KUMANO MANDARA:
PORTRAITS, POWER, AND LINEAGE IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

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This dissertation focuses on two *miya* mandara depicting the sacred geography of the Kumano region of Japan (late-thirteenth/early-fourteenth centuries). It demonstrates that the paintings were produced at Onjōji, a Tendai Buddhist temple in the eastern foothills of Mount Hiei, and owned by Shōgoin, its sub-temple in Kyoto. These temples were affiliated with the Jimon branch of Tendai associated with the esoteric cleric Enchin (814-891)), and were, by the time of the production of the mandara, in heated doctrinal, institutional, and political dispute over independence from the Tendai headquarters at Enryakuji.

Three primary issues related to the mandara are addressed. First is the purpose of their production. The dissertation questions earlier claims that *miya* mandara primarily functioned as visual tools allowing mental visits to depicted sacred sites in place of expensive and arduous pilgrimages. Rather, it argues that the Kumano mandara were part of a larger contemporaneous discourse that included other forms of written and visual materials—such as the *Ippen hijiri-e* and *Tengu zōshi* handscrolls, *Shugen shinanshō*, and petitions to court—and represented an orchestrated attempt to promote the spiritual superiority and legitimate the institutional autonomy of Onjōji over Enryakuji.

Viewed within this context, two atypical features of *miya* mandara found in the Kumano mandara can be understood: the inclusion of a portrait of Enchin and of the esoteric Diamond and Womb World mandala. Lineage and power being inseparable in the religious and political

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culture of medieval Japan, the dissertation argues that the purpose of their placement in the Kumano mandara was to claim that the superiority of Onjōji was rooted in both Enchin's Jimon lineage and his form of esoteric Tendai centered at the temple, and that each, in turn, valorized and legitimized Onjōji's claim for superiority over all other temples, especially Enryakuji.

Finally, the dissertation takes up the problem of another portrait found in the mandara, which has been identified (without substantiation) as the Shingon esoteric priest Kūkai (774-835). The dissertation contests this attribution, which is inconsistent with its other findings, and offers possible avenues of pursuit for identifying this damaged and controversial portrait.

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Finally, I thank my family for their support and dedicate this dissertation to them.

1.0   INTRODUCTION

A new category of religious painting known as *miya* mandara[1] began to be produced in twelfth-century Japan that depicted Buddhist and native Japanese deities (kami) and shrine architecture of cultic centers set within landscapes located on the Japanese archipelago. The images' distinctive visual qualities greatly differ from the Buddhist mandalic form developed on the Asian continent that was imported to Japan from China in the ninth century by the Japanese esoteric monk Kūkai (774-835). The continental mandalic form is comprised of diagrammatic squares and circles that contain a large assembly of Buddhist deities arranged in a geometrically structured composition. (See List of Images #1, #2) In contrast, the defining characteristic of Japanese *miya* mandara is that they depict both imported Buddhist and indigenous Japanese deities (kami) arranged within painted landscapes that illustrate the geography of specific Japanese cultic sites (See List of Images #3, #4, #5, #6).

The area of Kumano, located on the Kii Peninsula, has remained throughout Japanese history one of the most potent of all sacred cultic locations of the entire Japanese archipelago. It is a site of great beauty steeped in myth and history that has been connected with death, authority, pilgrimages, ritual practices, and is the location of a cosmology that includes both

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[1] I follow ten Grotenhuis and use the term "mandara" when discussing Japanese images of idealized cultic sites and "mandala" when discussing the continental esoteric Diamond and World Mandala forms.
Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis. *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 2-3.

local and universal deities. Kumano *miya* mandala are a means of visually organizing the transformative and transformed qualities of the Kumano region that is a religious and sacred landscape as much as it is a geographical location.

The usual considerations of iconography and narrative qualities found in Kumano mandara will be included in this discussion. But the larger issue that will frame this study is the question of why a cleric's portrait and two esoteric mandala were added to two Kumano *miya* mandara since each of these additions is atypical of Kumano *miya* mandara. The portrait is of the Tendai monk Enchin (853-891) that has been painted in the bottom third of the mandara (See List of Images #3). It is rare that a monk's portrait is added to Kumano mandara, although there are two other examples that will be discussed later in this dissertation. The important point is that Enchin's portrait is immediately recognizable, while the other two portraits are not, and this indicates that there had to have been a specific reason to place Enchin in the mandara. Second, the esoteric mandala added to the *suijaku* mandara (See List of Images #4) are unique among extant Kumano mandara, and only this one mandara includes its esoteric cousin. This anomaly, like Enchin's portrait, likely was also included for a specific purpose. The third issue is that of a portrait added to the bottom of the *suijaku* mandara that Nakano Teruo has identified as the esoteric master Kūkai (774-835).[2] Takano's identification of the portrait as that of Kūkai has been neither accepted nor discredited since this mandara has not, to my knowledge, been discussed in prior scholarship other than in Takano's of it in his complete iconographic study of Kumano mandara. But I would assert that it is highly unlikely that the portrait is of Kūkai since Kūkai is the quintessentially Shingon cleric and, therefore, would not have served the sectarian

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[2] Nakano Teruo, "Kumano mandara zukō," *Tokyo Kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 21 (1985): 71.

purposes of Onjōji clerics who were identified with esoteric Tendai classifications developed by Enchin. This issue will be addressed later in this dissertation.

Because the added portrait and esoteric mandala are anomalies within the totality of Kumano mandara, the issue of the place of production of the mandara is central to understanding their inclusion. To this end, I will first show that Onjōji's workshop, located in the eastern foothills of Mount Hiei, produced all four Shōgoin *miya* paintings that were then housed at Onjōji's sub-temple, Shōgoin. Second, I will propose that the inclusions of the portrait and esoteric mandala are referential to political and institutional issues that clerics of Onjōji evoked in order to respond to tensions and discord that reached a climax during the late-thirteenth/early-fourteenth centuries when the mandara were produced. At this time, Onjōji was engaged in a protracted struggle with the equally powerful head Tendai temple Enryakuji, located on Mount Hiei, over the critical issue of the right to independent ordination at Onjōji. Just as Onjōji had repeatedly presented petitions to the court to request independence from Enryakuji, I will argue that the portraits and esoteric mandala were intended to proclaim that Onjōji was equal, if not superior, to its archrival Enryakuji.

My dissertation will thus propose the thesis that political and institutional tensions likely played as large a part in both the production and visual content of the two Shōgoin *miya* mandara as did the cultic aspects of Kumano practices and beliefs. The primary objective of this study is to account for Enchin's portrait and esoteric mandala displayed in two Kumano *miya* mandara (that have yet to be explained) by placing them within the context of the political and institutional unrest of their time. It is my contention that the portraits are clues to content within a deeper framework that ultimately creates a rhetoric as equally shaped by the construction of a lineage for Onjōji expressed through Enchin's portrait and esoteric mandala

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included within the Kumano mandara as it was by specific localized Kumano praxis and beliefs that are represented in the mandara through paintings of landscape elements combined with Buddhist and indigenous deities.

The second concern will be to explore the function of these paintings. Scholars who have examined *miya* mandara have commonly written that they were used as a visual tool to allow the viewer to mentally visit the depicted site without undertaking expensive and arduous pilgrimages in real time. I will argue that the traditional interpretation that *miya* mandara were substitutes for pilgrimages to Kumano was not the sole purpose for their production. Rather, these particular Kumano *miya* mandara owned by Shōgoin may have been used to visually state the importance of lineage and a specific cleric as support for Onjōji's bid for its independence.

My examination of the paintings as historical documents will add to a growing body of scholarship that began with Japanese art historians who laid the early groundwork for later studies. The earliest research on *miya* mandara addressed exclusively their distinctive visual elements but ignored the political, social, and institutional contexts that shaped their production. Consequently, the focus of early scholars was centered on one of three broad areas: first, iconographic identification of depicted deities; second, proof of the historical accuracy of the reproduction of natural and architectural elements; and third, evidence of the influence of Buddhist doctrine on visual properties. Perhaps the main shortcoming of the earliest studies was that all mandara were grouped under the generalized rubric of Buddhist painting and mandara were not recognized as a genre unto itself.

The Japanese scholar Sawamura Sentarō was the first to propose that, beginning in the Kamakura period (1185-1333), paintings known as *miya* mandara accurately depicted shrine architecture set within the natural world that was directly related to the onset of the popularity of

Pure Land doctrine that located Amida's western paradise in this world.[3]   This approach acknowledged that doctrine had a direct influence on the content of *miya* mandara, but failed to pay sufficient attention to the equally important influence of popular practice on visual properties. By collectively grouping all types of *miya* mandara as one genre, it, therefore, did not differentiate between paintings that illustrated specific shrines and cultic areas.

An exhibition held in 1969 at the Osaka City Museum titled "Mount Kinpu and Yoshino Mandara"[4] was intended to introduce to the general public the culture and history that was unique to Kumano.   Suzuki Shōei's commentary examined and explained largely unknown paintings and ritual articles specifically connected to Kumano's three mountains (*sanzan*) belief. The value of the exhibition was that it was focused on Kumano mandara from the Kamakura period and, by limiting subject matter to one cultic site, rectified the earlier lack of emphasis on specific centers.

During the 1980s the emphasis of Japanese scholars began to shift.   The initial generalized discussions wherein all *miya* mandara were defined as depictions of the Pure Land on earth moved to focus on specific shrines and, rather than absorbing the images under the umbrella of Buddhist mandala, *miya* mandara began to be recognized as a distinct genre of devotional images.   Nakano Teruo, for instance, concentrated only on Kumano mandara and published a complete iconographical reading of the twenty-one extant paintings.[5]   His study remains an invaluable tool that provides the template for both comparing and contrasting the composition and content of various Kumano mandara.

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[3] Sawamura Sentarō, "Kasuga mandara setsu" in *Nihon kaigashi no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hoshino Shoten, 1944), 155-177.

[4] Suzuki Shōei, *"*Kinpusen shinkō to Yoshino mandara," *Ōsaka Shiritsu Hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 1 (March 1969): 20-35.

[5] Nakano Teruo, "Kumano Mandara zukō," *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan* 21 (1985): 5-134.

The primary result of the recognition of cultic objects as an independent genre was a shift away from earlier exhibits, which had featured generalized collections of random objects, to a focus on materials connected with specific shrine complexes. This realignment moved away from the earlier emphasis on iconographic identification to the examination of ritual objects within their original contexts of time and place. It has resulted in invaluable historical documentation of belief, practice, and patronage. One example of the acceptance of ritual objects as an important means of understanding practice is found in a special issue of the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* devoted solely to Shugendō practice in which an article by Sawa Ryūken titled "Shugendō Art" is accorded equal footing with scholarship on religious practices and beliefs.[6]

The topic of mandara has begun to be explored by western scholars, and Leonard B. Darling's 1983 dissertation was an early concentration on the subject of Kasuga and Kumano mandara.[7] His thesis was much the same as earlier studies in that he also proposed a direct correlation between Pure Land belief and the production of the mandara associated with the two sites. He is, however, one of the few scholars to propose that stylistic similarities between certain coeval handscrolls and Kumano mandara suggest that the temple atelier at Onjōji likely produced both, a proposition that has implications for understanding choices of content and the high artistic quality of most Kumano mandara. More recently, Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis published *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography*, a broadly based historical

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[6] Sawa Ryūken, "Shugendō Art," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16 (1989): 195-204.
[7] Leonard. B. Darling, "The Transformation of Pure Land Thought and the Development of Shinto Shrine Mandala Paintings: Kasuga and Kumano" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, Volumes I and II, 1983).

examination of the forms and visual elements of both Chinese mandala and Japanese mandara.[8] Although much of this work is devoted to identifying individual deities and establishing that Chinese prototypes were the basis of Japanese Pure Land mandara, it does address the syncretic interrelations that were combined to create specific Japanese mandaric forms.

The Japanese scholar Gyōtoku Shin'ichiro has combined traditional interpretations of *miya* mandara as accurate depictions of landscape and shrine architecture with a more syncretic method wherein he combines textual evidence with comparative analysis of visual elements specific to Kasuga mandara. In Gyōtoku's 1996 *Museum* article he analyzed in detail those texts contemporaneous with the production of Kasuga mandara and showed that specific landscape and architectural elements in the mandara match the written descriptions.[9] By constructing a chronological continuum of Kasuga mandara, he confirmed that painters repeated especially auspicious and sacred motifs from generation to generation. His study proves that subsequent generations of painters of *miya* mandara repeated specific auspicious motifs just as temple artists carefully copied from accepted Buddhist iconographic language when they produced new Buddhist imagery.

In a second *Museum* article, Gyōtoku examined the historical events that prompted the production of one particular fourteenth-century Yoshino mandara.[10] The incident in this case was the untimely death of Prince Morinaga (1301-1335) and the fear throughout the court that Morinaga's wrathful spirit (*goryō*) would return to manifest its fury in the form of natural disasters and/or epidemics. Gyōtoku concluded that the specific reason for the production of the

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[8] Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1999).
[9] Gyōtoku Shin'ichiro, "Kasuga mandarazu no fūkei hyōgen-busshō to shinsei no katachi," *Museum* 541 (1996): 13-42.
[10] Gyōtoku Shin'ichro, "Nara, Saidaiji shozō Yoshino mandarazu ni tsuite," *Museum* 572 (2001): 7-28.

painting was to protect the emperor and nation from the as yet unappeased *goryō*. To that end, the mandara was produced as the focus for the performance of rituals connected with mountain beliefs, Shugendō, and the protective cult of Zaō Gongen. Gyōtoku's study disproves the predominant theory that *miya* mandara were intended to primarily serve as substitutes for an actual pilgrimage to the site.

Along the same line as Gyōtoku's study of the repetition of specific mandara content are Umezawa Megumi's study of landscape elements in *miya* mandara and the tradition of *meisho-e* (pictures of celebrated places).[11] She discusses Kamakura-period *miya* mandara that include in the composition realistic landscapes comprised of easily recognizable scenic elements and positions them within a continuation of the Heian-period tradition of pairing poems with *meisho-e* paintings of famous sites. Although Kumano was mentioned in many poems and paintings, she believes that the artists or poets did not necessarily visit the area in order to paint or write descriptions of its Nachi Falls or shrine complexes. Rather, she contends that, by the thirteenth century, a visual vocabulary of certain specific clues (such as pine trees, the coast line, the moon) had developed that was understood by the viewer to represent Kumano within the tradition of *meisho-e* paintings of famous places.

Allan Grapard has written extensively on the subjects of sacred space, interactions between Buddhism and native beliefs, and cultic sites in Japan.[12] He has advocated that native

[11] Umezawa Megumi, "Suijaku no yamahyōgen ni mirareru Meisho-e teki yōso ni tsuite," *Bijutsu kenkyū* (2004): 89-110.
[12] Allan Grapard, "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions," *History of Religions* 20 (1982): 195-221. Allan Grapard, "Linguistic Cubism: A Singularity of Pluralism in the Sannō Cult," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14 (1987): 211-234. Allan Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Allan Grapard, "The Textualized Mountain—Enmountained Text: The *Lotus Sūtra* in Kunisaki." in *The* Lotus Sūtra *in Japanese Culture*, eds. George J. Tanabe and Willa Jane Tanabe (Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, 1989), 159-190. Allan Grapard, "Flying Mountains

and Buddhist beliefs and practices must not be studied in isolation but, rather, both must be understood as equal parts of a combinatory model. Grapard has also argued that shrines and temples of cultic centers must be understood as active participants in forging relationships with the political and economic centers at court in order to stabilize their self-interests. Further, Grapard has advocated that cultic sites must be studied from the "territorial unit and community in which they developed rather than from the more traditional focus on sects or major thinkers."[13] His approach presents an internal perspective that allows for an understanding of the complex systems that developed within one geographic area and harkens back to his influential definition of sacred space in Japan as the basis for analyzing and understanding practices and beliefs associated with cultic sites.

The most recent, all-encompassing monograph on Kumano is D. Max Moerman's volume *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan*.[14] Moerman paints a picture of Kumano's landscape as encompassing the real and imaginary, the historical and the mythical, and death and salvation, as well as being a place of both religious and political authority, and the location of ascetic practice that had been both transformed and transformative. Moerman argues that Kumano was the nexus where local and universal beliefs were embedded in both the real and imaginary geographies of the Kii Peninsula. This volume concentrates on one site and succeeds in situating all of the facets that

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and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions," *History of Religions*, 20 (1982): 195-221.

[13] Allan Grapard, "The Textualized Mountain—Enmountained Text: The *Lotus Sūtra* in Kunisaki" in *The* Lotus Sūtra *in Japanese Culture*, eds. George J. Tanabe and Willa Jane Tanabe (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 159-60.

[14] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2005).

ground the Kumano area within its landscapes while also showing its relevance to the wider historical and cultural worldview of pre-modern Japanese religion.

A second field of academic study has begun to address the analysis of devotional objects. The leaders in this field are buddhologists who argue "doctrinal systems worked in concert with elaborate ritual and liturgical protocols pertaining to the production and treatment of Buddhist icons."[15] They have analyzed the functions of devotional materials in order to place them within their original social, political, economic, ritual, and monastic contexts. Studies by scholars such as Robert H. Sharf and T. Griffith Foulk address past reliance on Buddhist texts that virtually ignored ideas about and ritual behavior toward objects.[16]

Historians Theodore K. Rabb and Jonathan Brown speak to the importance of the visual as a means for a more nuanced reading of history when they write:

> Works of art may provide a unique way of seeing the past, but, because they are so much less specific, are they harder to penetrate, and thus to trust, than words?...To some extent their effectiveness depends on the way that their message relates to their political and social context.[17]

Embedded in this statement is the authors' conviction that images, like texts, can be a means of documenting the political and social contexts of their time. Although there may be historical evidence gleaned from an image that today's viewer believes is obvious (i.e., customs and lifestyles illustrated in handscrolls), one cannot assume that we can look back and completely understand the totality of the image. We can, however, try to unravel the sub-texts that contain

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[15] Robert H. Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf, eds. *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 14.
[16] Robert H. Sharf and T. Griffith Foulk, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1993-4): 149-219.
[17] Theodore K. Rabb and Johnathan Brown, "Introduction," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds. *Art and History: Images and Their Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge Universitry Press. 1986), 4-5.

the clues of wider contexts in trying to understand the motivation for the production of images and objects.

While early scholarship determined the doctrinal basis for the manufacture of mandara, it failed to consider the ways that ritual materials are often intentionally manipulated for practical purposes. Furthermore, traditional art historical scholarship had not taken into consideration either the spaces that held ritual objects or how ritual objects functioned in actual use and practice. The current reassessments by art historians and religious scholars of the many entrenched beliefs surrounding ritual objects have resulted in a more nuanced understanding of why objects were produced by situating them within the larger and more complex social, economic, political, and ritual contexts of their time.

The study of visual material associated with Kumano has evolved and expanded since the earliest focus on the selective use of visual elements to prove doctrinal influences on content. More work remains to be done on many facets, including the role of sacred geography in the definition of cultic centers where time and place are transcended. It is the hope of this author to raise new questions in this regard and show that Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara can also be understood as documents of institutional history and lineage constructions that can, in turn, explain their idiosyncratic elements.

2.0 THE KII PENINSULA AND KUMANO

The Kumano cultic site on the Kii Peninsula is layered with Buddhist and native beliefs, pantheons, and ritual practices that coalesced into a religious landscape both real and imaginary. The four Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara that are the topic of this study document the range of meanings of the landscapes and pantheon of Kumano as they were understood in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries. Each painted scroll is composed of the conventional visual content illustrating Buddhist and native pantheons, practices, and beliefs that are identified with the Kumano cultic complex. By examining these mandara within the context of the conflicts occurring at the time of their production, I hope to show that they exhibited additional meaning that was grounded in historical interactions between politics and monastic organizations. This interpretation of the four mandara will begin with a look at the long history of Kumano as a cultic site and its religious, social, and political meaning.

The three primary shrines of the Kumano cultic complex—Hongū, Shingū, and Nachi—are located in the southern reaches of the Kii Peninsula, which projects outward from the largest Japanese island, Honshū. The peninsular formation itself, due to the unusual manner in which it extends outward from the island, had been considered mysterious, dangerous, and auspicious since the beginning of recorded history. The mostly uninhabited landmass is dominated by three enormous mountain ranges: Yoshino to the north, Kumano to the south, and Ōmine in the center.

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The heavily forested Kii peninsula, an expansive area of extraordinary beauty, has long been imbued with sacrality and mystery and still remains a forbidding site where religious ascetics today spend months secluded deep within the densely forested mountains in an attempt to gain supernatural spiritual powers. The peninsula is a vast untouched landscape where pilgrimage routes, traveled by believers across all social levels, extend along the western coastline from Kyoto in the north to the southern edge. It is the geographical setting where a pantheon of indigenous deities was merged with Buddhist cosmologies to create a religious landscape of beliefs, practices, and institutions. It is both a real space where the three main Kumano shrine complexes are located as well as a transcendent space, transformed by Buddhism in the late twelfth century into what was held to be the exact location of Buddhist paradise here on earth.

Kumano is but one of many Japanese mountainous areas where customs and practices were predicated on and developed from beliefs in the mysterious power of natural landforms. Mountains, isolated islands, and other natural formations provided the settings for the point of contact between this and the other world. For example, based on archaeological evidence dated to the Yayoi and Kofun periods (400 BCE-710 CE), it is thought that ancient rituals related to annual agricultural cycles were performed at the base of those mountains located at and associated with crucial, important sources of water, such as springs, waterfalls, and rivers.[18] Mountains were also sacred sites where kami descended into or constantly dwelt. Mirrors,

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[18] Ichirō Hori, "Mountains and Their Importance for the Idea of the Other World in Japanese Folk Religion," *History of Religions* 6 (1966): 7.

swords, and magical *magatama* shaped jewels unearthed at foothills of mountains are thought to have been offerings to those kami that dwelled within mountains.[19]

Mountainous areas of vast remoteness and uncharted wilderness stood in stark contradistinction to the settled plains where human activity was confined. Humans lived and moved about on plains and in valleys, but mountain ranges (such as Kumano) were inhabited by kami and believed to be magical areas that must be untouched by human activity. Additionally, because corpses were abandoned on or buried within mountains, these locales became a forbidding metaphysical space imbued with the power and mystery of death's innermost nature that belonged to a category of sacred space and experience beyond the profane human world. "They [mountains] were holy ground, taboo and inviolable to human entry, the territory of kami only. No man could have climbed their slope further than the ritual site at the foot."[20]

Kumano and its vast expanse of mountain ranges gained additional political meaningfulness as the fabled geographical location of the mythic origins of the Japanese royal house. In the *Nihongi* of 720, the court's official compilation of history and legend, we are told that the god Izanagi created an island by dipping his sword into the ocean and then descended onto the landmass accompanied by the female deity Izanami. The eight islands of Japan were born from their union, and the couple gave birth to the gods of natural phenomena such as water, wind, trees, mountains, thunder, and rain.[21] Kumano became forever associated with the realm of death after Izanami died giving birth to their son Homusubi, the god of fire, and was buried in a tomb known as Hana no Iwaya (Flower Cavern) said to be located near the Kumano Shingū

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[19] Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1999), 79-80.
[20] Ibid., 81.
[21] *Nihongi*: *Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times at A.D. 697*, trans. W. G. Aston (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1956), 11-12.

shrine in the "village of Arima in Kumano, in the province of Kii."[22] Izanagi wished to visit the

deceased Izanami, and so he crossed the bridge that connected the world of the living to the

world of the dead (*yomi*) and descended into the realm of death. When he entered the chamber

that held her corpse, he was so repulsed by her state of putrefaction that he fled back across the

bridge into the realm of the living and forever closed off the land of the dead with a large

boulder.[23] Izanagi's isolation of death deep within Kumano would forever locate the mythic

realm of death within its mountains.

While the mythic location of Izanami's grave at Kumano invests the area with ancient

associations to the other world of the dead, legends of both semi-historical and historical

progenitors of the imperial house were absorbed into the myths attached to Kumano, imbuing

the area with potent political significance as the location of the early Japanese state. In the

Nihongi, we are told the legend of Jinmu (711-660 BCE), the mythical first emperor of Japan,

who crossed the Yoshino mountain range in the northern area of the peninsula in 667 BCE as he

marched his army to the Yamato region. It is written that during Jinmu's journey he arrived at

Fort Arazaka, in the Kumano mountain range. There "Gods belched up a poisonous vapor, from

which everyone suffered,"[24] including Jinmu, who fell ill from the fumes. That evening, as a

local figure named Takakuraji slept, he dreamt that Amaterasu, the sun goddess and

primogenitor of the imperial house, had placed her sword within a nearby storehouse. When

Takakuraji awoke, he found the sword standing upside down within the building and presented

to Jinmu the sword that would later become one third of the three imperial regalia. The myth

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[22] Ibid., 21.
[23] Ibid., 21-22.
[24] Ibid., 114-115.

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also tells that Amaterasu sent down from heaven a divine crow (*yatagarasu* or *yatakarasu*) to guide Jinmu and his army through the torturous Kumano landscape and to his victory.[25]

The myth thus describes how Jinmu, who is held to be the first Japanese emperor, established his hegemony through the magical powers of Amaterasu, who bestowed on him the imperial sword and sent the divine crow to lead him through Kumano to victory. Both the sword, later enshrined near Shingū at the Asuga Shrine on the banks of the Kumano River,[26] and the divine crow functioned as symbolic representations of Amaterasu's divine sanction for his new government. Armed with these symbolic objects and protections Jinmu was able to defeat the local tribes he encountered during his arduous travel northward through the Yoshino mountains to Yamato, where he established himself as first in the royal line of Japanese sovereigns.

Moving into the historical period, members of the imperial line continued to visit the Kumano area for both worldly and political reasons. Emperor Tenmu (622-686, r. 673-686) often visited Yoshino, and Amaterasu is said to have appeared to him in a dream during one visit and advised him on affairs of state.[27] Tenmu traveled to Kumano during the Jinshin war of 672 and was able to convince the numerous sons born of his many concubines to support him in

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[25] Ibid., 116-117.
[26] Miyake Hitoshi, "Rethinking Japanese Folk Religion: a Study of Kumano Shugen," in *Religion in Japan*: *Arrows to Heaven and Earth*, eds. P F. Kornicki and I. J. McMullen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 127.
[27] In early times the term "Yoshino" was used to identify a much larger geographical area than it presently defines. The term Yoshino used during the reign of Emperor Tenmu included mountains as far south as what we now know as the Kumano range. Herbert E. Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 110-111.

the contentious civil war that eventually ended with his victory and ascension to the throne in 673.[28]

Tenmu's wife, Empress Jitō (646-703, r. 687-696), visited the Yoshino area more than thirty times, and one visit is the subject of verse thirty-eight in *Man'yōshū* (*The Ten Thousand Leaves*) Book I. The poem belongs to the type known as land-viewing poems (*kunimi uta*) that were politicized affirmations of imperial connectedness to the natural world, and tells that the empress went to Yoshino not only for diversion and relief from the heat and business of the capital but also for ritual purposes. The poem describes Empress Jitō as she stands atop a mountain and praises the land of Kumano she views before her. Deities dwelling in Yoshino honor Empress Jitō with "cherry blossoms in the spring" and "red leaves in the fall" and, if the poem is read without considering references to her deified status honored by the gods, it then also becomes a description of an area of the great beauty and intense sacrality where gods dwell among mountains and rivers.[29]

Imperial visits to Kumano such as those of Emperor Tenmu and his wife Empress Jitō were within the context of politics and the origins of the Japanese nation. Two hundred years later, imperial visits to Kumano began to become common practice among emperors who took the tonsure following their abdication. The first retired emperor to make a pilgrimage to Kumano was Uda (867-931, r. 888-897) who made his first pilgrimage in 907.[30] But retired emperors were not the earliest pilgrims to make the journey into Kumano's mountains. Before pilgrimages of the social and political elite were recorded in extant historical records, ascetics

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[28]*Nihongi*: *Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times at A.D. 697*, trans. W. G. Aston, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1956), 301-320.

[29] *Man'yōshū*, Part I, trans. Ian Hideo Levy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 57-58.

[30] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 139.

who "opened the mountains" (*yama biraki*) had practiced various rituals throughout Kumano. These practitioners lacked affiliation with any distinctive organizational structure until the ninth and tenth centuries when the loose affiliations of ascetics aligned with certain areas spread throughout the Kumano mountains began to organize into what is now known as Shugendō. Many mountainous areas throughout Japan were places for Shugendō practice, but the most influential of all Shugendō practice was the form connected to Kumano. Over time, as Kumano also became known as the preeminent destination for imperial and aristocratic pilgrimage, the need arose for guides to lead the believers. The early organization of guides who lead the elite on Kumano pilgrimages acted as a catalyst to forge a close connection between Kumano and the central government. Due to the significant revenue generated by the increase in royal pilgrimages to Kumano between 1086 and 1198 (a time known as the Insei, or period of retired emperors), the Shugendō organization connected with Kumano prospered financially. It is, therefore, instructive at this point to discuss the Shugendō ascetics who practiced within the mountains of Kumano because their beliefs and practices had a direct impact the visual properties of the Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara.

2.1   ASCETIC PRACTICES AND PRACTITIONERS

The religious tradition of withdrawal into mountains by individual ascetics, known today as Shugendō, is grounded in folk religion as it was originally practiced deep within sacred mountains. These areas were regarded as abodes of the dead (*reizan*) that were beyond the reach of the ordinary population due to fears associated with entering into the forbidding realm

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of death. The earliest practices of mountain ascetics within Kumano can only be deduced from texts dated to the Heian period (794-1185), when descriptions of these individuals and their practices begin to emerge. It is abundantly clear from these texts, however, that the landscape of Kumano already held great significance and importance. It was known as an arena where a small number of men dared to perform secret, ascetic practices, and where a few emerged with what were held to be magical powers.

Kumano is but one of many areas throughout the Japanese archipelago celebrated as centers for ascetic retreats and religious activities.[31] But it was Kumano that developed over time to become the premier site renown for *shugenja* or holy men[32] who dedicated themselves to long periods of withdrawal and isolation as a religious exercise in order to acquire supra-normal spiritual powers. *Shugenja*, first recorded in late eighth century Nara-period Buddhist literature, were itinerant figures who, although having taken Buddhist vows, chose to leave state-controlled Buddhist monasticism in order to practice periodic ritualized retreats deep within mountains.[33] In order to achieve magical, spiritual powers, they withstood hardships of hunger, thirst, sleep deprivation, and, perhaps the most severe of all practices, standing for long periods under ice-cold waterfalls during winter retreats.

Through the profound influence of esoteric Buddhism during the Heian period, Kumano's spiritual landscape was expanded into a ritual area where Buddhist deities resided

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[31] Other sacred mountains include: Mount Katsuragi in Nara prefecture; Mount Haguro in Tōhoku in northern Japan; and Mount Hiko in Kyushu.

[32] There are numerous generalized terms that are used to designate those who practiced austerities as part of their religious experience, including *hijiri* ("holy men"); *yamabushi* ("those who crouch in mountains"); *shugyōja* ("those who undergo austerities") also known as *shugenja*. I use the term *shugenja* to specify practitioners who withdrew into the Kumano mountains.
Ichirō Hori, "On the Concept of *Hijiri* (Holy-Man)," *Numen* 5 (1958): 128-131.

[33] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 50.

with native deities and which held the promise of salvation. Kumano developed during the Heian period into the preeminent area for the practice of Buddhist austerities and, as Buddhist texts began to supplant earlier myths of the imperial clan's connection with Kumano, a second layer of meaning was grafted onto Kumano's existing religious topography.

The Lotus Sūtra, the principal text of the Tendai school, supplanted Kumano's mythical history and had the greatest influence on practices, teachings, and imagery connected with Kumano. The Lotus Sūtra was revered by believers across all social levels for two principal reasons: first, among the court because it was considered to be a sūtra that would protect the nation and, second, among the general population because it offered the promise of perfect enlightenment to all—including women and evildoers. In connection with the Lotus Sūtra's national protection capacities, the first formal lectures on the Lotus Sūtra occurred in 746 when the Kegon patriarch Rōben (687-773) prayed for the health of the emperor, aristocrats, and high government officials.[34] The Eight Lectures on the Lotus Sūtra (*Hokke hakkō*), held primarily as memorial services, became the most popular form of devotions in the Heian period. Sponsoring the Eight Lectures became one means for a clan to honor their deceased members as well as to make a public show of their wealth and status.[35]

By the tenth century, Kumano had become renowned as an institutional center where itinerant priests withdrew to perform Eight Lectures on the Lotus Sūtra in the spring and autumn seasons.[36] One of the most interesting accounts of The Eight Lotus Lectures and a Kumano *shugenja* is found in *Sanbōe*, a collection of Buddhist tales compiled in 984 by Minamoto no

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[34] *Honchō Kōsōden*, in *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 92.
[35] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 57.
[36] Ibid., 55.

Tamenori (941?-1011).[37]   Tamenori begins his discussion of the Eight Lectures on the Lotus Sūtra (*Hokke hakkō*) at Kumano by stating that various deities inhabit Kumano[38] and proceeds with a description that details the many difficulties encountered if one wishes to visit the area. He paints a picture of Kumano not only as a remote, wild, inhospitable land of range upon range of deeply forested mountains and rivers, but also as an area that holds the promise of salvation and spiritual rewards for those who dare to undertake the journey to join in the rituals held at the Kumano Hongū and Shingū shrines.

The Eight Lotus Lectures section in the *Sanbōe* describes the officiating monks of Kumano with the following account: "Neither wooden nor metal bowls are used to receive the offerings to the monks. Instead, they receive them in hollowed pieces of wood and put them inside the bags they carry at their waist. The monks who lecture do not wear their usual formal robes; they appear in deerskin coats and leggings."[39] The monk's rustic coat and leggings, bags and bowl carried at their waists are all part of the traditional *shugenja* attire and accouterments. The text goes on to say that the monks who have traveled to the Kumano shrines are starving, their feet are swollen, they suffer greatly, and they then must repeat the equally difficult return journey home. Tamenori paints a vivid picture of both the rustic qualities of the *shugenja's* wardrobe as well as the extreme difficulties they endured when they traversed the Kumano mountain ranges.

Another description of *shugenja* that appears in Buddhist literature of the same period is found in the *Dainihonkoku Hokekyōkenki* (*Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sūtra from Ancient*

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[37] *The Three* Jewels: *A Study and Translation of Minamoto Yamenori's Sanbōe*, trans. Edward Kamens (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 357.
[38] These are the deities that inhabit the painted landscapes in *miya* mandara.
[39] *The Three Jewels*: *A Study and Translation of Minamoto Yamenori's Sanbōe*, trans. Edward Kamens (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 357.

Japan), compiled by the Mount Hiei monk Chingen between 1039 and 1044.[40]   His account

tells of monks who lived in and traveled throughout the Kumano mountains.   In Chingen's

account of the "*Hokekyō* (Lotus Sūtra) Reciter of Mount Yoshino" he recounts the tale of the

priest Giei (d.u.) who lost his way as he traveled through the rugged and uncharted mountainous

terrain from Kumano to Ōmine.   He stopped on a mountain summit and blew his conch shell

(*hora*), a traditional part of the *shugenja* accouterments attached to their belt. [41]   The tale goes

on to describe Giei's meeting with a recluse priest blessed with eternal youth who invited Giei

into his house. The eternally youthful priest was attended by divine boys and visited by demons

that arrived during the night as he chanted the Lotus Sūtra. The next morning the hermit gave

Giei a magic water jar that led him through the mountains and showed him the way to the valley

where a village was located. The tale of the "*Hokekyō* (Lotus Sūtra) Reciter of Mount Yoshino"

is one of a total of ninety stories in the *Dainihonkoku Hokekyōkenki* collection concerned with

recluse monks. In the stories, the *shugenja* of Kumano are described as individuals who

renounced settled life and chose to reside and wander through the mountains of Kumano. They

are recognized for their unusual spiritual and supernatural powers, the result of the harsh

discipline.

Hori Ichirō draws a clear distinction between two types of ascetic recluses documented

in eleventh-century court literature such as *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji* by Murasaki

Shikibu) and described in Buddhist tales such as the *Dainihonkoku Hokekyōkenki*. The first

category includes those practitioners who spent their time walking between settlements to visit

sacred sites within the mountains. This group did not withdraw from human contact but, rather,

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[40] *Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sūtra from Ancient Japan* (The *Dainihonkoku Hokekyō* of Priest
Chingen), trans. Yoshiko K. Dykstra (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), 23.
[41] Ibid., 40-42.

interacted with the inhabitants of the villages they passed through, demonstrating their holy powers by healing the sick, quelling demons, and instituting the building of bridges and dikes.[42] The second category of recluses withdrew from the world, traveled into the mountains to live in either caves or grass huts and avoided all human contact.   They devoted their time to reciting and contemplating sacred texts as well as conducting annual lectures on the Lotus Sūtra. The *shugenja* Chingen described in the *Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sūtra from Ancient Japan* (*Dai nihon hokekyō kenki*) are all of the type who withdrew from the world and lived and died among Kumano's mountains.

The somewhat haphazard practices performed by solitary *shugenja* began to coalesce by the late eleventh century into a distinctive organization wherein practitioners formed groups that adhered to a specific set of rituals enacted at specific sites. The result was the beginning of what we now know today as Shugendō, a loosely ordered, syncretic system of esoteric Buddhism combined with Daoist magic, the belief that mountains are both the residing places of the dead and locations inhabited by kami (*kannabi shinkō*) and the domain of various indigenous pre-Buddhist folk practices. The emphasis of Shugendō, however, is on praxis rather than doctrine, and is mainly concerned with rigorous asceticism practiced during withdrawal deep into mountains with the aim that during these isolated journeys the *shugenja* will experience the otherworld through symbolic actions and rites.

By the twelfth century, the entire Kumano mountainous expanse had became closely identified with *shugenja* and a center for Shugendō mountain religious practice.   Although Shugendō lacked a distinctive organization, it became more structured through associations with ascetic ritualized retreats within the Kumano mountains that, in turn, were the catalysts for the

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[42] Hori Ichirō, "On the Concept of *Hijiri* (Holy-Man)," *Numen* 5 (1958): 131-132.

area becoming the premier pilgrimage center utilized by laity across all social levels.[43]   The

inner routes established deep within the mountains were limited to the *shugenja* who practiced

within the forests. Imperial pilgrimages utilized a second seven hundred kilometer round-trip

route that began in Kyoto, followed the coastal road on the western side of the Kii Peninsula,

and ended at the three main Kumano shrines on the southern tip of the peninsula. (See List of

Images #11) The journey along the outer coastline, lasting twenty to thirty days, was arduous

and necessitated the development of an elaborate system of guides (*sendatsu*) to lead pilgrims

who eventually encompassed all social ranks, from emperors to the ordinary population.

Organized retreats followed prescribed routes into certain areas and, as these paths became

established as formalized pilgrimage itineraries, discrete 'sects' were established that were

associated by very specific institutional ties to temples that served as their headquarters.

The institutionalization of Shugendō was a critical component to its development

because it set into motion economics of ritual power through strategic ecclesiastical

appointments that centralized and connected one branch of Kumano practices and practitioners

at Onjōji, a temple located on the southern shore of Lake Biwa, and its sub-temple Shōgoin,

located in Kyoto. These temples are important to this discussion because they were the patrons

of the Shōgoin mandara that I will discuss and, because institutional affiliation is both the overt

and sub-texts of each Shōgoin mandara, this topic will be elaborated upon later in this

dissertation.

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[43] Other areas that were also developed into pilgrimage areas were: Hakusan, Nikkō, Daisen, Ishizuchisan, and Hikosan. Paul Swanson, "*Shugendō* and the Yoshino-Kumano Pilgrimage: An Example of Mountain Pilgrimage," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36 (1981): 57.

