

# “Sexual Heresies” in Medieval Japan: With Special Focus on the So-called “Tachikawa-ryū”

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## I. Introduction:

Comparison with gnostic studies

## II. Analysis of the *Hōkyōshō* 宝鏡鈔

### (a) Three “heresiological works”:

1268: *Juhō-Yōjin-Shū* 受法用心集 (“Notes on Precautions to be Taken When One Receives the [Shingon] Teachings”) by Shinjō 心定; ed. in Moriyama, p. 530-571

1375: *Hōkyōshō* 宝鏡鈔 (“The Compendium of the Precious Mirror”) by Yūkai 宥快 (1345–1416); ed. in Moriyama, p. 572-581.

1375: *Tachikawa shōgyō mokuroku* 立河聖教目錄 (“Catalog of Sacred Works of the Tachikawa-ryū Lineage”) by Yūkai; ed. in Moriyama, p. 582-598)

### (b) Analysis of the *Hōkyōshō*:

“Original source of all pervers teachings” (*jahō no ranshō* 邪法濫觴)

Quotations from the *Daibucchō Shuryōgon-kyō* 大仏頂首楞嚴經 and the *Dainichi-kyō-sho* 大日經疏

Ryūkōin lineage 龍光院流 of the Chūin-ryū 中院流: Myōchō 明澄, Kenzei 賢誓, etc.

Goryū-Sanbōin lineage 御流三宝院 in the Kantō 関東

Kōshin 弘真 *alias* Monkan 文觀 (1278-1357)

“The Tachikawa-ryū works are also spread everywhere. The [lineage’s] place of origin was the region of Musashi (an old name for Tokyo, Saitama and a part of Kanagawa); afterwards, it was diffused widely in Yamato and Ecchū, and it is impossible to count the number of their works. [...] In Kyōto and Kōyasan, it seems that there is much confounding between correct and perverse teachings.” – 立川流者は又処々遍満、本処武蔵、次越中大和国多<sub>レ</sub>之、書籍不<sub>レ</sub>知<sub>レ</sub>其数。[ ..... ] 京都高野邪正乱雜事多<sub>レ</sub>之歟 .....(Moriyama, p. 579)

Rendō 蓮道 of the Miwa-ryū 三輪流 (*alias* Hōkyō-shōnin 宝篋上人, active around 1190)

The *Itteki-shō* 一滴鈔 (“Compendium of One Drop”)

“The restorer” (*chūkō no so* 中興の祖)

## III. The *Hōkyōshō* account of the Tachikawa-ryū and its sources:

### (a) The *Hōkyōshō* on the Tachikawa-ryū:

“But according to one opinion, it is said that master Ninkan 仁寛 (named later Rennin 蓮念), disciple and brother of the deputy archbishop of the Sanboin of Daigoji [that is to say Shōkaku 勝覚 (1057-1129)], had been convicted of a certain crime, and banished to the country of Izu.

In that country, in order to earn his living, he gave instruction of the Shingon teaching to impure lay people who had wives and ate meat, and made them his disciples. Now, there was a master of the Way of Yin and Yang (陰陽師) who lived in Tachikawa in the country of Musashi, who learned the Shingon teaching from Ninkan, and who introduced in it the practices of the Way of Yin and Yang that he had previously studied; mixing correct teaching with perverse teaching, and adulterating the Inner teaching [that is Buddhism] with the External teaching, he created a branch of the Shingon school and named it ‘Tachikawa-ryū.’ This is the original source of [all] the perverse teachings. For a detailed [account of] its books, etc., there is a work in two scrolls written by Seigan-bō of Toyohara temple 豊原寺誓願房, which gives a rough summary. People who need it should have a look at it. Its doctrine is that the secret art of attaining buddhahood within the present body is the path of Yin and Yang between men and women; there is no other [way] to attain buddhahood and obtain the path. This indeed is a false doctrine that they made.” – 但一説云。醍醐三寶院權僧正弟子（僧正舍弟）有仁寛阿闍梨（後蓮念）云人、依有罪過子細被流伊豆国、於彼国為渡世、具妻俗人肉食汚穢人等授真言為弟子。爰武蔵国立川云所、有陰陽師、对仁寛習真言、引入所学陰陽法、邪正混乱内外交雜、称立川流構真言一流。是邪法濫觴。其具書等名、粗載豊原寺誓願房記二卷書、所要人可尋見。其宗義者、以男女陰陽之道為即身成仏之秘術、成仏得道之法無此外。作妄計也 (Moriyama, p. 574-575)

