[Dear Colleagues: This entry appears in *Brill's Encylopedia of Buddhism*, vol. II: *Lives* (pp. 1076-1087). My contract prohibits posting the actual digital offprint from the *Encyclopedia*, but I am allowed to share this Word file. Citations should refer to the published article. -JS].

NICHIREN

The Japanese Buddhist monk Nichiren (日蓮; 1222–1282), regarded as the founder of the Hokkeshū (法華宗; Lotus sect, now called Nichirenshū [日蓮宗]), taught exclusive devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra*. In the present age, he asserted, one can realize buddhahood solely by chanting the sūtra's *daimoku* (題目) or title in the formula *Namu Myōhō-renge-kyō* (南無妙法蓮華經), said to contain the wisdom of all buddhas within itself. More than forty registered religious bodies in Japan today, both temple organizations and lay movements, derive from Nichiren's teachings. Few Japanese Buddhist figures have inspired more literary and artistic activity. Down to the present, the events of his tumultuous career have been elaborated in hagiographies, theatrical performances, hymns (*wasan* [和讃]), woodblocks, paintings, novels, and *manga*.

Attempts to retrieve a purely factual version of Nichiren's biography stripped of legendary accretions quickly come up against limitations. Nichiren is not mentioned in the surviving historical records of his time, so one must rely chiefly on autobiographical passages in his own writings (critical edition Risshō, 1988; partial trans. Watson, 1990, 1996). There one encounters gaps in information, especially for Nichiren's early life, and also questions of authenticity. Among the more than four hundred personal letters, essays, and other works attributed to him, some may represent not Nichiren's own writing but the work of later disciples, either written with his approval or produced and attributed to him after his death. Some modern scholars of Nichiren accordingly prefer to base their studies solely on writings that can be authenticated, including those—well over a hundred, not counting numerous fragments—that survive in Nichiren's own hand (Suzuki, 1965, 3–10; Yamanaka, 1992–1993, 2:57–67). This approach, however, excludes many writings that may be genuine or at least accurate representations of his thought. Moreover, one must take into consideration Nichiren's own proclivity for dramatic narrative and his reading of events in ways that placed him and his

followers within the *Lotus Sūtra*'s paradigm of heroic bodhisattva conduct. Mythologizing of Nichiren, it has been said, begins not with later disciples but with Nichiren himself (Sueki 2000, 53–54). As with many great premodern religious figures, there is sometimes no clear line between fact and legend, and both have shaped Nichiren's subsequent tradition.

Early Studies and Polemical Engagement

Nichiren was born in 1222 in Kominato, a fishing village on the coast of Awa province (安房; now Chiba prefecture) in eastern Japan. His self-description as a "son of outcastes" may reflect not so much strict fact as an emphasis on the *Lotus Sūtra*'s power to save even the most lowly and sinful. Recent research suggests that his parents may have belonged to the lower ranks of educated samurai who served local lords as secretaries and administrators (Nakao, 2001, 18–26). At age twelve (counted ordinally by East Asian convention), Nichiren went to study at Kiyosumidera (清澄寺; also pronounced Seichōji), a nearby temple, and at sixteen, he was ordained by his teacher Dōzen-bō (道善房), taking the name Renchō (蓮長). Kiyosumidera was an important regional center of both mountain ascetic practice and doctrinal study, where texts of multiple Buddhist traditions were copied and disseminated (Nakao, 2001, 27−30; Dolce, 2002, 56–65). Nichiren seems to have concentrated especially on Tendai Lotus studies and both Tendai and Shingon esoteric traditions (on the depth of his esoteric roots, see Dolce, 1999; 2002). Kiyosumidera was a site for practicing the *gumonjihō* (求聞持法), an esoteric rite directed to the bodhisattva Kokūzō (虚空藏; Skt. Ākāśagarbha) and said to aid in study by conferring the power of memory. Nichiren wrote that the bodhisattva appeared to him as a venerable monk and gave him a jewel of wisdom that enabled him to grasp the essence of the Buddhist teachings (Risshō, 1988, 1:473).

Nichiren's earliest surviving essay, written when he was twenty, shows him already grappling with a polemic that would shape his life trajectory. Shortly before Nichiren's time, the monk Hōnen (法然;1133–1212) had taught that traditional practices based on one's own efforts to realize awakening were beyond human capacity now in the degenerate, final Dharma age (*mappō* [末法]), a period of decline predicted in Buddhist sūtras. The only path to liberation still viable, Hōnen insisted, was to abandon all other practices and solely chant the *nenbutsu* (念佛), the name of the buddha Amida (阿彌陀; Skt. Amitābha, Amitāyus), wholeheartedly relying on

the power of Amida's compassionate vow to lead to his Pure Land all who place faith in him. Once born in Amida's Pure Land, far away in the western quadrant of the cosmos, one would be assured of attaining buddhahood. Although initially opposed by the Buddhist establishment and government authorities, by Nichiren's time the exclusive *nenbutsu* was steadily gaining ground. Hōnen's followers targeted the *Lotus Sūtra* for particular attack, probably because of its status as the fundamental scripture of the influential Tendai school and its popularity in the larger religious culture. According to Tendai doctrine, the *Lotus* represents the Buddha's final and perfect teaching, encompassing all truth within itself, and enables the direct realization of buddhahood in this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu* [卽身成佛]); all his other teachings are incomplete, preparatory expedients (see for example Stone, 1999, 14-17, 31-32). Nichiren was dismayed to see the spread of the exclusive *nenbutsu* discouraging practice of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the one teaching, in his view, that was powerful enough to save the men and women of a degenerate era.

Nichiren's conviction that the *Lotus Sūtra* alone leads to liberation in the final Dharma age deepened through subsequent study. By his own account, he spent some twenty years studying in Kamakura, headquarters of the Bakufu or shogunate, and at the major Buddhist centers of western Japan including the Tendai head temple on Mt. Hiei (比叡山). During this period he mastered not only Lotus-based Tendai thought and esoteric teachings but a range of sūtras, commentaries, Confucian classics, and other literature, laying the intellectual foundations for his own distinctive teaching.

By 1253 Nichiren returned to Kiyosumidera. In that year, at age thirty-two, he gave his first public sermon, an event later celebrated as the founding of the Nichiren sect. While its content is not recorded, Nichiren presumably asserted the supremacy of the *Lotus Sūtra* and criticized the exclusive *nenbutsu*. Around the same time he took the name Nichiren ("Sun Lotus"). It derives from *Lotus Sūtra* passages likening the sūtra's practitioners to the sun, which dispels darkness, and to the lotus, which blooms in muddy water without being defiled by it.

