

VOLUME 1, SPRING 2016



**Journal of Asian
Humanities at
Kyushu University**

ENVISIONING HISTORY

The logo consists of the letters 'JA' stacked above 'HQ' in a bold, blocky, sans-serif font. The 'JA' is in a lighter gray, and the 'HQ' is in a darker gray.

Journal of Asian Humanities at Kyushu University

VOLUME 1, SPRING 2016

THEME:

ENVISIONING HISTORY

CYNTHIA J. BOGEL, VOLUME EDITOR

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Prefatory Note

YASUTOSHI SAKAUE

DEAN

SCHOOL OF LETTERS, GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF HUMANITIES, FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

THE Faculty of Letters (currently the School of Letters, Graduate School of Humanities, and Faculty of Humanities) of Kyushu University celebrated its 90th anniversary in 2014. In order to commemorate this anniversary and share our research and accomplishments with the global academic community, we decided to publish an international journal annually. The current volume represents our inaugural effort. I am confident that this journal will make a contribution to a greater understanding of the humanities and will continue to make its influence felt in the international academic world.

Thanks are due to all who have helped to make this journal possible. The efforts of Professor Tomoyuki Kubo, Associate Professor Ellen Van Goethem, and Visiting Assistant Professor Lindsey DeWitt have been critical to realizing the journal.

I would especially like to acknowledge the work done by Professor Cynthia Bogel, who serves as journal editor and also as volume editor for this first issue, *Envisioning History*. I hope the new journal will contribute to the vital history of Asian Humanities in the world.

Editorial Foreword: Welcome to *JAH-Q*

CYNTHIA J. BOGEL

As Japanese universities continue to internationalize and change in tandem with internal and external forces, the impetus for English-language publications created by and for Japanese institutions has grown. Japanese universities have an increasing number of permanent and visiting faculty whose mother tongue is not Japanese, classes taught in English, Chinese, Arabic, German, French and other languages, and students from all corners of the globe. *Journal of Asian Humanities at Kyushu University (JAH-Q)* was conceived in this environment and for several reasons.

The Faculty of Humanities at Kyushu University, both undergraduate and graduate (School of Letters, Graduate School of Humanities), is retooling the curriculum to accommodate changing student profiles while maintaining a core curriculum of premodern and modern courses in four areas: Philosophy, History, Literature, and Human Sciences. To nurture Japanese university faculty members' changing outlooks and respond to pressures to strengthen their ties with the global academic community, *JAH-Q* was born. We hope it will demonstrate the diversity of Asian humanities research, the strength of humanities scholarship at Kyushu University—and in Japan more broadly—and

stimulate discussion and publishing opportunities in a wide range of humanities topics concerning an equally wide swath of cultures and nations in Asia.

The “Asian” in Asian Humanities is used with full cognizance of recent critiques of area studies, disciplinary ambiguity (in both “Asian Studies” and the “Humanities”) and the difficulties of defining a place or space called “Asia.” At the same time, the “Q” in *JAH-Q*—a frequent abbreviation for “Kyushu” around campus and around Japan—is for this editor and her colleagues a sign of expansion and inclusion (the circle) as well as an invitation to a new or divergent path (the tail). Kyushu’s historical position as a gateway to and from Asia informs *JAH-Q*’s viewpoint of Asia, but that viewpoint is not Kyushu- or Japan-centric.

Asked to establish this peer-reviewed journal, the faculty of the International Master’s Program (IMAP) in Japanese Humanities solicited and crafted articles on topics of Japanese and Chinese humanities. The essays in volume one of *JAH-Q* were penned by IMAP faculty, participants in IMAP conferences, and an IMAP graduate student. In the future we will broaden our range of contributors and readers. This first volume of the journal bears the thematic title *Envisioning History*. Each article deals in some way with the writing or rewriting

of history, especially the veracity of widely assumed biographies, viewpoints, or facts, and also reflections on context and agency in history.