“Afterward, the Tachikawa-ryū spread in the country of Ecchū, and had two generations of masters, Kakumyō 覚明 and Kakuin 覚印, who visited Kōyasan and sojourned there. At that time, the numerous initiation documents (*injin* 印信) and books of the perverse lineage were diffused [there]; these documents pretend to be Essential Doctrines (*kyōsō daiji* 教相大事) or Oral Transmissions. There are many of them, to this date.” – 彼立川流、後流布越中国、覚明・覚印師資二代、参籠高野山、其時彼邪流印信書籍多流布、号教相大事口伝、多之至于今 (Moriyama, p. 575)

(b) Sources of the *Hōkyōshō*

Shōryū jō jaryū-ji 正流成邪流事 or *Shōryū jaryū ni naru-koto* 正流邪流に成る事 (“How correct lineages become perverse lineages”) by Kaijō 快成 (dead in 1367), abbot of the temple Hōshōin 宝性院; ed. in Moriyama, p. 588-589.

The fundamental perverse lineage began from the younger brother of Shōkaku, master Ninkan, [...] (who later changed his name to Rennan 蓮念). He was exiled to Izu, and produced a perverse view. After that moment, the lineage was transmitted from Rennan to Kenren 兼蓮, from Kenren to Kakuin 覚印, from Kakuin to Chōban 澄鑠, and from Chōban to Kakumyō 覚明. Dōhan 道範 (1184-1252), Shinben 真弁 and Eshin 惠深 (d. 1270?) received the transmission of [the *abhiṣeka* of] the Secret Yugi 秘密瑜祇 from Kakumyō; thus, that lineage [of Dōhan, etc.] seems to harbour impure teachings. – 根本邪流、起勝覚舍弟左大臣阿闍梨仁寛（後改蓮念）伊豆宐被配流、起邪見。其以来蓮念・兼蓮・覚印・澄鑠・覚明如、是相承。道範・真弁・惠深覚明相伝秘密瑜祇。仍彼流不清浄方有之歟 (Moriyama, p. 588)

*Shōryū jō jaryū-ji*: “The fundamental perverse lineage” 根本邪流; *Hōkyōshō*: “The original source of all the perverse lineages” 邪法濫觴

*Hōkyōshō*: a work in two scrolls written by Seigan-bō of Toyohara temple 豊原寺誓願房記二卷書 = *Juhō-yōjin-shū* is a work of two scrolls 二卷, and Shinjō was called Seiganbō of the Toyohara temple 越前国豊原誓願房心定.

The term “Yin and Yang” appears several times in the *Juhō-yōjin-shū* contexts in which it is question of sex. – Example: “Now, if the practitioner smears the skull with the mixture of male and female sexual fluids, the three spirits of that mixture and the seven souls of the skull will be in union, and [the skull] will become a living deity. We call the [three] spirits ‘male souls’ and the [seven] souls ‘female souls.’ If the Yin and the Yang do not react to each other, it is impossible to obtain life. It is in order to make the Yin and the Yang react to each other and thus obtain life, [that the practitioner has to perform this ritual].” – 今二滯を觸體にぬれば二滯の三魂と觸體の七魄とより合て生身の本尊となるべし。魂を「をたましい」と云ひ、魄を「めたましい」といふ。陰陽相應せざれば生身となり難し。陰陽を相應して生身となさむためなり。(Moriyama, p. 558-559)

