

Buddhist Thought in Late Tokugawa Didactic Poetry (*dōka*) Collections: Understandings of the Mind

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Introduction

The Edo period is often said to be a time when Buddhism became a religion of the masses. Military conflict had ended, and the populous sought a spirituality for bettering the individual. Also characteristic of this period was an increased interest in the mind (Ōkuwa [1989]). For instance, both Suzuki Shōsan 鈴木正三 (1579–1655) of the Sōtō School, who emphasized the notions of “Amitābha in one’s own mind” and “the Pure Land in one’s own mind,” and Bankei Yōtaku 盤溪永琢 (1622–1693) of the Rinzai School, who preached the concept of the “non-arising mind of the Buddha,” were extremely influential in the stress they placed on the mind of the individual. Accordingly, the characteristic of Buddhism in the early modern period was the dissemination of teachings among the common people.¹ In this regard, there developed a medium for dispatching the teachings from the works of monastics to the commoners. In this article, I would like to begin with a general overview on how exactly such media for spreading the teachings to the commoners came into existence.

Media of Dissemination

In the following I explain how these media played a significant role in spreading Buddhism to the common people. First, there occurred a popularization of Buddhist terminology in *kana* scripts for expounding basic teachings.² Even in the early Edo period *kana*-Buddhist terminology written in simple phonetic scripts were printed and widely distributed. For example, Suzuki Shōsan’s *Ninin bikuni* 二人比丘尼 and *Hogoshū* 反故集 were written in simple phonetic script and circulated in woodblock print.³

Regarding documents written in *kana* scripts, texts referred to as *kanazōshi* 仮名草子 were extremely common by the Edo period. The term *sōshi* 草子 denotes a brief written work centering on an image and is generally understood to be used in contrast to the scroll form

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¹ However, this dissemination became possible after an increase of activity among a broader population of monks. This process had already started during the Sengoku period and Momoyama period. For example, the masses often gathered at preaching ceremonies to listen to lectures on sutra. This was the case in Kyoto, but we also know that the masses gathered at temples to listen to such lectures. See Kanda [2010].

² *Kanahōgo* 仮名法語 had already appeared in the Kamakura period. These works were written in *kana*, in some cases a blend of *kana* and Chinese characters, printed in wood block, and disseminated broadly. It is well known that Rennyo 蓮如 published Shinran’s 親鸞 text using wood block prints and that his teachings were well known.

³ At one point, the number of books produced in wood block print ranged from 100 to 300 pieces. Even in the case of reprints, the number ranged from 20 to 30 pieces. See Nakano [1995].

of a text. It is thought the term *sōshi* came from *sasshi* 冊子, meaning booklet or notebook, but the characteristic of these works is their inclusion of images.⁴ *Kanazōshi* were circulated among commoners as simple works that maintained a literary, utilitarian, and ethical quality and placed a particularly strong emphasis on morality.

The forms of *kanazōshi* are primarily categorized as prose, Japanese verse, and Chinese poetry. Among these, we can focus our attention on Japanese verse, which is a form particular to Japan. The techniques for spreading the teachings through Japanese verse can be found as early as the Heian period. This style of verse, however, was called *shakkyōka* 釈教歌, which literally means “the teachings of Śākyamuni spoken in Japanese verse.”⁵

In the early modern period these *shakkyōka* were collected as verses used for preaching morality and ethics, which were generally referred to as *dōka* 道歌, didactic poetry.⁶ In this regard, these works were influenced by the Shingaku 心学 thought of the Edo period. The term Shingaku denotes the blending of Shinto, Confucian, and Buddhist teachings, the result of which was propagated through a simplified language. The literary quality of Shingaku is often considered mediocre due to its emphasis on moral teachings. However, this school of thought generated works with a mind toward the intellectual interests and moral education of the masses, which were in line with the education policies of the Tokugawa shogunate. Under such circumstances, Shingaku expounded moral teachings, produced collections of didactic poetry as a simplified literary style, and became widely accepted.

