

The Life and Thoughts of Kōzōin Nisshin: His Aspiration to Establish the Teachings of a School

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Abstract

Following the death of Nichiren, the Kamakura-period Buddhist monk, his main disciples formed schools within the Nichiren sect, each one of them aiming for the legitimate inheritance of their late leader's teachings. Subsequently, major scholars of each school aspired to establish and ensure the prosperity of his teachings particular to their school as a means of ensuring the legitimacy of their intellectual lineage, doing so in the context of both historical and ideological trends of the times. The individual reception of Nichiren teachings by each school brought about the diversification of Buddhist teachings in the theological community, and disputes over their legitimacy took place on numerous occasions. The countless disputes over the legitimacy of Nichiren teachings that took place over the course of some 750 years were an accumulation of self-sacrificial efforts made by masters who put their lives on the line for the survival of their schools. This became the foundation for the continuation and development of the Nichiren sect that exists today.

This paper focuses on Kōzōin Nisshin (1508–1576) who endeavored to establish and spread the teachings of a strand of the Nichiren sect called the Nikkō School, and especially the Nichizon School, mainly located in Kyoto during the Sengoku period. At the time, disagreements on historical awareness and ideology within the Nichizon School declined the itself. In addition, the conflict with Mount Hiei had led to the annihilation of their entire community in Kyoto. Amid this crisis for the school's survival, Nisshin hoped to see its recovery brought about by the establishment of legitimate teachings and the resulting unity of the school's

monk community, and thus engaged in a broad range of activities such as debating with monks belonging to other Nichiren sects. The remarkable activities undertaken by Nisshin provide a window to some aspects of the development of his sect.

Introduction

Following the death of Nichiren (1222–1282), the founder of the Nichiren sect who was most active in the eastern provinces of Kamakura-period Japan, a number of schools were formed, established by his main disciples, each basing themselves in eastern locations with connections to them. However, with the transition of political institutions and cultural centers to Kyoto during the late Kamakura period through the Namboku-chō period, the schools were pressed to secure new spheres of activity in Kyoto. Until the Sengoku period, the Nichiren sect in Kyoto reached its height of prosperity with 21 head temples firmly established in the capital, despite repeated fusion and fragmentation within each school.

A glance at the numerous splits within the Kyoto community throughout the Sengoku period reveals that the causes of the divisions sometimes secular problems such as school management policy, head temple successions, disagreements during interactions between imperial and shogunal power, etc. However, most of them were in-school disputes about the justice of the provided teachings. Each master of the Nichiren sect fostered their own awareness of each issue due to the influence of factors such as the tradition and prevailing state of the school which they belonged to. They were also influenced by the teachings of nearby schools and contemporary trends in Buddhist thinking, and, at the same time, aspiring to inherit the original and therefore legitimate teachings of the founder, Nichiren or that of the founders of their respective schools. While the masters' ideas reflected their times, their individual inheritance based on their individual awareness of the issues introduced progressive diversification in the teachings of the schools and masters.

If we survey the development of the Nichiren sect from the perspective of Kyoto's local characteristics, we can see that each school had to operate constantly while bearing other groups' ideologies in mind as they interacted with other Nichiren schools and existing religions within the confined space "inside the capital" Kyoto, the city that they all shared while seeking to secure their own power base. There were those who exchanged teachings

with monks from other schools as well as those who sought to carve out a unique position for their own schools by engaging in debates in efforts to surpass other schools. The aim of my study is to examine all aspects of the ideological activities engaged in by the monks belonging to the various Kyoto schools.¹

This paper is a discrete study that aims to contribute to an overall aggregation of research and focuses on Kōzōin Nisshin (1508–1576). He was a Buddhist scholar and monk of the Nichizon School, which was a branch of the Nikko School, and engaged in a broad range of activities in the fields of ideology and history with Sengoku-period Kyoto as his stage. Nisshin previously garnered much attention as a scholar-monk who brought the teachings of the Nichizon School into prominence; and it has been pointed out that his teachings contained many elements that distinguished him from other masters (Shigyō, 1952, pp. 145–149; Mochizuki, 1968, pp. 296–311; Inoue, 1979; Inoue, 1988; Tamura, 1996; Tamura, 1996; Tamura, 1997; Tamura, 1997; Daikoku, 2004; Kagami, 2006).

In this paper, I examine the process in which Nisshin brought Nichizon School's teachings with such unique feature into prominence, focusing on his far-reaching diligent studies. I also want to examine how scholarly ties cultivated through his activities resulted in the formation of his teachings and his awareness of the issues and intention as he established his school's teachings conveyed through his far-reaching diligent scholarship.

1. Noteworthy Achievements in Nisshin's Life

Nisshin's many achievements have been described in Nisshin Tomiya's *Restoration of Yōbōji Head Temple in the Imperial Capital: Biography of Venerable Nisshin* and Nichinin Hara's *Reviving the Light of Buddhism: Venerable Kōzōin Nisshin*. However, since the publication of these books, many sources on Nisshin and related fields have become available, so there is more to be added to the study of Nisshin. Furthermore, not enough work has been done to back up the intimate connection between historical facts in his lifetime and the intellectual aspects that make up the other side of the coin, so there is plenty of room for more research.

A work titled *Soshiden*, which summarized Nisshin's achievements when he was 53 years old on the seventh day of the eleventh month, Eiroku 3

(1560), has been passed down. It contains an autobiographical account of his life at the end (Gakurin, 1970a). According to the autobiography, Nisshin was born in Ayanokōji-Nishinotōin in Kyoto on the twenty-sixth day of the eighth month, Eishō 5 (1508), and entered the Jūhonji Temple of the Nichizon School when he was 7 years old during the Spring Higan in Eishō 11 (1514).

The Nichizon School based in Kyoto is a branch of the Nikkō School that was founded by Nichizon (1265–1345), a disciple of Nikkō (1246–1333) who was one of the Six Senior Disciples personally taught by Nichiren himself, and goes back to the building of the Jōgyōin Temple in Rokkakuaburanokōji, Kyoto by Nichizon on the thirteenth day of the fourth month, Ryakuō 2 (1339). The Jōgyōin Temple was passed on to the disciple Nichiin (?–1373), but with the construction of another Jōgyōin Temple (later Jūhonji Temple) in Ichijō Inokuma, Kyoto, by another disciple named Nichidai (1309–1369), two strands of the Nichizon School appeared in Kyoto.