Van Goethem and Reiter take up historical texts, documentation, and ritual practices in studies of site selection and site divination, and Daoist exorcism, respectively. In the former, the natural habitats of the four directional deities are linked to trees and other landscape features that allow for substitution. These links are strengthened through associations between seasons and directions, the native cultural and geographic origin of a plant, and other features of a site's context. In the latter essay, certain Daoist priests serve as substitutes for divinities through transformation; unlike in spirit possession, the priest's knowledge enables him to adopt a divine alter ego through self-transformation. These two studies touch on ritual reformulation that is part of historical transformation and manipulation. The practices of agents leave historical traces that are incorporated into future practices and histories. These studies of two widely misunderstood subjects (site divination and Daoism) make valuable contributions to the field.

Matsuda and Zhou take up created histories in reverse gear. Matsuda argues that Shinzei, the best known disciple of arguably the most famous Buddhist master in Japanese history, Kūkai, augmented the respect and fame the master had garnered among court and clergy in the last decades of his life. Shinzei's actions, Matsuda convincingly argues, were taken not only to honor his teacher but "were intended to generate political and cultural capital for himself in the turbulent years immediately following Kūkai's death." Zhou tackles a similar reformulation of history in her study of the significance of the Chinese master Ganjin. She argues that his earliest biographers set in motion a process that led ultimately to their master's designation as founder of the Ritsu school during the Kamakura period (1185–1333). Zhou reminds us that the attributes of Ganjin found in many popular works—and still lingering in scholarly studies—are recreated attributes with histories of their own.

DeWitt and Kochinski discerningly observe history and its agencies. DeWitt excavates parallel histories at Mt. Ōmine, pairs them with current practices, and calls attention to the practice of "gendered exclusions" from religious sites. The exclusion of women from sacred mountains is an active cultural issue and political debate that has long historical roots. She shifts away

from assumptions regarding the timeless quality of the mountain's traditions to an examination of how those assumptions truly manifest in women's and men's current practices at the mountain, making an original contribution to the scholarly literature. Kochinski investigates the ontological status of Japan's kami, a history-in-the-making of great magnitude. She builds upon the recent work of Japanese religions scholars in her examination of *jingūji*, combinatory worship sites. She adds an important emphasis to the scholarly discourse in terms of *kami* relations to human agency and the buddhas. Hers is not just another consideration of agency in history; she brings voice, initiative, and mutually constituting effects to our envisioning of *kami* in the history of Japanese religions by emphasizing the power of the oracular and the visionary to impel human action.

Article Contributors and Summaries

Of Trees and Beasts: Site Selection in Premodern East Asia

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HISTORY AND HISTORY OF IDEAS

This paper focuses on a site selection practice called *shijin sōō* 四神相応 (“correspondence to the four deities”) in Japanese sources. The practice is a subcategory within site divination (風水 Ch. *fengshui*, Jp. *fūsui*); the latter encompasses practices and beliefs connected to the determination of ideal sites to construct graves, found cities, build houses, etc. Among the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese sources that describe this specific divinatory practice of “correspondence to the four deities,” several texts provide a practical—and in most cases fairly easily realizable albeit not always sound—solution to remedy any shortcomings in the surrounding topography. According to these sources, lack of auspiciousness due to missing landscape features could be corrected by planting specific species of trees. In a number of cases, the sources even go so far as to specify the actual number of trees to be planted.

Considerations of Thunder Magic Rituals and Thunder Divinities

PROF. DR. FLORIAN C. REITER

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Since the second century CE (Han period), Heavenly Masters Daoism has administered the world of the divine through communal festivals. The priests also used Daoist exorcism to serve the personal needs of individuals. Such exorcist rituals relied on martial spirit forces to address the demoniac causes for disasters that needed to be eliminated. To perform such exorcism, the priest transformed into a spirit marshal and created indispensable amulets. The paper discusses the amulet of a protective Thunder divinity. Exorcism was based on oral transmission until the Song period (twelfth century) when the court Daoist Wang Wenqing and others coined the term Thunder rituals and applied Internal Alchemy to document such rituals. The paper uses canonical sources to describe the features of Thunder rituals and Thunder divinities. Exorcism remains a feature of Heavenly Masters Daoism.

