncover.

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them never visited that exact site.[18] However, as we shall see, their perceived traces were nonetheless integral to the temple's image.[19]

The *Engi* begins by recounting the site's origin as the villa of Prince Shōtoku 聖徳太子 (574-622),[20] featuring a pond of pure water at which Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来 (Sk. Amitābha Tathāgata) appears. It then explains how the prince carved a reflection of Amida's likeness on his wooden mace for the protection of the country's subjects (*gokokumin no shaku* 護国民の笏)[21] and placed it in a stupa decorated with the seven jewels. He then enshrined the stupa in a newly built building to the west of the pond and arranged for sutras to be read there. The *Engi* subsequently records how a water *kami* appears and informs the prince that imperial ancestor and sun *kami* Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大神 and the myriad *kami* appear at the site in the morning, while Amida appears there with his holy assembly in the evening. Revealing its status as a protector of the area and rejoicing in the prince's sutra recitations, the water *kami* offers a single jewel to the stupa before taking its leave.

In response, the prince scoops up some water from the pond and makes offerings in order to pay homage to the various deities and pray for the welfare of the sovereign and subjects.[22] Through its association with Prince Shōtoku, Saihōji is thus portrayed from its start as having connections to the imperial house. Moreover, Prince Shōtoku fulfills his role as protector of the people by etching Amida's image into his protective mace and paying homage to it at this sacred place.

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18 Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 137. One obvious exception is, of course, Musō, whose activities at Saihōji are well documented in a variety of sources.

19 This difficulty of separating fact from fiction is, of course, not unique to *Saihō shōja engi*, but is rather a characteristic of many works identified as *engi*. As Heather Blair and Tsuyoshi Kawasaki note in their introduction to a special volume of *Journal of Japanese Studies* devoted to *engi*, "It is thus important to recognize that *engi* are often, even always, heavily mediated, and that their history should be open to ongoing criticism and reassessment. Furthermore, precisely because they were meant to build up a legitimate history for religious institutions, *engi* often involved fabrication.... certainly, the rhetorical investments of *engi* are at least as important as other information they may convey." Heather Blair and Kawasaki Tsuyoshi 川崎剛志, "Editors' Introduction: *Engi*: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 42, no. 1 (2015): 5.

20 Prince Shōtoku (574-622) was lionized in medieval Japan as a model ruler and ideal Buddhist devotee. In addition to being credited with the propagation of Buddhism in Japan through temple building and the authorship of scriptural commentary, he is said to have created the Seventeen Article Constitution (*kenpō jūshichijō* 憲法十七条) and the twelve-rank system used at court while serving as regent (*sesshō* 摂政) under his aunt, Empress Suiko 推古天皇 (554-628).

21 The original sentence in the *Engi* uses the homophonic character 爵 ("rank") as an *ateji* 当て字, or substitute character, for 笏 ("mace").

22 *Saihō shōja engi*, 265.

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The site is also presented as a stage for rituals pertaining to the state. The *Engi* describes how, in a time of drought, the prince uses the jewel to inform heaven of drought plaguing the land. When relief comes near and far in the form of rain, people donate plants, trees, fish and birds, which the prince himself plants and releases at the site in the *Engi*'s first example of sacred landscaping. This event is characterized as the country's first example of *hōjō* 放生 (animal release) and a precedent for a highly efficacious seventeen-day ceremonial release of animals (*hōjōe* 放生会) held by Shingon founder Kūkai 空海 (774-835), who was then residing there. The text elsewhere establishes the sacred nature of the site by highlighting its associations with its neighbor, now known as Matsuno'o Taisha 松尾大社, and the *kami* enshrined there, Matsuno'o Myōjin 松尾明神. It quotes an episode included in the first Japanese Buddhist history *Genkō Shakusho* 元亨釈書 (1322) in which the *myōjin* appears to Enrō Shōnin 延朗上人 (1130-1208) of the Tendai lineage and restorer of nearby Saifukuji 最福寺.[23]

Returning to the *Engi*'s narrative of the history of the temple, we see that it is not until over a century later that a temple is built on the site by Gyōki 行基 (668-749), a figure known for his public works projects and his building of a large number of temples in the Kinki region; he features heavily in many temple origin stories. Gyōki dubs the temple Saihōji 西方寺 (literally, temple in the western direction), in apparent reference to Amida's Western Pure Land. Several centuries later, the *Engi* tells us, after the temple falls into disrepair, Pure Land founder Hōnen is asked by the provincial governor of Settsu province (now Osaka and Hyōgo prefectures) and *nenbutsu* 念仏 devotee Nahakara Morokazu 中原師員 (1185-1251)[24] to serve as the fifth founder of the temple

23 *Saihō shōja engi*, 265-266, 273. Saifukuji was located on the grounds of what is now Kegonji 華厳寺, better known as Suzumushidera (The Cricket temple) for the singing crickets that serenade visitors year-round from inside terrariums kept in the temple. See Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 147-149.

24 The version of the *Engi* found in Vol. 6 of *Kokubun tōhō Bukkyō sōsho* cited here lists the unknown Nakahara Morosada 中原師貞 as the patron. This is likely an editorial error, since the *Zoku gunsho ruijū* version and secondary sources agree that the readily identifiable Morokazu was the patron in question. See "*Saihōji engi* 西芳寺縁起," in Zoku gunsho ruijū, vol. 27, bk. 1, ed. Hanawa Hokinoichi 塙保己一 and Ōta Tōshirō 太田藤四郎 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruiju Kanseikai, 1957), 441. Both Morokazu and Fujiwara Chikahide 藤原親秀 were members of the Ōe clan which hailed from Western Kyoto, where Saihōji is located. The descendants of the Ōe went on to become prominent scholars who served the court and later the *bakufu*. Their ancestral grave was located at the site of Saihōji. Morokazu enjoyed close ties to the Kamakura *bakufu*, serving as a member of the first Council of State (*hyōjōshū* 評定衆). It is unlikely that Morokazu, who held numerous appointments in Kamakura, undertook the restorations with Hōnen during the Kenkyū era,

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sometime during the Kenkyū 建久 era (1190-1199). At this point, Morokazu separates the precincts into two temples: the Temple of the Defiled Land, Edoji 穢土寺, and the Temple of the Western Direction, Saihōji 西方寺.[25]

Following a period of war, the temple is reduced to shambles again, until a later governor of Settsu, Fujiwara Chikahide 藤原親秀 (d. 1341?),[26] confines himself in prayer before the main image, seeking insight as to how he might enlist the aid of an eminent priest to restore the temple. Following a divine dream, he visits Rinsenji to ask Musō Soseki for help. The temple is restored as a Zen monastery under the auspices of the ruling warrior families, who donate lands to the project. The *Engi* explains that Musō's improvements include the construction of buildings and garden redesigns that are assisted by none other than the Bodhisattva Jizō 地蔵菩薩 (Sk. Kṣitigarbha), who comes to the site in the guise of a monk and lends a hand by moving large rocks and trees. It is on the occasion of Musō's renovations that the temple is renamed Saihō Shōja 西芳精舎, (literally, "monastery of the western fragrance"), in reference to the flourishing of Zen after the coming of the first patriarch Bodhidharma from the West.[27]

2 The Temple and the Blossoms

Across these vicissitudes, the temple's ongoing association with the imperial house and influential warriors is emphasized by the presence of its storied cherry tree, a unifying motif not only in the *Engi* but also in Musō's *waka* and his biographical chronology, as we shall see. These highly mythologized cherry blossoms are first introduced in the *Engi* along with the famed Prince-monk Shinnyo 真如親王 (d. 865), a disciple of Kūkai, known for having perished on the road to India in search of the dharma. The *Engi* has Prince Shinnyo living for a time in a grass hut at Saihōji, where he plants a branch of cherry blossom broken off from a tree in the imperial palace and brought to the site by the first *shōgun*, Sakanoue no Tamuramaro 坂上田村麻呂 (758-811), so decorated after his northeastern campaign in the final decade of the eighth century.[28] De-

as the former was only aged six to fourteen during this period and only twenty-eight when Hōnen died. Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 139-142. "Saihō ikun," 426.

25 *Saihō shōja engi*, 266, 270.

26 Chikahide (d. 1341?) was also a member of the Kamakura *bakufu*'s Council of State. He was director of housekeeping (*kamon no kami* 掃部頭), upper fifth rank.

27 *Saihō shōja engi*, 270-273.

28 Tamuramaro was also a famous Buddhist patron, credited with the building of Kyoto's Kiyomizudera 清水寺, one of the most sacred places in the vicinity of the capital.

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livered from the palace by the hands of this legendary warrior, the branch is dipped in the sacred pond water and set in soil by Prince Shinnyo, who makes the following vow:

> "If my seeking of the dharma will be successful, and if, in the latter age, sages and worthies alike will appear and preach the dharma, then this branch will take deep root at once and put forth flowers. If it is not meant to be so, then the branch will wither where it stands." Perhaps due to the depth of his intentions, in no time the roots took, putting forth branches and leaves. In the next spring, when its flowers were in bloom, the prince recited this poem:
>
> 桜花咲けばちるとぞしればこそ後のすへ葉をはやみせにけれ
>
> sakurabana
> sakeba chiru to zo
> shireba koso
> nochi no sueba o
> haya misenikeri
>
> knowing that
> cherries that bloom
> will scatter—
> quickly it has
> shown new leaves for generations to see[29]

Through this single branch of blossoms, then, a link is forged, binding Saihōji to the imperial house via the warrior Tamuramaro. Further solidifying this tie, Tamuramaro appears again, sent to Saihōji in winter as the emperor's emissary, after which Emperor Saga 嵯峨天皇 (786-842) himself journeys to Saihōji the following spring to view the cherry blossoms, marking the first imperial blossom-viewing at Saihōji.[30]

Recounted next is the visit of another warrior patron, the lay monk Hōjō Tokiyori 北条時頼 (1227-1263), the fifth Kamakura regent and an ardent supporter of Zen institutions in Kamakura. Tokiyori's visit coincides with the cherries' bloom, and he sets up a hut for himself that he calls "Cherry Blossom Hall" (*Sakuradō* 桜堂), where he recites a poem in remembrance of Prince Shinnyo:

> むかしすめるあるじの法のことの葉ははなの中にや残しをきける
>
> mukashi sumeru
> aruji no nori no
> koto no ha wa
>
> does the dharma
> of the master who lived here long ago
> remain still

29 *Saihō shōja engi*, 266-267.
30 Ibid., 267.

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hana no naka ni ya	in the leaves of words
nokoshiokikeru	among the blossoms?[31]

Featuring a customary poetic play on words (*koto no ha*) and leaves (*ha*), this poem also foreshadows the prince's subsequent appearance in Tokiyori's dream, in which he praises the regent's reverence for his beloved blossoms. Affirming his presence at the temple even now, he explains that although he perished on the road to India, he is able to come and go unhindered by spatial and temporal constraints; he suggests to Tokiyori that they "join hands night and day to play in this garden and view the blossoms," before affirming in verse that his dharma still remains.[32] In this way, a sacred dimension is added to blossom-viewing and play in the *Engi*, while the flowers themselves once again join Saihōji to warriors and the imperial house.

The *Engi* also assigns a more explicit ritual significance to the blossoms when it subsequently describes how Tokiyori awakens and prostrates himself before the images of Amida Nyorai and Prince Shinnyo, only to realize that very day coincides with the day of the washing of the body of the Buddha Śākyamuni (*ominugui* 御身拭い) at the nearby Seikaji 棲霞寺, present-day Seiryōji 清涼寺, a major temple in the Saga area that enshrines a Śākyamuni statue, brought to Japan from China, where it was modeled on an Indian original. He then ladles up a bit of pure water from the pond, breaks off a branch of cherry blossoms and rushes off to Seikaji. Upon his return to Saihōji, Tokiyori gathers a large number of monks to perform an animal release ceremony.[33]

A similar rite is held by Kianmon'in 徽安門院 (1318-1358), an imperial princess born to Emperor Hanazono 花園天皇 (1297-1348) who later became consort to prominent Musō supporter Kōgon, in thanksgiving for the fulfillment of a wish. In that rite, water is ladled up from the Saihōji pond and placed in a container decorated with cherry blossoms to cleanse the body of Śākyamuni. This then becomes the basis for an annual ceremony held on 3.10, when water from the Saihōji pond is offered to the Seikaji Śākyamuni.[34] In this way, the *Engi* uses Saihōji's sacred cherry blossom tree to tie the temple to the imperial house, its warrior patrons, and holy men of long ago. As we shall see, some of these same associations also resonate in the numerous poems composed on the Saihōji blossoms in Musō's personal *waka* anthology, *Shōgaku Kokushishū*, indicating that the Musō line's use of the cherry blossoms to affirm the temple's relationship to elite sponsors, in fact, originated with Musō himself.

31 Ibid., 268.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., 269.
34 Ibid.

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3 Blooms After Death in *Shōgaku Kokushishū*

Of the fifty-six seasonal poems that comprise roughly the first half of Musō's personal *waka* collection, *Shōgaku Kokushishū*, thirty-eight are spring poems, and many of these are presented in association with Saihōji.[35] It is worth mentioning that these are in all likelihood a very small fraction of the poems actually composed at Saihōji, and it is also probable that these particular verses were preserved merely by chance, although the third-party compiler clearly arranged them to form a coherent sequence. In this way, the Saihōji poems far outnumber any other poems written on a single place or topic in the collection.[36]

Composed by Musō in his final years, these verses use the cherry blossoms to celebrate the peace of the realm, offer wishes for the longevity of the sovereign, affirm the relationship between the *bakufu*, the imperial house and Saihōji—and foretell Musō's death. Musō's lament of old age and the inevitability of the blossoms' fall echo a well-worn motif seen throughout the premodern poetic canon. At the same time, these verses also draw attention to the cherries' surefire bloom after his demise. As with the *Engi*, the Saihōji verses deploy the Saihōji blossoms in order to link the temple to the imperial house and the warrior rulers. Many of Musō's verses are written on the occasion of visits from the *shōgun* and his family members, and more than a third commemorate springtime imperial visits. It is on the occasion of such outings, which often featured a sermon or religious ceremony, that Musō showers praise on his warrior and imperial patrons in poems composed under the blossoms.

Let us first consider several examples composed when members of the *shōgun*'s family journeyed to Saihōji.[37] A reading of these poems will serve to

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35 On *SKS*'s high proportion of cherry blossom poems and its relationship to Musō's poetic style, see Shimauchi, "Waka kara mita," 151-152. All translations are from "*Shōgaku Kokushishū,*" in *Shinpen kokka taikan*.

36 *Renga* was also composed under the Saihōji blossoms, as indicated by inclusions of several verses composed at Saihōji in the semi-imperial anthology *Tsukubashū* 菟玖波集 (1356). The headnotes to two verses indicate that Musō participated in a hundred-verse session with Dharma Prince Son'in 尊胤法親王 (1306-1359) while notes to others indicate that two sessions were held after Musō's death. Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teienshi*, 419-420. A few of these verses even pay tribute to Musō, further underscoring his ongoing association with the Saihōji blossoms.

37 For a detailed discussion of the political functions of flower-viewing as undertaken by the Ashikaga rulers, especially Yoshinori 義教 (1394-1411), see Yoshida Kan 吉田歓, "Ashikaga Yoshinori to hanami 足利義教と花見," *Kokushi danwakai zasshi* 国史談話会雑誌 56 (2015): 214-229.

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illustrate the way in which Musō used the blossoms—whatever their state—to praise his patrons. This gesture is perhaps most evident in the following poem:

Composed following poetry recitation after a dharma talk on the occasion of Shōgun Takauji's visit to Saihōji at the height of the cherry blossoms.[38]

9 心ある人のとひくるけふのみぞあたらさくらの科をわするる

kokoro aru	just today
hito no toikuru	when a person with heart
kyō nomi zo	comes to visit
atara sakura no	do I for once forget
toga o wasururu	the fault of the cherry blossoms

In this poem, Musō celebrates not the blossoms but instead his visitor, calling Takauji "a person with heart" (*kokoro aru hito*, meaning "a person with refined sensibilities") and drawing attention to the fault of the cherry blossoms—their short-lived existence—even when they are at their height. In this way, the blossoms in their splendor serve as a mere backdrop for the *shōgun*, the central object of the poem's praise.

In a poem written after the scattering of the blossoms, Musō likewise focuses not on the flowers' fall but instead praises the *shōgun*'s depth of feeling in choosing to call even after the blossoms are gone:

When the Shōgun was at Saihōji after the blossoms had fallen.

28 さかりをば見る人おほしちる花のあとをとふこそなさけなりけれ

sakari o ba	many come
miru hito ōshi	at full bloom yet
chiru hana no	to call on traces
ato o tou koso	of fallen blossoms
nasake narikere	indeed shows feeling

Musō here employs the phrase "call on traces" (*ato o tou*)—an activity usually associated with the much-despised spring wind that scatters even the fallen

38 Precise date unknown.

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petals.[39] Fallen or blooming, the blossoms in these two poems play little more than a secondary role to the centerpiece of each poem: the splendor of the *shōgun*.

The other theme exclusively associated with the *shōgun*'s visits in Musō's Saihōji verses is the peace of the world, which Musō repeatedly affirms, once again, regardless of the actual state of the blossoms or the world, as is evident in the following poems:

On the occasion of the Shōgun's visit that same spring.[40]

15 山かげにさく花までもこのはるは世ののどかなる色ぞ見えける

yama kage ni	seen even in the flowers that bloom
saku hana made mo	in the mountain shade
kono haru wa	this spring,
yo no nodokanaru	the hue of a realm
iro zo miekeru	at peace

On the twenty-sixth day of the second intercalary month of the sixth year of Jōwa (1350), the Shōgun (at that time Major Counselor) and the Director of the Imperial Stables Yoshiakira came to Saihōji for a dharma talk. Afterwards, people went out to enjoy the blossoms of the double-trunked tree in the garden and then composed poems.

32 ふくかぜも枝をならさぬ春なればをさまれる世と花もしるらん

fuku kaze mo	the whistling wind
eda o narasanu	blows not the branches,
haru nareba	this spring
osamareru yo to	the flowers too must know
hana mo shiruran	the realm is at peace

39 See, for example, *Shinkokinshū* 155 by Jakuren 寂蓮 (?-1202)
155 ちりにけりあはれうらみのたれなれば花のあととふはるの山かぜ

chirinikeri	scattered
aware urami no	and who do I begrudge
tare nareba	you ask?
hana no ato tou	the mountain wind in spring
haru no yamakaze	that comes after the blossoms

40 Date unknown.

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On the twenty-first day of the third month of Kannō 3 (1352),[41] *the Commander of the Left Imperial Guards*[42] *and the Captain of the Imperial Guards*[43] *came* [*to Saihōji*] *for a visit. Composed following a dharma talk, after people recited poetry under the blossoms.*

33 をさまれる世ともしらでやこのはるも花にあらしのうきをみすらん

osamareru	do they not know
yo to mo shirade ya	the world is at peace?
kono haru mo	this spring too
hana ni arashi no	the flowers show
uki o misuran	the misery of storms

In all of these three poems, Musō pays tribute to his student-patrons for their successful pacification of the realm. Here, Musō is ostensibly referring to the period of tenuous stability ushered in by the establishment of the Ashikaga regime in the capital, following Godaigo's flight to Yoshino. The last poem, however, was likely written during a more fragile time.

While the dueling courts hung in uncertain balance, relations between Takauji and Tadayoshi had begun to deteriorate in 1347 and came to a head in the Kannō Disturbance (1350-1352), which pitted a progressive faction backing Takauji's steward (*shitsuji* 執事) Kō no Moronao 高師直 (?-1351) against a conservative faction led by Tadayoshi.[44] Perhaps seeking to secure a future place of prominence in the regime for his young son, Tadayoshi orchestrated the ousting of Moronao in the summer of 1349; Moronao was a supporter of Takauji and his son Yoshiakira 義詮 (1330-1367), and like both Ashikaga brothers, a Musō patron.[45] Seeking reinstatement, Moronao's forces cornered Tadayoshi

41 There seems to be an error in the year here, since Musō died in the ninth month of Kannō 2 (1351). According to *Entairyaku*, this visit occurred on 3.21 Kannō 2 (1351). This entry states that Takauji was also present for this visit. See *Entairyaku* 3, 439.

42 Tadayoshi.

43 Yoshiakira.

44 Tadayoshi, who headed the administration and its legal system, was backed by officials who had served the now defunct Kamakura *bakufu* and prominent members of the Ashikaga family. Moronao, on the other hand, drew support mostly from warriors who had assisted in the defeat of the previous regime. Mori Shigeaki, *Ashikaga Tadayoshi*: *Ani Takauji to no tairitsu to risō kokka kōsō* 足利直義 : 兄尊氏との対立と理想国家構想 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2015), 88-90, 92.

45 Ibid., 92, 96. Moronao had received a robe to become Musō's disciple at some point before the 1342 completion of Shinnyoji 真如寺, a temple constructed by Moronao on a site suggested by Musō, who was named as founding abbot. Importantly, the location that Musō

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in the capital on 8.14, securing his resignation and taking custody of his key supporters. Yoshiakira was soon called back to the capital from Kamakura to effectively assume Tadayoshi's prior position, thus assuring his place as Takauji's successor. The crisis at last came to an end on 8.24, when Musō facilitated a resolution between his feuding patrons, restoring both Tadayoshi and Moronao to their previous posts in the regime.[46]

The return to the status quo would be short-lived. Deprived of his prior influence and facing continued pressure from Moronao, Tadayoshi departed the capital in the tenth month of 1350, calling upon his supporters to destroy Moronao and his brother and ally Kō no Moroyasu 高師泰 (?-1351).[47] In response, Takauji secured orders from the Northern Court in the twelfth month to attack his brother, who in turn sought assistance by surrendering to the Southern Court. Soon after, in the first month of 1351, Musō again attempted to negotiate peace between his feuding patrons, but his efforts this time proved unsuccessful.[48] A bloody resolution came the following month, when Tadayoshi overwhelmed Takauji's forces in battle at Uchidehama 打出浜 in Settsu province (now Hyōgo prefecture). The *shōgun* subsequently surrendered to his brother, and Tadayoshi's allies killed the Kō brothers, restoring peace, at least for a time.[49] Evidencing their solidarity, the newly reconciled Ashikaga brothers journeyed to Saihōji at the end of the second month for a dharma talk, followed by flower-viewing with Musō.[50]

While it is not clear when the first two poems were written, the third poem, at least, was almost certainly written on this occasion despite the fact that

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recommended was already home to the Shōmyakuan 正脈庵—a *tatchū* built for Wuxue by his student, Mugai Nyodai 無外如大 (1223-1298). Moronao's construction of Shinnyoji at this site thus afforded Musō further control of the Wuxue line. "Nenpu," 320-321. On Nyodai and Shōmyakuan, see Monica Bethe, "Of Surplices and Certificates: Tracing Mugai Nyodai's Kesa," in *Women, Rites, and Ritual Objects in Premodern Japan*, ed. Karen M. Gerhart (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 304-339. See also Patricia Fister, "Commemorating Life and Death: The Memorial Culture Surrounding the Rinzai Zen Nun Mugai Nyodai," in *Women, Rites, and Ritual Objects in Premodern Japan*, ed. Karen M. Gerhart (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 271; 278-281.

46 Thomas Donald Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 118. Mori, *Ashikaga Tadayoshi*, 97-101; Murai, *Bunretsu suru ōken to shakai*, 66. For Musō's role in the negotiations, see the entry for 8.21 Jōwa 5 [1349] in *Entairyaku* 3, 104. See also Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 118; and Tsuji, *Bukkyōshi*, 86.

47 Kameda Toshitaka 亀田俊和, *Kō no Moronao: Muromachi shinchitsujo no sōzōsha* 高師直：室町新秩序の創造者 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Bunkō, 2015), 149, 156-158.

48 See entry for 1.23 Kannō 3 in *Entairyaku* 3, 417. See also Tsuji, *Bukkyōshi*, 86.

49 Murai, *Bunretsu suru ōken to shakai,* 66. See Chapter Four for a discussion of its eventual unraveling.

50 Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 119, 133.

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there is an error in the year listed in the poem's headnote.[51] Against this backdrop, Poem 33 reads as both a celebration of the ceasefire and a prayer for continued peace, with Musō presenting the dismal reality of the cherry blossoms' decimation by spring storms as unbefitting a realm at peace. Thus, in these poems, Musō praises his ruler patrons at all costs, while the blossoms themselves are alternately presented as reflections and distortions of the greater peace, as well as Musō's hopes for stability in an increasingly unstable realm.

In addition to affirming his connections to the Ashikaga at Saihōji, Musō also used the temple's blossoms to deepen ties to imperial supporters. During his final years, Musō hosted several imperial progresses at the temple, the majority of which were held under the blossoms.[52] The first such visit was made by Retired Emperor Kōgon and Ashikaga Takauji, who visited on 3.7 1342, after which Kōgon returned for a second visit just over one month later to formally become Musō's disciple.[53] In the next year, Emperor Kōmyō and various court ministers journeyed to Saihōji on the nineteenth day of the second intercalary month. This was followed by a progress by Kōgon, Ashikaga Tadayoshi, and others who came to see the cherries after calling on Tenryūji on 2.30 1347, and a visit by Kōmyō, now retired emperor, to the temple on 3.26 1349, also following a visit to Tenryūji.[54]

As was common throughout the tradition, many of the poems written on these occasions extend wishes for the longevity of the sovereign, employing the conventional phrase, *chitose no haru* (a thousand springs). This phrase appears three times and the related expression, *chiyo no miyuki* (a thousand years of imperial visits), appears once in these ten poems. In using such phrases,

51 For a discussion of the issue surrounding the dating of this poem, see the note following Poem 33 in the annotated translation.

52 For a list and discussion of some imperial progresses to Saihōji during Musō's time, see Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 154-157. For visits in Musō's time and after, see Takahashi, "Chūsei Saihōji no rekishi," 363-366.

53 For the 3.7 visit, see *Michifuyu kyōki* 通冬卿記 in DNS 6.7, 58-59; For Kōgon's 4.8 visit, see "Nenpu," 320. For the 1344 visit, see entry for *uruu*-2.19 Kōei 3 in *Entairyaku 1*, 112. The editors of DNS suggest that there is an error in the chronology's dating and that Kōgon, in fact, became Musō's disciple during the previous visit. Whether this was the case is unclear, as *Michifuyu kyōki* mentions nothing about such a ceremony, and the chronology says nothing about Takauji being present. For these reasons, it is likely that the ceremony occurred on a separate occasion.

54 See entry for 3.30 Jōwa 3 (1347) in *Entairyaku* 2, 145-147 and entry for 3.26 Jōwa 5 (1349) in *Entairyaku* 3, 50-52. After viewing the blossoms during the 1347 visit, the party enjoyed boating on Saihōji's pond, with the retired emperor riding in a covered boat, Major Counselor Kazan'in Nagasada 花山院長定 (1317-?), diary author Tōin Kinkata 洞院公賢 (1291-1360) and company in a second boat; Musō, Tadayoshi, and others rode in a third. See also Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 155.

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Musō not only offers blessings to the emperor, he also hints at continuing visits by emperors to Saihōji even after his death. For example:

Hearing that there would be an imperial visit to Saihōji during the time of the blossoms, only for it to be postponed on account of circumstances, Musō recited this poem while watching the blossoms fall:

10 なほもまた千とせのはるのあればとやみゆきもまたで花のちるらむ

nao mo mata	it must be because
chitose no haru no	there will be
areba to ya	a thousand more springs
miyuki mo matade	that the flowers fall,
hana no chiruran	not waiting for the sovereign's visit

Here, Musō suggests that even if the emperor missed this occasion, a thousand more springs of blossoms—and imperial progresses—will be enjoyed at Saihōji, with the blossoms serving as a clever pretext for continued imperial visits to the temple.

Musō offers a rather hopeful reinterpretation of the pains of parting under the blossoms in another dialogue poem with the palace minister, Saionji Kinshige 西園寺公重 (1317-1367).

Kinshige's verse:[55]

22 わすれずよゆふべのはなのかへるさになごりをそへて三日月の影

wasurezu yo	I won't forget
yūbe no hana no	returning in the evening
kaerusa ni	after the flowers—
nagori o soete	adding to the sadness of parting
mikazuki no kage	the light of the crescent moon

Here, Kinshige renders the crescent moon's light a sad memento of the imperial progress, in keeping with poetic precedent in which a seemingly shattered moon often signifies broken thoughts. This particular image was frequently used as a metaphor for short-lived romances, the crescent moon appearing just after sunset in the west, only to disappear soon after.

55 The following two poems, along with four others from the same sequence, do not appear in the *GSRJ* version of the text.