Nisshin's tonsure and entry into monkhood was conducted by Nippō (?–1516), the eleventh Chief Abbot of the Jūhonji Temple. However, just two years later, on the twenty-eighth day of the first month, Eishō 13 (1516), the master Nippō died and the young Nisshin was entrusted to the twelfth Abbot Jōon'in Nichizai (1475–1555). Nichizai had the 15-year-old Nisshin study under the learned elder Jōrakuin Nichiji (years of birth and death unknown) at the Jūhonji Temple in Daiei 2 (1522). There, Nisshin familiarized himself with the tradition of the Nichizon School, cultivated his ability to take in Buddhist teachings, and fostered his awareness to belong to the Nichizon School. Subsequently, Nisshin had to engage in a wide range of activities that transcended the Jūhonji Temple and the framework of the Nichizon School. By discovering a consistent awareness of the issues through gaining such achievements and insights, we can clearly see the high position that the monk Nisshin held within the entirety of the Nichiren sect as well as the elements that made up the essential aspects of his teachings. I want to specifically bring attention to Nisshin's diligent scholarship as he engaged in academic exchanges and readings of the complete Buddhist scriptures with experts in other disciplines within and outside of his own sect, as examples of the noteworthy achievements in his life.

2. Nisshin's Diligent Scholarship

2.1 Study under Jōfukyōin Nichishin.

There is a section in Nisshin's autobiography that offers a detailed description of what he studied in his youth (Gakurin, 1970a, pp. 143–145). On the fourth day of the eighth month, Daiei 5 (1525), the 18-year-old Nisshin started seeking scholarship outside the Nichizon School and became a student of Jōfukyōin Nichishin (1444–1528), the founder of the Honryūji Temple in Shijō-Ōmiya, Kyoto, through the good offices of Jōenbō Nisshin (dates of birth and death unknown). The scope of his studies is described as the *Fahua xuanyi* of the Tiantai founder Zhiyi (538–597), the doctrines of the Ritsu and Zen schools, Nichiren's *Kanjin honzon shō*, and lectures on the Lotus Sutra.

Nichishin presented his *Tendai sandaibu kachū* to Emperor Go-Kashiwabara, was praised for his scholarship, and became widely known as one of the great scholars of that time. Nichishin originally belonged to the Myōhonji Temple (Myōkenji Temple, Shijō School) in Kyoto, but he withdrew because of disagreements on the teachings. Instead, he founded the Honryūji Temple and formed a connection with the Honnōji Temple, Kyoto, whose founder Keirinbō Nichiryū (1385–1464) was an old acquaintance, but subsequently became independent after a dispute over teachings, also with the Honnōji Temple (Risshō Daigaku Nichiren kyōgaku kenkyūjo, 1964, pp. 316–322).

Based on when Nisshin studied there, he must have come in contact with Nichishin's later-year matured teachings that had become more original, following the disputes with the Myōhonji and Honnōji Temples. Nichishin had an especially strong influence on the later teachings of Nisshin in the area of “manifestation theory” (*honji suijaku ron*), where he discussed ideas such as “the superiority of early chapters over later chapters” (*shōretsu*) and “the equivalence of chapters” (*itchi*) based on the division of the 28 chapters of the Lotus Sutra into the first 14 chapters (*shakumon*) and the last 14 chapters (*hommon*) (Shigyō, 1952, p. 297; Mochizuki 1968, p. 148). That is, one of the theories representative of Nisshin's teachings was his “theory of the superiority of one chapter over the others” (*ippon shōretsu ron*), which was an emphasis on “The Eternal Lifespan of the Tathagata,” the 16th of the 28 chapters of the Lotus Sutra, for the sake of interpreting the other 27 chapters. Here, we can see a deep intellectual connection with the teachings of

Nichishin.

Furthermore, although Nichishin died on the twenty-ninth day of the third month, Kyōroku 1 (1528), the connection between Nisshin and the Honryūji Temple was maintained well into his later years through the disciples of Nichishin, who had attended the same lectures. This takes us a bit later in time, but Kaden'in Nichietsu's (1651–1726) *Kemmon shusha shō*, which propagated Nisshin's teachings, includes a list of student monks that attended Nichishin's lectures together with Nisshin, excerpted by Nichietsu from one of Nisshin's works (the original has yet to be verified). People like Nichishin's personal disciples Keiryūin (Nittai, 1471–1558), Shōjōbō (Nichio, ?–1571), Anjūbō, and Honshubō of the Honryūji Temple, Risshōbō Nichigaku and Jijū Jūshō of the Myōmanji Temple in Kyoto, and Jōjōbō of the Myōsenji Temple in Kyoto were included there. Both Myōmanji and Myōsenji Temples belong to the Nichijū School founded by Acharya Genmyō Nichijū (1314–1392). This means that Nichishin's lectures were attended by monks from three schools: his own disciples, student-monks of the Nichijū School, and Nisshin from the Nichizon School. Textual sources reveal that Nisshin's friendship with Shōjōbō Nichio and Anjūbō of the Honryūji Temple continued into his later years (Gakurin, 1970b, p. 141).²

2.2 Studying under Nishiyama Nisshin.

Next, Nisshin visited Fuji, the source of the Nikkō School, when he was 23 years old in Kyōroku 3 (1530), and became a student of Nishiyama Nisshin (1497–1557), the eleventh abbot of the Nishiyama Honmonji Temple located there. In the works *Yo Hon'inbō sho* and *Fuji to tōke igi*, which he wrote when he was 58 years old in Eiroku 6 (1563), he reminisced about his studies under Nishiyama Nisshin and expressed that the teachings transmitted to him during that time were deeply meaningful for the formation of his own teachings. According to what he wrote there (Honzan Hōyōji Kangakuryō, 1929, p. 232; Gakurin, 1970b, p. 141) what Nishiyama Nisshin transmitted was the theory of the descent into the hell, Avīci by creating images of Buddha and reciting the whole Lotus Sutra to them (Zōbutsu Dokuju Dagoku No Hōmon), which had become mainstream in the Nikkō School at the time. Nisshin believed the teachings transmitted from Nishiyama Nisshin to be the highest precepts and endeavored to spread them until he turned 30 years old in the eighth month of Tembun 6 (1538). However, as Nisshin engaged in

debate with scholar-monks from other schools based on these teachings, he ended up losing every argument. He wrote that this was when he had realized that the teachings of Nishiyama Nisshin were wicked and he repented before the Buddha. This is an important fact in understanding the formation process involved in Nisshin's teachings. In other words, we can point out that Nisshin's thought process underwent a major transition in the eighth month of Tembun 6, when Nisshin was 30 years old. This transition was an expression of clear skepticism toward the theory that had become mainstream in the school founded by Nikkō. It was on the foundation of the awareness of this problem that the teachings of Nisshin came to be shaped in contrast to the teachings that operated after Nisshin turned 30 years old. The teachings of Nishiyama Nisshin constituted a critical element in establishing the distinctness and originality of Nisshin's teachings, and it is from this perspective that we need to frame his teachings as they were established in his later years.