Nichiren's preaching drew mixed responses within the Kiyosumidera community. Controversy over his message soon became entangled with a struggle for control over temple lands. The local Bakufu-appointed steward (*jitō* [地頭]) Tōjō Kagenobu (東條景信) hunted on Kiyosumidera's territory, violating the rights of the local estate proprietor (*ryōke* [領家]) and the legally protected sanctity of the temple precincts. An exclusive *nenbutsu* devotee, Kagenobu also

tried to force Kiyosumidera monks to accept this practice. Nichiren supported the estate proprietor, a lay nun known as Nagoe-no-ama (名越尼), helping her to negotiate a successful lawsuit and also performing ritual prayers to free the temple from Kagenobu's influence. However, growing animosity from Kagenobu and the temple faction supporting him eventually forced Nichiren to leave Kiyosumidera. He relocated to the neighboring province of Shimōsa (下総), where he had ties with one Toki Jōnin (富木常忍), a warrior-bureaucrat who served in the administrative headquarters of the provincial constable. Toki embraced Nichiren's teaching and became a lay monk shortly thereafter. A learned man, Toki was entrusted by Nichiren with many of his important writings. After Nichiren's death, he established the temple Nakayama Hokkekyō-ji (中山法華經寺), which even now houses an extensive archive of Nichiren's work. Nichiren preached among local warriors, and a community of followers began to form (Nakao, 2001, 59–64).

By 1257, Nichiren had moved to Kamakura. There, as in Shimōsa, he encountered exclusive *nenbutsu* teachers, who were steadily winning converts. Nichiren's writings during this period grew increasingly critical of Hōnen's doctrine. The *nenbutsu*, he argued, was a provisional teaching, like the scaffolding temporarily erected when building a large pagoda. Since the pagoda—the *Lotus Sūtra*—had been completed, the scaffolding should be dismantled. The perfect teaching of the *Lotus* had been established in Japan since the time of the Tendai founder Saichō (最澄; 766/767–822). To reject it in favor of an incomplete provisional teaching was in effect to malign or slander the Dharma (*hōbō* [謗法]), Nichiren said. Thus *nenbutsu* followers would not be born in the Pure Land as they anticipated, but would instead fall into the hells. Nichiren also attacked the idea of deferring buddhahood until reaching Amida's Pure Land after death. "The primordially enlightened buddha of the perfect teaching abides in this world," he insisted. "Wherever a *Lotus* practitioner dwells is precisely the pure land" (Risshō, 1988, 1:129).

At the same time, Nichiren recognized in the teaching of his Pure Land opponents the value of a simple, universally accessible form of practice. Around this time he began teaching his followers to chant the *daimoku* of the *Lotus Sūtra*, *Namu Myōhō-renge-kyō*. *Myōhō-renge-kyō* is the name, in Japanese pronunciation, of the Chinese translation of the sūtra produced by the famed Central Asian scholar-monk Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什; 344–413), while *Namu*, from

Sanskrit *nama*s, denotes devotion and the taking of refuge. Nichiren did not invent this mantra. Traditional Tendai exegesis held that the essence of the entire *Lotus Sūtra*—indeed, of all Buddhism—is contained within its title. To a limited extent, the *daimoku* was chanted before Nichiren's time; it was, for example, the mantra employed in the esoteric "Lotus rite" (*Hokke hō* [法華法]) performed to eradicate karmic hindrances and reach enlightenment (Dolce, 1999, 375–376; 2002, 294–310). Nichiren's innovations were to make it an exclusive practice and provide it with a doctrinal foundation. Outwardly, his *daimoku* practice resembles the *nenbutsu* in that both require only the chanting, grounded in faith, of a single phrase, which is thereby invested with absolute status. Nichiren may have drawn to some extent on the very Pure Land tradition he so implacably opposed. The logic underlying Nichiren's *daimoku*, however, lies much closer to that of esoteric mantra practice: in the act of chanting, the practitioner and the primordial, constantly-abiding Buddha of the *Lotus Sūtra* are united, and one realizes buddhahood in this very body. Nichiren likened this to a lamp suddenly illuminating a place that has been dark for ten million years (Risshō, 1988, 2:1528).

First Remonstration and Backlash

The late 1250s saw a wave of calamities: earthquakes, drought, famine, and epidemics. In Nichiren's eyes, the underlying cause of these catastrophes was "slander of the Dharma," represented by Hōnen's teaching, a theme he developed in several essays, the most famous being his admonitory treatise, *Risshō ankoku ron* (立正安國論; On Establishing the True Dharma and Bringing Peace to the Realm, Risshō 1988, 1:209-226; T. 2688). Written in elegant literary Chinese, it takes the form of a dialogue between a traveler, grieved at the sight of widespread suffering, and his host, who gradually persuades him of its underlying cause and solution. Nichiren submitted this treatise through an intermediary to the former shogunal regent Hōjō Tokiyori (北條時頼), who, although formally retired, was the most powerful figure in the Bakufu. Nichiren's later tradition terms this his first act of "admonishing the state" (*kokka kangyō* [國家諫暁]). In this work, Nichiren cited sūtra passages enumerating the disasters that will befall a country whose ruler fails to protect the true Dharma. Already, just as those sūtras described, the country had seen violent storms, crop failure, famines, epidemics, and ominous astral portents. Unless the situation were rectified, Nichiren asserted, two further calamities mentioned in the sūtras were sure to occur: revolt within the ruler's domain and invasion from

abroad. He called on government officials to cease support for monks promoting erroneous teachings and instead to embrace “the single good of the true vehicle”; then the world would become “entirely a buddha land” (Risshō, 1988, 1:226).

Scholars have speculated about whether or not Nichiren had prior knowledge of the impending Mongol attacks against Japan. Since Kamakura was a thriving port for East Asian trade, word would certainly have arrived of Mongol predations on the continent. The question, however, is beside the point; the significance of Nichiren’s prediction of foreign invasion lies rather in the fact that he clearly articulated what had hitherto been a vague fear, framing the threat to Japan as a problem of truth or error in reception of the Buddhist teachings and linking it to scriptural prophecies attributed the Buddha himself.