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Musō's reply:[56]

25 心とめし君がみゆきのありつればちとせの春も三か月のかげ

kokoro tomeshi	still in my mind
kimi ga miyuki no	my lord's imperial progress,
aritsureba	and so I see
chitose no haru mo	in that crescent moon's light
mikazuki no kage	a thousand springs

In contrast, Musō's reply quickly transforms the less-than-full moon into a more propitious sign, by again employing the undeniably auspicious phrase *chitose no haru*. While it is unclear whether Musō had an earlier example in mind, his reply bears some resemblance to a poem by Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241) anthologized in both the imperial anthology *Fūgashū* (1349) and the private anthology, *Fuboku wakashō* 夫木和歌抄 (c. 1310), making it very likely that Musō was indeed aware of it:

Fūgashū, Spring 1
Topic Unknown Fujiwara no Teika

9 なにとなく心ぞとまる山のはにことしみそむる三か月のかげ

nani to naku	somehow
kokoro zo tomaru	my heart is drawn to it
yama no ha ni	at the mountain peak
kotoshi misomuru	the light of this year's
mikazuki no kage	first crescent moon

In this poem, Teika departs from precedent to affirm the moon's first appearance after the darkness that marks the lunar new year. Here, the emergence of the growing sliver contains in its shadow not broken thoughts but Teika's anticipation for the new year, as he looks forward to the coming year. Musō makes a similar gesture, by using "*kokoro zo tomeshi*," a variant of the "*kokoro zo tomaru*" used by Teika, to say that the visit will stay with him. He seems to

56 While the *Shinpen kokka taikan* version attributes these reply poems to the Former Emperor, apparently Kōmyō, the *Shakkyō kaei zenshū* version lacks such a note, thus indicating that Musō composed them. Given that the wording of the poems celebrates the emperor using third person honorifics, it is highly unlikely that the emperor was the one who composed them. For this reason, I have followed the *Shakkyō kaei zenshū* version and Inoue to suggest that Musō composed them. See also Inoue, *Chūsei kadanshi*, 489.

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express not regret at the progress having come to an end but instead his hopes for the sovereign, symbolized by his inclusion of the phrase "a thousand springs" (*chitose no haru*). In doing so, he may once again be combining his hopes for the retired emperor's long life with his wishes for future imperial visits at Saihōji. That Musō clearly anticipated such visits is further made clear by a provision in his rules for the temple, *Saihō ikun* 西芳遺訓 (1345), that prohibited the allocation of items regarded as permanent temple property (*jōjū* 常住) even in cases of imperial progresses or visits by ministers or officials.[57]

Musō's Saihōji verses also attempt to reconcile his advancing decline with his pressing concern for the continued prosperity of the temple. While several verses composed on the occasion of the Ashikaga brothers' 1351 visit draw attention to Musō's old age by stressing the sadness of forever parting from the cherry blossoms, others affirm the certainty of future springs. In the following exchange from the same sequence with Kinshige, Musō's reply acknowledges his age, only to deny it:

Kinshige:

19 めづらしき君がみゆきをまつかぜにちらぬさくらの色を見るかな

mezurashiki	a rare imperial progress
kimi ga miyuki o	by my lord
matsukaze ni	to gaze upon the
chiranu sakura no	color of the cherry blossoms
iro o miru kana	unscattered by the pine wind

Musō's reply:

20 花ゆゑのみゆきにあへる老が身に千とせの春を猶もまつかな

hana yue no	blessed with an imperial progress
miyuki ni aeru	on account of the blossoms,
oi ga mi ni	old as I am
chitose no haru o	I await
nao mo matsu kana	a thousand more springs!

Here, Musō's reply seems less a lament of his old age than a celebration of his life to come, as he suggests that he will live on to enjoy a thousand more springs—of imperial progresses to his temple. In this way, Musō, like his heirs

57 "Saihō ikun," 425.

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after him, deployed the Saihōji blossoms in verse to cement the temple's ties to its warrior and imperial patrons by celebrating the peace of the realm, offering wishes for imperial longevity and favor, while also suggesting the temple's ongoing prosperity well after his end.

4 Zen in Bloom in Musō's Chronology

A still different rhetorical use of the cherry blossoms appears in Musō's chronological biography, *Tenryū Kaisan Musō Shōgaku Shinshū Fusai Kokushi nenpu*,[58] edited by his key disciple Shun'oku Myōha. Written fifty years before the *Engi*, Musō's chronology offers a somewhat different narrative of Saihōji's history that emphasizes the site's ties to Zen and the Musō line. Significantly, the chronology makes no mention of the temple's former association with the Pure Land tradition, noting only that Saihōji was a temple of the scriptures (*kyōin* 教院) founded by Gyōki and a place where Shinnyo later lived.[59] That the chronology presents the site as the exclusive domain of Zen is perhaps to be expected, given its overarching concern with legitimizing the Musō line in the face of intense competition from rival Zen lines and other Buddhist schools.[60]

The chronology begins by explaining how Musō changed the temple's name to the homophonous "Saihō Shōja," literally "temple of the western fragrance," a name attributed both here and in the *Engi* to the phrase "the patriarch came from the west and the five leaves became fragrant in succession" 祖師西來 五葉聯芳. This expression refers to a dialogue between Bodhidharma and his

58 "Nenpu," 316. The two other biographies of Musō by Dongling Yongyu and Song Lian also mention the Saihōji revisions. Due to the brevity of these sources, as well as the fact that they are closely based on the description of Saihōji found in the *nenpu*, I will not consider those accounts here.

59 The same elision of Hōnen and the Pure Land tradition is apparent in a significant number of later pre-modern accounts of the temple, indicating the pervasiveness of Zen-centered narratives. See for example, 6.24 Bun'an 文安 5 (1448) in *Yasutomiki* 康富記; 2.24 Chōroku 長禄 3 (1459) in *Hekizan nichiroku* 碧山日録; *Saga gyōtei* 嵯峨行程 (1680); *Yōshūfushi* 雍州府志 (1684), and *Yamashiro meishōshi* (1705). *Saihōji bunken, shiryō*, 187-188, 195, 197. Kuitert, who questions the attribution of Saihōji to Musō, suggests that this account may not be a faithful record of Musō's restorations at Saihōji. Citing competition between factions in the Musō line at the time of the chronology's creation, he argues that Myōha may have exaggerated Musō's role in the redesign in order to attract patrons. Kuitert, *Themes in the History*, 230, n. 12.

60 On legitimizing the Musō line in the face of competition from rival lines in the generations after Musō, see Harada, "Nanbokuchō, Muromachi jidai ni okeru Musō-ha no denpōkan to kesa, chinzō," 65-96.

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dharma heir, second patriarch Huike (J. Eka 慧可, 487-593), and is contained in the *Jingde chuandenglu* 景徳伝灯録 (J. *Keitoku dentōroku*, 1004). In this pivotal exchange, Bodhidharma presents Huike with the robe and the seal, thus establishing him as his successor. The episode concludes with Bodhidharma's prophecy of the spread of the dharma: "Two hundred years after I die, the robe will cease to be transmitted and the dharma will spread all over the world." He then recites the following poem:

吾本來茲土 傳法救迷情

I came to this land in the first place to transmit the dharma and save the deluded

一華開五葉 結果自然成

One flower opens with five petals, the fruit of which matures of its own accord.[61]

In alluding to this prophesy, the chronology subtly reserves for the newly renovated Saihōji a position of prominence in Chan/Zen history.[62]

The notion of Saihōji as a predestined place of Zen's flowering is more obviously underscored in the chronology's subsequent invoking of the Saihōji blossoms. After explaining that the main hall housing the Amida image has now been renamed Sairaidō 西来堂 ("Coming from the West Hall"), the chronology notes its location behind the old cherry blossom tree, which it says ranks among the capital's most splendid sights when in bloom. Importantly, it then links that tree to a poem composed by Musō's dharma grandfather, Wuxue Zuyuan:

Long ago, [Wuxue] said in a poem composed on the cherry blossoms:

満樹高低爛熳紅	From top to bottom, the whole tree blooms in crimson profusion

61 *Saihō shōja engi,* 271; "Nenpu," 317; *Jingde chuandenglu* T 2076 51: 219c13-18.

62 Vallor, "Koke yori sakura," 39-41. Nomura, "Chūsei Zen'in no sansui," 28-129; Nomura Shun'ichi, "Kasansui to shite no Saihōji: Chūsei Zen'in ni okeru sansui no wakugumi o megutte 仮山水としての西芳寺—中世禅院における山水の枠組みをめぐって—," in *Zen kara mita Nihon chūsei no bunka to shakai,* ed. Amano Fumio (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2016), 283.

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FIGURE 12 Weeping cherry blossom tree at Saihōji

飄飄両袖是春風	blowing back both my sleeves—the spring wind
現成一段西来意	Manifesting ever more deeply the meaning of the Coming from the West
一片西飛一片東	a petal flies to the west, a petal to the east
	Fulfilled in these precincts—how much they resemble this prediction![63]

In quoting this poem, the chronology transforms the Saihōji blossoms into symbols of Zen's predetermined flourishing by firmly linking the site to both Bodhidharma—whom Wuxue references in his poem—and Wuxue himself, who brought Chan from China in the West to Japan in the East. In doing so, it not only reaffirms the site's ties to Zen, it forges a clear link to the Musō line in particular.

That the chronology sought to bind Saihōji to Wuxue is no surprise. As Harada notes and as explained in the preface, ties to the continental master Wuxue served as a key source of legitimacy for the Musō line in the generations after Musō. Shun'oku's chronology, in particular, emphasizes Musō's connections to Wuxue in its attempt to legitimize the Musō line.[64] In applying this

63 "Nenpu," 316. This poem is also found in Wuxue's *Recorded Sayings* under the topic of "Cherry blossom flowers." *Bukkō Kokushi goroku*, 232 c5-c7.

64 Harada, *Nanbokuchō*, 72-74.

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strategy to the Saihōji blossoms, then, the site is presented not only as the destiny of the Zen line, but as the fate of the Wuxue line specifically. Accordingly, the chronology's Zen-oriented interpretation of the Saihōji cherry blossoms evidences the way in which the temple's most famous feature was pressed into the service of establishing Zen and the Musō line at the temple.

5 The Musō Renovations: Musō and Medieval Landscape Design

Thus far we have focused on the centrality of an existing feature to interpretations of Musō's Saihōji. But what of the Musō renovations themselves? What, exactly, was added, and how were those improvements reflected in the temple's reception? The dearth of writing by Musō on landscape design, coupled with the inevitable changes that have affected his most famous creations, make it difficult to determine the exact nature of Musō's efforts at landscaping at Saihōji and elsewhere. Although many gardens have been attributed to Musō, only a handful of temple designs can be reasonably linked to Musō using medieval sources.[65] Thus, it is difficult to know the exact nature of Musō's contributions to Japanese garden design or how he fits in that history. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw some tentative conclusions from the several accounts that remain about Musō's efforts at garden design and their reception in the medieval period, particularly with regard to the Saihōji garden. Let us first briefly survey the developments in temple garden design prior to Musō's time before considering his innovations in this tradition at the Saihōji garden.

Heavily influenced by landscaping trends on the continent, garden design can be traced back to the Asuka period (592-710), when rock (and later water) arrangements began to be created at imperial and aristocratic residences. Early examples include representations of Mount Sumeru, the center of the Buddhist cosmos. While early Heian-period efforts at garden design were mostly undertaken at estates located outside the capital, by the late Heian period (late eleventh to late twelfth centuries), aristocrats had taken to landscaping their

65 These include Saihōji and Rinsenji (both in Kyoto) and Zuisen'in (Kamakura), although only building construction is mentioned at Zuisen'in (now Zuisenji). While medieval materials such as the *Chronology* associating Musō with garden design, including *Rinsen kakun* (1339), in which Musō himself states that he created a garden at the temple, scholars such as Shigemori Mirei and Kuitert have questioned Musō's contributions to landscaping. Kuitert, in particular, argues that the politically active Musō did not have the leisure to create or design gardens but was important insofar as he ignited interest in garden design among members of the ruling warrior class. Kuitert, *Themes in the History*, 72-74. For "Rinsen kakun," see *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 406.

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shindenzukuri 寝殿造-style residences in the capital. Reflecting the rise of Pure Land Buddhism at this time, many of these residences included chapels for the worship of Amida, and their surrounds were landscaped accordingly in the image of his Pure Land. This same hybrid style was also employed in temple building, and by Musō's time it had become the dominant style of the now flourishing landscape arts. With techniques for landscaping in the *shindenzukuri* style detailed in the secret text *Senzaihishō* 前栽秘抄 (late Heian or early Kamakura; known as *Sakuteiki* 作庭記 from the Edo period on), groups of *ishidatesō* 石立僧, or landscape designer monks, applied their talents to temple landscaping. While not affiliated with any specific group, Musō is usually regarded as an exemplar among them.[66]

Although Musō is often considered to be a major innovator of the dry landscape (枯山水 *karesansui*) style that is thought to be characteristic of Muromachi gardens, this term is not to be found in his writings, nor in writings by other medieval Zen monks. As Nomura Shun'ichi 野村俊一 notes, the term *kasansui* 仮山水 (literally, temporary mountains and waters) was most commonly used in Zen circles to refer to the enterprise of landscaping.[67] One prominent example is found in Musō's rules governing the community at Rinsenji, *Rinsen kakun*, in a section that includes directives for the preservation of the garden Musō created there. Nevertheless, this reference is often misconstrued as a stylistic substitution for *karesansui* (meaning dry mountains and waters), despite the fact that it is clear that the Rinsenji garden contained a water feature until the late sixteenth century.[68]

This is not to say that Musō had no concept of dry landscape. Dry water elements had been a part of garden design since the Heian period, as evidenced by their mention in *Sakuteiki* using the 枯山水 compound, and were also used as one style of garden at Zen temples.[69] Suggesting his familiarity with this technique, Musō alludes to the method in a Sino-Japanese poem entitled *Rhyming Poem on Kasansui* (仮山水韻):

纖塵不立峯巒峙	A high mountain soars without a grain of dust
涓滴無存澗瀑流	A waterfall plunges without a drop of water
一再風前明月夜	Once or twice on an evening of moonlight in the wind

66 Shinji Isoya 進士五十八, *Nihon no teien* 日本の庭園 (Tokyo: Chūōkōron Shinsha, 2005), 22-34.

67 Nomura, "Kasansui to shite no Saihōji," 269-272.

68 *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 406. Nakamura Sojin 中村蘇人, *Musō Soseki no niwa to jinsei* 夢窓疎石の庭と人生 (Tokyo: Sōdosha, 2007), 107.

69 Shigemura Shioyama, trans., *Sakuteiki: The book of garden* (Tokyo: Town & City Planners, 1976), 5-6. *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 406. Nakamura, *Musō Soseki no niwa to jinsei*, 269.

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箇中人作箇中遊 this man here has been happy playing the game that suited him[70]

Nevertheless, it is clear from Musō's other uses of the term, as well as contemporary applications, that *kasansui* did not exclusively refer to dry landscape.[71] This apparently broad definition of landscape can be found in records of Musō's efforts at Saihōji, which are discussed below. While the existence of the dry rock waterfall at Saihōji cannot be positively identified in medieval sources as such, other conclusions about Musō's landscaping endeavors and their reception can be drawn.

6 Saihōji as Musō Memorial

Two dialogues (*mondō* 問答) discussed in the *Engi* and the chronology, both culled from Chan/Zen literature, played a key role in Musō's improvements at Saihōji: Case 18 of the *Blue Cliff Record* (C. *Biyanlu*, J. *Hekiganroku* 碧巌録, 1125);[72] and the story of a mysterious prelate's reappearance, which is contained in multiple sources, including *Dahui Pujue Chanshi zongmen wuku* 大慧普覚禅師宗門武庫. An examination of these two episodes suggests that Musō's renovations at Saihōji conceptually reflected his grasp of his coming end as well as his concerns for the future of his institution. In referencing these stories at this site, it appears that Musō quite literally landscaped a place for his lineage into the sacred grounds of Saihōji, in anticipation of his coming death.[73] As we shall see, this, in turn, set the stage for his subsequent reverence at the site by future generations of devotees.

The well-known Case 18 of the *Blue Cliff Record* features the dying State Preceptor Nanyang 南陽 (J. Nan'yō; also known as Huizhong 慧中, J. Echū; d. 775), a dharma heir of the sixth patriarch Huineng 慧能 (J. Enō, 638-713), and an emperor's attempts to memorialize him. In Case 18, Nanyang instructs Emperor Suzong 粛宗 (J. Shukusō) to commemorate him with a seamless pagoda (*muhōtō* 無縫塔), a term that customarily refers to an egg-shaped memorial

70 "Nenpu," 221-222. Translation is from Merwin and Shigematsu, *Sun at Midnight*, 32.

71 Nomura, "Kasansui to shite no Saihōji," 271.

72 A Song dynasty *kōan* collection by Yuanwu Keqin. Musō's writings reveal a special reverence for Yuanwu, and especially, his disciple Dahui Zonggao.

73 Based on his reading of Case 18, and taking into account the site's long history as a burial ground, Yanagida suggests that Saihōji was essentially a self-designed tomb for Musō. See Yanagida, *Musō*, 13-26.

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stupa for a Zen monk—and the name which Musō would bestow upon the newly built reliquary at Saihōji. When the puzzled emperor asks him for clarification, the State Preceptor directs him to his dharma heir, Danyuan 耽源 (J. Tangen). After Huizhong's death, the emperor queries this disciple about the seamless pagoda, and Danyuan responds with the following verse:

湘之南潭之北	South of the Xiang, North of the Tan
中有黄金充一国	In the middle, enough gold to fill the country
無影樹下合同船	The common boat under the shadowless tree
瑠璃殿上無知識	No wisdom in the lapis lazuli palace[74]

It is from this episode that Musō apparently culled six names for features at his restored Saihōji: the pond was named Ōgonchi 黄金池 (Gold Pond), the upper part of the jeweled stupa which held the relics was dubbed Muhōto 無縫塔 (Seamless Pagoda); and its lower part was named the Ruriden 瑠璃殿 (Lapis Lazuli Hall). Other features named after Case 18 included Muyōju 無影樹 (Shadowless Tree), Godōtei 合同亭 (Common Pavilion), Shōnantei 湘南亭 (South of Xiang Pavilion), and Tanhokutei 潭北亭 (North of Tan Pavilion).[75]

The parallels between Nanyang and Musō are obvious and may account for Musō's referencing of this episode at Saihōji. First, like Nanyang, Musō was a recipient of the State Preceptor title, having been so designated first in 1335 by Emperor Godaigo.[76] Incidentally, Musō would soon become a teacher to a second emperor—at Saihōji, no less—when Retired Emperor Kōgon received the robe and bowl in a ceremony held in the spring of 1342.[77] Second, like Nanyang, Musō was advanced in age and may have been preparing for his death.[78]

74 *Foguo Yuanwu Chanshi biyanlu* 仏果園悟禅師碧巌録 T 2003 48:157c18-158b21.

75 "Nenpu," 316; *Saihō shōja engi,* 271. As Nomura explains, most surviving materials focus on the location of these and other buildings at Saihōji rather than the actual appearance of the garden. Nomura, "Chūsei Zen'in no sansui," 115.

76 "Nenpu," 310-311.

77 Ibid., 320. Nanyang was also teacher to two emperors. In addition to Suzong, Suzong's son Daizong 代宗 (J. Daisō, 726-779) also patronized Nanyang and bestowed upon him the *guoshi* (J. *kokushi*) title. Albert Welter*, The Linji Lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy: The Development of Chan's Records of Sayings Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 56. Musō became a teacher to a third emperor in 1346, when Retired Emperor Kōmyō received a robe from him at Tenryūji. Musō was awarded his second *kokushi* title, Shōgaku*,* the following day. "Nenpu," 323-324.

78 Based on his reading of this episode, Yanagida Seizan argues that the aged Musō foresaw his death and thus intended to fashion his own "seamless pagoda" through the Saihōji redesigns. He also notes additional parallels with Musō, including Nanyang's preference for reclusion over prestigious appointments and the fact that Nanyang was also active in a time of great political instability. Yanagida, *Musō*, 12-28.

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FIGURE 13 Ōgonchi pond at Saihōji

As an institution builder, he may also have been interested in the symbolic binding of the emperor to the State Preceptor's disciple in the story and may have been seeking to symbolically tie his line to his imperial sponsors through the incorporation of this episode at Saihōji.

While many modern interpreters of the garden have sought to identify deeper, more philosophical meanings behind this episode (and indeed the entire redesign), medieval accounts of the temple do not easily lend support to such readings. Exegesis of Case 18 is entirely absent from the chronology, although the *Engi* does state that Musō designed the garden and incorporated references to this dialogue for soteriological purposes, namely so that people could play in the pure land straightaway or come into direct accord with their original nature. Nevertheless, the *Engi* pays little attention to the episode itself otherwise; it merely lists each feature before noting that "each expresses its own deep meaning."[79] Significantly, as Takahashi's findings suggest, most medieval accounts by visitors likewise suggest that guests were principally concerned with enjoying and describing the beauty of the temple rather than

79 *Saihō shōja engi*, 271-272.

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extracting ideology from its landscape. Nevertheless, there are at least two recorded instances of inquiries into the meaning of the references to Case 18 at the temple. Both were made by Ashikaga Yoshimasa, and both suggest, to varying degrees, that the episode was interpreted in relation to Musō himself.

Importantly, the two queries date from a time when the *shōgun* was building his Higashiyama residence. For this reason, as Hisatsune observes, it was not likely that Yoshimasa was concerned with the religious meanings behind these references; rather, he was most likely interested in their architectural applications, which he apparently sought to emulate in his new project.[80] The first inquiry was made on 1.18 1488, when Yoshimasa asked *inryōshoku* Kisen Shūshō 亀泉集証 (1424-1493) why the reliquary was called the Seamless Pagoda. Kisen replied that, long ago in the Tang, there was a State Preceptor by the name of Nanyang Zhong and that the State Preceptor (Musō) used it after this episode. When asked about Lapis Lazuli Hall, Kisen merely quoted the relevant line of the poem and reiterated that all of these lines originated with the State Preceptor Nanyang episode. Apparently satisfied, Yoshimasa then asked Kisen to confirm that the episode is found in the *Blue Cliff Record*.[81]

While the first exchange merely juxtaposes the State Preceptors, a second dialogue conducted by proxy on 2.12 directly stresses Musō's similarity to Nanyang. When asked why the Shadowless Tree in front of Lapis Lazuli Hall and the reliquary was a willow, Kisen explained, "The line 'common boat under the shadowless tree' does not necessarily mean there was a tree. Zen stories are all fundamentally like this. State Preceptor Nanyang Zhong left orders for his disciple Danyuan. Since the founder was also a State Preceptor, it is thus related to the State Preceptor."[82] As Hisatsune notes, Kisen's reply is extremely ambiguous;[83] accordingly, this opacity suggests that Case 18 at Saihōji was not widely understood in terms of any specific religious allegory or point in Zen doctrine. Rather, it seems to have been loosely interpreted in relation to Musō.[84]

80 Yoshimasa began building his Higashiyama estate closely modeled on Saihōji in 1482. (This estate would later become Jishōji 慈照寺 temple, now popularly known as Ginkakuji 銀閣寺, or "The Silver Pavilion".) Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 168. Saihōji also greatly influenced the design of Yoshimitsu's Kitayama estate, which later became Rokuonji temple, which is now commonly known as Kinkakuji 金閣寺, or "The Golden Temple." Nomura, "Chūsei Zen'in no sansui," 113.

81 *Inryōken nichiroku* 蔭涼軒日録 Vol. 3, in *Zōho Zokushiryō taisei* Vol. 23 増補　続史料大成　第23巻, 5th ed. (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1978), 67-68. See also Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 171-172.

82 *Inryōken nichiroku* 3, 92-93. Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 172.

83 Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 172.

84 That ideological interpretations of the episode played no significant role in medieval understandings of the garden is further suggested by a follow-up exchange on the fifteenth

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The association of the redesign with its designer is even more obvious in the reception of the second dialogue referenced in the Saihōji renovations. While the buildings named from Case 18 were confined to the area around the pond, structures built on and around the mountain were each named after an episode that appears in *Dahui* and elsewhere. In this story, Xiong Xiusai 熊秀才 (J. Yū Shūsai) wanders to Western Mountain (C. Xishan, J. Seizan 西山) in Hongzhou 洪州,[85] where Prelate Liang 亮座主 (C. Liang Zuozhu, J. Ryō Zasu)[86] had concealed himself three hundred years before. There,

> He saw a monk who appeared old and pure in spirit. He had salt-and-pepper eyebrows and his hair was like a snowy peak. His clothing consisted of leaves strung together. Sitting on top of a large boulder, he looked like a wall painting of Fotucheng.[87] Xiong said to himself, "Nowadays, there are no such monks. I have heard that Prelate Liang secluded himself on Western Mountain. I doubt he could still be here." He got out of the palanquin and approached the monk with deference, asking, "Aren't you Prelate Liang?" The monk pointed to the East with his hand. Xiong and the two palanquin attendants looked to where his hand was pointing. When they looked back, the monk had disappeared. At that time, the light rain that had been falling began to break. Xiong climbed up the rock and had a look. The place where the monk sat was still dry. He looked around hesitantly, and said with a great sigh, "My karmic ties have always proved thin. I encountered him, but I did not encounter him."[88]

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of the same month. Seeking clarification regarding the tree, Yoshimasa again queried Kisen as to whether the willow tree was planted there in relation to Lapis Lazuli Hall and the reliquary or if it is the Shadowless Tree. Kisen explains, "It does not correspond to Lapis Lazuli Hall or the reliquary. It's simply that Zennists often use the character *mu* 無 [literally, "without"; here, referring to the tree without a shadow, which I have translated as "shadowless tree"]. It is not referring to an actual tree." *Inryōken nichiroku* 3, 97. See also Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 172.

85 Present-day Jiangxi province, once well known as a major center of Linji Chan/Rinzai Zen.

86 A student of key Rinzai patriarch Mazu Daoyi. A second episode concerning Prelate Liang's enlightenment under Mazu is mentioned by Musō in *Muchū mondōshū*, Section 46, 143-144. For an English translation, see Kirchner, *Dialogues in a Dream*, 120-121.

87 Fotucheng 仏図澄 (J. Buttochō, d. 348) was a miracle-working Central Asian monk who arrived in Loyang in 310. He is credited with the building of over nine hundred temples and spreading Buddhism.

88 *Dahui Pujue Chanshi zongmen wuku* T 1998B: 47, 949a11-a20.

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FIGURE 14 Musō Soseki statue in Shitōan at Saihōji

Here, too, the parallels with the aging Musō are obvious[89] and may once again indicate Musō's preoccupation with the future of his line. The *Engi* explains that it is for this episode that the meditation hall built upon the remains of Prince Shinnyo's old hut is named "Shitōan" 指東庵 (literally, Pointing Eastward Hall).[90] Musō himself seems to have been well aware of this likeness, directly exploiting it on at least one occasion. In two portraits at the Tanhoku Pavilion, he used the signature, "The Recluse of Western Mountain," likely styling himself after Prelate Liang.[91] By referencing this anecdote in the landscaping of the renovated Saihōji, Musō may have been suggesting that, like Prelate

89 On Prelate Liang and Musō's shared tendency toward reclusion, see Yanagida, *Musō*, 31-33. On the overlapping of the figures of Musō and Liang at Shitōan, see Takahashi, "Chūsei Saihōji no rekishi," 360. Yanagida also suggests that Musō was interested in Liang because of his association with the scriptures, although he is often presented in Zen literature in a negative light for this very reason. Yanagida, *Musō*, 33-34. On Liang as a teacher and model for Musō, see Naka Takahiro 中隆裕, "Musō Soseki no Zen to teien 夢窓疎石の禅と庭園," *Zen bunka* 246 (2017): 29.

90 *Saihō shōja engi*, 272.

91 For a typeset version of this inscription, see Nomura, "Chūsei Zen'in no sansui," 119-120.

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Liang, he will be pointing the way on Western Mountain (albeit west of Kyoto) for those who seek his teachings even after his death.

It should come as no surprise, then, that Musō himself came to be closely associated with the Shitōan, particularly after his passing. While few visitors seem to have visited that spot while Musō was still alive, the structure saw increasing guest traffic in later years—particularly among those seeking Musō. A diary entry by prominent Musō disciple Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325-1388) indicates that Musō was on the mind of Yoshimitsu, who visited the temple along with Gidō on 10.13 Eitoku 永徳 2 (1382) to view the autumn leaves. The account describes how after listening to a sermon, visiting Musō's quarters and being moved at the sight of his belongings, Yoshimitsu then participated in a session of linked verse in Chinese and Japanese (*wakan-renku* 和漢連句) before changing into religious attire to meditate alone in the Shitōan. In the evening, he summoned Gidō to recount the details of the year that Musō founded Saihōji and the circumstances of his death; he also asked Gidō to read aloud from Musō's chronology. Even when other members of his party departed the temple for supper, Yoshimitsu remained on at Saihōji, departing Shitōan only at the rise of the night's moon. Following a group session that produced one hundred linked verses of *wakan-renku*, after which everyone else retired, Yoshimitsu alone stayed up to practice additional sessions of seated meditation. In the early morning hours, he again changed his clothes and returned alone to Shitōan, reluctant to stop his seated meditation, longing as he was for the State Preceptor's favor.[92]

Yoshimitsu was not alone in associating Musō with Shitōan, for at some point the structure became home to an image of the State Preceptor, which, in turn, became an object of worship.[93] The earliest reference to this image is found in a 1433 diary entry by Retired Emperor Gosukōin 後崇光院 (also known as Prince Sadafusa 貞成親王, 1372-1456), who indicates that he offered incense to it during his visit to the temple. It is not clear when this addition was made, as an earlier description of the structure from 1380 mentions only that it was

92 Entry for 10.13 Eitoku 永徳 2 (1382) in Kageki, *Kunchū Kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū*, 285-286.

93 Saihōji was, of course, not the only place where Musō was posthumously honored. As Bernard Faure has noted, "The Chan master… had a number of metonymic or metaphoric doubles (Arhats, portraits, relics, mummy, etc.). His was a diffracted, diffused, 'qualified' individuality…." Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights*, 267. Musō's body was interred at Rinsenji, his nails and hair at Ungoan, his *tatchū* at Tenryūji, and this image was kept at Saihōji—in addition to other images elsewhere. In this way, the State Preceptor's "doubles" could be revered by members of his line and posthumous patrons in different locations at the same time.