Kanazōshi, Didactic Poetry Collections, and Print Culture

In the Edo period, the work that encapsulated the early stages of *kanazōshi* was *Urami no suke* 恨之介. From the Keichō to Genna era (1596–1624), this work emerged as a love story, reflecting social conditions at the beginning of the early modern period. Moreover, Anrakuan Sakuden’s 安楽庵策伝 (1554–1642) *Seisuishō* 醒睡笑 was a collection of humorously written comedies and sensational tales published during the Kan’ei era (1624–1644). The *Otogibōko* 御伽婢子, Asai Ryōi’s 浅井良意 (1612–1691) moralistic work for children, was published in 1666. As a work of abundant moral teachings, Nyoraishi’s 如儼子 *Kashōki* 可笑記, published in five fascicles in 1642, imitated the style of the *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 and offered the

⁴ *Ukiyozōshi* 浮世草子 developed from *kanazōshi*. In the early Edo, the *Kōshoku ichidaiotoko* 好色一代男 was published in a wood block print by Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴. Subsequently, new genres appeared called Bushimono 武士物, Chōninmono 町人物, and Bukemono 武家物. In this way, *kanahōgo* came to have many varieties.

⁵ In the Heian period, many *shakkyōka* were composed and eventually arranged in collections. The genre of *shakkyō* 釈教 first appeared in 1086 with Fujiwara no Michitoshi’s 藤原通俊 *Goshūi wakashū* 後拾遺和歌集. After that, the twenty-volume collection of *Senzai wakashū* 千載和歌集, which was produced in 1183 by Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204) following the order of the retired emperor Goshirakawa jōko 後白河上皇 (1127–1192, r. 1155–1158), included a separate volume of “*shakkyō*.” Later collections followed. The *Lotus Sutra* and the *Pure Land Sutra* were very popular and frequently were read in *shakkyōka*. The *Lotus Sutra* was most popular.

⁶ *Dōka* first became popular in the Muromachi period as the didactic poetry and continued to be popular in the Sengoku period. See Matsuo [1911], Yatsunami [1936], and Ōsone [1998].

author's impressions on the past sage's wording.

Furthermore, the *Hyakuhacchōki* 百八町記, which expounded the unification of the three teachings, was also a work by Nyoraishi and published in 1655. Although the aforementioned *Kashōki* propagated Confucianism, the *Hyakuhacchōki* offered a Buddhist perspective. However, this work was dubbed the *Hyakuhacchōki* because Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism are each a single league (one league consists of thirty-six hectares, and, because there are three leagues, they add up to one hundred and eight hectares [approximately 1.08 square kilometers]).

In the eighteenth century, with the escalation of print culture there was a dramatic increase in the publication of new *kanazōshi*. One such work was Fujii Raisai's 藤井懶齋 *Chikuba no uta* 竹馬歌, which was originally published by Tawaraya Heibei 田原屋平兵衛 in 1774. They are written for teaching children, and used for educational purposes. At any rate, the peak of Edo culture was in the eighteenth century,⁷ when the surge in woodblock printing contributed to the dissemination of *kanazōshi*.⁸

The Establishment of Shingaku and Didactic Poetry

In addition to the development of *kanazōshi*, we should take note of the prominence of Shingaku. Shingaku was the blending of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism, whose teachings were expressed in simple terms as a component of the popular education pioneered by Ishida Baigan 石田梅岩 (1685–1744). Born in Tanba province, Ishida lectured in Kyoto, where, along with affirming his role as a merchant, he worked to educate the common people.