No record remains of the Bakufu’s response to Nichiren’s *Risshō ankoku ron*. However, word of its content may have leaked out. Nichiren was soon challenged to debate by leading Pure Land teachers in Kamakura, the monks Dōkyō Nenkū (道教念空, a.k.a. Dōamidabutsu 道阿彌陀佛) and Nōan (能安). By his own account, he quickly defeated them, but their followers then spread malicious rumors about him. A mob attacked his residence, forcing him to leave Kamakura for a time. On his return in 1261, he was exiled to the Izu (伊豆) peninsula, where he remained until 1263.

Little is known about Nichiren’s Izu exile. A sentence of banishment could easily spell death, as exiles often lacked adequate food and shelter and were shunned by locals. Tradition holds that Nichiren was secretly sheltered by the fisherman Yasaburō (彌三郎) and his wife, and that he won the gratitude of the local lord by curing him of illness through his prayers. However, these events are described in a single letter whose original does not survive, and some scholars question its authenticity (Stone, 1990, 193–203). Other writings from this period develop Nichiren’s famous “five principles” (*gogi* [五義]) on which he grounded his claims for the sole efficacy of the *Lotus Sūtra*: the teaching, human capacity, time, country, and sequence of propagation (Stone, 1999, 252–255). We can also trace a growing self-identification on Nichiren’s part with specific passages in the *Lotus Sūtra* that describe the hardships besetting those who uphold it in a future evil age. The “Dharma Preacher” chapter says, “Hatred and jealousy toward this sūtra abound even during the Buddha’s lifetime; how much more so after his nirvāṇa!” (T. 262 [IX] 31b20–21), and the “Fortitude” chapter speaks of eminent monks, revered by the world at large, who will revile, persecute, and banish Lotus devotees and induce

the authorities to take action against them (36b27–c10). At this point Nichiren began referring to himself as the *gyōja* (行者; practitioner or votary) of the *Lotus Sūtra*, and to describe his practice as a "bodily reading" (*shikidoku* [色讀]) of the sūtra. That is, he did not merely verbally recite its words or mentally contemplate its teachings but was actually living out its predictions. This "bodily reading" was in effect a circular hermeneutic in which the *Lotus Sūtra* legitimized Nichiren's actions and his actions fulfilled the sūtra's prophecies (Habito, 2009, 198–199).

Nichiren was pardoned in early 1263. For the next few years he preached in Kamakura and nearby provinces, fostering clerical and lay followers. In 1264, he returned briefly to his home in Awa to visit his mother, who was critically ill. His prayers, he wrote, extended her life, as she recovered and lived another four years. But while traveling in the area, at a place called Komatsubara (小松原), Nichiren and his companions were ambushed by retainers of Tōjō Kagenobu, the Bakufu steward whom he had opposed at Kiyosumidera. While most of Nichiren's party managed to escape, one of his followers was killed and two gravely wounded; Nichiren himself sustained a broken arm and a sword cut on his forehead. Two early wooden statues of him reproduce the resulting facial scar (Nakao, 2001, 92–93). Nichiren would later refer to this incident, together with the earlier attack on his dwelling in 1261 and his two exiles, to Izu and Sado (佐渡), as the four chief ordeals he had encountered in his proselytizing efforts.

Around 1265 or 1266, Nichiren initiated the Daishikō (大師講), a commemorative lecture for his followers held monthly on the twenty-fourth, the death day of the Tiantai/Tendai patriarch Zhiyi (智顗; 538–597), whose works were foundational for Nichiren's own teaching. These gatherings served to unite his growing community and to deepen their doctrinal understanding. Extracts from major Buddhist writings and charts of doctrinal matters that Nichiren produced at this time seem intended for use in a pedagogical context (Nakao, 2001, 96–98, 101–103).

The Mongol Threat and Nichiren's Second Exile

In 1268 and again in 1269, letters arrived from Kubilai Khan demanding that Japan submit to Mongol overlordship. Anxieties mounted as the Bakufu began to mobilize a military defense while major temples and shrines initiated prayer rituals for the country's protection. These events seemed to bear out the accuracy of Nichiren's prophecy about foreign invasion,

made almost a decade earlier in his *Risshō ankoku ron*. As his following grew, Nichiren redoubled his efforts in doctrinal instruction, emphasizing that only embracing the *Lotus Sūtra* could save Japan from disaster. Zen now joined the *nenbutsu* among his polemical targets, as did contemporary precept revival movements. His criticism of the esoteric teachings also began around this time, possibly in response to government sponsorship of esoteric rites for subduing enemies. Nichiren now wrote letters to leading Bakufu officials and Buddhist clerics, restating the central message of the *Risshō ankoku ron* and demanding the opportunity of a public debate with teachers of other sects to establish the supremacy of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

These renewed admonitions provoked hostility. By Nichiren's own account, the Pure Land teachers Nen'a Ryōchū (然阿良忠) and Dōkyō joined forces to conspire against him with the eminent Ryōkan-bō Ninshō (良觀房忍性), an esoteric adept renowned for his charitable activities and strict precept observance; these clerics, Nichiren claimed, had slandered him to the wives of top Bakufu officials, and eventually he was summoned to answer charges by Hei (Taira) no Yoritsuna (平賴綱), deputy head of the Hōjō's board of retainers. Two days later, on 9/12/1271, Yoritsuna had Nichiren arrested, possibly as part of a larger Bakufu effort to subdue dissident elements at home in preparing the country's defenses (Takagi, 1965, 189–190). Again Nichiren was sentenced to exile, this time to the remote island province of Sado in the Japan Sea. However, he wrote, Yoritsuna privately intended to behead him. That night he was paraded through the streets like a common criminal and taken to the execution grounds outside the city.

This brings us to the most famous episode in Nichiren hagiography. Just as he was about to be beheaded, a dazzling object streaked across the night sky, terrifying his would-be executioners. Nichiren describes this event in dramatic detail in his semi-autobiographical *Shuju onfurumai gosho* (種種御振舞御書; On various actions; Risshō, 1988, 2:967; Watson, 1990, 326). However, some scholars regard the passage in question as a later interpolation, and any Bakufu documents that might have helped weigh its historicity have been lost. In the modern period, a dispute over the matter took place between the positivist historian Shigeno Yasutsugu (重野安繹; 1827–1910) of Tokyo Imperial University, who deemed the episode a later fabrication, and the Nichirenist lay leader Tanaka Chigaku (田中智學; 1861–1939), who rebutted Shigeno's position in a near six-hour lecture that drew some three thousand persons and helped galvanize his fledgling movement (Ōtani, 2001, 60–64). While modern apologists

periodically attempt to account for the shining object as a meteorological or astronomical phenomenon, Nichiren himself clearly believed he had in some sense undergone a death and rebirth on that night (Sueki, 2000, 59–62). Whatever its factual status, for later followers, the tradition of Nichiren's miraculous escape from death represented a different order of truth, demonstrating both Nichiren's identity as the great teacher for the *mappō* era and the triumph of the *Lotus Sūtra*'s protection over worldly power.