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adorned with a painting of Prelate Liang and Scholar Xiong that featured calligraphy by Musō.[94]

The Musō image nevertheless became essential to the Shitōan, which in turn came to be regarded as the most critical structure of all of Saihōji.[95] After its near-total destruction in the spring of 1469 during the Ōnin Wars, the enervated temple lay in ruins for a time before Yoshimasa attempted in 1486 to fund the rebuilding of just one structure: the Shitōan, where a Musō image was to be installed. However, a shortage of funds delayed the completion of that project until the fall of 1490.[96]

Musō's association with Saihōji was not limited to Shitōan but, in fact, extended to the temple as a whole. In a move likely intended to prevent the establishment of rival lines or a split in the Musō line at Saihōji, Musō in *Saihō ikun* specified that no separate *tatchū* were to be built for either Musō or his master at the temple.[97] Instead, he stipulated that paintings of his master Kōhō Kennichi and his own image be installed in the abbot's quarters named Chōjakuan 釣寂庵, with sutras to be read before them on monthly and annual anniversaries.[98] Although the structure was home to both masters, in the years after the founder's death Chōjakuan became increasingly associated with Musō, with offerings of tea and incense made to the master there. Subsequent abbots eventually stopped living there, taking up residence instead in the nearby Choseiken 貯清軒 or the Fuji no ma 富士の間,[99] in apparent deference to Musō. The late master's association with Chōjakuan—and indeed all of Saihōji—is readily apparent in a 1379 diary entry by Gidō Shūshin, who notes that his first stop as a visitor to the temple was Chōjakuan, where he offered incense to his late teacher. He describes how the items Musō used in daily life,

94 The entry for 12.25 Kōryaku 2 (1380) in Gidō Shūshin's 義堂周信 *Kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū* 空華日用工夫略集 indicates that the original painting by well-known monk painter Mutō Shūi 無等周位 (dates unknown) was replaced at some point with another by Shūi's disciple featuring calligraphy by Seikei Tsūtetsu 清渓通徹 (1300-1385). The entry explains that the switch was made in response to fears that the original work might be stolen from the structure, as it received high traffic from both resident monks and visitors. See Kageki, *Kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū*, 228. For Sadafusa's entry, see entry for Eikyō 永享 5 (1433), 3.18 in Kunaichō Shoryōbu, *Kanmon Nikki* 4, 162-163. See also Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 211-212.

95 Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teienshi*, 426.

96 Ibid., 426-427. On the start of construction, see entry for 3.12 Bunmei 18 (1486) in *Inryōken nichiroku*, DNS 8.18, 273-280.

97 "Saihō ikun," 423-434.

98 Ibid.

99 Hisatsune, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 168.

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including his humble bedding, remained unmoved even after his death.[100] In this way, Musō came to enjoy special status as the permanent if symbolic head of Saihōji, evidencing the degree to which the temple had become fused with the persona of its late designer.

7 Harmonizing Pure Land and Zen at Saihōji

As we have already seen in our examination of the cherry blossoms, even as the temple assumed a new identity as a place to memorialize Musō, older associations continued to play a key role in new interpretations of the temple. This is also true of the temple's prior association with the Pure Land, which was stressed in some medieval accounts of the temple produced by the Musō line. Since no writings by Musō discussing the history of the temple have survived, it is difficult to gauge whether Musō himself saw the garden in this fashion, although the *Engi* references an origin story (*engi*) composed by Musō himself and states that it contained details about Morokazu's restoration of the temple during the Kenkyū era, making it at least likely that Musō was also actively stressing Saihōji's ties to the Pure Land tradition.[101] As noted above, this association proves critical in the *Engi*, which seeks to enhance the temple's prestige in part by invoking the illustrious figure of Hōnen. That work in no way presents Saihōji's relationship with the Pure Land tradition as a thing of the past. Rather, in the very same section describing the renaming of the temple, it underscores the coexistence of the Pure Land and Zen traditions at the present temple.[102] "Because the Buddha hall housed an Amida triad from the start, it was renamed Sairaidō 西来堂, incorporating the meaning of [Amida's] coming from the West (西方来迎の文字をかね)."[103] By stressing that that original reference to the Pure Land was combined with rather than replaced by the Zen reference to Bodhidharma's coming from the West, a symbolic reconciliation is attained.[104] The *Engi* further explains, "This signifies that although *nenbutsu* recitation and Zen practice differ in name, there is only one full moon in the sky that is reflected in all waters."[105] The *Engi* thus unites the Zen and Pure

100 Entry for 12.24 Kōryaku 康暦 2 in Kageki, *Kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū*, 228.
101 *Saihō shōja engi*, 270. *Saihōji engi*, 442.
102 Vallor, "No Place Called Home: The works of Zen Master Musō Soseki (1275-1351)," PhD diss. (Stanford University, 2013), 120-125; and Nomura, "Chūsei Zen'in no sansui," 124-129.
103 *Saihō shōja engi*, 271.
104 Vallor, "No Place," 120; Nomura, "Chūsei Zen'in no sansui," 124.
105 *Saihō shōja engi*, 271.

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Land traditions in its very description of Saihōji's transformation to a Zen temple.

Elsewhere in the *Engi*, Musō's redesigned temple is presented as a site where the goals of both Pure Land and Zen could be realized with immediate success:

> The State Preceptor inherently grasped the essence of landscaping. He built temple buildings and monks' quarters where appropriate on the various islands and the jutting sand banks. Moreover, it is said that he copied the appearance of the unusually shaped rocks and extraordinary trees among these buildings from the nine mountains and seas.[106] Thus, the State Preceptor had it in his mind that those who came here on excursion to see the sites would, according to their natural capacity, play freely (*yuke* 遊化) with one another in the Pure Land paradise at once, not waiting for the future, or directly (*jiki* 直) gaze up at the landscape of the original nature (*honji no fūkō* 本地の風光) without going anywhere…[107]

In this final sentence, the garden is portrayed *as* the Pure Land—not a representation of this other world but the Pure Land itself, available in the here-and-now. The passage moreover states quite clearly that sudden enlightenment is possible at the site, which stands in sharp contrast to other prevalent interpretations of the Pure Land as a separate realm into which one is reborn after death and where one can attain enlightenment after a period of practice. Pure Land gardens designed under such notions were by extension necessarily further removed, insofar as they were mere representations of idealized realms.

The same passage also presents the Saihōji garden as a place where still other visitors might realize Zen's goal of obtaining insight into "the landscape of the original nature (*honji no fūkō* 本地の風光)," a euphemism for one's inherently enlightened state. This phrase is used repeatedly in the writings of Yuanwu and Dahui. It also appears in writings by Musō's dharma grandfather, Wuxue, and once in Musō's own work. Through the application of such notions to Saihōji, immediate play in the Pure Land is placed alongside the type of direct enlightenment envisioned in Zen discourse, even as it subtly elevates the latter over the former.

Despite the *Engi*'s insistence on the identification of *nenbutsu* with Zen practice and Musō's accommodating attitudes toward some forms of Pure

106 Features said to surround Mount Sumeru, the center of the Buddhist cosmos.

107 *Saihō shōja engi*, 271.

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Land practice in *Muchū mondōshū*,[108] Musō nevertheless stipulated in *Saihō ikun* that future heads of the main temple at Saihōji be not only members of his lineage but also exclusive practitioners of seated meditation.[109] Indeed, a survey of extant documents suggests that tandem practice of *nenbutsu* and Zen did not occur at Saihōji, at least not in any organized fashion. It thus appears that their coexistence at Saihōji was largely theoretical.

While a combined Pure Land–Zen practice did not take root at Musō's redesigned Saihōji, a particular kind of praxis seems to have been promoted there instead: enjoyment of the landscape. The soteriological utility of visiting the garden is suggested not only in the passages of the *Engi* already considered, but also in a Musō verse (Sk. *Gāthā;* J. *ge* 偈), installed in the corridor of the temple, that is also quoted in both the chronology and the *Engi*:

仁人自是愛山静	Benevolent people love the quietude of mountains of their own accord,
智者天然楽水清	Wise ones enjoy clear waters by their nature
莫怪愚惷翫山水	Don't look down on them as fools for loving mountains and waters
只図藉此礪精明	It is only that they intend to use them to polish the luminosity (of mind).[110]

Musō presents the enjoyment of landscape at Saihōji in these terms as a part of praxis, and the installation of this verse at Saihōji no doubt further served to link the two in the minds of visitors and residents alike.[111] A similar notion of the compatibility of practice and play at Saihōji is further reinforced in the *Engi* and the chronology, both of which characterize the various features at the temple as "all sites for meditative contemplation and play (*zenkan kōraku* 禅観行楽)."[112]

Although largely superficial, Saihōji's continued association with the Pure Land tradition nevertheless proved beneficial to the temple on at least two occasions. In 1486, Honganji 本願寺 abbot Rennyo provided support for restora-

108 See for example, Section 85 in *Muchū mondōshū*: "Because people who believe in the essence of the patriarchs know that all deeds and acts are not separate matters, sometimes they say the *nenbutsu* and at times they recite sutras and *dhāraṇī*. For this reason, we do not disparage the *nenbutsu* of such people." *Muchū mondōshū*, 227.

109 "Saihō ikun," 423.

110 "Nenpu," 318.

111 Ibid. *Saihō shōja engi*, 272. As Takahashi notes, this verse clearly elevates enjoyment of landscape to a form of practice. Takahashi, "Chūsei Saihōji no rekishi," 359.

112 *Saihō shōja engi,* 272. See also "Nenpu," 317-318.

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tions of the garden and Gutokudō 愚禿堂, a structure that was said to be home for a time to Jōdo Shin school founder Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1262), according to an Edo-period appendix in the *Engi*. The Gutokudō appears to have fallen into ruin some time later, perhaps destroyed by the Kan'ei era (1624-1644) flood, for during the Meireki 明暦 era (1655-1658), Sennyo 宣如 (1604-1658), then head priest of Higashi Honganji 東本願寺, gave orders for the planting of a pine tree at the remains of the hall.[113]

8 Conclusion

Saihōji's most important feature was one that predated the Musō redesign: its storied cherry blossom tree. Accordingly, this tree and its blossoms took center stage in efforts by Musō and his heirs to sanctify the site, affirm the temple's ties to elite patrons, promote peace during unsettled times, create a place for the temple in Zen history, and assure the dominance of the Musō line there. Likewise, the temple's ties to the Pure Land tradition, another pre-Musō connection, were actively appropriated not only in the design of the garden but also in the main account of the temple's history produced roughly fifty years after Musō's death. Although largely symbolic, this link not only invested the temple with past prestige, it also invited future economic support from the Jōdo Shin branch of the Pure Land tradition. While retaining these existing associations, Saihōji also took on a new identity as a memorial to Musō. Thanks in no small part to the designer's self-referencing at the site, Saihōji became a place where future generations could seek the late master long after his death. In this way, the temple's medieval identity was formed not from the moss and rocks that draw visitors today but from a set of old and new associations purposefully projected onto the temple's landscape by Musō and his heirs.

Saihōji thus thoroughly calls into question our modern assumptions about Zen landscapes. With cherry blossoms—a motif frequently celebrated in Japanese poetry and literature but not often taken up in Chan/Zen contexts—serving as its primary symbol, Saihōji reminds us that landscape design at Zen temples, much like *waka* on Zen, was deeply influenced by the prevailing aesthetics of court culture. At the same time, the temple also demonstrates that medieval Zen landscapes were not the straightforward representations of Zen

113 *Rennyo Shōnin shūfukujō* 蓮如上人修覆状, "Saihōji bunken, shiryō," 190. A copy of this letter is appended to the *Engi*, along with accounts of other restorations. See *Saihōji engi*, 446. For the reference to Shinran and the account of Sennyo's renovations, see the entry for Gutoku Matsu in ibid., 445.

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ideologies that modern audiences so often taken them to be. Rather, in both design and reception, these spaces were formed at the interstices of aesthetics, politics, patronage, and the concerns of institution building.

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CHAPTER 4

Changing Agendas at Musō Soseki's Tenryūji

One of the central political events of Musō's time was the uprising of Emperor Godaigo, which ushered in the period of the Southern and Northern courts, as well as the rule of the Ashikaga *bakufu*—developments that would provide the backdrop for many of the events in Musō's career. Godaigo's Kenmu administration, an attempt to disenfranchise the ruling warrior government and invest his imperial line with ultimate political power, was short-lived, but the influence of the rebellion would be long-lasting in a variety of ways, many of which would have direct impact on Musō.

In 1339, Godaigo, still persisting in his claims to power, died at his stronghold in Yoshino, the primary base of the Southern cause. The late fourteenth-century historical chronicle *Taiheiki* 太平記, describes his final moments in this way. When told that his time of death was drawing near and that he should focus his mind on attaining a good rebirth, the emperor instead declares his wish for the destruction of Ashikaga Takauji and his family, and for peace to prevail in all directions:

> "The realm must be pacified. As this is my wish, although my bones will be buried on Yoshino Mountain, my spirit will always be watching the skies over the Northern court…" In his left hand, he clutched the fifth scroll of the *Lotus Sutra*, and in his right he held a sword. On the sixteenth day of the eighth month, at the hour of the ox,[1] his time came to an end. He was just fifty-two at his death.[2]

Taiheiki thus sets the stage for the reappearance of Godaigo's spirit in later chapters, which present Godaigo as part of the pantheon of spirits historically blamed for wreaking havoc in this world from beyond it, reflecting a commonly held belief at that time in vengeful spirits of the dead (*onryō* 怨霊) as the source of worldly trouble.

In contrast, as several recent studies have pointed out, although *Taiheiki* depicts Godaigo as an implacably angry spirit, Musō Soseki's own writings and those closely associated with him do not directly portray Godaigo in such a

1 Between 1 and 3 a.m.
2 Vol. 3 of *Taiheiki* 太平記, in vol. 56, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, ed. Hasegawa Tadashi 長谷川端 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1997), 28-29.

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FIGURE 16 Abbot's quarters and garden at Tenryūji

light. For example, a portion of Musō's biographical chronology detailing the establishment of Tenryūji, a temple founded by Musō that is often associated with the posthumous placation of Godaigo, states that on 6.24 of the same year, Musō had a dream in which Emperor Godaigo was riding a phoenix into the Kameyama palace in Saga, the future site of Tenryūji. Less than two months later the emperor was dead.[3] The *Taiheiki* has Musō recounting his dream so as to suggest that Godaigo posed a threat to the realm,[4] yet this connotation is absent from the presentation of Musō's dream in his biographical chronology, as we shall see.

Presaged by Musō's summer night's dream, Tenryūji was a massive undertaking funded from the proceeds of a trading mission dispatched to the continent. Authorized in a decree by Retired Emperor Kōgon and built by the Ashikaga *bakufu*, Tenryūji is perhaps the most illustrious symbol of Musō's major contributions to the development of the Gozan system during the early years of the Muromachi shogunate. Tenryūji also reflects the delicate position occupied by Musō in the midst of contemporary power struggles, having been patronized by both Godaigo and his rivals associated with the Northern court. Accordingly, it amply illustrates the complex ways in which issues of politics, patronage, and competition from other Buddhist institutions intersected to shape the development of Zen in Nanbokuchō-era Kyoto.

3 "Nenpu," 319.
4 *Taiheiki*, 161-162.

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FIGURE 16 *Kuri* (kitchen) at Tenryūji

1 Tenryūji: From Imperial Residence to Commercial Center

Let us begin with an overview of the construction of the temple and Musō's involvement therein. Following the death of Godaigo on the sixteenth day of the eighth month of 1339, an imperial order by Retired Emperor Kōgon was issued on 10.5 entrusting the Ashikaga *bakufu* with the building of Tenryūji and naming Musō as its founding abbot. While some influential versions of *Taiheiki* suggest that the idea of building Tenryūji originated with Musō, the exact genesis of the temple is, in fact, unclear, as different sources offer conflicting accounts. As suggested above, Musō's chronology offers very little information about Tenryūji's origins. It states only that he had a dream of the former sovereign riding a phoenix into the Kameyama palace one month prior to his death before mentioning the Northern court's orders and Musō's appointment.[5]

A still different narrative is found in the most detailed account of Tenryūji's construction, *Tenryūji zōeiki* 天龍寺造営記 (1339-1342), a record compiled by Musō's closest disciple and the second leader of the Musō lineage, Shun'oku Myōha. This source suggests that the idea to build the temple originated with the Ashikaga and that Musō took the reins only reluctantly:

5 For an alternate interpretation of this passage, see Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 61.

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> People were in a panic, and the two shōgun were grief-stricken and deeply afraid. They assiduously held Buddhist ceremonies to mark the forty-ninth day after the emperor's passing. Moreover, to repay their gratitude and in order to placate his angry spirit, they expressed the wish to build a new temple in order to pray for his enlightenment.[6]

The record then explains how Musō declined an offer to head the project, which now had imperial approval. Musō's reasons are presented as twofold. First, he argues that a Tendai, Shingon, or Ritsu monk should be appointed to the position in accordance with the precedent of designating *kenmitsu* monks to head imperially ordered temples (*chokuganji* 勅願寺). Second, he says, there is already a Zen temple thriving in that area, referring to the headquarters of his line at nearby Rinsenji; to build another nearby would not be desirable. Despite these protests, he could not evade involvement for long, as the retired emperor issued a directive on 11.5 ordering Musō to serve as founder.[7]

Whatever his stance toward the project at its outset, Musō was nevertheless crucial to its conclusion, for it was his participation that would ultimately ensure the success of an enterprise saddled with controversy and financial setbacks from the start.[8] Early on, Tenryūji was met with opposition by members of the court, who argued against making a temple out of the Kameyama palace, a residence that had served many generations of emperors. They also reasoned that it was inappropriate to further burden a people enervated by recent war with the construction of a large-scale monastery.[9]

The undertaking moved forward despite the initial opposition, although continued resistance ultimately caused Musō to bow out, and Kosen Ingen 古先印元 (1295-1374)[10] took the reins as chief fundraiser (*daikanjin* 大勧進).[11] When the project stalled due to lack of funds,[12] a trading mission to the continent was proposed, but this plan only invited further disagreement at court. It was Musō who effectively convinced the court to approve the mission, the profits of which funded the building of most of Tenryūji. As Hayashima Daisuke

6 *Tenryūji zōeiki* 天龍寺造営記, No. 37 in *Rokuōin monjo no kenkyū* 鹿王院文書の研究, ed. Rokuōin Monjo Kenkyūkai 鹿王院文書研究会 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2000), 14-15.

7 Ibid., 15.

8 Hayashima, *Muromachi bakufu ron*, 28-33.

9 *Tenryūji zōeiki*, 16.

10 Kosen Ingen trained at Engakuji before traveling to the continent, where he became dharma heir to Zhongfeng Mingben. After returning to Japan, Ingen served as abbot at several prominent temples, such as Engakuji and Kenchōji.

11 *Tenryūji zōeiki*, 16.

12 For a description of the *bakufu*'s failed attempts to fund Tenryūji before the trading mission, see Hayashima, *Muromachi bakufu ron*, 30-32. See also Tsuji, *Bukkyōshi*, 118.

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早島大祐 writes, "It is no exaggeration to say that the construction of Tenryūji rested squarely within the palm of Musō's hand."[13]

While Tenryūji was not the only means by which the Ashikaga sought to placate Godaigo, it was certainly the most visible of their efforts.[14] Attaining unprecedented prominence even before its completion, the temple was raised to the second rank of the Gozan by imperial decree in 1342; later, it would be twice assigned to the first rank of the Gozan.[15] The massive temple also served as a concrete demonstration of support for the Zen school by the *bakufu* and their Northern court allies. Taking issue with official support for Zen at Tenryūji, Enryakuji and other *kenmitsu* institutions protested the project from early on, pointing to precedent to assert their monopoly on state ritual services.[16] The change of the temple's name from Ryakuō Shiseizenji 暦応資聖禅寺 to Tenryū Shiseizenji 天龍資聖禅寺 on 7.22 1342 was likely one outcome of these complaints, as Enryakuji had long enjoyed the exclusive privilege of incorporating reign names when styling their temples.[17] Enryakuji also succeeded in forcing the retired emperor to postpone his planned appearance at the lavish dedication ceremonies held just after the seventh anniversary of Godaigo's death on 8.29 1345. Nevertheless, they failed to impede Ashikaga support for the temple, who went ahead and attended the event as planned.[18] Unwavering in his dedi-

13 Hayashima, *Muromachi bakufu ron*, 34. Tsuji, *Bukkyōshi*, 118. *Tenryūji zōeiki*, 20.

14 For example, the *bakufu* held a mandala dedication marking the one hundredth day since Godaigo's passing at Tōjiin 等持院 on 11.26 1339. See entry for 11.26 Ryakuō 2 (1339) in *Moromoriki* 師守記 in DNS 6.5, 816. See also Hayashima, *Muromachi bakufu ron*, 37. A service for one thousand monks at Nanzenji to mark the one-hundred-day anniversary of Godaigo's death was also held on the same day. See entry for 11.26 Ryakuō 2 (1339) in *Kokan kinenroku* 虎関紀年録, DNS 6.5, 819. Other efforts continued elsewhere up until the early sixteenth century. Mori, *Godaigo Tennō*, 183-185.

15 *Tenryūji zōeiki*, 27-28. Tenryūji was raised to the first rank in 1386 and again in 1410. See entry for 7.10 Shitoku 3 in *Engakuji monjo* 円覚寺文書, DNS 6.907, 167 and entry for 2.28 Ōei 17 in *Tenka sōrin myōmoku* 天下叢林名目, DNS 7.13, 98-99.

16 For details, see Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 307-310.

17 Tsuji, *Bukkyōshi*, 117-118. *Tenryūji zōeiki* also mentions the name change, but states only that renaming came about after Tadayoshi had two dreams featuring dragons. The first was of a gold dragon at the proposed site of the temple, and the second was of a silver dragon in the sky. *Tenryūji zōeiki*, 14, 20.

18 Enryakuji (and Kōfukuji) monks first successfully protested the Tenryūji trading ships, resulting in a reduction in the size of that mission. Enryakuji lodged more fervent appeals in advance of the 1345 memorial. The monks' complaints rested largely on the fact that *kenmitsu* temples had historically handled imperial memorial services, indicating that Enryakuji feared Zen was encroaching on its role in state ritual. When Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji banded together with Enryakuji to protest in the capital, Retired Emperor Kōgon postponed his visit by a day. The *bakufu*, in contrast, stepped up efforts to control the protesting monks by heightening security in the capital and warning Enryakuji's top monks that

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cation to Tenryūji, Takauji submitted a document to Musō Soseki in 1351 pledging eternal support for the temple from members of his family.[19]

Tenryūji was a public monastery, and as such, its abbotship was officially open to monks of all lines under the *jippō jūji* system. In practice, however, the Musō line dominated the monastery, thanks in large part to the presence of Ungoan, a *tatchū* Musō built there to serve as his founder's hall. Ungoan remained an important center for the Musō line long after Musō's death, as evidenced by the simultaneous holding of sutra recitations at Rinsenji's Sannein—the center of the Musō line—and services at Ungoan on the centenary of Musō's passing in 1451.[20] While Musō's body was buried at Sannein, clippings of his hair and fingernails were kept at Ungoan,[21] indicating the site's close association with the late master.

Like Saihōji of the previous chapter, Tenryūji has been rebuilt repeatedly, having burnt down no less than eight times,[22] and the current precincts occupy only a small fraction of the medieval temple's grounds. The vast scale of Tenryūji in Musō's lifetime can nevertheless be clearly apprehended from surviving documents, including the 1426 map, *Yamashiro no kuni Saga shoji Ōei kinmei ezu* 山城国嵯峨諸寺応永均命絵図. Bordered by the Ōi River 大堰川 to the south and Shutsushaka Ōji 出釈迦大路 (renamed from Suzaku Ōji 朱雀大路) avenue to the east, the temple included Kameyama mountain to the west.

In addition to its ritual functions, the sprawling temple afforded the Ashikaga *bakufu* a substantial presence in an area that had hitherto been controlled by Daikakuji 大覚寺—a power center of the rival imperial line of the Southern court. In the years after Musō's death, the area around the temple came to

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they would be stripped of their titles and resources if the appeals were to continue. The memorial ceremony was held as planned on 8.29 and was widely attended by members of the warrior regime; the emperor held an imperial progress to the temple on the following day. For further details, see Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 307-310.

19 *Tenryūji jūsho mokuroku* 天龍寺重書目録 in entry for 8.16 Kannō 2 (1351) in DNS 6.15, 213-214

20 Harada Masatoshi, "Tenryūji monjo no kōsei to naiyō 天龍寺文書の構成と内容," in *Tenryūji monjo no kenkyū* 天龍寺文書の研究, ed. Harada Masatoshi (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2011), 429. Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 111. Although Musō originally stipulated that no more *tatchū* were to be built in addition to Ungoan and Godaigo's mausoleum, Tahōin 多宝院, Musō's disciples began adding their own *tatchū* after his death. Jinushi Tomohiko 地主智彦, Niki Hiroshi 仁木宏, Tamashiro Reiko 玉城玲子, Fujita Reio 藤田励夫, and Nishimura Yukinobu 西村幸信, "Rokuōinryō no kōsei to tenkai 鹿王院領の構成と展開," in *Rokuōin monjo no kenkyū*, 391-392.

21 Harada Masatoshi, "Shun'oku Myōha to Musō-ha no tenkai 春屋妙葩と夢窓派の展開," in *Rokuōin monjo no kenkyū*, 376-377.

22 The temple burned down in 1358, 1367, 1373, 1380, 1447, 1468, 1815, and 1864. Hisatsune Shūji, *Kyōto meienki* 3, 77.

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FIGURE 17 *Yamashiro no kuni Saga shoji Ōei kinmei ezu* (1426), Historiographical Institute, The University of Tokyo

include over 150 smaller Zen temples; the region also became the locus of important commercial activities sponsored by the temple and a key point of contact between Japan and East Asia. In the early Muromachi period, the area around the temple became increasingly populated by lay people engaged in commercial activities, including moneylenders (*dosō* 土倉) and *sake* brewers (*sakaya* 酒屋), who enjoyed a close relationship with the temple. Tenryūji and its neighbor Rinsenji also played a central role in controlling transport, operating harbors used by boats coming down the Ōi River. The temple was also in-

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volved in trading expeditions to the continent, with moneylenders and *sake* brewers helping to procure funds and supplies for these missions. In this way, Tenryūji was not merely a place to pray for Godaigo's enlightenment, it was also a symbol of strength for the Ashikaga regime and an important economic and diplomatic center.[23]

2 *Taiheiki's* Tenryūji: Appearance of an *Onryō*

Until recently, the late fourteenth-century historical chronicle *Taiheiki* was arguably the most influential account of the building of Tenryūji—and the source of the longstanding association of Musō with the placation of Godaigo's displeased soul. One explanation for the discrepancy between the usual historical account and sources closest to Musō is that, as Thomas D. Conlan has argued, historians have relied heavily on *Taiheiki* in their analyses of the fourteenth century.[24] Such privileging is apparent in many prior representations of Musō's efforts at Tenryūji, which have tended to highlight the placatory aspects of the temple, a major theme in the *Taiheiki* account. Despite the persistence of these portrayals, several scholars, beginning with Shinosaki Masaru 篠崎勝, have nonetheless suggested that Musō was not aiming to pacify Godaigo's restive soul at Tenryūji, but instead had his own separate agenda for the temple.[25] Indeed, a comparison of the account of Tenryūji found in *Taiheiki* with that found in Musō's chronology yields two very different pictures.

Following its depiction of Godaigo's vengeance-filled demise, the *Taiheiki* goes on to describe how a series of strange events had been observed, including flashing lights emanating from the skies over Yoshino. It also recounts how illness plagued people of all stations, including Ashikaga Tadayoshi, whose condition grew worse despite the numerous rituals performed to heal him.[26] Continuing the theme of catastrophe, the segment preceding the description of Tenryūji's origins is filled with accounts of worldly upset: war leading to a decline in Buddhism and *kami* worship, the abandoning of rites at court, and a lack of responsibility and insufficient knowledge of the way of governance

23 Harada Masatoshi, "Chūsei no Saga to Tenryūji 中世の嵯峨と天龍寺," in vol. 4 of *Kōza Rennyo* 講座蓮如, ed. Jōdo Shinshū Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo, Honganji Shiryō Kenkyūjo 浄土真宗教学研究所,本願寺史料研究所 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1997), 79-112. For a study of moneylenders in medieval Kyoto, see Suzanne Marie Gay, *The Moneylenders of Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

24 For details, see Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 9-13.

25 Shinosaki, "Musō Kokushi," 119-126.

26 *Taiheiki*, 140-141.

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among leaders. For this reason, the *Taiheiki* says, "Disease and famine occurred yearly, and the general population suffered."[27]

Immediately after this dim assessment of the state of the realm comes the story of Tenryūji's beginnings, which has Musō linking the realm's misfortune to Godaigo. The section begins as follows:

> At that time, State Preceptor Musō[28] said to the Commander of the Left Imperial Guards,[29] "Judging from the state of the world in recent years, how might there be a way to end calamities using human powers? This is because the former Yoshino sovereign manifested various inauspicious signs at the time of his passing. It occurs to me that the rage in his spirit runs deep and he has brought about calamities in the realm and caused misfortune…"[30]

The *Taiheiki* then has Musō recounting the aforementioned dream, as well as a dream had by Tadayoshi, both of which are detailed in the chronology. However, the *Taiheiki* version subsequently has Musō suggesting that a temple should be built on the site, saying, "If we perform rites for the repose of his soul, the realm will be pacified."[31] He then lists the conciliatory measures used to appease a list of the most fearsome *onryō* known to medieval Japan, including Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903), a slandered scholar-official who died in exile, and Emperor Sutoku 崇徳天皇 (1119-1164), who was banished after his participation in an unsuccessful coup. He concludes, "Because of this, these *onryō* were all placated and became protector *kami*," thereby presenting Godaigo as an *onryō* in need of mollification. In this way, *Taiheiki* portrays Tenryūji principally as a remedy to the problem of Godaigo and, significantly, identifies Musō as the architect of this solution.[32]

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27 Ibid., 160-161.