2.2 THE INFLUENCE OF *HONJI SUIJAKU* AND BUDDHISM ON KUMANO MANDARA

The four Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara (See List of Images #3, #4, #5, #6) owe their visual content to the transformation of Kumano's religious landscape following the introduction of Buddhism to Japan in the sixth century. Buddhism brought a far more complex cosmos and cosmology than had previously been known in Japan and the preexisting realm of native deities was enlarged to combine and accommodate both native and Buddhist cosmologies. It is the intersection between the fixed geography of Kumano and the cosmic and transcendental space of Buddhas and bodhisattvas that is visually represented in the four Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara.

In the center sections of all four Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara are depictions of either universal Buddhas and bodhisattvas or native kami that comprise the pantheon of Kumano. The identification of each of the four Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara as either a *honji* ("original ground") or *suijaku* ("trace manifestations") painting is determined by the content of the center grouping. The designations are the result of the amalgam of native Japanese and imported Buddhist religious traditions that is known as the *honji suijaku* ("original ground and manifest traces") theory, whereby the "original ground" (*honji*) represented the Buddhist deity and the "trace manifestations" (*suijaku*) represented the native deities. *Honji suijaku* had important consequences, especially for the imagery used in Kumano mandara, as it was a way to visually represent beliefs that had come to define the cultic center of Kumano. Since the *honji suijaku* system of correspondences determines the content of Kumano mandara, it is instructive to trace its Chinese origin and Japanese adaptation.

Honji suijaku was a term first used by Zhiyi (538-597), the de facto first patriarch and principle architect of the Chinese Tiantai school of Buddhism, in order to reconcile the differing depictions of Buddha in two sections of the *Lotus Sūtra.* Zhiyi divided the twenty-eight chapters of the *Lotus Sūtra* into two halves: the "the realm of trace" (*shakumon*-the first fourteen chapters) and the "the realm of origin" (*honmon*-the last fourteen chapters).[44] Zhiyi understood the "ground or origin" as the enlightened Buddha in his original, immaterial form (*honji*) and the "trace" (*suijaku*) as the historical Buddha who appeared in this world. Zhiyi expanded the *honji* and *suijaku* divisions of the *Lotus Sūtra* as a method to systematize Buddhist teachings into a single over-arching scheme by ascribing functionality to each category. In Zhiyi's system, "traces" prepare those believers with lesser capacities for the "original" ("ground") teaching that was meant to lead sentient beings to salvation. "He argued that the true essence of all teachings and practices—and, in the final analysis, of all phenomena—is disclosed in the original teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*, where the 'origin,' the timeless 'principle' of supreme enlightenment itself, addresses us directly. All else must be seen as traces of this principle, distinguishable from it, but at the same time "mysteriously one" with it because they emanate from this origin, and serve to lead us to it."[45]

Honji suijaku, as used within the Japanese context, was a complex strategy intended to facilitate the accommodation of imported Buddhist deities within Japan's preexisting system through systematic amalgamations of Buddhist and Japanese deities. *Honji suijaku*, in its initial use in the early seventh century, was the idea that local Japanese deities (kami) were emanations,

[44] Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 12 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 40-43.
[45] Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli "Introduction," in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*: Honji suijaku *as a Combinatory Paradigm*, eds. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 16.

manifestations, and avatars (traces) of universal Buddhist deities (originals). During this early phase of development, Buddhist deities were worshiped as foreign kami, differing from native kami both by their foreign source and by new Buddhist rituals that accompanied them. Buddhas and bodhisattvas were assimilated into kami worship and behaved in the same manner as kami, i.e., they were powerful but unpredictable, when angered they caused diseases and natural calamities, and, most importantly, Buddhas and bodhisattvas also had the same ability as kami to bestow their powers to the clan who worshiped them.[46]

During the course of the seventh century, the initial belief that Buddhas were local variants of kami was expanded and Buddhas were transformed into inhabitants of pre-Buddhist sacred places. The shift from only local kami associated with sacred sites to the incorporation of Buddhas and bodhisattvas at the same places became a major factor in bringing local kami cults under Buddhist control and greatly aided the early spread of Buddhism in Japan. Through the relationship between Buddhas and kami, it became possible to identify specific Japanese locations as the point where transcendent Buddhas and bodhisattvas were grounded in real geography.

In the late seventh century, one type of amalgamation of Buddhas and kami becomes evident when Buddhist temples were founded near preexisting shrines, an institutional combination known as "shrine temples" (*jingūji*). Clan leaders founded these combinatory institutions at prominent regional shrines, but the success of shrine temples was often dependent on wandering ascetics, the elite, and the court. Often the founding of a temple was the result of an oracle issued by a kami, which set in motion the construction of the temple. The following

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[46] Ibid., 12-13.

oracle from the kami of Tado illustrates the early relationships between a kami, Buddha, the

ascetic Mangan Zeni, and the local elite:

> At this time [763], a certain person was possessed by the kami and said: "I am the kami of Tado. Because I have committed grave offences over many kalpas, I have received karmic retribution of being born as a kami. Now I wish to escape from my kami state once and for all, and take refuge in the Three Treasures of Buddhism.[47]

The wandering ascetic Mangan Zenji, living nearby, responded to the kami's oracle. He

cleared a space in the area near where the kami resided, built a small chapel, and installed in it

an image of the kami that he called the Great Bodhisattva of Tado. The local elite donated a

bell tower and began construction of a three-story pagoda. The court entered the story when it

officially recognized four of the temple's privately ordained monks and allowed them to take

the tonsure. In this brief example, we can see that the oracle from the local kami set in motion

the combined efforts of ascetics, the elite, and the court that resulted in the construction and

recognition of the temple/shrine complex. Further, the kami had taken refuge in Buddhism and

shed his kami state, making it possible to move toward the achievement of salvation. This was a

change from earlier views of kami who exercised their will through violence and destruction to

kami in need of salvation that were released from suffering through Buddhism. It also was an

elevation of the status of kami in that kami now were believed to be sentient beings in need of

salvation.

In the above narrative, the *honji suijaku* amalgamation of the enshrined image of Tado's

kami who was given the name of a bodhisattva was an example of a simple binary system of

one-to-one correspondence prevalent in the early development. A further type of amalgamation

developed wherein kami that were already existent at a cultic area were adopted as tutelary

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[47] Ibid., 10.

deities by the monastic community that was erected on their site. When Saichō (767-822) established Enryakuji on Mount Hiei as his Tendai center he adopted the already enshrined kami of the cultic site, Ōmiwa Myōjin and Ōyamatsumi, as tutelary deities of the monastic center.

The primary characteristic of the Japanese systematic associations derived from *honji suijaku* is that they are always grounded within real geography, where each *honji* or *suijaku* deity of the formula is fixed at a specific Japanese location.[48] *Honji suijaku* was also used to link sacred religious landscapes with distant and expansive Buddhist territories and genealogies in order to give greater legitimacy to Japanese sites. Within the structure of Kumano *honji suijaku*, there existed both those fixed elements of local traditions specific to the site (*suijaku*) and the later introduction of portable elements (*honji*), not purely local, but rather interconnected with larger global cosmic symbolism that combined to gave each site its unique religious character.

Examples of the forging of transnational sources are found in foundation stories of important temples and shrines (*jisha engi*). The *Ōmine engi*, a text enshrined in the Kumano Hongū in 1070, gives an account of the origins of the three main Kumano kami as derived from Indian and Japanese royalty.[49] The *Ōmine engi* text tells us that Ketsumiko no kami enshrined in the Hongū is descended from Buddha Śākyamuni through his mother's line and that his Japanese ancestry stems from Amaterasu, the Japanese sun goddess, through his father's line. In ancient India, Ketsumiko no kami (at that time known as Jihi Daiken) had been the ruler of Magadha and his queen was a descendent of Śākyamuni's disciple Mahākāśyapa. Two children,

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[48] Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 12 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 41.
[49] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 58.

Hayatama no kami of the Shingū and Fusumi no kami of Nachi Falls, were born of the Indian royal couple and their other children are enshrined within Kumano's subsidiary shrines. Indian rulers flew from India to Japan and, in a trope that we will see replicated over and over again, they also brought to the Japanese people protection for imperial law (ōbō) as well as the offer of Buddhist salvation.[50]

A second example of the use of *honji suijaku* correspondences as a strategy to create a sacred international source for Kumano is the transnational connection forged between China and the enshrined kami of the Hongū, Shingū, and Nachi shrines. One case in point is the oldest extant record of Kumano quoted in the court document *Chōkan kanmon* of 1163 titled *Kumano gongen gosuijaku engi* ("The origins of the manifestations of the Kumano avatars").[51] The *engi* ascribes continental origins to the three primary Kumano deities by linking their origin to the guardian deity of the mountain headquarters of Chinese Tiantai (J. Tendai). The account reports that the Tientai mountain guardian assumed the form of an octagonal gem, flew to Japan, visited a series of auspicious mountains used by Tendai ascetics, and finally descended to one of two peaks near the Hongū and Shingū shrines. Upon his arrival in the Kumano area, he divided his form into the three kami of the Hongū (Ketsumiko no kami), Shingū (Hayatama no kami), and Nachi (Fusumi no kami).[52] Here we see how global dimensions were utilized to legitimate the three Kumano deities by situating their origin within China and Tiantai entities of great power.

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[50] Miyake Hitoshi, *Kumano shugen* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1992), 50-54.

[51] Murayama Shūichi, *Honji suijaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1973), 158. Also in Miyake Hitoshi, "Rethinking Japanese Folk Religion: a Study of Kumano Shugen," in *Religion in Japan: Arrows to Heaven and Earth*, eds. P F. Kornicki and I. J. McMullen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 125.

[52] Miyake Hitoshi, "Rethinking Japanese Folk Religion: a Study of Kumano Shugen," in *Religion in Japan: Arrows to Heaven and Earth*, eds. P F. Kornicki and I. J. McMullen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 125.

The above examples were devices that created and relocated historical continuity by transporting continental origins and genealogy to Kumano in order to impart legitimacy to the site and the three main deities of Kumano. Geographical Kumano, therefore, functioned as the real space where Kumano deities intersected with their portable continental sources and genealogies. These tales "are territorial legends, genealogies of places, and, as such, are concerned with locality and displacement. They represent attempts to construct Kumano as a Buddhist topos through links to a more distant religious landscape."[53]

Equally important to the development of distinctive visual qualities of the Kumano *miya* mandara was the concurrent development of the notion of *hongaku*, the belief that buddhahood could be realized "in this body, in this life, and in this world."[54] *Hongaku*, or original enlightenment, a further extension of the *honji suijaku* division of "ground" and "traces," took many forms but, in general, was based on the Mahāyāna doctrine of *śūnyatā* (J. *kū*) that emphasizes that phenomena lack essence or self-nature, are dependent upon causation, and are relative to and dependent on other phenomena. According to *hongaku* discourse, enlightenment is neither a goal to be achieved nor a potential to be realized but is the true status of all things. This concept is a vision of the phenomenal world as a cosmos where all things, not only humans but also the natural environment, are inherently enlightened.[55]

Hongaku, a departure from the prior dominant belief that buddhahood could be attained only in a space not of this world, had begun to be influential and systematized in Japan during the time of Saichō (767-822) and Kūkai (774-835) in the eighth/ninth centuries. *Hongaku*

[53] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 59.
[54] Allan G. Grapard, "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions," *History of Religions* 20 (1982): 202.
[55] Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Trasnformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 12 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 6-7.

thought had an especially profound effect on the evolution of sacred geography in Japan. Relocating the place of the realization of enlightenment precisely within this world transformed sacred Japanese mountains, such as Kumano, which had previously been separated from humans, into metaphysical Buddhist realms where humans safely entered for practice and transformation. The precincts of the three Kumano shrines were converted into the corresponding paradises of their respective enshrined Buddha or bodhisattva. Thus, the Hongū became the western paradise of Amida Nyorai, Yakushi Nyorai's eastern pure land was located at the Shingū, and Senju Kannon's Fudaraku island realm was located in the ocean to the east of Nachi Falls.[56] These changes, achieved through an interaction between Buddhism and indigenous concepts of sacredness, resulted in entire mountain ranges, such as those on the Kii Peninsula, becoming sites for the realization of buddhahood.

The influence of *hongaku* was but one part of a larger formula that coalesced to finally transform the entire peninsula into space for the realization of buddhahood. Long periods of isolation undertaken by Buddhist mountain ascetics who practiced within the Kumano mountains also had a great deal to do with the transfer of the metaphysical space of mandala—the representation of the residence of the Buddha—onto mountains. The sole intention of those ascetics who withdrew into mountains was to follow the path of Buddhism and free themselves from all worldly attachments. Their pilgrimages and ascetic praxis, in large part symbolic, were actualized physical encounters wherein practitioners transcended time and space and entered into a field of experience that released them from the constraints of the world of suffering. The end result was the unification between man and sacred natural environment that then enabled

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[56] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 130.

the practitioner to become permanently transformed into a living, "reborn" Buddha who embodied the divine while simultaneously dwelling within the mundane.

The above experience parallels the esoteric Buddhist belief that a practitioner enters into a mandala through its gate and mentally travels through the myriad deities until reaching cosmic Dainichi Nyorai, the cosmic Buddha who is the origin of each Buddha depicted in the mandala, in the center. This cosmic travel through the mandalic map transports the practitioner through the outer boundaries in the shape of a circle or square to the center that is the spiritual focal point. Typically, the central buddha is the fundamental nature of the cosmos and the center is the location of salvation. Surrounding the center are the outer buddhas, bodhisattvas, and various gods and goddesses who function as manifestations of the center. A mandala "described the universe from the perspective of things as they are in their fundamental 'suchness'."[57] As described by Allan G. Grapard:

> A practitioner of Esoteric Buddhism 'enters' a mandala through
> its gate, invokes the divinities that are represented, and identifies
> with them one after another until reaching the center, in which
> there is a representation of the cosmic Buddha from which all
> other Buddhas and their lands emanate. The practitioner goes
> from the manifestation to the source, from the form to the essence,
> and finally reaches the realization that form and essence are
> two-but-not-two.[58]

This conflation/integration of mandalic form and essence as "two-but-not-two" facilitated the superimposing of the two esoteric mandala, which represent the mysteries of the universe, over large topographic areas of Japanese geography. By the twelfth century, the metaphysical realms of mandala where Buddhas dwelled were transferred to the Kumano mountain ranges within this world that then became one and the same with the two esoteric

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[57] Allan G. Grapard, "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions," *History of Religions* 20 (1982): 209.
[58] Ibid.

mandala. The end result was that the two mandala were projected over entire mountain ranges and transformed already sacred areas into an earthly, geographic mandala into which practitioners physically entered in the same manner they mentally entered painted mandala.

The earliest example of this mandalic overlay is cited in the twelfth century text *Shozan engi*[59] where the Kii peninsula mountain ranges comprised of Yoshino in the north and Kumano in the south are transformed respectively into the Diamond and Womb World mandala, and the Ōmine range in the center of the two ranges is transformed into the location where the two mandala combine and became one and the same.[60] Each mountain within the Ōmine range is assigned the name of a Buddha or bodhisattva in the respective mandala; as a result, the abstract Buddhist cosmos becomes grounded in the physicality of the natural world of Japan.

The next step in the transformation from mandalic abstract space to concrete placement occurred when Shugendō practitioners who traversed from peak to peak through the Kii area adopted the sophisticated esoteric cosmology as a means to facilitate their symbolic and visionary journey. In the *Shozan engi* it is stated, "[T]hose who tread those spaces and cross these rivers must think that each drop of water, each tree of these mountains is a drug of immortality, even if they suffer from a heavy past of misdeeds."[61] As this selection indicates, practitioners moved through concrete space and inhabited a landscape that actualized the realm of the otherworld and, through transmigration, gained entry into the "other" transformed realm of their spiritual journey.[62]

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[59] The presumed date of completion is 1180. Ibid., 210.
[60] *Shozan engi*, in *Jisha engi*, eds. Hagiwara Tatsuo, Miyata Norobu, Sakura Shoten, vol. 20 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), 91.
[61] Allan G. Grapard, "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions," *History of Religions* 20 (1982): 211.
[62] The symbolism of the climb through the vast mountains and its connection to the power inherent within mandala derives from the shamanistic journey to the abode of spirits that Carmen Blacker has studied in

The idea of Buddhist metaphysical space grounded in the geographical world of Japan was the catalyst that radically transformed painted Japanese mandalic forms from continental geometric, diagrammatic representations to depictions of actual landscapes located within the physical world of Japan, as is seen in *miya* mandara. Concrete visualizations seen in *miya* mandara are where specific shrines are grounded in landscapes of their actual geographical locations. As noted earlier, there was/is a dichotomy between the inclusiveness and universality of Buddhism and the specificity of place that is central to native Japanese beliefs. Kumano *miya* mandara map both the cosmic and the specific and thus mediate the conflict between the two. "Accurate" cartography was the result of rational European science but this stipulation of exactness was late in coming to Asia, where the user was "traveling not only through the areas and the places depicted but also through the related levels of signs, reality and abstraction, through logical steps, through cultural fields." [63] It will be shown in the next chapters that Kumano mandara act as visualized "cultural fields" where surface and internal systems of meaning rotate and resonate.

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detail. In her examples, however, the ascetic experiences a manic journey where he is separated from his body and is carried to cosmic realms. In contrast, the travels of *shugenja* differ in that they journeyed into the otherworld hidden within sacred mountains by means of symbolic actions. Their dress, purification rituals, semi-starvation, and extreme austerities are all intended as symbolic actions to construct an "environment" that serves to realize the innate buddhanature or original buddhahood within one's own body. Carman Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow*: *A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1999).

[63] Christian Jacob translated in *Mappings*, eds. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1999), 8.

3.0   KUMANO MANDARA

3.1   INTRODUCTION

The Kumano cultic sphere, which includes three enormous mountain ranges spread over the Kii

Peninsula, received worldwide recognition in 2004 when it was designated a world cultural site

and added to UNESCO's World Heritage List.   In acknowledgement of this honor, over three

hundred objects connected with Kumano practices and beliefs were gathered from temples,

shrines, and museums and exhibited in Osaka, Nagoya, and Tokyo. The exhibition included an

unusually wide array of objects, including *waka* poems, diaries and journals, portrait statues and

paintings, shrine documents, sūtra containers, handscrolls, maps, guidebooks, mirrors, temple

bells, *Noh* masks, amulets, fans, court costumes, musical instruments, Buddhist statues, votive

objects, miniature shrines, and Kumano mandara.[64]   The diversity of the objects spoke to a wide

range of syncretic practices and beliefs that have become synonymous with the sacredness of

Kumano and the Kii peninsula. This chapter will examine the four Shōgoin Kumano mandara

and analyze their content as illustrative of beliefs identified with the Kii peninsula.

Kumano mandara are a sub-type of Japanese paintings subsumed within the genre of

diagrammatic Buddhist pictures known as mandala. Buddhist mandala paintings include images

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[64] Osaka Municipal Museum, *World Heritage: Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range*, *Treasures from Yoshino, Kumano and Koya* (Osaka: Osaka Municipal Museum, 2004).

or symbols of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other Buddhist divine beings. Mandala map the essential plan of the Buddhist universe and function as the centerpiece of Buddhist practices spanning the esoteric/exoteric spectrums both on the Asian continent and Japanese archipelago. The broad categorizations that are used to classify continental and Japanese mandalic forms are determined according to the medium and/or iconography of each image. While the system is a convenient means to discuss general designations, it falls short of providing a more nuanced reading that would address institutional and/or patronage connections and concerns. In order to understand the transformations of visual content of a purely Japanese mandalic form that began in the eleventh-century, this discussion will begin with Indian and Chinese sources.

The spatial organization of painted two-dimensional mandala [65] mirrors the three-dimensional architectural mounded form of the Indian Buddhist stone stupa built to enshrine the Buddha's relics. The domed stupa form is, in turn, believed to have derived from the shape of pre-Buddhist burial mounds of Indian royalty and religious leaders. The solid hemispherical stupa dome symbolizes the innermost center of the universe and has been variously interpreted as a symbol of the cosmos, a dark womb, or an egg. The pole (*yasti*) set in the center of the square balcony capping the top of the dome extends downward through the stupa to connect with the enshrined relics beneath and has various symbolic references including Mount Meru—a world axis that connects the navel of the earth to the vault of heaven. Directly above the pole, a series of layered umbrellas (*chattras*) symbolize honorific protection for the enshrined contents within the stupa. The railing that surrounds the central axis and demarcates the sacred space is derived from enclosures erected around early Indian sacred trees, poles, and burial mounds. Four gates

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[65] The etymological division of the Sanskrit term "*mandala*" combines the noun *mand* (to set off or to set apart) with the suffix *la* (the area designated). When used in combination, they signify a place or point that holds an essence and, as such, they are self-contained sacred spaces created for the performance of certain rituals and practices.

placed in the outer enclosure are aligned with the four primary directions to give directionality to the circular shape.

All stupa share three common characteristics: first, they are radially arranged around a central, fixed point; second, all are arranged around a vertical axis that arises from the central point; and third, all are oriented according to the four cardinal directions. The three-dimensional combination of centrality, axiality, and directionality that underlies the spatial organization of the architectural stupa is also the basis of the organization of two-dimensional Buddhist mandalic space, in which vertical axiality is understood to be present although not visible.[66]

Adrian Snodgrass has observed, "The mandala is a centered world, an area whose center has been determined and whose boundaries have been clearly defined."[67] The spatial organization of Buddhist two-dimensional painted mandala, like that of the stupa, is "centered" through a circle placed within a square that radiates around an invisible vertical central axis. The entire painted mandalic composition is then oriented to the cardinal directions and the believer enters it through one of four gates set on the outer perimeter. Painted mandala are centered, perfected environments inhibited by countless Buddhas. They are maps that show the believer where they are, where they want to be, and, as they move inward through the mandala toward their goal of buddhahood, mandala contain the path to take them there.

The most important mandala in early Japanese Buddhism are the two esoteric *Dai mandala* or Great Mandala known collectively as either the Mandala of the Two Worlds (*Ryōkai mandara*) or the Dual or Twofold Mandala (*Ryōbu mandara*) (See List of Images #1, #2). The Dual Mandala is comprised of the Womb World (*Taizōkai*, Sk. Garbhadhātu; (See List

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[66] Adrian Snodgrass, *The Symbolism of the Stupa* (Delhi: Motial Banarsidass, 1992), 105.
[67] Ibid., 104.

of Images #1) and the Diamond World (*Kongōkai*, Sk. Vajra dhātu; See List of Images #2),

which are two separate but complimentary mandala. The Dual Mandala, the basis of Japanese

esoteric Buddhism, were introduced to Japan and systemized by Kūkai (774-835). The

Diamond World mandala refers to the wisdom of Dainichi (Sk. Mahāvairocana) and symbolizes

the body, speech, and mind that can lead to enlightenment. The Womb World Mandala refers to

the potential within all sentient beings to realize Buddhahood through the compassion of

Dainichi.[68] The practitioner used both to visualize and interact with Buddhist cosmology.

The configurations of both the Womb and Diamond mandala are geometrically arranged

concentric circles, rectangles, and squares. Each mandala is filled with numerous Buddhas and

bodhisattvas—all depicted in precise detail—organized around the central deity Dainichi Nyorai

(Sk. Mahāvairocana), the Dharma body that is the source of all Buddhas and bodhisattvas and

personifies the truth of all phenomena.

The content of the late thirteenth, early fourteenth-century Kumano *miya* mandara is

unlike and bears no visual resemblance to these continental models. The continental geometric

format is transformed and now both Buddhist and native Japanese deities and guardians traverse

through the backdrop of Kumano's mountainous terrains located in the upper and lower portions

of the paintings. Although the Buddhas placed in the Shōgoin *miya* mandara paintings

correspond to the deities within continental mandala, they are no longer encased within circles

and squares. Rather, they are "grounded" within Kumano's geography, where shrine

architecture takes center stage as the focus of two of the four paintings. The next section will

discuss this expanded visual vocabulary within the four Shōgoin *miya m*andara.

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[68] Paul Groner, *Saichō*: *The Establishment of Japanese Tendai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 53

3.2　MAP OR MANDARA?　EARLY LITERARY EVIDENCE OF MANDARA

PRODUCTION

Miya mandara are composite paintings of shrine architecture, *honji* or *suijaku* deities, and Japanese landscapes. Extant *miya* mandara range in date from the late twelfth century to the first half of the fourteenth century and the majority of extant depictions are of Kasuga, Kumano, Iwashimizu Hachiman, and Hiei, the major shrine complexes of the period. *Miya* mandara record both native and Buddhist pantheons as well as those architectural and topographical elements that serve as identifying markers of each cultic site. Although this discussion is centered on four Kamakura-period (1185-1333) Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara, it is necessary to first discuss earlier Nara period maps that chart landholdings of temples and shrines in order to clarify certain common characteristics of geographical and architectural features in *miya* mandara that are derived from the earlier Japanese map forms.

The earliest Japanese maps began to be drawn during the eighth century and were made for practical purposes, born of the necessity to accurately document private landownership (*shōen*). Probably the earliest extant survey map was completed in 736 and charts rice paddies owned by Gufukuji, a temple located in Yamato Province, Nara Prefecture.[69] The growth of privatized non-taxable landownership under the control of both religious institutions and members of the aristocracy created the need to produce accurate mappings. Picture maps (*ezu*) were among the legal documents necessary to certify estate holdings in order to settle boundary disputes and verify the totality of acreage. Early maps of private landholdings tended to focus on topographical details such as the roads, mountains, and rivers used to demarcate boundaries

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[69] Kazutaka Unno, "Cartography in Japan," *The History of Cartography*, *Volume Two, Book Two*, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicage and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 456.

of the estates rather than geographical or architectural elements within the interiors of the holdings.[70]

During the Kamakura period (1185-1333), private ownership increased and absorption of land by both religious institutions and the aristocracy required that maps show total acreage as well as boundaries of the manors. Therefore, this period marked the beginning of map-making that emphasized both outer boundaries as well as content within the borders. The change was also necessitated by landowners' need for proof of ownership in order to settle disputes with the administrators of their land over the division of profits from the crops grown on the estate.[71] Legal documents of the period contain place names, chart the locations of rice paddies and cultivated fields, and, although some do contain natural elements such as rivers and ponds, in general, they have fewer identifiable natural landmarks than those maps intended to delimitate boundaries of private landholdings.[72]

A map dated to 1230 of the property of Jingoji (See List of Images #7), in Kyoto, is one example of a map intended to delimitate a temple's property holdings. The black and white ink drawing is representative of the method of displaying information that organizes the composition around varying sight lines radiating outward from the center. The mountains and buildings in the Jingoji map are seen from a bird's-eye view (*chōkan*). The buildings on the left edge are oriented from the center and splayed outward toward the four directions, while those on the right side are oriented north to south, depending on how the viewer holds the map. The multiple-perspective composition within this map indicates that it was neither required nor even expected that the image should accurately measure distances. Rather, details and spatial

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[70] Ibid., 362.
[71] Ibid., 364.
[72] Ibid.

relationships were sacrificed in order to include the entirety of the temple's buildings and holdings.

Mappings of land and temples that were made during the Kamakura period were legal documents and were used for the practical purpose of verifying ownership. Also during the Kamakura period, a new type of picture map began to be produced that were composite paintings of shrine architecture and surrounding landscapes known today by the art-historical term *miya* mandara.

The *miya* mandara of the Gion Shrine (See List of Images #8) in Kyoto by Ryūen (d.u. a member of the shrine atelier) is, according to the inscription on its back, dated to 1330.[73] The composition of the Gion mandara is structured so that subordinate shrines form a ring around the main shrine in the center and radiate outward from the center of the image in the same manner as the mountains in the map of Jingoji produced a century earlier. (See List of Images #7) An important consideration was to include all major and secondary buildings owned by the shrine, and this is accomplished by carefully placing each architectural element in a shifting perspective that allows full frontal views of torii, verandas, gates, and buildings. Again, it is exactness of documenting the shrine's holding by including every individual building—that is of primary concern in the presentation of subject matter, rather than an accurate rendering of spatial relationships or distances between and among the buildings. To this end, labels are included that identify major buildings, details such as the two *Nio* guardians that flank the main gate are clearly visible, and the wall that surrounds the shrine complex serves as the outer boundary to frame the painting.

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[73] Haruki Kageyama, *The Arts of Shinto*, trans. Christine Guth Kanda (New York: Weatherhill/Shinbundo, 1973), 20-21.

In the paintings of Jingoji (See List of Images #7) and Gion Shrine (See List of Images #8), verandas and courtyards are seen from a bird's-eye view, while fences, gates, torii, buildings, natural landscape elements, and surrounding geographical formations are frontally viewed. This combinatory application of varying points of view within one image always has the possibility of being somewhat disorienting but, as a total composite, these images contain all the critical information needed to identify and map the space. This type of composition did not accurately position the temple in relationship with the surrounding geography but, rather, topography frames the temple so as to define a single unit of bounded space.

Late Kamakura-period paintings of Iwashimizu (See List of Images #9) and Kasuga Shrines (See List of Images #10), both roughly contemporary with the Gion map, demonstrate that a shift occurred from using multiple viewpoints to display visual elements—as seen in the Jingoji and Gion paintings—to the single, often centralized sightline that is the typical composition of most *miya* mandara. Iwashimizu Shrine near Kyoto is viewed from one centrally focused sightline rather than shifting viewpoints and, when compared to the mandara of the Kasuga Shrine in Nara (See List of Images #10) of the same period, one can see that there is virtually no difference between the two except for the extreme care taken to depict the beauty of the landscape of Kasuga.

The intense interest in and focus on the description of the landscapes and natural land formations where shrines are located is one of the primary differences between the visual content of *miya* mandara and the map of the Gion Shrine. Skilled artisans painted *miya* mandara using rich, gorgeous colors, indicating that paintings of cultic centers were produced for patrons who also valued the scenes for their beauty and were willing and able to absorb the high cost of production. This is an important difference from the black and white maps that documented

ownership. The second difference is that *miya* mandara typically include either the *honji* or *suijaku* deities associated with the cultic area. Neither the Gion Shrine (See List of Images #8) nor the Iwashimizu Shrine (See List of Images #9) maps include images of the shrines' enshrined deities so they, therefore, should be designated as maps rather than mandara.

Kumano *miya* mandara are considered to be among the most important paintings of cultic centers. The earliest written evidence for the commission and production of a painting of Kumano is found in the diary of Emperor Go-Toba (1179-1239, r. 1184-1198) titled *Go-Toba-in shinki*. An entry for 1214 (Kenpō 2/4/8) describes the commission of a Kumano painting and an incised mirror in the following manner:

> Today is the eighth and the sky is clear. Between 9:30 and 10:00 the emperor [Go-Toba], wearing court robes, went outside. Then, after a short while, he came back inside. Today he commissioned objects be made including a low-relief incised mirror (*mishōtai*),[74] as well as a painting (or "map picture" *zue*) of the main hall (*honden*), the deity enshrined within the hall (*hishōtai*), and all else located at the three mountains of Kumano (*gosanzan*). He then ordered that this painting where the spirit of the deity resides (*goshintai*) be hung for him every month on the eighteenth day while he prays.[75]
>
> In addition, he ordered an offering to be performed to dedicate the picture to the deity. The main hall is to be exactly replicated in the painting and it will include the corridors that surround the buildings. The priest Jūkaku (d.u.) will officiate at the ceremony to save sentient beings (*seppō*). Attending will be

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[74] The term *mishōtai* was used at this time to broadly indicate all objects symbolic of kami or Buddhas. In this case, Go-Toba not only ordered a painting of the Kumano buildings but also an incised bronze mirror(s) (*kakebotoke*-"hanging Buddha"), as they were known in the Kamakura period. Earlier during the Heian period, a type of circular plaque known as *kyōzō* ("mirror image") began to be produced that had either incised or painted kami or Buddhas, Sanskrit letters, or mandala-like arrangements added to its surface. Bronze mirrors were suspended under the eaves of shrines and halls and often used as part of shrine ceremonies. Their production began in the late Heian-period and continued into the Edo-period (1615-1868). Both *kyōzō* and *kakebotoke* were termed *mishotai* at the time of Go-Toba's diary entry. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, comp. Nihon Kokugo Daijiten Kankōkai vol. 3 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1983), 220-221. Itō Shirō, "*Kakebotoke* with Images of Kumano Jūnisha Gongen," in *Shintō: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, ed. Victor Harris (London: The Brittish Museum Press, 2001), 200.
[75] For information on the ritual held on the eighteenth see *Go-Toba-in shinki*, in *Shiseki shūran*, ed. Kondō Heijō, vol. 24 (Tokyo: Kondō Kappanjo, 1900-1903), 117

imperial court nobles (*kugyō*) and court officials (*kuge*). When
the service is over the emperor gives headgear and a robe of
embroidered Chinese silk to the monk Jūkaku as well as five
bolts of silk. His consort Shumeimon'in [76] also gives an
additional payment of a white robe to Jūkaku.[77]

This early text has raised issues concerning terminology that have been the subject of

numerous interpretations by various scholars. The first issue is the use of the term *zue* ("map

picture") at the time of Emperor Go-Toba's diary entry to refer to the painting of the Kumano

shrine complex rather than the term mandara to specify composite paintings of Japanese shrines

and landscapes. This is a problem that has yet to be completely resolved. The use of the term

zue in the Go-Toba diary would seem to indicate that in the late twelfth-early thirteenth

centuries the term mandara was not yet commonly used to designate paintings of shrine

complexes.

In scholarly circles, the term "mandala" as the broad umbrella used to group all shrine-

related paintings within one category was used by the Japanese art historian Kageyama Haruki

in the 1950s and has remained the common term for identifying *miya* paintings of shrines and

their landscapes.[78] Kageyama states: "Images are often arranged in the form of a *mandala*—in

the strict sense, a systematic diagram in which the position of each deity in the universe and his

relationship to others is established. Of Buddhist origin, this pictorial concept came to be

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[76] His consort, Fujiwara no Chōshi (1182-1264), was the mother of Emperor Juntoku (1197-1242,
r. 1211-1221). She was made honorary empress in 1207. She took Buddhist vows in 1221. *The Clear
Mirror*: *A Chronicle of the Japanese Court in the Kamakura Period (1183-1333)*, trans. George Perkins
(Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 305.
[77] *Go-Toba-in shinki*, in *Shiseki shūran*, comp. Kondō Heijō, vol. 24 (Tokyo: Kondō Kapanjo, 1900-
1903), 110.
[78] Kageyama Haruki, *The Arts of Shinto*, trans. Christine Guth Kanda (New York: Weatherhill/Shibundo,
1973), 23. Arichi Meri, "*Sannō Miya Mandara*: The Iconography of Pure Land on this Earth," *Japanese
Journal of Religious Studies* 34 (2006): 321.

interpreted rather broadly in Japan so that paintings of a single deity or even scenes of shrine activities were also referred to as mandalas."[79]

Kageyama based his categorization of Japanese *miya* mandara paintings on hierarchical associations and pairing of deities that are the diagrammatic arrangement of geometric continental mandalic forms. There was, however, a second painted continental form known as *hensōzu* ("transformed visions," C. *bianxian*) that was, according to ten Grotenhuis, used interchangeably with the Japanese term *mandara* starting in the early eleventh century.[80] *Hensō* produced in Japan followed the Chinese precedent of illustrating scenes from sūtras, doctrinal topics, legends, or literary themes told in the same time sequence and order found in literary sources. *Hensō* have a narrative quality, but the images are not grounded in the geography of Japan. In contrast, *miya* mandara are images that depict an abstract idea (*honji suijaku*) in concrete form (buddhas or kami) grounded within the tangible physicality of Japanese landscapes. The statement in the Go-Toba diary suggests that the image commissioned was likely a map-like arrangement of the Kumano shrine precinct of the type now commonly termed *miya* or shrine mandara.

The second issue that needs to be examined in connection with the Go-Toba diary is the information given concerning the use of the mandara, both as described in the text as well as the general assumptions that surround this issue. The sentence in question states that it was important to Emperor Go-Toba that the image look "exactly" like the main shrines and "all else" located within the Kumano mountains. This has been interpreted to mean that the realistic depiction of the shrines and all else is proof that the painting was used as a substitute for actual

[79] Kageyama Haruki, *The Arts of Shinto*, trans. Christine Guth Kanda (New York: Weatherhill/Shibundo, 1973), 23.
[80] Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*: *Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 3.

pilgrimages to Kumano.[81]   Certainly, there are pilgrimage (*sankei*) mandara that were used in

story telling, proselytizing, and as advertisements for shrines and temples. But, *sankei* pictures

have no bearing on the Go-Toba mandara type because they were not made until the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries, long after Go-Toba's early thirteenth century diary.[82]

It is true, however, that emperor Go-Toba was a frequent visitor to Kumano, having

undertaken twenty-nine pilgrimages to the shrines. Therefore, his 1214 diary entry that states

that the Kumano shrine halls were accurately depicted in the painting could have been based on

first-hand observation by the emperor.   But, it still remains unclear whether the artists who

actually produced Emperor Go-Toba's Kumano painting had ever visited the area or if they had

relied on details that had become bound up with a specific visual vocabulary that signified to the

viewer that the painting was of Kumano. One possibility is that the content of *miya* mandara

was standardized so that the artist and the viewer understood and read the specific details as the

visual vocabulary associated with the shrine area they were viewing.

The answer that could give us a deeper understanding may partially lie in the tradition of

the interdependence between poems and a type of painting known in Japanese as *meisho-e*, or

"pictures of celebrated places." *Meisho-e* had been painted since the Heian period, when the

most popular early subjects were the four seasons (*shiki-e*) and the occupations of the twelve

months (*tsukinami-e*). The scenes were most often painted on folding screens (*byōbu*) and were

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[81] D. Max Moerman interprets the passage to mean that "Go-Toba worshipped the painting in preparation for a pilgrimage to the shrines." D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 82-83. Also, Meri Arichi, in reference to mandara used in place of pilgrimages, goes so far as to state that "The distance of Kasuga and Kumano from the capital was the main reason for the *miya mandara…*" Meri Arichi, "*Sannō Miya Mandara*: The Iconography of Pure Land on this Earth," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 34 (2006): 327.
[82] Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*: *Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 4.

accompanied by poems, although the poems' topics did not always necessarily directly correlate with the scene. Often the poem and picture were associated by mood rather than by the direct correspondence of poetic subject with place.[83]

The pairing of painted scenes of specific locales with poems continued to be a popular practice into the Kamakura period. By far, the most numerous of these combinations were *meisho-e* pictures of celebrated sites paired with Japanese thirty-one syllable *waka* poems. *Meisho-e* paintings convey a specific locale by isolating its most famous characteristic so that the viewer could easily identify what s/he sees. It was, however, not a requirement that the artist or poet actually visit the specific locale before writing about or painting the subject.[84]

An artist or poet could have relied on various sources of information—such as reports from travelers who had visited the areas or even maps like those discussed earlier in this section—to verbally or visually depict the scene. Because we have no extant examples of either scenes or poems of Kumano added to *byōbu*, we have to turn to poetry collections for substantiation of the hypothesis that scenes and poems were not dependent on first-hand knowledge. For example, the personal poetry collection (*Kinkai waka shū)* by the third Shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo (1182-1219), a renowned *waka* poet, was compiled between the years 1203-1219 and contains two poems (Numbers 637 and 638) he wrote on the subject of Nachi Falls.[85] The first of the two poems explains that Sanetomo discussed Nachi Falls with Hōgan Sadaoshi and then wrote his poem based on the second-hand description by Hōgan Sadaoshi. The head note and poem are as follow:

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[83] Umezawa Megumi, "Suijaku no yamahyōgen ni mirareru Meisho-e teki yōso ni tsuite," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 384 (2004): 86.
[84] Ibid., 90.
[85] Ibid.