Envisioning and Observing Women's Exclusion from Sacred Mountains in Japan

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A tenth-century Chinese travelogue, *Yichū liùtiě* 義楚六帖 (Jpn. *Giso rokujō*), states that women cannot climb Ōminesan 大峰山 in Nara prefecture and enumerates specific conditions for men's access. This paper explores the disjuncture between the modern reconstruction of ancient practices and the actual practices that take place at the mountain today. First, women's exclusion is conceived as having occurred in the past and is actively observed in the present, yet mention of it is completely absent from World Heritage literature pertaining to the mountain. Second, the modern vision of austerities undertaken by men in ancient times is difficult to reconcile with present-day practices, which permit any man to climb the sacred peak without restriction. These discordances call into question the standard interpretive model of ascribing women's exclusion from sacred mountains an unquestioned (and unquestionable) place in Japan's religious landscape.

The Birth of Kūkai as a Literary Figure: A Translation and Analysis of Shinzei's Preface to the *Henjō Hokki Shōryōshū*

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Kūkai, the founder of the Shingon school of Japanese esoteric Buddhism, is regarded as one of the finest *kanshi* 漢詩 poets of the early Heian period. Although the existence of numerous modern edited editions of his work serves as a testament to his ongoing canonical status, little scholarly attention has been paid to the actual process by which he was transformed into a full-fledged literatus. It was Shinzei, Kūkai's senior disciple, who played a major role in promoting his master's literary accomplishments. He was responsible for compiling the *Henjō hokki shōryōshū*, a collection of

Kūkai's non-doctrinal works, including many poems. His editorial duties also included composing a preface for the anthology, a key document in understanding the early stages of Kūkai's memorialization as a poet. This paper will examine Kūkai's literary canonization by presenting a complete, annotated English translation of Shinzei's preface, and then situating it within the political milieu of the mid-ninth century.

Negotiations Between the *Kami* and Buddha Realms: The Establishment of Shrine-Temples in the Eighth Century

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Buddhist temples began to be constructed adjacent to shrines in the early eighth century for the purpose of reading sutras and conducting other Buddhist rites for the soteriological benefit of the *kami* 神. These shrine-temples (*jingūji* 神宮寺) are often described in scholarship as part of the Buddhist subjugation of the *kami*. This paper argues that Buddhist rites provided another modality of ritual propitiation that supplemented established *kami* rituals, and that the interactions between the *kami* and Buddha realms can more helpfully be described as negotiated. Drawing on Actor-Network Theory, this paper will attempt to account for the ontological status and agency of *kami* as they are depicted in the founding legends (*engi* 縁起) of four eighth-century shrine-temples.

Ganjin: From *Vinaya* Master to Ritsu School Founder

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The hagiographic texts on a Chinese monk known in Japan as Ganjin (Ch. Jianzhen) produced shortly after his death portrayed him as a charismatic monk with countless virtues. Such texts can be understood as an attempt by Ganjin's successors to confirm his authority in the Ritsu community and spread his merits to future

generations. This paper examines the process through which Ganjin was promoted from a *vinaya* master to an idealized monk who later was regarded as the leading authority of the Ritsu school. First, I provide a historical overview of the transmission of the *vinaya* in Japan prior to Ganjin's arrival. Second, I discuss the motivations of the Nara court (710–794) to demonstrate why an eminent *vinaya* master like Ganjin was needed. Third, I explore how the received image of Ganjin evolved after his death.

Of Trees and Beasts: Site Selection in Premodern East Asia

ELLEN VAN GOETHEM

Introduction¹

SINCE ancient times, people in the Chinese cultural sphere have been looking for ideal sites to construct graves, found cities, build houses, etc. The practices and beliefs connected to determining these ideal sites are generally grouped under the broad label of geomancy or site divination (Ch. *fengshui*, Jp. *fūsui* 風水). This paper focuses on a subcategory within site divination; it examines a practice that received its own label in Japan, namely *shijin sōō* 四神相応, and which may be translated into English as “correspondence to the four deities.”²

Shijin 四神, or “four deities,” stands for the four mythical beasts fundamental to site divination practices. The term denotes the emblematic guardian deities

of the four directions, which during the first centuries of the Common Era were consolidated as being the Vermilion Sparrow (*suzaku* 朱雀); the Black Warrior (*genbu* 玄武), which is shaped like a turtle intertwined with a snake; the Azure Dragon (*seiryū* 青龍); and the White Tiger (*byakko* 白虎).³ These beasts are customarily identified with one of the four cardinal directions in which case the Sparrow protects the south, the Turtle-Snake protects the north, the Dragon protects the east, and the Tiger protects the west. One has to keep in mind, however, that originally each of the deities was associated with a relative direction (namely, front, back, left, and right, respectively) and that the associations between mythical beast and cardinal direction were not made until after the invention of the magnetic

1 This article is an expanded version of a paper presented at the Third Conference of East Asian Environmental History (EAEH 2015), Takamatsu, Kagawa, Japan, October 22–25, 2015. I am indebted to Gina Barnes who provided valuable comments on an earlier draft and to the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science for its financial support (若手研究 A, no. 15H05376, Site Divination in Premodern East Asia).