Furthermore, Ōshima Arichika 大島有隣 (1755–1836) was also a renowned scholar of Sekimon shingaku 石門心学, whose numerous works on simplistic moral teachings are still extant. He published collections of didactic poetry assembled from didactic poems expounded in Japanese verse, as represented by the *Shingaku wagō uta* 心学和合歌 and *Shingaku dōkashū* 心学道歌集. Incidentally, in an effort to promote Shingaku, Ōshima, the founder of Shingaku in the Kantō region, established the Kyōkensha 恭儉舎 in what is now Sugito 杉戸, Saitama prefecture. Moreover, during the Bunka era (1804–1818), he travelled and lectured throughout the central provinces of Tsuwano 津和野 and Hiroshima 広島. Afterwards, beginning in 1819, Ōshima served as an instructor in moral teachings at labor camps constructed in Edo by Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759–1829), a member of the Shogun's council. Moreover, succeeding Ōshima, Sone Shugu 曾根守愚 (year of birth and death unknown) wrote the *Shingaku kyōkun dōkashū* 心学教訓道歌集 and published the *Shakuzenroku* 積善録 in 1829.⁹ Therefore, simplistic works based on didactic poetry were continually being published, and Buddhist intellectuals likewise participated in the assembling of didactic

⁷ See Nakano [2011: 7–19].

⁸ See the first chapter of Nakano [1995]. He states that the number of initial woodblock printings was approximately 100 to 300 sets and reprintings or third print were almost 30 sets.

⁹ This is stored in Nagoya University Library.

poetry collections.

It seems the earliest works were published together with illustrations. These pairings of text and illustration were then widely distributed as didactic poetry collections, which were published in Sakaiya Jinbei 堺屋仁兵衛 at Kyoto Sanjōdōri Yanagibaba 三条通柳馬場. Regarding collections of these works, there first appeared the five volumes of “records of genealogies and Buddhist terminology” in the *Ikkyū shokoku monogatari ezu* 一休諸国物語絵図, followed by the *Ikkyū kashōki* 一休可笑記, the *Ikkyū menashigusa* 一休目なし草 in one volume, “illustrations” in the *Ikkyū menashigusa chūyaku* 一休目なし草注訳 in four volumes, “moral teachings of didactic poetry” in the *Ikkyū kyōka suzume* 一休狂歌すず免 in a single volume, morality tales in the *Ikkyū kyōka suzume kōhen: Kyōkun dōwa* 一休狂歌雀後編: 教訓道話 in a single volume, the *Ikkyū ninin bikuni* 一休二人比丘尼 in two volumes, and *Kannonkyō wadanshō zue: Okyō kōshaku narabini rishōki* 観音経和談抄図絵: 御経講釈並利生記 in three volumes. It is recorded on the spine of the back cover page of a later work called the *Ikkyū kyōka suzume* 一休狂歌雀 that these works were published in the first month of 1839. (Also, the title in the catalogue is the *Dōka kyōkun dōmon hayagaten, Ikkyū kyōka suzume eiri* 道歌教訓童門早合点, 一休狂歌雀 絵入.) Considering this evidence, we can conclude that these didactic poetry collections were published in the early nineteenth century. Sangoen’s 三五園 didactic poetry collections were probably produced around this time or slightly before.

Among these early collections, the illustrations drawn in the *Ikkyū kyōka suzume* were used in the context of reciting verses, but they were limited to the drawing of realistic images. As regular illustrations these are very interesting, but as skillful representations of verse they differ from the works of Sangoen Tsukimaro 三五園月磨 (active from the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth centuries). I would like to emphasize how Sangoen’s drawings were an exception to these collections.

The Life and Works of Sangoen Tsukimaro

Regarding Sangoen Tsukimaro’s biography, it is certain that he lived in Kyoto, but otherwise nothing is known of his life. Even his name had several variations other than Sangoen Tsukimaro. However, in the *Dōka Kokoro no sugatami* 道歌心の姿見, the title page clearly records Sangoen Tsukimaro as the editor.