"On meeting Hōgan Sadaoshi, we discussed the appearance of the waterfall at Mt. Nachi"

mikumano no	On the small mountain
nachi no yama ni	Nachi, in Mikumano
hiku shime no	It is just stretched out
uchihaete nomi	Like a holy rope hung there,
utsuru taki ka na	The glissading waterfall[86]

The inspiration for the next poem that immediately follows suggests that Minamoto no Sanetomo had seen a painting of Nachi Falls on a *byōbu*. Its headnote states:

"The same mountain, depicted on a folding screen"

fuyugomori	Locked in wintertime,
nachi no arashi no	Because the storms on Nachi
sumekereba	Are so very cold
koke no koromo no	The clothing of woven moss
usuku ya aruran	Is likely to be a bit thin[87]

Sanetomo stipulates in the headnotes throughout his collection those poems that he wrote on the occasion of his pilgrimages to mountains, temples, and shrines. There are also a large number of poems that were written upon seeing an image on a folding screen. For example, the subject of poems Numbers 48 and 49 is an archery event at Mount Yoshino yet it is clearly stated that Number 50 was written after viewing Mount Yoshino drawn on a folding screen. Throughout the collection Sanetomo is very precise in recording the impetus for his poems. His headnotes explain that he wrote some poems after visiting a famous place, but other poems were written without a visit and were based on his viewing a depiction of the place

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[86] Minamoto Sanetomo, *A Golden Pagoda-Tree of Japanese Poetry*, trans. Donald M. Richardson (Virginia: Winchester, 1995), 104.
[87] Ibid.

painted on a screen, and still others were based on information from a second party who had visited the site.

By the Kamakura period, interconnected poetic illusions, metaphors, and verbal imagery had developed a full range of associations understood by both readers and viewers. Certain visual motifs seem to have been used over several centuries. For example, Kasuga mandara include specific pine trees, ground formations, plants, and even stone stairs repeated from early to later examples.[88] Although, in reality the pine tree would have changed or may even have died after hundreds of years, it continued to be used as a recurring motif identified with the Kasuga complex.

The natural settings and architecture of the three shrines of Kumano also evolved into a set of prompts that artists and poets intended would convey to viewers the essence of the cultic site of Kumano. One example is the *hamayū* (*crinum asiaticum* var. *japonicum*)[89] plant that grows along the shoreline of the Kii Peninsula, which became poetically associated with the Kumano shrines. The shoreline itself placed in the upper left register of the Shōgoin *honji* mandara (See List of Images #4) was also poetically and visually associated with Kumano.[90] Nachi Falls is usually paired with the full moon and they both appear in the Shōgoin *miya* mandara (See List of Images #4).

Returning to the issue of function of the mandara, the Go-Toba diary also states that the painting was hung on the eighteenth of each month while the emperor prayed. This statement likely refers to the use of paintings during services paying homage to a particular Buddha or

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[88] Gyōtoku Shin'ichirō, "Kasuga mandarazu no fūkei hyōgen-busshō to shinsei no katachi," *Museum* 541 (1996): 26.

[89] *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, comp. Nihon Kokugo Daijiten Kankōkai, vol. 10 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1983), 1367.

[90] Umezawa Megumi, "Suijaku no yamahyōgen ni mirareru Meisho-e teki yōso ni tsuite," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 384 (2004): 94.

bodhisattva on a certain day of each month (*ennichi*)[91] that had become common practice by the time of Emperor Go-Toba. The eighteenth of each month was the designated day to hold services for Kannon and this custom had, by the Kamakura period when this text was written, become an especially popular means to earn merit. Based on this evidence, Go-Toba's painting was not a surrogate for a pilgrimage. Rather, it indicates that at least this one Kumano mandara was used for personal rituals and not solely as a substitute for a pilgrimage to the area.

Rather than imposing a unified framework upon all *miya* mandara, it may be that we can better understand them as illustrative of syncretic beliefs particular to a specific cultic site. It is important to keep in mind the following statement by Allan Grapard in regard to cultic centers:

> Such sites were conceived and ritually treated on the basis of fundamental conceptions and formulations of space, of ritual and social organization, and of time. In other words, a certain type of cultural geography based on native categories promises a more comprehensive approach to Japanese religious systems not only because it pays attention to spatial and temporal schemes of representation of power, but also because it takes as its basic unit of research a geographical area where Buddhist and non-Buddhist institutions, creeds, rites, and practices interlocked and formed combinatory systems. These systems shared a number of features while keeping their own characteristics. Each of these units produced a cultural system that was open to outside influences, but that was closed onto its own patterns. Each unit evolved into a specific cult with its own institutions, its own rituals, its own arts, and its own literature.[92]

The visual content of Shōgoin *miya* mandara is the "cultural system" of the "basic unit" of the geographical area of Kumano and is illustrative of the closed patterns that distinguish Kumano from other equally potent cultic centers. For this reason Kumano *miya* mandara need

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[91] *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 913.

[92] Allan G. Grapard, "The Textualized Mountain—Enmountained Text: The *Lotus Sūtra* in Kunisaki," in *The Lotus Sūtra in Japanese Culture*, eds. George J. Tanabe and Willa Jane Tanabe (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 160.

to be examined and analyzed on their terms and not as part of the generalized category of mandara.

The descriptive qualities of the landscapes and the numerous deities that inhabit *miya* mandara are a large jump from the mundane function of maps and charts to delineate shrine and temple landholdings. It is worth keeping in mind that *miya* mandara were produced at the same time that handscrolls (*emakimono*) were becoming the principal means of chronicling histories, legends, and miracle stories of temples and shrines. The patrons of the handscrolls were the religious establishments, the court, and aristocracy and, in the case of religious establishments, artisans associated with shrine and temple workshops produced the handscrolls. *Miya* mandara display the same artistic expertise we see in handscrolls, and I will argue later that a set of handscrolls known as the *Ippen hijiri-e* and the four Shōgoin mandara were all produced at the temple workshop of Onjōji.

3.3   TYPES AND COMPOSITIONS OF SHŌGOIN MIYA KUMANO MANDARA

This section will concentrate on deities contained in Shōgoin mandara, and Max Moerman's comments in regard to Kumano mandara are especially pertinent to the discussion that will follow. He has stated: "Kumano mandalas thus allow us to recognize religious landscapes as cultural forms, to see their constructedness in the most obvious terms. These paintings illustrate the sites, the pantheons, the practices, and the communities that constituted the Kumano cult.

Yet they are also significant ideological documents. They represent claims about the distribution of power as if self evident, they portray a symbolic system as a natural order."[93]

Kumano mandara, therefore, are never impartial since they are the pictorial representation of a Japanese set of beliefs intimately connected to the valorization of the natural world and, as such, serve to structure and give meaning to natural surroundings. Each Shōgoin mandara's selective content is intended to articulate an unambiguous message about the specific location of Kumano. Each is thus a storehouse of information that sets up a dialogue between the viewed and the viewer. In this sense, Kumano *miya* mandara function as more than just a means to illustrate the observable physical world of Kumano. Rather, they also serve as a vehicle for a discourse that identifies and presents to the viewer the embedded meaning within geographical sacred space. As long as the viewer can decode the message, then that sub-text becomes knowledge that is both a form of power and a way to control and/or manipulate information.

3.3.1   Center Sections of the Shōgoin *honji* and *suijaku* Mandara

The primary commonality among the four Shōgoin *miya* mandara (See List of Images #3, #4, #5, #6; dated to the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries) is the three-tiered compositional organization. In each mandara, landscapes of mountain ranges located on the Kii Peninsula are above and below the center section where either *honji* or *suijaku* deities of the Kumano pantheon are placed. Each landscape is intended to be read as an individual cohesive unit in the following manner: the top third represents the northern Yoshino area, the bottom third the

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[93] D. Max Moerman, "Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage in Medieval Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1999), 56.

southern Kumano area, and the center is Ōmine, the mountain range that lies between the Yoshino and Kumano ranges. In the four Shōgoin *miya* mandara, Buddhist and local guardian deities inhabit both the upper and lower mountain ranges. The fourth mandara (See List of Images #6) contains a pilgrimage scene in the lower landscape. The center section includes the Kumano River, Nachi Falls, the Kumano Hongū shrine, and Kumano *honji* are placed on a flat background. The top landscape contains a second Nachi Falls. The following sections explain each Shōgoin mandara and identify of the *honji* or *suijaku* aspect of the system of correspondences of indigenous and Buddhist deities placed within the landscapes of Kumano.

3.3.1.1 *Honji* Mandara

The arrangement of deities in the *honji* mandara in the center register (See List of Images #3, #3.1) is as follows:

<table>
<tr><td>3</td><td></td><td>2</td><td></td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td></tr>
<tr><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td></tr>
</table>

1. Amida Nyorai	8. Shō Kannon
2. Yakushi Nyorai	9. Fugen Bosatsu
3. Senju Kannon	10. Monju Bosatsu
4. Jūichimen Kannon	11. Shaka Nyorai
5. Jizō Bosatsu	12. Fudō Myōō
6. Ryūju Bosatsu	13. Bishamonten
7. Nyoirin Kannon	

Figure 1: *Honji* Mandara Deities
(See List of Images #3, #3.1)[94]

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[94] Nakano Teruo, "Kumano mandara zukō," *Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 21 (1985): 14-16.

Buddhist deities of the Kumano pantheon placed in the center section of the *honji* mandara are arranged in three horizontal tiers (See List of Images #3, #3a). The top tier contains each Buddhist deity that is enshrined within each primary Kumano shrine: Amida Nyorai at the Hongū; Yakushi Nyorai at the Shingū; and Senju Kannon of Nachi. The Hongū, Shingū, and Nachi shrines are the top three shrines in the Kumano organizational hierarchy and the highest status of each primary shrine and their associated Buddhist deity is emphasized in the painting in two ways. First, only the *honji* associated with the three highest ranked shrines are placed in the top row and, second, they are larger in scale. The three *honji* are seated on simple four-tiered lotus seats (*renge-za*) placed on octagonal thrones (*za*) rather than on the usual individual lotus thrones, and each is surrounded by large, golden-colored, circular aureole (*kōhai*).

The second tier holds Jūichimen Kannon (Eleven-headed Kannon), Jizō Bosatsu, Ryūju Bosatsu, Nyoirin Kannon, and Shō Kannon. All deities in the second row are seated on *renge-za* and framed by double *kōhai*. The larger of the two *kōhai* are painted green and frame each body while the smaller upper golden circles framing the head slightly overlap the lower.

The bottom row is comprised of Fugen Bosatsu, Monju Bosatsu, Shaka Nyorai, Fudō Myōō, and Bishamonten. Fugen, seated astride his elephant, and Monju, riding on his lion, are backed by double *kōhai* like those behind the deities in the second tier. Shaka Nyorai is seated on a throne overlaid with hanging fabric that echoes the familiar wave pattern found on the Shaka Triad housed at Hōryūji in Nara and the *kōhai* is a large, single golden circle that frames his entire body. Fudō Myōō, seated on a rock throne (*iwa-za*), holds a lasso (*saku*) in his right hand and a sword (*sankoken*) in his left. His flame *kōhai* envelops his entire body and the

smaller internal aureole is painted green. Bishamonten, chief among the four guardian kings, is the only one of the four worshiped here separately. He is dressed as a warrior, holds a pagoda in his left hand and a staff in his right, while he tramples two spirits under foot. His *kōhai* is a red circle placed directly behind his head.

3.3.1.2 *Suijaku* Mandara

The center of the Shōgoin *suijaku* mandara (See List of Images #4, #4.1) includes three groups of deities arranged in the same hierarchical organizational scheme as the *honji* mandara, wherein the highest ranked deities are designated by their larger size and central position. The *suijaku* of Kumano, collectively known as the Twelve Avatars of Kumano (*Kumano jūnisho gongen*),[95] are organized into three groups: the three main shrines (Sansho Gongen), the nine subsidiary deities of the three main shrines, five prince shrines (Gosho Ōji) and the four subordinate shrines (Shisho Myōjin). Each corresponds to a Buddha and is organized in the following manner:

Suijaku	*Honji*	
1. Hongū—Ketsumiko	Amida Nyorai	
2. Shingū—Hayatama	Yakushi Nyorai	Sansho Gongen
3. Nachi—Fusumi	Senju Kannon	(Three Main Deities)
4. Wakamiya Ōji	Jūichimen Kannon	
5. Zenji no Miya	Jizō Bosatsu	
6. Hijiri no Miya	Ryūju Bosatsu	Gosho Ōji
7. Chigo no Miya	Nyoirin Kannon	(Five Princes)
8. Komori no Miya	Shō Kannon	

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[95] A gongen is an avatar, manifestation or incarnation of a Buddha or bodhisattva. The earliest extant text that describes the Kumano gongen is the *Kumano gongen gosuijaku engi* ("The Origins of the Manifestations of the Kumano Avitars") quoted in a court document (*Chōgan kannon*) dated 1163 in *Shinkō gunsho ruijū*, vol. 20 (Tokyo: Nagai shoseki, 1940), 312-327.

9. Ichiman/Jūman	Fugen/Monju Bosatsu	
10. Kanjō Jūgosha	Shaka Nyorai	Shisho Myōjin
11. Hikō Yasha	Fudō Myōō	(Guardian Deities)
12. Meiji Kongō	Bishamonten	

Deities displayed in the *suijaku* mandara are as follows:

<pre>
  3   2   1   4

     13   12 11 10   9   8   7   6   5
</pre>

1. Hongū—Ketsumiko   8. Komori no Miya
2. Shingū—Hayatama   9. Ichiman/Jūman
3. Nachi—Fusumi   10. Kanjō Jūgosha
4. Wakamiya Ōji   11. Hikō Yasha
5. Zenji no Miya   12. Meiji Kongō
6. Hijiri no Miya   13. Manzan Gohō[96]
7. Chigo no Miya

Figure 2: _Suijaku_ Mandara[97]
(See List of Images #4, #4.1)

The shrine buildings of Kumano are organized into two rows stacked one above the other. In the top row, to the far right, are the three larger primary shrines along with Wakamiya Ōji while the nine smaller secondary shrines are placed in the lower row.[98] Each gongen is seated within his shrine and all are easily visible through the open building fronts. The concern here is not accurate architectural replication but, rather, unimpeded views of the enshrined gongen. The shrines, presented frontally, are raised above ground level on high posts and steep stairs lead up from the ground.

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[96] Manzan Gohō will be discussed later in this section.
[97] Nakano Teruo, "Kumano Mandara zukō," *Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 21 (1985): 70-72.
[98] Wakamiya Ōji is enshrined separately from the other Gosho Ōji. Wakamiya is also enshrined at Shingū and Nachi, no doubt an indication of the belief in this deity as a powerful guardian.

The *honji* and *suijaku* mandara (See List of Images #3, #4) discussed thus far are typical of Kumano mandara in both composition and content. In both cases, the Kumano *honji* or *suijaku* pantheon is arranged in vertical rows so that each deity is isolated and easily identified. However, in none of the cases discussed thus far do they imitate the geometric form of the esoteric mandala, although the *honji* deities are, as one would expect, modeled after the standardized mandalic forms and hierarchically arranged.

3.3.1.3 Eight-Petal Lotus Mandara

The third Shōgoin mandara (See list of Images #5, #5.1) on the other hand, does owe its form to the esoteric mandala type, for in the center is the eight-petal lotus (*chūtai hachiyōin*) found in the *Taizōkai* or Womb World mandala. Again, the composition of the painting includes Kumano mountain ranges that occupy the upper and lower sections and the same guardians that are placed in the *honji* and *suijaku* mandara surround the lotus formation in the center. The arrangement is as follows:
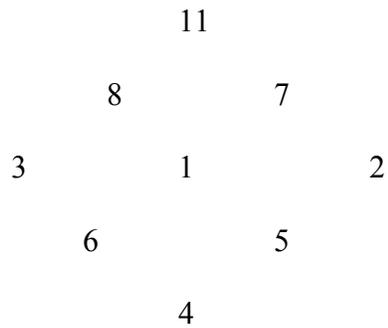
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                         11