2 It is important to note, however, that although this four-character sequence may be found only in Japanese sources, the actual divinatory practice the phrase *shijin sōō* refers to is in no way unique to the archipelago.

3 In China, these emblematic animals of the four directions are variously called *sishen* 四神, *sixiang* 四象, or *siling* 四靈. They need to be distinguished from another group of four divine animals (also called *siling*) that consists of the phoenix, the unicorn, the tiger, and the dragon and who “have the virtues of good omens.” Michèle Pirazzoli-t’Serstevens, “Death and the Dead: Practices and Images in the Qin and Han,” in *Early Chinese Religion: Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC–220 AD)*, Volume Two, John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 963.

compass.⁴ Moreover, even after the invention of the compass, a south-facing orientation and north-south alignment of the buildings or cities were not always a necessary condition for a site to be deemed auspicious, a feature site divination practices retained throughout history.⁵

Whereas identification of the four deities as well as their respective directions is thus straightforward, it is much more difficult to ascertain to which landscape feature each of the four was supposed to correspond. The oldest extant Chinese sources can be woefully vague as is illustrated by the following excerpt from the Inner Chapter of the fourth-century *Book of Burial Rooted in Antiquity* (*Gu ben zang jing nei pian* 古本葬經內篇), authorship of which is traditionally attributed to Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324):

The Classic says, 'If the land has the four configurational forces [四勢], *qi* [氣] will follow the eight directions.' Therefore, in burial, one has on the left the Azure Dragon, on the right the White Tiger, at the front the Vermillion Sparrow, and the back the Dark Warrior. The Dark Warrior will hang his head, the Vermillion Sparrow will soar in dance, the Azure Dragon will creep along, and the White Tiger will tamely bow his head. If the form and configurational force are in opposition to this formulation, then there will be ruin and death.⁶

Admittedly, when one continues to read the *Book of Burial*, it is possible to deduce that the four mythical beasts are meant to correspond to mountains and rivers, that is, to natural landscape elements. Nevertheless, as will be discussed in more detail below, documents found in the Mogao caves reveal that at least as early as the ninth, if not the seventh, century a variant site divination practice had emerged in which not only natural but also manmade landscape features were required for a site to be deemed auspicious.

Moreover, in this variant *fengshui* practice each of the four mythical beasts was required to correspond to its own specific feature. The Sparrow required the presence of a body of water in an open plain to the front or south of a site, the Warrior required the presence of a mountain, the Dragon that of a river, and the Tiger that of a road. It is this particular practice which requires three natural landscape features and one manmade element that in Japan is known under the phrase *shijin sōō*; in addition, it is deemed to be the practice that was used to select the sites where Japan's old Chinese-style capital cities—cities laid out on a grid such as Nara and Heian—were established between the late seventh and late eighth century. This is not only the case in current popular understandings of the founding of these cities, but may be found in Western and Japanese scholarship on the topic since about a century ago. Elsewhere, I have argued against this assumption that the divinatory practice known in Japan as *shijin sōō* and requiring those specific natural and manmade features was used for determining the location of Japan's Chinese-style capitals. In my opinion, it was a divinatory practice used to determine the ideal location for private residences and did not become connected to the siting of cities until about the thirteenth century when it started to be applied anachronistically to the founding of the Heian capital. As time progressed more cities were added to the list of sites that were purportedly selected based on the principles of *shijin sōō*, that is, "mountain–river–lake–road."⁷

4 The invention of the compass in China is closely related to divinatory practices. The first Chinese compasses probably appeared in the fourth century BCE and consisted of a spoon carved from lodestone that rotated on the diviner's board (Ch. *shi* 式). See Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 4, Physics and Physical Technology, Part 1, Physics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 230 and 239, and Ivanka Charvátová, Jaroslav Klokočník, Josef Kolmaš, and Jan Kostelec, "Chinese Tombs Oriented by a Compass: Evidence from Paleomagnetic Changes Versus the Age of Tombs," *Studia Geophysica et Geodaetica* 55 (2001), 160.