Nichiren was then remanded to the custody of Sado's deputy governor and the next month was escorted to Sado. There he was given as living quarters a ruined memorial chapel in a charnel ground called Tsukahara (塚原). Nichiren wrote that snow blew in through cracks in the roof and walls and piled up without melting. During that first winter, he suffered from cold, hunger, and the hostility of the locals. He also worried about his followers in Kamakura. In the wake of his arrest, some had been imprisoned, had their property seized, or been ousted from service to their overlords. The majority abandoned their faith in fear of official repercussions. Those who remained asked why their teacher, and they themselves, should face such harsh trials when the *Lotus Sūtra* promises its devotees "peace and security in the present world" (T. 262 [IX] 19b19–20). Others questioned Nichiren's confrontational approach: Couldn't the *Lotus Sūtra* be taught more gently?

Nichiren's Sado writings, such as his major treatise *Kaimoku shō* (開目抄; Opening of the Eyes, Risshō, 1988, 1:535-609; T. 2689), show him grappling with these questions. He now further clarified the rationale for his assertive proselytizing. Buddhist scriptures distinguish two modes of Dharma teaching: *shōju* (攝受), or gentle persuasion, leading others gradually without challenging their preconceptions, and *shakubuku* (折伏), the active rebuking of attachment to wrong views. Which to adopt, Nichiren said, depends on the time and place. Even in the final Dharma age, the gentle method might be used in a country where people are ignorant of the Dharma. But in a place like Japan in his day, where people willfully rejected the *Lotus Sūtra* and clung instead to provisional teachings that had outlived their efficacy, *shakubuku* was essential. This harsh approach, however, invited opposition. On one hand, Nichiren became convinced that by undergoing his present ordeals he was eradicating once and for all the sins of his own past slanders of the Dharma committed in prior lifetimes, just as a sword is rid of impurities in the forging process. In this regard, he identified his experience with that of Bodhisattva Never Despising (Jpn. Jōfukyō [常不輕]; Skt. Sadāparibhūta) who appears in the *Lotus Sūtra*. Never

Despising bowed to all persons he met as future buddhas and was mocked and abused in consequence, but when he had thus expiated his past misdeeds, he achieved the buddha way and was able to lead his tormentors to do so as well. At the same time, Nichiren saw his sufferings as fulfilling the *Lotus Sūtra*'s own prophecies of the trials awaiting those who uphold it in an evil latter age, and thus, as validating his chosen path. In that sense, he identified his proselytizing efforts with the work of Bodhisattva Superior Conduct (Jōgyō [上行]; Skt. Viśiṣṭacāritra), leader of a great multitude of bodhisattvas who spring forth from beneath the earth in the *Lotus Sūtra* and receive Śākyamuni Buddha's command to uphold and spread the sūtra after his passing. Much of Nichiren's later tradition regards him as Superior Conduct reborn.

Nichiren quickly formed ties with the island's inhabitants. He debated a Pure Land monk named Benjō (辨成) in 1272; not long after, local monks confronted him en masse, and he rebutted them as easily, he wrote, as slicing melon with a sword. Steadily he won converts among both clerics and laity. Some, at no small personal risk, secretly provided him with food and other necessities, and a community of Lotus devotees began to form.

Many of these converts were locals, such as the lay monk Abutsu-bō (阿佛房) and his wife Sennichi-ama (千日尼), or the lay monk Kō Nyūdo (國府入道) and his wife. Among them, however, was the learned Tendai scholar-monk Sairen-bō (最蓮房), originally a resident of Kyoto and, like Nichiren, an exile to Sado. Nichiren's twelve extant letters to Sairen-bō draw on the discourse of "original enlightenment doctrine" (*hongaku hōmon* [本覺法門]) that dominated contemporary Tendai intellectual circles. While Nichiren may have used such terminology because he was writing to a learned Tendai monk, modern scholars anxious to distinguish Nichiren's thought from that of medieval Tendai have deemed several of these letters to be apocryphal. However, Nichiren drew on multiple discourses in explaining his teaching, and it is problematic to question the authenticity of the Sairen-bō letters on the basis of these *hongaku* elements alone (Sueki, 2000, 196–202; Giglio, 2013).

In the second month of 1272, the shogunal regent's half-brother, Hōjō Tokisuke (北條時輔), led an uprising against the Bakufu. This incident seemed to fulfill the *Risshō ankoku ron*'s other prediction, of internal strife. Perhaps for that reason, in the spring, Nichiren was moved to somewhat better quarters in the home of a local lay monk, Ichinosawa Nyūdō (一谷入道). Spring also brought renewed contact with his followers in the eastern provinces, who sent

messengers with paper, ink, and writing brushes. Some, such as the warrior Shijō Kingo (四條金吾) and the lay nun Nichimyō (日妙), even contrived to visit him.

While on Sado, Nichiren produced some of his most important writings, such as the *Kanjin honzon shō* (觀心本尊抄; The Contemplation of the Mind and the Object of Worship; Risshō, 1988, 1:702-721; T. 2692), later designated, along with the *Risshō ankoku ron* and *Kaimoku shō,* as one of Nichiren's three most important essays. Dated 1273, this work develops the doctrinal basis for chanting the *daimoku* as the form of "mind contemplation" (觀心) appropriate for the final Dharma age. It argues that the primordially awakened Śākyamuni Buddha's "causes and effects"—the practices he undertook since the inconceivably remote past in order to realize buddhahood and the merits he gained in consequence—are all completely contained within the five characters of the *daimoku* and immediately transferred to the devotee in chanting it. Thus the practitioner can realize the merits of the six perfections comprising the entirety of the bodhisattva path without needing to cultivate them as specific practices.