2.3 Studying Non-Buddhist Writings under Kiyohara no Nobukata.

The study activities we have examined so far were explorations of truth by coming in contact with the insights of many masters as a means to determine Nisshin's own standpoint as a follower of the Nichiren sect (the religious organization that adheres to Nichiren's teachings). The studies of young Nisshin cannot be considered peculiar for a Buddhist who is aware of his responsibility to enlighten others and to attain enlightenment himself. A Buddhist's learning activities reveal his universal and unchanging efforts and attitude as he investigates the doctrines that express the reality of the salvation he adheres to, from among the extensive range of doctrines in Buddhist sects and especially among the diverse interpretations of the Nichiren teachings. However, Nisshin's autobiography revealed that he aspired to study writings outside the lineage of Buddhist thought, and even studied under renowned scholars and experts in their respective fields. This appears to be a strikingly distinct aspect of Nisshin's attitude toward studies.

After finishing his studies under Nishiyama Nisshin and returning to Kyoto on the eighth day of the fifth month, Kyōroku 4 (1531), Nisshin became a student of Kiyohara no Nobukata (1475–1550). Nobukata was the third son of Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511) who brought Yoshida Shintō into prominence. He was adopted by the Kiyohara family, known as experts (*hakushi/hakase*; hereditary occupation of studying and teaching the

Confucian Classics) in Myōgyōdō, and inherited the Shintō studies of his biological father, Kanetomo in the field of Confucian Classics and other aspects of Kokugaku. He is one of the greatest scholars of Japanese history. In the Sengoku period, Nobukata's friendships developed rich personal connections based on his scholarship and social standing, allowing him to deliver lectures at the requests of nobles and monks of various sects in Kyoto and many other locations.

The autobiography shows that Nisshin heard Nobukata interpreting the *Nihon shoki* (“*Jindai no maki*”). The relationship between the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Buddhism and the gods native to Japan has been debated since ancient times, and since belief in the “30 gods” had come to occupy an important place in the Nichiren sect, a diligent study of Shintō was a type of education found necessary for subsuming and giving value to Japanese native religion within the Buddhist system without separating them.

Although unpublished, Nisshin's *Gosho kenmon*³ mentioned in the commentary on “*Kiden hakase*” (Risshō Daigaku Nichiren kyōgaku kenkyūjo, 2000, p. 263) in Nichiren's *Ken Hōbōshō*, that he actually learned about the *Mengqiu*, compiled by the Tang scholar Li Han, from the expert Nobukata. The second case shows that the scope of Nisshin's studies was not limited to the *Nihon shoki*, but also included Chinese classics.

Another interesting fact is that we can see commonalities between the two groups of monks who attended Nobukata's and Nichishin's lectures, as named in the aforementioned *Kenmon shusha shō*. Chigusa Kobayashi, who researched Nobukata's *shōmono* writings⁴ on the *Nihon shoki* extensively introduced the *Nihonkishō* (held by Jingū Library, 4 volumes), which comprises transcriptions made by a “certain person” in Tembun 4 (Kobayashi, 2003, p. 300). According to Kobayashi, the *Nihonkishō* contains transcripts of lectures on the *Nihon shoki* from Tembun 1 (1532) to Tembun 4 (Kobayashi, 2003, p. 301). The contents include Nobukata lectures transcribed by a “certain person” as well as later additions and references to the transcriptions (“*Jūshō kiki gaki*”) made by a monk called Jūshō, who is introduced as the friend of the “certain person”.

We do not know the full contents of the unpublished *Nihonkishō*, but according to Kobayashi, the lectures were attended by the monks Myōjō, Nichigaku, Jōjō, and Nishihachijōbō Ryūken, who exchanged views with Nobukata (Kobayashi, 2003, pp. 300–302). Nichigaku and Jōjō correspond to Risshōbō Nichigaku of the Myōmanji Temple in Kyoto and Jōjōbō of

the Myōsenji Temple in Kyoto who were listed among the monks mentioned in Nichishin's lectures together with Nisshin in the *Kenmon shusha shō*. Furthermore, Jūshō, the friend of the "certain person" who wrote the *Nihonkishō*, also has bore the name Jijū Jūshō. The fact that the Nichijū monks who listened to the lectures of Nichishin of the Honryūji Temple also had a connection with the lectures of Nobukata suggests the existence of an academic association within the Kyoto Nichiren community of the Sengoku period. It is likely that the monks of the Honryūji Temple and those of the Nichijū School, as well as Nisshin, and others at the Jūhonji Temple came together in search of the scholarship of Nichishin, who had been recognized by the emperor, and that the study association that was organized there came to share a path of learning with the lectures of Nobukata, one of the greatest scholars of the time.

2.4 Studying under Kutaku (also Kyūtaku).

Nisshin's autobiography stated that he studied "divination" under "Kyūtaku of Hyūga Province" in the fourth month of Tembun 5 (1536). Here, "divination" refers to bamboo stick divination related to the Confucian Classic *Book of Changes*. The *Book of Changes* explains the state of all phenomena relevant to the myriad things, including humanity and nature, based on "commentary" (*guaci*) interpreting the combinations of symbols called *yao*, which represent yin and yang. The Ashikaga School, which was an authority in the study of divination using the *Book of Changes*, referred to the theoretical interpretation of the *Book of Changes* as "*seiden*" and its application in bamboo stick divination as "*betsuden*" (Kawase, 1948, pp. 229). The "divination" studied by Nisshin was "*betsuden*" divination, which means that he also learned about "*seiden*" for the sake of application and practice. At the time, divination rose in importance as the demand from general society grew. The Ashikaga School was at its peak in Nisshin's day, and people with deep knowledge of divination had been appointed *shōshu* (principal) since the school's beginnings. While the study of other Chinese classics was also popular at the school, they were thought of as introductory steps before the more abstruse *Book of Changes*, and divination was perceived as the teaching objective of the Ashikaga School (Ashikaga, 1932, p. 611; Kawase, 1948, pp. 223, 228).⁵ Bamboo stick divination was based on the yin–yang theory (later combined with *wuxing* theory) and the theory of astronomical calendars in

the *Book of Changes*, and this thought was used in all kinds of decision-making in the daily lives of regular people. This was most striking in the warrior class as divinations were carried out on a daily basis for important ceremonies in the family and even strategic plans in battle. The nature of the Sengoku period demanded more practical education of the Ashikaga School. Thus, they combined the study of divination not only with Chinese classics but also with books on military strategy such as the Seven Military Classics. It was not uncommon for graduates to serve warrior families as military strategists (Kawase, 1948, pp. 242, 246).⁶