Yet, on the verso of the cover page of a woodblock print version of the text held at Komazawa University and the General Library at the University of Tokyo we find the name of the editor recorded as “Kasetsu dōnin Tsukimaro, cho, teizen hakuju 華雪道人月磨著庭前柏樹 (Chinese Pines of the Garden).”¹⁰ Hence, Tsukimaro was occasionally referred to as Kasetsu dōnin as well. Dōnin is a monastic title used in the Edo period to refer to monks who retreated from the secular world.¹¹ For example, the Sōtō School monk Ryōkan 良寛

¹⁰ This is a famous Kōan 公案 from the Mumonkan (Ch. Wumen guan 無門関) of Zen Buddhism.

¹¹ The term “dōnin” appeared in the North and South dynasty era in China as a title for Buddhist monastics

(1758–1831) was called Ryōkan dōnin, and monks in the Ōbaku School were often given this title.¹²

Incidentally, the name Maro 磨 with the ideogram was also written with the ideogram Maru 丸, and the name Tsukimaro was simultaneously used to refer to a person named Hori Tsunenobu 堀常信. The 1830 publication of *Heian jinbutsushi* 平安人物志¹³ records, “Hori Tsunenobu, pen-name of Shōgetsudō Tsunenobu 松月堂常信, Teramachi Rokkakuminami 寺町六角南 Ogawa Gen’emon 小川源右衛門, which refers to Hori Tsunenobu as Shōgetsudō Tsukimaro.¹⁴

Moreover, in the preface to the *Nenbutsu dōka Nishi no utena* 念仏道歌西之台 housed at Toyo University, we find the name Sangoen Genpo 三五園原甫 in which the name Genpo was added to the surname Sangoen. Combining this surname Sangoen with the name Tsukimaro, results in the name Sangoen Tsukimaro. In all likelihood, Sangoen Tsukimaro was the same person as Hori Tsunenobu. If this is the case, then Hori Tsunenobu was also Hori Genpo 堀原甫. This is a convoluted use of names, but ultimately we can deduce that Hori Tsunenobu, Shōgetsudō Tsukimaro, Hori Genpo, Sangoen Genpo, and Sangoen Tsukimaro all refer to the same person.

The *Kokusho sōmoku-roku* 国書総目録 lists seven works by Hori Genpo: *Onna kojō soroe* 女古状揃, *Onna fūgatsu ōrai* 女風月往来, *Shinbutsu dōka matsu no hibiki* 神仏道歌松之響, *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* 永代節用無尽蔵, *Taiheiki zue* 太平記図絵, *Nenbutsu dōka Nishi no utena*, and *Hyakushō okite ōrai* 百姓掟往来.¹⁵ In addition to these works, there are the 1841 edition of the *Shucha mondō* 酒茶問答 and the *Dōka Hyakunin isshu* 道歌百人一首 for which the date of publication is unclear.¹⁶

Among Sangoen’s editions are the 1827 *Dōka Kokoro no utsushiga* 道歌心之写画 and the 1849 *Dōka Kokoro no sugatami*, which he wrote himself. In addition, his works include the following: *Chōchō kichō miyako no han’ei* 蝶々帰朝都之繁榮 (1839),¹⁷ *Wakan ryōsen*

and it was used in the Edo period to refer to Buddhist and its name was used in Edo period as a special name of a serious Buddhist monk. See Minowa [2013].

¹² Consulting the Ōtsuki, Katō, and Hayashi [1988], Iitsu Dōjitsu 惟一道実 (1620–1692) was called Kego dōnin 華嚴道人, Kōsen Shōton 高泉性激 (1633–1695) was called Donke dōnin 曇華道人 and Goshin Genmyō 悟心元明 (1713–1785) was called Shōyō dōnin 逍遙道人. Total 12 monks were called by the name of *dōnin*.

¹³ This is an historical record documenting the lives of ordinary people during the Edo period. This database of it is available in the International Research Center for Japanese Studies in Kyoto. The ninth edition of the *Heian jinbutsushi* was published in the 3rd year of Keiō (1867).

¹⁴ See Ōkura [1998]. The bibliography states that these were other names for Tsukimaro.

¹⁵ *Kokusho sōmoku-roku choshabetsu sakuin* 著者別索引: 829a.