28 While Musō is named in the Rufubon 流布本 group of texts, older texts including the Kandabon 神田本 name only "a certain person." *Taiheiki*, 160, n. 9. Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 49-50. The idea of building Tenryūji as a solution to the problem of Godaigo's restless spirit has nonetheless still been associated with Musō, especially in modern scholarship.

29 Tadayoshi.

30 *Taiheiki*, 161.

31 Ibid.

32 The *Taiheiki* is well known for its negative views of Musō. As Yagi Seiya 八木聖弥 explains, the text indirectly ridicules Musō for his inability to save provincial constable Toki Yoritoo 土岐頼遠 (?-1342) from beheading after Yoritoo insulted and attacked Retired Emperor Kōgon's retinue. He likewise notes the *Taiheiki*'s abbreviated treatment of Tenryūji, as well as *yamabushi* Unkei's 雲景 (n.d.) refusal to visit Tenryūji (which Unkei

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In contrast, Musō's chronology offers a very different account of Tenryūji's origins, in terms of the dream mentioned above that Musō had about Godaigo. The chronology associates Godaigo in Musō's dream with numerous auspicious symbols, including a monk's dress, a phoenix, and a golden dragon:

> On 6.24, the teacher told his disciples about a dream from the previous day. In it, the Former Emperor of Yoshino appeared as a monk. He was riding a phoenix as he entered the Kameyama temporary palace. That autumn, on 8.16, [Godaigo] passed away. The Shōgun [Takauji], in accordance with imperial decree, built a temple to perform services in his memory at the Kameyama temporary palace. After multiple imperial orders, the State Preceptor became its founder. The Commander of the Left Imperial Guards [Tadayoshi], in a dream, saw a golden dragon emerge from the river south of the temple. For this reason, the temple is called Tenryū Shiseizenji.[33]

Compared to *Taiheiki*'s portrayal of Godaigo and his fury, Tenryūji in this passage hardly seems like a project intended to mollify an *onryō*. Rather, preceded by dream signs such as a phoenix and a golden dragon, it reads more like a monument to a respected former sovereign, thus casting doubt on the notion that Musō's primary objective at Tenryūji was the pacification of Godaigo's restless spirit.

In reassessing the significance of Musō's Tenryūji apart from the *Taiheiki* account, Shinosaki and subsequent scholars have based their interpretations on two key *shinzo* 陞座 (special sermons)[34] delivered by Musō at the temple: the Jōwa 貞和 1 (1345) dedication of the buddha hall at the temple held just after the seventh anniversary of Godaigo's passing, and Musō's final public sermon delivered in Kannō 2 (1351) to mark the thirteenth anniversary of

calls Musō's residence) upon visiting Kyoto. Yagi Seiya, *Taiheikiteki sekai no kenkyū* 太平記的世界の研究 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1999), 132-133.

33 *Tenryū* 天龍 means "Heavenly Dragon," while *shisei* 資聖 refers to aiding Godaigo's enlightenment. See "Nenpu," in *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 319. Ogisu Jundō 荻須純道, *Musō, Daitō* 夢窓 大燈, vol. 7 of *Rinzai Zen sōsho* 臨済禅叢書 (Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan, 1978), 59-60.

34 Literally meaning to "ascend the seat" (e.g., to preach the dharma), *shinzo* were delivered on special occasions not included in a temple's regular event calendar. Geared towards lay audiences, they effectively functioned as public lectures or sermons. Yanagida notes that the 1345 *shinzo*, in particular, displays a forceful rhetoric not found in other sermons that Musō delivered as a newly installed abbot elsewhere. Yanagida, *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 76. The same might also be said of the 1351 sermon considered at the end of this chapter.

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Godaigo's death.[35] In doing so, they have thoroughly called into question Musō's longstanding association with spirit pacification at Tenryūji. To this end, they have variously portrayed Tenryūji as: an attempt to promote eternal peace, protect the state, and benefit all beings;[36] a new model of Buddhism for the protection of the state (*chingo kokka bukkyō* 鎮護国家仏教) as well an attempt to legitimize its patrons in the warrior class, which had been disparaged by the previous model;[37] an attempt to bring peace and prosperity to the world by enlightening Godaigo;[38] an attempt to promote Buddhism,[39] and, in particular, Zen;[40] a bid to legitimize the Northern court and their allies in the *bakufu*;[41] and an endeavor to end the tumult of the time by promoting the individual pursuit of enlightenment per the Zen teachings.[42]

While all of the above studies note a multiplicity in Musō's objectives to some degree, this chapter will examine the diverse and dynamic agendas evident in the 1345 and 1351 sermons that bespeak Musō's political, religious, and institutional concerns at the close of his life. Musō used the seventh anniversary of the late sovereign's death to advocate for stabilization of the political order, confirm the temple's ties to its imperial sponsors, enlighten Godaigo, pacify the realm, and pray for the welfare of imperial and warrior supporters. While some of these themes reappear in the 1351 sermon, Musō used that occasion—incidentally, his last public sermon—to proffer a markedly different vision of the temple.

35 For an alternate English translation of parts of both sermons, see William Bodiford's translations in William Theodore De Bary, et al., eds. *Sources of Japanese Tradition,* vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 328-332. All translations of the two sermons in this chapter are my own.

36 Shinosaki, "Musō Kokushi," 126.

37 Suga Kikuko 菅基久子, "Gokoku to jōsō: Tenryūji sōken to Musō Soseki 護国と清浄—天龍寺創建と夢窓疎石," in *Kokka to shūkyō: Nihon shisōshi ronshū* 国家と宗教：日本思想史論集 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1992), 191-192, 196-197, 202-204.

38 Yagi's text addressing Tenryūji was first published as Yagi Seiya, "Muromachi shoki no onryō shisō: Tenryūji sōken o megutte 室町初期の怨霊思想：天龍寺創建をめぐって," *Bunka shigaku* 文化史学 49 (1993): 11-17. This article also appears as Chapter 2 (entitled "Onryō shisō to Tenryūji sōken 怨霊思想と天龍寺創建") in Yagi, *Taiheikiteki sekai*, 140-148. See also Andrew Goble, "Visions of an Emperor," in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 116-117.

39 Yagi, "Muromachi shoki no onryō shisō," 12-13; Yagi, *Taiheikiteki sekai*, 140-141

40 Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 44-53, 60.

41 Goble, "Visions," 116; Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 53.

42 Tamakake, "Musō Soseki to shoki Muromachi seiken," 251-266.

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3 Tenryūji in 1345: Reunification and the Rise of Buddhism

Illuminating the diversity of Musō's early objectives at Tenryūji, *Kakuō hōden kyōsan shinzo* 覚皇宝殿慶賛陞座, a special sermon commemorating the completion of the buddha hall and the seventh anniversary of Godaigo's passing, was delivered on 8.30 1345 in the presence of Retired Emperor Kōgon and both Ashikaga brothers. Captured in detail in the *Taiheiki*, the dedication ceremonies of the previous day had been attended by the Ashikaga brothers and a veritable parade of their warrior associates.[43]

Although modern scholarship has tended to emphasize the 8.29 event, no doubt due to the prominence of *Taiheiki*, from Musō's perspective the dedication on 8.30—at which both sovereign and *shōgun* were present—was arguably the more important one; this is suggested by omission of all references to the 8.29 event in his recorded sayings.[44] It was on this day, when the Ashikaga brothers joined the retired emperor in clear demonstration of their two-pronged official support for Tenryūji, that Musō delivered a politically charged sermon emphasizing Ashikaga repentance and stressing reconciliation among former, current, and possible rivals.

4 Multiple Reconciliations

The importance of repentance to the Tenryūji project has been noted by Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助, who characterized both Tenryūji and the larger *ankokuji-rishōtō* project as displays of penitence toward the late Godaigo undertaken on the urging of Musō.[45] As we shall see, this emphasis on reconciliation also served as a critical component in Musō's first major goal for Tenryūji: to neutralize the main rivalries of his time. Turning to the rhetoric of the 1345 sermon, we see that after offering up prayers for the retired and current sovereigns

43 *Taiheiki*, 194. For an analysis of the political significance of the 1345 dedication and its relationship to the 1185 dedication of Tōdaiji, see Nishiyama Mika, "Tenryūji kuyō no shiteki igi o megutte 天龍寺供養の史的意義をめぐって," *Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 禅文化研究所紀要 28 (2006): 107-110. See also Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 53-58.

44 Yamada Mumon 山田無文, "Tenryūji rakusei no hi 天龍寺落成の日," in *Musō Kokushi*, 159-160.

45 Tsuji, *Bukkyōshi*, 86; 105-106. With regard to the relationship between the *ankokuji-rishōtō* project and Tenryūji, Tsuji suggests that Tenryūji served as the head temple of the *ankokuji* (*sōhonzan ankokuji* 総本山安国寺). He proposes that this arrangement was modeled after Tōdaiji, which fulfilled a similar role for the *kokubunji* system in the Nara period. Ibid., 115-116.

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and their myriad subjects at the sermon's outset, Musō offers prayers for the enlightenment of Godaigo. He then invokes a series of Buddhist deities and *kami* and promises that prosperity and peace can be achieved through universal liberation. He then makes a series of statements clarifying the true nature of the relationship between enemies and intimates in a rhetorical gesture that sets the tone for his project of reconciliation. He begins with a quote from the *Śūraṃgama sūtra* (J. *Shuryōgonkyō* 首楞厳経): "The essence accords with conditions to manifest various names and forms, and these names and forms obscure its perfect brightness."[46] These forms, Musō insists, are nothing more than dreams and illusions: "When we examine their roots, misfortune comes from the same source as fortune and enemies and intimates are of a single body. The buddhas appeared in this world for no other reason than to help sentient beings awaken to and enter the place of the same source and single body."[47]

Musō goes on to explain that, despite this essential unity, the realm has been recently plagued by infighting and widespread disaster. Citing the rampant disorder since the Genkō 元弘 era (1331-1334), which led to the downfall of the Kamakura *bakufu*, he says:

> It is not only that many soldiers have lost their lives on the battlefield; even birds and animals in the mountains and fields have met misfortune. Shrines and temples, the red-gated homes of the wealthy and the white thatched roofs of the poor—some were burnt down by the fires of war, while others were destroyed by bandits. Could the damage have been any worse? If we inquire as to where these disasters came from, we see that they have come from *hichun* 否屯 in the world.[48] This *hichun* does not come from somewhere else. It comes from the accumulated debt of eons of acts. These accumulated acts neither originate with nor were committed by others. They are only deeds produced by momentary ignorance. People without deep virtue cannot understand this…[49]

Here, Musō attributes the disorder not to angry spirits or outside forces, but to eons of ignorance. Cleverly, he does not specifically name the agents of this

46 "Shinzo," 147-150. Reference to Chapter 7 of the *Śūraṃgama sūtra* identified by Yanagida, *Musō*, 225. *Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhupusa wanxing shoulengyan jing* 大仏頂如来密因修証了義諸菩薩万行首楞厳経 T 945 9:138b7.

47 "Shinzo," 150-151.

48 A reference to two hexagrams from the *Yijing* (J. Ekikyō 易経). *Hi* 否 refers to a state of blockage, while *chun* 屯 refers to a state of deadlock.

49 "Shinzo," 151-152.

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ignorance, thus skirting the issue of blame,[50] in clear contrast to Section 17 of *Muchū mondōshū* (1342), where he is very clear about Ashikaga culpability. The wording in this passage closely parallels the *Kakuō hōden* sermon, only this time he directly chides his interlocutor, Ashikaga Tadayoshi:

> If we compare my lord's bad deeds (*onzaigō* 御罪業) to his virtuous acts since the time of Genkō, which might be greater? During this time, too, how many people were taken for enemies and annihilated? The wives, children and members of their households, left behind and now adrift in the world—what might be occupying their thoughts? It is not just my lord's enemies. The deaths of my lord's allies on the battlefield should also be considered part of his bad deeds. The son died, the father left in the world; the father died, the son left in the world—who knows the number of people who suffered that kind of grief… Between the capital and the hinterlands, how many shrines and temples, inns and homes have been destroyed or burnt down? The lands formerly controlled by temples and shrines and the manors held by provincial lords have been taken for provisions and territory. In the same way there are no festivals held at shrines, practices at temples have been abandoned. Those who are not warriors have landholdings, but they have no control over them. There are many who have been robbed of their residences with no place to go to. Debt relief (*tokusei* 徳政)[51] still has not been carried out. The grief of those high and low worsens still. The lack of peace and stability in the world is entirely because of this…[52]

Interestingly, although Godaigo clearly had a hand in the strife that ended the Kamakura *bakufu*, relying as he did upon the military might of the Ashikaga and others to defeat the Hōjō and gain control of Kyoto, Musō does not directly implicate him here or elsewhere. As we can see in the above passage, Musō's repeated use of the honorific phrase "my lord's bad deeds" instead daringly faults the Ashikaga explicitly for the misfortune that befell the realm during their struggle for power. As Sueki has asked, "Prior to this, had a Buddhist figure ever engaged in such severe political critique?"[53] The answer is likely a resounding "no."

50 Suga, "Gokoku to jōsō," 189.

51 In times of disaster or trouble or for ritual purposes, the government would sometimes ease taxes or forego collection of debts in keeping with the Confucian view that benevolence by a government to its people would lead to harmony in the world and stable rule.

52 *Muchū mondōshū*, 80-81.

53 Sueki, *Kamakura Bukkyō*, 261.

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Returning to the 1345 dedication at Tenryūji, which devotes fewer words to Ashikaga culpability, Musō nonetheless manages in the subsequent statement to discreetly imply responsibility on the part of his patron-students, even as he ostensibly compliments them:

> The Shōgun[54] and the Commander of the Left Imperial Guards[55] inwardly possess knowledge and outwardly display marvelous talents. Carrying shame in their hearts and wanting to apologize for their offenses, they laid forth their sincere intentions. Word of their aspirations reached the sovereign, who accorded with them deeply. His highness issued orders to build in each province throughout the land one temple and one stupa to help bring to enlightenment the souls of those lost in battle. Also in the Ryakuō era, a special imperial wish was decreed to turn this imperial residence into a monastery to serve as an awe-inspiringly adorned site of enlightenment for the former sovereign. The Retired Emperor commanded the warriors to build it and in just a few years and not so many days, it was completed. Truly, the way of lord and vassal are in harmony, and Tenryūji invites the preservation of this harmony.[56]

Significantly, the stress on repentance in the above passage is a technique by which Musō brings together the Ashikaga and their ally, Retired Emperor Kōgon of the Northern court. To this end, Musō repeatedly portrays the establishment of Tenryūji as a collaboration between ruler and subject, stressing that the Ashikaga brothers' "sincere intentions… are at one with those of his highness."[57] This shared objective is concretized in Musō's account of the building of Tenryūji, which he portrays as first authorized through an imperial edict and then realized by the warrior rulers, creating a finished product that symbolizes the harmony between the two.[58]

It is this supposed shared interest in the success of Buddhism that Musō uses to unite them, again identifying their common interest as a foundation for confluence in patronage:

54 Takauji.

55 Tadayoshi.

56 "Shinzo," 152-153.

57 "Shinzo," 152. Nishiyama, "Tenryūji kuyō," 114. Nishiyama, who sees Tenryūji as the symbol of a new political order, suggests that Kōgon's forced postponement of his 8.29 visit prevented the symbolic realization of this cooperation. For this reason, she sees the 8.30 visit as a way for the Ashikaga to save face.

58 For a discussion of Musō's vision of the sovereign–subject relationship and its connection to the promotion of Buddhism, see Tamakake, "Musō Soseki to shoki Muromachi seiken," 242-247.

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> We can see that things do not end with *hi* 否; bad deeds can be turned into virtuous acts. Phenomena have no fixed states, and negative links [to the Buddhist Way] can be made into virtuous ties. This is because misfortune and fortune have the same source and enemies and intimates are of one body.[59]

Interestingly, it is by reference to recent unhappy worldly events that led to the establishment of Ashikaga rule that Musō is able to do just this. Echoing his earlier statements about the transformation of bad deeds into meritorious acts, Musō notes how the recent power struggle has precedents, as examples of fights for ascendancy and attacks of traitorous vassals can be found throughout antiquity. However, he insists in reference to the Tenryūji dedication, today's transmutation of bad conditions into good is without prior example. Portraying the building of Tenryūji as the fated flourishing of the Zen school, he characterizes the latest upheaval in the realm as an indispensable pretext for the building of that special temple:

> The establishment of this monastery came about solely on account of the causes and associated conditions stemming from great upheaval. Is it not the case that, however much the luminous kings and the wise vassals might appear in contradiction on the outside, they accord inwardly, that front and back work together to aid the essence of the school?[60]

Here, Musō characterizes the building of Tenryūji not just a means of redeeming the Ashikaga but as an act that evidences in a paradoxical way the unity of the ostensibly competing interests of lord and vassal. Musō then promises that the merit resulting from the day's dedication "will remove the roots of ages worth of karmic acts, to say nothing of the errors of the Genkō period."[61]

The harmonious relationship between sovereign and subject and its resultant system of joint patronage is likewise emphasized in Musō's 1342 dedication of the rebuilt Yasaka stupa (*Yasaka no hōtō* 八坂の宝塔) in Higashiyama to the east of Kyoto as part of the *ankokuji rishōtō* system, which, like Tenryūji, was a large-scale state enterprise. The narrative in this earlier sermon, also a *shinzo*, is strikingly similar to that deployed in the 1345 Tenryūji sermon, with Musō recounting the terrible events of the Genkō era before stressing that the *bakufu*'s plans to establish the system mirrored imperial wishes. Finally, he ex-

59 "Shinzo," 153.
60 Ibid., 155.
61 Ibid., 157.

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tols the completion and dedication of the Yasaka stupa as evidence of the unity of sovereign and subject.[62]

Considering the events of the recent past, Musō's emphasis on harmony between court and *bakufu* in both the 1342 and 1345 sermons should come as no surprise. Having experienced Godaigo's 1333 overthrow of the Kamakura *bakufu* and the 1335 Ashikaga revolt against Godaigo—both conflicts that involved contests between the emperor and his warrior rivals—Musō knew well the disastrous consequences of friction between sovereign and warrior. For this reason, it is very possible that Musō was seeking to guard against future upheaval stemming from possible discord between court and *bakufu* by stressing the confluence of the two in the building and patronage of Tenryūji.

In addition to this rhetorical stabilization of the political order, Musō's narrative of the unity of sovereign and subject in the sermon likely had another, perhaps equally obvious aim: to affirm support for the temple from both court and *bakufu*. While Ogisu Jundō 荻須純道 has noted how Tenryūji blended for the first time Kamakura warrior and Kyoto court culture,[63] this brand of combinatory support also promised very necessary financial underpinnings and prestige for the new temple by affording it a much stronger position in the highly competitive Buddhist landscape of the capital. In Musō's day, Kyoto was home not only to rival traditions, such as the well-established and highly powerful *kenmitsu* institutions that had already displayed considerable antipathy to the Tenryūji enterprise, but also to rival Zen temples associated with other lines.[64] It was perhaps also for this reason that Musō stresses the unity of the Northern court and the *bakufu* in their patronage at Tenryūji.

Apart from joining the interests of the *bakufu* and the Northern court through their support at Tenryūji, Musō also appears to have used the 1345 dedication to bring about reconciliation between Godaigo and his adversary, Kōgon, perhaps seeking to neutralize the deep-rooted political rivalry that had led to the existence of the dueling courts. To give a short overview, a split in the imperial house had occurred in 1272, following the death of Emperor Gosaga. Gosaga had been serving as retired emperor (*jiten* 治天) while his two sons alternately occupied the throne but had not stipulated which of them ought to succeed him as retired emperor and thereby become head of the imperial line. With no obvious solution, the dispute was resolved by the Kamakura *bakufu*, who initiated a system of alternate reigns from the two lines descending from Gosaga's sons: the Jimyōin line of Emperor Gofukakusa 後深草天皇 (1243-1304),

62 Ibid., 140-142.
63 Ogisu, *Musō, Daitō*, 65.
64 On the competition faced by the Musō line, see Harada, "Nanbokuchō," 68-76, 92.

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from which Retired Emperor Kōgon of the Northern court issued; and the Daikakuji line of Emperor Kameyama 亀山天皇 (1249-1305), which eventually produced Godaigo and the Southern court.

Following a lengthy reign by Jimyōin sovereign Hanazono, crown prince Godaigo's successor Prince Kuniyoshi 邦良親王 (1300-1326) was chosen in 1317 from his same Daikakuji line under the Bunpō Compromise (*Bunpō no wadan* 文保の和談).[65] However, after Emperor Godaigo's first plan to overthrow the Kamakura *bakufu* came to light in 1324 and Kuniyoshi subsequently died in 1326, the *bakufu* made use of the alternate succession system to place Prince Kazuhito 量仁親王 (1313-1364)—Emperor Kōgon—of the Jimyōin line next in line for the throne. With Godaigo still persisting in his opposition to the *bakufu*, a second plan to topple the *bakufu* was exposed in the fourth month of 1331, after which Godaigo took leave of the capital with the imperial regalia in tow, setting up base at Kasagi 笠置 (now in southern Kyoto prefecture). Overwhelmed by the *bakufu*'s forces, Godaigo was taken into custody on 9.28. Having already declared Kōgon sovereign eight days prior, the *bakufu* forced Godaigo to hand over the regalia upon his return to Kyoto before being exiled to the island of Oki 隠岐 in the third month of 1333.[66]

When Godaigo and his supporters at last triumphed over the Hōjō, one of the former sovereign's first moves was to reassume the throne in a continuation of his prior reign. In doing so, he ended Kōgon's tenure as emperor, changing the reign name from Shōkyō 正慶 back to Genkō 元弘, as though Kōgon had not reigned at all.[67] Soon after, in the twelfth month, Godaigo began making plans to neutralize the Jimyōin line, first taking Kōgon's younger sister, Princess Junshi 珣子内親王 (1311-1337), as his empress. At the same time, Godaigo bestowed upon Kōgon the title of Retired Sovereign (*daijōtennō* 太上天皇), not in acknowledgement of his reign but to recognize, as his proclamation states, the prince's "modesty and favor."[68] At the same time, he gave his daughter Princess Kanshi 懽子内親王 (1315-1362), known thereafter as Senseimon'in

65 Kobayashi Kazutake 小林一岳, *Genkō to Nanbokuchō no dōran* 元寇と南北朝の動乱, vol. 4 of *Nihon chūsei no rekishi* 日本中世の歴史 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), 112. For more details on the compromise, see Andrew Edmund Goble, *Kenmu: Godaigo's Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1996), 16-20.

66 For a detailed account of Godaigo and the end of the Kamakura *bakufu*, see Goble, *Kenmu*, 105-136.

67 Fukatsu Mutsuo 深津睦夫, *Kōgon Tennō: osamaranu yo no tame no mi zo urewashiki* 光厳天皇：をさまらぬ世のための身ぞうれはしき (Kyoto: Minerva Shobō, 2014), 89-90.

68 Ibid, 94. See entry for 12.10 Genkō 3 (1333) of *Kōnendai ryakki* 皇年代略記 in DNS, 6.1, 323-324.

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宣政門院, as consort to Kōgon, in accordance with precedent.[69] Although Godaigo had initiated a return to the Genkō period, it was but partial, for he took several measures to guarantee that neither Kōgon nor any other members of his line would ascend the throne. In addition to proclaiming Kōgon as Retired Sovereign, and thereby eliminating him from the line of succession, Godaigo designated his son Prince Tsuneyoshi 恒良親王 (1324-1338) as his heir on 1.23 1334, in a move clearly designed to ensure that the next sovereign would hail from his line.[70]

In the final days of the Kenmu regime, Kōgon, who was clearly not content with Godaigo's concessions, seized an opportunity to become retired emperor in more than name alone. As Ashikaga Takauji rebelled against Godaigo and his ally Nitta Yoshisada 新田義貞 (1301-1338), Kōgon cast his lot with Takauji in an imperial declaration issued on 2.15 1336. Even as the regalia remained in Godaigo's possession, Kōgon began issuing declarations (*inzen* 院宣) as retired emperor. One such order would name as emperor his younger brother Prince Toyohito 富仁親王 (reigned as Emperor Kōmyō), and thus establish a rival court to Godaigo's regime. In this way, the contentious relationship between Godaigo and Kōgon had deep roots and was a direct source of discord in Musō's time.

Perhaps seeking to neutralize this rivalry, Musō in the 1345 sermon presents Godaigo and Kōgon as in perfect harmony, rendering Kōgon as Godaigo's rightful successor:[71]

> When we think of the situation from the perspective of *ri* 理 [principle], you are not in the family lineage of the Former Emperor, yet when we think of it in terms of *gi* 義 [what is right], you are his prince. This is why you have solemnly come on this date to this mountain during this month marking the seventh anniversary of the passing of the former Emperor, asking this humble monk to ascend the seat, celebrate the completion of this monastery, and pray for the sovereign's enlightenment.[72]

69 As Fukatsu explains, Godaigo's bestowal of the title of Retired Sovereign upon an imperial prince had precedent. Imperial prince Koichijōin 小一条院 (994-1051) received the title of Retired Sovereign after being removed from the line of succession. Fujiwara no Michinaga's 藤原道長 (966-1027) daughter Kanshi 寛子 then became his lady-in-waiting. For details, see Fukatsu, *Kōgon Tennō*, 94.

70 Ibid., 94-95.

71 Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 52.

72 "Shinzo," 156.

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By pointing to the policy of alternate succession under which Kōgon becomes Godaigo's "prince," Musō may have been tacitly advancing a return to this system, which would ostensibly have solved the problem of the dueling courts.[73] Whether he was, in fact, doing so here is unclear. Rather, in stressing above all Kōgon's journey to Tenryūji in proper memorial of the late emperor, Musō seems to have been seeking to somehow put an end to their rivalry by posthumously uniting Godaigo with Kōgon.

As Yagi Seiya 八木聖弥 has pointed out, Musō's interest in reconciling the two courts was no mere rhetorical pose,[74] for his words did indeed foreshadow his later activities aimed at reuniting the two courts.[75] Musō's first foray into reconciliation took place in 1349, following Kō no Moronao and Kō no Moroyasu's devastating victory against the Yoshino army at Shijō Nawate 四条畷, when word of talks spread among Moronao's troops as they lodged in Yamato province (now, Nara) before proceeding to Yoshino, which they would leave in flames.[76] It was at this time that Musō, in conjunction with Seikan 静観 (n.d.), head of the powerful Shingon Ritsu temple Saidaiji 西大寺, unsuccessfully urged the two parties to come to a settlement.[77]

Musō also took part in a second intervention that would bring the courts much closer to reunification. At the height of the second wave of the Kannō Disturbance, Tadayoshi, still in contact with Yoshino after his temporary surrender, proposed reunification with the Southern court on 2.5 1350. Following Tadayoshi's rapprochement with brother Takauji, Southern court general Kusunoki Masanori 楠木正儀 (n.d.) delivered an imperial missive from the Southern court to Tadayoshi on 3.11.[78] That evening, Musō called upon Emperor Kōgon at the palace, delivering a dharma talk after which he outlined Tadayoshi's proposed terms for reconciliation.[79] A settlement ultimately proved elusive, with Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房 (1293-1354) stressing the legitimacy of the Southern sovereign and the two sides unable to agree on the status of

73 Nishiyama, in contrast, sees this passage as evidence that Musō was seeking to legitimize the Northern regime. Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 52-53.

74 Yagi, *Taiheikiteki sekai*, 145.

75 Tsuji, *Bukkyōshi*, 86-87.

76 For details, see Mori Shigeaki, *Nanbokuchō no dōran* 南北朝の動乱, vol 8 of *Sensō no Nihonshi* 戦争の日本史 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007), 89-92; 194.

77 See entry for 1.15 Jōwa 4 in *Entairyaku*, DNS, 6.11, 355. Tsuji, *Bukkyōshi*, 86-87. The seventh abbot of Saidaiji, Jōkan was apparently also known as Shinshō 信昭, according to the *Saidaiji daidai Chōrōmei* 西大寺代々長老名. Mori, *Nanbokuchō no dōran*, 194.

78 Fukatsu, *Kōgon Tennō*, 182-183. See also Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 119-120.

79 Fukatsu, *Kōgon Tennō*, 182-183. Entry for 3.11 Kannō 2 (1351) in *Entairyaku* and *Entairyaku mokuroku* 園太暦目録, DNS 6.14, p. 880-881, 882.

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the *bakufu*.[80] Although both attempts failed, they nonetheless demonstrated Musō's real-world commitment to resolution of the two-court problem, presaged as it was by the rhetoric of the 1345 sermon.[81] Further efforts at a reunification would follow, but it was not until 1392 that a resolution would at last be realized.