We must ask about the identity of this “Kyūtaku of Hyūga Province,” whom Nisshin approached in order to study divination. Hara identified a scholar named Tentaku from Hyūga Province whose livelihood was bamboo stick divination during the Tembun era, suggesting that the Kyūtaku who taught Nisshin was actually Tentaku (Hara, 1975, p. 17). However, if we look for information on Tentaku, we find *Nampo bunshū*, the collection of literature of Bunshi Genshō (1555–1620), who studied under him. In volume 2 of *Nampo bunshū*, it is said that Tentaku studied at the Ashikaga School for five or six years starting in Daiei 7 (1527) when he was 19 years old. After that, he studied for over 10 years under Ippaku (dates of birth and death unknown) in Echizen Province, and then returned home to Hyūga Province in Kōji 2 (1556) when he was 49 years old. If this is so, Tentaku would have still been studying under Ippaku in Echizen Province in Tembun 5 when Nisshin was a student, so they could not have met in Hyūga Province. However, the autobiography noted “Kyūtaku of Hyūga Province,” and this line does not necessarily mean that Nisshin went to Hyūga Province. It is quite possible to imagine that Tentaku may have had an opportunity to meet Nisshin in Kinai while he was still a student under Ippaku in Echizen Province. If Kyūtaku was Tentaku, then the relations with the authorities of the various learned circles whom Nisshin engaged with in his diligent studies comes into focus rather clearly. There were academic connections intersecting around the central point of Ippaku, under whom Tentaku studied.

Ippaku traveled to Ming to study medical texts and also studied at the Ashikaga School (Hiraizumi, 1960; Yonehara, 1976; Haga, 1981). After finishing his studies at the Ashikaga School, Ippaku settled in Kyoto, where he delivered lectures on medical texts and the Confucian classics. He later moved to Ichijōdani on the invitation of Takakage (1493–1548), the tenth head of the Asakura clan ruling over Echizen Province. There, he met Tentaku and

taught other visiting scholars with a love for Ippaku's academic knowledge. In the ninth month of Tembun 5 (1536), he revised the *Butsuchōshi Zokkai Hachijūichi Nangyō* on Takakage's order and participated in the publication of the Echizen edition of the *Zokkai Hachijūichi Nangyō*, which was the second publication of a medical text in Japanese history. Ippaku is primarily known for his medical scholarship, but medicine as an academic discipline at that time required the knowledge of divination, so he was also well-versed in it. Ippaku is ascribed a *shōmono* titled *Ekigaku keimō tsūshaku kōgi* (held by Kyoto University Library, Important Cultural Property) that is a commentary on divination. It is noteworthy that it says, "Lecture by Ippaku; Transcript by Gesshū" below the title slip and at the center of the title page of the *Ekigaku keimō tsūshaku kōgi* (fascicle 1.2). It is also noteworthy that this book is a manuscript copy by Nobukata. A person called Gesshū wrote a transcript based on Ippaku's lecture on the *Ekigaku keimō tsūshaku* and this was copied by Nobukata. I have already discussed the relationship between Nobukata and Nisshin. Gesshū is the Zen monk Gesshū Jukei (1470–1533), an expert in the literature of the Five Mountains, and was also involved in Nisshin's diligent scholarship. Just as there was a transfer of texts between Nobukata and Jukei, they were also intimately connected in terms of academia. Jukei had previously attended Nobukata's biological father Kanetomo's lectures on the *Nihon shoki* and produced transcripts of those lectures. Jukei's transcripts praised the lecturer Kanetomo as "the person who most ought to be considered an example for posterity," and Kanetomo himself copied Jukei's transcripts as a written record of his own lectures. As Nobukata sought to propagate the Yoshida Shintō doctrine of his biological father Kanetomo, he must have referenced quite a few of Jukei's transcripts while writing the notes for his own lectures on the *Nihon shoki* (Kobayashi, 2003, pp. 236–239).

The friendship between Ippaku and Jukei was also close. The *Gen'un monjū*, a collection of Jukei's works, includes an afterword written by Jukei for one of Ippaku's works. That afterword praises him, saying, "As with Zen studies, it is not easy to learn divination at the deepest level, yet Ippaku is a great man who has mastered both" (Hokiichi, 1959; *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, vol. 13.1 (*Zoku gunsho ruijū kansei kai*), p. 413, p. 434). I believe that the presence of Ippaku, whom Tentaku studied under, in the scholarly connection between Nobukata and Jukei, which we know is relevant to Nisshin's diligent study, serves to back Hara's Tentaku theory up. It is quite possible that Nisshin may have first become aware of the divinatory authority Ippaku

by attending Nobukata's lectures before approaching his disciple, Tentaku in search of that scholarship. Of course, Nobukata, whose livelihood centered on delivering lectures on the Confucian Classics, must have also had a deep knowledge of divination. However, it was pointed out in research in recent years that the establishment of a theory of divination in the Kiyohara house came later than other classics (Mizukami, 2010), which is supported by the fact that we actually have no records of him lecturing on divination despite the broad range of books he interpreted (Ashikaga, 1932, p. 472; Yamada, 1957). I mentioned that the Ashikaga School's approach was to study other books before introducing divination, so it might have been the case that Nisshin came to realize the need to study divination as the next step after hearing Nobukata's interpretations, and that he must have gone looking for a scholar with specialized knowledge thereafter.

2.5 Studying under Manase Dōsan.

The next field of study described in Nisshin's autobiography is medicine. Nisshin mentioned "medical classics." It is likely that he referred to ancient Chinese medical texts such as the *Huangdi neijing* and the *Shennong bencao jing*. The basic medical theory expounded in the *Huangdi neijing* contains the aforementioned *wuxing* theory based on the *Book of Changes*, while the *Shennong bencao jing* adopted the same theory to explain medical efficacy. Here, we can get a glimpse of what drew Nisshin's attention to medical books after studying divination. Nisshin wrote in his autobiography that he studied this "after 32 or 33 years of age." This means that it was after Tembun 8 (1539) or Tembun 9 (1540), and his medical master was Manase Dōsan (1507–1594).