*Hōkyōshō*: Tachikawa-ryū in Ecchū; *Juhō-yōjin-shū*: At the age of twenty-five, “around the summer of the first year of Ennō” (1239), he received the three *abhiṣeka* from the master Ashō of Hosono in the country of Ecchu (越中国細野の阿聖あさり): they were the “Secret Yugi,” the “[Body of the] natural outcome”, and the “Body of the Dharma” (*himitsu yugi tōru hosshin sanshu no kanjō* 秘密瑜祇等流法身三種の灌頂).” On that occasion, he “copied all the secret works of the Tachikawa-ryū.” – 二十五歳にして延応元年の夏の比、越中国細野の阿聖あさに秘密瑜祇等流法身三種の灌頂を受け、立川の一流秘書悉く書きつくしたぬ。(Moriyama, p. 531)

*Hōkyōshō*: “In Kyōto and Kōyasan, it seems that there is much mixture of correct and perverse teachings...”; *Juhō-yōjin-shū*: the author recounts his encounter with a practitioner of a special teaching, at Jizō Chapel, at Gojō-bōmon in Rakuyō 洛陽五条坊門地藏堂, during the spring of 1251. – 建長三年の春の比洛陽五条坊門地藏堂の執行快賢阿闍梨に付て即身成仏の義を談ずる事侍りき... (Moriyama, p. 533)

*Hōkyōshō*: “It teaches that the secret art of attaining buddhahood within the present body is the path of Yin and Yang between men and women; there is no other [way] to attain buddhahood and the path.” – 其宗義者、以男女陰陽之道爲即身成仏之秘術、成仏得道之法無此外; *Juhō-yōjin-shū*: Question: Recently, felicitous sūtras called the “Three Inner sūtras” have spread throughout the world. In earlier times, these sūtras used to be transmitted only among the abbots of [the Shingon center of] Tōji and the Tendai school, but these days, they have spread so widely that everyone trifles with them in the capital as well as in the countryside. In these sūtras it is said that intercourse with women is the most crucial thing in the Shingon teaching, and that it is the highest among the [practices for] attaining buddhahood within the present body. If one avoids it, then the path to the accomplishment of the buddhahood is said to be distant... – 問、近來世間に内の三部經となづけて目出たき經ひろまれり。此の經、昔は東寺の長者、天台の座主より外に伝へざりけるを、近比流布して京にも田舎にも人ごとにもてあそべり。此經の文には女犯は真言一宗の肝心、即身成仏の至極なり。若し女犯をへだつる念をなさば成仏みちとをかるべし。(Moriyama, p. 530-531)  
女犯 ⇒ 男女陰陽之道

#### IV. The *Juhō-yōjin-shū*: its contents

Special teaching criticized in the *Juhō-yōjin-shū*: “this teaching” or “that teaching” (*kono hō* 此の法, *kano hō* 彼の法); “perverse teaching” (*jahō* 邪法 or *jakyō* 邪教)

Second occurrence of the name “Tachikawa-ryū”:

Some time after the summer of 1250 (when the author was 36 years old), Shinjō had an opportunity to visit the temple of a monk of his acquaintance Kōamidabutsu 弘阿弥陀仏, in Akasaka, in Echizen. He was repeatedly invited to this monk’s cell, where he found a big bag full of books. Kōamidabutsu opened it and took out many scrolls, more than one hundred in all. Shinjō discovered that they were mainly *orikami* 折紙 (folded pieces of paper containing secret ritual texts) of the Tachikawa-ryū, which were in circulation in Ecchū. However, among these scrolls, there were seven or eight containing what Shinjō referred to as “those Three Inner Sūtras (*kano nai-sanbukyō* 彼の内三部経) and oral traditions of Kikuran 菊蘭の口伝”. Shinjō writes that it is then that he saw these texts for the first time and found them very unusual. He borrowed the scrolls to bring them back to his room and copy them, but there were details in them that were unclear to him – 三十六の年建長二年の夏の比、小僧が庵室に越前国赤坂の新善光寺の弘阿弥陀仏と云ふ僧来る。しばらく宿住し、日々に所々巡礼せし事、又知識に親近して修行の作法を見しありさまを数日間談ぜし次に、菩提心論の談議を求請しき。之れに依て四五日を経、勝義行願の大旨を受け畢りて後、件の僧出にき。其の後小僧又事の便り有りて彼の善光寺に詣し時、弘阿弥陀仏の庵室に召請再三に及びしかば彼の室に望みて見れば経机の上に大なる袋を置けり。弘阿弥陀仏是れを開き巻物を取り出せり。其の数殆ど百余巻なり。小僧是れを開き見れば大旨越中国に流布する処の立川の折紙どもなり。此の中に彼の内三部経菊蘭の口伝七八巻交れり。小僧初めて是れを見るに珍らしく此の巻物を借用して住所に帰てうつしをはりぬ。又此の書のありさま委細ならずして見あきらむる処なかりき。(Moriyama, p. 532)