5 Securing Imperial Support for Tenryūji

While using Tenryūji to promote the aforementioned tripartite political harmony at the outset of the 1345 sermons, Musō depicts it as a site of a revitalized Buddhism (*buppō* 仏法) by invoking its past incarnation as the very first Zen temple in Japan. In doing so, he offers an account of how Empress Danrin 檀林皇后 (786-850),[82] companion to the highly revered Emperor Saga 嵯峨天皇 (786-842), built the very first Zen monastery in Japan at this same site:[83]

> Long ago, during the reign of Emperor Saga, there was a monk named Egaku 恵蕚 (n.d.). Under imperial orders, he crossed over to the Tang with the intention of spreading Buddhism in this land. He visited State Preceptor An in Yanguan 塩官.[84] Believing that there is a profound essence outside the scriptures, he invited the top disciple there, Yikong 義空, (J. Gikū), to come to Japan. In accordance with imperial decree, Yikong temporarily resided at Saiin subtemple 西院, located at Tōji temple 東寺.[85] Yikong was invited to the palace at times, and on one occasion, the empress attained enlightenment when meeting him for the first time, thanks to virtuous practices in previous lives. It was then that she built a monastery here in Saga and called it Danrin 檀林.[86] She had the aforementioned

80 Fukatsu, *Kōgon Tennō*, 184-185.

81 Yagi, *Taiheikiteki sekai*, 145.

82 Empress Danrin was also known as Tachibana no Kachiko 橘嘉智子 and was famous for her support of Buddhism.

83 For a discussion of Musō's reverence for Empress Danrin and his and Shun'oku Myōha's promotion of her as an ideal female Buddhist patron, see Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 67-75.

84 Chan master Yanguan Qian 塩官斉安 (J. Enkan Saian, 752?-842) was a disciple of Mazu Daoyi.

85 Built in 794 soon after the founding of the capital at Heian-kyō, Tōji, known officially as Kyōōgokokuji 教王護国寺, later became a center of Shingon practice after it was given to Kūkai by an imperial decree issued by Emperor Saga in 823.

86 In accordance with the empress's wishes, Danrinji was built in 850 as a Zen temple and Yikong was named founder. Danrinji was destroyed by fire in 928 but was later rebuilt in 1321, when it became part of the Gozan system of convents, but it fell into ruin again, after which Tenryūji was built nearby.

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> Chan master serve as abbot there. There were twelve subtemples at Danrinji, and the empress herself lived at one of them. For this reason, she was called Empress Danrin. The details of this story can be found in a stone inscription at Tōji. The heading on that inscription says, "A Record of Zen's Initial Transmission to Japan." However, the time had not yet come for Zen's flourishing. After the empress died, Danrin Monastery slowly fell into ruin. Parts of it became barren fields, while other parts became residential areas.[87]

As Nishiyama has argued, one of Musō's reasons for including this episode was likely to portray Tenryūji—and the entire *ankokuji* system—as a new model of Buddhism for state protection, given that Danrinji had been built by imperial orders for that very purpose.[88]

Musō also appears to have used the occasion of the 1345 sermon for another purpose: to bind Tenryūji to its sponsors in the imperial house. Accordingly, Musō's emphasis on imperial support for Zen at this moment was very likely a direct reflection of the recent Enryakuji-led protests against official support for the temple, or more specifically its holding of an imperial memorial service to be attended by the retired emperor, which Mikael S. Adolphson identifies as the central concern behind Enryakuji's protests over the 8.29 memorial.[89] Musō had already confirmed in no uncertain terms the *bakufu*'s support for the temple the previous day. Notably absent from that event, however, was Retired Emperor Kōgon, who, as we have seen, cancelled his planned attendance to appease the protesting monks. The imperial progress held the following day, at which Musō delivered the dedication in question, thus offered him a much-needed official opportunity to underscore imperial support for Tenryūji. As the above passage suggests, this he did through reference to past precedent, while subtly signaling to the objecting *kenmitsu* institutions that their dissent would in no way hamper court patronage. At the same time, Musō's rhetoric was also very likely an attempt to set the new temple apart from competing Zen institutions in the capital, given its clear emphasis on the site's special ties to the imperial house.

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87 "Shinzo," 153-154.

88 Nishiyama also argues that Musō and his heirs appear to have seen Empress Danrin as something of an ideal lay female patron, and Musō references the same episode in *Muchū mondōshū*, a text that was geared, at least in part, to female audiences. Musō counted the mother of Retired Emperor Kōgon, Kōgimon'in 広義門院 (1292-1357), among his many prominent female disciples. Nishiyama notes how on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of her death, celebrant and prominent Musō disciple Shun'oku Myōha directly identified Kōgimon'in as Empress Danrin reborn. Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 65-66, 71-74.

89 Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 308.

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FIGURE 18 Sōgenchi pond at Tenryūji

Accordingly, Musō makes skillful use not only of Danrinji's prior flourishing at that very same site but also of its decline, as suggested by his comments "the rise of the Zen lineage had not yet reached its time."[90] He subsequently explains how Zen's true rise began some four hundred years later, when Zen temples including Tōfukuji 東福寺 and Kenninji 建仁寺 had sprung up in the capital, and Emperor Gosaga built an imperial residence on the remains of a former cloister of Danrinji, which in turn became the imperial residence of Emperor Kameyama, well known for his building of Nanzenji, an imperial residence converted to a Zen temple, in 1291. Musō describes how Kameyama built a temple there, named Juryōin 寿量院, where he installed twenty monks from Nanzenji. He then reveals that the newly constructed dharma hall was built on that precise spot. To Musō, of course, this was no coincidence, but rather destiny fulfilled:

> From the very start, this spot heralded the transmission of the Zen lineage to our land, and this spot again will serve as a site for the thriving of Zen in transforming the realm. It is a sign that shows us that this is the place and time for the flourishing of Buddhism.[91]

90 "Shinzo," 154.
91 Ibid., 155.

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In this way, he is able to legitimize Tenryūji through reference to earlier precedent. Musō cleverly acknowledges rival lines based at Tōfukuji and Kenninji while presenting Tenryūji as an imperially sponsored temple in the more prestigious tradition of Nanzenji, a temple that enjoyed imperial suppot and a special status above and outside the Kyoto Gozan.

Musō's aim of linking Tenryūji to the imperial house is evident throughout his narrative of the new temple. Echoing his earlier mention about the imperial decree that began the project, Musō now draws attention to its imminent realization: "The building of this temple is more than half complete. The imperial wish will certainly be fulfilled."[92] This partial yet imminent fulfillment is in turned symbolized by the temple plaque, which he says has yet to be hung but nonetheless already bears the retired emperor's calligraphy. Likewise, he mentions several other calligraphic efforts by the retired emperor to be hung in the buddha hall, the main hall, and the founder's hall, concluding that each "expresses the sincerity of his highness' intention and the prosperity of the lineage of the patriarchs."[93] Through these symbols, Musō concretely and thoroughly illustrates the contested temple's ties to its imperial patrons, in a subtle but forceful rejoinder to the *kenmitsu* institutions.

6 Enlightening Godaigo and Other Objectives

Imperial support for the rise of Buddhism at Tenryūji was not limited to living sovereigns or the Northern line, however. Rather, as a number of scholars have already noted, Musō reserved a key role for the late Emperor Godaigo in his vision of the promotion of Buddhism and pacification of the realm centered at Tenryūji. For this reason, Shinosaki's analysis of references in Musō's Tenryūji sermons to the final "Entering the Dharma Realm" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (J. *Kegon-kyō* 華厳経) suggests that Musō sought to present Godaigo as having returned to the dharma realm of Tenryūji from the south, armed with the wisdom of the bodhisattva Monju 文殊 (Sk. Mañjuśrī) and ready to work for the deliverance of all sentient beings.[94]

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid.

94 In that chapter, Monju goes south to preach about the dharma realm without leaving the seat of the buddha Vairocana 毘盧遮那 (J. Birushana) at the double-storied lecture hall at Gion monastery (J. Gion Shōja 祇園精舎; Sk. Jetavana). Shinosaki suggests that Musō sought to present Godaigo as having acquired the wisdom of Monju in the south by installing a Vairocana triad in the hall that he named, literally, "Enlightened Sovereign Dharma Hall" (*kakuō hōden* 覚皇法殿). Shinosaki, "Musō Kokushi," 132-136.

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The 1345 sermon does indeed portray Godaigo in a positive light, with Musō offering no apparent objections to his imperial regime.[95] Rather, he showers extended praise upon Godaigo's short-lived rule, in a show of appreciation befitting a former beneficiary of the late emperor:

> When we think of it carefully, Emperor Godaigo was endowed with qualities given to him by heaven and divine marks not of this world. His virtue covered the earth and heavens and his clarity was on par with the sun and moon. Fortune and misfortune come about on account of causes, and it is difficult to know their deep workings. Sagely or ordinary? It is not possible to speak of extraordinary acts. It was only that it was not the right time for the Emperor, and the winds of benevolence ceased and died out, although he so wanted them to blow.[96]

Musō thus clearly insists upon the legitimacy of Godaigo's reign, presenting it as merely ill timed. Although Godaigo's earthly wishes went unfulfilled, Musō reserves for Godaigo a prominent posthumous place in promoting Buddhism at Tenryūji, while also illustrating other objectives for the temple in the following intentions offered near the end of the 1345 sermon:

> We pray that the spirit of [the deceased Emperor Godaigo] at once ascends to the palace of enlightenment, and that he opens the gate to the original emptiness of all karmic hindrances, that he rides the boat of compassion in the sea of unity between enemies and intimates, not forgetting the transmission at Vulture Peak. [We pray that he] plants the Buddhist flag, and remains in nirvana here at Kameyama while saving all people in this world of suffering, bestowing equal benefits on those enemies and intimates that died on the battlefield, and helping those lost in the world, of both high and low station, all to enter equally into perfect wisdom. We also pray that henceforth battles cease, that there is peace in the world, that the imperial house endures, that there is great joy under heaven, that the warriors prosper, that the dharma castle is protected and always thrives.[97]

95 Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 52. In light of Musō's praise, Goble holds that Musō saw Emperor Godaigo's regime as legitimate and the upheaval as the fault of the Ashikaga. He thus suggests that Musō sought to appease Godaigo at Tenryūji and thereby restore peace to the world. Goble, "Visions," 116-117.

96 "Shinzo," 157.

97 Ibid., 158.

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Musō first prays for Godaigo's enlightenment and promotion of enlightenment; this is then followed by a second prayer, indicated by the phrase "We also pray" (*sara ni koinegawaku* 更に冀わく),[98] asking for the end of war, peace, the eternal durability of the court, the rise of Zen, and the flourishing of Buddhism.[99] These concerns closely reflect the introduction to the sermon, in which Musō prays for the longevity of the emperor and retired emperor, the fortune of the warriors and ministers, and Godaigo's enlightenment.[100] In this way, Musō envisioned Tenryūji not only as a place of permanent residence for Godaigo, where he could deliver sentient beings, including the recent war dead, and promote Buddhism, but also as a place to pray for peace and prosperity in the realm more generally. These same objectives are present to some extent in the 1351 sermon. Nevertheless, as I shall explain, the latter sermon offers a much more ambiguous treatment of Godaigo's enlightenment and its benefits, to a much different end.

7 Tying Tenryūji to Ashikaga Takauji in 1351

In contrast to the 1345 sermon's emphasis on reconciliation and imperial support for the new Zen temple, Musō's final public sermon displays a notably changed vision. Although previous scholarship has treated it as an extension of the 1345 dedication, the rhetoric of the later sermon reveals a drastically revised agenda drawn up in direct response to two new contingencies: the second wave of the Kannō Disturbance and his own impending death. A brief survey of the events surrounding the 8.16 1351 sermon sheds light on possible motivations behind its altered account of the events of the Genkō era. The text of the sermon itself shows how Musō used the occasion of his last public sermon to firm up ties to the *shōgun*'s house—and in particular to Takauji—with an eye to the future of the temple.

As detailed in the previous chapter, the second phase of the Kannō Disturbance came to an end with the deaths of Kō no Moronao and Kō no Moroyasu in the second month of 1351, after which the Ashikaga brothers briefly

98 My interpretation of this passage follows Yanagida, *Musō*, 235 and "Shinzo," 158.

99 In their readings of this passage, Yagi and Goble argue that Musō ascribed the following five effects to praying for Godaigo's enlightenment at the Tenryūji site: 'the non-arising of disorder, the permanent endurance of the imperial rank, the rejoicing of the populace, the flourishing of the shogunal family, and the mutual flourishing and growth of [the secular and the Buddhist law]." Translation is from Goble, "Visions," 117. See also Yagi, *Taiheikiteki sekai*, 144-145.

100 "Shinzo," 147-148.

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reconciled, evidencing their rapprochement with an outing to view the blossoms at Saihōji. Although Tadayoshi had been reinstated to the regime to rule alongside Takauji's son Yoshiakira, this arrangement ultimately proved fragile. Apparently unsatisfied with his position of reduced influence, Tadayoshi resigned on 7.19 of the same year. Less than ten days later, Takauji and his forces left the capital on 7.28 to fight Sasaki Dōyo 佐々木道誉 (1306-1373) in Ōmi 近江 (present-day Shiga prefecture). Yoshiakira, too, departed the capital the very next day, heading west to battle Akamatsu Sokuyū 赤松則祐 (1311-1371) in Harima. Realizing that Takauji and Yoshiakira were, in fact, seeking to surround him on two sides, Tadayoshi took leave of the capital for the last time with his forces on 8.1, first heading north before finally taking refuge in Kamakura, where he would suddenly die on 2.26 1352.[101]

It was under these especially tense circumstances that Musō would live out the final months of his life, devoting himself to the completion of Tenryūji and observing the thirteenth memorial of Godaigo's passing. An entry in the chronology for Musō's final year firmly links the two events, with Musō forecasting his own death and lamenting the fact that the monks' quarters remained unfinished even on the eve of this important anniversary.[102] "If I don't see to this, who will?" he is quoted as saying. The chronology then relates that construction began in the fourth month, and the hall was completed less than a hundred days later, a full month before the service.[103] Evidencing the significance of those services, Musō reassumed abbotship of Tenryūji ahead of that anniversary, performing the memorial service on 8.16 but resigning the very next day.[104] Taking his leave of the world in a special ceremony on 8.17, Musō repaired to Sannein to await the inevitable, refusing medicinal herbs although afflicted with only a slight illness. After holding audience with Retired

101 See entry for 7.19 Kannō 2 in *Kannō ninen hinamiki* 観応二年日次記, DNS, 6.15, 133 and entries for 7.20 and 7.30 Kannō 2 in *Entairyaku*, DNS, 6.15, 133-134; 156. See also Fukatsu, *Kōgon Tennō*, 185-186 and Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 134. Regarding the cause of Tadayoshi's death, the *Taiheiki* notes there were rumors of poison, although Kameda Toshitaka points out that it is unclear how the type of poison specified in the *Taiheiki* (*chindoku* 鴆毒) made its way to Japan, since it is derived from the wings of a bird hailing from South Asia. For details, see Kameda, *Kannō no jōran* 観応の擾乱 (Tokyo: Chūōkōron Shinsha, 2017), 174-175.

102 As Bernard Faure has pointed out in his examination of the ritualization of the death of Chan/Zen masters, accurate prediction of one's own death was an ability required of masters. See Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, 184-187.

103 "Nenpu," 325-326.

104 In keeping with his theory of Musō's view of the emperor as superior to the *bakufu*, Yagi argues that Musō actively sought to reassume abbotship at Tenryūji out of respect for the deceased sovereign. Yagi, *Taiheikiteki sekai*, 141-143.

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Emperors Kōgon and Kōmyō and scores of monks, nuns, and ordinary people looking to ceremonially become his disciples, death came to Musō on the thirtieth day of the following month.[105]

The sermon delivered on the thirteenth anniversary of Godaigo's passing on 8.16 1351 at the Tahōin 多宝院, Godaigo's mausoleum at Tenryūji, was thus Musō's last. It is not immediately clear who was present to hear it, as historical records note the event without listing the attendees, suggesting that it was a small affair despite its clear importance. Takauji, who signed a pledge of eternal aid for Tenryūji on the same day,[106] was not present at the service itself, as indicated by a note appended to that vow locating him on the battlefield in Ōmi, in pursuit of his brother who had fled north.[107] Tadayoshi, on the other hand, does not seem to have been involved in the 1351 Tenryūji memorial. Rather, in the years leading up to that anniversary, he had arranged for separate rites for Godaigo consisting of one thousand days of *goma* fire rituals and recitation of the *kōmyō shingon* 光明真言, a mantra believed to remove negative karma that was often used for the aid of the deceased, at Daikōmyōji 大光明寺.[108]

As in 1345, the 1351 sermon emphasizes the unity of associates and enemies in seeking to reconcile Emperor Godaigo and the Ashikaga, offers prayers for the end of ongoing strife, and envisions a salvific role for Godaigo at Tenryūji. Nevertheless, there are many fundamental differences. Although Musō had offered prayers for the longevity of the imperial line and the welfare of the ruling warrior family in a sermon delivered at the temple on 7.20 in a manner highly reminiscent of the 1345 sermon,[109] nowhere in the 8.16 sermon is there a mention of the Northern court, which had bestowed upon Musō the title *Shinshū*

105 "Nenpu," 327, 335.

106 *Tenryūji jūsho mokuroku,* in DNS 6.15, 213. Tamakake interprets this vow as the strongest of all ties connecting Musō to Takauji. Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 182.

107 As Tamamura notes, the surviving document is a copy, as the original is no longer extant. Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 181-182. On the significance of this pledge to the future growth of the Musō line, see ibid., 181-182; 186-187. For an analysis of this vow as a demonstration of support for Tenryūji made by Takauji to Musō in advance of his death, see Harada, "Ashikaga shōgun," 334-335. On the vow as attempt to siphon power from Tadayoshi, see Matthew Stavros, "The Sanjō bōmon Temple-Palace Complex: The First Locus of Ashikaga Authority in Medieval Kyoto," *Japan Review* 22 (2010): 19-20.

108 *Maedake shozō monjo* 前田家所蔵文書, in DNS 6.15, 213. It is unclear when Tadayoshi commissioned this, as the only date given is 11.12, and no year is specified. The DNS editors conjecture that the order was made in Jōwa 4 (1348). Now located on the grounds of Shokokuji, Daikōmyōji was built by Kōgon's mother Kōgimon'in as a memorial to her deceased husband Emperor Gofushimi 後伏見天皇 (1288-1336); Musō served as founder. The temple was originally located in the Fushimi area south of the capital, which was the site of Gofushimi's detached palace.

109 "Saijū Tenryū Shiseizenji goroku 再住天龍資聖禅師語録," in *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 112.

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FIGURE 19 Tahōin at Tenryūji

Kokushi 心宗国師—his third illustrious *kokushi* title—just the previous day.[110] Although Tenryūji was thus still clearly linked to the imperial house at that point, the 1351 sermon makes no mention of these ties.

In addition to leaving out the temple's imperial sponsors, all mention of Tadayoshi—or Yoshiakira, for that matter—is likewise elided. Clearly named in the 1345 memorial, as we have seen, Tadayoshi was again referenced by Musō in the 7.20 sermon delivered one day after Tadayoshi's resignation, with Musō mentioning the *shōgun* (Takauji) and his two vice *shōgun* (*futari no fukushōgun* 二人の副将軍) in obvious allusion to Tadayoshi and Yoshiakira (or Yoshiakira and Tadayoshi). Interestingly, the elisions in the 8.16 sermon exist despite the fact both Tadayoshi and Yoshiakira had become formal disciples of Musō by this point, with Tadayoshi having received the robe and bowl in the third month of 1349 and Yoshiakira having participated in a similar ceremony at Tenryūji's Fumyōkaku 普明閣 on 12.1 of the same year.[111] No doubt reflecting the deteriorating relations between the two brothers, the 8.16 memorial

110 "Nenpu," 326-327.

111 Ibid., 324-325. As Harada points out, Tadayoshi and Yoshiakira became Musō's disciples during the first wave of the Kannō Disturbance, suggesting that these gestures was made, at least in part, to bring cohesion to the *shōgun*'s house. Harada, "Ashikaga shōgun," 334-337. The *nenpu*, however, makes no mention of any upheaval, noting only that Yoshiakira came to Kyoto in the eleventh month before becoming Musō's disciple the following month.

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directly mentions *shōgun* Takauji only once at the beginning of the sermon, with all subsequent references being only to the "warrior house" (*buke* 武家).

Moreover, in contrast to his earlier efforts aimed at repairing relations between Takauji and Tadayoshi, Musō refrains from even mentioning the divisions in the *shōgun*'s house, although he does hint at some sort of discord in a portion alluding to ongoing upheaval as a cause for the fact that "today's ceremony did not go as the warrior house had hoped."[112] The precise import of Musō's comment here is unclear, but it is at least possible that he was referring to brotherly strife adversely affecting the planned events. If this was indeed the case, it is the closest Musō comes to referencing that split in the sermon, for elsewhere he prays only for war and turmoil to end. Accordingly, the remark in the 7.20 sermon stressing cooperation among the *shōgun* and vice *shōgun* suggests that he was still encouraging harmony in the ruling warrior house at that point, in an echo of his earlier active involvement in the first phases of the Kannō Disturbance.[113] Conversely, the 8.16 sermon, with its sole mention of the *shōgun*, thus suggests that Musō not only refrained from interfering in the final phase of the Kannō Disturbance but was, in fact, hoping to bring peace to the world by casting his final lot with Takauji.

There is other evidence in the sermon to suggest that Musō was primarily seeking to firm up ties to Takauji on this occasion. Although Musō does not mention the strife in the *shōgun*'s house, the 1351 memorial, like the 1345 sermon, nevertheless attempts to address the issue of disorder in the realm, although this time Musō notably avoids direct implication of the Ashikaga. Praising the *bakufu*'s sponsorship of recitation of five thousand books of the Buddhist canon[114] and the building of the new monks' quarters at Tenryūji in commemoration of the thirteenth anniversary of Godaigo's passing, Musō explains:

> Given the vicissitudes of the latter times,[115] the three treasures and the protector deities have no way to help, the world is in disarray, and the subjects are not at ease.[116]

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112 "Nenpu," 120.

113 "Saijū Tenryū Shiseizenji goroku," 112.

114 Ibid., 120. Yanagida, *Musō*, 212. It is unclear what Musō was referring to here. It is well known that the Ashikaga produced a copy of the entire Buddhist canon in 1339 for the sake of the war dead, but the 1351 sermon specifically references a recitation coinciding with the anniversary of Godaigo's death. On the 1339 undertaking, see Conlan, *State of War*, 185; *Baishōron*, 138; and Tyler, Conlan, and Uyenaka, *From Baishōron to Nantaiheiki,* 118.

115 A reference to *mappō*.

116 "Saijū Tenryū Shiseizenji goroku," 120.

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Thus, instead of chiding his warrior patrons, as he did in the earlier sermon, Musō invokes only the *mappō* construct, with its pervasive, inevitable, and generalized narrative of decline, to account for the upheaval of recent years.

The sermon also departs from the 1345 dedication to unveil a significantly different iteration of the events since the Genkō era—one that thoroughly dispenses with the earlier implication of the Ashikaga. Instead, the sermon unites Godaigo and Takauji for the first time through the creation of a common enemy: the Hōjō regime in Kamakura, rendered here as "the enemy of the state" (*kokuteki* 国敵):

> At the time of the great disturbance in the Genkō era, the Shōgun [Takauji] received imperial orders and quickly destroyed the enemy of the state. Because of this, his rank became higher by the day and his reputation caused people to change their views. Soon people's malicious gossip began to invite threats. Thus, it was not easy to avoid angering the sovereign.[117]

Gone is the narrative of Ashikaga repentance evident in the 1345 sermon and in *Muchū mondōshū*, and in its place is an account of Ashikaga innocence, which Musō uses to advance a new ending to the Godaigo-Ashikaga rivalry. Musō underscores the crucial importance of their alliance and preserves this partnership to the very end, suggesting that it was nothing more than third-party slander that led to the rift that tore them apart:

> When we investigate the origins of this, it is all because the meritorious deeds were completed quickly and this pleased the Emperor. The ancients used to say, "Affinity is the intermediary of antipathy."[118] Perhaps this is what they meant? It was then that propitious clouds dispersed and the Emperor went unexpectedly to the Southern mountain [Yoshino]. The music of Shun 舜 (J. Shun)[119] stopped and the phoenix[120] never went back to the northern palace. The warrior house lamented, saying, "How sad it is! We vassals have fallen prey to defamation and are unable to explain ourselves and apologize. We will forever be seen—mistakenly—as traitors." In this way, because the warriors' grief was even deeper than the

117 Ibid., 119.

118 Source unknown.

119 Shun was a legendary sage ruler of ancient China. Along with his predecessor Yao 堯 (J. Gyō), Shun is revered in the Chinese classics as an ideal ruler.

120 A phoenix palanquin (*hōren* 鳳輦) was used by the emperor on official occasions. Its name refers to the gilt bronze phoenix that decorated its roof.

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> usual strain, they did not dare to hold a grudge in their hearts. Their true intentions poured forth, and they cultivated good karmic acts, wishing to pray wholeheartedly for the Emperor's enlightenment. At last they built this great monastery, where they have been holding largescale Buddhist services.[121]

As in the 1345 sermon, Musō once again celebrates the Ashikaga through his descriptions of their good works. This time, however, these praiseworthy deeds are in no way presented as emblematic of Ashikaga repentance. Rather, they are acts undertaken by innocents deprived of an opportunity to end the misunderstanding that led to their estrangement from their former ally. As such, all credit for the building of the massive temple is ceded for the first time to the warrior house, in sharp contrast to the earlier sermon, which repeatedly portrays the temple and its patronage as a joint effort between the Northern court and the *bakufu*.[122]

While Tenryūji in 1345 served as a means of ameliorating political rivalry on various levels, the 1351 sermon presents the temple primarily a means for reuniting Godaigo and the Ashikaga through the latter's goodwill. Seeking once again to affirm the unity of intimates and enemies, Musō reminds his listeners precisely what made these great works possible, saying, "If we examine the earnest intent behind these observances for the departed, we see that they all came from the discord between ruler and vassal. When we think about it, indeed we can say that antipathy is the intermediary of affinity."[123] Here, Musō reiterates his earlier reunion of Godaigo and the Ashikaga, portraying their good work Tenryūji as the solution to their falling out.

It must be noted that although the 1351 sermon displays a new deference to Takauji and the warrior house, Musō's effusive praise for Godaigo is undiminished. As in 1345, he not only refrains from blaming his former patron in his version of the events that led to the end of the Kenmu regime, he continues to celebrate him:

> Know for certain that the deceased has been temporarily visited by the karmic conditions of this tainted world and has already been entrusted to the delightful host in the pure land. It was not on account of his

121 "Saijū Tenryū Shiseizenji goroku," 119-120.

122 According to Tamakake's interpretation, the Northern emperor is presented as taking the lead role in building Tenryūji in the 1345 sermon, while Takauji and Tadayoshi are afforded that position in the 1351 memorial. Tamakake, "Musō Soseki to shoki Muromachi seiken," 244.

123 "Saijū Tenryū Shiseizenji goroku," 120.

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> fortune that the Emperor's tenure was short. It is merely a sign of the people's discontent. Accordingly, from the time of the Emperor's passing up until now, the world has not yet seen calm. Many among monastics and lay people have lost their places, and the hearts of the people have been left wanting.[124]

In this way, Musō's positive presentation of a blameless Godaigo closely mirrors his prior sentiments in the 1345 sermon. Musō thus includes a strikingly similar dedication, again fashioning for Godaigo a salvific role at the site, while offering prayers for peace in the world.[125] At the same time, there are some striking differences:

> We pray: that the former emperor immediately reverses his dusty workings and that he will not be ensnared by delusion; that he will quickly change his deluded workings and evidence marvelous insight; that he will cross the dark road where intimates are distinct from enemies to play in the sacred territory where delusion and enlightenment are one, not forgetting the promise bestowed on Vulture Peak. [We pray that] he will protect the dharma gate in every lifetime, not moving from his place of repose on Kameyama but saving sentient beings everywhere. As such is the prayer of the warrior house, how might the former sovereign's will not be extinguished? The virtuous roots cultivated here are not few, and so the various buddhas with their abundant mercy will certainly respond mysteriously. If it is so, then let wars cease permanently, the four seas be at peace, and disaster disappear; let the people be well, and the fortune of the warrior house endure across generations. This great and boundless prayer we extend to all sentient beings.[126]

Notably, even as he celebrates Godaigo, Musō for the first time references the problem of the former sovereign's lingering ill-will before alluding to its solution.

As already illustrated above, the 1351 sermon, while bearing close resemblance to the 1345 dedication in some respects, differs sharply from the earlier sermon.[127] Considering that Musō's aim of tying the *shōgun* to Tenryūji is apparent throughout the 1351 sermon, it is unsurprising that Musō alludes to

124 Ibid., 121-122 and Yanagida, *Musō*, 214-215.

125 On the similarities of this portion to the invocation in the 1345 sermon, see Tamakake, "Musō Soseki to shoki Muromachi seiken," 254.

126 "Saijū Tenryū Shiseizenji goroku," 122-123.