The *Kanjin honzon shō* also lays the doctrinal groundwork for the "great maṇḍala" (*daimandara* [大曼荼羅]), a calligraphic maṇḍala that Nichiren devised as an object of worship for his followers, drawing on iconographic precedents from esoteric practice to represent the Lotus assembly (Dolce, 2013). More than 120 examples survive in his own hand (Yamanaka, 1992–1993, vol. 1). Down the maṇḍala's center, *Namu Myōhō-renge-kyō* is written in bold, vertical characters, flanked by the names of the two buddhas, Śākyamuni and Many Jewels (多寶如来), just as they sat together in the jeweled stūpa floating in open space, as described in the *Lotus Sūtra*. The names of the individual figures surrounding the *daimoku* represent the ten realms of existence, from hell-dwellers to buddhas; illuminated by the central inscription of the *daimoku*, each reveals its enlightened aspect. By having faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* and chanting its *daimoku*, Nichiren taught, the devotee "enters" the maṇḍala—the realm of the primordial Buddha—and participates in the enlightened reality that it depicts.

The Minobu Years

Nichiren was pardoned in early 1274. Bakufu leaders may have decided, in light of the accuracy of his prophecies, that he had special insight into current events, or followers with government ties may have negotiated his release (Takagi, 1985, 183–184). Nichiren himself

wrote that the Bakufu regent Hōjō Tokimune (北條時宗) was convinced of his innocence. He returned to Kamakura in 1274 and was immediately summoned by Taira no Yoritsuna, the official responsible for his earlier arrest and near beheading. Nichiren must have entertained renewed hopes that the Bakufu would now hear his message. Yoritsuna, however, asked only when the Mongols would arrive. Within the year, Nichiren replied—accurately, as it turned out. His earliest biography, written a few decades after his death, suggests that he was offered official patronage if he would join the prelates of other sects in offering prayers for Mongol defeat. But Nichiren, convinced that devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra* alone could save the country, refused (Risshō, 1968–1978, 2:250; Satō, 2003, 257). This account may well be accurate; at a later point, Nichiren seems to have rejected on similar grounds a request for ritual prayers made by the Bakufu official Adachi Yasumori (安達泰盛; Risshō, 1988, 2:1619; Satō, 2003, 199–200).

Realizing that the government would not heed him, Nichiren now left Kamakura for the last time, intending to become a solitary wanderer. He stopped at Mt. Minobu (身延) in Kai (甲斐) province, where a follower, the local steward, Hakii (or Hakiri) Sanenaga (波木井實長), offered him land for a hermitage. Nichiren's first dwelling on the mountain was primitive, and again, he endured hunger and cold. But although he had intended only a temporary stay, a number of disciples soon joined him. He would remain for eight years.

At Minobu, Nichiren devoted himself to training disciples—he wrote that around sixty were continually in residence—and to elaborating his teachings; more than half his extant writings date from this period. He continued to exercise leadership of his larger community through a far-flung but effective network. His chief disciples now took responsibility for propagation and guiding followers in Kamakura and in Suruga (駿河), Shimōsa, and other provinces, traveling between Minobu and these local areas. Lay devotees also came to visit him. Letters served him as a vital medium of teaching and communication. The Minobu community relied on lay donations for material support, and Nichiren unfailingly wrote to thank individuals for each gift of food, clothing, or other supplies, taking the opportunity to offer instruction and encouragement. These personal letters yield insights into Nichiren's understanding of the application of faith in daily affairs and also provide information about his following. His surviving letters name 66 clerical disciples and 162 lay devotees; several dozen additional followers not mentioned in his extant correspondence appear on a list of those who received maṇḍalas (Takagi, 1965, 52, 67–68). Allowing for family members, retainers, and servants, his

following probably amounted to several hundred. They included samurai of varying ranks as well as cultivators and landholders. A number were women, several of them lay nuns (*nyūdō-ama* [入道尼]), widows of warriors who retained control of their husbands' property and helped support Nichiren through their donations (Satō, 2003, 281–283). Nichiren had close ties with his female followers, and several of his letters containing reflective, autobiographical passages were sent to them. His letters of condolence to women who had lost husbands and children include some of the most moving passages in his writings.

Nichiren's activities at Minobu unfolded amid mounting tension as the court sponsored prayers for the country's protection and the Bakufu stepped up military defenses. Though ultimately thwarted, tradition holds, by typhoons, the two Mongol invasion attempts, in 1274 and 1282, involved fierce local fighting. A third attempt was still anticipated at the time of Nichiren's death. Nichiren's network seems to have kept him quickly informed of developments. His letters provide the most extensive contemporaneous account of the impact of the Mongol attacks on individual lives, depicting the grief of families as warriors departed for the front and the torture of those seized and enslaved on the outlying islands of Iki (壱岐) and Tsushima (對馬) (Kawazoe, 1984, 152–155).

During this time, several of Nichiren's individual followers became targets of hostility. Shijō Kingo was threatened with expulsion from his lord's service, while the monk Inaba-bō Nichiei (因幡房日永), a former *nenbutsu* practitioner, drew furious opposition from his father for embracing Nichiren's teaching. In one case, twenty lay followers, peasants in Suruga province, were arrested and three beheaded (Stone, 2014). Nichiren's leadership, again expressed through his letters, enabled the individuals involved to stand firm, and held his community together in the face of threats.

Nichiren's vision now turned increasingly toward the future. He charged his followers with establishing an ordination platform (*kaidan* [戒壇]), based on the essence of the *Lotus Sūtra*, which together with the *daimoku* and the great maṇḍala comprise the "three great secret dharmas" for the final Dharma age. Nichiren's intentions concerning the *kaidan* are not altogether clear. Only one writing, the *Sandai hihō honjōji* (三大秘法稟承事; Transmission of the Three Great Secret Dharmas), provides any detail, describing it as a spiritual center for the people of the world, to be erected once the sovereign and his ministers have embraced the *Lotus Sūtra* (Risshō, 1988, 2:1864–1865). Since ordination platforms in premodern Japan were court

sponsored, Nichiren may well have envisioned the eventual acceptance of his teaching in these terms. However, a state-sponsored *kaidan* would contravene the modern ideal of separation of religion and government, and the *Sandai hihō honjōji*'s authenticity has been hotly contested, as much on ideological as on textual grounds. Computer analysis suggests it may be genuine (Itō & Murakami, 1992). Be that as it may, some practitioners prefer to interpret the *kaidan* metaphorically as any place where the *daimoku* is chanted (Sueki 1999, 264–273; 2000, 166–183).