                  8            7

            3          1              2

                  6            5

                       4
```

1. Amida Nyorai
2. Yakushi Nyorai
3. Senju Kannon
4. Jūichimen Kannon
5. Jizō Bosatsu
6. Ryūju Bosatsu

7. Nyoirin Kannon
8. Shō Kannon
11. Fudō Myōō

Figure 3: <u>Central Eight-Petal Court</u>[99]
(See List of Images #5, #5.1)

It might be expected that the Buddhist deities placed in the Kumano mandara eight-petal

lotus are the same as those in *Taizōkai* paintings; this, however, is not the case. Rather than

depicting the identical conventional aggregation of Buddhas and bodhisattvas on lotus petals

found in the *Taizōkai*, those of the Shōgoin mandara are nine of the thirteen *honji* of the

Kumano pantheon. Amida replaces Dainichi Nyorai in the center and Yakushi flanks him on

the right while Senju Kannon is to his left. To the north is Fudō Myōō with Nyoirin Kannon on

the right and Shō Kannon on the left. Jūichimen Kannon is placed in the center of the south

portion with Jizō Bosatsu on the right and Ryūju (Nāgārjuna) on the left. Eight three-pronged

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[99] Nakano Teruo, "Kumano mandara zukō," *Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 21 (1985): 38-42.

vajra (*kongōsho*),[100] the primary ritual implement of esoteric Buddhist practice, are placed in the interstices between the lotus pedals where each deity, backed by a double halo, sits on a throne. What is striking about this particular mandara is the transformation of the conventional esoteric pantheon of the *Taizōkai* mandala to conform to the Kumano pantheon by substituting the enshrined Kumano *honji* for the esoteric group and placing the new configuration within the Kumano Mountains, the characteristic backdrop of Kumano mandara.[101]

3.3.1.4 *Kumano Pilgrimage* Mandara

The fourth Shōgoin example depicts the completion of a pilgrimage to Kumano coupled with the *honji* pantheon (See List of Images #6, #6.1). The shrines of the Hongū complex in the middle of the painting divide the composition into thirds. The Hongū complex is placed above the sandy bank of the Kumano River while a compressed rendering of the Kumano mountain ranges, including Nachi Falls, completes the lower section. In the top half there are the thirteen Kumano *honji* and a second image of Nachi Falls on the right coupled with the Nachi shrine buildings on the left.

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[100] The three points symbolize the "three jewels" of Buddhism: the Buddha, the Dharma, and the sa gha.
[101] There are a number of Kumano mandara that follow this same form.

The deities are arranged in the following manner:

3	2	1	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12
14					13
					15[102]

1. Amida Nyorai	8. Shō Kannon
2. Yakushi Nyorai	9. Monju Bosatsu[103]
3. Senju Kannon	10. Shaka Nyorai
4. Jūichimen Kannon	11. Fudō Myōō
5. Jizo Bosatsu	12. Bishamonten
6. Ryūju (Nāgārjuna)	13. Manzan Gohō
7. Nyoirin Kannon	14. Deity in classic court costume
	15. En no Gyōja

Figure 4: <u>Pilgrimage Mandara</u>[104]
See List of Images #6, #6.1)

The *honji* of the pilgrimage mandara are organized very differently from the first *honji*

mandara (See List of Images #3) discussed above. Here they are laid out in two equally

numbered rows without the customary emphasis placed on the three primary *honji* and their

correspondence with the three Kumano shrines. The principal *honji* are not separated from nor

are they larger than the remaining deities so that the arrangement lacks the hierarchical ordering

found in the *honji* and *suijaku* mandara (See List of Images #3, #4.)

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[102] En no Gyōja is located in the lower right section.
[103] Fūgen Bosatsu is not depicted in this configuration. Fūgan Bosatsu and Monju Bosatsu are considered to be a pair and often one or the other is not depicted but is understood to be referenced. The two Bosatsu are conflated when they are made manifest in Ennin. Miyake Hitoshi, *Shūgendo: Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2001), 38.
[104] Nakano Teruo, "Kumano mandara zukō," *Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 21 (1985): 28-30.

Two additional features, idiosyncratic to this painting, suggest that the upper section was added to the original, lower two-thirds of the painting. First, Nachi waterfall, with its distinctive one hundred-thirty meter triple fall, is depicted twice, in both the top and bottom sections. This anomaly is difficult to account for since it seems to be the only example of two depictions of Nachi within a single Kumano *miya* mandara. I would propose that this deviation suggests that the top-most portion may have been added to the original painting since there is no logical reason to include Nachi twice. Second, the placement of En no Gyōja, traditionally held to be the founder of Shugendō, in the lower section would indicate that the original painting did not include the upper landscape and shrines because he is found in the top landscape in the other three Shōgoin mandara discussed above. Had there been two landscapes as part of the original composition, it is likely that he would have been placed in the upper portion. We will return to this painting when its patronage and place of production are discussed in the next chapter.

There are a total of twenty-one extant Kumano mandara where *honji*, *suijaku*, protective deities, and/or shrine buildings are organized into various arrangements. Painters of the four Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara followed the typical iconographic, stylistic and compositional visual vocabulary seen in the totality of Kumano mandara images.[105] But, at the same time, they also chose to include one portrait in the *honji* and one portrait plus two esoteric mandala in the *suijaku* Shōgoin paintings (See List of Images #3, #4). The two mandara remain typical of Kumano mandara in both composition and content but their unusual inclusion sets them apart from the remaining nineteen Kumano mandara. While it may be impossible to document the reason(s) for these inclusions, it can be surmised that the additions of two portraits and esoteric mandala are deviations from the norm based on institutional and/or workshop decisions. These

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[105] These issues will be discussed in the next chapter where comparisons with the *Ippen hijiri-e* will be analyzed.

added elements are especially significant because they point to the specificity of certain choices by the institutional patron. I will now turn to the upper and lower sections, where there is more evidence to suggest that decisions of what to include were based on institutional needs and concerns.

3.3.2 Lower and Upper Sections of the Shōgoin Mandara

It has been argued that the deities placed in Kumano mandara were chosen based on their function as surrogates for an actual pilgrimage to Kumano. The idea put forth is that, just as a believer mentally "travels" through an esoteric mandala, so too did the viewer of Kumano mandara "travel" through each guardian in the paintings as a substitute for taking a pilgrimage. One proponent of this theory is Max Moerman, who has written: "And they [Kumano mandara] serve as didactic narrative guides to the landscape that lead pilgrims and viewers to particular desired readings."[106] Moerman suggests that an entry in Fujiwara no Kanezane's 1184 diary that describes numerous rituals offered before a Kasuga mandara is an example of Kanezane's use of a mandara as a substitute for his actually making the pilgrimage.[107] This type of analysis is most common among scholars who have studied both Kumano paintings and the texts where Kumano mandara are discussed. Although various texts do seem to imply that, at least in some cases, mandara were used as pilgrimage substitutes, closer inspection of the Shōgoin *miya* mandara will show that the choices of particular deities placed in the bottom and top sections of three mandara

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[106] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 84.
[107] Ibid., 83.

(See List of Images #3, #4, #5) seem to have been based on a rationale that reflects priorities specific to the temple where they were produced.

3.3.2.1 Gohō Guardians

Shugendō and Buddhism guardian deities were absorbed and assimilated between the two belief systems. This was facilitated by the paradigm of honji suijaku and resulted in a combinatory Kumano guardian pantheon chosen and absorbed primarily because of beliefs in the functional efficacy of guardians.[108] One example of borrowing and absorption into Shugendō cosmology is the large group of minor Buddhist deities known as gohō. Although the gohō's primary function within Buddhist cosmology is to protect the Buddhist dharma from threatening enemies, they are especially important within the Shugendō context because of their ability to interact directly with shugenja within this world. Gohō typically serve shugenja by acting as their guides to "higher realms" and as their representatives in healing services.[109]

Gohō also play an important role as mediators between humans and the Kumano pantheon since the hierarchical structure of the Kumano pantheon elevates Ketsumiko of the Hongū, Hayatama of the Shingū, and Fusumi of the Nachi shrines (the three Kumano Gongen) beyond the reach of humans. Ordinary people do not have direct access to the three Kumano Gongen, therefore, gohō are frequently called upon to serve as their mediators when they ask favors of the Kumano Gongen.[110] For example, in the *Tale of the Heike* (Volume 1, Book 3,

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[108] For example, within the context of the Shugendō pantheon, the fierce deity Fudō Myōō is classified as a Gohō although he certainly had as his roots the esoteric Buddhist king of magic and mystical knowledge.

[109] Royall Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 108-109.

[110] Hitoshi Miyake, *Shugendō*: *Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion* (Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies: University of Michigan, 2000), 49.

Chapter XI) we are told that State Minister Taira no Shigemori (1138-1185) traveled to Kumano in 1179 after an ominous oracle was received in the capital promising that unless ministers began to lead an ascetic life there would be a decline of imperial and Buddhist law that would result in a great crisis followed by war. He sat throughout an entire night at the Kumano Hongū and prayed to the Gongen Kongō Dōji "to grant our descendants continuing prosperity. If we are still allowed to receive imperial favor, I beg thee to calm the Priest-Premier's evil mind and let the country remain at peace."[111]

One gohō especially important to Kumano Shugendō is the protector deity of the Kumano Shingū complex enshrined at Kinpusen in the Yoshino region of Nara prefecture. This deity is Manzan Gohō, the manifestation of Miroku, depicted in three of the four Kumano mandara (See List of Images #4, #13; #5, #14; #6, #17).

Manzan Gohō has important significance to Kumano, serving as protective deity of the entire mountain. This is visually expressed in the Shōgoin mandara in two ways. First, he is separated from the composite gohō group and included as an individual protector in three of the four mandara. (See List of Images #4, #5, #6) Second, in the *suijaku* mandara (See List of Images #4) he is enshrined separately within her building, the Manzan Gohōsha (shrine), that protects the entire mountain. Most importantly, Manzan Gohō is also connected to the origins of Onjōji in that he is manifested as Enchin (814-891), the Tendai monk who founded Onjōji and whose portrait is included in the *honji* mandara (See List of Images #3) that will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[111] *The Tale of the Heike*, trans. Kitagawa Hiroshi and Bruce T. Tsuchida, vol. 1 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975), 193.

3.3.2.2 Kongō Zaō Gongen

The fierce guardian figure Kongō Zaō Gongen is a deity original to Japan and syncretic in both form and appearance. (See List of Images #3, #36) He is unique to Shugendō and, as the protective deity of Mount Kinpusen, he became the principal guardian of the Kumano cult. His image was inscribed on mirrors, painted, sculpted and found in temples and shrines as well as buried along with sūtras in many places throughout the Kii peninsula.[112] He stands in a highly dramatic pose with his left leg firmly planted on a rock and his raised right leg ready to stamp out evil, passions, and danger. He holds a vajra in his raised right hand and his left hand is planted firmly at his waist. His fierce facial expression and his entire appearance are so similar to the frightful Buddhist guardian Fudō Myōō that, while he is native to Japan, there is little doubt his iconography was taken directly from the powerful and wrathful Buddhist deity of continental origin.

3.3.2.3 En no Gyōja

The guardian En no Gyōja[113] (active late 7[th]–early 8[th] centuries), accompanied by his two boy attendants Zenki (Front Demon) and Goki, (Back Demon),[114] is the only semi-historical human

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[112] Leonard B. Darling, "The Transformation of Pure Land Thought and the Development of Shinto Shrine Mandala Paintings: Kasuga and Kumano" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1983), 88-99.

[113] En no Gyōja, a mountain ascetic, is venerated as the founder of Shugendō. He practiced in numerous areas over virtually the entire Japanese archipelago and is credited with magical powers that included the ability to order kami to gather water and firewood. Many tales, as well as various biographical details in written legends, seem to indicate that he, as an especially proficient ascetic, became a bridge between local and Buddhist beliefs. His mother conceived him as she dreamed she swallowed a vajra and his original Buddhist form is as a Bosatsu. He practiced austerities for over thirty years in a cave on Mount Katsuragi in the Yamato area. In 699 he was slandered by a follower and exiled to Izu. He was pardoned in 701 and returned to Kyoto where he set out on his travels in western Japan. H. Byron Earhart, ed. "Shugendō, the Traditions of En no Gyōja, and Mikkyo Influence." in *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, ed. Richard K. Payne (Boston: Wisdom Publications, Inc., 2006), 161-190.

among guardians placed in the top and bottom registers (See List of Images #3, #37; #4, #36; 5, #36; #6, #15). There are hundreds of mountains and attached areas of practice spread throughout the Japanese archipelago where En no Gyōja is said to have entered and performed extreme austerities. He eventually became identified mainly with the Kumano area and this was no doubt partly due to an entry in the fourteenth-century text *Shugen shinanshō*, written by monks associated with Shōgoin, a sub-temple of Onjōji, where it is written that En no Gyōja is a manifestation of the Indian vassal Gaken Chōja who accompanied the Indian King Jihi Daiken Ō to Japan in order to save the Japanese people.[115]

The story relates that immediately after the king and Gaken Chōja arrived in Japan, Gaken Chōja visited Ise to inform Amaterasu that he was the messenger of both Kumano and Zaō Gongen. Gaken Chōja requested Amaterasu's permission to allow him and his king to stay in Japan. Amaterasu responded that only the (mythical) Emperor Jinmu could grant his request, and Gaken Chōja went to ask the emperor's permission. Permission was granted and Gaken Chōja began his training at Mount Ōmine. In his seventh manifestation, Gaken Chōja became En no Gyōja, thus creating the lineage that positioned En no Gyōja within a direct line originally founded in Indian sources.[116]

The guardians Manzan Gohō and Kongō Zaō Gongen are associated with both Kumano and *shugenja* who practiced throughout the Kii Peninsula. Kongō Zaō Gongen's function is to provide safe passage during *shugenjas*' periods of withdrawal and Manzan Gohō is highly valued for her ability to present oracles to worshipers. *Shugenja* stopped along their ascetic

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[114] The two demons are visually similar to the pair of Buddhist gate guardians (*niō*) that are depicted with one deity's mouth open and the second one with a closed mouth.

[115] *Shugen shinanshō*. in *Shintō Taikei*, ed. Murayama Shūichi, vol. 75 (Tokyo: Shintō Taikei Hensankai, 1988), 447-48.

[116] "*Kumano mandara no sekai: Kumano shugen denraibon o chūshin ni*." in *Seinaru Kūken*, eds. Miyake Hitoshi and Ogawa Hideo (Tokyo: Lithon, 1993), 299, 326.

withdrawals to offer flowers at sacred sites in memory of En no Gyōja, who is often mentioned as the exemplar for later generations of *shugenja* who modeled their own ascetic practices after his. The inclusion of En no Gyōja in all four Shōgoin mandara is likely a direct reference to his position as the founder of Shugendō and to Onjōji as the head temple of the Shugendō organization at the time of the production of the mandara. Manzan Gohō, Kongō Zaō Gongen, and En no Gyōja all intentionally reference Onjōji just as the next set of protective dōji and ōji deities that will be discussed also have specific connections to the temple.

3.3.3 Sacred Children: Dōji and Ōji

3.3.3.1 Dōji

Dōji are sacred boys who, according to the *Shozan engi* (written at the end of the twelfth century), resided and were enshrined throughout the Ōmine, Yoshino, and Kumano mountain ranges on the Kii peninsula.[117] During the medieval period, dōji were local deities and acted as protectors of domestic thresholds. In some districts of northern Japan, boys from five to six years of age with long unkempt hair and red faces were confined to the back room in homes of the prosperous sector of the population. It was believed that as long as these boys remained within the house the family would continue to prosper, but they would come upon difficult times should they escape.[118]

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[117] *Shozan engi*. in *Jisha engi*, comp. Hagiwara Tatsuo, Miyata Norobu, and Sakura Tokutarō, vol. 20 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), 131-134.
[118] Carmen Blacker, "The Divine Boy in Japanese Buddhism," *Asian Folklore Studies* 22 (1963): 87.

Over time, and primarily through the *honji suijaku* paradigm, local Japanese child spirits like these were transformed into manifestations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas and certain forms of dōji were incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon. One example of this transformation is the eight boy attendants of the esoteric deity Fudō Myōō, who were sent to give him the strength he needed to fulfill his vows.[119] Medieval Buddhist accounts and stories tell of the transformation of disruptive spirits into divine boys who had the power to rescue their masters from evil demons. Some dōji protected the dharma from outside forces, others acted as child-servants inside temple compounds, and some were under the control of powerful deities and assisted them as their servants.[120]

The role of sacred dōji as subordinate to but connected with powerful deities is based, at least in part, on the historically factual social position of young boys within medieval Japan. Male children in Japan were considered incomplete and non-persons until the age of fifteen, when they underwent the ceremony of attainment of adulthood (*genpuku*). After completing the ceremony, they were entitled to change their hairstyle to a topknot and could begin to wear proper adult headgear. Prior to this public acknowledgement of having reached adulthood, young males were excluded from society and, therefore, positioned as non-members of the hierarchically ordered Japanese social structure[121].

The attainment-of-adulthood ceremony served two important functions for male children; not only did it reinforce and make a public statement of the social value of adult males

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[119] Carmen Blacker, "The Divine Boy in Japanese Buddhism," *Asian Folklore Studies* 22 (1963): 79.
[120] Ibid., 77-88 and Irene Hong-Hong Lin, "Transversing Boundaries: The Demonic Child in the Medieval Japanese Religious Imaginaire" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 2001): 98-148.
[121] Irene Hong-Hong Lin, "Transversing Boundaries: The Demonic Child in the Medieval Japanese Religious Imaginaire" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 2001), 165-167.

but it also legitimated the male gender as the center of power relationships.[122] As a side effect,

it also excluded female members of the population from the same level of social recognition as

their male counterparts. Young male children who had not yet reached the age of adulthood had

a particular quality of liminality wherein, as future insiders who will eventually belong to the

social hierarchy, they were valued members of the community but, since they had yet to reach

the age of adulthood with all of its associated legal and social potential, they did not yet fully

belong to adult society.[123]

Dōji, like human male children, also dwelled on the fringes of society. Their peripheral

position can be partially explained by the etymology of the compound dōji wherein the character

dō ("slave") is combined with *ji* ("child"). Thus, the term, based in a description of one who is a

"slave" (i.e. symbolic of "otherness"), described dōji as those who straddled and mediated the

breach between this-worldliness and other-worldliness.

But, unlike their young human counterparts who had no specific social function, a dōji's

social role was to interact with, protect, and serve others. In the early medieval period, the

position of some dōji gradually evolved from acting as lowly servants and attendants to their

elevated status as guardians of powerful deities and protectors of Buddhism. As an example, the

powerful esoteric deity Fudō Myōō's number of attendants ranges from two, eight, thirty-six, to

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[122] A young girl underwent a similar transformation when she participated in the coming-of-age ceremony
of *mogi* ("to wear a dress") between the ages of twelve and fourteen. She was presented with the long-
sleeved kimono of an unmarried woman that she wore until her own marriage. The female ceremony,
however, does not seem to have held the same political and social ramifications as its male counterpart.
[123] The status of males under the age of fifteen was also protected by the Japanese legal system. Until
males had possession of their first seal, they were given assumption of innocence. Furthermore, in cases
of assault, battery and criminal acts, they could not be prosecuted under the laws of the time. Nor could
any evidence of past criminal acts be used against them when they legally became adults. In short, their
status as non-persons removed and protected them from the legal system. Irene Hong-Hong Lin,
"Traversing Boundaries: The Demonic Child in the Medieval Japanese Religious Imaginaire" (Ph.D.
Dissertation, Stanford University, 2001), 157-158.

even forty-eight dōji, although he is usually depicted in paintings and sculpture accompanied by only two attendants.[124]

One of the most important roles created for dōji was their function as protectors of *shugenja* during their long, difficult journey through sacred mountain ranges. The reverence and appropriation of dōji by *shugenja* no doubt had some kind of basis in the two child attendants who always traveled with En no Gyōja. Paintings (including the Shōgoin mandara) and sculptures of En no Gyōja always include his two protective dōji attendants, Zenki and Goki. Beliefs in the protective ability of dōji were widespread beyond the limits of Kumano. Sacred sites such as Mount Hiei north east of Kyoto on the border of Yamashino and Ōmi provinces and Mount Hiko in northern Kyūshū, also revered by various branches of Shugendō, had their own sets of dōji that served as guides for practitioners.

From the end of the Nara and into the early Heian period, an aggregation of dōji figures indicative of "otherness" begin to appear in Buddhist tales. During this time an additional and special class of local protective children that became known as Gohō dōji were converted to Buddhism. These Gohō dōji lived on temple grounds and possessed two oppositional sides to their temperament.[125] On the one hand, they were demonic and tempestuous but, on the other hand, following their conversion to Buddhism, their wild spirits were harnessed and they served as docile temple protectors and cleansers of defilement.

The origin of the Gohō dōji who protected *shugenja* is not clear. It is possible the prototype may have derived from tales of child protectors. An example is the resident child

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[124] Louis Frédéric, *Buddhism: Flammarion Iconographic Guides* (Paris: Flammation, 1995), 206-207.
[125] These types are, however, to be distinguished from the children who actually resided at temples (*dōjiji*) where they were employed as unskilled menial workers who cleared the temples of impurities. Irene Hong-Hong Lin, "From Thunder God to Dharma-protector: Dōjō hōshi and the Buddhist Appropriation of Japanese Local deities." in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*: Honji Suijaku *as a Combinatory Paradigm*, eds. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 74.

guardian at Gangōji, a temple in Nara prefecture, who was the son of the thunder god and possessed supernatural strength. The thunder god's son's temple duties included protecting Gangōji from harm, controlling the water rights for the temple, and keeping the area clear of pollution. In his dual role as temple child and protector figure he served double functions as a fierce deity (son of the thunder god) and as an ordinary child servant of the temple (cleanser of pollution). Lin states: "Perhaps he can be seen as the predecessor or the prototype of Gohō dōji, guardian spirits who are the attendants of powerful esoteric deities or personally attached to priests and hermits who have acquired power through the practice of austerities."[126]

The power of a Kumano Gohō dōji is related dramatically in the third book of the *Ōkagami* (late eleventh-early twelfth century) where it is said that the retired Emperor Kazan (968-1008, r. 984-86) practiced numerous austerities that endowed him with supernatural powers. One evening as he sat in the Central Hall of one of the three primary Kumano shrines (it is unclear in the text which of the Kumano shrines he was visiting), a group of Kumano monks gathered and were comparing their supernatural powers (*gen kurabe*). The monks combined their efforts and attempted to summon the Gohō dōji that had entered into and taken possession of the body of one member of their group. In a show of his superior power, Emperor Kazan began a silent prayer that caused the spirit-possessed monk to be magically pulled toward the imperial screen shielding the emperor. Suddenly, the emperor caused the possessed monk to be frozen in front of the screen. When the emperor decided that the proper period of time had passed, he released the spirit and the possessed monk "leaped" back to his fellow monks.[127] In

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[126] Ibid., 75.
[127] *Ōkagami*: *The Great Mirror*: *Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027) and His Times,* trans. Helen Craig McCullough (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 150.

this story, the strength of the Gohō dōji is couched in the spiritual and imperial power of the retired emperor who possessed sufficient Buddhist authority to dominate the Gohō dōji.

There are numerous Buddhist guardians such as bodhisattva (J. bosatsu) and arhats (J. rakan)[128] who destroy inner and outer obstacles and protect Buddhism from evil, had originated on the continent, but the Japanese Gohō dōji are later additions and differ in that they were originally native Japanese deities converted to Buddhism. Dōji included in the Shōgoin mandara (See List of Images #3, #4, #5) functioned as protectors and were derived from guardian spirits attached to those priests and hermits who had gained powers and sacredness through the practice of extreme austerities—such as the two attendants attached to En no Gyōja.

The upper sections of three Shōgoin mandara (See List of Images #3, #4, #5) contain complete sets of the Eight Kongō Dōji (*hachidai kongō dōji*) of Kumano who stand guard throughout the mountainous landscape paintings.[129] The eight children, depicted as fierce guardians, have two functions. First, they act in their usual role as protectors of the Buddhist pantheon. The dōji specific to Kumano have a second role and that is to serve the *shugenja* who practice throughout the Kii peninsula in an effort to achieve their ultimate goal—transformation into a Buddha in this very body. Kumano *shugenja* called upon kongō dōji to keep them safe as they journeyed deep into the mountains (*nyūbu* or *mineiri*). As they stopped at shrines along the routes where they would pray to the Eight Great Dōji for protection with the following chant:

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[128] Arhats are a class of idealized Buddhist sages who have achieved a high level of spiritual attainment, are free from all craving, and have obtained perfect knowledge.

[129] Kongō dōji seems to indicate either a single deity or a set of deities. It is sometimes difficult to discern if the singular, plural, or collective noun is intended because the conflation of dōji and ōji also compounds the problem.

Oshime ni Hachidai Kongō Dōji ichi-ichi reihai ("On my *shime kesa* [the robe worn by *shugenja*] I worship one by one the Eight Kongō Dōji.").[130]

At the end of their periods of isolation, and after they had achieved magical powers, *shugenja* then re-entered the profane world and utilized their newly acquired supra-normal powers in two arenas. On the folk religious side, they returned with the ability to tell fortunes, perform divinations (*bokusen*), receive oracles through mediums (*fujutsu*), cure sickness, and perform exorcisms (*chōbuku*). On the Buddhist side, they re-entered as beings transformed into those who had realized buddhahood within this body (*sokushin sokubutsu*).

The presumption that underlies these transformations of *shugenja* assumes that all (both the practitioners and the lay observers alike) understood that deep within Kumano mountains there is a supernatural cosmos separated from the every-day world of humans. Kongō dōji accompany, guide, and protect the *shugenja* as they journey through the super-natural world of Kumano's mountains, but equally important was the belief held by *shugenja* that kongō dōji also had the ability to lead them out of the mountains and facilitated their reentry into the ordinary world.

The single function of the kongō dōji as facilitators for *shugenja* would undoubtedly have rendered them important enough for the patron(s) of Onjōji to single them out from the hundreds of Kumano deities and depict them in three of the four Shōgoin mandara. (See List of Images #3, #4, #5) But, in addition to their functions as guardians and transitional spirits, they were also central in an important altar ritual found in the *Shugen saishō e'in sanmayahō rokudan* that places the origin of the cosmos within the Kumano mountains and instructs

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[130] The prayer was part of the *aki-mine* practiced by *shugenja* on Mount Haguro in Yamagata prefecture, Tōhoku as witnessed by Gorai Shigeru. Gorai Shigeru, "Shugendō Lore," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16 (1989): 129-130.

shugenja on the correct enactment of the meditation rituals that will aid them in becoming a Buddha.[131]

The meditation ritual begins when the practitioner sits quietly and envisions the origin of the cosmos through a series of associations of selected Buddhist, indigenous, and Indian deities. The description of the altar ritual explains that six separate deities, Dainichi Nyorai, Aizen Myōō, Ryūju Bosatsu (Nāgārjuna), Benzaiten, Jishadaishō (dragon deities), and kongō dōji, are worshiped concurrently. Although each deity is worshiped in a slightly different manner during the rite, there is one common feature of the ritual described by Miyake as follows:

> However, in all cases a common feature is that the sacred letter 'a' of Dainichi Nyorai becomes either Mount Ōmine or Mount Katsuragi,[132] and on this mountain a palace arises; on a lotus pedestal in the center of the palace appears the sacred letter for every object of worship, each becoming a *vajra*-ponder, and then turning into each of the objects of worship In this setting, for Dainichi, Ryūju, Aizen, and Kongō Dōji, it is Mount Ōmine that appears; in both of the rituals for Jinshadaishō (dragon deities) and Benzaiten, Mount Katsuragi appears.[133]

From this description it is clear that the origin of the cosmos is located on the Kii Peninsula where the magic "a" of Dainichi emerges from nothingness to become the foundation that supports the two sacred mountains, which, in turn, support the palace where a lotus pedestal supports the sacred letter for each object, which finally becomes a *vajra*-pounder, the object of worship.

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[131] Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō*: *Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion* (Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies: The University of Michigan, 2001), 139.
[132] This is the mountain in Nara where En no Gyōja is said to have originally practiced. Various tales connect it with Ōmine on the Kii Peninsula. Katsuragi is also the site of many Sūtra burials as well as the location of *shugenja* consecration rites preliminary to their entry into the mountains. Ibid., 14.
[133] Ibid., 139.

All of the deities of the Kumano pantheon mentioned in the Onjōji altar ritual text are especially important to practitioners since these are deities who will aide them in becoming a Buddha. Dainichi, Aizen Myōō, and Benzaiten are esoteric deities not included in the Shōgoin mandara. But they are included in the esoteric mandara that had by this time been superimposed over the northern and southern mountain ranges of the Kii peninsula. Since the ritual was intended to aid *shugenja* in becoming Buddhas within the Kumano mountains, it is understandable that they were included in the ritual. Kongō dōji are given their own images within those mandara that are most closely tied to Shugendō, *shugenja*, and Onjōji, and the Shōgoin mandara. The Shōgoin *honji* mandara (See List of Images #3) contains a single Kongō dōji while both the *suijaku* (See List of Images #4) and the Eight-Petal Court (See List of Images #5) each contain the set of eight Kongō dōji.

A second example of the connection between Onjōji and the Kongō dōji ritual is found in *The Tale of the Heike*, Book 3, Chapter III, "The Auspicious Childbirth." The episode in the tale relates that rituals were performed in 1178 out of concern for the imperial consort's safe delivery during childbirth. The consort was experiencing an extremely difficult delivery, and prayers were offered at more than twenty shrines (including Ise) and Buddhist sūtras were chanted at eighteen temples. Amid great pomp and circumstance and bearing gifts, high-ranking court nobles, courtiers, and temple officials gathered at the imperial residence. At the imperial mansion, Buddhist priests recited every conceivable Buddhist ritual. Enkei (d.u.), an imperial prince who was also the abbot of Onjōji, performed the ritual of Kongō dōji. The combined efforts were successful and the consort gave birth to the future emperor Antoku

(1178-1185, r. 1181-1183).[134] Since any number of other rituals could have been employed, the Onjōji abbot's choice of the *Kongō dōji hō* at the politically charged gathering of the most important members of the court is an indication of both the belief in the potency of the ritual and its particular association with Onjōji.

The *Asabashō*, a text owned today by Onjōji, is a compendium of esoteric ritual, doctrine, and icongraphic models, compiled by Sonchō (d.u.) and his teacher Shōchō (1205-1282), that contains a *Kongō Dōjihō* ritual.[135] Though of a later date than the 1178 incident recorded in the *Tale of the Heike*, similar collections of the proper method of worshipping an individual deity as the focal point of a ritual were common compilations in Japan. Purposes of the rites were pacification, increasing welfare, and subduing and exorcising deities. In the case of Antoku's difficult birth, any or all of the uses of the *Kongō Dōjihō* ritual would have been applicable. The *Asabashō* begins with a detailed iconographic description of various types of dōji[136] and states that there are ten thousand Kongō dōji enshrined throughout Kumano.[137] Then follows a listing of the dates and times when the rituals should be offered, the proper sequence of rituals, stipulations of materials used in the rituals, and enactment of each ritual unit.[138]

Dōji were esteemed by *shugenja* as protectors, guides, and mediators and this set of directions for the rituals held at Onjōji indicates that Kōngo dōji were also especially honored and revered at the temple. The passage in *The Tale of the Heike* that tells of Onjōji abbot's

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[134] *The Tale of the Heike*, trans. Kitagawa Hiroshi and Bruce T. Tsuchida (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975), 166-170.

[135] *Asabashō*. "Kongō Dōjihō." in *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, comp. Bussho Kankōkai, vol. 39 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1915), 396-407.

[136] The text gives detailed descriptions of the correct implements, colors, clothing, stance, and mudra that are to be used when making sculptures of Kongō dōji. Ibid., 397-399.

[137] Ibid., 396-397.

[138] Ibid.

enactment of the *Kongō Dōji* ritual at the politically charged gathering of the most important members of the court indicates the belief in the efficacy of the ritual. After all, all manner of Buddhist rituals were performed for the safe childbirth of the future emperor Antoku described in *The Tale of the Heike*, but the abbot of Onjōji's choice of that specific ritual indicates its importance.

3.3.3.2 Ōji

The second classification of child deities depicted in the Kumano mandara is ōji, or sacred princes (See List of Images #3, #4, #5). The earliest record of an ōji is found in a mid-Heian journal titled *Ihoneshi* that describes a pilgrimage to Kumano.[139] It tells that an ōji lived in a cave close to the cave of Izanami, the female half of the progenitor couple of Japanese mythology. That the ōji is in close proximity to Izanami is interesting because it seems to elevate its status through proximity to her. Unfortunately, there is no further elaboration in the text that could give us a better idea of the beginnings of beliefs and practices associated with ōji.

Initially, five ōji shrines were located on the Kii Peninsula. These Gosho Ōji are located at: Wakamiya Nyoichi Ōji; Zenji no Miya; Hijiri no Miya; Chigo no Miya; and Komori no Miya.[140] The shrines were erected along what was later to become the outer pilgrimage route along the eastern coast, which was traveled, by emperors, the aristocracy, and commoners (See List of Images #11, #11.1). The two categories of dōji and ōji were conflated at some point and are now considered to function in the same manner although they remain separate

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[139] *Gunsho ruijū*, in *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 14 (Tokyo:Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaiden 1978), 7.
[140] *Shugen shinanshō*. in *Shintō Taikai*, ed. Murayama Shūichi, vol. 75 (Tokyo: Shintō Taikei Hensankai, 1988), 213-39.

designations.[141]   The initial differentiation between the two types likely developed from the

practice of arranging deities in a hierarchical order divided between major and minor categories.

Princely ōji are ranked higher than dōji based on their courtly status.   They also have attending

servants whereas dōji, who were not of aristocratic ranking and lacked servants, are assigned to

a lesser category.

The ōji of the seven shrines of Hiei Sannō are a clear example of the higher status of ōji

as compared to dōji.[142]   Satō Hiroo cites an early undated text where it is that stated that among

the various types of divinities invoked were "the major and minor deities and demons of Japan,

[and] the Princes (ōji) with retainers enshrined in the seven shrines of Sannō."[143]   Further on in

the text it is stated that, among the protectors of the capital, are the "three Gongen of Kumano,

the Princes [along the route to Kumano], and their retainers."[144]

It is logical that the shrines dedicated to ōji were located along the route taken by the

court as they made their numerous pilgrimages to the Kumano shrines.   Perhaps it was thought

that it was appropriate for emperors and their entourages to pay homage to princely ōji rather

than to dōji that were of lesser social status.   It is also worth noting that the above text states that

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[141] Miyake makes the point that the terms dōji and ōji were often interchanged. Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō*: *Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion*, (Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies: University of Michigan, 2001), 39.

[142] Mount Hiei Sannō, or Sannō Ichijitsu (mountain king- one reality), takes its name from Sannō Gongen, the mountain king of Mount Hiei. Seven shrines on the eastern side of Mount Hiei house kami transformed into manifestations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Sannō Gongen, the highest ranked of the seven, had become the protective deity of both Mount Hiei and its main temple Enryakuji by the mid-Heian period. Hiei Sannō was one of two types of early organization of shrines and their kami. The Sannō arm of the Tendai school of Japanese Buddhism was connected with the kami that inhabited its headquarters on Mount Hiei, while the second, Ryōbu, originated in the Shingon school that associated the inner and outer shrines of Ise with the Diamond and Womb mandala. *A History of Japanese Religion*, ed. Kasahara Kazuo (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 2002), 308-309.

[143] As translated by Satō Hiroo. "Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities." in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*: *Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, eds. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 99.

[144] Ibid., 100.

one function of the three Gongen of Kumano, the ōji princes and their retainers is to protect the capital. We shall see that this protective attribution that links Kumano to the capital and the government will become the dominant motif used in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries to argue that Onjōji is the most potent protector of the court, the capital and the Japanese nation.

There is no indication that ōji princes were wrathful deities like some dōji, although they certainly served in a protective capacity for the members of the court at the capital. The ōji in the Shōgoin mandara are not depicted as fierce defenders but, rather, are attired in priestly or court clothing (See List of Images #4, #5). The two classes of ōji and dōji children had similar functions but differed in that they belonged to different levels of a hierarchical pantheon; dōji were included in a lower status group while ōji who, in a manner befitting their princely position, had their own retainers.

The many more ōji that reside throughout the three Kumano mountain ranges are enshrined at places of residence that, like those of dōji, are at locations known to be defiled by evil deities.[145] Travelers along the pilgrimage route stop before an altar placed at each haunted location and practice purification rituals to the enshrined deity. The Shōgoin *honji* mandara (See List of Images #3) does not contain ōji. However, the *suijaku* mandara (See List of Images #4) and the Eight-Petal Court (See List of Images #5) each have ōji in the bottom registers.[146] Damage to the paintings makes it difficult to securely identify every individual but similarities of court dress and poses indicate that the two sets are at least visually identical. Unlike the dōji contained in the *honji* mandara that are clustered around the Hongū shrine, the ōji included in

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[145] Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō*: *Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies: The University of Michigan, 2001), 39.
[146] See images #3, #3.1; #4, #4.1; and #5, #5.1 for names and locations of *ōji* within the paintings.

the mandara are located on the outer pilgrimage route taken by the members of laity, including emperors and their retinue (See List of Images #11).

Because the dōji in both registers of the Shōgoin Kumano mandara are not located on the pilgrimage route along the western coastline of the peninsula, it is more than likely that they were included because they are specifically associated with the *shugenja* practitioners connected with both Shōgoin and Onjōji. The additional correspondences connected to each dōji that are listed in the *Shugen shinanshō*, a text written by monks connected with Shōgoin, is a second indication that these specific dōji of the Kumano cosmology were important to *shugenja* connected to Shōgoin and Onjōji.

The Shōgoin *miya* mandara were likely not images that were produced as substitutes for pilgrimages taken by the laity because few of the deities in the mandara are enshrined along the usual public route. Based on the above analysis it would seem that the widely held assumption that shrine mandara were primarily used as "maps" to describe and/or substitute for *miya* mandara. Is it not possible that decisions about content were based in and illustrative of particular issues aside from pilgrimage? Since there is a large aggregation of Kumano deities that could have been configured and reconfigured in endless combinations, the decision to include only the five twelfth-century ōji in the mandara must have been due, at least in part, to the especially important position each deity held for the temples and/or to *shugenja* practitioners connected with Kumano.

A second indication of the likelihood that the rationale behind the decisions of which deities to include is the specific importance of the kongō dōji to those few who were privy to secret Shugendō knowledge. The eight kongō dōji depicted in the mandara are clustered around

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the Hongū at locations where *shugenja* performed their most secret and important rituals closed to the public (See List of Images #11).

It is, therefore, difficult to agree with the received consensus that the primary use of the four Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara was as a substitute for the pilgrimage journey. Rather, other factors determined choices of content. I propose that some choices resulted from the need of Onjōji, the temple that produced them, to arm itself with an inter-continental lineage based in Indian, Chinese, and Japanese masters as a means of legitimation. An additional set of correspondences added to the already established *honji suijaku* equivalences by monks connected to Shōgoin will provide additional evidence that political and institutional considerations also factored into the choices. This argument becomes stronger if it can be shown that the atelier at Onjōji produced the four Shōgoin paintings and I now turn to this topic in the next chapter.

4.0   ONJŌJI AND THE QUESTION OF THE LOCATION OF THE PRODUCTION
OF THE SHŌGOIN MANDARA

Before native and continental belief systems had developed a systemized cosmology associated with the mountains of Kumano, before Kumano had become the location of rebirth, and before it was celebrated and extolled in both poetic and visual vocabulary, the heavily forested area that spreads over the Kii peninsula was a site where ascetics dared to "open the mountains" (*yama biraki*) and enter in order to practice austerities deep within its treacherous landscape. Beginning in the late Heian-period, the Kii peninsula became the premier pilgrimage site for large groups of political and social elite who could afford the expense required to finance the arduous four hundred mile round trip journey that began in the capital of Kyoto, continued south along the western coastline, and culminated at the three Kumano shrines (Hongū, Shingū, and Nachi) located in the southern far reaches of the peninsula.

Pilgrimages to Kumano became especially popular with those emperors who abdicated the throne, and the first such documented pilgrimage was that undertaken by retired Emperor Uda (867-931, r. 888-897) in 907.[147]   Many abdicated emperors and members of the elite aristocratic families made the Kumano pilgrimage during the time of the Insei-period (1086-1198). Retired emperors Shirakawa (1053-1129, r.1073-1086), Toba (1103-1156, r. 1108-1123),

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[147] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 9.

Go-Shirakawa (1127-1192, r. 1156-1158), and Go-Toba (1179-1239, r. 1184-1198) accompanied by large numbers of retainers, consorts, and family members made Kumano pilgrimages and a direct result of this increased pilgrimage traffic was the involvement of the court in affecting and solidifying the organization and administration of Kumano's shrines, shrine priests, pilgrimage guides, and *shugenja*.[148] Two temples central to this discussion, Onjōji nestled in the eastern foothills of Mount Hiei and its sub-temple Shōgoin in Kyoto, became the key temples in the administrative organization of Kumano pilgrimages.