A glance at Dōsan's history shows that he also studied at the Ashikaga School in Kyōroku 1 (1528) when he was 22 years old. I mentioned that the Ashikaga School was an authority in the field of divination, but that was an area of study necessary for medicine, and the Ashikaga School also had a medical facility called the Shōgyōdō, so there were many students who came there to study medicine (Yūki, 1959, p. 159; Wajima, 1961). Dōsan and Tentaku were at the school during the same period. While traveling to Kantō for his studies, Dōsan became a student of Tashiro Sanki (1465–1544), who had previously traveled to Ming. Sanki was a doctor who was renowned for his achievement of bringing Li Zhu's brand of medicine,⁷ which was the

mainstream form in China at the time, to Japan, and it was this kind of state-of-the-art medicine that Dōsan sought from Sanki, who passed on a total of seven certificates of transmission to Dōsan before the second month of Tembun 5 (1536), and in those certificates he referred to his own medicine as *tōryū igaku*.⁸ Dōsan's achievement was that he systematized this Tōryū Igaku that he received from Sanki (Yakazu, 1982, p. 133; Endō & Nakamura, 1999; Miyamoto, 2006a, Miyamoto, 2006b). Upon his return to Kyoto, Dōsan created a school called Keitekiin to spread the knowledge of Tōryū Igaku and in Tenshō 2 (1574), when he was 68 years old, he compiled his magnum opus, the *Keiteki-shū* (8 volumes). This book ushered in dramatic developments in Japanese medicine, which until then consisted mainly of mechanical medicine that determined prescription and usage based on the name and symptoms of a disease as instructed by medical texts, by incorporating the stance of "treatment based on observation" (*sasshō benchi*) (Yakazu, 1982, p. 148). This is why Dōsan is usually referred to as "the restorer of Japanese medicine" (Kyōto-fu ishikai igakushi henshitsu, 1980, p. 232).⁹

Nisshin's autobiography indicated that he studied this when he was around 32 or 33 years old (Tembun 8 or 9). However, if we look up this time in the sources presenting Dōsan's personal history, we come across an inconsistency that makes their meeting decisively improbable. The problem is that Dōsan also has an autobiography and it says that he returned to Kyoto on the sixteenth day of the second month, Tembun 14 (1545) when he was 39 years old. If this is so, Dōsan had not founded the Keitekiin yet in the period in which Nisshin studied there; he had even been in Kantō in that period. As a result, we are forced to reconsider how the two may have met. Dōsan's autobiography was appended to a reference text titled *Tōryū igaku no gen'i* (Endō & Nakamura, 1999; Machi, 2012). The extant copy of this book contains an afterword by the late-Edo doctor Meguro Dōtaku (1724–1798), but no copy written by Dōsan's hand remains. However, the descriptions in Dōsan's autobiography are quite realistic, which makes them highly credible (Miyamoto, 2006), and his activities around the time of his return to Kyoto are described so concretely that it does appear to be a reliable account (Kinsei kindai Nihon Kanbun han, 2009, pp. 244-255). I suspect that Nisshin studied under him at some point after the sixteenth day of the second month, Tembun 14. Nisshin's autobiography was authored after the eleventh month of Eiroku 3 (1560). That is more than 20 years after Tembun 8–9. If we consider how long and far-reaching Nisshin's studies were, it would be strange if something as

trivial as this is misremembered. Tomiya stated that a manuscript of the *Gikin honzō*, which was compiled by Dōsan and copied by Nisshin was available at the Yōbōji Temple (Tomiya, 1925, p. 24), so we have concrete proof of their scholarly connection.

2.6 Studying under Ikka of the Kenninji Temple.

Nisshin's autobiography states that he studied "non-Buddhist texts" under Ikka of the Kenninji Temple in the fall of Tembun 10 (1541) when he was 34 years old. As suggested by the term "non-Buddhist texts," what he learned from Ikka was likely not a specified field such as "the Confucian Classics," "divination," or "medical classics," but a wide range of books outside of Buddhism. Hara argued that Nisshin studied under the Five-Mountain Zen monk Gesshū Jukei (Hara, 1975, p. 17). He based this on the fact that Jukei went by the name Ikka Wajō while engaging in literary activities after founding the Ikkain on the premises of the Kenninji Temple in his later years (Ashikaga, 1932, p. 434).

Jukei served as the chief priest of famous temples such as the Kenninji Temple and the Nanzenji Temple in Kyoto and was well-known as a Zen monk with education in literature and related disciplines. Some of his major works are the *Gen'un bunshū* and the *Gesshū Wajō goroku*, which are sermons and Chinese poems compiled by his disciples for posterity, as well as the *Zoku kinshūdan*, which was a reorganization of his master Ten'in Ryūtakū's (1422–1500) Chinese poetry collection *Kinshūdan*, and the commentaries *Kinshūdan shō* and *Zoku kinshūdan shō*. Jukei was invited by the court to deliver several lectures on the Santaishi in the emperor's presence on in the Kyōroku era (Hanawa, ed., 1934, pp. 405–407; Ryūzō Takahashi, ed., 1958, pp. 141, 142, 144, and 145; Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensan sho, ed., 1944, pp. 257–258), which resulted in the shōmono *Santaishi Gen'un shō*.

Jukei had an academic connection with both the aforementioned Nobukata and Tentaku's master Ippaku. Like the two, Jukei was also appointed chief priest at a temple in Echizen Province during the Eishō era on the invitation of Sadakage (1473–1512), the ninth head of the Asakura clan, and the tenth head of Tadakake. At the time, Echizen Province reached the peak of its own development under the rule of Takakage. The reason of the development was the invitation of some of the greatest educated men active in Kyoto at the same time. He, who loved learning, welcomed these intellectuals cordially,

making their academic activities much easier than when they had lived in Kyoto which had become extremely chaotic. As a result, they could promote the development of the province remarkably (Yonehara, 1976, p. 265). If we consider Nisshin's diligent learning activities and focus on their relationship with the Honryūji Temple, we cannot avoid paying attention to Echizen Province as a common sphere of activity.