127 For an alternative interpretation of the two sermons, see Suga, "Gokoku to jōsō," 189-191.

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Godaigo's pacification in this way, given that fear of Godaigo's vengeful spirit was a major factor in the Ashikaga's decision to construct Tenryūji. By raising the problem and offering its solution—cleverly, in the form of the *shōgun*'s prayer—Musō provides a convenient pretext for continued shogunal support at Tenryūji, while simultaneously, and perhaps purposefully, blurring the relationship between the enlightenment of the former sovereign and the pacification of the realm. As Suga Kikuko 菅基久子 points out, the language of the final prayer is phrased such that Godaigo's pacification is never concretely linked to bringing peace and prosperity to the realm. Rather, as she notes, the wording suggests that it is the *shōgun*'s good works at Tenryūji that can and will do this.[128]

While the invocation of the 1345 sermon ended with a prayer for both the imperial and warrior houses, here Musō prays for the health of the ruling warrior house alone. This too is a significant departure from the brief 7.20 1351 sermon, which offers prayers for the emperor and retired emperor, Takauji, Tadayoshi, and Yoshiakira. Thus, in the 1351 sermon, Musō was likely offering incentive for shogunal support for the temple at a critical moment in the Kannō Disturbance, when Musō, about to retire from the world and anticipating death, was looking ahead in order to assure the security of Tenryūji and his line there under the auspices of Takauji and his heirs, while also praying for peace in the world.

8 Conclusion

As our consideration of the 1345 and 1351 special sermons at Tenryūji has shown, Musō's aims for Tenryūji were multiple, far-ranging—and dynamic. Foreshadowing Musō's later efforts at reunifying the Northern and Southern courts, Musō's 1345 sermon seeks to stabilize the realm by reconciling the major political rivals of his day vis-à-vis the temple and its patronage. Serving as a subtle response to *kenmitsu* protests aimed at restricting official support for the temple, the sermon also affirms imperial support for the Zen school at the site, while also appropriating the prestige of the imperial house for the fledgling temple. Finally, in portraying the site as a place of enlightenment for Godaigo, Musō also used the temple to pray for peace, the welfare of the imperial and warrior houses, the rise of Zen, and the flourishing of the Buddhist Way. The 1351 sermon, while restating many of the objectives found in the earlier memorial, also offered Musō a final opportunity to solidify the temple's ties to *shōgun* Ashikaga Takauji during a time of crisis for the *bakufu* that also coincided with

128 Ibid., 190.

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the final weeks of his life. Importantly, the language of the 1351 sermon strongly suggests that Musō had all but abandoned his earlier attempts to promote reconciliation between rivals, such as that seen at Saihōji, in the interest of assuring the firmest possible base of support for his institution. As we have seen, it was to Takauji that Musō looked in order to assure the future of Tenryūji, which he portrayed as a place where Takauji and members of his house could bring peace to the realm through their patronage for generations to come.

Musō's vision for Tenryūji contained both fluid and static aspects, both of which shed important light on the nature of fourteenth-century Zen. As the two sermons suggest, securing patronage for Zen at Tenryūji forced Musō to navigate a number of complicated and changing relationships. These included the former emperor and Ashikaga, the *bakufu* and their allies in the Northern court, the Northern and the Southern courts, the Zen school and the *kenmitsu* establishments, and later, Takauji and Tadayoshi. His success in doing so was no doubt related to his ability to mold his vision of the temple in response to the changing political reality. However, not all of Musō's agenda was fluid. Rather, his promises of posthumous enlightenment for Godaigo, peace, and prosperity throughout the land remained constant. Musō's varied agenda at Tenryūji thus thoroughly illustrates the diverse concerns that shaped state-supported Zen in Kyoto during a time of disorder and manifold political tensions.

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Epilogue

In the decades after his passing, Musō continued to enjoy the favor of both court and *bakufu*. In addition to the three State Preceptor titles bestowed upon him while alive, Musō went on to receive four more posthumous designations in 1358, 1372, 1450, and 1471, making him the only seven-time recipient of the *kokushi* title. So revered was Musō that fourth Ashikaga *shōgun* Yoshimochi 足利義持 (1386-1428) exiled a group of monks for using the final character of Musō's name in a topic at a poetry contest held at the Zen monastery Kenninji in 1412, following complaints of slander by the Musō line.[1] Musō's heirs would continue to dominate the Gozan system until it declined in the late fifteenth century along with their main patron, the Ashikaga regime.[2] How is it that Musō, who was just one medieval Zen master among many, attained a place of such prominence and built a line of such power?

First, Musō's rise was clearly facilitated by his early tendencies toward reclusion, which no doubt made him attractive to his sponsors seeking monks committed to Buddhist precepts and practice.[3] Beyond just suggesting a fidelity to the Buddhist Way, his refusals had another, perhaps more critical effect. By accepting official appointments in Kamakura and Kyoto or accepting them only briefly, Musō managed to attract the attention of sponsors on all sides without allying himself too closely with any one faction, thus assuring his rise despite the power shifts of his time. Whether incidental or intentional, these moves ensured that Musō enjoyed a broad base of support, ranging from local elites who funded new projects in the provinces to members of the court and *bakufu* that eagerly appointed him to Kyoto's and Kamakura's most illustrious abbotships. At the same time, Musō did not merely serve his patrons as a temple administrator or ritualist. Rather, in accepting them as students both ceremonially and functionally, Musō also exerted a considerable political influence, as evidenced by his successful promotion of the *ankokuji-rishōtō* system and intimate involvement in contemporary politics.

1 Tsuji, *Bukkyōshi*, 85. Kageki Hideo, *Gozan shishi no kenkyū* 五山詩史の研究 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1977), 350. See entry for Ōei 18 (1412) in *Zen Nanzen Zuigan Zenji kōdōki* 前南禅瑞岩禅師行道記, DNS 7.15, 27-28.

2 Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 288-291. Following the Gozan's decline, powerful monasteries outside of the Gozan system known as *rinka* 林下 came to dominate Japanese Zen. These included lineages headquartered at Kyoto's Daitokuji 大徳寺 and Myōshinji 妙心寺, as well as Sōtō Zen lineages in the provinces, which grew rapidly in the early modern period (1603-1867).

3 As Heller explains, refusal to accept official appointments often made monks more desirable to their sponsors, thereby increasing their power and renown. Heller, *Illusory Abiding*, 51.

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In addition to holding abbotships at prominent public monasteries during the first half of his career, Musō used his associations with his powerful patrons to consolidate multiple bases for his line. While basing his line at the prestigious imperial temple of Rinsenji, Musō secured additional power centers through the skillful manipulation of *tatchū*—both his own and those of his prominent forbears—in Kamakura and Kyoto.[4] This practice would be followed by his heirs, who built more *tatchū* in memory of their master at multiple locations.[5] Finally, the numerous temples founded by Musō across Japan no doubt helped consolidate a lasting presence for him and his line.[6]

Apart from his administrative abilities, Muso's popularity also owed much to his specific religious approach, which blended strict and lenient standards. On the one hand, Musō offered a style of rigorous temple oversight that proved popular among lay patrons seeking order and control at monasteries under their sponsorship.[7] At the same time, Musō held lay students—including his patrons—to much more relaxed standards. As the rhetoric of *Muchū mondōshū* suggests, Musō, speaking in his capacity as enlightened master, not only took an accommodating view of other Buddhist approaches even as he very clearly promoted Zen, he also assured lay audiences in his time and after that Buddhist practice—and indeed its fruits—could be effectively pursued through everyday activities in lay life.[8] In this way, Musō offered his supporters an attractive blend of monastic order and accessible lay practice.

Lastly, Musō's renown was also due in no small part to his cultural contributions, including his influence as a *waka* poet and landscape designer. It was these two areas in particular that held great appeal to elite patrons in Kamakura and Kyoto and successive generations who shared his enthusiasm for the courtly arts and no doubt eagerly embraced his soteriological elevation of their preferred pursuits. One of the most prolific medieval Zen monks to have composed *waka*, Musō's verses were honored with inclusion in several successive imperial anthologies, beginning in his lifetime, and posthumously celebrated in a collection of his verses arranged around the myth of his life, spotlighting his various identities as recluse, seeker, knowing master, and intimate to

4 Tamamura, *Rinzaishū shi*, 76-77.

5 Harada, *Nihon chūsei*, 271.

6 For examples of later poet-monks, including Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694), visiting sites related to Musō and at times composing verse, see Nishiyama, *Buke seiken*, 258-259.

7 Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi*, 64.

8 On the relationship of Musō's popularity to his flexible standards for lay disciples, see Harada, "Ashikaga shōgun," 341-46. See also "Rinsen kakun," 403-404. Harada's chapter offers a very thorough overview of the role of Musō and his line in the dramatic spread of Zen to the imperial house, warrior elite, and lay followers, especially through the ceremonial bestowing of the robe and precepts.

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emperors and elite warriors. Although his extant verses are relatively few, he nonetheless left a mark on the *waka* tradition. Along with his master Kōhō, Musō is regarded as a pioneer of didactic verse, and both are credited with strongly influencing the pedagogically-oriented poetry (*dōka* 道歌) that appeared in subsequent centuries.[9] Musō's engagement in landscaping led to the creation of spaces at Zen temples, including Saihōji and Tenryūji, where prominent patrons could congregate for religious services and enjoy the landscape—the soteriological value of which Musō and his heirs duly affirmed. In creating these spaces, Musō became closely associated with the art of landscaping itself at numerous gardens attributed to him all over Japan.

In this way, Musō's legacy was the sum of his various sides, all of which speak volumes about the nature of fourteenth-century Zen. His career and institutional activities thoroughly evidence the growing prominence of the Gozan system as a state-sponsored institution in his time, while his persona tells us what contemporary audiences sought in a Zen monk. Celebrated as an enlightened master with the aura of a recluse, he blended courtly sensibilities with administrative rigor, all the while delivering an accessible, readily understood brand of Zen to his legions of students, which included a number of influential supporters in Kamakura and Kyoto.

In embodying these qualities, Musō amply illustrates the extent to which medieval Zen culture was born from contemporary power plays and indebted to mainstream court traditions. In doing so, he reminds us that Zen masters were not merely taking on established parts—they were redefining their roles in response to the religious and social climate of their times; that Zen instructional modes were far more diverse than modern studies have detailed; and that Zen landscapes and temples were inherently political spaces rather than ahistorical reflections of Zen ideologies. Although no longer widely celebrated as a Zen teacher, Musō still has much to tell us about the nature of pre-modern Zen, if we are willing to afford him a second look.

9 Chisaka, "Chūsei Zenka no waka," 46.

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Appendix: *Shōgaku Kokushishū*

Musō Soseki

[Translator's note: In order to properly contextualize the *SKS* verses, I have at times introduced relevant poems, passages from Musō's other writings, and references found in other texts. These can be found in the boxes that follow the *SKS* poems. Possible or likely allusions are expressly noted as such. The head-notes (and sometimes, footnotes) to the poems appear in italics. All poems are by Musō unless otherwise noted.]

In Kōshū, on the upper reaches of the Fuefuki River at a place called Kawaura in the mountains,[1] *there was a deep valley about thirty* ri[2] *from the village. Musō set up a hut at a spot where the arrangement of the rocks and water had an air of refinement. He composed the following verse when melting snow in the cottage's front garden resembled a person's footprints.*

1 わが庵をとふとしもなき春の来て庭にあとある雪のむらぎえ

wa ga io o	spring has come
tou to shimo naki	to my hut
haru no kite	where no one calls—
niwa ni ato aru	tracks left in the garden,
yuki no muragie	spots of melted snow
	FŪGASHŪ 1415 · Miscellaneous 1

Composed at a place called Yokosuka in Miura in Sōshū. There is an inlet there where he set up a cottage named Hakusen'an and dwelled for a time.[3]

2 ひくしほの浦とをさかる音はしてひがたもみえずたつかすみかな

hikushio no	the sound of

1 Kōshū is another name for the pre-modern province of Kai (modern day Yamanashi prefecture). Musō built and dwelled in a cottage called Ryūzan'an for approximately one year at this location, beginning in the spring of 1311. See Kawase, *Zen to teien*, 147.

2 The *ri* was a pre-modern unit of measurement corresponding to three hundred paces or 3.9273 kilometers.

3 Sōshū 相州 is another name for the province of Sagami 相模, which corresponds to modern-day Kanagawa prefecture. Musō lived at Hakusen'an 泊船庵 from 1319 to 1323 after being called to Kamakura by Kakukai but refusing her request to assume the abbacy of Unganji.

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ura tōsakaru	the tide receding
oto wa shite	far across the bay,
higata mo miezu	behind rising mists
tatsu kasumi kana	mud flats unseen

Once, the Kamakura Lord[4] *and Lord Tadayoshi of the Imperial Guards came to Rinsenji, where a gathering was held in the front garden following a dharma talk. This poem was composed after all the others had recited their poems, when the attendees were looking at the blossoms of Arashiyama.*

3 たれもみな春はむれつつあそべどもこころの花を見る人ぞなき

tare mo mina	any and everyone
haru wa muretsutsu	gathers in spring
asobedomo	to play
kokoro no hana o	yet no one sees
miru hito zo naki	the flower in the heart

Likely a reply to:
Fūgashū · Spring 2 — Ashikaga Tadayoshi 足利直義 (1306-1352)
On blossoms.

152 花見にと春はむれつつ玉鉾の道行く人のおほくも有るかな

hanami ni to	in spring they gather
haru wa muretsutsu	to see the blossoms
tamahoko no	how many there are—
michi yuku hito no	people traveling
ōku mo aru kana	on the jewel-pike road[5]

Again, when he was viewing the blossoms.

4 ちる花をこずゑのよそにふきたててあらしぞしばし枝となりける

chiru hana o	falling blossoms

4 Ashikaga Takauji.

5 I use the term "jewel-pike," a *makura kotoba* for *michi* (road), after Cranston. See Cranston, *Grasses of Remembrance,* 703.

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kozue no yoso ni	blown high
fukitatete	beyond the tree tops—
arashi zo shibashi	for a time the storm
eda to narikeru	becomes the branches

5 なほも又あまたさくらをうゑばやと花見るたびにせばき庭かな

nao mo mata	even more
amata sakura o	cherry trees
uebaya to	I want to plant—
hana miru tabi ni	each time I see the blossoms,
sebaki niwa kana	how small my garden seems

6 見るほどは世のうきこともわすられてかくれがとなる山ざくらかな

miru hodo wa	when I see them
yo no uki koto mo	I forget
wasurarete	even the sadness of the world—
kakurega to naru	the mountain cherry blossoms
yamazakura kana	that are my hideaway

Likely an allusion to:
Kokinshū · Miscellaneous 2 Poet unknown
Topic Unknown.

950 みよしのの山のあなたにやどもがな世のうき時のかくれがにせむ

miyoshino no	how I wish for a dwelling
yama no anata ni	there on Yoshino
yado mogana	mountain,
yo no uki toki no	a hideaway
kakurega ni semu	for when the world is sad

7 さくと見るまよひよりこそちる花を風のとがとぞおもひなれぬる

saku to miru	the illusion
mayoi yori koso	of the blossoms in bloom
chiru hana o	makes me blame
kaze no toga to zo	the wind
omoinarenuru	for their fall

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Likely an allusion to:
Sankashū · Spring Saigyō
When he composed many poems about fallen blossoms.

128 はるふかみえだもゆるがでちる花は風のとがにはあらぬなるべし

haru fukami
eda mo yurugade
chiru hana wa
kaze no toga ni wa
aranunarubeshi

deep in spring
branches are motionless,
the fall of the flowers
is not
the fault of the wind

8 いま見るはこぞわかれにし花やらんさきて又ちるゆゑぞしられぬ

ima miru wa
kozo wakarenishi
hana yaran
sakite mata chiru
yue zo shirarenu

the blossoms that I see now,
might they be
those that left last year?
unknown the reason
they bloom and fall

Composed following poetry recitation after a dharma talk on the occasion of Shōgun Takauji's visit to Saihōji at the height of the cherry blossoms.

9 心ある人のとひくるけふのみぞあたらさくらの科をわするる

kokoro aru
hito no toikuru
kyō nomi zo
atara sakura no
toga o wasururu

just today
when a person with heart
comes to visit
do I for once forget
the fault of the cherry blossoms

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Likely an allusion to:
Sankashū · Spring Saigyō
When people came for blossom-viewing when he was wishing for quiet.

87 花見にとむれつつ人のくるのみぞあたらさくらのとがには有りける

hanami ni to	throngs of people
muretsutsu hito no	gathering to see
kuru nomi zo	the blossoms—
atara sakura no	this, the only
toga ni wa arikeru	flaw of the cherry blossoms

Hearing that there would be an imperial visit to Saihōji during the time of the blossoms, only for it to be postponed on account of circumstances, Musō watched the blossoms fall and recited this poem.

10 なほもまた千とせのはるのあればとやみゆきもまたで花のちるらむ

nao mo mata	it must be because
chitose no haru no	there will be
areba to ya	a thousand more springs
miyuki mo matade	that the flowers fall,
hana no chiruran	not waiting for the sovereign's visit

Composed after people were reciting poems on the occasion of a visit by the Captain of the Imperial Guards Egen[6] *at the time of the blossoms.*

11 ながらへて世にすむかひもありけりと花みる春ぞおもひしらるる

nagaraete	living on
yo ni sumu kai mo	and remaining in
arikeri to	the world has its rewards,
hana miru haru zo	I realize,
omoishiraruru	seeing spring in bloom

6 Egen was the Buddhist name adopted by Tadayoshi after taking the tonsure.

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Possible allusion to:
Shinkokinshū · Laments Dharma Prince Shukaku 守覚法親王 (1150-1202)
From a fifty-poem sequence, on the essence of lamentation.

1768 ながらへて世にすむかひはなけれどもうきにかへたる命なりけり

nagaraete	living on
yo ni sumu kai wa	and remaining in the world
nakeredo mo	is without reward and yet
uki ni kaetaru	there is longer life
inochi narikeri	in exchange for my sadness

12 ちればとて花はなげきの色もなしわがためにうき春の山かぜ

chireba tote	the blossoms show
hana wa nageki no	no shade of sorrow
iro mo nashi	at scattering;
waga tame ni uki	the mountain wind in spring
haru no yamakaze	is sad on account of me
	Shinsenzaishū 1713 · Miscellaneous 1

Compare with:
Shokushūishū · Autumn 1 Dharma Prince Chōkaku 澄覚法親王 (1219-1289)
From among his autumn poems.

239 心からながめて物をおもふかなわがためにうき秋の空かは

kokoro kara	gazing at it with
nagamete mono o	my heart
omou kana	and thinking of things—
waga tame ni uki	is the autumn sky
aki no sora ka wa	sad on account of me?[7]

7 The implication of the final line is, of course, that autumn is sad for all. Musō departs from this convention to take the opposite position.

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13 いきてなほことしも見るにならはれて又こんはるを花にまつかな

ikite nao
kotoshi mo miru ni
narawarete
mata kon haru o
hana ni matsu kana

living on
I become accustomed
to seeing them this year—
once again I await
next spring's blossoms[8]

14 かずならぬ身をばあるじとおもはでやこころのままに華のちりゆく

kazunaranu
mi o ba aruji to
omowadeya
kokoro no mama ni
hana no chiriyuku

not thinking of
insignificant me
as their master,
blossoms scatter
as they please[9]

Composed on the occasion of the Shōgun's visit [to Saihōji] that same spring.

15 山かぜにさく花までもこのはるは世ののどかなる色ぞ見えける

yama kaze ni
saku hana made mo
kono haru wa
yo no nodokanaru
iro zo miekeru

seen even in the flowers that bloom
in the mountain wind
this spring,
the hue of a realm
at peace[10]

From his poems on blossoms.

16 この庭の花見るたびにうゑおきしむかしの人のなさけをぞしる

kono niwa no
hana miru tabi ni
ueokishi
mukashi no hito no
nasake o zo shiru

each time I gaze upon
this garden's blossoms,
I know the feeling
had by the person
who planted them long ago

8 The third line of the GSRJ text reads "*narenarete*" (familiar). For this and all following references to the GSRJ text, see "*Musō Kokushi goeisō*," 360-364.

9 Fourth line for GSRJ text has emphatic particle "*zo*" instead of "*no*."

10 GSRJ text has "*yama kage*" (mountain shade) in first line instead of "*yama kaze*" (mountain wind).

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17 さく花はいまもむかしのいろなるにわが身ばかりぞおいかはりぬる

saku hana wa	the flowers that bloom
ima mo mukashi no	now as then
iro naru ni	the same hue—
waga mi bakari zo	I alone
oikawarinuru	have aged

An allusion to the famed verse in Ise *Monogatari*, Section 4, also contained in *Kokinshū* · Love 5 Ariwara no Narihira

747 月やあらぬ春や昔の春ならぬわか身ひとつはもとの身にして

tsuki ya aranu	is this not the moon?
haru ya mukashi no	and is this not the springtime,
haru naranu	the springtime of old?
waga mi hitotsu wa	only I
moto no mi ni shite	am the same as before[11]

Looking at the blossoms in the garden in old age.

18 ななそぢの後の春までながらへてこころにまたぬ花を見るかな

nanasoji no	having lived on past
nochi no haru made	seventy springs
nagaraete	I gaze upon
kokoro ni matanu	blossoms unawaited
hana o miru kana	by my heart
	Shinshūishū 1548 · Miscellaneous 1

Composed on the occasion of an imperial progress to Saihō Shōja to view the double-trunked tree.[12]

11 Translation adapted from Carter, *Traditional Japanese Poetry*, 80.

12 According to Toyama, these poems were written on the occasion of an imperial progress to Saihōji by Retired Emperor Kōmyō on 3.26 1349 that took place following a visit to Tenryūji. See Toyama, *Muromachi jidai teienshi*, 416 and *Entairyaku* 3, 50-52.

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Chikurin'in Palace Minister[13]

19 めづらしき君がみゆきをまつかぜにちらぬさくらの色を見るかな

mezurashiki	a rare imperial progress
kimi ga miyuki o	by my lord
matsukaze ni	to gaze upon the
chiranu sakura no	color of the cherry blossoms
iro o miru kana	unscattered by the pine wind

Musō's reply:

20 花ゆゑのみゆきにあへる老が身に千とせの春を猶もまつかな

hana yue no	blessed with an imperial progress
miyuki ni aeru	on account of the blossoms,
oi ga mi ni	old as I am
chitose no haru o	I await
nao mo matsu kana	a thousand more springs!

Added after he brought this exchange to the palace to show the emperor.[14]
Saionji Kinshige

21 かぎりなくにほへるやどのはななれば千代のみゆきもさぞかさぬべき

kagiri naku	limitless is
nioeru yado no	the fragrance of
hana nareba	the flowers in your garden;
chiyo no miyuki mo	likewise, we can expect
sazo kasanubeki	a thousand years of imperial visits

22 わすれずよゆふべのはなのかへるさになごりをそへて三日月の影

wasurezu yo	I won't forget
yūbe no hana no	returning in the evening

13 The Chikurin'in Palace Minister refers to Saionji Kinshige, who served as Palace Minister for the Northern Court from 1349-1352 before moving to the Southern Court to serve as Chancellor (*dajō daijin* 太政大臣).

14 The following six poems do not appear in the *GSRJ* version.

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kaerusa ni	after the flowers—
nagori o soete	adding to the sadness of parting
mikazuki no kage	the light of the crescent moon

23 かよひけること葉の花のひかりより花のなさけぞ色に色そふ

kayoikeru	the light
kotoba no hana no	of the blossoms in the leaves of words
hikari yori	we exchange
hana no nasake zo	adds color upon color
iro ni iro sou	to the charm of the blossoms

Replies.[15]

24 雨風も君がこころのままにしてのどかに花のさかりをぞ見る

amakaze mo	the rain
kimi ga kokoro no	and the winds too
mama ni shite	accord with your wishes—
nodokani hana no	this, I see in the blossoms
sakari o zo miru	peacefully in their prime

25 心とめし君がみゆきのありつればちとせの春も三か月のかげ

kokoro tomeshi	still in my mind
kimi ga miyuki no	my lord's imperial progress,
aritsureba	and so I see
chitose no haru mo	in that crescent moon's light
mikazuki no kage	a thousand springs

15 The *Shinpen kokka taikan* version attributes these reply poems to the former emperor, apparently Kōmyō, while such a notation is absent from the *Shakkyō kaei zenshū* version, thus indicating that Musō composed them. Given that the poems celebrate the emperor's visit using second-person honorifics, it is highly unlikely that the emperor was the one who composed them. For this reason, I have followed the *Shakkyō kaei zenshū* version and Inoue to suggest that Musō composed them. See "*Shōgaku Kokushishū*" in *Shinpen kokka taikan*; see also "*Shōgaku Kokushi wakashū*," in Sasaki et al., *Shakkyō kaei zenshū*, 118 and Inoue, *Chūsei kadanshi*, 489.

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Compare with:
Shūigusō 103 / *Fūgashū* · Spring 1 Fujiwara no Teika
Topic unknown.

9 なにとなく心ぞとまる山のはにことしみそむる三か月のかげ

nani to naku	somehow
kokoro zo tomaru	my heart is drawn to it
yama no ha ni	at the mountain peak
kotoshi misomuru	the light of this year's
mikazuki no kage	first crescent moon

26 花の色ことばの玉もきみにいまみがかれてこそひかりそふらめ

hana no iro	the color of spring,
kotoba no tama mo	the jewels of words too
kimi ni ima	polished
migakarete koso	by my lord now,
hikari sourame	adding light

Composed one year when the blossoms bloomed at the end of the third lunar month.[16]

27 花も又春のなごりをしたふとやことしやよひのすゑにさくらん

hana mo mata	could it be
haru no nagori o	the blossoms too cling
shitau to ya	to spring's last traces?
kotoshi yayoi no	they bloom this year
sue ni sakuran	at third month's end

When the Shōgun came to Saihōji after the blossoms had fallen.

28 さかりをば見る人おほしちる花のあとをとふこそなさけなりけれ

sakari o ba	many come
miru hito ōshi	at full bloom yet

16 A time which roughly corresponds to mid- to late April in the solar calendar.

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chiru hana no	to call on traces
ato o tou koso	of fallen blossoms
nasake narikere	indeed shows feeling

Again, on seeing the blossoms in the garden.

29 おなじくは風にしられぬよしもがなわが友となるかくれ家の花

onajiku wa	if it's all the same
kaze ni shirarenu	if only they could stay
yoshi mogana	unknown to the wind:
waga tomo to naru	my friends,
kakurega no hana	the blossoms at my hideaway

On the twenty-sixth day of the second intercalary month of the sixth year of Jōwa (1350), the Shōgun (at that time Major Counselor) and the Director of the Imperial Stables Yoshiakira[17] *came to Saihōji for a dharma talk. Afterwards, people went out to enjoy the blossoms of the double-trunked tree in the garden and composed poems.*

30 いつも身はかくめづらしきことあらじちりしも花のなさけなりけり

itsumo mi wa	never again
kaku mezurashiki	will I behold
koto araji	a sight this rare—
chirishi mo hana no	beauty too
nasake narikeri	in flowers fallen[18]

Contrast with:
Kōben waka sōkō · Laments Myōe

木本に花見るときの春風を~~おも~~いとふ心もいろや見ゆらむ

ko no moto ni	the mind that ~~thinks of~~ laments
hana miru toki no	the spring wind
haru kaze o	while gazing at the blossoms

17 Ashikaga Yoshiakira, Takauji's son and heir, who would go on to serve as *shōgun* from 1358-1367 following Takauji's death.

18 *GSRJ* version has the homophone 見 ("to see") in the first line instead of 身 ("me" or "I").

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~~omou~~ (ito) kokoro mo	fallen under the tree
iro ya miyuramu	sees charm too[19]

31 いざしらず庭の木ずゑや影ならん池のそこにも花ぞさきける

iza shirazu	how I don't know,
niwa no kozue ya	but perhaps it is reflecting
kage naran	treetops in the garden
ike no soko ni mo	in the bottom of the pond
hana zo sakikeru	flowers bloom[20]

A likely allusion to:
Kokinshū · Autumn 2 Ki no Tomonori
Composed on the chrysanthemum planted near Ōsawa pond.[21]

275 ひともとと思ひしきくをおほさはの池のそこにもたれかうゑけむ

hito moto to	what I thought
omoishi kiku o	to be the only chrysanthemum
Ōsawa no	is also at the bottom
ike no soko ni mo	of Ōsawa pond—
tare ka uekemu	who might have planted it there?

Compare with:
Rakushoroken Gusai 救済 (1282-1378)

11 池水にみぎはの桜うつりてぞ又二木ある花はみえける

ike mizu ni	the cherry tree on the banks
migiwa no sakura	reflected
utsurite zo	in the pond
mata futagi aru	blossoms of another
hana wa miekeru	two trunked tree

19 For a transcription of *Kōben waka sōkō*, see Hirano, *Myōe*, 21-22.
20 *GSRJ* version has "*sakinuru*" in fourth line instead of "*sakikeru*."
21 A large pond in the Saga area of northwestern Kyoto located on the grounds of Daikakuji temple, formerly the detached palace of the storied Emperor Saga.

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32 ふくかぜも枝をならさぬ春なればをさまれる世と花もしるらん

fuku kaze mo	the whistling wind
eda o narasanu	blows not the branches,
haru nareba	this spring
osamareru yo to	the flowers too must know
hana mo shiruran	the realm is at peace

Compare with:
Shōji shodo hyakushu (1200) Fujiwara no Tsuneie 藤原経家 (1149-1209)

1017 春風の枝もならさぬ御代なればのどかに花の色も見えけり

haru kaze no	the spring wind
eda mo narasanu	blows not the branches,
mi yo nareba	during this reign
nodokani hana no	the hue of the blossoms
iro mo miekeri	at peace

Shokukokinshū · Felicitations Retired Emperor Kazan 花山院 (968-1008)
From the painted screen composed for the entry of Jōtōmon'in[22] *to court.*

1859 吹く風の枝も鳴らさぬこのころは花も静かににほふなるべし

fuku kaze no	the whistling wind
eda mo narasanu	blows not the branches—
kono koro wa	this time
hana mo shizuka ni	the flowers too
niou naru beshi	shall bloom in peace

Ryūfūshū · Spring Hōjō Sadatoki

Recited when the blossoms were at their height at Saimyōji,[23] *after everyone else had composed their poems.*

22 Jōtōmon'in 上東門院 refers to Fujiwara no Shōshi 藤原彰子 (988-1074), the daughter of powerful statesman Fujiwara no Michinaga, who entered into court service in 999.