Lineages of “that teaching”:

Transmission lineage of the canonical texts: Kōbō-daishi -> Kangen -> Shun’yū -> Kangū -> Kanchō -> Gakyō -> Saishin -> Jinkaku -> Ningai -> Seison -> Shinkaku -> Hanshun -> Kakuhō-hōshinnō -> Kanjo -> Kanshin -> Shōe-hōshinnō -> Genshin –経論の相承：大師 - 観賢 - 淳祐 - 寛空 - 寛朝 - 雅慶 - 済信 - 深覚 - 仁海 - 成尊 - 信覚 - 範俊 - 覚法々親王 - 寛助 - 寛信 - 聖恵法親王 - 巖信

Transmission lineage of the *abhiṣeka*: Kōbō-daishi -> Jichie -> Ekishin -> [Kanpyō] hō [= Emperor Uda 宇多天皇] -> Kakushō-hōshinnō -> Shinkai hōshi –灌頂の血脈：大師 - 実慧 - 益信 - 法皇 - 覚性法親王 - 心海法師 (Moriyama, p. 541-542)

Lineage of the “real” Tachikawa-ryū:

Tathāgata Mahāvairocana -> Vajrasattva -> Nāgārjuna -> Nāgārjuna [2] -> Vajrabodhi -> Amoghavajra -> Huiguo -> Kōbō-daishi -> Shinga -> Gennin -> Shōbō -> Kangen -> Shun'yū -> Gengō -> Ningai -> Seison -> Hanshun -> Shōkaku -> Rennin [= Ninkan?] -> Kenren -> 立川流血脈：大日如来 - 金剛薩埵 - 龍猛菩薩 - 龍智菩薩 - 金剛智 - 不空 - 惠果 - 弘法大師 - 真雅 - 源仁 - 聖宝 - 觀賢 - 淳祐 - 元杲 - 仁海 - 成尊 - 範俊 - 勝覺 - 蓮念 - 見蓮 \*

┆ - 仁範 Ninhan...

\* - 見蓮 - 覺印 Kakuin...

┆ - 阿鑊 Aban...

(Kushida, p. 351, 360, etc.)

Studies on manuscripts of the “real” Tachikawa-ryū: Kushida Ryōkō 櫛田良洪 and Kōda Yūun 甲田宥咩: see bibliography

Shinjō writes that although “although none of the followers of the “correct schools” of the main temples talks about this teaching, nine out of ten Shingon masters in the countryside believe that this is the essence of Mikkyō.” – 本寺の正流の人々の事は都て是れをいはず、辺土田舎においては真言師と聞ゆる輩の中に十人が九人は皆是れを密教の肝心と信じあへり。(Moriyama, p. 555)

Other sources on “that teaching” of the *Juhō-yōjin-shū*:

Mujū 無住 (1226-1312), the author of the famous *Shasekishū* 沙石集

*Endonkai kikigaki* 円頓戒聞書 by a monk named Ejin 惠尋, written around 1263

*Byakuhō-ku-shō* 白宝口抄 composed before 1341

*Ise Monogatari Zuinō* 伊勢物語髓腦: author unknown, written in early 14th century

#### V. Other sexual doctrines:

Sanbōin-ryū 三宝院流: “doctrine of the five positions [of the embryo] in the womb”: *tainai goi setsu* 胎内五位説

Tameaki-ryū 為顕流: Fujiwara no Tameaki 藤原為顕 (ca. 1230s to after 1295); *Ise Monogatari Zuinō* (Ogawa, p. 138; see also Klein [1997, 1998, 2002]).

不干斎八ピアン Fukansai Habian [Fabian] 『妙貞問答』 *Myōtei Mondō* (1605) (Ebisawa *et al.*, p. 133-134)

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