However, if Nisshin studied under Jukei, then the period of study given as "Tembun 10" in the autobiography makes any connection between the two impossible. This is because Jukei had died already on the eighth day of the twelfth month, Tembun 2 (1533), long before Tembun 10. Hara, who argued that he studied under Jukei, also leaves this problem to be solved later (Hara, 1975, p. 20), but no alternative theory has appeared. Since then, there has been no progression in this academic field. It was here that I took "Ikka of the Kenninji Temple" as a clue and examined several sources. I came across the existence of a monk called Keiten Jusen (1495–1549), who was a disciple of Jukei and served as the chief priest of the Kenninji Temple just like his master. Jusen's signature appeared in the beginning of the *Gesshū Wajō goroku* as its compiler (*Zoku gunsho ruijū*, vol. 13.1, p. 242). Jusen disseminated the *Santaishi Gen'un shō* later on. He took the lead in publicizing his master's achievements. In Echizen Province, he filled in for his master by drafting a laudatory tribute for a portrait requested by the Asakura clan. He also accompanied Jukei to *renga* meetings at the court in Kyoto. Jusen supported Jukei's academic activities as his aide (Hanawa, ed., 1959, p. 380; Hanawa, ed., 1934, p. 315).

We have a source indicating a link between Jusen and the Ikkain founded by Jukei. The entry from the twelfth day of the second month, Tembun 6 (1537) in the *Rokuon nichiroku*, which was held at the Rokuon'in of the Shōkokuji Temple, recorded how Jusen gave the monk registrar (*sōrokushi*) a hanging scroll stored at the Ikkain when the registrar visited (Tsuji, 1934, p. 278). He also visited the Ikkain together with the chief priest of the Kenninji Temple on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, and was entertained by Jusen (Tsuji, 1934, p. 325). Entries concerning the Ikkain about three years after Jukei's death reveal that Jusen inherited the Ikkain from Jukei and served as its head. After Jukei's death and in Tembun 10 (1541), when Nisshin was supposed to have studied under Ikka, the only person for which that name would have made sense was Jusen.

What was Nisshin's goal in studying under Jusen? The autobiography uses

the ambiguous expression “non-Buddhist texts,” so it is unclear what the contents were. If we guess based on Nisshin’s path of learning, it is possible that he was tracing Jukei’s footsteps in the Ikkain library and his disciple Jusen, since Jukei had contributed to the Shintō of Nobukata that Nisshin studied and had deep knowledge of divination and medicine as well (The second medical book to be published in Japan was Ippaku’s Echizen edition of the *Zokkai Hachijūichi Nankei*, but the first one was the Sakai edition of the *Isho taizen* published by Asaino Sōzui (?–1531) in Daiei 8 (1528), the afterword to which was written by Jukei).

Yet, among the academic fields Jusen was skillful in, was not his literary technique which stands out in Chinese poetry, the most likely His master Jukei was part of the lineage inheriting the “*hoshitsuso* style” (four-six *pi-anwen* prose) of Zekkai Chūshin (1334–1405), extolled as the apex of Five-Mountain literature, and his disciple Bioku Sōkō (?–1545) was actually appointed by the Ōuchi clan of Suō Province to draft diplomatic documents (Sakurai, 1959; Itō, 2002, p. 194).¹⁰ Jukei’s expertise in literary style was likely also the main reason why he was asked to write afterwords for various learned circles and was invited by the Asakura clan. This culture was something that Jusen learned on the side. He made drafts in his master’s place. Literary styles, of which Chinese poetry is emblematic, was an important element of the monk status. Even if one was able to pursue legitimate teachings and ideologies, one still needed to author books explaining those teachings to communicate their insights in a refined manner, and this was an important means of spreading this knowledge to others. If we look at Nisshin’s intellectual debates with monks from other schools, there is a case in which he prides himself for making use of what he had learned from “men of letters” (persons whose livelihood is letters) in his own teaching,¹¹ so the scholarship he obtained from Jusen played an important role in the explication of his theories.

2.7 *Perusing the Complete Buddhist Scriptures at Kitano-sya.*

Be it the Confucian Classics or Shintō, the elucidation of all phenomena is a theme common to all religions. The Buddhist Nisshin needed to discuss those worldly theories by harmonizing them with the Buddhist system without separating them. Nisshin’s far-reaching studies were not guided by his love for learning alone. We should consider them as being based on a consistent awareness of the issues that he had as a Buddhist (how to realize salvation).

At the end of the entries in the autobiography that inform us of his diligent studies that we have discussed so far, we are told that he perused the entire set of Buddhist scriptures at the Kitano Miyatera. This means that he had read all the sermons by Sakyamuni and all scriptures related to them. He is supposed to have perused them when he was aged between 38 and 40 years, from the fifteenth day of the ninth month, Tembun 14 (1545) to the second day of the seventh month, Tembun 16 (1547). Nisshin's chief literary work *Kaishaku kenpon hokke nironji tokui shō* mentioned "Kitano rotating sutra shelves," so we can determine that they were the complete Buddhist scriptures contained on rotating bookshelves in Kitano. These "Kitano rotating sutra shelves" are quite well-known in Japanese history and the books contained there were copies of the complete Buddhist scriptures put together in Ōei 19 (1412), which is now preserved as an Important Cultural Property comprising 5,048 volumes in all at the Daihōonji Temple (Senbon Shakadō) in Kyoto. Woodblock printing became the mainstream in the early-modern period, so the Kitano books are lauded in cultural history as a final great effort among the complete range of hand-copied Buddhist scriptures (Usui, 1959).

The Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo has photo albums showing the postscripts of these books. I surveyed them and verified the existence of 103 postscripts added by Nisshin (Kanda, 2015). Following the period given in the autobiography, these additions suggest that some of his perusals happened until the twenty-ninth day of the seventh month, Tembun 16 (1547) as well as in Tembun 18 (1549). Moreover, a 15-year-old disciple called Ukyō belonging to the Jūhonji Temple also participated in Nisshin's perusal (I found 17 additions by Ukyō). This set of complete Buddhist scriptures also contains many postscripts added by monks of other schools, those of Nisshin and Ukyō are the most numerous and the duration of their perusal is the longest.

The complete Buddhist scriptures are mentioned in Nisshin's writings, rather frequently (Kanda, 2014). This is because perusing the complete scriptures, which is a model act of Buddhists, is a manifestation of the desire to directly approach Sakyamuni. It is noteworthy that the period of perusal coincided with a time of major transition for Nisshin and the Nichizon School. The study of various subjects and the perusal of the complete scriptures become strikingly significant as a noteworthy life achievement first when we take into consideration the historical background of the time. I want to conclude by discussing the intention contained in the studies we have looked

at so far, while also paying attention to the then circumstances prevailing for Nisshin and the Nichizon School.