Official monastic and administrative affiliations between the court at the capital in Kyoto, Onjōji, Shōgoin and Kumano coalesced when, in 1090, retired emperor Shirakawa established the new office of "overseer of the three Kumano shrines" (*Kumano sanzan kengyō*).[149] The priest who held the office of *Kumano sanzan kengyō* was also given the official government rank of dharma protector (*Hokkyō*).[150] Retired emperor Shirakawa's first appointee to the position was Zōyo, the powerful Onjōji priest who had personally acted as Shirakawa's guide during his first Kumano pilgrimage in 1090.[151] In the same year, Shirakawa elevated Zōyo to the abbacy of Onjōji and, from that time forward, the vast majority of priests who served as abbots of Onjōji also served as the overseer (*kenkyō*) of the three Kumano shrines.[152] Shortly thereafter, Shirakawa also awarded Zōyo with the abbacy of Shōgoin, a sub-temple of Onjōji, located in western Kyoto, which had been founded by Enchin (814-891) and was a center for his Jimon sect

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[148] Shirakawa made nine pilgrimages, Toba twenty-one, Go-Shirakawa thirty-four, and Go-Toba made twenty-eight pilgrimages. Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō*: *Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2001), 19.

[149] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 18-19.

[150] Ibid., 18.

[151] Zōyo was the son of Fujiwara no Michisuke who was serving at the time as Provisional Major Counselor (*gondainagon*). Ibid.

[152] Beginning in the end of the eleventh century and continuing through the twelfth century, thirty-one of the first thirty-four Kumano stewards (*bettō*) were abbots at Onjōji. Ibid., 49.

of Tendai. This set into motion the precedent of the concurrent court sanctioned appointments of

Onjōji abbots as both Shōgoin abbot, and Kumano overseer.

Because the majority of abbots who held the overseer office of the Kumano shrine

organization also served as abbot of both Onjōji and Shōgoin, Shōgoin gradually became more

and more bound up with governmental authorities through its affiliation with aristocratic and

imperial patronage.[153] Shōgoin was given administrative control of the Kumano pilgrimage

guides (*sendatsu*), who had cultivated pilgrims from elite, wealthy families, and eventually the

guides were organized into hereditary affiliations that served specific patrons.[154] The result was

that the large revenues guides generated by the guides went directly into Shōgoin's treasury. In

the fourteenth century, Shōgoin became the official headquarters for the Honzan branch of

Shugendō practiced in all three mountain ranges of Kumano, Ōmine, and Yoshino and has

remained its seat to the present time.[155] Shōgoin's position as a sub-temple of Onjōji also

served to tie Shōgoin to the larger Tendai organization while it maintained its identity as a

separate Shugendō center.

The Kumano region, aside from its very secular associations with the court and financial

revenues, was also the subject of various literary and visual narratives descriptive of legends and

genealogies—both native and intercontinental—that are the basis of beliefs associated with

Kumano's deities and geographical territory. One such visual narrative is contained in each

Kumano *miya* mandara where the syncretic landscape of deities and beliefs associated with and

grounded in Kumano is depicted. The content of Kumano mandara associated with Shōgoin also

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[153] Seventeen of the Kumano *bettō* were also abbots at Shōgoin. Ibid., 21, 49.
[154] Ibid., 18-19.
[155] The second branch of Shugendō is known as the Tōzan branch and was headquartered at Sanbōin, a sub-temple of Daigoji located in Kyoto. For more information on the establishment of the Honzan branch see "Shugendō shi no kenkyū." in Wakamori Tarō, *Wakamori Tarō chosakushū*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1980), 158-167.

reflects its affiliation with both Shigendō. Mountain deities specific to Shōgoin and Shugendō tread the Kumano and Yoshino mountain ranges in the top and bottom thirds of the paintings and the assemblage of the Kumano *honji* or *suijaku*, referencing either the native or Buddhist Kumano pantheon, occupies the center sections.

The consensus of scholars who have examined Kumano mandara where the subjects are shrines and associated pantheons holds that the paintings were produced to function as surrogates for actual pilgrimage to the illustrated areas. This has resulted in a narrow explanation of the paintings since subsequent scholars, for the most part, have neglected to look beyond this traditionally held theory. In my opinion, this limited interpretation does not allow for other possibilities that could expand the understanding of the function of these images beyond a singular purpose.

In the particular case of two of the four Kumano mandara that are owned by Shōgoin, the *honji* mandara (See List of Images #3) has the unusual addition of a portrait of a Buddhist cleric that is clearly identifiable as Enchin and two esoteric seed mandala are added above the usual composition of the *suijaku* mandara (See List of Images #4). I will contend that the portrait and mandala are referential to issues specific to the Tendai temple Onjōji and Enryakuji, the head Tendai temple located on Mount Hiei. Enryakuji and Onjōji had a long, bitter history of animosity that resulted in Onjōji clerics repeatedly petitioning the court to grant to Onjōji its own ordination platform and independence from Enryakuji. It was during a period of petitions in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries that the Shōgoin mandara were produced, and I contend that the portrait and mandala additions can be interpreted as a response to the discord between Enryakuji and Onjōji.

It is often difficult to determine where paintings were produced since temples did not always keep records of the output of their ateliers. In order to contextualize the Shōgoin *miya* paintings, however, I assert that they were produced at Onjōji's workshop then transferred to its sub-temple Shōgoin. If it can be shown that this hypothesis is true, then this connection will, in turn, provide a framework for clarification of the inclusion in two Shōgoin *miya* mandara a portrait of Enchin as well as two esoteric mandala. To this end, in this next section a brief history of the monastic connection between Shōgoin and Onjōji will first be detailed. Additionally, the argument that artists associated with the workshop at Onjōji produced the mandara will be deduced from two types of evidence. First, it will be shown that a reciprical arrangement existed between Onjōji's workshop and Shōgoin through a document that details the history of the portrait sculpture of Enchin housed at Shōgoin. Second, an examination of the *Ippen Hijiri-e emakimono,* a set of handscrolls that produced at Onjōji's workshop, will show that they are compositionally similar to the Shōgoin pilgrimage mandara, and, therefore, the Shōgoin mandara is also a product of the Onjōji workshop.

4.1   WORKSHOP CONNECTIONS BETWEEN ONJŌJI AND SHŌGOIN

Although Shōgoin remained a sub-temple of Onjōji, it nevertheless enjoyed complete financial independence due to the revenue generated from its position as the headquarters of the Kumano *sendatsu* pilgrimage guides. We have no extant evidence that Shōgoin, despite its abundant finances, supported its own independent artistic community of professional painters to supply the temple with ritual paintings and implements; for this they appear to have turned to the large atelier at Onjōji.

The primary purpose of this section is to establish workshop connections between Shōgoin and the atelier at Onjōji. This connection is critical to our discussion because, if it can be shown that Onjōji was the place of production of the Shōgoin mandara, then the question of why a portrait of the Buddhist priest Enchin as well as the esoteric mandala were added to the paradigmatic forms of two Shōgoin Kumano *honji* and *suijaku* mandara may be clarified. There are, however, no extant textual records confirming that the four Shōgoin mandara were produced at Onjōji's atelier. In order to establish that Onjōji was the most likely place of production, I will turn to evidence from other sources that will build on the suggestion by art historian Laura S. Kaufman that the Shōgoin *honji* mandara containing the portrait of Enchin (See List of Images #3) bears strong stylistic similarities with certain scenes in the *Ippen Hijiri-e* handscrolls (See List of Images #12, #13), a set of twelve illustrated handscrolls that tell the biography of Ippen (1234-1289), the ininerant monk and founder of the Ji school of Pure Land Buddhism, known to have been produced at the atelier at Onjōji. These scrolls are dated to 1299, and, therefore, are contemporary with the Shōgoin mandara.[156] I will expand on her stylistic analysis to argue that the scene of Ippen's pilgrimage to Kumano in the *Ippen Hijiri-e* Scroll III (See List of Images #12) and the Shōgoin mandara pilgrimage scene mandara (See List of Images #6) are close enough in format that one can argue that the latter was most likely produced by the same workshop. But first, I will begin the discussion of place of production with three painted wooden portrait statues of Enchin that confirm the reciprocal relationship between Shōgoin and the atelier at Onjōji.

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[156] Laura S. Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri: Artistic and Literary Sources in a Buddhist Handscroll Painting of Thirteenth-century Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation. New York University, 1980), 322-325. Also Leonard B. Darling, "The Transformation of Pure Land Thought and the Development of Shinto Shrine Mandala Paintings: Kasuga and Kumano" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1983), 398-399.

4.2   PORTRAIT STATUES OF ENCHIN

The Tendai priest Enchin (814-891), credited with founding both Onjōji and Shōgoin, was one of the most influential clerics of the ninth century. Enchin and his fellow Tendai cleric Ennin (838-847) were instrumental in developing both the practical and theoretical aspects of esoteric Tendai that resulted in the later schism within Tendai between two distinct lineages aligned with either Ennin or Enchin. The later factionalism that came to dominate Tendai was based on the growing importance of Esoteric Buddhism within the Tendai school and the essential condition that access to esoteric knowledge was the requirement that a monk be consecrated within a particular esoteric tradition conferred by a master of the tradition. Likewise, access to esoteric lineage was utilized to maintain control of appointments to high posts within monastic organizations at certain temples. From the time of Kūkai and Saichō in the eighth century, temples became accessable only to those who were of the lineage of the founder.[157] Ennin allowed only monks who were aligned with his Sanmon lineage to hold office at Yokawa,[158] and Enchin followed the same pattern when he allowed only clerics in his Jimon lineage to hold office at Onjōji.[159] Onjōji grew to become one of the most influential and powerful Tendai temples and today is still identified as Enchin's temple and remains the seat of his Jimon sect.

There are many important sculpted and painted images enshrined at Onjōji, but the two portrait statues of Enchin are perhaps the most revered due to his importance to the temple's history. Exalted Buddhist leaders, such as Enchin, were memorialized by their followers through

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[157] Mikael Adolphson, "Institutional Diversity and Religious Integration: The Establishment of Temple Networks in the Heian Age." in Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto eds. *Heian Japan*: *Centers and Peripheries* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 226.

[158] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 307.

[159] Ibid., 39.

the production of a painted or sculpted portrait. The portrait of the leader functioned to serve as

a display of the source of their lineage and to substitute for the deceased in commorative rituals.

In the case of sculptures that lack the same portability of their painted counterparts, sculpted

portraits were permanently enshrined in portrait or image halls within a monastic setting. Three

portraits of Enchin were sculpted and their story will be the first evidence of a reciprical

arrangement between Onjōji's atelier and those ritual objects housed at Shōgoin.

There are a total of three portrait statues of Enchin. Two are housed in Onjōji's

Founder's Hall (See List of Images #16, #17), and the third at Shōgoin' Founder's Hall (See list

of Images #15). The two Onjōji statues are traditionally dated to shortly after Enchin's death in

891, while the Shōgoin sculpture is securely dated to 1143 based on a document explaining the

history of the sculpure discovered within the statue.[160] The document states that in February of

891 he instructed his disciples to commission two portrait statues of him to be carved

immediately after his death.[161] He asked that one of the two portrait statues be placed in the

Sannō'in located on Mount Hiei[162] to the west of the Sojiin (Dhāra ī Hall).[163] His disciples

followed his wishes and the statue, known as the *Sannō'in Daishi* ("master of Sannō'in"),[164]

was enshrined within the Sannō'in (See List of Images #17).[165] Sannō'in originally served as

Enchin's library housing the more than one thousand sūtras and texts he had brought back to

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[160] Uno Shigeki, *Ōmiji no chōzō*: *Shūkyō chōkoku no tenkai* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1974), 305.
[161] Ibid., 291.
[162] The *Sannō'in* was located in the Saitō, or Western Pagoda area, one of three major geographical designations on Mount Hiei. The second area was the Tōtō, or Eastern Pagoda, where Saichō had been active and where the majority of Tendai monks lived. Ennin (792-862) established the third area known as Yokawa in 829. Paul Groner. *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 50.
[163] Uno Shigeki, *Ōmiji no chōzō*: *Shūkyō chōkoku no tenkai* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1974), 131.
[164] Mōri Hisashi*, Japanese Portrait Sculpture* trans. Katherine Eickmann (New York: Weatherhill/Heibonsha Press, 1974), 19.
[165] The statue body is carved from one piece of wood with attached head, arms and legs. Uno Shigeki, *Ōmiji no chōzō*: *Shūkyō chōkoku no tenkai* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1974), 116.

Japan after his trip to China between 853 and 858.[166] Sannō'in had also served as his residence during his tenure as abbot (*zasu*) of Enryakuji from 868 to 891, and was converted into a portrait hall following Enchin's death in 891.[167]

Sectarian friction between the Jimon and Sanmon lineages was the cause of the removal of the *Sannō'in* statue (See List of Images #16) from Mount Hiei. In 993 a violent conflict erupted on Mount Hiei and Sanmon monks burned close to forty buildings in the main temple area of Enchin's Jimon stronghold on the mountain, including the lodgings of several prominent Jimon monks.[168] Enchin's Jimon faction lost the conflict with the Sanmon monks and over one thousand Jimon monks were forced to leave Mount Hiei. Before they fled, they managed to rescue and remove the *Sannō'in* portrait from Sannōin and the group traveling with the Jimon monk Kyōso (955-1019) carried the Enchin *Sannō'in* portrait with them as they withdrew down the mountain.[169] Kyōso's group of followers first went to Kannon'in, a Jimon temple located at the eastern foot of Mount Hiei. They soon left there and moved, along with the *Sannō'in* statue

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[166] The texts were first placed with the Ministry of Cultural Affiars (*Nakatsukasashō*). After the guardian deity of Onjōji (Shiragi Myōjin) appeared to Enchin in a dream and told him that government offices were an inappropriate place to house his documents, they were moved from the Ministry in the capital and placed in the Sannō'in on Mount Hiei. Portions of his library were moved in 859 to the Tōin at Onjōji and the remainder was moved to the Tōin by 925. Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 184-185.

[167] The conversion of monks' residences into portrait halls was common in China and the practice quickly spread to Japan. Kūkai, Saichō, and Ennin's residences were similarity transformed into portrait halls. Within temple complexes, buildings intended for the purpose of housing portraits are named either *eidō* (portrait hall), *kaizandō* (founder's hall), or *soshidō* (patriarch's hall). Mōri Hisashi, *Japanese Portrait Sculpture*, trans. Katherine Eickmann (New York: Weatherhill/Heibonsha Press, 1974), 19.

[168] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan*, (Ph. D. diss., Stanford University, 1999), 64.

[169] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 233.

rescued from Mount Hiei, to Onjōji where, in 993, they enshrined the *Sannō'in* portrait within the Onjōji Founder's Hall.[170]

The second portrait statue of Enchin, known as the *Okotsu Daishi* ("bone relic of the master") statue (See List of Images #17), was also carved according to Enchin's wishes and completed shortly after his death in the tenth month of 891.[171] Placed inside of the *Okotsu* image were Enchin's ashes, catalogues of the texts and objects he had brought back from China, and an incantation (*dhāraṇī*) for Nyoirin Kannon brushed by Enchin's own hand.[172] This statue has remained in the Tōin (Founder's Hall) at Onjōji where it was enshrined in 892, one year after Enchin's death in 891.[173]

There has been some discrepancy concerning the accuracy of the dating of both the *Sannō'in* and *Okotsu* sculptures. The Japanese art historian Hisashi Mōri, however, has convincingly argued that, based on differences in the arrangement of the drapery folds, the *Sannō'in* statue (See List of Images #16) can be dated to immediately after Enchin's death in 891 and the *Okotsu* sculpture (See List of Images #17) to the slightly later date of 892.[174] Today the *Okotsu* and *Sannō'in* portraits sit facing each other within the Onjōji Founder's Hall.

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[170] Mōri Hisashi, *Japanese Portrait Sculpture*, trans. Katherine Eickmann (New York: Weatherhill/Heibonsha Press, 1974), 82.

[171] Uno Shigeki, *Ōmiji no chōzō*: *Shūkyō chōkoku no tenkai* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1974), 291.

[172] Asada Masahiro, "Enchin shinpitsuhon no hakken: shōgoin shozō 'sanbu mandara ni tsuite." in *Chishō daishi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1989), 899.

[173] The custom of placing texts within sculpted images had begun in the Nara period when the usual content was written statements listing the donors and/or the reason for commissioning the image. Paul Groner "Icons and Relics in Eison's Religious Activities," in *Living Images*: *Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, eds. Robert H. and Elizabeth Horton Sharf (Stanford: Stanford Universty Press, 2001), 147; Mōri Hisashi, *Japanese Portrait Sculpture*, trans. Katherine Eickmann (New York: Weatherhill/Heibonsha Press, 1974), 82.

[174] Hisashi Mōri, *Japanese Portrait Sculpture*, trans. Katherine Eickmann (New York: Weatherhill/Heibonsha Press, 1974), 83.

The third wooden portrait sculpture of Enchin, dated to 1143, is enshrined at Shōgoin and was carved by Ryōsei (or Ryōkai, fl. mid-twelfth century) (See List of Images #15).[175] Inside this sculpture are placed one of Enchin's bones, a document dated to the eighth month of 1143 explaining the history of the sculpture, a Buddhist document brushed by Enchin (*Kyuhō sō mokuroku*), and a third document also brushed by Enchin that he had presented to Fujiwara Yoshifusa[176] (804-872) in the fourth month of 859.[177] The pose of the Shōgoin sculpture are virtually identical to both late ninth-century Onjōji sculptures in that all three are seated in the same meditative pose with their hands in the same mudrā of concentration (*jōin*).[178] Enchin's distinctive egg-shaped head, his facial expression and the flow of the folds in his robe of the Shōgoin sculpture (See List of Images #15) are virtually identical to those of the Onjōji *Sannō'in* (See List of Images #16) sculpture.

The documentation of the history inserted inside the Shōgoin Enchin portrait sculpture states that Ryōsei used the *Sannō'in* image housed at Onjōji as his model when he carved the Shōgoin portrait in 1143.[179] The reason for Ryōsei's choice of the *Sannō'in* sculpture as his model may have had to do with its being the slightly earlier of the two portraits commissioned by Enchin's followers who had had placed the *Sannō'in* portrait in the residence where he lived during his tenure as abbot of Enryakuji, perhaps as a means of perpetuating Enchin's importance.

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[175] Ibid.

[176] Fujiwara Yoshifusa began to serve as regent for his grandson, Emperor Seiwa (851-881, r. 859-876) in 859. His wife was the daughter of Emperor Saga (785-842, r. 810-823) and his daughter was the mother of Emperor Seiwa. Yoshifusa is credited with beginning the reign of power within the court controlled by the Fujiwara house. E. Papinot, *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan* (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Turrle Company, Inc, 1972), 91-92.

[177] Uno Shigeki, *Ōmiji no chōzō*: *Shūkyō chōkoku no tenkai* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1974), 304; Asada Masahiro, "Enchin shinpitsuhon no hakken: Shōgoin shozō 'sanbu mandara ni tsuite." in *Chishō daishi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1989), 899.

[178] In this pose the legs are folded so that the sole of the right foot rests facing upward toward the right thigh and the sole of the left foot against the right thigh.

[179] Hisashi Mōri, *Japanese Portrait Sculpture*, trans. Katherine Eickmann (New York: Weatherhill/Heibonsha Press, 1974), 304.

On the other hand, the Onjōji *Okotsu* sculpture (See List of Images #17) in which his relics and documents are inserted, had been made as "a physical reminder of the achievements of the subject and his position in the chain of transmission of the Buddhist law."[180]

The document that states that the sculptor Ryōsei copied from the Onjōji *Sannō'in* statue when he carved the Shōgoin portrait in 1143 is solid evidence that he used the Onjōji portrait statue of ca. 891 as his prototype. It also proves that there was a reciprocal arrangement between the two temples wherein the artisans employed by the workshop at Onjōji produced products for use at Shōgoin. This evidence also bolsters the conclusion that the atelier at Onjōji produced the Shōgoin *honji* mandara (See List of Images #3), an argument that heretofore had been argued on the basis of shared stylistic similarities of the late-thirteenth century *honji* mandara and Scroll III of the *Ippen Hijiri-e emakimono* dated to 1299.[181] I will now expand this argument and demonstrate, through a comparison of the *Ippen Hijiri-e* Hongū and Nachi pilgrimage scenes (See List of Images #12, #13) and the Shōgoin pilgrimage mandara (See List of Images #6), which also depicts a gathering of pilgrims at the Kumano Hongū, that both the Kumano pilgrimage mandara and the *Ippen Hijiri-e emakimono* were produced at the Onjōji workshop.

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[180] Ibid., 13.
[181] Laura S. Kaufmen, "Ippen Hijiri: Artistic and Literary Sources in a Buddhist Handscroll Painting of Thirteenth-century Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1980), 322-325 and Leonard B. Darling, "The Transformation of Pure Land Thought and the Development of Shinto Shrine Mandala Paintings: Kasuga and Kumano" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1983), 398-399.

4.3   COMPOSITIONAL SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE SHŌGOIN PILGRIMAGE MANDARA AND THE IPPEN HIJIRI-E SCROLL III AS EVIDENCE OF ONJŌJI AS PLACE OF PRODUCTION

The *Ippen Hijiri-e* is a set of twelve silk handscrolls consisting of alternating narrative texts and illustrations and dated to 1299.[182] It commemorates and records the life and teachings of Ippen Shōnin (1239-1289), an itinerant priest who wandered throughout Japan preaching Pure Land Buddhism. Ippen initially studied for many years on Mount Hiei, practiced austerities with *shugenja* at Dazaifu on Kyūshū, and later studied formally at Kiyomizudera in Kyoto. In 1271, while he was living at the Jōdo temple Zenkōji in Nagano prefecture, he became a devout Pure Land Buddhist. The scene in the *Ippen Hijiri-e* that will be under discussion is the episode in scroll III that tells of and illustrates the pilgrimage Ippen made to Kumano in the summer of 1276. While at the Kumano Hongū, he received an oracle from the Gongen of Kumano instructing him to distribute talismans stating that all humans, no matter their social status, have the inherent capacity to be reborn in the Pure Land. Ippen then set out on a fifteen-year proselytizing journey and is renowned for having preached across all social classes.

The subject of both the Shōgoin pilgrimage mandara (See List of Images #6) and the scene of the third *Ippen* Scroll III (See List of Images #12) is the completion of a pilgrimage to the Kumano Hongū. The identification of Ippen as the pilgrim is abundantly clear in the *Ippen* scroll. In the case of the Shōgoin pilgrimage mandara, however, the identity of the pilgrim is less transparent. It can be assumed, however, that the scene is of an imperial or aristocratic pilgrimage since the journey was an expensive undertaking that few citizens other than members

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[182] *Ippen hijiri-e*, *Nihon emakimono zenshū*, vol. 10 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1960).

of the imperial house and aristocracy could afford. Miyake Hitoshi has identified the scene as the depiction of the arrival of retired emperor Shirakawa and his entourage at the Kumano Hongū.[183] His identification of Shirakawa is a logical conclusion because of Shirakawa's important connection with Kumano, Onjōji, and Shōgoin. Shirakawa made a total of twelve pilgrimages to Kumano after his abdication in 1086. He set into motion the creation of official links between Onjōji, Shōgoin, and Kumano after his first pilgrimage in 1090, when he established the position of *sendatsu* (guide), and appointed Zōyo, the Onjōji monk who had led him on the pilgrimage, as the first guide to hold the post. Shirakawa also presented to Zōyo the appointment of abbot at Shōgoin and began the tradition of the Onjōji abbot also serving at Shōgoin.[184]

Assuming Miyake is correct, this can be seen as additional evidence in support of the argument that the Shōgoin pilgrimage mandara (See List of Images #6) was produced at Onjōji for use at Shōgoin since one way the two temples could have commemorated Shirakawa, their common patron, was by depicting his pilgrimage to Kumano. Scholars, to my knowledge, have ignored this Shōgoin pilgrimage painting but, in the following discussion, a close examination of the pilgrimage painting and its comparison to the *Ippen* handscroll III will add more convincing evidence to support the hypothesis that Onjōji was the site of the production of the four Shōgoin *miya* mandara.

The scene in the Shōgoin pilgrimage mandara (See List of Images #6) shows ten pilgrims seated within the larger of two Kumano Hongū courtyards and a smaller group of three men gathered outside the compound. Unfortunately, the poor condition of the painting makes it

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[183] "Kumano mandala no sekai: Kumano Shugen denraibon o chūshin ni." in *Seimaru kūken*, eds. Miyake Hitoshi and Ogawa Hideo (Tokyo: Lithon, 1983), 302.
[184] Miyake Hitoshi, "A Study of Kumano Shugen," in *Religion in Japan*: *Arrows to Heaven and Earth*, eds. P.F. Kornicki and I.J. McMullen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 125-126.

difficult to determine what activity is engaging the smaller group which includes a female figure draped in white traveling robes (*tsubosōzoku*) and wearing the required distinctive veiled headdress worn by females during pilgrimages.[185]

The scene in *Ippen* scroll III, section 1 illustrates the Pure Land monk Ippen's pilgrimage to the Kumano Hongū in the summer of 1276 (See List of Images #12). This is an important incident in Ippen's religious life because Ippen chose to live his life as a homeless wanderer after he had prayed to and received a revelation at Kumano from the kami Ketsumiko no ōkami telling him to distribute amulets to all he would meet along his travels.[186] The accompanying text that precedes the illustration describes Ippen's travels with his protector Fudō Myōō, who leads him through the forbidding Kumano mountain ranges.[187] The narrative tells of his encounter with a Buddhist monk engaged in *nenbutsu* recitation,[188] reports on a meeting with a Shugendō *shugenja*, and describes Ippen's prayers offered at the Kumano Hongū

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[185] Kumano pilgrimage in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries was not an exclusively male undertaking. High-ranking court women either joined in imperial pilgrimages or they undertook separate journeys on their own. During the Kamakura period, Kumano became a popular destination for noble women because it held the promise of a successful marriage and the assurance that healthy children would be born to the female believer who undertook the pilgrimage. The female in the painting is separated from the larger group because of the prohibition of females from joining exclusively male rituals and austerities. Female pilgrims wore special traveling robes (*tsubosōzoku*) and veils of six white cloth panels hung from their hats. The headgear was a kind of portable enclosure that kept females both metaphorically and literally isolated in order to protect male pilgrims and shrine areas from their impurity. There are various suggestions as to the symbolism of the six cloth panels. These include the six veils as symbols of 1. six forms of Kannon, 2. six elements, 3. six stages of awakening, 4. twelve Kumano Gongen (the twelve sides of the six panels). See D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 122-123; Barbara Ambros, "Liminal Journeys: Pilgrimages of Noblewomen in Mid-Heian Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 24 (1997): 301-345.
[186] Ketsumiko is the *suijaku* of Amida at the Shōjōden, a shrine located at the Kumano Hongū area. D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 75.
[187] Laura S. Kaufmen, "Ippen Hijiri: Artistic and Literary Sources in a Buddhist Handscroll Painting of Thirteenth-century Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1980), 337-340.
[188] Believers would chant *Namu Amida Butsu* "I put my faith in Amida Buddha" as a statement of their belief in Amida and reliance on his powers.

and his meeting with divine children (dōji) to whom he distributes talismans inscribed with *Namu Amida Butsu*.

Ippen appears twice in the Hongū scene in the *Ippen Hijiri-e*: first, as he receives an oracle from a *shugenja* who stands before the Shōjoden (Hall of Witness) at the far left of the larger courtyard and, second, as he stands in the middle of the same courtyard and distributes *nembutsu* talismans to seventeen divine children (*dōji*). On the far left is a group of seated *shugenja* engaged in ritual before the Nagatoko,[189] and included in this group are the two women who are seen accompanying Ippen in the preceding illustration on his travels through the Kumano mountains.

The overall compositional organization of the Kumano Hongū paintings in both the Shōgoin pilgrimage mandara (See List of Images #6) and the third scroll of *Ippen Hijiri-e* (See List of Images #12) ia typical bird's-eye view of the scene, although the *Ippen* rendering is more realistic. The naturalism in the *Ippen* scroll is primarily due to the manipulation of perspective wherein, although we look down on the roofs of the shrines and connecting verandas, the buildings are drawn on a slight slant and recede into space. This treatment creates spatial depth in the painting of the entire Hongū complex that is missing from the Shōgoin scroll where, although the covered verandas that connect the buildings are also viewed by looking directly down onto the roofs, the shrines are seen in a full frontal view that is similar to the organizational scheme in the *suijaku* mandara (See List of Images #4).

The lower section of the Shōgoin pilgrimage mandara (See List of Images #6) consists of a landscape composition that is strikingly similar to the scene of Ippen's visit illustrated in

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[189] As the name implies, the Nagatoko is a long narrow building next to the Hongū that was used by certain *yamabushi* (known as *nagatokoshū*) who concentrated their ascetic practices at the Nagatoko. Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō*: *Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion* (Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies: The University of Michigan, 2001), 19.

the *Ippen Hijiri-e* Scroll III, section 3 (See List of Images #12). In both paintings, nearly identical landscape compositions include the Kumano River, the sandy riverbank where visitors to the Hongū would disembark from their pole boats, and the surrounding mountains. In the Shōgoin painting, the visitors' empty pole boats are floating in the river while, in the Ippen scroll III, either the visitors or their servants are disembarking from pole boats moored in the river. In both the *Ippen* scene and Shōgoin mandara, men who are most likely the visitors' servants are waiting outside the Hongū compound.

There are, however, differences in the modeling of the mountains. In the lower right of the *Ippen* pilgrimage (See List of Images #12), soft undulating mountains block the view of the source of the Kumano River that emerges from behind them. The mountains in the Shōgoin pilgrimage scene are more rugged and uneven that those in the *Ippen* scroll.   A few, sparse trees grow from the flat ground in front of the Hongū shrine complex in the Shōgoin scene. The lack of tree growth, as well as a high viewpoint, allows the viewer a clear view of the craggy mountains. This organization of the landscape is consistent with the landscapes in the other Shōgoin mandara.

In the bottom section of the *Ippen* scroll painting (See List of Images #12), mountains are also placed on the right and obscure the Kumano River as it flows behind them to the left. Trees are placed on the mountainsides but because they are clustered into two groups, the mountains in the *Ippen* painting are also devoid of extensive vegetation. The similar manner of depicting the Kumano River and surrounding mountains in the lower portions in both paintings suggests that it is likely that either the scenes in the *Ippen* scroll III (See List of Images #12)—dated to 1299—were used by artists at Onjōji as a model for the Shōgoin mandara (See List of Images #6)—dated to the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries—or the reverse is true. There

is, of course, the third possibility that there was some other model that was used for both the *Ippen* and the Shōgoin paintings.

The shrine buildings, however, are displayed differently in the two paintings. Overall, the treatments of perspective and architecture are more sophisticated in the *Ippen* handscroll than in the Shōgoin hanging scroll. The Chinese lion dog (*koma-inu*) and lion (*shishi*) are seated on the verandas of both shrines in the *Ippen* scene, a detail missing from the Shōgoin painting.[190] The facades of the Shōgoin Hongū shrines (See List of Images #6) are open, allowing the enshrined deities inside each building to be visible, but the building interiors in the *Ippen* scroll III (See List of Images #12) are closed off from view. This difference points to the uses of each painting. The *Ippen* handscroll would have been viewed by a select few who were interested in his biography that is the subject of the text. In contrast, the Shōgoin painting follows the definition of *miya* mandara wherein the enshrined Kumano pantheon is the primary subject of the painting not the pilgrimage scene.

The upper section of the Shōgoin mandara is unusual among Kumano mandara in that it contains a second painting of Nachi Falls as well as a few of the nearby shrine buildings[191] (See List of Images #6, #6.1). Portions of the upper section are missing, but perhaps originally all the shrine buildings at Nachi were included. The artist has accurately represented the distinctive triple fall of cascading water seen in the contemporary photograph (See List of Images #14). It is difficult to discern, however, if the artist intended to accurately depict the heavily wooded forests that surround the falls since the colors and details are badly damaged, although the

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[190] These two Chinese guardians are frequently placed on shrine verandas. They are always paired and the earliest extant Japanese examples are dated to the Heian period. The pair was often used at the imperial palace as weights to stop blinds and curtains from blowing into the halls. Victor Harris, *Shintō: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan* (London; The British Museum Press, 2001), 146-47.

[191] The painting is very damaged and it is difficult to see details as the original colors have faded throughout the painting.

craggy granite facing that is the backdrop for the actual falls remains visible. This same convention of framing Nachi with the rocky granite background is also found in the rendering of the falls in the *honji* mandara (See List of Images #3) although, in this case, the virginal forest is also lacking. The views of the falls in both the top and bottom registers of the Shōgoin mandara (See List of Images #6) are skewed slightly to the side, whereas views in the other three Shōgoin mandara are frontal.

When we move to the scene of Ippen's visit to Nachi in the *Ippen* scroll II (See List of Images #13), we can see that the Shōgoin mandara is similar to Nachi Falls of the *Ippen* scroll. The Nachi Falls in the Shōgoin pilgrimage mandara is also painted with the distinctive triple cascade and framed by the granite background. There is the same lack of deeply forested landscape in the areas flanking the falls in the *Ippen* scroll (See List of Images #13), as is true in all four Shōgoin mandara, although the *honji* mandara (See List of Images #3) does have a pocket of forest placed above the portrait of Enchin. The mountains in the *Ippen* Nachi Falls scene are stylized with only a few trees blocking the scene (See List of Images #13), thus stressing the panoramic view that allows the viewer into the wide vista so that all of the Nachi shrines are visible. Overall, the same format used in the *Ippen* Nachi Falls scene is repeated in the upper section of the Shōgoin pilgrimage painting (See List of Images #6).

The above comparisons stylistically connect the coeval Shōgoin pilgrimage mandara (See List of Images #6) and the *Ippen* scrolls (See list of Images #12, #13) with the atelier at Onjōji through artists using repeated compositional conventions to depict similar scenes in both paintings. Certainly the *Ippen* scrolls are of higher quality than the Shōgoin mandara, but one could account for that either by differences in patronage or artists entrusted with the production of the paintings. The patron of the *Ippen* is believed to have been Kujō Tadanori (1248-1332), a

high-ranking member of a family of regents and he would have had access to the financial resources necessary to support such a large and expensive project.[192] In the case of the Shōgoin paintings, we do not know the parton, nor do we know if the mandara were used only within the confines of Shōgoin. In both cases one can assume that the intended audience was a small group.

The topic of both the *Ippen* Kumano pilgrimage scene and Shōgoin mandara painting is a pilgrimage to Kumano but the general themes differ. Ippen's biography is the primary theme of his scrolls, while the Shōgoin mandara retains the topic of the enshrined Kumano pantheon common to *honji* mandara but then couples it with a scene of pilgrimage. While the question of where the Shōgoin mandara were produced may not have been definitively answered, the obvious similarities with the *Ippen* scrolls point to the atelier at Onjōji. Rather, and more important to this argument, the similarities show that artists of *miya* mandara followed and imitated accepted conventions when painting cultic areas in the same way that artists replicated standardized Buddhist iconography from copybooks.[193]

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[192] Laura S. Kaufman. "Ippen Hijiri-e: Artistic and Literary Sources in a Buddhist Handscroll Painting of Thirteenth-Century Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1980), 305-325.
[193] Gyōtoku Shin'ichirō has presented the same argument in his analysis of the Kasuga shrine mandara. Gyōtoku Shin'ichirō, "Kasuga mandara zu no fūkei hyōgen-busshō to shinsei no katachi," *Museum* 541 (1996): 13-42; Victor Harris, *Shintō: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan* (London; The British Museum, 2001), 162.

4.4 IDENTITY OF THE PAINTER(S) OF THE IPPEN HIJIRI-E AND THEIR CONNECTION TO ONJŌJI

The identity of the artist(s) of the *Ippen Hijiri-e* has yet to be definitely answered although the final section of the *Ippen Hijiri-e* ends with the following inscription (Scroll XII, 3) that lists names and the date of the dedication of the scrolls:

Shōan 1 (1299), eighth month, twenty-third day. Shōkai, traveler to the west wrote the text.

Paintings: Hōgen En'i

Titles written by Lord Tsunetada of the third rank.[194]

Numerous Japanese scholars have combed records from the late thirteenth century in an effort to securely identify Hōgen En'i.[195] Yamada Akie has drawn from one Kamakura period genealogy (*Sonpi bunmyaku*) where the name of En'i is followed by a notation that he was a monk belonging to Enchin's Jimon branch of Tendai at Onjōji and his title was identified as *Sōgō*, a ranking approximate to bishop[196] On the other hand, Mochizuki Shinzei draws upon a second document — *Deeds of the Founder Mia Shōnin* (*Kaisan mia shōnin gyōjō*) dated 1331 — where the painter of the *Ippen* scrolls is identified as Tosa En'i and it is suggested that Hōgen was the Buddhist title of a member of the Tosa school of painters.[197] However, the 1331 text is a copy dated to the Edo period and has questionable authenticity because errors indicate it is not an exact copy. Therefore, the attribution to a Tosa school painter is not reliable.

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[194] This information is summarized from Laura S. Kaufman, "Ippen Hijiri-e: Artistic and Literary Sources in a Buddhist Handscroll Painting of Thirteenth-Century Japan" Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1980), 283-325.

[195] Ibid., see 285-305 for her complete discussion of this issue.

[196] Ibid., 285.

[197] Ibid., 286.

Two additional documents mention the name of En'i, and identify him as a monk connected with Onjōji. The earlier of the two, the *Fushimi jōkō gochūinki* dated 1317, cites a monk named En'i of Onjōji who was a participant in the memorials held for Emperor Fushimi (1265-1317, r. 1288-1298) following his death in 1317. The second document is from the diary (*Hanazono tennō shinki*) of Emperor Hanazono (1297-1348, r. 1309-1318). The last entry ofor 1324 mentions a Jimon monk identified as En'i who participated in services at the palace serving as a representative of Onjōji.[198]

We can reconstruct from literary evidence a general biography of an Onjōji monk named Hōgin En'i. It is known that he was born into a noble family at an unknown date and inherited from his uncle the position of Chief Priest of the precinct of Nanshōin at Onjōji in 1281. The earliest record of his appearance at court is in 1288 and a poem by En'i is included in the imperial poetry anthology of 1301-1303 (*Shingosenshū*). He moved steadily up the ranks of the ecclesiastical organization. In 1317 his ecclesiastical rank was Vice Vicar-general (*Gondaisōzu*), and he attained the rank of Bishop (*Sōjō*) shortly before his death close to the year 1325.[199]

The biographical chronology of the monk En'i places him at Onjōji during the period when the *Ippen Hijiri-e* handscrolls were produced and he certainly seems to have played a critical role since he is named after the entry "Painter." The *Ippen Hijiri-e* is a long, complicated set of twelve illustrated handscrolls and its execution would have necessitated a collaborative effort of many workers plus an overseer to coordinate and supervise the project. The most likely scenario is that En'i acted as coordinator for the artisans, authors, and calligraphers who worked at the Onjōji workshop, since only his name is included in the final

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[198] Ibid., 290.
[199] Ibid., 295.

inscription. The large workshop at Onjōji was staffed with professional artisans who would also have been called upon to supply sub-temples of Onjōji with paintings required for their day-to-day religious practices.

Laura S. Kaufman has offered additional proof of the Onjōji/Shōgoin workshop connection between the *Ippen Hijiri-e* and one of the four Shōgoin *miya* mandara. She has identified the hands of four painters involved in the production of the *Ippen* scrolls, and contends that the scroll sections painted by Painter A are especially similar in style to Kumano mandara and the closest in style "is the Honji-Butsu mandara owned by the Shōgoin"[200] (See list of Images #3), which contains the portrait of Enchin. Based on the institutional relationship between Shōgoin and Onjōji, she concludes that Painter A must have belonged to "a shrine-and-temple mandara school that was affiliated in some way with Onjōji."[201]

Thus, evidence that there was a reciprocal arrangement between the large workshop at Onjōji and its sub-temple Shōgoin existed and can be summed up as follows. First, the document detailing the history of the Shōgoin Enchin portrait statue that was inserted into the body and dated to 1143 confirms that Ryōsei used the Onjōji *Sannō'in* portrait as his model when he carved the Shōgoin portrait of Enchin. Second, the discussion of comparisons between the *Ippen Hijiri-e* pilgrimage scenes and the Shōgoin mandara proved a compositional link between their similar landscape settings. This link is strengthened by the stylistic similarities that seem to indicate that the same workshop produced both the *Ippen Hijiri-e* and the Shōgoin mandara, two paintings produced during the late thirteenth century. And third, the similarities of the styles of the *Ippen Hijiri-e* and the Shōgoin *honji* mandara point to their having been painted under the direction of one or more artists who was employed at Onjōji.

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[200] Ibid., 323.
[201] Ibid.

But these arguments, while they do connect Onjōji and Shōgoin, still do not account for why the portrait of Enchin along with the esoteric mandala were added to two Shōgoin mandara. For this answer, I will now turn to Onjōji's quest for independence that dominated its history in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries when both the *Ippen Hijiri-e* and four Shōgoin mandara were produced. A second handscroll known as the *Tengu zōshi* will be discussed within the historical context of the strife between Onjōji and its powerful rival Enryakuji. It will be shown that Onjōji monastics utilized the *Tengu zōshi* handscroll to plead their case for independence, and they also could have employed the portraits and esoteric mandala in the Shōgoin mandara to achieve the same end.

5.0   ENCHIN, ONJŌJI AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF TEMPLE LINEAGE

This chapter will address two of the four Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara that date to the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries (See List of Images #3, #4). Both paintings are typical of Kumano mandara in that landscapes of Kumano's vast mountains where guardians stand ready to protect believers are placed in the upper and lower thirds, and Nachi Falls as well as either the *honji* or *suijaku* deities of the Kumano pantheon are included in each center section. These basic components are also seen in other Kumano *miya* mandara, although certain elements are changed or even eliminated altogether; some Kumano mandara do not include Nachi Falls, one focuses on Nachi Falls only, others lack landscapes, and most do not contain shrine architecture. The portrait of Enchin (See List of Images #3) added to the bottom section of the *Honji* Shōgoin mandara as well as the Taizōkai and Kongōkai "seed mandala" (also called the Hō Mandala) placed at the top of the *Honji Suijaku* Shōgoin mandara (See List of Images #4) set the two paintings apart from all other Kumano mandara. It is the purpose of this chapter to propose a possible solution to the question of why they were added through an examination of two texts—the *Tengu zōshi*, a set of handscrolls produced at Onjōji dated to 1296, and the *Shugen shinansho*, a text compiled by monks connected with Shōgoin.

The fact that Enchin's portrait is instantly identifiable seems to be unusual, especially when compared to two other Kumano mandara where portraits are included in the compositions also dated roughly to the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries. It is not always the case that

the portrait is identifiable. For example, the Kumano *honji* mandara owned by Saikyōji in Ōtsu

prefecture contains the figure of a pilgrim dressed as a *shugenja* that Kageyama Haruki has

suggested could be emperor Go-Shirakawa (See List of Images #20).[202] Kageyama bases his

identification on the fact that because there are numerous examples of "scenes showing Emperor