¹⁶ *Kokusho sōmoku-roku choshabetsu sakuin* (387e) counts Sangoen Tsukimaro’s writings as four: *Shucha mondō*, *Kokoro no utsushiga*, *Kokoro no sugatami*, and *Miyako han’ei*.

¹⁷ This book documents a dance celebrating a fruitful year of the 10th year of Tenpō (1839).

seikaku fūga shucha mondō 和漢両泉睡覺風雅酒茶問答 (1841),¹⁸ *Dōka Hyakunin isshu* (also called *Dōka Kokoro no muchi* 道歌心の策, 1833), *Shinbutsu dōka Matsu no hibiki*, and *Nenbutsu dōka Nishi no utena* (both published under the name Hori Genpo in 1841).¹⁹

There are documents, such as library catalogues, that allow us to conjecture how many people had access to these didactic poetry collections. Catalogues of the depository at the Daisōya 大惣屋 shop in Nagoya are still extant. In these catalogues we find a listing for didactic poetry collections following the categories of “mid-sized books,” “kamis and buddhas” (Shinbutsu 神仏, or Shinto and Buddhism), “*Yijing*” 易經, and “astronomy” (*tenmon* 天文). These titles appear as follows: *Shakkyō gyokurin wakashū* 釈教玉林和歌集, *Dōka Kokoro no muchi*, *Jikibiryō* 直毘靈, *Kakyū yōi* 火急用意, [*Tariki anshin*] *inochi no oya* [他力安心] 命の親, *Suna no tawamure* 砂の戯, [*Kōsō onhaha e Gensei atau*] *Gorinjū daiji* [高僧御母へ元政与] 御臨終大事, *Dōka kokoro no utsushiga* 道歌心之写画, *Dōka Hyakunin isshu* 道歌百人一首, *Fushigi mondō* 不思議問答, and *Jōdoshinshū Ofumi* 浄土真宗御文.

Unfortunately, *Dōka Kokoro no sugatami* is not included among these, although the previously published *Dōka Kokoro no utsushiga* is listed. Such being the case, didactic poetry collections are included in the genre of kami and buddhas (or Shinto and Buddhism). Considering these collections based on such a classification, it is safe to assume that didactic poetry collections were regularly accessible to the general population.²⁰ Moreover, according to recent research by the Ōkura Institute for the Study of Spiritual Culture, ninety-one types of didactic poetry collections were further divided into ninety-one categories.²¹

Didactic Poetry Encompassing the Three Teachings in the *Dōka kokoro no sugatami*

Next, I would like to examine the *Dōka kokoro no sugatami*. The exact date of publication for this work is unclear, but the preface was written in 1849. Therefore, it is commonly thought to have been produced in that year.²²

The content of the text is listed in the following sections: (1) preface, (2) *Dōka kokoro no sugatami* (the main text), (3) the sun of the mind, (4) the moon of the mind, (5) night-sky of the mind, (6) surface mirror, (7) ten types of didactic poems, (8) early blooming of the mind, (9) flower of the mind, (10) field of the mind (心の田長), (11) inattentiveness of the mind, (12) resemblance of the mind, (13) darkness of the mind, (14) secrets of the mind, (15) fan of the mind, (16) Morning glory of the mind (心のあさかほ), (17) the three realms as mind only, (18) bending of the mind, (19) fruits of the mind, (20) a yearning mind, (21) regulations of

¹⁸ This book relates a story of two people, Bōyūshi 忘憂子 and Seifūshi 清風子, discussing the relative merits of alcohol and tea on a comfortable spring day. The book was made at the request of the head of the Shōeidō 松栄堂 bookshop in Kyoto.

¹⁹ See Futami [1999] and Ono [2007].

²⁰ See Shibata [1983: 152].

²¹ See Ōkura [2013]. The website for the Ōkura Institute states that there are 91 kinds of Collections of *dōka*.