23 Saimyōji 最明寺 is a Rinzai Zen temple located in Kamakura, built by Hōjō Tokiyori and founded by Lanxi Daolong.

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24 ふくかぜのをさまれる世をやまざくらしらせがほにもちらぬはなかな

fuku kaze no	the whistling wind
osamareru yo o	in the realm at peace
yamazakura	tells the mountain cherry blossoms
shirasegao ni mo	that their time is near;
chiranu hana kana	still the flowers do not fall

Possible allusion to:[24]
Shinchokusenshū · Spring 1 Saionji Saneuji 西園寺実氏 (1194-1269)
Composed for a screen depicting a willow tree by a house near a mountain and river on the lady's entrance to court in the eleventh month of the first year of Kangi (1229).[25]

28 うちはへて世ははるならしふくかぜも枝をならさぬあをやぎのいと

uchi wa hete	on and on
yo wa haru narashi	spring will go on:
fuku kaze mo	the whistling wind
eda o narasanu	ruffles not the branches
aoyagi no ito	of green willow strings

On the twenty-first day of the third month of Kannō 3 (1352),[26] *the Commander of the Left Imperial Guards*[27] *and the Middle Captain of the Imperial Guards*[28] *came [to Saihōji] for a visit. Composed following a dharma talk, after people recited poetry under the blossoms.*

33 をさまれる世ともしらでやこのはるも花にあらしのうきをみすらん

osamareru do they not know

24 This allusion is suggested by the editors of *Shakkyō kaei zenshū* edition of SKS. See "*Shōgaku Kokushi wakashū,*" 120.

25 Refers to the entrance of Fujiwara no Shunshi 藤原竴子 (1209-1233), daughter of regent Kujō Michiie 九条道家 (1193-1252), to the court of Emperor Gohorikawa 後堀川天皇 (1212-1234) in 1229.

26 There seems to be an error in the year here, since Musō died in the ninth month of Kannō 2 (1351). According to *Entairyaku*, this visit occurred on 3.21 Kannō 2 (1351). This entry states that Takauji was also present for this visit. See *Entairyaku* 3, 439.

27 Tadayoshi.

28 Yoshiakira.

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yo to mo shirade ya	the world is at peace?
kono haru mo	this spring too
hana ni arashi no	the flowers show
uki o misuran	the misery of storms

34 ゆく春のとまりをそことしるやらん花をさそひてすぐる山かぜ

yuku haru no	knowing
tomari o soko to	the destination
shiru yaran	of the departing spring,
hana o sasoite	the passing mountain wind
suguru yamakaze	invites along the blossoms

35 これや又春のかたみとなりなましこころにちらぬ花の面影

kore ya mata	could this perhaps
haru no katami to	somehow remain
narinamashi	a souvenir of spring?
kokoro ni chiranu	the image of the blossoms
hana no omokage	unscattered in my heart

Compare with:
Taa Shōninshū Taa
[*From among several poems*] *written in response to someone, on the Buddhist teachings.*

1107 春秋にわかれぬ色を身にそへて心にちらぬ花やさくべき

haru aki ni	the hues from which I part
wakarenu iro o	in spring and autumn
mi ni soete	stay with me,
kokoro ni chiranu	unscattered in my heart
hana ya sakubeki	blossoms shall bloom

36 又もこん春をたのまぬ老が身を花もあはれとおもはざらめや

mata mo kon	unable to hope
haru o tanomanu	for another spring,
oiga mi o	old as I am,

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hana mo aware to
omowazarameya

how could I not find
the blossoms so sadly stirring?

37 行すゑの春をもひとはたのむらん花のわかれは老ぞかなしき

yukusue no
haru o mo hito wa
tanomuran
hana no wakare wa
oi zo kanashiki

people hope for spring
even as it takes its leave;
the blossoms' parting
is indeed what makes
old age so sad

Musō passed away on the last day of the ninth month of that year.

On a spring night.

38 わけいづるひまもなきまで霞む夜はおぼろぞ月のすがたなりける

wakeizuru
hima mo naki made
kasumu yo wa
oboro zo tsuki no
sugata narikeru

not even a crack
through which to slip out;
on this hazy night:
the shape of the
moon is mist

On the topic of the hototogisu[29] *at Musō's mountain home.*

39 なきいづる軒端の山のほととぎす里よりかへる程ぞまたるる

nakiizuru
nokiba no yama no
hototogisu
sato yori kaeru
hodo zo mataruru

I cannot help but await
the return of the
hototogisu
crying out
from the mountain behind my eaves[30]

29 Cuckoo.
30 *GSRJ* version has "*nakiideshi*" instead of "*nakiizuru*" in first line.

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When the Prince of the Board of Censors[31] *came for a visit, people were composing poems on topics selected at random. Musō recited the following poem after others had composed.*

40 ゆふぐれをなにいそぎけんまちいでてのちもほどなきみじか夜の月

yūgure o	dusk
nani isogiken	for what reason do you hurry?
machiidete	awaited, it appears
nochi mo hodo naki	and in no time it's gone:
mijika yo no tsuki	the moon on a short night

Compare with:
Shinshūishū · Summer — Nijō Tameyo 二条為世 (1250-1338)
From Kagen hyakushu,[32] *on the* [*summer moon*].

298 待ちいでてしばし涼しくみる月の光にやがてあくるみじか夜

machiidete	awaited, it appears:
shibashi suzushiku	cool for a while,
miru tsuki no	the light of the moon
hikari ni yagate	soon brightened to
akuru mijika yo	dawn, on this short night

On the occasion of a visit by the Imperial Guard,[33] *on the topic of the summer moon.*

41 月をみる心にながき夜はあらじふけゆくうさは夏のとがかは

tsuki o miru	when you see the moon
kokoro ni nagaki	in your heart
yo wa araji	there are no long nights;
fukeyuku usa wa	is this deepening sadness
natsu no toga ka wa	the fault of the summer?

31 Inoue suggests that the Prince of the Board of Censors refers to Prince Kunimi, who was the son of Emperor Gonijō. See Inoue, *Chūsei kadanshi*, 489.
32 Composed in 1303.
33 Tadayoshi.

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On the evening cool.

42 くれぬよりゆふべの色はさきだちて木かげすずしき谷河の水

kurenu yori	before dark,
yūbe no iro wa	the color of dusk
sakidachite	already in
kokage suzushiki	the water of the valley stream,
tanigawa no mizu	cool in the shade of trees

Topic unknown.

43 山あひのこのまはしらむみじか夜をなほあけのこす谷かげの庵

yama ai no	in the mountains
ko no ma wa shiramu	it must be growing light between the trees,
mijika yo o nao	still in shadow
akenokosu	on this short night:
tanikage no io	my hut in the dark valley

Compare with:
Taa Shōninshū Taa
On autumn.

1040 山あひの木間もるかげのうつろひて出でぬ月見る谷川の水

yama ai no	in the mountains
koma moru kage no	the shade that spills between the trees
utsuroite	has shifted—
idenu tsuki miru	in the water of the valley river,
tanigawa no mizu	the moon has not yet appeared

On the moon in the valley. Taa

1348 山あひを出入る空の近ければ月を見はてぬ谷陰の庵

yama ai o	in the mountains
ideiru sora no	close to the sky
chikakereba	where it appears and disappears,
tsuki o mihatenu	I catch only a glimpse of the moon
tanikage no io	at my hut in the dark valley

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Long ago, when he was an acolyte, he departed Engakuji to go on a pilgrimage to Michinoku.[34] *While on the way, he set up a hut in the mountains at a place called Uchinokusa.*[35] *On his first night there, he gazed at the cloudless moon.*

44 のがれきてげにみる時はかはりけりおもひやられしみやまべの月

nogarekite	now come away,
ge ni miru toki wa	seen in reality
kawarikeri	how different it is
omoiyarareshi	from what I had imagined:
miyamabe no tsuki	the moon in the deep mountains

Middle Captain Lord Tamesuke,[36] *the Lay Initiate Gyōgetsubō Chamberlain Tamemori*[37] *and others gathered at the home of Lay Initiate Dōun of the Dewa Nikaidō.*[38] *This poem was composed following a dharma talk, after other people recited poems on the topic "amidst delusion, life and death exist temporarily."*[39]

45 夜のほどもいくたびいでていりぬらむ雲間づたひにふくる月影

yo no hodo mo	in a single evening
iku tabi idete	how many times does it
irinuramu	come out only to hide?
kumoma zutai ni	the light of the moon
fukuru tsuki kage	moving between the clouds as night wears on

34 Michinoku 陸奥 refers to the area encompassing present-day Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, and Aomori prefectures.

35 In 1303, Musō departed Engakuji following an impasse with his teacher Yishan, under whom he had been practicing for approximately three years. He soon met with his next teacher Kōhō at Manjuji 万寿寺 in Kamakura. After a decisive exchange with Kōhō, Musō vowed not to return to meet his teacher unless he reached the end of all his doubts. He headed to the northeast for Shiratori 白鳥 near Hiraizumi and eventually settled at Uchinokusa (present-day Ibaraki prefecture, according to Kawase) in the second month of 1304. He remained there engrossed in practice until the second month of the following year, when an experience at Uchinokusa left him temporarily convinced that he had resolved all his doubts. "Nenpu," 281-282 and Kawase, *Zen to teien*, 196.

36 Reizei Tamesuke.

37 Reizei Tamemori 冷泉為守 (1265-1328; Buddhist name: Gyōgetsubō 暁月坊) was Tamesuke's younger brother. Tamemori was also a poet and frequent resident of Kamakura; he was later revered as the founder of comic waka (*kyōka* 狂歌).

38 Nikaidō Dōun.

39 Reference unclear.

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Topic unknown.

46 世をそむく後はながめぬことならば月にやしばし身ををしままし

yo o somuku	if after turning
nochi wa nagamenu	away from the world
koto naraba	I no longer gazed
tsuki ni ya shibashi	at the moon even for a moment,
mi o oshimamashi	I would regret it[40]

47 今ははやこころにかかる雲もなしのがれきて見るみやまべの月

ima wa haya	now
kokoro ni kakaru	the clouds that shrouded my heart
kumo mo nashi	are no more,
nogarekite miru	having come away and seen it:
miyamabe no tsuki	the moon in the deep mountains

Similar to:
Shinsenzaishū · Miscellaneous 1 Takauji

Although he was in the East at the time of the Kenmu 2 (1335) Palace One Thousand Verse poem contest, Takauji received topics, on which he wrote and presented poems. Among them was this poem on the moon.

1783 今ははや心にかかる雲もなし月をみやこの空とおもへば

ima wa haya	now
kokoro ni kakaru	the clouds that shrouded my heart
kumo mo nashi	are no more,
tsuki o miyako no	when I think of the moon
sora to omoeba	in the sky over the capital

48 いづるともいるとも月をおもはねばこころにかかる山の端もなし

izuru to mo	think not
iru to mo tsuki o	of a moon that rises or sets,
omowaneba	and in the mind,

40 This poem does not appear in the GSRJ manuscript.

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kokoro ni kakaru — no mountain peak
yama no ha mo nashi — will hide the moon

FŪGASHŪ 2076 · Buddhist poems

Compare with:
Shokugoshūishū · Buddhist poems — Dharma Seal Shuzen 法印守禅 (n.d.)
On the essence of "The Tathāgata ('Thus-come One') comes from nowhere and goes nowhere" in the Diamond Sutra.[41]

1304 出づるとも入るともみえで足引の山のをのへにすめる月影

izuru to mo — seeming not to set
iru to mo miede — nor to rise,
ashihiki no — clear moonlight
yama no onoe ni — shines atop
sumeru tsukikage — the mountain[42]

Shokukokinshū · Buddhist poems/ *Fubokushō* 16164 · Miscellaneous
Monk Ryūsen 隆専法師 (unidentified)
Topic unknown.

759 さとり行く心のうちにすむ月はいでているべき山のはもなし

satori yuku — in an awakening
kokoro no uchi ni — mind,
sumu tsuki wa — no mountain peak
idete irubeki — from behind which the clear moon
yama no ha mo nashi — might rise and set

49 いつまでとしもがれをまつあさぢふによわらぬむしのねさへはかなし

itsu made to — how much longer, they ask
shimogare o matsu — waiting for frost's withering;
asaji fu ni — in the cogon grass
yowaranu mushi no — the cries of insects
ne sae hakanashi — weaken not but to no avail

41 *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra* (J. *Kongō hannya haramitsukyō*), T 23 8: 752b04.
42 Reference identified by Iwasa. See Iwasa, *Fūga wakashū zenchūshaku,* 3: 299.

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Compare with:
Gyokuyōshū · Autumn 2 Dharma Prince Jōnin 静仁法親王 (1216-1296)
Topic unknown.

819 虫のねのよわるあさぢはうらがれて初霜さむき秋の暮がた

mushi no ne no	withered the tips
yowaru asaji wa	of the cogon grass
uragarete	the cries of insects weaken;
hatsu shimo samuki	cold first frost
aki no kuregata	at the end of autumn

This poem on late autumn is said to be Musō's; an inquiry is needed to confirm whether this is true or not.

50 くずはうらみをばなはまねく夕暮をこころづよくもすぐる秋かな

kuzu wa urami	begrudged by the *kudzu* leaf,
obana wa maneku	invited by the miscanthus,[43]
yūgure o	in evening
kokorozuyoku mo	autumn passes
suguru aki kana	hard-heartedly[44]

This poem appears, along with commentary, in *Ungyokushū*:

"This is an extreme poem. The lower verse is from Lord Teika… [Musō's] poem is a little hard to grasp. Everyone laments about the grasses and trees in autumn. However, autumn does not know that. Instead, it sees as its own all the grasses and trees that have lost their color and takes its leave hard-heartedly. This kind of thing is not often seen in *utaawase*; everyone would agree that Musō's verse ought to win."

43 There is a pun in the first verse. The *kudzu* leaf has a white underside, and when the wind blows, the back side can be seen (*urami*) which is homophonous with "begrudge" (*urami*). The second verse uses "invite" (*maneku*) because the *obana*'s long plumes wave in the wind as though beckoning. Both plants are associated with autumn.

44 GSRJ version has "*ni*" instead of "*o*" in the third line, and "*kaze*" (wind) instead of emphatic particle "*kana*" in the fourth line.

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Teika's verse:

Shūigusō 1 · 150 Teika
From the Futamigaura hyakushu (*1186*), *twenty poems on autumn*

17178 ただいまの野原をおのがものと見てこころづよくも帰る秋かな

tadaima no	seeing the fields
nohara o onoga	now
mono to mite	as its own,
kokorozuyoku mo	autumn takes its leave
kaeru aki kana	hard-heartedly

Shōji shodo hyakushu · Autumn
Middle Counselor Tokugō Nobuhiro 得業信広 (n.d.)

2256 くずは恨みを花はまねく夕風にうたての秋や過ぎて行くらん

kuzu wa urami	begrudged by the *kudzu* leaf,
obana wa maneku	invited by the miscanthus,
yūkaze ni	hastened on
utate no aki ya	by the evening wind,
sugite yukuran	autumn goes on its way.

Composed on a day when snow was falling at Ichirantei, when he was living at Zuisen'in.[45]

51 まつも又かさなる山のいほりにてこずゑにつづく庭の白雪

matsu mo mata	at my hut
kasanaru yama no	surrounded by mountains
iori nite	pines, too—
kozue ni tsuzuku	on and on in the tops of trees,
niwa no shirayuki	garden's white snow[46]

45 Located in Kamakura, Zuisen'in is now known as Zuisenji temple. Ichirantei 一覧亭 is a small hut built atop the mountain behind the temple that affords panoramic views of the surrounding area and Mount Fuji.

46 *GSRJ* version has "*mae*" ([in] front) instead of "*matsu*" (pine) in the first line.

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Compare with:
Tōin sesshōke hyakushu (1235) · Winter
Kujō Norizane 九条教実 (1210-1235)

898 降りつもる軒の松がえ下をれて梢につづく庭の白雪

furitsumoru	collecting snow,
noki no matsu ga e	a branch of pine at the eaves
shita orete	bends downward;
kozue ni tsuzuku	on and on in the tops of trees
niwa no shirayuki	garden's white snow

Composed when he remembered the phrase "grasses, trees, and land all become buddhas"[47] *in the snow.*

52 わきてこの花さく木をとうゑけるは雪みぬときのこころなりけり

wakite kono	thinking that
hana saku ki o to	a flowering tree
uekeru wa	was planted here
yuki minu toki no	is the essence of
kokoro narikeri	not seeing snow

Compare with:
Kokinshū · Winter Ki no Tsurayuki
On plum blossoms in the snow.

336 梅のかのふりおける雪にまがひせばたれかことごとわきてをらまし

ume no ka no	if the plum's fragrance
furiokeru yuki ni	were to penetrate the snow
magaiseba	lodged on its branches,
tare ka kotogoto	who could make a distinction
wakite oramashi	and break off a flowering bough?[48]

47 An allusion to the *Nirvana Sutra*, which states that non-sentient beings have buddha-nature and can become enlightened. First appearing in sixth-century China, this notion was first widely taken up in Tendai circles.

48 Translation adapted from McCullough, *Kokin Wakashū*, 81.

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Ki no Tomonori

Composed while watching the snow fall.

337 雪ふれば木ごとに花ぞさきにけるいづれを梅とわきてをらまし

yuki fureba	snow falls
ki goto ni hana zo	and flowers bloom
sakinikeru	on each tree
izure o ume to	how might I pick out
wakite oramashi	a plum blossom?

When the Shōgun made his way through the snow in the garden for a visit on the day of the first snow.

53 とふひとのなさけのふかきほどまではつもりもあへぬ庭のしら雪

tou hito no	deeper than I could know
nasake no fukaki	the feeling of the person
hodo made wa	who comes to call
tsumori mo aenu	white snow so thin
niwa no shirayuki	in the garden

SHINSHŪISHŪ 1711 · Miscellaneous 1

54 たわむほどしばしは枝につもりつつ二たびにふる松のしら雪

tawamu hodo	accumulating
shibashi wa eda ni	on branches
tsumoritsutsu	that begin to bend
futatabi ni furu	until it once again falls:
matsu no shirayuki	white snow in the pines

A poem by Shōgun Takauji.

55 いにしへの雪にたちしものりなればけふのさがののみちもかはらじ

inishie no	the same dharma
yuki ni tachi shimo	established there in the snow,
nori nareba	long ago
kyō no Sagano no	today in Sagano

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michi mo kawaraji	the path has not changed[49]

Composed while gazing out at Arashiyama from the abbot's quarters at Tenryūji on a day when snow was falling.

56 雪ふりて花かとみゆるあらしやま松と桜ぞさすがかはれる

yuki furite	snow falls
hana ka to miyuru	looking like blossoms
Arashiyama	on Arashiyama,
matsu to sakura zo	and yet pines and cherry trees
sasuga kawareru	do differ

Contrast with:
Shinsen man'yōshū · Winter

87 松之葉舟宿留雪者四十人舟芝手時迷勢留花砥許曾見禮

松の葉に宿れる雪はよそにして時惑はせる花とこそ見れ[50]

matsu no ha ni	snow resting
yadoreru yuki wa	on pine needles—
yoso ni shite	seen from afar
toki madowaseru	looks just like flowers
hana to koso mire	confusing me about the season

Gosenshū · Winter Poet Unknown
Topic Unknown.

475 年ふれど色もかはらぬ松がえにかかれる雪を花とこそ見れ

49 This poem does not appear in *GSRJ* version. It is likely an allusion to the well-known Zen story contained in the *Jingde chuandenglu* and other sources in which Huike, who ultimately becomes the second patriarch, requests audience with first patriarch Bodhidharma but is not acknowledged. Hoping to see the master, Huike spends the night standing in the snow; by dawn, the snow has passed his knees. When at last Bodhidharma asks him why he is waiting in the snow, Huike begs to be taught by the master. When Bodhidharma refuses, Huike proves himself by cutting off his left arm and presenting it to Bodhidharma, who finally receives him as a disciple. *Jingde chuandenglu* T 51 2076: 219, b04-20.

50 *Shinsen Man'yōshū* Kenkyūkai, 325-331.

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toshi furedo	late in the year and yet
iro mo kawaranu	their hue is unchanged,
matsu ga e ni	snow
kakareru yuki o	on pine branches
hana to koso mire	looks just like flowers

Composed when he thought, if there is a mountain somewhere that is to my liking, I will make it into my hideaway.

57 世をいとふわがあらましのゆくすゑにいかなる山のかねてまつらむ

yo o itou — at the end
waga aramashi no — of all my hopes
yuku sue ni — what sort of mountain
ikanaru yama no — awaits this one
kanete matsuramu — who avoids the world?

On the topic "the Buddha's body is unconditioned and does not fall into analytic categories."[51]

58 わすれては世をすてがほにおもふかなのがれずとてもかずならぬ身を

wasurete wa — forgetting,
yo o sutegao ni — I think
omou kana — I have left the world;

51 Translation is adapted from McRae, *The Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, 107. There seems to be a copyist error in the final character of the topic as it is written in the text. The final character of the phrase is 趣 ("destinies"), but in all other sources, including Musō's *Recorded Sayings* from Engakuji, where a similar phrase appears, it reads as 数 ("categories"), so I have changed it in my translation to match the other sources. This phrase perhaps most famously appears in the "Disciples" chapter of the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, in which the Buddha's disciples refuse to visit the ailing lay bodhisattva because the latter's wisdom so surpasses their own. In refusing, Ananda recounts an instance when Vimalakīrti bests him in his understanding of the dharma. When Ananda tells Vimalakīrti that he is bringing the Buddha cow's milk to cure a sickness, the latter scolds him for saying so and reminds him that the Buddha cannot become sick. He then elaborates on the various attributes of the Buddha, one of which is "the Buddha's body is unconditioned and does not fall into the various categories." See T 475 14: 542a1-25. For the reference in Musō's *Recorded Sayings*, see "Sōshū Kamakuraken Zuirokusan Engaku Kōshōzenji goroku 相州鎌倉県瑞鹿山円覚興聖禅寺語録," in *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 64.

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nogarezu tote mo	even if I don't leave
kazunaranu mi o	I am of no significance[52]
	SHINGOSHŪISHŪ 1403 · Miscellaneous 2

Composed when he was living deep in the mountains at a place called Kokei in Nōshū,[53] *at the end of a single road where no letters could reach him. Still, those who had the aspiration to study with him came calling, which left him displeased.*

59 世のうさにかへたる山のさびしさをとはぬぞ人のなさけなりける

yo no usa ni	people of feeling
kaetaru yama no	do not come calling
sabishisa o	to ask about the loneliness
towanu zo hito no	of the mountain taken on in exchange
nasake narikeru	for the sadness of the world

Again, in the mountains of Kamakura, there was a hut that someone had set up and abandoned. He spent one night there, with the pine wind blowing all night at the eaves.

60 わがさきにすみけん人のさびしさを身にききそふる軒の松かぜ

wa ga saki ni	the sadness of
sumiken hito no	the person who lived here
sabishisa o	before me
mi ni kikisouru	I hear to no end
noki no matsukaze	in the pine wind at my eaves

When he was heading to a place in Sagami province called Sokokura hot springs,[54] *he saw a mountain dweller living meagerly in a hut between two rocks in the bottom of a valley, deep in the mountains away from any villages. If one were to live like this, it would indeed be "abandoning the world," he thought, remembering the old poem. He repeatedly thought to himself that people who have abandoned the world have an impurity of mind such that they put on airs of having left the*

52 Headnote in *Shingoshūishū* reads: "A miscellaneous poem."

53 Nōshū 濃州 is another name for the province of Mino, where Musō established a cottage named Kokeian in 1313. He established a Kannon Hall here there the following year. Kokeian would later become Eihōji temple. "Nenpu," 295-296.

54 The Sokokura hot springs are located in Hakone (Kanagawa prefecture).

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world. Thinking how much the sight of this mountain dweller fitted the principle of the Buddhist teachings, he recited:

61 世のなかをいとふとはなきすまひにてなかなかすごき山がつの庵

yo no naka o	a dwelling that shows
itou to wa naki	no aversion
sumai nite	to the world;
naka naka sugoki	how impressive it is
yamagatsu no io	the mountain dweller's hut

Headnote likely refers to:[55]
Shūgyokushū Jien
From fifty miscellaneous verses in Onri hyakushu (1185).

687 世とともにあるかひもなき身にしあれば世を捨ててこそ世をおば厭はめ

yo to tomo ni	nothing for me to gain
aru kai mo naki	by staying on
mi ni shi areba	in the world;
yo o sutete koso	abandoning the world, I at last
yo o ba itowame	become averse to it

When [*Musō*] *was living at Yokosuka in Miura in Sōshū at a place overlooking the bay he called Hakusen'an, the Middle Counselor Tamesuke came to visit him.* [*Musō*] *saw him off at his boat, reciting:*

62 かりにすむいほりたづねてとふひとをあるじがほにて又おくりぬる

kari ni sumu	dwelling temporarily
iori tazunete	in this hermitage,
tou hito o	I pretend to be its owner,
arujigao nite	receiving visitors
mata okurinuru	and seeing them off again

Tamesuke:

63 とほからぬ今日の舟ぢのわかれにもうかびやすきはなみだなりけり

55 Possible allusion identified by editors in Sasaki et al., *Shakkyō kaei zenshū*, 128.

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tōkaranu	today's voyage
kyō no funaji no	will not take me far
wakare ni mo	stil in the wake
ukabiyasuki wa	of our parting
namida narikeri	tears come easily[56]

Compare with:

Bukkoku Zenjishū Kōhō Kennichi

On the topic of moonlight resembling snow.

3 月はさしくひなはたたくまきの戸にあるじがほにてあくる山かぜ

tsuki wa sashi	my pine door
kuina wa tataku	where moonlight shines
maki no to ni	and the *kuina* comes knocking
arujigao nite	is opened by the mountain wind,
akuru yama kaze	pretending to be its owner[57]

When he had abandoned his hut in Miura and went to Sōshū, he sent this to the patron of that hut, the former provincial governor of Aki, Miura Sadatsura.[58]

64 うかれいづることをうらみとおもふなよありとても又ありはてんかは

ukareizuru	begrudge not
koto o urami to	my going out
omou na yo	into the world
ari tote mo mata	even if I wanted to
arihaten ka wa	I could not stay here forever

56 This poem does not appear in GSRJ manuscript.

57 The *kuina*, or water rail, is known for its distinct call, which was said to sound like knocking.

58 Miura Sadatsura 三浦貞連 (?-?) was an Ashikaga ally, participating in Takauji's campaign to take control of the capital in 1335. He was appointed head of the board of retainers under Takauji's new administration, only to be killed in battle in early 1336. In fact, it was not Sadatsura but his father, Tokiaki 時明, who was the former provincial governor of Aki 安芸 province, corresponding to present-day western Hiroshima. See Suzuki Kaoru 鈴木かほる, *Sagami Miura ichizoku to sono shūhen shi: sono hasshō kara Edo ki made* 相模三浦一族とその周辺史: その発祥から江戸期まで (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 2007), 310-311.

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Setting up a hut in Kiyomizu in Nōshū,[59] *he composed the following poem, while thinking about moving around.*

65 いくたびかかくすみすてていでつらんさだめなき世にむすぶかりいほ

iku tabi ka	how many times
kaku sumisutete	have I moved in
idetsuran	only to move out like this?
sadamenaki yo ni	in an uncertain world,
musubu kariio	I set up a temporary hut
	FŪGASHŪ 1793: Miscellaneous 2

The Commander of the Left Imperial Guards[60] *visited Saihō Shōja. Composed following a dharma talk, after others had recited poems.*

66 おのづからとひくるひとのあるときもさびしささそふ山かげの庵

onozukara	even when
toikuru hito no	people come calling
aru toki mo	it invites loneliness
sabishisa sasou	of its own accord
yama kage no io	my hut in the shadow of the mountain

Sent by the abbess of the Hanamuro[61] *convent as a metaphor for her insight* (*kenge* 見解)*:*

67 をちこちの海と山とはへだつれどおなじ空なる月をこそ見れ

ochi kochi no	here and there
umi to yama to wa	the sea and the mountains
hedatsuredo	are separate and yet—
onaji sora naru	look at the moon
tsuki o koso mire	in the same sky above

59 Musō relocated from his Kokeian hermitage to a cottage on the grounds of Kiyomizudera, then a Shingon temple, in present-day Gifu prefecture in 1315 in order to evade the many student hopefuls who had begun calling on him and his companions. However, the monks at Kiyomizudera, too, aspired to study with Musō, and he returned to Kokeian seeking solitude in the spring of 1316. See "Nenpu," 297-298.