3. Diligent Study and the Aspiration to Establish a School's Teachings

When Nisshin was engaged in his far-reaching diligent studies, the Nichiren schools in Kyoto were involved in a major incident that threatened their very existence. On the twenty-third day of the seventh month, Tembun 5 (1537), the Kyoto community was attacked by the Enryakuji Temple of Mount Hiei, which completely burned down several head temples and destroyed them entirely. This was the so-called Tembun Hokke Riot, a well-known event in Japanese history. The Nichizon School also lost the Jōgyōin and Jūjonji Temples to the flames, and like other schools, they fled to Sakai in Izumi Province, and were forced to take refuge there (Imatani, 2009)¹² until they received imperial permission to return, in Tembun 11 (1542) (Fujii, Ueda, Hatano, & Yasukuni, 2006, p. 71).

After receiving imperial permission to return to Kyoto, the Nichiren schools gradually restored their presence in the city. The Nichizon School that took care of the Jōgyōin and Jūjonji Temples found it difficult to restore its two head temples. One ground-breaking suggestion was that they could merge the two Temples into one head temple. However, antagonism and discord had long existed between the two, so any promotion of this suggestion required careful coordination and a search for mutual compromise. Tomiya claimed that the merger took shape on the seventeenth day of the third month, Tembun 17 (1548) (Tomiya, 1994, p. 321), which was about six months after imperial permission was provided. Nisshin also stated that the Yōbōji Temple was founded as a new head temple in Kyoto and that they had completed this restoration on the nineteenth day of the third month, Tembun 19 (1550) (Gakurin, 1970a, p. 138).

In the eleventh month of Kōji 1 (1555), Nisshin was recommended as the first chief abbot of the Yōbōji Temple by the monks and almsgivers of the Nichizon School, and he admitted inheriting the chair of the temple. Even so, the new management of the Nichizon School was in no way unified, so cruel slander was also directed toward the new chief abbot, Nisshin from inside the school. Concerned about this situation, Nisshin authored a text titled the

Fushinki in the twelfth month of Eiroku 1 (1558), with the aim of providing new principles to guide the Nichizon School. *Fushinki* clarified Nisshin's own consistent position and principles as he identified the issues faced by the Nichizon School and the entire Nikkō School at that time, as well as on what awareness of the issues his long-time studies were based.

The *Fushinki* is in the format of questions and answers and lets the askers present slander such as that Nisshin is completely devoted to scholarship and displays the behavior of a wise man enlightened in wicked ways, or that he perused the complete Buddhist scriptures for the sake of fame and profit. Moreover, the askers are also presented as claiming that the immorality of the chief abbot Nisshin is causing monks at the Yōbōji Temple to flee, almsgivers to decrease in number by the day, and the temple to decline in various other ways, ridiculing the fact that their monastery building, which was smaller than other schools' monk's dwellings to begin with, had not expanded no matter how many years passed since their return to Kyoto (Gakurin, 1970b, pp. 25–32).

In response to these problems, Nisshin insisted on the importance of refining wisdom to align with the Buddha's true intentions, despite diligent study being a toil that cannot be perceived by others. That is, unless they struggled with the truth of their teachings and sought to establish legitimate school teachings, they would end up as a branch temple of another school, irrespective of how many temples they built or how big they made their monastery buildings. Suspicions about the right and wrong ways of their teachings persisted among the monks and almsgivers of the Nikkō School, and their questions could only be answered by a wise man. It becomes clear that it was based on this awareness of the issues that Nisshin prioritized refining his wisdom over expanding the temple or building new ones, aspiring to study a wide range of subjects in both Buddhist and non-Buddhist books and even perusing the complete scriptures (Gakurin, 1970b, pp. 32–40).

The transition that made this awareness of the issues of Nisshin's definite must have been the ideological shift that he made when he was 30 years old in the eighth month of Tembun 6 (1538). The Tembun Hokke Riot deprived the Nichizon School of their head temples, and in the year that followed, he recanted the theory of the descent into the hell Avīci by creating images of Buddha and reciting the whole Lotus Sutra to them, which Nishiyama Nisshin had transmitted to him. At their place of refuge in Sakai, Izumi Province, Nisshin urgently needed to come up with a strategy to ensure the

school's survival and its restoration in Kyoto and explore new teachings that he could stand by. That is, he underwent a major transition in terms of both ideology and history.

Facing a threat to the school's survival and at a time when the plan to merge the Jōgyōin and Jūjonji Temples was being implemented, Nisshin aspired to study under Dōsan and Jusen, as discussed above, and he maintained study activities such as perusing the complete scriptures right until the year before the founding of the Yōbōji Temple in the third month of Tembun 19 (1550). What does this mean?

It probably means that Nisshin perceived that resolving the intellectual stagnation that the Nichizon School and the entire Nikkō School had suffered since a long time ago was directly relevant to passing on legitimate Nichizon and Nikkō teachings into the far future. It is true that the damages from the Tembun Hokke Riot caused the Nichizon School much adversity, but the antagonism between the Jōgyōin and Jūjonji Temples had been a considerable hindrance to the Nichizon community since earlier on (Shigyō, 1952, p. 145). Nisshin made use of the proposal to merge both temples to innovate the intellectual aspects of the Nichizon School, to play the role of a bridge that could bring about real unity under a new system, and to establish outwardly solid school teachings by using his own academic career.

Following the Tembun Hokke Riot and the ideological transition in the eighth month of Tembun 6 (1537), Nisshin's learning activities became even more colored by this awareness of the issues. In the twelfth month of Tembun 8 (1539), Nisshin copied Nichiryū's *Jūsan mondō shō* because of questions about the theory of the fundamental reason for becoming a Buddha (Hon-Immyō Shisō) (Kanda, 2017).¹³ In the eleventh month of Tembun 9 (1540), he copied the *Shūyō Kashiwabara anryū* of Jōshun (1334–1422), a monk of the Japanese Tendai sect, because of questions about the medieval Tendai theory of inherent enlightenment (Chūko Tendai Hongaku Shisō) (Kanda, 2017).¹⁴ In the first month of Tembun 11 (1542), he copied the *Sōshaku*, which is traditionally said to have been written by his teacher Nichishin (1444–1528),¹⁵ and in the first month of Tembun 15 (1546), he also copied Nichishin's *Hokke ronryaku taikō* (*Hokke ron kachū*).¹⁶

In the *Fushinki*, Nisshin indicated that the theory of the fundamental reason for becoming a Buddha expounded in Nichiryū's *Jūsan mondō shō* had a major influence on the formation for the theory of the descent into the hell Avīci by creating images of Buddha, which he adhered to until he was 30

years old (Gakurin, 1970b, p. 43). Nisshin also took issue with the ideas in Jōshun's *Shūyō Kashiwabara anryū* while explaining the essence of the principal image of worship. These copies were by Nisshin's side when he wrote his texts and were important materials as Nisshin sought to establish school teachings that could overcome the ideas contained therein, which were highly influential at the time. Moreover, while the former two were negative, his copying of Nichishin's works seems to have been done in a largely receptive manner. Following his intellectual transition, Nisshin referenced the theories of his former teacher Nichishin as he sought to find a standpoint for new teachings.