²² Ōkura [1998] says that he is a secular man, but this is not clear.

the mind, (22) bamboo of the mind, (23) umbrella of the mind, (24) ice of the mind, (25) the just mind, (26) the lustful mind, (27) the impermanent mind, (28) strength of the mind, (29) illumination of the mind, (30) the unconscious mind, (31) the faithful mind, (32) the correct mind, (33) the heavenly mind, (34) the harmonious mind.

The content is not specific to the teachings of Buddhism, Confucianism, or Shinto. Each chapter consists of a brief essay discussing moral teachings provided through a theme that places the mind at center stage. Among these, “the three realms as mind only,” “the impermanent mind,” “the unconscious mind,” and “the faithful mind” are all common to Buddhism. However, if we take the work in its entirety, this emphasis on the mind is Buddhist. Now, I would like to closely examine and provide a translation of several relevant passages.

Preface: The heavens and earth came about, revolving into the four seasons of spring, summer, fall, and winter. The four seasons were endowed with the arising of the five phases of wood, fire, earth, metal, and water. The five phases together dominate and all things are born. The great enlightened one Śākyamuni appears in this world, announcing “I alone am the honored one,” and, having expounded the Dharma, all vegetation and lands became buddhas. When he preached, the spring arose from the sunrise, pure waters flowed from the green mountains, the willows were green and the flowers scarlet. Such things, whatever they might be, had the form of becoming buddhas in their very bodies just as they were. It should be said that nightingales perched chirping on the branches of the plum tree, recite the single vehicle of the *Lotus Sūtra of the Wondrous Dharma*, and frogs gathered in the water chant secret incantations of water (*aka* 闍伽).

“Early Blooming of the Mind”:

A person’s wisdom is like water. Therefore, their abilities appear on the surface, and their wisdom is superficial. Abilities that are silent and unseen are profound wisdom. Constantly calming the mind is good for nurturing wisdom. When the wind roars, waves form and the waters recede. When the mind is in disorder, the fires rage and wisdom evaporates.

—Baikē dōnin 梅華道人

Moreover, unaware that the cold will revisit the spring, the white plum blossom peaks early and its flower blooms too quickly. In the same way, if a person peaks too early, his wisdom is superficial.

“Inattentiveness of the mind”:

The *Dharmapada* states, “The Buddha questioned four bhikṣu, saying ‘You, what are the characteristics of impermanence?’ One bhikṣu replied, ‘Although today exists, it will not exist tomorrow.’ Another bhikṣu replied, ‘Although it may exist tomorrow,

it will not exist at night.’ Another bhikṣu replied, ‘Although it exists at this moment, it does not exist afterwards.’ Another bhikṣu replied, ‘Exhalation does not anticipate inhalation.’ The Buddha joyfully responded, ‘wonderful.’”

Before one knows it, time has passed and the iris is in bloom. One calms the mind when viewing the colors.

“Ten-line Didactic Poem”:

心だに身にしたがはぬ世の中に人の背くは科ならばこそ
おのづから心もすまず身もすまず萱が軒端の露の月かげ
仏とは何かなるみの汐干瀉心何国に沖つしら波
仏ともしらは心の迷ひにてしらぬ心ぞ仏なるらん
法の道聞くに心のさだまれば浄土は北や南にもある
世の中の誉れそしりをいとほねば心やすくも墨染めの袖
世の中はただに座頭の丸木橋わたる心でわたる成るらん
物思う心やむるも物思ひ物思ひ出しこころともあり
思い入る心の奥は深ければ市にもたつや峰のしら雲
誰もみなもたる心を橋として上なき道にあふぞうれしき

This ten line didactic poem was composed using the works of various authors, including well-known monastics. First, let’s examine closely the fourth line.

If it is the case that one is aware of the Buddha, then one’s mind wanders and the Buddha is the mind for which one is unaware.

What this line points out is that the Buddha and the mind that works to discern the Buddha are separate functions. This separation is an illusion, and the mind absent this illusion attains the awakening of a Buddha. This verse was composed as a recitation on the stage of practice at which one is free of discriminating thought.