60 Tadayoshi.

61 Unidentified.

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His reply:

68 ところからかはるけしきのあるものをおなじそらなる月と見るなよ

tokoro kara	from place to place
kawaru keshiki no	scenery changes
aru mono o	don't say
onaji sora naru	look at the moon
tsuki to miru na yo	in the same sky above[62]

Composed when Takatoki's mother[63] *was living among the Hōjō in Izu:*

69 あらましにまつらん山ぢたえねただそむかずとても夢の世の中

aramashi ni	the mountain road
matsuran yamaji	that awaits you
taene tada	let it come to its end—
somukazu tote mo	even if you don't turn your back,
yume no yo no naka	the world is as if a dream[64]

Was she perhaps recalling that Musō composed the poem, "at the end/ of all my hopes/ what sort of mountain/ awaits me/ who shuns the world"?[65]

His reply:

70 夢の世とおもふうき世をなほすてて山にもあらぬ山にかくれよ

yume no yo to	abandoning
omou ukiyo o	the dreamlike world
nao sutete	that I think so sad,
yama ni mo aranu	I will hide in a mountain
yama ni kakureyo	that is not a mountain

62 GSRJ version has emphatic particle "*kana*" instead of negative imperative "*na yo*," changing the poem into an affirmation of the nun's statement.
63 Kakukai Enjō.
64 Poem does not appear in GSRJ version. Musō's reply appears in the collection, but with the headnote "topic unknown."
65 See Poem 57 above.

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When living at Taikōan in Sōshū, a visitor composed a poem about how the dwelling's rare refinement stayed with him.[66] *Musō replied:*

71 めづらしくすみなす山のいほりにもこころとむればうき世とぞなる

mezurashiku	even this mountain hut
suminasu yama no	where I dwell
iori ni mo	in rare refinement
kokoro tomureba	becomes part of the sad world
ukiyo to zo naru	when the heart stays there[67]

On the essence of "every lifting and placing of one's foot is the place of enlightenment."[68]

72 ふるさとをさだむるかたのなきときはいづくにゆくも家ぢなりけり

furusato to	when you make
sadamuru kata no	no place in particular
naki toki wa	your home,
izuku ni yuku mo	wherever you go
ieji narikeri	you are on the road home
	FŪGASHŪ 2063 · Buddhist poems

Topic unknown.

73 世にすむとおもふこころをすてぬれば山ならねども身はかくれけり

yo ni sumu to	abandoning
omou kokoro o	all thoughts
sutenureba	of living in the world,
yama naranedomo	I go not to the mountains,
mi wa kakurekeri	but I am in hiding

66 In the first month of 1323, Musō moved to Taikōan in modern-day Chiba prefecture from Hakusen'an. He lived there until 1325, when he assumed the abbotship of Nanzenji at the invitation of Emperor Godaigo in the eighth month of that year. "Nenpu," 302-304.

67 This poem also appears in Story 21 of *Sangoku denki*, although it is not attributed to Musō there. See *Sangoku denki* (*ge*), 297.

68 Translation adapted from McRae, "*The Vimalakīrti Sūtra*," 113. Likely a quote from the "Bodhisattvas" chapter of the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, in which the various bodhisattvas decline to pay a visit to the ailing Vimalakīrti. In this particular episode Vimalakīrti vanquishes the bodhisattva Radiance Ornament Youth with his understanding of the place of enlightenment, concluding with this phrase. See ibid., 99-101, see also T 14 475: 542c10-543a09.

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Compare with:
Shokukokinshū · Miscellaneous 2 Jōen 定円 (dates unknown)
On the essence of the mountain home.

1692 やまふかくなにかいほりをむすぶべき心のうちにみはかくれけり

yama fukaku	why should I set up
nani ka iori o	a hut
musububeki	deep in the mountains?
kokoro no uchi ni	it is in my heart
mi wa kakurekeri	that I seclude myself

Sankashū · Miscellaneous Saigyō
Five verses of lamentation.

909 いづくにか身をかくさましいとひてもうき世にふかき山なかりせば

izuku ni ka	where might I seclude
mi o kakusamashi	myself
itoite mo	in this sad world
ukiyo ni fukaki	if not for deep in the mountains
yama nakariseba	no matter if I grow weary of it there too

74 さとりとてつねにはかはるこころこそまよひの中のまよひなりけれ

satori tote	thinking that enlightenment
tsune ni wa kawaru	differs from
kokoro koso	the ordinary mind
mayoi no naka no	is precisely delusion
mayoi narikere	amid delusion

75 をしめどもつひにはてあるあだし身をかねてすつるぞかしこかりける

oshimedomo	although difficult to part with
tsui ni hate aru	it will meet its end—
adashimi o	to first cast away
kanete sutsuru zo	this body that will betray
kashikokarikeru	is indeed wise

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76 われのみとかしこがほなるはかなさよはかなかりせばかしこからまし

ware nomi to
kashikogao naru
hakanasa yo
hakanakariseba
kashikokaramashi

the vanity
of thinking
I alone am wise;
to let these thoughts be fleeting,
would indeed be wise

Compare with:
Bukkoku Zenjishū Kōhō Kennichi
Topic unknown.

16 かりそめのゆめをまこととおもひつつかしこがほなる人ぞはかなき

karisome no
yume o makoto to
omoitsutsu
kashikogao naru
hito zo hakanaki

people who think
a temporary dream
is reality
while pretending to be wise
do so in vain

77 すつるとて人をうらむる世はあらじなににさはりてうきをわぶらむ

sutsuru tote
hito o uramuru
yo wa araji
nani ni sawarite
uki o waburamu

I want to abandon it—
I don't want to live in a world
that people begrudge;
what obstacle would there be
what sadness to lament?

78 ふくたびにいやめづらしきここちしてききふるされぬ軒のまつかぜ

fuku tabi ni
iya mezurashiki
kokochi shite
kikifurusarenu
noki no matsukaze

each time it blows
I feel
it is even more magnificent,
I never tire of hearing
the pine wind at my eaves

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Compare with:
Sankashū · Summer Saigyō
From *five verses on the hototogisu*.

189 待つことは初音までかと思ひしに聞き古されぬ時鳥かな

matsu koto wa	I once thought,
hatsune made ka to	isn't the wait over
omoishini	upon the first cry?
kikifurusarenu	how I never tire of hearing
hototogisu kana	the *hototogisu*

Sōanshū · Miscellaneous Tonna
Ten-poem contest at Konrenji. On the theme of the mountain home.

1193 さびしさは思ひしままの宿ながら猶ききわぶる軒のまつかぜ

sabishisa wa	the loneliness of life
omoishi mama no	here in my lodging
yado nagara	I had expected
nao kikiwaburu	but ah, how I tire of hearing
noki no matsukaze	the wind in the pine at my eaves.[69]

Myōe Shōnin kashū / *Shinsenzaishū* · Buddhist poems 874 Myōe
When going to the meditation hall, the moon was clouded over; having emerged from meditation, the moon came out from between the clouds accompanied by the pine wind. He couldn't help but recite:

88 心月のすむに無明の雲はれて解脱の門に松風ぞふく

kokoro tsuki no	the clouds of ignorance
sumu ni mumyō no	cleared away
kumo harete	in the limpid moon of the mind
gedatsu no mon ni	at the gate of liberation
matsu kaze zo fuku	the long-awaited pine wind blows

69 Translation from Carter, *Just Living*, 106.

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When he lived upstream of Fuefuki River in Kōshū.

79 ながれては里へもいづるやま川に世をいとふ身の影はうつさじ

nagarete wa	so long as you flow
sato e mo izuru	out to the village,
yamakawa ni	mountain stream,
yo o itou mi no	do not reflect the shadow
kage wa utsusaji	of this one who avoids the world[70]

On the essence of "the World Honored One's preaching without preaching and Kāśyapa's hearing without hearing."[71]

80 さまざまにとけどもとかぬことの葉をきかずしてきく人ぞすくなき

samazama ni	in many ways
tokedomo tokanu	he preached without preaching
koto no ha o	yet few
kikazu shite kiku	have heard without hearing
hito zo sukunaki	his leaves of words

SHINSHŪISHŪ 1478 · Buddhist poems

On the essence of "not becoming a buddha."[72]

70 "*Nagarete wa*" in the first line means both "as long as you flow" (in reference to the river) and "as long as I live on."

71 Kāśyapa (J. Kashō 迦葉; also Maha Kāśyapa) is revered in the Zen tradition as the first patriarch for having been the sole beneficiary of Śākyamuni's silent transmission on Vulture Peak, the reception of which he indicated by holding up a flower. According to Hatanaka Kataku 畑中荷沢 in the Edo-period Buddhist poetry collection *Ruidai hōmon wakashū chūkai* 類題法文和歌集注解, the topic of this poem is a quote from the *Jingde chuandenglu*. See Hatanaka, *Ruidai hōmon wakashū chūkai* 類題法文和歌集注解, ed. Tsukada Kōshin 塚田晃信, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1986), 209-210. As part of his response to a monk who asks him to speak directly of the Way, Shibei (J. Shibi 師備, 835-908) said, "The forty-nine years (that the Buddha preached) were all skillful means. It is as if out of the million people assembled on Vulture Peak, Kāśyapa alone was listening, and the others heard nothing at all. Now, you ask, what is it that Kāśyapa heard? The Thus Come One's preaching without preaching and Kāśyapa's hearing without hearing can't be talked about." *Jingde chuandenglu* T 2076 51: 346a06-a09.

72 The *Shinpen kokka taikan* versions have "newly becoming a buddha" (*shinjōbutsu* 新成仏), while *Shakkyō kaei zenshū* has "not becoming a buddha" (*mujōbutsu* 無成仏) and GSRJ has "without becoming buddha" (*jōbutsu nashi* 成仏なし). It is unclear to what *shinjōbutsu* might refer; conversely, the phrase *mujōbutsu* appears throughout the Buddhist canon. For these reasons, and because it better agrees with the content of the poem,

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81 むすびしにとくるすがたはかはれどもこほりの外の水はあらめや

musubishi ni	frozen
tokuru sugata wa	and melted
kawaredomo	the form differs,
kōri no soto no	yet can there be
mizu wa arameya	water apart from the ice?[73]

Compare with:
Shūgyokushū · *First extemporaneous hyakushu* (1188?) Jien
Winter: ice.

764 結びおく氷も水もひとつぞと思ひとけども猶うき身かな

musubioku	I realize
kōri mo mizu mo	the water and the
hitotsu zo to	ice it becomes
omoitokedomo	are one
nao uki mi kana	and yet how sad I am![74]

Shokushūishū · Buddhist poems Fujiwara Ieyoshi 藤原家良 (1192-1264)
Composed on Buddhism, when the Kōchō hyakushu sequence was presented.[75]

1384 おもひとくふかきえにこそしられけれ水のほかなる氷なしとは

omoitoku	in the deep inlet
fukaki e ni koso	of realization
shirarekere	it becomes known:
mizu no hoka naru	no ice
kōri nashi to wa	apart from the water

I use *mujōbutsu*. See "*Shōgaku Kokushishū*," *Shakkyō kaei zenshū*, 134; "*Musō Kokushi goeisō*," 363.

73 The water/ice imagery appears frequently throughout the *waka* tradition as a metaphor for the common state of mind (ice) and the awakened mind (water).

74 There is a word association (*engo* 縁語) in this poem. The *toke* (also meaning "melt") of *omoitoke* "realize" is a linking word for "ice."

75 This sequence is dated the first year of the Kōchō 弘長 era (1261).

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On the essence of "the delusion of seeing transmigration in the midst of no transmigration."[76]

82 山をこえ海をわたるとたどりつる夢路はねやのうちにありけり

yama o koe	over mountains
umi o wataru to	and across the sea,
tadoritsuru	the road of dreams
yumeji wa neya no	that I tread
uchi ni arikeri	is inside my bedchamber

Composed after others had recited poems following a dharma talk given when the Prince of the Board of Censors[77] *was at Saihōji.*

83 さすがまた人のかずなる身となりて老にはもれぬとしぞつもれる

sasuga mata	so it is once again,
hito no kazu naru	one year older
mi to narite	unable to escape
oi ni wa morenu	old age
toshi zo tsumoreru	as the years pile on

84 おもひなすこころからなる身のうさを世のとがとのみかこちけるかな

omoinasu	thought up
kokoro kara naru	in the mind
mi no usa o	the sadness
yo no toga to nomi	I lament as
kakochikeru kana	the fault of the world

Muchū mondōshū · Section 41

When it comes to worldly things such as great or small karmic rewards, long or short lives, many or few riches, high or low standing, peace or disorder in the realm, animosity or affinity in human relationships, they are all just aspects of an illusory dream that arises in one thought moment of delusion.[78]

76 Reference unclear.
77 Likely Prince Kunimi.
78 *Muchū mondōshū*, 129-130.

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On the Buddhist teachings.

85 しるべとてふるきしをりをたのむこそまことのみちのさはりなりけれ

shirube tote	rely on it
furuki shiori o	as a guide,
tanomu koso	and the old sign post
makoto no michi no	becomes nothing more than
sawari narikere	an obstacle to the true Way.

When the topic of impermanence was put forth.

86 あだながら心にのこるおもかげぞけぶりとならぬすがたなりける

adanagara	insubstantial and yet
kokoro ni nokoru	the shadow
omokage zo	that remains in my heart
keburi to naranu	turns not
sugata narikeru	to smoke

During the reign of Emperor Godaigo, there was a battle in the Kongō mountains.[79] *Composed when he heard that many aristocrats and warriors had lost their lives there.*

87 いたづらに名にかへてだにすつる身をのりのためにはなどをしむらん

itazura ni	casting away their lives
na ni kaete dani	in vain
sutsuru mi o	just to earn a name
nori no tame ni wa	if they did so for the dharma
nado oshimuran	what regrets might they have?

79 The Kongō mountains 金剛山 are located on the border of Osaka and Nara prefectures. Musō is likely referring to a series of battles that took place in this area in 1332 between the Kamakura *bakufu*'s forces and Godaigo's supporters, who had holed up at their Chihayajō 千早城 fortification led by Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 (1294-1336). See Conlan, *State of War*, 8-10.

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Haikai[80]

88 いもの葉におくしらつゆのたまらぬはこれやずいきのなみだなるらん

imo no ha ni	not collecting,
oku shiratsuyu no	white dew
tamaranu wa	on potato leaves—
kore ya zuiki no	these must be
namida naruran	tears of joy[81]

89 月影にさかひあらそふ人あらばさたの外なる身をいかにせむ

tsukikage ni	there are those
sakai arasou	who fight over borders
hito araba	in the light of the moon;
sata no soto naru	standing outside of the conflict
mi o ikani semu	what am I to do?

At the time of the hananashi,[82] *he broke off a branch that had remained in the garden and sent it to the Shōgun.*

90 さくらちりて花なしとこそおもひしになほこの枝に春はありのみ

sakura chirite	the cherry blossoms scattered,
hana nashi to koso	just when I think
omoishi ni	flowers are no more—
nao kono eda ni	with *hananashi* on just this branch
haru wa ari nomi	there is spring

80 As Cranston explains, the term *haikai* was used in this period to refer to poems that were considered "unorthodox" or "not serious." See Cranston, *Grasses of Remembrance*, 1071.

81 "*Zuiki*" here is a pun. As a Buddhist term, it means to rejoice in seeing others practice good. It also means the stem of the taro plant. Nishino, *Musō: Seishō tōten*, 201. A variant of this poem is contained in the *waka* and *renga* miscellany, *Kensai zōdan* (early fifteenth century), where it is attributed to Musō. The second and third lines read "roll down" (*harahara to koborekeri*). See *Kensai zōdan*, 158.

82 *Hananashi* 花梨 is another name for the pear. "*Hananashi*" is homophonous with the phrase "no flowers." Thus, Musō puns on the phrase "no flowers" (*hana nashi*) to suggest that it is still spring even though the cherry blossoms are no more. In a further twist of word play, *arinomi* ("just… there is") in the final line serves as a homophone for "pear" 有りの実 in classical Japanese. Nishino, *Musō: Seishō tōten*, 201-202.

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When he was bathing at the Arima onsen, he saw that the hall at the base of the mountain had fallen into disrepair and rain was leaking inside. He decided that it ought to be thatched.[83]

91 寺ふりて雨のもり屋となりにけり仏のあだをいざやふせがん

tera furite	at an old temple
ame no moriya to	rain (and Moriya) leaks in
nari ni keri	right through the roof,
hotoke no ada o	somehow I must protect it
izaya fusegan	from buddha's enemy[84]

Word got around that he had composed a poem like this, and people got together enough funds to re-roof the hall.

Compare with:
Shūgyokushū · Naniwa Hyakushu Jien
Composed in early spring, when I went to the great temple in Naniwa in my old age. All of these verses, whether sacred or mundane, are about Shōtoku.

2752 法のあたを跡まではらふ寺にきて雨にもりやをみぬよしもがな

nori no ata o	at a temple
ato made harau	where the dharma's adversaries
tera ni kite	can leave no trace,
ame ni moriya o	how I wish I had no reason to see
minu yoshimogana	Moriya in the leaking rain!

83 Arima onsen 有馬温泉 is a hot spring in present-day Kobe city in the northern foothills of the Rokkō Mountains 六甲山. The spring was well known for its medicinal properties.

84 "Buddha's enemy" Moriya refers to Mononobe no Moriya 物部守屋 (?-587), a powerful minister who served under Emperor Yōmei 用明天皇 (?-587, reigned 582-587). The Mononobe family was famed for its opposition to the adoption of Buddhism, and Moriya, in particular, is associated with the destruction of temples and buddha images. He was killed by Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子 (??-626), a backer of Empress Suiko and proponent of Buddhism. The "Mori" of "Moriya" is homophonous with *mori* (leak) and thus serves as a pun here and in other poems like it.

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The following fifteen verses were sent by the former governor of Toki, the elder lay initiate Sonkō.[85]

92 をりにふれ時にしたがふことわりをそむかぬみちやまことなるらん

ori ni fure	responding to the occasion,
toki ni shitagau	according with the time,
kotowari o	the path that goes not against
somukanu michi ya	the principle
makoto naruran	must be that of truth

Musō's reply:

93 ことわりをそむくそむかぬふたみちはいづれもおなじまよひなりけり

kotowari o	two paths
somuku somukanu	with and against
futamichi wa	the principle
izure mo onaji	are both the same
mayoi narikeri	delusion

Sonkō:

94 夢の世とおもふもいまのまよひかなもとのうつつもなしときくには

yume no yo to	to think the world a dream
omou mo ima no	this too
mayoi kana	is a delusion,
moto no utsutsu mo	when I hear that from the start
nashi to kiku ni wa	there is no reality

Musō:

95 夢の中にゆめとおもふも夢なればゆめをまよひといふも夢なり

85 Sonkō, known in lay life as Toki Yorisada, was a general, Ashikaga ally, and *waka* poet who boasted an inclusion in *Gyokuyōshū* (1313). He was also a patron of Musō. After assisting Takauji in his rise to power, Yorisada was rewarded with the designation of provincial constable of Mino province.

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yume no naka ni	to think a dream
yume to omou mo	within a dream
yume nareba	is a dream;
yume o mayoi to	to call a dream delusion, too,
iu mo yume nari	is a dream

Sonkō:

96 花の色月のひかりをあはれとも見る心にはいたづらもなし

hana no iro	the color of blossoms,
tsuki no hikari o	the light of the moon
aware to mo	the heart that looks
miru kokoro ni wa	upon them with feeling
itazura mo nashi	does so not in vain

Musō:

97 さかぬ花いでぬ月ぞとみるときはこころにかはる春秋もなし

sakanu hana	when looking
idenu tsuki zo to	at flowers not in bloom
miru toki wa	and the moon not out
kokoro ni kawaru	the heart is without
haru aki mo nashi	springs and autumns

Sonkō:

98 いづくよりうまれけるともなきものをかへるべき身となになげくらん

izuku yori	born from nowhere
umarekeru to mo	only
naki mono o	to return
kaerubeki mi to	to nothingness
nani nagekuran	what might I lament?

Musō:

99 こしかたも行すゑもなき中ぞらにうかれても又さてやはつべき

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koshikata mo	no coming
yukusue mo naki	no going,
nakazora ni	floating
ukarete mo mata	in the empty sky
sate ya hatsubeki	what end could there be?

> From Musō's *Chronology*:
>
> "The Way is without states of going and coming, life and death, and there are no changes to safety and danger, order and disorder. If you can abide in this, then pain, pleasure, opposition, and accord are all a part of the Way and life and death, going and coming are all the *samadhi* of play."[86]

Sonkō:

100 まぼろしにしばしかたちをうくならばなにをさだめてとがといふべき

maboroshi ni	if for a time shapes are
shibashi katachi o	taken on
ukunaraba	like illusions,
nani o sadamete	what certain faults
toga to iu beki	could we find?

Musō:

101 まぼろしにしばしかたちをうけけるとおもふもげには科としらずや

maboroshi ni	to think
shibashi katachi o	for a time
ukekeru to	shapes are taken on like illusions
omou mo ge ni wa	is truly to be
toga to shirazu ya	unaware of one's mistake

Sonkō:

102 いとはじなもとより空にすむ月はしばしへだてて雲かかるとも

86 "Nenpu," 328.

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itowaji na	pay no mind:
moto yori sora ni	the clear moon is in the sky
sumu tsuki wa	as always,
shibashi hedatete	even when blocked
kumo kakaru to mo	by the clouds for a time

Musō:

103 雲よりもたかきところに出でて見よしばしも月にへだてあるやと

kumo yori mo	look from a place
takaki tokoro ni	that is higher
idete miyo	than the clouds:
shibashi mo tsuki ni	is the moon blocked
hedate aru ya to	even for a time?
	SHINGOSHŪISHŪ 1486 · Buddhist poems

Compare with:

Bukkoku Zenjishū Kōhō Kennichi

On the topic of "being a buddha from the start."[87]

8 雲はれて後のひかりとおもふなよもとより空に有明の月

kumo harete	don't think
nochi no hikari to	of the light
omou na yo	after the clouds clear
moto yori sora ni	from the beginning
ariake no tsuki	the dawn moon is in the sky

Ta'a Shōnin shū Taa

Written when crossing to Sōshū from Kai at a place called Misaka, where he gazed at Fuji's peak.

87 According to the editors of *Shakkyō kaei zenshū,* this is a quote from the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*. The full sentence reads: "When one first comes to know that all sentient beings from the beginning are buddha, life and death, and nirvana are as yesterday's dream." See "*Bukkoku Zenji wakashu,*" 7 and *Da fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing* 大方広円覚修多羅了義経, T 842 17: 915a20-21.

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雲よりも高く見えたる富士の根の月に隔たる影やなからん

kumo yori mo	seeming to soar
takaku mietaru	higher than the clouds
Fuji no ne no	on Fuji's peak –
tsuki ni hedataru	the moon casts
kage ya nakaran	no shadows

Gyokuyōshū · Buddhist Poems — Retired Emperor Sutoku
On the "Perseverance" Chapter[88]

2664 大空にわかぬひかりをあま雲のしばしへだつと思ひけるかな

ōzora ni	separated
wakanu hikari o	by rain clouds
amagumo no	it seems for a time,
shibashi hedatsu to	in the boundless sky:
omoikeru kana	indivisible light

Sonkō:

104 いまここにむかふ山ぢのほかならでたづぬる方をまこととやせむ

ima koko ni	here and now,
mukau yamaji no	apart from
hoka narade	the mountain road ahead
tazunuru kata o	how could there be another direction
makoto to ya semu	in which to seek the truth?

Musō:

105 めにかけてむかふ山ぢの奥にこそ人にしられぬ里はありけれ

me ni kakete	far along
mukau yamaji no	the mountain road
oku ni koso	upon which you set your sights
hito ni shirarenu	there is a village
sato wa arikere	unknown to others

88 Chapter 13 of the *Lotus Sutra*.

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Nanzenji goroku 南禅寺語録 Musō Soseki
A monk said: "Then and now, there is no different path. The adepts all return to the same place of their own accord." Musō replied, "Going around the peak, across the valley, there is another village." The monk bowed.[89]

Sonkō:

106 こころをも身をもたのまずいまはただあるにまかせて世をやおくらん

kokoro o mo	not relying on body
mi o mo tanomazu	or mind
ima wa tada	for now
aru ni makasete	I let things happen as they will
yo o ya okuran	making my way in the world

Musō:

107 なにとなくあるにまかせてすむ人もさすがうき世はわすれざりけり

nani to naku	somehow or other
aru ni makasete	letting things happen as they will—
sumu hito mo	people, too, who live like this
sasuga ukiyo wa	have not forgotten
wasurezarikeri	the sadness of the world

Sonkō:

108 きくは耳見るはまなこのものならばこころはなにのぬしとなるらん

kiku wa mimi	if
miru wa manako no	we hear with our ears
mono naraba	and see with our eyes
kokoro wa nani no	which of these, then
nushi to naruran	is the mind's master?

89 "Nanzenji goroku," in *Musō Kokushi goroku*, 18. As Yanagida notes, Musō's rejoinder is a quote of the phrase most commonly associated with Nanzenji. It also appears in Yishan's *Recording Sayings from Nanzenji* (*Nanzenroku* 南禅録). Yanagida, *Musō*, 142.

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Musō:

109 きくは耳みるはまなことおもふなよわれにあまたのぬしはあらじを

kiku wa mimi	don’t think
miru wa manako to	we hear with our ears
omou na yo	and see with our eyes;
ware ni amata no	we have not
nushi wa araji o	so many masters

Sonkō:

110 春ぞとてもえしも草の色なればかれ葉の秋もなにかいとはん

haru zo tote	what sprouts in spring
moeshi mo kusa no	too is a form of grass;
iro nareba	why dislike
kareha no aki mo	what withers
nani ka itowan	in autumn?

Musō:

111 おもひなすこころよりこそかはりけれおなじ草葉の春秋の色

omoinasu	these changes
kokoro yori koso	come from
kawarikere	the mind:
onaji kusaba no	the same grass
haru aki no iro	in hues of spring and autumn

Sonkō:

112 よしあしのふたつのみちはたえはてぬこころとてげにすがたなければ

yoshi ashi no	the two roads
futatsu no michi wa	of good and bad
taehatenu	have their ends,
kokoro tote ge ni	for in reality
sugata nakereba	mind lacks form

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Musō:

113 心とてげにはすがたもなきものをよしあしとなどおもひわきけむ

kokoro tote	mind is
ge ni wa sugata mo	indeed without form
naki mono o	how
yoshi ashi to nado	might it discern
omoiwakikemu	good from bad?

Compare with:
Shokukokinshū · Buddhist poems Dharma Seal Jitsui 法印実伊 (n.d.)
On the essence of contemplating emptiness.

799 こころとてげにはこころもなきものをさとるはなにのさとるなるらん

kokoro tote	the mind:
ge ni wa kokoro mo	in fact there is
nakimono o	no mind so
satoru wa nani no	when one awakens
satorunaruran	what might one be awakening to?

Bukkoku Zenjishū Kōhō Kennichi
Topic unknown.

17 よしあしの心もなくて見るときぞこの身はもとのすがたなりける

yoshi ashi no	seeing without
kokoro mo nakute	thinking of
miru toki zo	good and bad—
kono mi wa moto no	the self
sugata narikeru	in its original form

Sonkō:

114 なくかものさむきよすがらかづくらんこほりのしたの心しらばや

naku kamo no	on a cold night
samuki yosugara	crying ducks

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kazukuran	dive
kōri no shita no	beneath the ice
kokoro shirabaya	how I want to know what it is like down there

Musō:

115 なくかものかづくこほりのしたまでもげにはかはらぬ冬の夜の月

naku kamo no	there—
kazuku kōri no	beneath the ice,
shita made mo	where crying ducks dive
ge ni wa kawaranu	it has not changed:
fuyu no yo no tsuki	the moon on a winter's night

Sonkō:

116 すみはてん山のおくまでともなへと月にぞかねてちぎりおきける

sumihaten	as long as I live
yama no oku made	I'll follow you
tomonae to	deep into the mountains—
tsuki ni zo kanete	this promise I make,
chigiri okikeru	to the moon

Musō:

117 世をすてん後とは月にちぎるなよあはぬこと葉の末もはづかし

yo o suten	after you cast aside the world
nochi to wa tsuki ni	make no promises
chigiru na yo	to the moon,
awanu kotoba no	promises unkept
sue mo hazukashi	end in shame

Sonkō:

118 かかる身をむなしきものときくにこそ世のうき時はおもひなぐさめ

kakaru mi o	hearing
munashiki mono to	that the self

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kiku ni koso	is empty
yo no uki toki wa	is a comforting thought indeed,
omoinagusame	when the world is sad

Musō:

119 世のうさをなぐさむといふことの葉に身をわすれざるほどぞしらるる

yo no usa o	the sadness of the world
nagusamu to iu	soothed
koto no ha ni	by leaves of word
mi o wasurezaru	plain to see:
hodo zo shiraruru	the self still not forgotten

Sonkō:

120 あはれはやしばのいほりのおく山にありともしらぬ世をすぐさばや

aware wa ya	ahh, how I wish
shiba no iori no	I could pass my days
okuyama ni	in a brushwood-roofed hut
aritomo shiranu	deep in the mountains
yo o sugusabaya	no one knowing if I am alive

Musō:

121 身をかくす庵をよそにたづねつるこころのおくに山はありけり

mi o kakusu	apart from the hut
iori o yoso ni	in which you hide yourself
tazunetsuru	deep in the mind
kokoro no oku ni	into which you inquire
yama wa arikeri	there is a mountain

Topic unknown.

122 世をすてて後はながめぬものならば月にこころやしばしとどめん

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yo o sutete	if I didn't
nochi wa nagamenu	gaze upon it
mono naraba	after casting aside the world,
tsuki ni kokoro ya	the moon would still remain
shibashi todomen	in my heart for a while

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