5 For example, while the protective mountains surrounding Jiankang 建康, the capital city of the Eastern Wu (229–65 and 266–80 CE), Eastern Jin (317–420 CE), and Southern (420–552 and 557–89 CE) Dynasties, are arranged in line with the cardinal directions, the central axis of the city itself is tilted to the northeast. In more recent times, the main gate and the throne hall of the fifteenth-century Changgyeonggung palace, another site deemed to have been auspicious, were constructed facing east instead of south. Mizuno Aki, "Shijin sōō to shihō ni haisuru shokubutsu no kōsatsu: Shijin sōō no keikan o chūshin to shite," 569 and personal communication with Hong-Key Yoon.

6 Adapted from Michael Paton, *Five Classics of Fengshui: Chinese Spiritual Geography in Historical and Environmental Perspective* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 131.

7 See Ellen Van Goethem, "The Four Directional Animals in East Asia: A Comparative Analysis," in Florian C. Reiter, ed., *International Conference on Feng Shui (Kan Yu) and Architecture in Berlin (Asien- und Afrika-Studien der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 38)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 12–5.

Planting Trees to Avert Inauspiciousness

In what follows, I will focus on the fact that among the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese sources that describe this specific divinatory practice of “mountain–river–lake–road,” several texts provide a practical—and in most cases fairly easily realizable albeit not always sound—solution to remedy any shortcomings in the surrounding topography. According to these sources, lack of auspiciousness due to missing landscape features could be corrected by planting specific species of trees. In a number of cases, the sources even go so far as to specify the actual number of trees to be planted.

The oldest manuscript describing both the “mountain–river–lake–road” divinatory practice and the substitution of missing landscape features through the planting of trees is document P2615a, which was taken from the Mogao caves by Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) in the early twentieth century.⁸ Although this one-fascicle manuscript dates from the ninth or tenth century it claims in its introduction that the text was authored by Lu Cai 呂才 (d. 665), a noted *yinyang* master of the Tang dynasty. Two additional Chinese sources describing a similar divination model as well as substitute trees are an illustrated book on site divination titled *Tujie jiaozheng dili xinshu* 圖解校正地理新書 (Illustrated and Revised New Book on Feng Shui, 1192) and a ten-volume household encyclopedia entitled *Jujia biyong shilei quanji* 居家必用事類全集 (Collection of Necessary Matters Ordered for the Householder, 15th century).⁹ A description of the “mountain–river–lake–road” model of site divination with corresponding proxy trees also appears in an eighteenth-century Korean agricultural work entitled *Sallim gyeongje* 山林經濟 (Guide to Everyday Life of Rural Korean Literati, 1715) and authored by Hong Manseon 洪萬選 (1643–1715). As for Japanese sources, there is the eleventh-century *Sakuteiki* 作庭記 (Notes on the Making of Gardens), a work on garden aesthetics attributed to the courtier Tachibana no Toshitsuna 橘俊綱 (1028–1094); the *Hoki naiden* 篋篋内伝 (Ritual Implement Tradition), which has tradi-

tionally been attributed to the late tenth-century court astrologist Abe no Seimei 安倍晴明 (921–1005), but of which it is now commonly accepted that the text was actually written in the early fourteenth century; and, finally, the *Taishiden gyokurinshō* 太子伝玉林抄 (The Biography of Shōtoku Taishi) written by the monk Kunkai 訓海 (1386–1457) of Hōryūji temple in the first half of the fifteenth century.

As mentioned before, each of these seven works provides a solution to make up for a missing landscape feature by suggesting specific tree species that could be planted as substitutes in each of the four directions (see Table 1).

When we take a closer look at the various tree species to the table, an interesting pattern emerges and two groups may be distinguished. The first group (see Table 2), comprising Dunhuang document P2615a, the *Sakuteiki*, and the *Hoki naiden*, stipulates one specific tree species to be planted to make a site auspicious if one of the required landscape features is missing.