These activities to promote the school's teachings, realized through adversity, were a mobilization of education and experiences nurtured through learning since Nisshin's youth, and if we examine the systematic teachings of Nisshin in his later years from this vantage point, we will possibly discover a new dimension as the awareness of the issues and intention contained in the uniqueness of those teachings become concrete.

4. Conclusion

I have discussed Nisshin's far-reaching study of various subjects as a noteworthy achievement in his life. This pursuit of wisdom by Nisshin was not conducted simply out of a love for learning, but was for the realization of salvation, which is the main purpose of Buddhism, and was thus a quest for truth.

Nichiren incidentally argued that the salvation of all living things in the age of decadence will be realized by chanting *Namu-myōho-renge-kyō*. This was also an "essential point" selected as a result of Nichiren's far-reaching studies and research. That essential point has been steadily passed on to this day and has become a tenet of the Nichiren sect. However, to determine whether something essential is truly essential, one must necessarily consider not only other Buddhist ideologies but also the entire of religion. It is only after that essential point has been compared and demonstrated in relation to others that it can finally be received and understood by adherents as something essential. Without criticism, that faith risks becoming blind faith. I believe that Nisshin's attitude of broad learning really came from such a critical mindset.

We can see that Nisshin's emphasis on learning remained a constant until

his final years. One example is that a study facility named Kangakuryō was created at the Yōbōji Temple in his later years, and Nisshin drafted a code called *Gakutō Shiki* (Tomiya, 1994, p. 332). The code stipulated the conditions for becoming a Gakutō, which was an important position for the Yōbōji Temple’s management, as well as their authority. According to the code, one condition is that one must learn a number of truths that Nisshin himself systematized into the core of the teachings of the Nichizon School and be able to lecture about them without faltering. The Gakutōs were entrusted not only with study matters, but also with the supervision of all ceremonial matters, starting with the annual and monthly events held by monks and almsgivers at the Yōbōji Temple. Moreover, it was decided that all divergent opinions at the temple finally required the approval of the Gakutōs. Nisshin’s perception was that the most important thing for maintaining a school was not magnificent halls or many people, but the passing on of that school’s original teachings, which justifies its existence.

Notes

1. Kankō Mochizuki (1968) and Kaishū Shigyō (1952) are examples of studies that have sought to paint a comprehensive picture of the diversification of teachings in the Nichiren sect. Both books systematically discuss not only the theories of the scholar-monks of the Kyoto Nichiren schools, but those of all masters who played central roles in the intellectual changes from Nichiren’s death to the Meiji period. However, more than half a century has already passed since their publication, so it is now time to rewrite them.
2. Anjūbō had to do with the intellectual transition in the eighth month of Tembun 6 (1538) when Nisshin was 30 years old. In particular, it seems that he was close and on good terms with Nichiō, so when Nisshin copied Nichishin’s lecture record *Sōshaku* in Tembun 11 (1543), the copy’s postscript came to include a comment saying that Nichiō had provided information about Master Nichishin’s year of birth (*Sōshaku*, copy held by Risshō University Library). A text written by Nichiō in Eiroku 6 (1563) also contains many mentions of Nisshin’s name (*Nikkōryū shoha*, copy held by Risshō University Library).
3. Nisshin, *Goshō kenmon* (copy held by Risshō University Library).
4. Owing to Nobukata’s active scholarship, a large number of sources called “*shō-mono*” continue to exist today. They include notes used by Nobukata for lectures and transcripts by students at his lectures. Guiding marks for rendering the

- Chinese text into Japanese, including those used for Kokugaku and Confucian texts, were added to these *shōmono*, and so they have played a crucial role in clarifying the history of the pronunciation of Chinese characters in Japan in the Sengoku period. Since *shōmono* contain a lot of colloquialisms and use a lot of *kana* writing, they are very valuable as sources for Japanese linguistics. Nobukata's mass-production of such helpful sources and the fact that they are still extant today is the reason why he is a popular topic of study in many fields.
5. Kawase's research also suggests that this was the Ashikaga School's approach as the school's library catalog listed an especially large number of texts relating to divination.
 6. Kawase pointed out cases of Ashikaga School graduates serving warrior families and argued that, "Ashikaga School graduates can be said to have been learners who met such demands of warrior families in this period, and if we fully understand to what extent the Ashikaga School prepared all kinds of elements according with the demands of the Sengoku warlords, then we should understand how welcome its properties were in that warrior society. In other words, we can say that the Ashikaga School was created and continued to thrive in accordance with the inescapable demands of the warrior families of the Muromachi period."
 7. Medicine that can be traced back to Li Dongyuan and Zhu Danxi in the Chinese Jin-Yuan periods (1115–1367).
 8. Yoshimi Miyamoto (2006b). This paper contains reprints of all seven certificates of transmission.
 9. Among the acquaintances of Dōsan, a well-known person in the medical world of that time, were Ashikaga Yoshiteru (1536–1565), the thirteenth shogun of the Muromachi shogunate, Hosokawa Harumoto (1514–1563), Miyoshi Nagayoshi (1522–1564), Matsunaga Hisahide (1510–1577), Mōri Motonari (1497–1571), Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598), and other people representative of the Sengoku period, suggesting academic exchanges via medicine and his medical activities as a doctor.
 10. Itō pointed out that such literary techniques inherited by Zen monks were an indispensable form of learning as those in power would generally appoint such monks to draft diplomatic documents for the Ming and Korea.
 11. *Honjaku ōrai shō* (copy held by Risshō University Library).
 12. This contains a detailed examination of facts of the Tembun Hokke Riot based on contemporary sources.
 13. Nisshin's copy is preserved in the Hōyōji Temple in Kyoto. It contains numerous notations reflecting his problem awareness at the time of copying.
 14. Nisshin's copy is stored in the Hōyōji Temple in Kyoto.
 15. *Sōshaku* (copy held by Risshō University Library).
 16. *Hokke ronryaku taikō* (copy held by Risshō University Library).

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