Furthermore, the contents of line seven are as follows:

This world is akin to a blind man crossing a footbridge. He always crosses it with his mind focused on crossing.

This line refers to acts of recitation during the Buddhist practices of *shikan* 止観 (cessation and insight). Although this line is composed in simple terminology, it is closely related to these practices. The main objective in contemplating a mind of *shikan* is to turn the mind toward a single object of focus and to become unified with that object. This is referred to as *samādhi*, which Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) translated as “the mind unified on an object.” Thus, *samādhi* is the unification of the functions of the mind on single object. In other words, when one attempts to cross the unstable bridge referred to as “a blind man footbridge,” one treads carefully as not to fall. The mind proceeds to cross the bridge while confirming this

unification. In the same manner, this line asserts that in whatever you do while redirecting the mind, one adequately transcends this world.²³

These two lines from the ten-verse didactic poem, which are artfully expressed in simplistic language, were appropriated from Buddhist teachings, particularly teachings expounded by the Zen School. These verses, which are representative of didactic poetry, help us to understand how Buddhist teachings, explained in simplistic terms, became general moral teachings.

“The Just Mind” Gishin (義心):²⁴

The hawk is inherently just in his thinking, and will not attack a bird lying prone. Also, it will not catch pregnant female prey. In the cold of the night, a hawk grips a small bird in his claws to warm himself and release it in the morning. When this small bird flies east, a hawk doesn't fly east to seek for food (no harm comes to a bird from hawk). Such justice puts humans to shame.

(verse) The hawk, on a day of falling snow, warms himself by gripping a small bird in his claws at night, and the next day releases him. Are humans the only ones who do not know such a debt of gratitude?

“Correct Mind” Shōjikishin (正直心):²⁵

Correcting one's own mind is called *shō* (正), and correcting someone's leanings is called *jiki* (直). Because this is the case, “correct” does not mean that one is originally self-serving, but rather attains divine compassion, which are the blessed words of Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大神. In some cases, it is said, “The god is in the head of the person with a correct mind.” Also, in older terms it is said, “The god is ninety centimeters above one's head.” If this is the case and the god is above one's head, she sees all the bad things that one might do. Thinking oneself clever, one petitions the god for one's own benefit. When this wish does not come true, one bears a grudge against the god. This is the same as the saying, “Steal a chicken for your parents, still gold to paint the Buddha.”

²³ See Ōkura [1998]. However, this interpretation is problematic.

²⁴ The original text runs as follows: 鷹は天性義気あり。伏せる鳥を撃ず。胎あるを捕ず。寒夜、小鳥を掴みてかたみに左右の足をぬくめ、旦にはこれをゆるしてさらしむ。其小鳥、東に飛行ときは、其の日、東に行きて鳥を撃たずとぞ、其の義勇、かくのごとし、人尚恥じる処あり、古歌に、
はしたかの 雪のあしたの ぬくめおどり 恩を知らぬは人にこそ

²⁵ The original text runs as follows: 己が心をただすを正と云、人の曲るをただすを直と云。されば正直は一端の依古にあらずと雖も、つゝに神明のあはれみを蒙ることは、かけまくも天照大神の神勅、或いは云、神は正直の頭にやどり給ふと、亦古語にも、
拳頭三尺 決在神明といへり。いづれ諸人の頭の上に神いまして、善悪の行ひをみそなはし給ふらん、既にさがしくかたましき心をもて 神にひがごとを願ひ、其ねがふ所驗あらざるときは、まさしき神をうらみ奉ることのあり。これ、攘鶏供親、盗金粧仏といへる譬にひとし。
心だにまことの道をうるならば まもらずとも神は身にあり、

(verse) When one attains a correct mind, when even only a correct mind would be attained, even though the Deity does not protect him, the Deity always follows.