Nichiren never lost confidence that at some point, his teaching would spread throughout Japan and beyond, transforming the present world into a buddha land. In his last years, his health began to fail. His disciples urged him to leave Minobu to take treatment at the Hitachi hotsprings in the east, where Hakii Sanenaga had an estate. Nichiren died en route at Ikegami (池上; now a suburb of Tokyo) on 10/13/1282, after designating six senior disciples to lead the task of propagation. Traditional biographies say that, at the moment of his death, the earth trembled and cherry trees bloomed out of season (Risshō, 1968-1978, 2:246; Ogawa, 1979, 351).

Later Representations

Considerable diversity developed within the subsequent Nichiren tradition. A few days before his death, Nichiren designated six main disciples to lead his community, specifying that no order of rank obtained among them (Risshō, 1968-1978, 2:101-102; Stone, 1999, 301-303). All were active in different areas of the eastern provinces, and their respective congregations formed the initial bases for the distinct monastic lineages that developed within the Hokkeshū over the course of the medieval period (Risshō, 1984). New lineages formed as propagation expanded and also resulted from schisms; rival doctrinal interpretations and ritual norms arose as sub-branches multiplied. In addition, Nichiren's teaching spread among differing social constituencies. In eastern Japan, in medieval times, the Hokkeshū maintained its traditional base among warriors and cultivators, while in the western cities of Kyoto, Osaka, and Sakai, it was widely embraced by the "townspeople" (*machishū* [町衆])—merchants, manufacturers, and artisans—and flourished along with their urban mercantile culture. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Nichirenshū, as it had come to be called, was characterized, especially in major cities, by burgeoning associations of lay followers (*kō* [講] or *kōchū* [講中]), some under clerical leadership but others organized more or less independently (Nakao, 1999; Mochizuki,

2002). These groups promoted such activities as pilgrimage to sacred sites, festivals marking important days in Nichiren's life, and the traveling display (*kaichō* [開帳]) of images, maṇḍalas, and other sacred objects held by noted Nichiren temples (Kitamura, 1989). These *kō* can be seen as the remote predecessors of the vigorous Nichiren Buddhist lay movements that arose during the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Despite tensions, sometimes even conflict, among its diverse branches, the Nichiren tradition has been held together by a consciousness of being "Nichiren's disciples," entrusted with his mandate to spread faith in the *Lotus Sūtra*. One convention working to support this shared sense of identity was widespread use of the *nichigō* (日号) a clerical name beginning with the character *nichi* from Nichiren; in this way, the entire order, throughout its subsequent history, became in a sense an extension of Nichiren. Use of the *nichigō* began with Nichiren himself, who conferred such names on his monk disciples and also some of his female followers. It represents a specific adaptation of more general monastic naming practices in which a disciple would be given a name containing one character from that of the master (Stone, 1999, 303, 447n5). Also fostering reverence for Nichiren and a shared sense of identity among his followers has been the proliferation of biographies and other treatments of Nichiren's life story, which may outnumber those of any other leading Japanese Buddhist figure.

A few brief accounts of Nichiren's life appeared within several decades of his death. (Ishikawa, 1981, 1057-1058). Extant examples include the *Nichiren Shōnin goden dodai* (日蓮聖人御傳土代; Sketch of Nichiren Shōnin's Life; Risshō 1968-1978, 2:236-247) of Nichidō (日道; 1283-1341); the *Nichiren Shōnin gogutsū shidai* (日蓮聖人御弘通次第; Account of Nichiren Shōnin's Propagation; Risshō 1968-1978, 1:339-353) of Nisshin (日進; 1271-1334); and a purported autobiographical account embedded in the apocryphal *Hokke honmonshū yōshō* (法華本門宗要鈔; Essentials of the Hokke Honmon Sect; Risshō, 1988, 3:2158-2164). However, the writing of detailed biographies had to wait until around the fifteenth and sixteenth century, when the work of compiling Nichiren's writings had advanced sufficiently to make this possible. Of these medieval biographies, *Nichiren Shōnin chūgasan* (日蓮聖人註画讃; Illustrated Account of Nichiren Shōnin; Nichirenshū Zensho Shuppankai, 1974, 69-184) by Enmyōin Nitchō (圓明院日澄; 1441–1510) served as the basis for many subsequent retellings, and was the first Nichiren Buddhist work to be published in woodblock (1601). In Japan's early modern period (1603–

1868), Nichiren biography burgeoned in conjunction with a thriving print culture (Kanmuri, 1983, 127–212). Initially, most sectarian hagiographies were written by monks in formal Sino-Japanese (*kanbun* [漢文]); by the nineteenth century, however, accounts in the simplified *kana* script were also being produced, often by lay authors, for a less educated but eager readership. Early modern accounts often celebrate Nichiren as a wonder-working spiritual hero and bringer of this-worldly benefits. Most popular by far was the best-selling *Nichiren daishi shinjitsu den* (日蓮大士眞實傳; True Account of the Great Bodhisattva Nichiren) by the lay Nichiren Buddhist scholar Ogawa Taidō (小川泰堂; 1814–1878), written in vernacular Japanese and deliberately targeting a broad audience. First published in 1867, Ogawa's dramatic narrative was reissued in some twenty subsequent editions. Events from Nichiren's life were also depicted in *kabuki* plays and woodblock prints (http://www.ris.ac.jp/library/nichiren-kichou/index.html). In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Nichiren was refigured along with Shinran (親鸞), Dōgen (道元), and other teachers as representing a distinctively Japanese Buddhism. Modern biographers of Nichiren were no longer confined to clerics and lay devotees but included scholars of religion, historians, and literary figures; dozens of novels, plays, and scholarly biographies of him appeared during this time (Ishikawa, 1980). Nor was Nichiren still represented solely as a sectarian founder; other interpretive lenses were brought to bear on his life story. Since the modern period, he has been depicted as a savior of the country, a prophet of Japanese world conquest, a defender of universal truth, a quasi-Marxist hero of the people, and a subject for the study of religious psychology. Such images reflect, not merely different facets of Nichiren, but the divergent concerns of those writing about him. Three particular themes, sometimes overlapping, sometimes in tension, have recurred down to the present. All three have premodern roots but have developed in distinctively modern ways.