Goshirakawa, intimately associated with Kumano due to his many pilgrimages there, this figure

of a typical pilgrim may well be the monk-emperor himself."[203] It is true that the figure of the

pilgrim is highlighted by both its central position and separation from the remaining

composition, and this prominence could reference Go-Shirakawa's elevated status as emperor

and his close association with Kumano pilgrimage. Therefore, the composition of the image

would also support his theory.[204] However, I believe that Go-Shirrakawa's association with

pilgrimage is not sufficient evidence to identify this portrait as the emperor. In fact, the Imperial

Household Collection portrait statue, as well as the drawing found within the statue of Go-

Shirakawa, bears no resemblence to the Shugendō pilgrim in the Saikyōji painting. On the other

hand, Nakano Teruo offers only a generic identification of the same figure as a Shugendō

practitioner and does not venture a designation of the portrait as an historic personage.[205] The

second example is a Kumano mandara owned by Kokubunji located in Yamaguchi prefecture

(See List of Images #21). In the foreground is a portrait of an unidentified person clad in clerical

attire who could be either a retired emperor or member of the court who had taken the tonsure.

The portraits included within the Saikyōji and Kokubunji Kumano mandara are most likely

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[202] Kageyama Haruki, *The Arts of Shinto* trans. Christine Guth Kanda (NewYork:Weatherhill/ Shinbundo, 1973), 134.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Go-Shirwakawa made a total of thirty-three pilgramiges to Kumano. D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*: *Kumanno Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 140.
[205] Nakano Teruo, "Kumano Mandara zukō," *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kiyō* 21 (1985): 27-28.

portraits of historical persons but neither is instantly recognizable, and this is not the case of the Enchin portrait.

Enchin's portrait in the Kumano *honji* mandara is immediately identifiable because of his distinctive egg-shaped head (See List of Images #18). Since Enchin is not primarily associated with ascetic practices or pilgrimages within the Kumano mountains, it is more likely that his monastic association as the founder of both Onjōji and Shōgoin was the reason his portrait was included. A second possible answer is that Onjōji clerics included Enchin's portrait in the late-thirteenth/early-fourteenth century mandara as a statement prompted by Onjōji's prolonged competition with Enryakuji for leadership of, as well as independence from, the Tendai establishment at Enryakuji. In the case of the two esoteric mandala that will be discussed later in this chapter, I would propose that they may have been included to reference institutional issues particular to Onjōji and Shōgoin via the validation that the mandara could evoke through their assimilation into Onjōji's argument for independence from Enryakuji.

The question of why Enchin's portrait and two esoteric mandala were included in two otherwise standard forms of Kumano mandara has not been adequately addressed in prior scholarship. Scholars have commonly described the pictorial schemes of Kumano *miya* mandara as divided into three sections, and then concentrated on an iconographical reading of each painting. Further discussion has been limited to identifing the Kumano *honji* or *suijaku* pantheon and, as an aside, drawing the viewer's attention to the Enchin portrait. The two esoteric mandala have been ignored and not addressed in any earlier discussions. It may be that part of the reason Enchin's portrait as well as the esoteric mandala have not been discussed is that additions of portraits identifiable as historical persons are not only unexpected but uncommon. But, it is

exactly this quality of scarcity that strongly suggests the additions were intended to convey specific meanings.

The mandara that will be discussed in this chapter were housed at Shōgoin, a sub-temple of the Tendai temple Onjōji. Onjōji was, in turn, a sub-temple of Enryakuji, the powerful head Tendai temple situated on Mount Hiei. Onjōji had been engaged in centuries of friction with Enryakuji over Onjōji's stance that it deserved both independence from Enryakuji and an independent ordination platform. At the time of the production of the mandara that are the topic of this chapter, Onjōji was again submitting petitions to the court, and the purpose of this chapter is to propose an hypothesis that could lead to an understanding of the significance of the portraits and mandala within this context.

By considering additional contemporary images and texts associated with and/or produced at Onjōji, a possible context for the mandara within Onjōji's struggle for independence will be suggested. In particular, the *Tengu zōshi*, a set of seven narrative handscrolls dated 1296, an early fourteenth-century Shugendō text titled *Shugen shinanshō*, and the mandara portrait will be examined in concert in order to suggest they are reactions to the same issues. I will take the interpretive stance that the monastic establishment at Onjōji enlisted the help of both images and texts to construct an argument for Onjōji that could, in turn, valorize and legitimize their authority. I will now turn to the founding of Onjōji and the long history of conflicts between Onjōji and Enryakuji.

5.1   ONJŌJI, ENRYAKUJI, AND ENCHIN

The Shōgoin Kumano *miya* mandara were produced during the late-thirteenth/early-fourteenth century, when factionalism permeated politics within the capital and between powerful monastic complexes located outside of the capital. The most notable monastic conflict was between two powerful Tendai temples: Enryakuji on Mount Hiei and Onjōji located in the western foothills of Mount Hiei. This conflict had begun in the ninth century for several reasons, but eventually the primary dispute was narrowed down to issues concerning ordination platforms, appointments of the head Tendai abbot, and Onjōji's independence from Enryakuji. The story begins with Enchin's restoration of Onjōji.

The Tendai temple Onjōji, currently also known by the alternative name Miidera ("three wells temple"), was founded in the early 670s.[206] At this time, Emperor Tenji (626-671 r. 662-671) moved his capital to Ōtsu, on the southern coast of Lake Biwa in Shiga prefecture northeast of Kyoto, and sponsored the building of a temple that he named Sufukuji at the southeastern base of Mount Hiei. Sufukuji was built on the lands of the powerful Ōtomo clan,[207] who assumed sponsorship of the temple, and, after it was partially destroyed during the Jinshin

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[206] The name Miidera ("three wells temple") that is often used today is not the temple's official name. Onjōji temple legend says that it was Enchin who renamed it Miidera, a name derived from three wells located within the temple compound. The water from the wells was said to be used for the first baths of emperors Tenji (626-671, r. 622-671), Tenmu (622-686, r. 673-686), and empress Jitō (646-703, r. 687-696). The sacred well water is used today in all Buddhist initiation ceremonies at the temple. *Onjōji denki* in *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 127 ((Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 4-5.

[207] The Ōtomo clan was especially noted for its military power and influence at court. Future generations were warriors who fought on the side of the imperial house to repel various uprisings, and served as top court ministers and ambassadors to China. *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 652-653.

War of 671-72, the clan undertook a rebuilding project between 680-696 and renamed the temple Onjōji.[208]

Onjōji gradually fell into and remained in disrepair over the next one hundred and sixty years until Emperor Seiwa (851-881, r. 859-876) donated it to Enchin (814-891) in 859 after Enchin's return to Japan from his five-year trip stay in China between 853 and 858.[209] Enchin took up residence at Onjōji, assumed the position of abbot (*chōri*)[210] in 866, and began a major restoration project. Onjōji was designated as a Tendai temple in 866, a reflection of Enchin's Tendai connection, and was officially recognized as a detached cloister (*betsuin*)[211] of Enryakuji in 867.[212] Detached cloisters were under the control of the main temple, and Enryakuji, as Onjōji's patron temple, exercised control of estates, religious privileges, and cleric appointments at Onjōji.

The genesis of later conflicts, competition, and rivalry between Onjōji and Enryakuji over leadership of the Tendai sect and independence for Onjōji began, however, in the early ninth century with Saichō (767-822), the founder of Japanese Tendai. At the time of Saichō's efforts to establish Enryakuji, the temple he founded on Mount Hiei, as an independent center for Tendai study, the Office of Monastic Affairs (*Sōgō*) oversaw all appointments to major positions at temples, and had complete control over official ordination of novices. Because the Office of

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[208] Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 43.
[209] *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 652.
[210] *Chōri* is the title given by the court specific to the position of abbot at Onjōji, just as *zasu* indicates the position of abbot of Enryakuji. *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 979.
[211] "The term *betsuin* originally denoted cloisters and chapels that were founded by individuals but not being part of the standardized architectrial layout as envisioned by the eighth-century court leaders." Mikael Adolphson, "Institutional Diversity and Religious Integration: The establishment of Temple Networks in the Heian Age," in *Heian Japan*: *Centers and Peripheries*, eds. Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 228.
[212] Ibid., 229.

Monastic Affairs favored the Nara schools and temples, Saichō began his own quest for autonomy for Enryakuji when he presented a petition to the court in 818 asking that Enryakuji be given independence from the Office of Monastic Affairs.[213] Saichō also requested that the court grant to him the power to establish an entirely new and exclusive Mahāyāna Tendai ordination system. Although Saichō's 819 petition was denied, he continued to send proposals to the court, and, in 821, he presented to them the "Treatise on the Precepts" (*Kenkairon engi*), his final document written shortly before his death in 822.[214]

In Saichō's "Treatise on the Precepts," he requested that the court grant to Enryakuji the right to hold independent Tendai ordinations, but again he was unsuccessful. Seven days after Saichō's death on the eleventh day of the sixth month in 822, the court did finally grant the petition for independence that Saichō's eminent lay followers had presented to the court.[215] Two months later, the monk Gishin (781-833)—who had accompanied Saichō to China, had received the bodhisattva precepts along with Saichō, and who would be named head of Japanese Tendai in 824—performed the first independent Tendai ordinations at Enryakuji.[216]

Though the issue of Tendai ordination independence at Enryakuji was finally settled, Saichō had failed to establish explicit guidelines for Tendai abbotship appointments. Later conflicts can be traced back to Saichō's immediate disciples and their disagreements over succession to abbacy at Enryakuji. The conflicts began in 812 when Saichō, who was suffering from ill health, named his own disciple Enchō (771-836) as his successor. But Saichō regained

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[213] Paul Groner, *Saichō*: *The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 206.
[214] Ibid., 163.
[215] The signers included Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu (775-826), the Minister of the Right, a son of Emperor Kanmu (736-805, r. 782-805); and a half brother of emperor Saga (785-842, r. 810-823). Ibid., 162-163.
[216] *The Cambridge History of Japan*: *Volume 2, Heian Japan*, eds. Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 473.

his health and had a change of mind. Just before Saichō's death in 822, he stipulated that his disciple Gishin (781-833), who had earlier accompanied and served as his interpreter during their trip to China from 804 to 805, should be named as first abbot of Enryakuji. Although Gishin was younger than Saichō, he can be regarded as an equal to Saichō in that they both had been ordained in China, studied the same doctrines, were both initiated into bodhisattva precepts, and both had received the same Esoteric initations while they were in China[217] Because of these factors, "Saichō probably appointed Gishin because of the authority he could bring to the position as a result of the initiations he had received oin China."[218] Gishin was formally installed as head of the Tendai school in 824 and served until his death in 833.

Indications of early divisiveness and rivalry between factions on Mount Hiei began when, in 843, Gishin appointed his own disciple Enshū (735-845) to succeed him as the second head of Enryakuji. Certain members of Saichō's disciples viewed Gishin's appointment of Enshū as his successor as a choice outside of Saichō's direct lineage. No doubt concerns were raised primarily because Enshū had not studied the esoteric tradition in China but, rather, he had studied with either Kūkai or his disciples at the esoteric center on Mount Takao.[219] Also, his relationship with Tendai monks on Mount Hiei was weak at the time of his appointment because he had not developed strong personal relationships with them since he had lived away from the mountain for eight years after returning from China.[220] A faction of Tendai monks on Mount Hiei disputed the selection and petitioned Emperor Ninmyō (810-850, r. 834-850) to appoint

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[217] Paul Groner, *Saichō*: *The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 286.
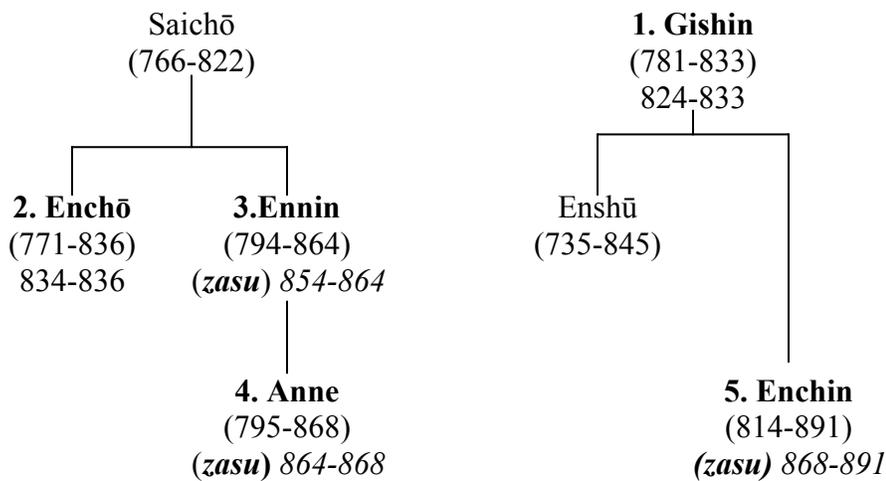[218] Ibid., 16.
[219] Ibid., 18.
[220] Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*: *Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), n. 56, 369.

Enchō (Saichō's direct disciple and original choice as his successor) as abbot of Enryakuji.[221] After eight months of repeated petitions, the court capitulated and agreed to replace Enshū with Enchō, Saichō's original choice, thus beginning centuries of discord over the right to lead the Tendai establishment.[222]

Rivalry between members associated with a particular faction for appointments to the highest post of abbot at Enryakuji directly contributed to dissension within Tendai on Mount Hiei. Early on, either Saichō's or Gishin's faction laid claim to the abbacy as their rightful entitlement to lead the Tendai school, and sought to place one of their own as the next abbot. The following chart diagrams the succession of Enryakuji abbots from either Saichō's or Gishin's faction that would eventually split into two branches within the Tendai school, one founded by Ennin and the second by Enchin.

Head Abbots of Enryakuji
(***Bolded italics*** indicate tenure dates as *zasu*—court appointed head abbotship)

Saichō
(766-822)

1. Gishin
(781-833)
824-833

2. Enchō
(771-836)
834-836

3. Ennin
(794-864)
(***zasu***) *854-864*

Enshū
(735-845)

4. Anne
(795-868)
(***zasu***) *864-868*

5. Enchin
(814-891)
(zasu) *868-891*

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[221] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 18.
[222] Ibid.

Following Enchō's death in 836, the post of abbot lay vacant for eighteen years until, in 854, Ennin was named by the court to serve as the first Enryakuji abbot (*zasu*)[223] officially appointed by the court.[224] His appointment placed him as the second in direct succession from Saichō to hold the post and the Saichō-Ennin control continued through Anne (795-868), who served as fourth abbot (second to be named as *zasu*) from 864-868.[225]

The appointment in 868 of Enchin to succeed Anne as fifth Enryakuji abbot—and third to hold the title of *zasu*—returned the control of the abbacy to the Gishin faction since Enchin had been a disciple of Gishin who served as abbot from 824-833.[226] During the fifty-eight years following Enchin's tenure as abbot (*zasu*), six of the next seven abbots were from the Gishin-Enchin lineage and this faction monopolized the abbacy at Enryakuji.[227] Their domination was the impetus that caused the initial split in the early-tenth century into separate Saichō-Ennin and Gishin-Enchin divisions that gave rise to future conflicts between the two factions over the right to control appointments to the highest Tendai office on Mount Hiei.

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[223] Ennin was the first to be granted the title *zasu* by the court. Thereafter, the abbot of Enryakuji also served as head of Tendai and, from that point onward, all Enryakuji abbots were appointed by the court and also awarded with the title of *zasu* by the court. *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū iinkai, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 658.

[224] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 40.

[225] Ibid., 16-18.

[226] Ibid., 39-44.

[227] Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 43.

5.2   ENCHIN, ENNIN, AND THE JIMON AND SANMON BRANCHES

In the late tenth century, Ennin and Enchin's disciples divided themselves into two Tendai

branches that were designated as either Sanmon or Jinmon. The Sanmon branch traced its

lineage from Ennin[228] (792-862), the third abbot and first to hold the title of *zasu* of Enryakuji,

and the Jimon branch aligned with Enchin, the fifth abbot and the third to hold the title of *zasu*.

The two branches of Tendai based little of their division and disagreements on doctrine or dogma.

Rather, they were in constant competition for control of the Tendai establishment centered on

Mount Hiei and this rivalry was the basis for centuries of friction and open hostility between the

two factions.

Ennin and Enchin's followers had originally congregated in two separate areas on Mount

Hiei.[229] At the time of Ennin's appointment as abbot in 854, his Sanmon faction was living at

Yokawa on Mount Hiei, a secluded area three miles north of the main Enryakuji complex (Tōdō).

The Yokawa center grew as Ennin's importance increased, and he began a building project that

included the construction of Shuryōgon'in, the monastic center of the complex, as well as a

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[228] Ennin entered Mount Hiei in 808 to concentrate on Tendai teachings. In 838, he traveled to China in order to study both esoteric and Tiantai (Tendai) teachings at their source. After he returned to Japan in 847, Ennin's eminence and prestige grew as he was repeatedly summoned to court to perform esoteric rites and administer lay precepts to the imperial household and Fujiwara family members. Ennin gained considerable political influence through his recurring court performances and his power carried with it important gains for the Tendai monastic establishment on Mount Hiei. The court sponsored the construction of new buildings on the mountain and, in 850, gave its official support to Ennin's particular version of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism he had introduced to Japan from China when they formally authorized four additional ordinands whose responsibility was to specialize only in the study of Tendai. Two of the four clerics were to serve as specialists on two esoteric Sūtras that Ennin had brought to Japan from China. Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 305-309.
[229] Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*: *Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 42.

pagoda where a copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* brushed in his own hand was enshrined.[230] Ennin also

oversaw the building of the Sōjiin hall, where sūtras, ritual implements and other materials he

had brought to Japan from China were stored, and ordered that a separate hall be built that would

be used solely for *nenbutsu* practice. Lodgings were built for Ennin's Jimon followers and the

complex had its own independent group of administrators that included Ennin's chief disciple,

Anne (795-868), who would succeed him as second abbot (*zasu*) of Enryakuji in 864.[231]

　　Enchin, like Ennin, also established a separate geographical area on Mount Hiei as his

stronghold, complete with monastic halls and residences for his own group of Sanmon followers.

The Enchin area, known as the Saitō (Western Pagoda), was located about a mile north of the

main Enryakuji monastic compound. Enchin and his followers moved to Saitō and it gradually

became the most thriving area on the mountain.[232]　Nevertheless, Enchin chose to designate

Onjōji, the temple he had been given by Emperor Tenji that is located at the western foot of

Mount Hiei, as his Jimon center. This decision cemented the geographical distance between his

faction now located at Onjōji and the Ennin Sanmon faction that remained headquartered at

Yokawa on Mount Hiei. As previously mentioned, Onjōji was designated as a Tendai temple in

866 when Enchin assumed to post of abbot, and as a detached cloister of Enryakuji in 867.

Thereafter, it remained was under administrative control of Enryakuji.[233]　Enryakuji's control

over Onjōji had particular ramifications that Enchin would solve but, in the process, he would

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[230] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century* Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 307.

[231] Ibid., 305.

[232] Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*: *Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 54.

[233] Ibid., 42. Also Mikael S. Adolphson "Institutional Diversity and Religious Integration: The Establishment of Temple Networks in the Heian Age." in *Heian Japan*: *Centers and Peripheries*, eds. Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 229.

inadvertently contribute to the eventual conflicts over ordinations that arose between Onjōji and

Enryakuji.

5.2.1   Enchin and the Rise of Onjōji

Enchin's political fortunes began to rise shortly after the death of Ennin in 862 when he was

summoned to the imperial palace to administer esoteric initiations to highly placed figures,

including emperor Seiwa (851-881, r. 859-876).[234]   One result of Enchin's standing at court was

that he was able to secure a court decree which guaranteed that only those monks who were fully

initiated into his Jimon branch would be entitled to hold office at Onjōji, where he had

headquartered his lineage.[235]   In spite of this decree, Onjōji was not yet free from Enryakuji's

control since Onjōji remained a detached cloister (*betsuin*) of Enryakuji.   Therefore, the

Enryakuji abbot controlled all appointments and dismissals at Onjōji.[236]   As a result, the choice

of abbot (*zasu*) at Enryakuji was equally critical to the succession of Onjōji abbots (*chōri*) since

only the appointments of Jimon adherents to the abbacy of Enryakuji would guarantee that

Onjōji abbots would continue to issue from Enchin's Jimon faction.[237]

Due to the control by the Sanmon faction of the abbacy at Enryakuji during the later half

of the tenth-century, Onjōji began presenting a series of petitions to the court asking permission

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[234] Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, eds. *The Cambridge History of Japan*: *Volume 2, Heian Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 483.

[235] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century,* Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 226. Also Mikael Adolphson, "Institutional Diversiy and Religious Integration: The Establishment of Temple Networks in the Heian Age." in *Heian Japan*: *Centers and Peripheries*, eds. Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 226.

[236] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century,* Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 39-40.

[237] Ibid., 184.

to build their own independent ordination platform. At the same time, the Enryakuji monastic establishment on Mount Hiei went through a period of decline. A fire that began on 10/28/966 destroyed a large number of buildings on Mount Hiei, and funds to rebuild them were scarce.[238] Ryōgen (912-985), the eighteenth Enryakuji abbot (*zasu*, 966-985), is credited with returning Enryakuji to its former stature and importance.[239] He first settled in Ennin's Yokawa area, and was able to secure funding from the Fujiwara family that enabled him to begin an extensive building program at both Yokawa and the Enryakuji main temple complex.[240]

Ryōgen was a dominating and powerful leader whose tenure as abbot was filled with hostile factionalism between the Saichō-Ennin Sanmon and Gishin-Enchin Jimon branches that he seems to have done little to mitigate. Ryōgen was of the Saichō-Ennin-Sanmon lineage and he attempted to suppress the Gishin-Enchin-Jimon faction by both overt and covert means. For example, in 980 he organized and conducted the dedication of the rebuilt Central Hall on Mount Hiei, and invited prominent clerics from the Nara temples—but Jimon monks were conspicuously absent from the ceremony. He then chose not to intervene in 981 when one hundred and sixty Sanmon monks marched on Kyoto demanding that the court rescind the appointment of the Onjōji abbot Yokei (918-991) to the abbotship of Hosshōji. The Sanmon monks objected because Hosshōji was one of the most important Tendai temples supported by the Fujiwara clan and it was thought that Yokei, a Jimon monk, could use the position as a stepping-stone to the abbacy of Enryakuji.[241]

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[238] Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 43.

[239] Donald H. Shively and William H. MacCullough eds. *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 2, Heian Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 486-7.

[240] Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 43.

[241] Ibid.

During Ryōgen's tenure as head abbot, disputes on Mount Hiei between the Saichō-Ennin and Gishin-Enchin branches became increasingly divisive, hostile, and violent. The escalating animosity came to a head in the eighth month of 993, when Enchin's Jimon monks raided and destroyed items at the Sekisan zen'in, a shrine located east of Kyoto dedicated to the Sannō deity who had protected Ennin during his travels to China between 838 and 847.[242] Jimon monks were accused of destroying Ennin's umbrella and staff, an act seen by Ennin's Sanmon followers not only as a direct affront to both Ennin and the Sekisan zen'in shrine but also to the enshrined deity who had protected Ennin during his travels in China.[243]

Sanmon monks retaliated by attacking Enchin's Saitō area on Mount Hiei where Jimon monks were congregated and burned down a number of important buildings that included Enchin's own residence (by now a portrait hall) as well as forty residences of Jimon monks who were living in the area. The end result of the confrontation in 993 was the expulsion of approximately one thousand Jimon monks from Mount Hiei in the same year.[244] Enchin's Jimon followers moved to Onjōji: this incident caused the split that created the final geographical separation between the Sanmon branch that remained on Mount Hiei and the Jimon branch that moved to Onjōji. During this exodus the Jimon monks carried with them the portrait statue of Enchin (discussed in the last chapter) that was at that time housed in the Sannō-in and enshrined it in the founders' hall at Onjōji.[245]

Following the forced departure of Jimon monks from Mount Hiei and their relocation at Onjōji, dissension between Sanmon and Jimon factions was centered on Onjōji's quest for an

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[242] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 233.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Ibid.
[245] Uno Shigeki, *Ōmiji no chōzō*: *Shūkyō chōkoku no tenkai*. (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1974), 116.

ordination platform and independence from Enryakuji. Much like Saichō's requests to the court two hundred years earlier, in the late tenth century Jimon monks began a campaign of petitions submitted at court asking that Onjōji be granted an independent ordination platform in order to declare its independence from Enryakuji. But Enryakuji mounted stronger counter petitions that defeated those of Enryakuji each time.[246]

The crux of Onjōji's problem was that it continued to remain under the jurisdiction of Enryakuji as its detached cloister (*betsuin*) and, as such, Enryakuji monks argued that Onjōji lacked the right to erect its own autonomous ordination platform. The issue became even more critical to Enchin's Jimon branch when, in 1035, Onjōji priests were forbidden by Enryakuji's Jomon faction to set foot on the ordination platform at Enryakuji. Since all Tendai monks were required to receive their ordinations at the officially sanctioned ordination platform on Mount Hiei, this exclusion created a situation wherein Onjōji's Jimon monks were denied proper ordination. Even more importantly, they could no longer participate in the major Tendai court services that traditionally had been the stepping-stone to promotions of higher ranks within the larger ecclesiastical organization.[247] Onjōji monks were left with no other recourse but to establish an ordination platform independent from Enryakuji.

In 1039, four years after their 1035 exclusion from proper ordinations, Onjōji monks renewed their presentations to the court that now evoked the lineage of Enchin as the basis for their claim. They argued that Onjōji deserved an independent ordination platform because their ordination tradition could be traced back to the first court-approved Tendai ordination of

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[246] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 235.
[247] Haruko Nishioka Wakabayashi, "*Tengu*: Images of the Buddhist Concepts of Evil in Mideavel Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1995), 172.

Enchin's teacher Gishin in 822. Gishin in turn had ordained their patriarch Enchin in 868.[248]

Enryakuji vigorously opposed the petition, arguing that two separate ordination platforms would only cause more dissension within the Tendai monastic organization, again the court denied Onjōji's request.[249]

5.2.2 Onjōji, the Military Government, and Renewed Petitions

Although Onjōji monks did not attempt to assend Mount Hiei after they had been banished in 993, sporatic conflicts erupted with Enryakuji that have become the most well known battles between armed warriors and monks. The first confrontation of a combined force of monks and armed warriors from Enryakuji attacking Onjōji occurred in 1081. Further attacks involving arson and armed battles in the twelfth century occurred in 1121, 1123, 1140, 1146, and 1163. Conflicts occurred again between 1214 -1215, in 1247, 1264, and 1280.[250] During the period of these bloody and violent conflicts, Onjōji seems to have set aside its appeals to the court for independence from Enryakuji until the reign of retired Emperor Go-Saga (1220-1272, r. 1243-1246).[251] Emperor Go-Saga's increased support and patronage of Onjōji was the most likely factor that prompted Onjōji clerics to renew petitions to the court in order to settle its rights to an independent ordination platform and leadership of the Tendai school.

In 1257 a petition was filed at Go-Saga's court asking for permission to erect an independent ordination platform at Onjōji. Since Go-Saga's eldest son was then serving as abbot

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[248] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 235.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha*: *Monastic Warriors and Shōei in Japanese History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 38.
[251] Ibid.

of Onjōji, the monks were no doubt confident that the emperor would finally decide in their favor. We do not know the reaction of the Onjōji clergy, but they had to have been surprised when the retired emperor refused their request. Discord broke out again when Enryakuji clergy, who were unaware the court had turned down the request, sent an appeal to Go-Saga asking him to reject the petition. A critical change in how the issue was settled this time was the involvement of the shogunal government (bakufu) in evaluating the disagreement; two ranking warriors were dispatched as envoys to Kyoto to take stock of the situation. [252]

The involvement of the warrior government in Go-Saga's decision did not convince him to change his edict rejecting Onjōji's petition, but it did have an impact on his future determinations. From this time forward, Go-Saga consulted the shogunal government before making decisions involving Enryakuji and Onjōji. When Onjōji re-petitioned Go-Saga's court in 1258, the emperor sent an envoy to solicit support from the warrior government in Kamakura. Although the Kamakura government did not decide in Onjōji's favor, Go-Saga did grant the petition.[253] In 1260 Go-Saga issued an edict granting Onjōji their ordination platform. This prompted Enryakuji monks to stage a protest in Kyoto, and resulted in an armed confrontation in which bakufu warriors forced the protestors to retreat to Mount Hiei.[254]

The long series of petitions filed by Onjōji appealing to the court for independence from Enryakuji were defensive reactions to Enryakuji's history of power, wealth, and prestige, which it had enjoyed since the Heian period (794-1185). Enryakuji had fostered close contacts with the

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[252] Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*: *Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 205.
[253] Ibid.
[254] The warriors were not permitted to follow the Enryakuji demonstrators into Mount Hiei because the area was protected by judicial immunity. Mikael S. Adolphson, "Enryakuji- An Old Power in a New Era." in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World*: *Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Jeffery P Mass (Stanford; Stanford University Press, 1997), 252.

nobility in the capital, ensuring its favored position as one of a few temples whose clerics continued to offer protective rituals for the government and nation at court.[255] The status of "Temple for Pacification and Protection of the State" (*chingo kokka no dōjo*) carried with it the advantages of preferred promotions of its monks to the highest ecclesiastical positions, court funding of rituals conducted by the temple's clerics, and donations of tax-exempt land to the temple.[256] Early in the Heian period, Enryakuji had become the leading center for ritual specialists (*kitōsō*) whose performances of nation-protecting rituals at court served to strengthen the ties between the lineages of ritual specialists at Enryakuji and various court factions.

We shall see that Onjōji would argue for its superiority through the concept of the interdependence of Imperial law and Buddhist law (*ōbō buppō sōi*) in order to assert that it was the only temple able to assure protection for the new military government and the country. Onjōji also guaranteed the promise of national protection through the mutual dependence between the spiritual power of Onjōji and the power of kingship, arguing that destruction of Onjōji would bring about the downfall of the court itself.

The story of the ongoing rivalry and friction between Onjōji and Enryakuji is, on the surface, one of repeated attempts by Onjōji to create its autonomy via an independent ordination platform. The larger sub-text and foundation of its argument is embodied in Enchin and his Jimon lineage, which Onjōji evoked in order to rival and surpass Enryakuji's power. Onjōji needed to draw upon other strategies in order to compete with Enryakuji's long history of intimate connections with the imperial house and repeated petitions were falling short.

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[255] Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji are examples of elite temples that also offered nation-protecting rituals for the state. Ibid., 246.

[256] Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 272-273.

One strategy Onjōji used to argue its position was through the text of the *Tengu zōshi emakimono*, which begins with the founding of Onjōji and continues to the conclusion that Onjōji is at least equal to Enryakuji as a nation-protecting temple. We will now turn to the *Tengu zōshi* text, where Enchin is used as the pivot point for each theme that builds support for Onjōji in its claim for independence.

5.3   TENGU ZŌSHI EMAKIMONO

The *Tengu zōshi emakimono* is a set of seven illustrated handscrolls dated to 1296[257] that combine texts and illustrations specific to seven major, powerful temples of Nara and Kyoto.[258] The topic of the scrolls—the ongoing conflict between Nara and Kyoto temples—is narrated through the overarching theme of transformations of prideful and arrogant Buddhist monks into *tengu*, bird-like creatures with feathered human bodies, wings, tangled hair, beaks or long noses, misshaped heads, and menacing eyes.[259]

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[257] Umetsu Jirō, *"Tengu zōshi ni tsuite."* in *Nihon emakimono zenshū*, vol. 27 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1978), 2.

[258] The scrolls are organized in the following order: Kōfukuji #1; Tōdaiji #2; Enryakuji #3; Onjōji #4; Tōji, Daigoji, and Kōyasan #5; and Miidera #6 & #7. The sixth and seventh scrolls are thought to be later additions to the first five scrolls. These two are given the title of Miidera, the alternative name of Onjōji, to differentiate them from the fourth scroll of the original set. See Haruko Nishioka Wakabayashi, "Tengu: Images of the Buddhist Concepts of Evil in Medieval Japan." (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1995), 87-88.

[259] The term *tengu* was likely a borrowing from the Chinese *tian-kou* meaning comet, those feared omens from heaven. Wakabayashi suggests that *tengu* ('celestial dog') and *tenko* ('celestial fox') may have been initially confused when translated into Japanese because of the phonetic resemblance. In early traditional Japanese folk tales, *tengu* were characterized as mountain spirits endowed with supernatural powers. In some legends they were mischievous tricksters or vengeful spirits that brought chaos and destruction into the human world but they were also capable of transforming themselves into human forms to do evil to those humans that had harmed them. Also, it was believed that strange sounds from unknown sources were caused by *tengu*. *Tengu* were first included in early Japanese Buddhist literature as symbols of evil that could be subdued by Buddhist priests. By the late Heian-early Kamakura periods, the powers of

Since the *Tengu zōshi* contains scenes relating to temple histories, various activities and important ceremonies at major temples, as well as depictions of monks transformed into *tengu*, the scrolls have captured the attention of numerous Japanese art historians and scholars of popular religions.[260] Their interest is due to the importance of the illustrations and texts as windows into Buddhist and native beliefs and practices that make the scrolls historical documents equal to literature and monastic histories of the late Kamakura period. For instance, there are scenes of important temple services that include a dance and music performance related to agriculture (*dengaku*) at Onjōji, and assembly scenes of armed monks dressed for battle in the Enryakuj, Onjōji, Kōfukuji, and Tōdaiji scrolls. There have been a number of theories put forth as to the authorship and patronage of and the purpose for the production of the set. The authorship, patronage, and purpose of the *Tengu zōshi* are of paramount importance to this discussion of the Shōgoin mandara because each can help to explain the rationale for the content of the mandara and the clerical associations that will be discussed later. In order to establish that Onjōji was both the patron and location of the atelier where the *Tengu zōshi* and Shōgoin mandara were produced, a short discussion of these issues is warranted.

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tengu increased and, in many cases, they were impervious to influences from Buddhist priests and could transform themselves into Buddhas, nuns, or priests. In the twelfth century, Buddhists developed the concept of the realm of *tengu* (*tengudō*), a place where vain and arrogant priests who exhibited self-attachment fell and were transformed into *tengu*. It is this transformation of priests from the major sects depicted as seven kinds of *tengu* that is illustrated in the *Tengu zōshi*. *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 9 （Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 948; Pat Fisher, "*Tengu*, the Mountain Goblin," *Japanese Ghosts and Demons*, ed. Stephen Addiss (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1985), 91-102; Haruko Nishioka Wakabayashi, "Tengu: Images of the Buddhist Concepts of Evil in Medieval Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1995), 17, 26.
[260] Umetsu Jirō, "*Tengu zōshi* ni tsuite*.*" in *Nihon emakimono zenshū*, vol. 27 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1978); Ueno Kenji, "*Tengu zōshi* kōsatsu." in *Zoku nihon emaki taisei*, vol. 19 (Tokyo: Chūō kōron-sha, 1984); Miyaki Hitoshi, *Shugendō: yamabushi no rekishi to shisō* (Tokyo: Kyōkusha, 1978).

5.3.1   Patronage, Authorship, and Purpose of the *Tengu zōshi*

Japanese art historians Umetsu Jirō[261] and Ueno Kenji[262] have both asserted that the authors and

artists of the *Tengu zōshi* were associated with Enryakuji.   The two scholars based their

conclusions primarily on the visual and textual content of the Enryakuji scroll (Scroll 3 of the

set). The overall attitudes of the authors and artists involved in producing the entire set of scrolls,

however, are much more kindly disposed toward Onjōji than to Enryakuji, and, when the *Tengu*

zōshi texts are taken in totality, it is clear that they center on two themes carried throughout the

scrolls. The first theme is criticism of the major temples of Nara and Kyoto as told through the

trope of *tengu* wherein *tengu* are used symbolically to embody the prideful arrogance of the

clergy and the perceived corruption of institutionalized Buddhism.   The second theme is the

transformation of prideful priests into *tengu* that comprises the concluding section of each scroll

except Onjōji scroll #4.

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[261] Umetsu Jirō based his argument on the following three points of evidence found in the Enryakuji scroll
(Scroll 3); first, the Enryakuji scroll (Scroll 3) is the longest and most detailed of the first five of the seven
scroll set; second, the numerous depictions of young servant boys (*chigo*) in the Enryakuji scroll reference
the many tales of homosexual relationships between young boys and clerics associated with Enryakuji;
and third, the text of Scroll 3 is highly critical of the Ji and Zen schools. Umetsu Jirō, "*Tengu zōshi* ni
tsuite." in *Nihon emakimono zenshū*, vol. 27 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1978), 2.
[262] Ueno Kenji turns to two other handscroll sets of a later date as evidence that there existed an earlier
prototype that influenced the form and content of the 1296 *Tengu zōshi emakimono*. The first set is the
Tan'yū shukuzu (miniature copies of notable paintings by Kanō Tan'yū now held at the Kyoto National
Museum), a seventeenth-century set of scrolls of reduced-size and simplified copies of certain works
compiled by Kanō Tan'yū (1602-1674). There are scenes in the *Tan'yū shukuzu* scrolls that are similar to
the 1296 *Tengu zōshi* and the text is nearly identical to the text in the Miidera A scroll although the text
order is different. The second set is the *Mabutsu ichinyo-e* scrolls (dated to late Kamakura–early
Muromachi periods), an incomplete combination of the two Miidera scrolls. Ueno has carefully looked at
the scenes and texts in the *Mabutsu ichinyo-e* and *Tan'yū shukuzu* and concluded that the later three scroll
sets (the original 1296 *Tengu zōshi, Tan'yū shukuzu*, and *Mabutsu ichinyo-e*) were all based on an earlier
literary prototype of Buddhist stories that focused on utilizing *tengu* as a means to teach moral lessons.
Ueno Kenji, "*Tengu zōshi* kōsatsu." in *Zoku nihon emaki taisei*, vol. 19 (Tokyo: Chūō kōron-sha, 1984),
114-143.

My interest in the scrolls is in the overarching theme wherein Onjōji is presented in the most positive light in order to establish its superiority over all other temples: a stance that speaks directly to the sectarian friction and open hostility between Onjōji and Enryakuji from the late-twelfth through late-thirteenth centuries. Moreover, the text of the Onjōji scroll lists issues that were specific to Onjōji in far greater detail than is found in the Enryakuji scroll (Scroll #3) text. It details the relationship of Onjōji with the new warrior government and the Zen sect as well as the assertion that Onjōji teaches all forms of beliefs. The Tendai school is not ignored in the texts of the Enryakuji and Onjōji scrolls. In the Onjōji scroll, however, the stress is on the relationship between Enchin, his esoteric teachings, as well as his Tendai connection—all key parts of their argument elevating Onjōji over Enryakuji via Enchin.

It has yet to be definitely established that the authors and painters of the *Tengu zōshi* were connected to Onjōji, and perhaps the answer will never be completely resolved. Haruko Wakabayashi has argued convincingly that, given the tendency of the author(s) to portray Onjōji in the most positive light throughout the texts, the scrolls were produced at Onjōji.[263] Her conclusion has been echoed by Mikael S. Adolphson who has written that "scholars [Wakabayashi] have suggested that Onjōji monks authored the scrolls, which is more than plausible considering their themes and bias."[264] Because of the above reasons, and because the text of the Onjōji scroll (Scroll #4 of the set) is a carefully constructed claim for legitimacy that could have been written only by an author close to Onjōji, this author also agrees that the scrolls were produced at Onjōji with the explicit intention to further their sectarian purposes.

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[263] Haruko Wakabayashi, "The Dharma for Sovereigns and Warriors: Onjōji's Claim for Legitimacy in *Tengu zōshi*," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29 (2002): 35.

[264] Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha*: *Monastic Warriors and Shōei in Japanese History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 120.

5.3.2   Tengu zōshi, Enchin, and Sectarian Purposes

The *Tengu zōshi* handscrolls provided Onjōji with an additional vehicle to bolster its claim of superiority beyond its repeated petitions sent to the court. Throughout the Onjōji scroll text an argument is presented that is based in self-conscious aggrandizement utilizing potent symbols and persons. To this end, the Onjōji scroll (#4) opens with an introductory statement of the temple's founding history stating unequivocally that the temple's claim to superiority is based in Onjōji's earlier establishment date in comparison with the founding dates of the other elite temples included in the scrolls:

> Onjōji was built on the orders of emperors Tenji [626-671, r. 662-671] and Tenmu [622-686, r. 673-686], and is a sacred site of the founders Kyōji[265] and Chishō [Enchin]. If one asks the year of its founding date, its origin lies earlier than Tōdaiji or Kōfukuji, and if one inquires of the beginning of the donation of sūtras, it began earlier than Tōji or Enryakuji. During Tenji's rule, a member of the Ōtomo [clan] received an order to build the Kondō and enshrine Miroku Bosatsu within.[266] At that time the temple was named Sufukuji. This is the origin of Miidera [Onjōji].[267]

The text thus begins by establishing that the 670s founding date of Onjōji—originally known as Sufukuji, as the text states—is earlier than those of Tōdaiji (728), Kōfukuji (720), Tōji (796), and Enryakuji (788). The earlier date for Onjōji, first stated in one of the temple's *engi*,

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[265] The cleric Kyōji (d.u.) was likely in residence at the temple at the time it was given to Enchin in 862. I have been unable to find his biographic information.

[266] The Kondō is said to have been first built on the orders of Emperor Tenji in 672. The statue of Miroku Bosatsu that is mentioned in this text is the *honzon* of the temple and is placed in a miniature shrine (*zushi*) within the Kondō. Pamphlet distributed by Onjōji.

[267] *Zoku nihon no emaki taisei*, vol. 26 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōrōnsha, 1993), 132. Translation based on Haruko Wakabayashi, "The Dharma for Sovereigns and Warriors: Onjōji's Claim for Legitimacy in *Tengu zōshi*," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29 (2002): 61.

serves to elevate Onjōji over Enryakuji.[268] Because an earlier date for Onjōji serves only one purpose—enhancing and elevating Onjōji's position over all other temples and especially over Enryakuji—the author(s) who used the *engi* date as the founding date in the *Tengu zōshi* scroll #4 text must have been connected to Onjōji. It is highly unlikely that an author attached to another temple would have given Onjōji the earliest founding date among all the temples. Moreover, the text states that Onjōji was built on the orders of two emperors, Tenji and Tenmu, establishing that Onjōji also had an even earlier imperial connection than Enryakuji. Again, only someone connected with Onjōji, and especially not Enryakuji, would call attention to both the earlier founding date and Onjōji's sanction as an imperial temple compared to other temples mentioned in the text.