“Harmonious Mind Wagōshin” (和合心):²⁶

The king is a ship, and his subjects are water. The ship follows the water, and the water floats the boat. When high and low are in harmony, the four seas are calm without waves or wind.

(verse) When the four seas are calm, even the branches of the pine growing on the shores of Sumiyoshi 住吉 Shrine make no sound.

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, we can conclude the following. Didactic poetry collections took up the topic of the mind, but, for the common masses of the Edo period, didactic poems were easily understood teachings on morality and ethics. Their content was largely based on Buddhist teachings. However, these teachings were not limited to Buddhism, but included Confucianism and Shinto as well. In other words, didactic poetry, to the extent it can be said to have made an impact on popular ethics, were not understood by the general public in terms of any one particular set of teachings.

Until recently, Buddhist Studies has tended to focus on doctrine and thought, and the object of research has mostly consisted of the written works of monastics. I believe that there is an interest in exploring how the public actually interacted with Buddhism. And yet, there remain ample sources from the Edo period in the late eighteenth century concerning how commoners were taught the teachings of Buddhism through didactic poetry collections. These works are profoundly interesting in the way in which images were strategically combined with teachings in various formulations. Even without thinking about it, anyone who sees them would surely be impressed by their ingenuity. In conclusion, I would like to point out that didactic poetry collections are extremely useful documents for thinking about popular religious belief and the dissemination of Buddhist thought.

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²⁶ The original text runs as follows: 君者船也。臣は水なり。船よく水に順ひ、水よく舟をうかへ、上下和合する時は 四海波風を志らず。

四のうみ静かなる世に住吉の きしのひめまつ 枝もならさず

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〈Keywords〉 *dōka*, didactic poetry, *Kokoro no sugatami*, Sangoen Tsukimaro, *dōnin*, cessation, insight

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徳川時代後期の道歌集に見られる仏教思想

— 心に対する理解 —

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道歌とは教訓を和歌に詠んだものである。中世の時代から登場し、戦国期に多くのもの制作されたが、近世の時代には仏教を読み込んだものが制作された。仏教を読んだ歌は平安時代から存在し、当初は釈教歌と称されたが、近世の時代には道歌という呼称で呼ばれるようになっていた。近世の時代は黄檗宗の僧である鉄眼によって黄檗版一切経が開版されたが、十七世紀の半ば過ぎ頃から木版刷りの隆盛が見て取れ、そのような動向の中で、道歌集も出版されるようになったと推定される。

近世も後半に入った一八世紀末頃から十九世紀にかけて多くの道歌集が出版されるようになった。一休に仮託した道歌集が出版されるのもこの頃であるが、注目されるものは『道歌 心の姿見』と呼ばれる作品である。本歌集は、三五円月磨という人物が制作したとされるが、この人物は多くの名前を持ったようであり、華雪道人とも名乗っている。この道歌集は和歌と漢詩文や短い文章から成り立ち、和歌以外も道歌と呼ばれたことを窺わせる。また、それぞれのテーマに合わせて関係のある絵が描かれ、その絵の中に「心」という字が埋め込まれているところに特徴がある。内容的には神道、儒教、仏教の三つの教えが、心を軸に同じ教えを説いていると主張するもので、いわゆる三教一致の思想のもとに制作されたものであることが明らかである。

本書は好評を博したと見え、『道歌 心の似姿』なるものが続編として制作されたことが知られている。『道歌 心の姿見』に引用される道歌の中には、仏教の修行を詠み込んだものが数多く見られる。「心」を読むにしても、心を一つの対象に結びつける止観の基本である心一境性を詠み込んだものなど、含蓄の多い歌が多い。このようなことから考えると、三教一致の思想が全体のテーマとはいえ、作者は禅宗の主張をよく理解しており、禅に造詣の深かった僧侶である可能性が高い。また黄檗の僧侶が「道人」と名乗っていることが多いことを考慮すると、この道歌集の作者は、黄檗宗の僧侶であった可能性が高いと推定される。