The first depicts Nichiren as a protector and spiritual leader of Japan. A tradition that Nichiren's prayers had raised the typhoon (the *kamikaze* [神風], divine wind) that dispersed the Mongol fleet dates at latest to the early eighteenth century (Taisekiji, 1982, 280). Ogawa Taidō's biography offers an especially dramatic rendering, in which Emperor Go-Uda (後宇多) commands the Bakufu to send a messenger to Nichiren, the "votary of the true Dharma," at Minobu to seek his thaumaturgical aid in defeating the enemy. "Now is the time to repay my debt to my country," Nichiren declares (Ogawa, 1979, 341). He inscribes the great maṇḍala on a

banner and presents it to the army commander, who flies it from atop a hill in Hakata (博多), raising the great winds that destroy the Mongol fleet (ibid.). Modern iterations of this theme present Nichiren as one of Japan's great patriots. A fierce bronze statue of him by the sculptor Takeuchi Kyūichi (竹内 久一; 1857–1916) in Higashi Park in Fukuoka, overlooking Hakata Bay, typifies this reading (Tokoro, 1972, 73–76; Kawazoe, 1984, 155–156). During Japan's modern period, images of Nichiren as a patriot were increasingly associated with nation-building and the militant expansion of empire.

At the same time, Nichiren has been seen as a figure of resistance. His uncompromising insistence that the *Lotus Sūtra*'s authority surpasses that of the ruler established a precedent for religiously motivated opposition to worldly power. This stance was preserved by clerics within the Hokkeshū, who periodically reenacted Nichiren's admonitions by urging the emperor, the shōgun, or local authorities to promote faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* for the country's welfare. Often such admonitions were conducted by sect leaders during times of crisis or by heads of new lineages seeking to establish their legitimacy as Nichiren's disciples. The annals of the Nichiren sect celebrate in particular those who, like the founder, were arrested and imprisoned or even tortured as a result (Stone, 1994, 237–240).

Images of Nichiren as an oppositional figure were reappropriated in new ways during the modern period. The literary figure Takyama Chōgyū (高山樗牛; 1871–1902) celebrated Nichiren as a heroic individual whose patriotism was not of the mundane sort; it would rather elevate the country by its connection to transcendent truth. During the Fifteen-Year War, intellectuals and social activists at odds with imperial ideology found inspiration in Nichiren's principled dissent. The economist Yanaihara Tadao (矢内原忠雄; 1893–1961), forced to resign his professorship at Tokyo Imperial University over his criticism of wartime colonial policy, saw in Nichiren someone "who could stand face to face with enemies of the truth and say a resolute, 'No!' …The fact that such a person existed in the Japan of old is of consolation for us all" (Yanaihara, 1965, 90; Habito, 1999, 433). The Buddhist activist Seno'o Girō (妹尾義郎; 1890–1961), imprisoned for his socialist sympathies in 1936, encouraged himself to hold out against forced ideological conversion (*tenkō* [轉向]) for as long as possible by recalling Nichiren's example (Seno'o, 1974–1975, 4:225).

Third, Nichiren has been seen as a teacher of social reform and world unification. Especially since the Meiji Restoration (1868), Nichiren's vision of a this-worldly buddha land has been assimilated to diverse social and political agendas, several with a millenarian thrust (Stone, 2000). The lay Nichiren Buddhist leader Tanaka Chigaku, mentioned above, envisioned a world where government, politics, ethics, and society would be grounded in the *Lotus Sūtra*. Japan, the country where Nichiren had appeared, had a holy mission to lead the way: "Nichiren is the general of the army that will unite the world. Japan is his headquarters. The people of Japan are his troops; teachers and scholars of Nichiren Buddhism are his officers. The Nichiren creed is a declaration of war, and *shakubuku* is the plan of attack...." (Lee, 1975, 26). While Tanaka saw Nichiren Buddhism as transcending and guiding the state, his vision readily served to legitimize Japan's imperialist agenda. Tanaka's disciple General Ishiwara Kanji (石原莞爾; 1889–1949) drew on Nichiren's prophecy of "an unprecedented great war" (Risshō, 1988, 2:1008)—a reference to the Mongol invasion—to envision an apocalyptic conflict pitting a Japan-led Asia against the West that would culminate in Japanese victory, uniting the world in an age of benevolence and peace based on the *Lotus Sūtra*.

Following Japan's defeat, millenarian readings of Nichiren became peaceful ones. Ishiwara and his East Asia League Association (Tōa Renmei Kyōkai [東亜連盟協会]) reformulated their vision as one harmonizing the simplicity of agrarian life with scientific and technological progress and establishing human equality based on Nichiren's teaching (Godart, 2015). The small Nichiren Buddhist ascetic order Nipponzan Myōhōji (日本山妙法寺) practices peaceful civil disobedience and is especially active in opposing nuclear arms. In the wake of the atomic bombings, its founder Fujii Nichidatsu (藤井日達; 1885–1995), who had earlier supported the imperial cause, embraced a Buddhist version of Gandhian pacifism and envisioned an ideal future society based not on the rule of force but on mutual aid and respect, grounded in Nichiren's *daimoku* practice. Several Lotus- or Nichiren-based lay religious movements, such as Sōka Gakkai (創価学会) and Risshō Kōseikai (立正佼成会), both of which claim a significant international presence, work for social betterment through established structures, for example, as NGO members of the United Nations (Stone, 2003). Nichiren's goal of a this-worldly buddha land imbues his teaching with a social dimension more pronounced than those of most premodern Buddhist figures and has ensured its ongoing relevance.

Bibliography

Dolce, L. “Reconsidering the Origins of Nichiren’s ‘Great Mandala of The Lotus Sutra,’” in: Rissho University Executive Committee for the Seventh International Conference on the Lotus Sutra, ed., *Universal and International Nature of the Lotus Sutra: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on the Lotus Sutra*, Tokyo, by the editor, Faculty of Buddhist Studies, Rissho University, 2013, 187–209.

Dolce, L., “Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren’s Interpretation of the Lotus Sutra,” diss., University of Leiden, 2002.

Dolce, L., “Nichiren’s Attitude toward Esoteric Buddhism,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 26/3–4, 1999, 349–382.

Giglio, E. (ジッリォ・エマヌエール・ダヴィデ), “*Shohō jissō shō* no raireki: *Rokunai*, *Rokuge* no shūsei jijō to Sairen-bō den kara” (『諸法実相抄』の来歴―「録内」「録外」の集成事情と最蓮房伝から), *Indo tetsugaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (インド哲学仏教学研究) 20, 2013, 107–144.

Godart, G., “Nichirenism, Utopianism, and Modernity: Rethinking Ishiwara Kanji’s East Asia League Movement,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 42/2, 2015, 235–274.

Habito, R. “Bodily Reading of the *Lotus Sūtra*,” in: S.F. Teiser & J.I. Stone, *Readings of the Lotus Sūtra*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009, 186–208.