The introductory text in each of the other scrolls begins with the history of the temple illustrated in the individual scroll followed by a text that either lauds the superiority of its associated sect (Kegon in the case of the Tōdaiji scroll),[269] lists the protective kami and miracles associated with each temple (the Kasuga Myōjin in the case of Kōfukuji scroll),[270] names important clerics associated with the temple (Saichō, Ennin and Enchin in the Enryakuji scroll),[271] or states that the highest administrators within the ecclesiastical organization were chosen from the temple's clerics (the Tōji scroll claims its priests occupied the highest administrative positions in the Sōgō).[272] The introductory claim for Onjōji's supremacy based on its having the earliest origin is a different type of introduction than is used in the other scrolls.

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[268] *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 2 （Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 974. Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 235
[269] Haruko Nishioka Wakabayashi, "Tengu: Images of the Buddhist Concepts of Evil in Medieval Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1995), 93.
[270] Ibid., 92.
[271] *Zoku nihon no emaki taisei*, vol. 26 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993), 131.
[272] Ibid., 132.

By establishing that Onjōji had the earliest founding date as well as claiming its right to be recognized as the first temple established by imperial order, the text makes the case for what will become the ultimate argument: Onjōji should not remain a detached cloister (*betsuin*) of Enryakuji because Onjōji is, in fact, both the older of the two temples and also has the earliest imperial connection.

In contrast, opening sections of texts in the scrolls that illustrate temples other than Onjōji tell the audience that priests of these temples exhibit attitudes of attachment and arrogance that are the cause of their transformation into *tengu*. For example, the Tōdaiji scroll states: "Their pride is high and their self-ego excels. For this reason, they all become *tengu*."[273] On the other hand, there is no mention of Onjōji's monks displaying arrogance in the Onjōji scroll; nor does it state that its clerics are transformed into *tengu*. Rather, the opening statement of the Onjōji text continues with further miraculous happenings connected with Onjōji's founding history. These include auspicious incidents associated with Onjōji, such as the story of Emperor Tenji's dream in which he envisions a mountain ascetic living in a cave and chanting a sūtra, a vision he interprets as a sign telling him of the place where he should build Onjōji.

The second prong of the argument for Onjōji's superiority builds on the temple's earlier founding history to argue that its founder Enchin is the single source of both esoteric and exoteric teachings. The second section of the text that claims a lineage for Enchin derived from both esoteric and exoteric Chinese and Japanese patriarchs states:

> Daishi [Enchin], due to the encouragement from Sannō [Myōjin],[274] went to Tang [China] between the years 851 and 854 [*sic*]. In Japan, he met with the Golden Fudō [Myōō] who gave him the esoteric precepts, and in China, he was granted an

[273] Haruko Nishioka Wakabayashi, "Tengu: Images of the Buddhist Concepts of Evil in Medieval Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1995), 93.
[274] Sannō Myōjin is the guardian deity of Mount Hiei.

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audience by Faquan [275] of the Qinglongsi who passed the teachings and rituals onto him. He learned esoteric teachings from Priest Faquan and exoteric teachings from Priest Gishin.[276] Faquan has inherited the Dharma from Farun,[277] and Gishin has been a close disciple of Dengyō Daishi [Saichō]. For this reason, the high [founding] patriarch [Enchin] is in the direct line of transmission of Tendai and the legitimate successor of Shingon.[278]

The above statement establishes Enchin as the recipient of the transmission of Tendai and also as the successor of Chinese esotericism. It constructs his lineages in the following manner:

<u>Esoteric Lineage (Japan)</u>
Golden Fudō Myōō

<u>Shingon Lineage (China)</u>   <u>Tendai Lineage (Japan)</u>
Farun   Saichō

Faquan   Gishin
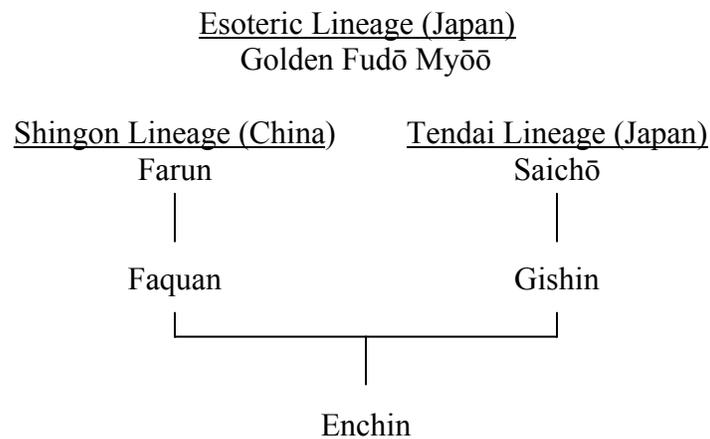
Enchin

The text first grounds Enchin's esoteric authority in Japan, where the golden Fudō Myōō appears and bestows precepts on him prior to his departure to China. Enchin's official biography (*Gyoryakusho*), written eleven years after his death, contains the account of his vision of a

[275] *Zoku nihon no emaki taisei*, vol. 26 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993), 133. Faquan was the student of the great esoteric teacher Farun. Althgough the text affiliates Faquan with Xuanfasi, by the time he initiated Enchin into the esoteric mandala rituals and confirmed on him the rank of *denbō-ajiri-e* in 855, Faquan had moved from the Xuanfasi to the Qinglongsi. Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 31.
[276] Gishin was a student of Saichō and accompanied him to China as his interpreter. Enchin, in turn, was Gishin's disciple.
[277] Farun was one of the great esoteric teachers of the late Tang. He was the teacher of Faquan and also taught both Ennin and Enchin during their stays in China. Kasahara Kazuo, *A History of Japanese Religion* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 2002), 81, 84.
[278] *Zoku nihon no emaki taisei*, vol. 26 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993), 133. Also Haruko Nishioka Wakabayashi, "Tengu: Images of the Buddhist Concepts of Evil in Medieval Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1995), 176.

golden Fudō Myōō as he meditated in a cave prior to his trip to China in 853. In the account, the esoteric deity told Enchin to paint his image and worship it, and, in return, Fudō Myōō promised to protect him throughout his journey to China.[279]

The hanging scroll said to depict Enchin's vision of a golden Fudō Myōō, housed at Onjōji, is thought to be the earliest golden Fudō Myōō painted in Japan.[280] The painting's golden color differs from the usual blue-black or red coloring that replicates the Fudō Myōō depicted in the Womb World (*taizōkai*) mandala. The presentation of his posture and stance, like the golden color, also differs from Chinese iconographic models. Enchin's golden Fudō Myōō is standing, facing directly toward the viewer, unlike Fudō Myōō modeled on the Chinese type who is seated on rock formations. Temple legend says that Enchin himself painted the golden Fudō Myōō at Onjōji but it is more likely that the painting dates to approximately one hundred years after his death.[281] The innovative appearance of Enchin's golden Fudō Myōō deviated from the usual strict adherence to standardized models, but this was not an unusual deviation if a deity had appeared to an eminent monk in a dream or vision.[282]

The reference to the image in the *Tengu zōshi* text speaks to the significance and value the golden Fudō Myōō of Onjōji held as a representation of Enchin's vision. Fudo Myōō, the protective deity primarily associated with esoteric practice, provided Enchin with esoteric precepts even before he departed for China where he would receive direct transmission and initiation from Chinese esoteric masters. At the same time, when the *Tengu zōshi* evokes the unconventional golden image of the Onjōji Fudō Myōō, it not only adds to the reasons to ascribe

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[279] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 72 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 188-192.
[280] Kameda Tsutomu, *Nihon Bukkyō jōsetsu* (Tokyo: Gakugei Shirin, 1979), 168-176.
[281] Christine M. Guth, "Mapping Sectarian Identity," in *Res 35* (Cambridge: The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 1999): 113.
[282] Ibid.

the authorship of the text to Onjōji-affiliated monks but also serves the purely sectarian purpose of valorizing its golden Fudō Myōō above all others and, by association, elevating the power of Onjōji itself.

The text of the *Tengu zōshi* then turns to Chinese masters for Enchin's esoteric legitimation by charting a direct continental succession for Enchin beginning with the Chinese monks Faquan and his teacher Farun. During Enchin's stay at the Qinglongsi temple in 855 while he was visiting China, Faquan initiated him into the *ryōbu mandara* and confirmed on him the rank of "master who transmits the Dharma" (*dembō-ajari-e*).[283] Enchin's direct esoteric transmission from Chinese masters gave Enchin and Onjōji the ultimate authority that was gained only from Chinese sources on Chinese soil.

The text goes on to relate that Enchin's Tendai authority is derived first from Saichō and then through Saichō's disciple Gishin (781-833). Gishin was the Japanese Tendai monk who first taught Enchin when he entered Mount Hiei as a novice at the age of fourteen. Gishin, named by the Japanese court as the first official abbot (*zasu*) of Enryakuji in 824, served as master for the first ordination of fourteen Tendai disciples on Mount Hiei in the same year.[284] Clearly, Gishin was a critical figure in the history of Tendai Buddhism and especially important to its monastic development at Enryakuji on Mount Hiei. But, most significantly, the choice of Gishin following Saichō, the founder of Enryakuji, as the Japanese source of Enchin's esoteric legitimacy created a direct Tendai lineage from Gishin to Enchin, side-stepping Ennin. Therefore, the claim for establishment of the Saichō-Gishin-Enchin-Onjōji transmission as the

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[283] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century,* Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 29.
[284] Ibid., 16-17.

legitimate Tendai base, combined with its location at Onjōji, displaced or, at the very least, equaled the orthodox Saichō-Ennin-Enryakuji line of transmission on Mount Hiei.

In contrast to the detailed discussion of Enchin and the basis for the authority of his Tendai esoteric lineage in the Onjōji introduction in the *Tengu zōshi*, the Enryakuji introductory text of scroll #3 does speak of the greatness of Saichō and his achievements as founder of the Tendai school. But far less time is spent developing the importance and achievements of Ennin than the text in Onjōji scroll spends on Enchin. The Enryakuji text begins by stating that Saichō founded Enryakuji on the orders of Emperor Kanmu after consulting with Sanno, the local god of Mount Hiei, as to the most auspicious placement of his new temple.[285] It recounts factual details of Saichō's trip to China, the teachers with whom he studied, the temples where he spent time, and the initiations bestowed on him.[286] The section ends with a list of Saichō's Japanese disciples and the statement that Saichō was one of the great teachers in Japan who founded the Tendai school.[287]

Ennin's accomplishments follow in the next section of the Enryakuji scroll #3. However, the recounting is not as extensive—in terms of length and detail—as the Enchin section of the Onjōji scroll #4. We are told of Ennin's travel to China as well as his vision of Monju and his lion that he is said to have had while in China.[288] The narrative goes on to relate that, after Ennin returned to Japan, he built the Sōjiin Hall on Mount Hiei (where the esoteric texts Saichō had brought back to Japan from China were stored), and that Ennin installed an image of Amida in the Sōjiin for protection of the Japanese nation.[289] Nowhere is there a statement in the text of

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[285] *Zoku nihon no emaki taisei*, vol. 26 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1993), 131.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Ibid.
[289] Ibid.

scroll #3 that positions Ennin as the direct successor of Saichō in the same way that the Onjōji

text in scroll #4 unequivocally places Enchin as in the "direct line of transmission of Tendai and

legitimate successor of Shingon."[290] The text could not erase Ennin from the record, but it did

present him in a less influential and legitimate position within the Tendai lineage than was given

to Enchin.

The intention of the above second section of the *Tengu zōshi* text of the Onjōji scroll #4

that concentrates on Enchin is to establish that Enchin's esoteric and exoteric lineages were

directly derived both from the Chinese masters Faquan and Farun and through the Japanese

monks Saichō and Gishin respectively. Transmission from the original Chinese sources was one

of the primary legitimating strategies used to establish and preserve the authority of a cleric's

lineage. And, also in the case of the *Tengu zōshi* Onjōji scroll #4, the intent is to develop, by

inference, a superior lineage for Onjōji beginning with patriarchs in China and culminating with

Enchin, the temple's founder. Further, Ennin is excluded from this authority by drawing the line

of succession from Saichō through Gishin and culminating in Enchin.

The authors of the text delineated a lineage at Onjōji based on the specific authority of

both esoteric and exoteric lines located in both China and Japan and, for good measure, added

Enchin's meditative vision of the Onjōji golden Fudō Myōō before he departed from Japan as an

even greater bid for legitimacy. In doing so, they argue the superiority of Onjōji over Enryakuji

through clever uses of the exclusivity of lineage as the means to legitimate their claim. Their

intention is to elevate Onjōji to at least equal, if not superior, footing with Enryakuji. In short, if

the major esoteric and Tendai lineages both coalesce through Enchin and are located at Onjōji,

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[290] *Zoku nihon no emaki taisei*, vol. 26 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1993), 133. Also see: Haruko Nishioka
Wakabayashi, "Tengu: Images of the Buddhist Concepts of Evil in Medieval Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation,
Princeton University, 1995), 176.

the temple where he served as abbot and where his Jimon lineage was headquartered, then Onjōji is superior to all other temples.

But the text does more than that. After establishing that the Onjōji lineage derives from Enchin's esoteric initiation in China by Faquan in China, his vision of the golden Fudō Myōō in Japan prior to his departure to China, and his study on Mount Hiei with Gishin, the text moves on to the third prong of its argument, which reinforces its opening claim that Onjōji is superior to not only Enryakuji but all temples based on its early founding date. Namely, the *Tengu zōshi* next argues for the superiority of Onjōji over all other temples based on the exclusivity of its doctrinal teachings.

> The teachings of our temple are Shingon, Tendai, Hossō, and Kusha. Other temples may be exoteric but not esoteric, or esoteric yet not exoteric. Some may practice both exoteric and esoteric, but they do not teach the way of Shugen[dō]. It is only our temple that practices these three teachings at one time.[291]

The claim distinguishing Onjōji as the single temple where equal emphasis is placed on esoteric and exoteric teachings as well as Shugendō firmly positions Onjōji as the preeminent center for those doctrines that were visually referenced in the Shōgoin *miya* mandara. This passage in the *Tengu zōshi* positions Onjōji as the sole institution where the three major forms of practice are taught: first, Enchin's Jimon branch of Tendai Buddhism at Onjōji (as distinguished from Sanmon at Enryakuji); second, the esoteric teaching Enchin learned in China that formed the esoteric basis of Enchin's Jimon sect; and third, the higher status of Onjōji as the temple in control of the organization of esoteric austerities of Shugendō practiced throughout Kumano, a

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[291] As translated by Haruko Nishioka Wakabayashi, "Tengu: Images of the Buddhist Concepts of Evil in Medieval Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1995), 186.

practice that had no connection with Enryakuji. The statement covers the important practices of the time and, again, locates them at Onjōji.

The final prong of the argument is the claim that national peace and prosperity are dependent upon the words of Enchin and contains ominous warnings of the consequences if he is not heeded.

> According to the words of Daishi [Enchin], [our] Buddhist teaching shall be transmitted to the sovereigns and ministers; if the sovereigns and ministers ever neglect the Dharma, the country will weaken and the Imperial Law will decline. The deities of heaven will turn their backs and the deities of the earth will be in fury; diseases will spread among the people, and dead bodies will be lying in piles along the roads. In and out of the country there will be confusion, and the near and far will be in disturbance.[292]

This passage clearly states that, in order for the prosperity of the nation to endure, the state must support Enchin's dharma. The well being of the state is under the control of "deities from heaven" (*honji* - Buddhist) and the "deities of earth" (*suijaku* - native), a reference that, I would suggest, is to the *honji suijaku* cosmology of Kumano. This is not a new or unusual claim. Throughout Japanese history, cultic sites where kami, bodhisattvas, and Buddhas resided were believed to offer protection to the state, and Kumano, one of the most potent of these sites, certainly was no exception.

The passage also makes use of the interdependence of the Imperial law and Buddhist law in order to establish the same relationship between the state and Onjōji as had been the right of Enryakuji since its founding. Stating that the power of kingship is derived from the power of the Buddhist dharma that, in this case, the authors have located at Onjōji thus emphasizes the claim

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[292] Ibid., 184.

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for Onjōji's supremacy. The superiority of Onjōji is argued in this section of the *Tengu zōshi* through the unification of religious and political power by embedding it in Enchin, and locating it at Onjōji where his dharma resides.

The content of the *Tengu zōshi* text of scroll #4 was intended to provide Onjōji with potent requisites in order to legitimize its quest for the right to independent ordination through discursive strategies of an interconnected structure that is unified within Enchin. There are four basic parts to the argument. First, the assertion that Onjōj's founding date and recognition as an imperial temple were earlier than all other temples. Second, that Onjōji's doctrinal lineage was legitimated by Enchin's study in China with the Chinese esoteric masters Faquan and Farun, as well as his study with the Japanese master Gishin. Third, teachings at Onjōji included those esoteric and exoteric branches identified with Enchin as well as the Hozan branch of Shugendō, which highlights Onjōji's association with the Kumano mountain range. Fourth, it is only in the Onjōji scroll where the relationship between Onjōji as a "nation-protecting temple" is discussed. It is stated in the text that, since the time of its founding, there had been a relationship between the sacred power of Onjōji and the state and, according to words attributed to Enchin, the nation will prosper only through its association with Onjōji.

The emphasis on doctrinal exclusivity used in the *Tengu zōshi* text, wherein all teachings are located only at Onjōji, is the later result of the organization of Japanese Tendai teachings that had begun in sixth-century China where, according to Peter Gregory, the doctrinal classification system of Buddhist texts served three purposes: first, to uncover a unifying framework within diverse Buddhist teachings; second, to organize successive levels of teachings to correspond to

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stages of enlightenment; and third, to serve sectarian purposes by classifications that elevate one group above others.[293]

The Chinese Tiantai classification of the teachings scheme began with Zhiyi (538-597) and was further developed in the mid-eighth century (and beyond). The all-encompassing system ultimately delineated into five periods and eight teachings that culminated in the *Lotus Sutra*.[294] Saichō, who was introduced to that scheme during his stay in China in the early-ninth century, interpreted the *Lotus Sutra* as the one-vehicle that, as the Buddha's ultimate teaching, both surpassed and encompassed all other teachings. This allowed him to develop both an exclusive reading of the *Lotus Sutra*, which establishes its superiority over all other teachings, and an inclusive reading, wherein all teachings become expressions of the *Lotus Sutra*.[295]

This all-encompassing one-vehicle reading of the *Lotus Sutra* would have a profound effect on the future development of nearly all aspects of the Tendai school in Japan. For example, Saichō incorporated elements of Zen, esotericism, and the vinaya (other exoteric traditions) under the rubric of his Japanese Tendai school. And it is the important inclusion and integration of various elements of esotericism that most concerns us here. To be sure, various strands of esoteric Buddhism had already existed in Japan since the Nara period (710-794), but it is Saichō (767-822) and his contemporary Kūkai (774-835) of the Shingon school, who are

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[293] Peter Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 93-114.

[294] The five periods are an organization of Buddhist sutras according to the assumed chronology of the Buddha's preaching. The eight teachings consist of four methods of conversion and four teachings of conversion. The four methods of conversion classify the methods the Buddha is said to have used when he expounded on the body of his teachings. The four teachings of conversion are the Tiantai classification the Buddhist teachings according to content. Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 12 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 375-376, n. 47.

[295] Ibid., 14-17.

generally created with the formal introduction and development of esotericism in Japan. The difference between the two, however, is that, while Kūkai "saw the esoteric teachings as fundamentally distinct from and superior to the exoteric teachings (*kengyō*), Saichō maintained the unity of the two and sought to integrate Mikkyō [esotericism] within the framework of the *Lotus*-based teachings of the Tendai school."[296] Saichō did not live long enough to complete his synthesis of esoteric and exoteric within the one-vehicle of the *Lotus*. That would be left to the next major figures in the development of the Japanese Tendai school: Ennin, Enchin, and Annen (841-?).[297]

Saichō's disciple Ennin developed the second step in the integration of esotericism within the Tendai school. Ennin traveled to China between 836 and 846 where he studied esoteric doctrines, received esoteric initiations, learned complex esoteric practices, and acquired numerous esoteric texts and mandala that he brought back to Japan.[298] After Ennin returned to Japan, he began to put forth the idea of the whole of Buddhism encompassed within "one great perfect teaching" (*ichidai engyō*).[299] Within this underlying unity, Ennin sought to establish that the *Lotus Sūtra* and esoteric teachings and practices, especially those he had mastered in China, were encompassed within all of Buddhism. To this end, he divided doctrines of various schools into exoteric and esoteric classifications. He classified the three modes of salvation according to the sentient being's capacity for salvation as exoteric, and the universal, one-vehicle teaching as esoteric. Within this framework, Ennin placed the *Lotus Sūtra* into the esoteric classification.

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[296] Ibid.

[297] Ennin, Enchin, and Annen were all instrumental in developing Tendai esoterism (Taimitsu), but I will confine this brief discussion to Ennin and Enchin since they are pertinent to this context.

[298] Daigan Matsunaga & Alicia Matsunaga, *Foundation of Japanese Buddhism Vol. 1* (Los Angeles-Tokyo: Buddhist Books International, 1992), 164-165.

[299] Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 12 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 20.

Whereas Saichō had relegated esoteric texts to a provisional status, Ennin's classification of the *Lotus Sūtra* as an esoteric text put it on a par with purely esoteric scriptures. But, he also concluded that the *Lotus Sūtra* could be considered esoteric only in doctrine since it did not teach secret esoteric practices, and, therefore, ranked it below wholly esoteric texts. Ennin thus reasoned that both the *Lotus Sūtra* and esoteric scriptures are identical as teachings of the one-vehicle but, elevated Mikkyō above the one-vehicle in the realm of practice.[300]

Enchin took Ennin's classification one step forward and, with the argument that although he agreed in principle that the *Lotus Sūtra* was an esoteric sūtra, nevertheless, it should be included among the exoteric sūtras on the grounds that it had been preached by the Buddha. Enchin set up two classifications within esoteric teachings: those that teach esoteric theory and those that teach esoteric practice. Therefore, since the *Lotus Sūtra* did not teach secret esoteric practices, Enchin concluded that esotericism was superior in both theory and practice to the *Lotus Sūtra*.[301] With this step, Enchin placed esotericism above the *Lotus Sūtra* and elevated the status of esotericism within the Tendai school in both theory and practice.

Ennin, Enchin, and those who followed them furthered the trend toward the esotericization of Tendai. The ideological and institutional coexistence of esoteric and exoteric elements was the norm during Enchin's lifetime and continued into the late-thirteenth/early-fourteenth centuries when the *Tengu zōshi* and Kumano mandara were produced. The practice of hierarchical classifications of Buddhist teachings was a common means for a school to stake its claim for uniqueness and greater authority. In this sense, we see that the use of classifications by the authors of the *Tengu zōshi*, wherein only Onjōji teaches esoteric, exoteric, and Shugendō, as

[300] Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 12 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 20.
[301] Ibid.

a prime example of how exclusivity was used as a means to further Onjōji's own sectarian purposes.

The text of the *Tengu zōshi* stating their position that only Onjōji teaches esoteric, exoteric and Shugendō is reiterating Enchin's own classification system that elevated esoteric teachings within the Tendai school. The following statement in the Miidera B scroll speaks again to the superiority of esoteric Shingon, but, in this case, it is the esoteric teaching of Enchin that is highlighted. The passage states:

> The esoteric teaching of the Shingon, therefore, is the highest teaching of all sects. The high can serve for the low, and the superior has the virtue to substitute for the inferior, thus persons of superior capacity and wisdom can quickly attain the way, and those with heavy hindrance and weak capacity may also at once attain liberation.[302]

 The Shingon that is referenced in this passage is not that which is associated with Kūkai's esoteric Shingon school but, rather, esoteric Tendai associated with Enchin. From the time of Onjōji's founding and its position as the headquarters of Enchin's Jimon sect, Onjōji had never been associated with Kūkai's Shingon school. In fact, the following *Tengu zōshi* passage emphasizes Enchin's elevation of esoteric practices in the following manner:

> Tendai and Kegon are the exoteric teachings of the one vehicle and are not the most important and perfect teaching (*ichidai engyō*)…The esoteric teaching of Shingon, therefore, is the highest teaching of all sects.[303]

Here we see how the divisions of exoteric teaching and esoteric practices, the basis for Enchin's classifications, were used to argue for Onjōji's superiority. Elevation of esoteric teaching (here, I would suggest, referencing secret esoteric practices) above the one-vehicle of the *Lotus Sūtra* in

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[302] As translated by Haruko Wakabayashi, "The Dharma for Sovereigns and Warriors: Onjō-ji's Claim for Legitimacy in *Tengu zōshi*," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29 (2002): 57.
[303] Ibid.

this passage also separates his Jimon sect at Onjōji from the Tendai Sanmon sect at Enryakuji. Enchin's classifications played a clear role in sectarian legitimation in the *Tengu zōshi* text and functioned to highlight the differences between exoteric Tendai associated with Enryakuji and esoteric Tendai at Onjōji.

The late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries were an unsettling time for the major temples as the old elite system of the imperial family, courtiers, and religious institutions was going through a breakdown of its previous power structures.[304] The ongoing struggles between Enryakuji and Onjōji were, by then, a familiar story but, just as times were changing, so too were the types of documents that Onjōji utilized to argue its case. Therefore, it was crucial to show that the *Tengu zōshi* was produced at Onjōji because the handscrolls provide evidence that Onjōji clerics were incorporating into their argument for independence other types of documents beyond the official petitions they presented to the court.

The next section will examine two chapters of a second document titled *Shugen shinanshō* compiled by Shōgoin monks. I will look at the possibility that two lists of clerics included in this text were another means to elicit support for Onjōji. I will suggest the hypothesis that the *Shugen shinanshō* can be read as one more means to legitimate the superiority of Onjōji, this time by using inclusivity rather than the exclusivity used in the *Tengu zōshi*. The final section of this dissertation will focus on the relevance of both inclusivity and exclusivity to the portraits added to the Shōgoin *miya* mandara.

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[304] Mikael Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*: *Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 288-291.

5.4   CLERIC ASSOCIATIONS AS ADDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF

LEGITIMACY AND SUPERIORITY AS LISTED IN THE SHUGEN SHINANSHŌ

The *Shugen shinanshō*, a text dated to the fourteenth century, is a compilation by Shōgoin monks of various rituals, proper pilgrimage preparations, and lineages of deities specific to Honzan Shugendō practiced by *shugenja* associated with and attached to Shōgoin.[305] Although Miyake Hitoshi gives the fourteenth century as the date for this text, there is no confirmation or indication within the text itself that any or all of the content was newly conceived of and/or written for the first time in the fourteenth century.[306] It is more likely then, since the *Shugen shinanshō* is filled with many legends and constructions of genealogies of the Kumano deities that claim their lineage from Indian and Chinese rulers (beliefs in place before the fourteenth century), materials of earlier dates were gathered together and collected in the *Shugen shinanshō* during the fourteenth century. Furthermore, each chapter in the text is an independent section, and, therefore, there is no cohesion as one reads from one chapter to the next. This is likely another indication that the disparate beliefs, rituals, and legends that were written at different times were then collected within this text.

For the above reasons, it is extremely difficult to understand, indeed, even to determine, an internal logic within the document that would help to account for the two chapters where two sets of clerics appear—one added to the Kumano *honji* pantheon and the second to the eight

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[305] Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō*: *Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2001), 37; Miyake Hitoshi, "Rethinking Japanese Folk Religion: A Study of the Kumano Shugen." in *Religion in Japan*: *Arrows to Heaven and Earth* eds. P.F. Kornicki and I.J. McMullen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 122.

[306] Miyake Hitoshi, "Rethinking Japanese Folk Religion: A Study of Kumano Shugen." in *Religion in Japan*: *Arrows to Heaven and Earth*, eds. P. F. Koenicki and I. J. McMullen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 127.

Ōmine Dōji.[307]   With these caveats in mind, I would like to offer the following as an attempt to

provide a possible understanding of the specific clerics who were chosen as manifestations added

to the orthodox Kumano pantheon.

The first chart (I) of seven clerics added to the fifteen *honji suijaku* of the Kumano

pantheon, and the second (II) of six clerics added to the eight Kongō Dōji are organized in the

following manner:

I
Kumano Gongen[308]

1	2	3	4	5
Jūichimen Kannon	Jizō Bosatsu	Ryūju	Nyoirin Kannon	Kannon
Enchin	*Genshin*	*Senkan*	*Zōmyō*	*Zōmyō*
(814-891)	(942-1017)	(919-984)	(843-927)	
6	7	8	9	10
Monju Bosatsu	Fugen Bosatsu	Shaka	Fudō Myōō	Bishamonten
Ennin	*Ennin*	*Bodaisenna*	*Enchin*	*Enchin*
(792-862)		(704-760)		
11	12	13	14	15
Miroku	Monju	Kokūzō Aizen	Myōō	Daiitoku Myōō[309]
Enchin	*Enchin*	*Bodaisenna*	*Kūkai*	*Enchin*
			(774-835)	

II
Ōmine Hachidai Dōji

1	2	3	4
Kukō Dōji	Kenzō Dōji	Kase Dōji	Kenkō Dōji
Zendō	*Zendō*	*Kūkai*	*Zendō*
(d.u.)			
5	6	7	8
Akujo Dōji	Jihi Dōji	Gosei Dōji	Joma Dōji
Enchin	*Shinzei*	*Gonzō*	*Rōben*
	(800-860)		

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[307] *Shugen shinanshō*, in *Shinto taikei*, ed. Murayama Shūichi, vol. 75 (Tokyo: Shintō Taikei Hensankai, 1988), 221-222; 227-228.
[308] Miyake Hitoshi also includes in his discussion of the *Shugen shinanshō* the following additional connections: Hongū-Bodaisenna; Shingū-Saichō; Nachi-Kūkai. These three connections are not included in the two lists cited in the *Shugen shinanshō* on which the following discussion is based on and, therefore, I have chosen not to include them in the above configuration. Miyaki Hitoshi, *Shugendō: Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, 2001), 37.
[309] Daiitoku Myōō is only in this configuration of deities and not found in any of the four Shōgoin *miya* mandara.

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The two sets of clerics listed in the *Shugen shinanshō* indicate that, by the fourteenth century when the text was compiled, *honji suijaku* had developed into a system that allowed additional correspondences to be attached to both kami (or, as in this case, to dōji) and buddhas. As Susan Tyler has noted, "[T]he idea that there was one precise correspondence of kami and buddha is a myth. If this is a sign of the full development of *honji suijaku*, then *honji suijaku* never developed fully."[310] In its fullest development, the norm of *honji suijaku* was that it took the form of multiple combinations of multiple sets of associations. "*Honji suijaku* discourse employed all strategies of correlation and combination developed by exoteric-esoteric Buddhist hermeneutics. As a result, it construed macromiotic entities in which Japanese, Chinese, and Indian elements were clustered on the basis of similarities of the signifiers (linguistic and/or iconographic), and of the signified (functions, religious meanings, etc.)…In this sense, a *honji suijaku* combinatory deity was often not just a dual entity (a buddha or bodhisattva and a kami), but a multiplicity in which different images of the sacred, ritual elements, myths, and narrative elements interacted in complex ways."[311]

Associations of various types were developed in cultic centers throughout Japan, and each developed its own particular identity. The multiplicity of the *honji suijaku* paradigm is seen in the set of eleven clerics listed in the *Shugen shimanshō* where, rather than the possible twenty-three individual clerics evenly matched with the total of twenty-three Gongen and dōji, there are twelve fewer than the largest possible number of pairings. Some associations were based in

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[310] Susan Tyler, "*Honji suijaku* Faith," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16 (1989): 238.
[311] Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, "Introduction" in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*: Honji Suijaku *as a Combinatory Paradigm*, eds. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 48.

linguistics,[312] and an emerging Buddhist school adopted a set of kami to define its place in medieval Japan.[313] I will suggest that this collection of clerics can be seen as yet another example of classification that is inclusive rather than the exclusive classification that was seen in the *Tengu zōshi* texts.

The common thread that runs through all the biographies[314] is that each was a powerful cleric who had risen to the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and, therefore, enjoyed and exerted great political influence. Three clerics were intimately connected with the early beginnings of Tōdaiji; the temple most closely associated with early official, large-scale, state-supported Buddhism. The first is Rōben (689-773), who is credited with founding the temple and who was instrumental in the successful completion of the fund-raising campaign that subsidized the casting of the Great Buddha dedicated in 757.[315] The second is the Indian priest Bodaisenna, who traveled to Japan in 733 and led the 757 eye-opening ceremony of the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji.[316] The third cleric is Gonzō (754-827) who was a prominent leader in the Nara Buddhist establishment and was named head priest at Tōdaiji late in his career.[317] These three clerics were highly placed within Nara politics, the Buddhist administration, and the Nara-period court due to their official appointments and involvement with Tōdaiji.

Three clerics were highly placed in the Buddhist Office of Monastic Affairs (*Sōgō*). Shinzei (800-860), Kūkai's disciple, was appointed as an official court priest and also was the

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[312] Allan Grapard, "Linguistic Cubism—A Singularity of Pluralism in the Sannō Cult," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14 (1987): 211-234.

[313] Lucia Dolce, "Kami in the Nichiren Tradition." in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*: Honji Suijaku *as a Combinatory Paradigm*, eds. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 222-254.

[314] See Appendix B for short, but more complete, biographical information.

[315] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 92.

[316] *Nihon Bukkyō jinmei jiten*, comp. Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten Hensan Iinkai (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1992), 444.

[317] Ibid.

first esoteric priest to be named to the high government post of archbishop of the Sōgō.[318]

Zōmyō, (843-927) the tenth abbot (*zasu*) of Enryakuji, was the first Tendai monk to be named

head administrator (*hōmu*) of the Sōgō.[319] Genshin (942-1017) served as an imperial priest and,

at the court's invitation, presided over examinations at Onjōji between 1004 and 1007,[320]

indicating both his distinguished status within the ecclesiastical hierarchy as well as the high

respect the court held for his intellectual accomplishments.[321]

Another commonality among monks listed in the *Shugen shinanshō* is that they

participated in ritual performances at court.[322] Both Rōben and Gonzō established annual

services at Tōdaiji to guarantee the wellbeing and protection of the emperor, the court, and the

nation.[323] The esoteric monk Shinzei become the head abbot at Jingoji, where he instituted a

semi-annual Buddhist ceremony specifically intended for national protection.[324] Zōmyō was

often summoned to court to perform services ensuring the prosperity of the emperor and court,

and Genshin, who served as the imperial court priest, was also responsible for performing rituals

to ensure the health and safety of the imperial house, the court, and the nation.[325] Kūkai

performed various esoteric rituals at court over his long, illustrious career and succeeded in

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[318] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 120.
[319] Ibid., 124.
[320] Debates had been a standard feature of Buddhist ceremonies since the Nara period and they were central to the three ceremonies (Yuima-e, Misai-e, and Saishō-e) held annually for the benefit of the country's well-being and prosperity. There was a distinct ceremonial flavor to the debates where nobles and cleric gathered to view the spectacle.   The debates were in the question and answer form and were both a means to advance doctrinal training and an examination on key issues and concepts. Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 12 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 116-117.
[321] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 124.
[322] Zendō would not be part of this group since he was semi-historical and has seemingly no connections to Onjōji beyond his supposed appointment as the first bettō.
[323] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 92.
[324] Ibid. 120.
[325] Ibid. 124.

infusing esoteric rituals into the court's annual calendar.[326] Both Enchin and Ennin had forged

close connections with the court. Ennin was appointed an official court priest in 848 and Enchin

administered esoteric initiation rites to emperor Seiwa (851-881, r. 859-876) in 864.[327] The

preponderance of clerics who were known for their strong ties to the court and to state-sponsored

rituals for the benefit of the imperial house and the national realm in the *Shugen shinanshō* likely

was intended to evoke their affiliations and power in support of Onjōji's independence some four

hundred years after their deaths.

If we look at the number of replications in the two *Shugen shinanshō* lists, the dominant

cleric of the group is Enchin, the founder of Onjōji, who is repeated seven times. There are three

monks of the group who had especially close ties with Enchin and/or Onjōji: Zōmyō, Senkan,

and Zendō (919-984). When Zōmyō (a disciple of Enchin) was designated abbot (*chōri*) of

Onjōji in 899, his appointment began an uninterrupted succession of abbots from Enchin's Jimon

lineage that continued to control the position during the next one hundred years.[328] Zōmyō's

appointment in 906 to the abbotship (*zasu*) of Enryakuji (a position he held for the next sixteen

years) returned clerics from Enchin's lineage to the abbacy position and, most importantly, gave

Enchin's Jimon faction control of future abbot appointments at Enryakuji. Zōmyō was also

instrumental in convincing the court to bestow the posthumous honorific title of *Chishō daishi* on

Enchin.[329] Senkan's early biography is silent until 962, when it was recorded that he performed

a rain-producing ceremony at the court.[330] Biographical information following the 962 date tells

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[326] Abé Ryūichi, *The Weaving of Mantra*: *Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 58.
[327] Kasahara Kazuo ed. *A History of Japanese Religion* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 2002), 84.
[328] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 41.
[329] Ibid.
[330] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 56.

us that Senkan lived in the Sannō'in located in the Tōdō area of Mount Hiei that was controlled by Enchin's Jimon followers.[331]   It is presumed that he studied at Onjōji at some point in his career, as he was considered to be the authority on the volumes of logic Enchin brought back from China, which were stored at Onjōji.[332]

Zendō, a semi-historical monk, was reputed to have been the first appointment as overseer (*bettō*) of Kumano. Zendō is traditionally credited with being the first *shugenja* to practice asceticism on Mount Ōmine and was said to have opened three of the mountain's areas to pilgrimage.[333] He is attached to the three dōji of the Ōmine Hachidai Dōji, which are the three places where it is said he practiced and where he enshrined a bodhisattva for *shugenja* to worship.[334] Zendō's legendary position as the first Kumano *bettō* connects him to Onjōji and Shōgoin since, by the fourteenth century when the *Shugen shinanshō* was compiled, the position of *bettō* included the dual appointment to the abbotship of both temples.

The south Indian monk Bodaisenna is the lone non-Japanese included in the lists. He was highly respected in Japan and rose to the apex of the government ecclesiastical organization when he was named to the top Sōgō rank of *sōjō* in 751.[335] Bodaisenna officiated at the 757 dedication of the Great Buddha at Tōdaiji and may have been included because of the importance of his connection with Tōdaiji, the temple most closely connected with state-sponsored Buddhism. [336]

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[331] Ibid.
[332] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 59.
[333] *Nihon Bukkyo jinmei jiten* comp. Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten Hensan (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1992), 444.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Ibid.
[336] *Kokushi daijiten,* comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 12 （Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 745.

Kūkai (744-835) was a seminal figure in early Heian Buddhism. Kūkai traveled to China between 804 and 806, where he was initiated into the doctrines and rituals of esoteric Buddhism. He returned to Japan with ritual objects, mandala, sūtras, and treatises on esoteric ritual that formed the basis for his esoteric beliefs and practices. The gradual integration of both esoteric and exoteric Buddhist rituals into the core ceremonies at the imperial palace resulted in a growth in power of both strains, and Kūkai was the most instrumental (if not the most influential) cleric in this process.

The Tendai priest Genshin (942-1017) was a key figure in the construction of Pure Land teachings in Japan, where he laid the foundation of Japan's Pure Land (Jōdo) movement. In 985 he completed the *Essentials of Rebirth in the Pure Land* (*Ōjōyōshū*), a compilation of passages from one hundred and sixty sūtras and treatises that addresses the issue of rebirth in the Western Paradise of Amida, describes the six levels of transmigration, and stresses meditation on Amida as the primary method to gain rebirth in his Pure Land.[337] Genshin advocated the one vehicle teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the universal possession of the Buddha-nature by all believers, and the chanting of *nenbutsu* for believers from all social levels and recommended its use in tandem with meditation and visualization.

It has been previously noted that there are a total of eleven clerics associated with a total of twenty-three Kumano Gongen and Kongō Dōji. Therefore, certain individuals gain importance and weight due to duplication, and a hierarchy results from repetitions of five of the eleven monks in both sets as follows:

Enchin 7	Ennin 2	Bodaisenna 1	Senkan 1
Zendō 3	Zōmyo 2	Shinzei 1	Gonzō 1
Kūkai 2		Genshin 1	Rōben 1

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[337] Ibid., 230-231.

Enchin is the most replicated member of the group and the preceding discussions of his importance to Onjōji and Shōgoin certainly account for why he is repeated seven times. Zendō, the second in number of replications, represents the importance of the court appointed position of *bettō* to both Onjōji and Shōgoin, a post that became affiliated with important imperials and warrior clans and the business of pilgrimage that was controlled by Onjōji and Shōgoin. Zōmyo's connections to both Enchin and Onjōji can account for his two repetitions. Zōmyo had studied with Enchin, became chief abbot of Onjōji in 906, and was successful in petitioning the court to bestow the posthumous honorific title Grand Master (*daishi*) on Enchin.

If we again turn to the *Tengu zōshi* texts, the statement that only Onjōji teaches esoteric, exoteric and Shugendō[338] would account for the inclusion of Zendō, the *shugenja* who opened specific areas of Kumano for Shugendō practice as well as Enchin who founded Onjōji and made it the center for his Jimon sect, the temple most closely associated with Shugendō organization and practices.

As discussed earlier, there were two systems of classifications employed within the gradual esotericism of the Japanese Tendai school. The first is the exclusive framework, such as was seen in the *Tengu zōshi* texts, wherein Enchin's classification system played a clear role in sectarian legitimation by functioning to highlight the differences between Enryakuji and Onjōji. The second framework is inclusive, wherein various elements were integrated into one whole. Just as the *Tengu zōshi* constructed an identity for Onjōji distinct from Enryakuji, the *Shugen shinanshō* repeated the pattern but supported it with the authority of inclusive associations and combinations of clerics.

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[338] Haruko Nishioka Wakabayashi, "Tengu: Images of the Buddhist Concepts of Evil in Medieval Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1995), 186.

The set of clerics grafted onto the existent Kumano pantheon is an example of the complexity of *honji suijaku* combinations that had become a fully developed syncretism by the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries. The Shugendō Honzan faction controlled by Shōgoin emphasized (and perhaps defined) its position as the head temple of Shugendō by including multiple strands of doctrine, practices, and symbols of political power clustered within two inclusive sets of clerics.

I would suggest that it is possible that the significance of this set of clerics was, in fact, a self-legitimation strategy for Onjōji, via its sub-temple Shōgoin, that is yet another example of the "intersection and reciprocal borrowing rather than opposition" argued by Lucia Dolce.[339] Thus, it can be suggested that the *Shugen shinanshō*, by reiterating Onjōji's superiority and legitimacy through an inclusionary model, is following the same line of reasoning utilized in the text of the *Tengu zōshi* where an exclusionary method was rooted in Enchin.

5.5   SHŌGOIN MANDARA: PORTRAITS, AND ESOTERIC MANDALA

The *Tengu zōshi* and four Shōgoin *miya* mandara, all likely produced at Onjōji, and the *Shugen shinanshō* associated with monks from Shōgoin, a sub-temple of Onjōji, were created during a period of dramatic social, political, and religious change. We have seen that one way for a religious establishment to respond to the breakdown of the old order was to evoke the past in

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[339] Lucia Dolce, "Reconsidering the Taxonomy of the Esoteric: Hermeneutical and Ritual Practices of the Lotus Sūtra." in *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, eds. Bernard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen (London and New York: Routledge, 2006),130.

order to legitimate the present. To this end, the authors of the *Tengu zōshi* utilized patriarchical lineage, Onjōji's founding history as a nation-protecting temple, and a canon of esoteric, exoteric and Shugendō practices and teachings in order to form a temple history that rivaled, and even surpassed, that of Enryakuji. In the same way, it is plausible that the clerics added to the Kumano pantheon in the *Shugen shinanshō* were a set of associations also intended to elevate Onjōji's status.

I would further suggest that the portrait of Enchin and the two esoteric mandala added to the Shōgoin *miya* mandara were, like the *Tengu zōshi* and *Shugen shinanshō* texts, a reference to the past designed to validate the present. The preceding discussion has left little doubt that the two Shōgoin *miya* mandara were produced at Onjōji for use at Shōgoin and, therefore, the primary decisions concerning content were most likely made by the ecclesiastical organization at Onjōji. One of the critical arguments expressed in the texts of the *Tengu zōshi* that solidified Onjōji's superiority was the position of Enchin as the ultimate synthesis of both esoteric and exoteric transmissions. The *Tengu zōshi* authors achieved this through establishing a direct line of exoteric transmission from the Chinese monks Farun and Faquan to Enchin, and through an esoteric lineage from Saichō to Gishin to Enchin.[340] The additions of Enchin's portrait in the *honji* mandara and the esoteric mandala in the *suijaku* mandara reflect the same message of institutional superiority.

There is a second portrait painted in the lower portion of the *suijaku* mandara (See List of Images #4). Nakano Teruo has identified this portrait as the esoteric master Kūkai (774-835) but has given no justification for his identification.[341] Scholars, to my knowledge, have neither

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[340] *Tengu zōshi*, in *Zoku Nihon no emaki* vol. 26 (Tokyo: Chūō kōrōnsha, 1993), 133.
[341] Nakano Teruo, "Kumano mandara zukō," *Tokyo Kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 21 (1985): 71. This painting is very damaged and it is difficult to identify this portrait.

discredited nor verified Nakano's listing of Kūkai as the second portrait. Nakano's identification,

however, is problematic for the following reasons. First, in order for the portrait to be Kūkai, the

ecclesiastical organization at Onjōji would have had to abandon Enchin's specific construction of

esoteric Tendai in order to embrace and recognize Kūkai's Shingon, and this shift is not

substantiated in any sections of the *Tengu zōshi* text that have been examined in the above

discussion. Based on the sources I have examined, there is no hint in the history of Onjōji, the

temple recognized as the center of Enchin's Jimon sect, of an affiliation with Kūkai's Shingon.

Rather, as I have demonstrated above, the term Shingon does not reference Kūkai but is utilized

to refer to Enchin's brand of esotericism. Second, the *Tengu zōshi* text is very clear that their bid

for independence is predicated on Enchin's Tendai and esoteric lineages, therefore, Kūkai does

not figure into their argument.

I have not found textual or other substantiating evidence in my research that could give

even a hint of whose portrait it might be, if not Kūkai. If, however, I were to offer an opinion, I

would suggest that a portrait of Gishin or another cleric central to Enchin's lineage, either

preceding or succeeding him, would be the logical choice. Another possibility is a retired

emperor who had taken the tonsure, was especially important to either Onjōji and/or Shōgoin,

and had taken pilgrimages through Kumano. The logical choice would be the retired Emperor

Shirakawa (1053-1129, r. 1073-1986) who established the position of overseer of Kumano, a

position held concurrently by the head of Onjōji. Shirakawa was instrumental in creating the

administrative alliance between Onjōji, Shōgoin and the Hozan branch of Shugendō. Therefore,

he was equally important to both temples as well as Shugendō practice in Kumano. The portrait

may also be any of the other retired emperors who took repeated pilgrimages through Kumano

such as Toba (1103-1156, r. 1108-1123), Goshirakawa (1127-1192, r. 1156-1158), or Gotoba (1179-1239, r. 1184-1198)—who were all led by guides associated with Onjōji and Shōgoin.

The question of whose portrait is in the second mandara is an issue that deserves further research. For the present, my conclusion is that because the Kumano *honji* and *suijaku* mandara are depictions of the interconnections between the Kumano pantheons, the sacrality of Kumano's landscapes, its protective deities, and Onjōji's Jimon esoteric roots within Tendai, therefore, to include Kūkai would not serve Onjōji's purposes. Even more importantly, it would undermine Onjōji's insistence that exclusive classification, via Enchin's form of esoteric Tendai, elevates Onjōji above Enryakuji.

Kumano *miya* mandara paintings visually synthesize the native and Buddhist beliefs associated with a specific location. Therefore, there is consistency of subject matter within any one painting and all additions outside of the orthodox Kumano iconography are noteworthy. As discussed earlier, there are two additional Kumano mandara with portraits but, in both cases, the identity of the sitter cannot be confirmed. In contrast, there is no doubt that it is Enchin who is sitting in a meditative position in the bottom landscape. For extra impact, the overt display of two esoteric mandala added to the top of the *suijaku* mandala points to the source for the orthodoxy of Enchin's esoteric transmission, adding weight to the *Tengu zōshi* text that placed esoteric, exoteric and shugendō practices at Onjōji and stressed that only one temple practiced all forms.

The evidence seems to indicate that there was an additional field of visual meaning, other than the distinctly universal Buddhist and local Kumano *honji suijaku* cosmology, to the additions to the Shōgoin *miya* mandara. The portrait and mandala are visual clues to uses of the same strategy that served to aggrandize Onjōji in the text of the *Tengu zōshi*. In the case of the

Shōgoin Kumano mandara, it is achieved through the simultaneous depiction of the transcendent and worldly power of Kumano and the transcendent and worldly power of Enchin and the mandala.

The *Tengu zōshi* and two Shōgoin *miya* mandara may seem unconnected but they actually follow the logic that Allan Grapard offers in the following observation in respect to Japanese cultic centers:

> What is found in Japanese cultic centers is not a hopeless incoherence but an extremely concrete combinatory phenomenon in which the various elements of the combination retained some of their pristine identity, their fundamental characteristics, but also gained, by accretion and interplay (it is tempting to say, by dialect), a mass of meaning that they did not have as independent entities.[342]

The *Tengu zōshi* and Shōgoin *miya* mandara were likely produced as part of Onjōji's strategy to counter Enryakuji's domination. The selections were not arbitrary on the part of the authorities at Onjōji. Rather, they reflect associations and combinations that were used to crystallize specific responses applicable to the issues critical to Onjōji. The disputes between Enryakuji and Onjōji that are referenced in the *Tengu zōshi* certainly account for the political dimensions. Likewise, the portrait of Enchin in the Shōgoin *miya* mandara is a visual device that states the superiority of and constructs a lineage history for Onjōji in the same manner as the *Tengu zōshi* texts. The totality of combined textual and visual elements have gained Grapard's "mass of meaning that they did not have as independent entities."[343]

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[342] Allan G. Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1992), 75.
[343] Ibid.

The overt argument articulated in the *Tengu zōshi* text leaves little question that Onjōji clerics were utilizing a format beyond written petitions to the government to state qualifications of their temple in their bid for independence. Through the text of the *Tengu zōshi*, Onjōji was supplying the necessary components for its argument for independence through its earlier founding date, its founder Enchin's esoteric and exoteric lineages, the inclusion of all forms of practice found at Onjōji, and the benefits to the government derived from supporting Onjōji as a "nation protecting temple." The implication of Enchin's identifiable portrait coupled with esoteric mandala in the Shōgoin *miya* mandara is that there was a purpose for both inclusions. I suggest it is plausible that the portrait, mandara, and the *Tengu zōshi* handscroll were intended to serve as additional means to make a nuanced argument, and were used in concert with the conventional petitions to the court to state Onjōji's case for its independence from Enryakuji.

APPENDIX A

ICONOGRAPHY: SHŌGOIN *HONJI* KUMANO MANDARA

(SEE LIST OF IMAGES #3, #3.1) [344]

1. Amida Nyorai (阿彌陀如来) of Hongū (本宮)
2. Yakushi Nyorai (薬師如来) of Shingū (新宮)
3. Senjumen Kannon (千手面観音) of Nachi (那智)
4. Jūichimen Kannon (十一面観音)
5. Jizō Bosatsu (地蔵菩薩)
6. Ryūju (龍樹) (Nāgārjuna)
7. Nyoirin Kannon (如意輪観音)
8. Shō Kannon (聖観音)
9. Fugen Bosatsu (普賢菩薩)
10. Monju Bosatsu (文殊菩薩)
11. Shaka Nyorai (釋迦如来)
12. Fudō Myōō (不動明王)
13. Bishamonten (毘沙門天)
14. Kongō Dōji (金剛童子)
15. Senju Kannon (千手観音) of Nachi
16. Enchin (円珍)

17-27
Kumano Dōji (熊野童子)

17. unknown
18. unknown
19. Fujishiro Daihishin (藤代大悲心)
20. unknown

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[344] Nakano Teruo. "Kumano mandara zukō," *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan* 21 (1985): 13-17.

21. Isonokami Shinra Daimyōjin (石上新羅大明神)
22. Takijiri Kongō (滝尻金剛)
23. unknown
24. Inabane Inari Daimyōjin (稲葉根稲荷大明神)
25. unknown
26. Shingū Sessha Asuga (新宮摂社阿須賀)
27. Shingū Sessha Kannokura Aizen Myōō (新宮摂社神蔵愛染明王)

28 - 35
Ōmine Hachidai Kongō Dōji (大峰八大金剛童子)
(Eight Ōmine Kongō Dōji)

28. unknown
29. Shōkutsu no yado Kokū (笙窟宿 虚空)
30. Shino no yado Kenkō (篠宿 剣光)
31. Tamagi no yado Akujo (玉木宿 悪除)
32. Fukikoshi no yado Joma (吹越宿 除魔)
33. unknown
34. unknown may be Kenzō (検増)
35. unknown
36. Kinpusen Kongō Zōō (金峯山金剛蔵王)
37. En no Gyōja (役行者)

APPENDIX B

ICONOGRAPHY: SHŌGOIN *SUIJAKU* KUMANO MANDARA

1-3 Sansho Gongen (三所権現)

1. Hongū

   Shōjōden (証誠殿)—also called Ketsumimiko no Kami (家津美御子神)
2. Shingū

   Hayatama no Kami (速玉神)—also called Naka no Goze (中御前);
   Another name for Izanagi no Mikoto (伊奘諾尊)
3. Nachi

   Musubi no Kami (むすび神)—also called Nishi no Goze (西御前)

4 - 8 Gosho Ōji (五所王子)
Five Prince Shrines

4. Wakamiya (若宮)
5. Zenji no Miya (禅師宮)
6. Hijiri no Miya (聖宮)
7. Chigo no Miya (児宮)
8. Komori no Miya (子守宮)

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[345] Nakano, Teruo. "Kumano mandara zukō," *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan* 21 (1985): 69-73.

9 - 12 Shisho Myōjin (四所明神）
(Four Subordinate Shrines)

9. Ichiman no Miya and Jūman no Miya (一万宮 十万宮）
10. Kanjō Jūgosho (勧請十五所)
11. Hikō Yasha (飛行夜叉)
12. Meiji Kongō (米持金剛)
13. Manzan Gohō (満山護法)
14. Shū Kongōjin (執金剛神)

15-20 Kumano Dōji (熊野童子)

15. Isonokami Shinra Daimyōjin (石上新羅大明神)
16. Yunomine Kongō (湯峯金剛)
17. Kirime Kongō (切目金剛)
18. Takijiri Kongō (滝尻金剛)
19. Inabane Inari Daimyōjin (稲葉根稲荷大明神)
20. Hosshinmon Kongō (発心門金剛)
21. Kūkai (空海)
22. unknown
23. unknown
24. unknown
25. unknown
26. Nachi Taki no Miya (那智滝宮)
27. Hikō Yasha (飛行夜叉)
28. Meiji Kongō (米持金剛)
29. Shingū Sessha Kannokura (新宮摂社神蔵)
30. Shingū Sessha Asuga (新宮摂社阿須賀)
31. Kinpusen Kongō Zōō (金峯山金剛蔵王)
32. En no Gyōja (役行者)

33-39 Ōmine Hachidai Kongō Dōji (大峯八大金剛童子)
(Eight Ōmine Dōji)

33. Zenji no yado Kenzō (禅師宿検増)
34. Tarin no yado Gosei (多輪宿後世)
35. Shinzan no yado Kase (深山宿香精)
36. Tamagi no yado Akujo (玉木宿悪除)
37. Fukikoshi no yado Joma (吹越宿除魔)
38. Shino no yado Kenkō (篠宿剣光)
39. Mizunomi no yado Jihi (水飲宿慈悲)
40. Ryōkai Shuji Mandara (両界種字曼陀羅)

APPENDIX C

ICONOGRAPHY: SHŌGOIN *HONJI* KUMANO MANDARA

(SEE LIST OF IMAGES #5, #5.1) [346]

1. Amida Nyorai (阿彌陀如来) of Hongū (本宮)
2. Yakushi Nyorai (薬師如来) of Shingū (新宮)
3. Senjumen Kannon (千手面観音) of Nachi (那智)
4. Jūichimen Kannon (十一面観音)
5. Jizō Bosatsu (地蔵菩薩)
6. Ryūju (龍樹) (Nāgārjuna)
7. Nyoirin Kannon (如意輪観音)
8. Shō Kannon (聖観音)
9. Fugen Bosatsu (普賢菩薩)
10. Monju Bosatsu (文殊菩薩)
11. Shaka Nyorai (釋迦如来)
12. Fudō Myōō (不動明王)
13. Bishamonten (毘沙門天)
14. Miroku Nyorai (弥勒如来)
15. Shingū Sessha Asuga (新宮摂社阿須賀)

16-25
Kumano Dōji (熊野童子)

16. Inabane Inari Daimyōjin (稲葉根稲荷大明神)
17. Chikatsuyu Kongō (近津湯金剛)

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[346] Nakano, Teruo. "Kumano mandara zukō," *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan* 21 (1985): 38-42.

18. Yukawa Kongō (湯河金剛)
19. Takijiri Kongō (滝尻金剛)
20. Hosshinmon Kongō (発心門金剛)
21. Kirime Kongō (切目金剛)
22. Fujishiro Daihishin (藤代大悲心）
23. Yunomine Kongō (湯峯金剛)
24. Isonokami Shinra Daimyōjin (石上新羅大明神)
25. Shingū Sessha Kannokura (新宮摂社神蔵)

26-33
Ōmine Hachidai Kongō Dōji (大峰八大金剛童子)
(Eight Ōmine Dōji)

26. Tamagi no yado Akujo (玉木宿悪除)
27. Zenji no yado Kenzō (禅師宿検増)
28. Shōkutsu no yado Kokū (笙窟宿虚空)
29. Mizunomi no yado Jihi (水飲宿慈悲)
30. Fukikoshi no yado Joma (吹越宿除魔)
31. Tarin no yado Gosei (多輪宿後世)
32. Shinzan no yado Kase (深山宿香精)
33. Shino no yado Kenkō (篠宿剣光)
34. Senju Kannon (千手面観音) of Nachi
35. Kinpusen Kongō Zōō (金峯山金剛蔵王)
36. En no Gyōja (役行者)

APPENDIX D

ICONOGRAPHY: SHŌGOIN *HONJI* KUMANO MANDARA

(SEE LIST OF IMAGES #6, #6.1) [347]

1. Amida Nyorai (阿彌陀如来) of Hongū (本宮)
2. Yakushi Nyorai (薬師如来) of Shingū (新宮)
3. Senjumen Kannon (千手面観音) of Nachi (那智)
4. Jūichimen Kannon (十一面観音)
5. Jizō Bosatsu (地蔵菩薩)
6. Ryūju (龍樹) (Nāgārjuna)
7. Nyoirin Kannon (如意輪観音)
8. Shō Kannon (聖観音)
9. Fugen Bosatsu (普賢菩薩)
10. Shaka Nyorai (釋迦如来)
18. Fudō Myōō (不動明王)
19. Bishamonten (毘沙門天)
20. Manzan Gohō (満山護法)
21. Myōhō (妙法)
22. En no Gyōja (役行者)

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[347] Nakano, Teruo. "Kumano mandara zukō," *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan* 21 (1985): 28-30.

APPENDIX E

LIST OF IMAGES

1.   Womb World Mandala (Heian period) Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*: *Representaions of Sacred Geography*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), plate 8.

2.   Diamond World Mandala (Heian period) Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*: *Representaions of Sacred Geography*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), plate 6.

3.   Kumano *honji* Mandara (Kamakura period) *En no Gyōja to mandara no sekai* (Osaka: The Mainichi Newspapers, 1999), 104 #186.

3.1.   Nakano Teruo, "Kumano Mandara zukō." *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kiyō* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1980), 16.

4.   Kumano *suijaku* Mandara (Kamakura period) *En no Gyōja to mandara no sekai* (Osaka: The Mainichi Newspapers, 1999), 110 #197.

4.1.   Nakano Teruo, "Kumano Mandara zukō." *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kiyō* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1980), 72.

5.   Kumano *honji* Mandara (Kamakura period) *En no Gyōja to mandara no sekai* (Osaka: The Mainichi Newspapers, 1999), 105 #189.

5.1.   Nakano Teruo, "Kumano Mandara zukō." *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kiyō* (Tokyo: Tokyo Nartional Museum, 1980), 42.

6.   Kumano *Honji* Mandara (Kamakura period)
En no Gyōja to mandara no sekai (Osaka: The Mainichi Newspapers, 1999), 107 #193.

6.1.   Nakano Teruo, "Kumano Mandara zukō." *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kiyō* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1980), 30.

7.   Map of the Property of Jingoji (Kamakura period) Unno Kazutaka. "Cartography of Japan," *The History of Cartography*, *Volume Two*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago ond London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 364 #11.11.

8.   Map of Gion Shrine (Kamakura period) Kageyama Haraki, *The Arts of Shinto*. trans. Christine Guth (New York & Tokyo: Weatherhill/Shibundo, 1973), 21 #7.

9.   Map of Iwashimizu Shrine (Kamakura period) Kageyama Haraki, *The Arts of Shinto*. trans. Christine Guth (New York & Tokyo: Weatherhill/Shibundo, 1973), 86 #85.

10.   Kasuga Mandara (Kamakura period) *Shintō: The Sacred Art of Japan*, ed.Victor Harris (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), 162 #74.

11.   Locations of *Oji* and *Dōji*
Compiled by author

11.1   Key to 11
Compiled by author

12.   *Ippen Hijiri-e*, Scroll III, Hongū (Kamakura period) *World Heritage: Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range. Treasures from Yoshino, Kumano and Koya* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 2004-5), 93 #93.

13.   *Ippen Hijiri-e*, Scroll III, Nachi Falls (Kamakura period) *World Heritage: Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range. Treasures from Yoshino, Kumano and Koya* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 2004-5), 93 #93.

14.   Photograph of Nachi Falls. Nakano Teruo, "Kumano" *Nihon no Bijutsu*. Vol. 465, (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2005), 2 #4.

15.   Enchin Portrait Statue. (Shōgoin, 1143). *En no Gyōja to mandara no sekai* (Osaka: The Mainichi Newspapers, 1999), 31- #38.

16.   Enchin Portrait Statue. (Onjōji, 891)
Fushichō no tera:Onjōji (Miidera) (Ōtsu: Onjōji, 1990), #1.

17. Enchin Portrait Statue. (Onjōji, ca. 891) *Fushichō no tera:Onjōji (Miidera)* （Ōtsu: Onjōji, 1990), #2.

18. Enchin Detail from Shōgoin *Honji* Mandara. *En no Gyōja to mandara no sekai* (Osaka: The Mainichi Newspapers, 1999), 110- #197.

19. Kumano Mandara (Kamakura Period) *World Heritage: Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range. Treasures from Yoshino, Kumano and Koya*. (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 2004-5), 192 #216.

20. Kumano Mandara (Kamakura Period) *World Heritage: Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range. Treasures from Yoshino, Kumano and Koya*. (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 2004-5), 191 #214.

SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF MONKS LISTED IN THE *SHUGEN SHINANSHŌ*

Zendō is the legendary *shugenja* who is said to have practiced in Kumano's forests in the late seventh century.[348]   He is credited with being the first to practice on Mount Ōmine and established places for future practice at Zenshi no yado no Kenkō Dōji, Shō no kutsu no Kukō Dōji, and Shino no yado no Kenzō Dōji.   At each of these places he placed bosatsu that were worshiped by *shugenja*.[349]

Bodaisenna (704-760) was a south Indian monk from the Brahman class who traveled and studied in China before arriving in Japan in 736.[350]   Upon his arrival in Japan he first entered Daianji and advocated Kegon practices.   In 751 he was awarded the highest clerical rank of *sōjō* (Grand Master or Archbishop) within the Buddhist ecclesiastical organization.[351]   He traveled to Tōdaiji, located in Nara, in 752.   Bodaisenna, along with Rōben and Emperor Shōmu, was

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[348] *Nihon Bukkyō jinmei jiten*, comp. Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten Hensan Iinkai (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1992), 444.

[349] Ibid.

[350] *Kokushi daijiten,* comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Jinkai, vol. 12 （Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 745.

[351] Ibid.

instrumental in the founding of Tōdaiji,[352] and he is most renowned for his role as the overseer of the eye-opening ceremony of the Tōdaiji Great Buddha held in 757.[353]

Rōben (689-773), a Kegon patriarch who was instrumental in the founding of Tōdaiji, was of Korean descent and initially studied Hossō doctrine with Gien (d. 728).[354] Following his initiation, he retired to Mount Higashi where he resided in a hut living the life of an ascetic.[355] At some point he was enticed to return to the capital and in 746 conducted the first recorded formal lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra* at Tōdaiji.[356] The service would became one of the most important rituals in temple and court calendars and had a twofold purpose: first, to offer prayers for the health and well-being of the emperor, high court officials and the aristocracy in general and, second, to guarantee bountiful harvests, seasonal weather, and ample rainfalls. Efficacy gained from reciting the *Lotus Sūtra* at Tōdaiji was expanded beyond the insular sphere of the emperor, high officials and climate control to include protection for the entire nation as well as the court as a whole and the expansion added to the increasing popularity of the *Lotus Sūtra* throughout the Heian period. Through Rōben's efforts, in 740 the Korean priest Shinjō (d. 742) was invited to present the first lecture on the *Flower Garland Sūtra* (*Kegon-kyō*) in the Lotus Hall of Tōdaiji.[357] Rōben became increasingly involved in politics of the capital after he, the court official Tachibana no Moroe (684-757), [358] the Japanese priest Gyōki (668-749),[359] and the

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[352] Ibid.

[353] Ibid.

[354] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 92.

[355] Ibid.

[356] Ibid.

[357] Ibid.

[358] Tachibana no Moroe was the first generation of the noble family descended from the son of Shōtoku Taishi (572-621). He quickly rose through the various levels of court ranks and eventually reached the highest post of Chancellor of the Left. He lost his power when a rival court faction won control of the casting of the Daibutsu at Tōdaiji. He was a poet and compiler of poetry anthologies and his poems are

Indian priest Bodaisenna joined together to assist Emperor Shōmu (718-758, r. 724-748) in a national fund-raising effort that financed the casting of the Great Buddha. After the completion of the bronze sculpture, Rōben was appointed to the post of superintendent of Tōdaiji.[360] He is remembered mainly for his political savvy and high social connections rather than his scholarship in either Hossō or Kegon studies.

Gonzō (also Gonsō, 754-827), a Sanron master born in modern Nara Prefecture, was one of the most prominent clerics of the Heian period.[361] At the age of twelve he entered Daianji to study within the Sanron school. He underwent further training on Mount Kōya and in 770 was among ten thousand priests ordained by imperial decree.[362] Gonzō then moved to Tōdaiji for further Sanron study and was a member of a group of highly influential clerics who instituted the performance of "Eight Lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*" (*Hokke hakkō*) at Tōdaiji for the benefit of the deceased.[363] During the Heian period the eight lectures became increasingly important as a means not only for personal salvation but also as an additional ceremony offered for the protection of the nation.[364] In 813 Gonzō was invited to lecture on the *Golden Light Sūtra*

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included in the *Man'yōshū*. *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), l96.

[359] Gyōki, a Hossō priest born into a family that had emmigrated to Japan from China, was born in present day Osaka. He was highly respected by emperor Shōmu (718-758, r. 749-758) and, under Shōmu's auspices, he was named great high priest (*daisōjō*) and promoted to a high office in the Sōgō in spite of the fact he does not seem to have had the proper credentials. This appointment did not meet with favor among properly appointed clerics since it was most likely conferred on Gyōki because of his popularity among the general public and his proven success at fund raising that had financed other municipal projects. In 749 he bestowed the Buddhist precepts on Emperor Shōmu and his empress. Ibid.

[360] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 92.

[361] Ibid.

[362] Ibid.

[363] Ibid.

[364] The ritual became standardized in 796 and was held on four consecutive days during which eight different persons read one of the eight fascicles each morning and evening. These lectures became popular with the aristocracy whose sponsorship resulted in generous contributions given to the temples

(*Konkōmyō-kyō*) at the court of Emperor Saga (785-842, r. 810-823)[365] and was rewarded with the rank of *risshi* (vinaya master) in the Sōgō.[366] Gonzō returned to Daianji and, in 816, he and his disciples traveled to the temple Takaosanji where Kūkai initiated them into Esoteric Buddhism.[367] At the time of Gonzō's initiation he was fifty-nine and already an important and influential leader of the Nara Buddhist community. In 819 he was promoted to the rank of *shōsōzu* (junior priest general) and later became the head priest (*bettō)* at Tōdaiji.[368] He was posthumously granted the highest clerical rank of *sōjō* (Grand Master or Archbishop), the first recorded case of the court granting this award posthumously.[369] His prominence is especially evidenced by the fact that in 834 Kūkai himself delivered a lecture to Gonzō's disciples at a death memorial for their master.[370]

Shinzei (800-860) was born in Kyoto where he spent the majority of his professional life.[371] He received the double initiation of both the Womb and Diamond mandala and earned the title of "master who transmits the dharma" (*dembō-ajari-i*) at the surprisingly young age of

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where the rituals took place. *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 12 （Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 757.

[365] Ryūichi Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*: *Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 45.

[366] Sōgō was a state institution adopted fron the Chinese model that was established in 624. The Sōgō was run by priest-officials who kept close control over religious matters and ecclesiastical appointments. Although a head-temple would recommend high-standing monks from their ranks to be nominated to the official posts, it was the Sōgō that held the power to make the appointments. The appointments usually mirrored the relative influence and power between the various schools. *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 8 （Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 526.

[367] Ryūichi Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*: *Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 10.

[368] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 92.

[369] Sōjō was the highest of three appointed positions within the elite Sōgō organization. *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 8 （Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 549.

[370] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 92.

[371] Ibid., 120.

twenty-five.[372]   In 825, after achieving this honor, he entered Jingoji, the temple built at the summit of Mount Takao that was, at that time, the center for Kūkai's Shingon lineage.[373]   The court had sent Kūkai to Jingoji to serve as abbot in 809, and he remained there until 823 when he was moved to Tōji.[374]   Shinzei was named to succeed Kūkai at Jingoji and, during his subsequent twelve-year tenure as abbot, Shinzei oversaw the building of a pagoda and enshrined Kokūzō Bosatsu[375] within.[376]   Every spring and fall, as part of the yearly schedule of annual rituals and ceremonies at Jingoji, Shinzei held a large Buddhist ceremony for the purpose of ensuring the safety and protection of both the nation and the emperor.[377]   Although the records do not indicate the audience for these observances, it can certainly be assumed that they were patronized and attended by the court in nearby Kyoto. In 836 he was named as a member of an imperially sponsored delegation that was to travel to China. However, this delegation was forced to turn back and return to the capital when a severe storm damaged the ships near the islands of

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[372] This term is the highest stage a practitioner can attain in Esoteric Buddhism. It designates that the master has received the head-sprinkling initiation ceremony (*kanjō*) that thus qualifies him to teach and transmit esoteric doctrine. The origin of the *kanjō* ritual was the Indian ceremony enacted during coronations when water gathered from the four oceans that surround India was poured on the head of the future king. It is an especially important rite in esoteric Buddhism when water from five flasks that signify the five Nyorai are poured on the initiant's head. In 805 Saichō performed the first *kanjō* in Japan and Kūkai the second in 812. *Mikkyō daijiten*, ed. Mikkyō Jiten Hensankai (Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 1994), 104-105.

[373] Jingoji was originally named Takaosanji and had been built at the top of Mount Takao in Kyoto. It is unknown when this temple was founded but, according to temple records, Saichō held a gathering of Buddhist clerics at the temple in 802 when he lectured on the *Lotus Sūtra*. Kūkai conducted the first transmission of secret teachings in 806 as well as presiding over additional esoteric ceremonies at the temple. In 824, Jinganji, a second Shingon temple, was merged with Takaosan and Kūkai was appointed as head priest of the complex. *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 7 （Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 820-822

[374] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 120.

[375] Kokūzō Bosatsu is the Bodhisattva of space because his wisdom and compassion are as wide as space itself. He is shown in the Diamond mandala wearing a crown of jewels, seated on a lotus, holding a sword in his right hand and a wish-granting jewel in his left hand. He is the sole object of worship during the special esoteric ceremony called the *Kokūzō hō*. Louis Frédéric, *Flammarion Iconographic Guides*: *Buddhism* (Paris: Flammation, 1995), 183.

[376] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 120.

[377] Ibid.

Tsushima.[378]   Shinzei's growing political power was further advanced when, in 840, retired

Emperor Saga (785-842 r. 810-823) appointed him to serve as an official court monk.[379]   In 843

both Shinzei and a second high-ranked monk were appointed to eminent positions at Tōji and he

assumed the position of abbot at Tōji four years later in 847.[380]   During the reign of Emperor

Montoku (r. 851-858), Shinzei became head of the Shingon faction located on Mount Kōya and

was the first Shingon monk named to the post of archbishop (*sōjō*) of the Sōgō.   In 853, Shinzei

was able to successfully petition the government to increase the number of yearly Shingon

ordinands appointed to Tōji from three to six, a move that increased the Shingon sect's power

within the Sōgō monastic organization.   In 858 emperor Montoku became ill and Shinzei was

called to the imperial palace to pray for his recovery.[381]   His prayers were unsuccessful however

and, following Montoku's death, Shinzei returned to Jingoji where, before his own death in 860,

he wrote the first biographical account (*Kūkai sōzuden*) of Kūkai's life.[382]

Zōmyō (843-927) began his monastic education at Mount Hiei in 855 and studied with

Ensai (d.877),[383] a student of Saichō's student Enchō (771-836).[384]   He was ordained at Tōdaiji

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[378] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 23.
[379] *Honchō Kōsōden*, in *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 120.
[380] Ibid.
[381] Ibid.
[382] Ryūichi Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*: *Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 71.
[383] Ensai has interesting connections with Enchin. Ensai was a member of the group of monks that included Ennin and Shinzei who were sent to China by the Japanese emperor in 838. Although Shinzei's boat was destroyed, Ensai's and Ennin's were not and they were able to continue on to China. When it came time to return to Japan, Ensai was given permission by the Japanese government to extend his stay longer than the other monks in his group who were ordered to return to Japan. During the extension he met Enchin who seems to have taken an instant dislike to him—possibly because Ensai refused to speak to Enchin in Japanese during their first meeting. Ensai's character is somewhat questionable if the reports of his behavior in China are true.   It is said that he had sexual relations with a Chinese nun, married a Chinese woman and fathered a son, became a farmer, sold silk worms, and may have stolen money intended for use by another Japanese monk. But most disturbing is the report that he became so jealous of

in 857 and then returned to Mount Hiei where, although he had had previously studied exotericism with Ennin, he began to study with Enchin, who personally ordained him into advanced Jimon esoteric practices. In 892 he went to live at Saitōin, the "august prayer-offering temple" (*goganji*)[385] located in the eastern section of Mount Hiei and, under Emperor Uda's (867-931, r. 888-897) sponsorship of the temple complex, Zōmyō was able to complete the construction of the compound. It was Zōmyō's appointment as abbot of Onjōji in 899 that marked the beginning of the restrictive appointment policy wherein only those recipients of Enchin's esoteric lineage were entitled to hold the position of chief abbot of Onjōji.[386] In 902 he was summoned from Onjōji to the residence of a highly ranked courtier who had fallen gravely ill.[387] He declined the invitation, however, and sent a substitute in his place. When the illness did not subside after ten days, Zōmyō was summoned again and this time he agreed to travel to court where his prayers for the courtier's recovery miraculously cured the illness. Following this incident he was routinely summoned to court by courtiers as well as the emperor to offer services for their wellbeing. Zōmyō served as the tenth abbot (*zasu*) of Enryakuji between 906 and 922

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a fellow Japanese monk who had received direct transmission on Mount Tiantai that he hired a Korean to poison him. Luckily for all parties involved, this did not transpire because Ensai was called back to Japan before he could carry out the plot. Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 23-27.

[384] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 101 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 124.

[385] *Goganji* ("august prayer-offering temples") were temples sponsored by groups or individuals that became numerous during the ninth century. They were originally temples for the imperial family known as *choku ganji*. They were erected for the single purpose of functioning as the personal temple of the patron(s) where rituals and services were offered for their longevity and prosperity. Because they were most often the private temples of the emperors, the symbiosis between politics and religion became more entrenched since the monk in charge of each temple had a vested interest in the political situation. The original patron of Saitōin was Emperor Montoku, although Emperor Uda was the patron when Zōmyō lived there. *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 5 （Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 595; Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 36.

[386] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 40.

[387] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 101 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 124.

and later became the first Tendai monk promoted to the position of administrator (*hōmu*) of the Sōgō.[388] Zōmyō steadily rose through the Sōgō ranks and assumed the highest position of archbishop (*sōjo*) of the organization in 925. He was frequently called to the palace to perform services for the good of Emperor Uda (r. 889-897), and it was Zōmyō who successfully petitioned the court for the posthumous honorific title of *Chishō daishi* that they bestowed on Enchin in 927.[389]

Little is known of the early life of Senkan (919-984).[390] He is thought to have studied at Onjōji but the biographical record is silent until 962 when it is recorded that he was called to the court to preside over a ceremony to induce rainfall.[391] In 962 he moved to Kinryuji near present day Ōsaka where he lived as an ascetic and where it was said he acquired miraculous powers that included the ability to be able to control rainfall.[392] Senkan lived in the Sannō'in in the Tōdō area of Mount Hiei controlled by Enchin's lineage and he also appears in the written record as the participant in a head-to-head debate in 963 with the highly regarded and respected Tendai cleric Ryōgen (912-985).[393] Later in life he became known as the most eminent scholar of his

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[388] Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 41.

[389] *Kokushi daijiten*, comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 594.

[390] *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 101 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1978), 56.

[391] Ibid.

[392] *Nihon Bukkyōshi jiten,* ed. Imaizumi Yoshio (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1992), 591.

[393] There are questions as to the truth that Ryōgen and Senkan met head-to-head during the debate that credits Ryōgen with a win over Senkan. It is thought that Senkan's name was later added to the account of the contest in order to boost the prominence of the Ennin-Ryōgen faction over the Enchin-Senkan faction. The factuality is called into question also because Senkan's biography makes no mention of the debate (perhaps an intentional omission?). Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 58-59.

day in Buddhist logic and the preeminent authority on the volumes of logic Enchin had brought from China.[394]

The Tendai monk Genshin (942-1017), an outstanding Tendai scholar of the late tenth century, laid the foundation for the development of the Pure Land (*Jōdo*) movement in Japan. In 970, at the age of nine, he began his training on Mount Hiei as a disciple of Ryōgen where he studied both esoteric and exoteric teachings.[395] He served as third abbot of Eshin'in, a temple in the Yokawa area that had become Ryōgen's stronghold on Mount Hiei.[396] He wrote *Inmyō ronsho shisōi ryakuchūshaku* a short work on Indian Buddhist logic in 978 and was serving as the imperial court priest.[397] He gained recognition as a scholar and his stature was such that he was invited to participate in the annual debates and examinations held at Onjōji. Genshin's most influential and widely read work in both Japan and China was the *Ojōyōshu* completed in 985.[398] His fame was such that Chinese monks requested that a portrait of Genshin and a copy of the *Ojōyōshu* be sent to them and they enshrined both in a Chinese temple.[399] Genshin was one of the most famous clerics of his time and was highly respected for his stance against court interference in the affairs of religious institutions.[400]

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[394] Ibid., 63.

[395] *Nihon Bukkyō jinmei jiten*, comp. Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten Hensan Iinkai (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1992), 230-231.

[396] Genshin was so identified with this temple that he became known as Eshin *zasu* (the bishop of Eshin'in). Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*: *Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), p 188.

[397] *Kokushi daijiten,* comp. Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, vol. 5 （Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 175-176.

[398] Ibid.

[399] Ibid.

[400] Ibid.

JAPANESE GLOSSARY

Aizen Myōō 愛染明王

Aki-mine 秋峰

Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀\如来

Annen (841-?) 安然

Antoku Tennō 安徳天皇 (1178-1185, r. 1182-1183)

Ara mitama 荒御魂

Arhat (J. *rakan*) 羅漢

Asabashō 阿娑縛抄

ashura 阿修羅

Asuka Shrine 飛鳥神社

betsuin 別院

Bettō 別当

bikuni 比丘尼

Bishamonten 毘沙門天

Biwa ko 琵琶湖

Bodaisenna 菩提僊那

bokusen 卜占

bon 盆

bosatsu 菩薩

Bukong 不空 (Skt. Amoghavarja, J. Fukū 705-774)

butsu 仏

byōbu 屏風

Chang'an (J. Chōan) 長安

chi 知

chigo 稚児

Chigo no Miya 児宮

Zitiyi 智顗

Chikatsuyu Kongō Dōji 近津湯金剛童子

chikushō 畜生

Chingen 鎮源 (d.u.)

chōbuku 調伏

chōkan 鳥瞰

chōri 長吏

chūdai hachiyō in 中台八葉院

Daianji 大安寺

Daiji 大寺

dai-mandara 大曼荼羅

Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来

Dainihon Hokkyō genki 大日本法華經驗記

Dainichi-kyō 大日經

Dainichi-kyō Sho 大日經疏

Daisan 大山

Daisōjō 大僧正

Daiitoku Myōō 大威徳明王

Dengaku 田楽

Denpō-ajari-kanjō 伝法阿闍梨灌頂

dharma (J. *hō*) 法

dōji 童子

Dōjiji 童子寺

dōtaku 銅鐸

eidō 影堂

emaki 絵巻

Enchin 円珍 (814-891, *Chishō daishi* 智證大師)

Enchō 円澄 (771-836)

engaku 縁學

engi 縁起

engyō 円教

ennichi 縁日

Ennin 円仁 (792-862 *Jikaku daishi* 慈覺大師)

En no Gyōja 役行者 (active late 7th- early 8th centuries)

Ensai 延最 (d.877)

Enshū 円秀 (n.d.)

Enryakuji 延暦寺

Enyū Tennō 圓融天王 (r. 984-84)

Eshinin 慧心院

Eta/hinin 非人

Faquan 法全

Farun 法潤

Fudō Myōō 不動明王

Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩

Fujishiro 藤代

Fujishiro Daihishin Ō Dōji 藤代大悲心王童子

Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu 藤原冬嗣 (775-826)

Fujiwara no Kaneie 藤原兼家 (929-999)

Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804-872)

fujutsu 巫術

Fukikoshi no yado Joma Dōji 吹越宿除魔童子

Fushimi Jōkō Gochūinki 伏見上皇御中陰記

Fushimi Tennō 伏見天皇 (1265-1317, r. 1288-1298)

gaki 餓鬼

Gangōji 元興寺

Genji monogatari 源氏物語

genkurabe 驗競

genpuku 元服

Genshin 源信 (942-1017)

Gien 義淵 (d. 728)

Gion 祇園

Gishin 義眞 (781-833)

Goganji 御願寺

Gohō dōji 護法童子

Gojisō 護持僧

Goki 後鬼

goryō 御霊

gosanzan 御三山

Gosho ōji 五所王子

Gonzō 勤操 (754-827)

gon-sōjo 権僧正

Gotoba Tennō 後鳥羽天皇 (1179-1239, r. 1184-98)

Gotoba-in shinki 後鳥羽院宸記

Gyōki 行基 (668-749)

Hachidai Kongō Dōji 八大金剛童子

Hachiji Monju 八字文殊

Hachijusshu Monju 八十種文殊

Hakusan 白山

hamayū 浜木綿

Hana no Iwaya 花の岩屋

Hanazono Tennō 花園天皇 (1297-1348, r. 1309-1318)

Hannya-kyō 般若經

Hasshōdō 八正道

Hayatama no Kami 速玉神

Heian Period 平安時代 (794-1185)

Heizei Tennō 平城天皇 (774-824 r. 806-09)

Hensōzu 変相図

Hiei Sannō 比叡山王

Hieizan 比叡山

Higashiyama 東山

hihō 秘法

Hijiri no Miya 聖宮

Hikosan 英彦山

Hikō Yasha 飛行夜叉

Hirō Gongen 飛滝権現

hō 法

hōgesō 放下僧

Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157-1225)

Hōin En'i 法印円伊 (1245or 1255-1283)

Hokke gengi 法華玄義

Hokke hakkō 法華八講

Hōmu 法務

Hōnen 法然 (1133-1212)

honden 本殿

hongaku 本覺

Hongū 本宮

honji 本地

honmon 本門

Honzan 本山

Honzan-ha 本山派

hō mandara 法曼荼羅

Homusubi 火結

Hōryūji 法隆寺

Hosshinmon Kongō Dōji 発心門金剛童子

Hosshinmon 発心門

hosshin 法身

Hossō 法相

Huiguo 恵果 (J. Keika 746-805)

Ichidai enkyō 一大円教

Ichiman no Miya 一万宮

ichijō 一乗

ichijō kaie 一乗開会

Yixing - 683-727 (J. Ichigyō 一行)

Inabane 稲葉根

Inabane Inari Daimyōjin 稲葉根稲荷大明神

Insei era 院政 (1086-1198)

Ippen 一遍 （Enshō daishi 円照大師 1239-1289)

Ippen Hijiri-e emakimono 一遍聖絵絵巻物

Ishizuchisan 石鎚山

Isonokami Shinra Daimyōjin 石上新羅大明神

Iwashimizu shrine 石清水神社

iwa-za 岩座

Izanagi 伊奘諾

Izanami 伊奘冉

Izu 伊豆

Ketsumiko no kami 家津美御子神

jigoku 地獄

Jihi Daiken Ō 慈悲大顯王

jikkai 十界

Jinmu Tennō 神武天皇 (legendary)

Jinganji 神願寺

Jingoji 神護寺

Jingūji 神宮寺

Jiri gumitsu 事理倶密

Jinshadaishō 染沙大将

Jisha engi 寺社縁起

jisō 事相

jishū 時宗

Jitō Tennō 持統天皇 (646-703, r. 687-696)

Jinzen 尋禅 (943-990)

Jizō Bosatsu 地蔵菩薩

jōdo 浄土

jōdo shinshū 浄土眞宗

Jōdo mandara 浄土曼荼羅

Jōgakuji 定顎寺

Jōgyōin 常行院

jōjitsu 成實

Jōbutsu 成佛

Jūichimen Kannon 十一面観音

Jūichimen Senju Kannon 十一面千手観音

jōin 定印

Jūkaku 重覺 (d.u.)

Juntoku Tennō 順徳天皇 (r. 1211-1221)

Jūman no Miya 十万宮

kaidan 戒壇

Kaisan Mia Shōnin Gyōjō 開山弥阿上人行状

Kaisandō 開山堂

Kakebotoke 懸仏

Kakimoto Hitomaro 柿本人麿 (fl. 7th-8th cen.)

Kamakura period 鎌倉時代 (1185-1333)

Kangyō-sho 観経疏

kanjō 灌頂

Kanjō Jūgosho 勧請十五所

Kanmu Tennō 桓武天皇 (736-805, r. 782-805)

kannabi shinkō 神奈備信仰

Kannon 観音

Kasuga gongen genki-e 春日権現験記絵

Kasuga mandara 春日曼陀羅

Katsuragisan 葛城山

katsuma-e 羯磨會

katsuma mandara 羯磨曼陀羅

Kegon 華厳

Kegon kyō 華厳經

kengyō 検校

kengyō 顕教

Kenkairon engi 顕戒論縁起

keshin 化身

Ketsumiko no kami 家都御子神

Kinkai Wakashū 金塊和歌集

Kinpusen Kongō Ō 金峯山金剛王

Kinpusen Kongō Zōō 金峯山金剛蔵王

Kirime Kongō Dōji 切目金剛童子

Kirime 切目

Kōbun Tennō 弘文天 皇 (648-672 r. 672)

Kōfukuji 興福寺

Kofun period 古墳時代 (c. 300 BCE- 700 CE)

kōhai 光背

Kojiki 古事記

Kokan Shiren 虎關師錬 (1278-1346)

Kokubunji 国分寺

Kokūzō Bosatsu 虚空蔵菩薩

Kokūzō hō 虚空蔵法

koma-inu 狛犬

Komori no Miya 子守宮

Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺

Kongōchōkyō 金剛頂經

Kongō Dōji 金剛童子

Kongō Dōjihō 金剛童子法

Kongōkai 金剛界

kongōsho 金剛杵

Kongō Zōō Gongen 金剛蔵王権現

Kōnkōmyōkyō 金光明經

Kōyasan 高野山

kuge 公家

kugyō 公卿

Kujō Tadanori 九条忠教 (active late thirteenth century)

Kūkai 空海 (*Kōbō daishi* 弘法大師 744-835)

Kūkai sōzuden 空海僧都伝

Kumano 熊野

Kumano Dōji 熊野童子

Kumano jūnisho gongen 熊野十二所権現

Kumano sanzan kengyō 熊野三山検校

kunimi uta 国見歌

Kusha 倶舎

Kuyō-e 供養會

Kyōso (995-1019) 慶祚

kyōzō 鏡像

Mabutsu ichinyoe 魔仏一如絵

Magatama 勾玉

Moke zhiquan 摩訶止觀

mandara/mandala 曼荼羅

Man'yōshū (*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*) 萬葉集

Manzan Gohō 満山護法

Meiji Kongō 米持金剛

Meisho-e 名所絵

Miidera 三井寺

mikkyō 密教

miko 巫女

Minamoto Sanetomo 源實朝 (1192-1219)

mineiri 峰入

Miroku Bosatsu 彌勒菩薩

Misai-e 御齋會

mishōtai 御正体

Mishuhō 御修法

Mitsu no Obito Hirono 三津首広野

miya mandara 宮曼陀羅

Mizunomi no yado Jihi Dōji 水飲宿慈悲童子

Monju Bosatsu 文殊菩薩

Montoku Tennō (r. 850-58) 文徳天皇

monzeki 門跡

Morinaga Shinnō 護良親王 (1308-1335)

Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (992)

Musubi no Kami むすび神

Myōe 明恵 (1173-1232)

Myōhō-renge-kyō 妙法蓮華經

myōō 明王

Nachi 那智

Nachi sankei mandara 那智参詣曼荼羅

Nachi Taki no Miya 那智滝宮

Nagatoko 長床

nagatokoshū 長床衆

Naka no Goze 中御前

Nakatsukasa shō 中務省

Nambokuchō period 南北朝時代 (1336-92)

Nanshōin 南松院

Nara period 奈良時代 (710-784)

Namu-Amida-butsu 南無阿弥陀佛

Nenbutsu 念佛

Nigi mitama 和御魂

Nikkō 日光

Ninmyō Tennō 仁明天皇 (r. 834-850)

ningen 人間

niō 二王

Nishi no Goze 西御前

Nomori no kagami 野守鏡

nyoi-shu 如意珠

Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪観音

nyūbu 入峰

ōji 王子

Okinoshima 隠岐島

Ōmine Hachidai Kongō Dōji 大峰八大金剛童子

oni 鬼

Onjōji 園城寺

Oshime ni Hachidai Kongō Dōji ichi-ichi reihai おしめに 八大金剛童子一々礼拝

Ōtomo shi 大伴氏

Ōtsu 大津

Ragyō Shōnin 裸行聖人

raiden 礼殿

reizan 霊山

renge-za 蓮華座

Rimitsu 理密

risshi 律師

Ritsu 律

Ritsuryō seido 律令制度

Rōben 良辨 (689-773)

rokudai 六大

ryōbu 両部

Ryōbu Mandara 兩部曼陀羅

ryōkai 兩界

Ryūju 龍樹

Ryōsei 良斉 (fl. mid-twelfth cen.)

Ryōsho Gongen 両所権現

Saeki no Atai 佐伯の値

Saga Tennō 嵯峨天皇 (785-842, r. 810-823)

Saichō 最澄 (766-822)

Saidaiji 西大寺

Saikyōji 西教寺

Saishō-e 最勝会

Saitō 西塔

Saitōin 西塔院

sanjin 三身

Sanjō 三乗

Sankei mandara 参詣曼荼羅

sankoeken 三鈷柄剣

saku 索

sanmaya-e 三昧耶會

Sanmaya gyō mandara 三昧耶形曼荼羅

Sanmon 山門

Sannō'in 山王院

Sannō'in Daishi 山王院大師

Sanron 三論

Sansho Gongen 三所権現

sanzan 三山

sato kagura 里神楽

Seiwa Tennō 清和天皇 (851- 881, r.858-76)

sendatsu 先達

Senju Kannon 千手観音

Senkan 千観 (919-984)

s*eppō* 説法

shadan 社壇

Shaji engi 社寺縁起

Shaka Nyorai 釋迦如来

shaku 笏

shakumon 迹門

Shan-wu-wei 善無畏 (637-735)

Shigisan 信貴山

Shigisan engi 信貴山縁起

Shiki-e 四季絵

shime kesa 注連袈裟

Shingon 眞言

Shingosenshū 新後撰集

Shingū 新宮

Shingū Sessha Asuga 新宮摂社阿須賀

Shingū Sessha Kannokura 新宮摂社神蔵

Shingū Sessha Kannokura Aizen Myōō 新宮摂社神蔵愛染明王

Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1262)

Shinjō 審祥 (d.742)

Shino no yado Kenkō Dōji 篠宿剣光童子

Shira Daimyōjin 新羅大明神

Shisho Myōjin 四所明神

shintai 神体

Shinzan no yado Kase Dōji 深山宿香精童子

Shinzei 眞濟 (800-860)

Shira Myōjin　新羅明神

Shirakawa Tennō 白川天皇 (r. 1073- 1086)

shishu mandara 四種曼陀羅

shitai 四諦

Shōchō 承澄 (1205-1282)

shōen 荘園

Shōgoin 聖護院

Shōjōden 証誠殿

Shōkai 聖戒 (1261-1323)

Shō Kannon 聖観音

Shokutsu no yado Kokū Dōji 初窟宿虚空童子

Shōmu Tennō 聖武天皇 (718-758, r. 724-748)

Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 (572-621)

Shozan engi 諸山縁起

shōsōzu 小僧都

shū 宗

Shugen shinanshō 修験指南鈔

Shugen saishō e'in sanmayahō rokudan 修験最勝慧印三昧耶法六壇

shugyōja 修行者

shuji mandara 種子曼荼羅

Shukongōjin 執金剛神

shumei mon'in 脩明門院

Shuryōgon'in 首楞厳院

Sofukuji 崇福寺

Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子 (d. 626)

Sōgō 僧綱

Sōjiin 総持院

sōjō 僧正

sokushin 即身

sonpi bunmyaku 尊卑分脈

shōmon 聲聞

Sonchō 尊澄 (d.u.)

soshidō 祖師堂

Soshitsujikyō 蘇悉地經

suijaku 垂迹

Sumiyoshi jinja 住吉神社

Tachibana no Moroe 橘諸兄 (684-757)

Taimitsu 台密

Taira no Shigemori 平重盛 (1138-1179)

Taizōkai 胎蔵界

Takakuraji 高倉下

Takaosanji 高尾山寺

Takamimusubi no kami 高皇産靈神

Takijiri 滝尻

Takijiri Kongō Dōji 滝尻金剛童子

Tamagi no yado Akujo Dōji 玉木宿悪除童子

Tan'yū shukuzu 探幽縮図 (17[th] cen.)

Tarin no yado Gosei Dōji 多輪宿後世童子

Tenmu Tennō 天武天皇 (622-687 r. 673-686)

Tendai 天台

Tengu Zōshi 天狗草紙

tenjō 天上

Tenchi 天智 (r. 662-671)

Tōdaiji 東大寺

Tōfukuji 東福寺

Tōhoku 東北

Tōin 唐院

Tōji 東寺

Tokuen 徳円

Tōmitsu 東密 (b. 785)

Tōtō 東塔

Tōzan-ha 当山派

tsuboshōzoku 壷装束

tsukinami-e 月次絵

Tsushima 津島

Uda Tennō 宇多天皇 (867-931, r. 889-897)

Utakai 歌会

Wakamiya 若宮

Wakamiya Nyoichi Ōji 若宮女一王子

wakō dōjin 和光同塵

Wutai shan 五台山

Yukawa Kongō Dōji 湯河金剛童子

Yakushiji 薬師寺

Yakushi Nyorai 薬師如来

yama biraki 山開き

yamabushi 山伏

yatagarasu 八咫烏

Yayoi period 弥生時代 (c. 200 BCE - 200 CE)

Yokawa 横川

Yokei 余慶 (919-991)

Yorishiro 依代

Yoshimine no Yasuyo 良岑安世 (785-830)

Yoshino mandara 吉野曼陀羅

Yuima-e 維摩会

Yunomine Kongō Dōji 湯峯金剛童子

za 座

Zaō Gongen 蔵王権現

zasu 座主

Zendō 禅洞 (active late seventh century)

Zenji no Miya 禅師宮

Zenji no yado Kenzō Dōji 禅師宿険憎童子

Zenki 前鬼

Zenkōji 善光寺

Zōmyō 増命 (843-927)

Zōyo 増誉 (1032-1116)

zue 圖繪

Zushi 厨子

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