Habito, R., “The Uses of Nichiren in Modern Japanese History,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 26/3–4, 1999, 423–439.

Ishikawa Kyōchō (石川教張), “Denki” (伝記), in *Nichirenshū jiten* (日蓮宗事典), ed. Nichirenshū Jiten Kankō Iinkai (日蓮宗事典委刊行員会), Tokyo: Nichirenshū Shūmuin, 1981, 1057-1058.

Ishikawa Kyōchō (石川教張), *Bungaku sakuhin ni arawareta Nichiren Shōnin* (文学作品に表れた日蓮聖人), Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1980.

Itō Zuiei (伊藤瑞叡) & Murakami Masakatsu (村上征勝), “Sandai hihō honjōji no keiryō bunkengakuteki shin kenkyū: Kurasutā bunseki ni yoru shingi hantei (三大秘法稟承事の軽量文献学的新研究－クラスター分析による真偽判定), *Ōsaki gakuhō* (大崎学報) 148 (1992):1-52.

Kanmuri Ken'ichi (冠賢一), *Kinsei Nichirenshū shuppanshi kenkyū* (近世日蓮宗出版史研究), Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1983.

Kawazoe Shōji (川添昭二), *Nichiren to Mōko shūrai* (日蓮と蒙襲来), Tokyo: Shimizu Shoin, 1984.

Kitamura Gyōon (北村行遠), *Kinsei kaichō no kenkyū* (近世開帳の研究), Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1989.

Lee, E., "Nichiren and Nationalism: The Religious Patriotism of Tanaka Chigaku," *Monumenta Nipponica* 30/1, 1975, 19–35.

Mochizuki Shinchō (望月真澄), *Kinsei Nichirenshū no soshi shinkō to shugojin shinkō* (近世日蓮宗の祖師信仰と守護神信仰), Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 2002.

Nakao Takashi (中尾堯), *Nichiren* (日蓮), Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001.

Nakao Takashi (中尾堯), *Nichiren shinkō no keifu to girei* (日蓮信仰の系譜と儀礼), Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999.

Nichirenshū Zensho Shuppankai (日蓮宗全書出版会), ed. *Nichiren Shōnin denkishū* (日蓮聖人傳記集), *Nichirenshū zensho* (日蓮宗全書), 1910; rev. ed. Kyoto: Honmanji, 1974.

Ogawa Taidō (小川泰堂), *Nichiren daishi shinjitsu den* (日蓮大士眞實傳), Edo, 1867; repr. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1979.

Ōtani Eiichi (大谷栄一), *Kindai Nihon no Nichirenshugi undo* (近代日本の日蓮主義運動), Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2001.

Risshō Daigaku Nichiren Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo (立正大學日蓮教學研究所), ed. *Shōwa teihon Nichiren shōnin ibun* (昭和定本日蓮聖人遺文), 4 vols., Minobu-san Kuonji, Minobu-chō, Yamanashi, 1952–1959; rev. ed. 1988.

Risshō Daigaku Nichiren Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo (立正大學日蓮教學研究所), ed. *Nichiren kyōdan zenshi* (日蓮教団全史) 1. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1984.

Risshō Daigaku Nichiren Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo (立正大學日蓮教學研究所), ed. *Nichirenshū shūgaku zensho* (日蓮宗宗學全書), 23 vols., Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1968–1978.

Satō Hiroo (佐藤弘夫), *Nichiren: Ware Nihon no hashira to naramu* (日蓮一われ日本の柱とならむ), Kyoto: Mineruba Shobō, 2003.

Seno'o Tetsutarō (妹尾鐵太郎) & Inagaki Masami (稲垣真美), eds. *Seno'o Girō nikki* (妹尾義郎日記), 7 vols. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1974–1975.

Stone, J. "The Atsuhara Affair: The *Lotus Sutra*, Persecution, and Religious Identity in the Early Nichiren Tradition," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 41/1, 2014, 153–189.

Stone, J., "Nichiren's Activist Heirs: Sōka Gakkai, Risshō Kōseikai, Nipponzan Myōhōji," in: C. Queen, C. Prebish, & D. Keown, eds., *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*, New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, 63–94.

Stone, J., "Japanese *Lotus* Millennialism: From Militant Nationalism to Contemporary Peace Movements," in: C. Wessinger, ed., *Millenialism, Persecution, and Violence: Historical Cases*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000, 261–280.

Stone, J. *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism* 12, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999.

Stone, J. "Rebuking the Enemies of the *Lotus*: Nichirenist Exclusivism in Historical Perspective," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21/2–3, 1994, 231–259.

Stone, J. "Some Disputed Writings in the Nichiren Corpus: Textual, Hermeneutical, and Historical Problems," diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1990.

Sueki Fumihiko (末木文美士), *Nichiren nyūmon: Gensei o utsu shisō* (日蓮入門ー現世を撃つ思想), Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2000.

Sueki F., "Nichiren's Problematic Works," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 26/3–4, 1999, 261–280.

Suzuki Ichijō (鈴木一成), *Nichiren Shōnin ibun no bunkengakuteki kenkyū* (日蓮聖人遺文の文献学的研究), Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1965.

Taisekiji (大石寺), ed., *Nichiren Daishōnin denki shiryō sakuin* (日蓮大聖人伝記資料索引), by the editor, Fujinomiya, Shizuoka, 1982.

Takagi Yutaka (高木豊), *Nichiren: Sono kōdō to shisō* (日蓮—その行動と思想), Tokyo: Hyōronsha, 1970; repr. 1985.

Takagi Yutaka (高木豊), *Nichiren to sono montei* (日蓮とその門弟), Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1965.

Tokoro Shigemoto (所重基), *Kindai shakai to Nichirenshugi* (近代社会と日蓮主義), Tokyo: Hyōronsha, 1972.

Watson, B. & others, trans., *Letters of Nichiren*, ed. P. Yampolsky, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Watson, B. & others, trans., *Selected Writings of Nichiren*, ed. P. Yampolsky, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.

www.ris.ac.jp/library/nichiren-kichou/index.html. Viewed 1 June 2017.

Yamanaka Kihachi (山中喜八), *Nichiren Shōnin shinseki no sekai* (日蓮聖人真蹟の世界), 2 vols., Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1992–1993.

Yanaihara Tadao (矢内原忠雄), "Yo no sonkei suru jinbutsu" (余の尊敬する人物) in: *Yanaihara Tadao zenshū* (矢内原忠雄全集), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965, 24:90.

Jacqueline Stone