The works in the second group (see Table 3), which comprises the four remaining works, do not set down a specific number of trees; instead they suggest two different tree species to be planted in case any of the natural or manmade features was lacking.¹⁰ What is not entirely clear here is whether one is required to plant both species of trees or whether one may choose either one of the designated trees.

Turning back to the trees suggested by the tree texts belonging to group 1, it should immediately be clear that there is very little consistency in the species suggested in each of the three sources. The sources do have two things in common, however. First, only one species is suggested for each direction, and second, the three texts of group 1 set down specific numbers of trees to be planted to make a site auspicious (see Table 4).

At first glance, the number of trees to be planted may appear as random as the tree species; however, certainly in the case of those prescribed by the manuscript of the Pelliot collection the numbers may easily be accounted

8 Although the manuscript is currently most commonly referred to under its serial number in the Pelliot collection, its original title seems to have been [...] *di tui wu xing yin yang deng zhai tu jing* 帝推五姓陰陽等宅圖經. See Jin Shenjia, ed., *Dunhuang xieben zhajing zangshu jiaozhu* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2007).

9 The *Tujie jiaozheng dili xinshu* is based on the no longer extant *Dili xinshu* 地理新書 (New Book on Feng Shui), written in the first half of the eleventh century by Wang Shu 王洙 (997–1057?).

10 As an aside, an identical group division may also be discerned in the landscape features each of these works requires. The difference might seem minute but manuscript P2615a, the *Sakuteiki*, and the *Hoki naiden*, that is, the first group, require there be a broad road (大道) to the right of a site in the direction of the White Tiger, whereas the texts in the second group require the road to be long (長道). In all other directions, the requirements are identical. For more on this, see Ellen Van Goethem, “The Four Directional Animals in East Asia: A Comparative Analysis,” 6.

Table 1. Trees to remedy deficiencies in the landscape

Primary source*	East/Left	South/Front	West/Right	North/Back
P2615a	Chinese parasol tree	jujube	catalpa	elm tree
<i>Dili xinshu</i>	peach tree willow	flowering plum jujube	gardenia elm tree	Siberian hazel apricot tree
<i>Sakuteiki</i>	willow	katsura tree	catalpa	Japanese cypress
<i>Hoki naiden</i>	willow	paulownia	flowering plum	pagoda tree
<i>Jujia biyong shilei quanji</i>	peach tree willow	flowering plum jujube	gardenia elm tree	apple tree apricot tree
<i>Taishiden gyokurinshō</i>	peach tree willow	flowering plum jujube	gardenia elm tree	apple tree apricot tree
<i>Sallim gyeongje</i>	peach tree willow	flowering plum jujube	mountain mulberry elm tree	apple tree apricot tree

* Sources are listed in chronological order.

Table 2. Substitute trees in group 1

	East/Left	South/Front	West/Right	North/Back
P2615a	Chinese parasol tree	jujube	catalpa	elm tree
<i>Sakuteiki</i>	willow	katsura tree	catalpa	Japanese cypress
<i>Hoki naiden</i>	willow	paulownia	flowering plum	pagoda tree

Table 3. Substitute trees in group 2

	East/Left	South/Front	West/Right	North/Back
<i>Dili xinshu</i>	peach tree willow	flowering plum jujube	gardenia elm tree	Siberian hazel apricot tree
<i>Jujia biyong shilei quanji</i>	peach tree willow	flowering plum jujube	gardenia elm tree	apple tree apricot tree
<i>Taishiden gyokurinshō</i>	peach tree willow	flowering plum jujube	gardenia elm tree	apple tree apricot tree
<i>Sallim gyeongje</i>	peach tree willow	flowering plum jujube	mountain mulberry elm tree	apple tree apricot tree

Table 4. Specific numbers of trees to be planted

	East/Left	South/Front	West/Right	North/Back
P2615a	8	7	9	6
<i>Sakuteiki</i>	9	9	7	3
<i>Hoki naiden</i>	9	7	8	6

for by taking ancient Chinese number mysticism into consideration. In the (Yellow) River Chart (Ch. *hetu* 河图), an esoteric numerical diagram connected to trigram sequences mentioned in the *Zhouyi* 周易 (Zhou Changes, also known as the *Yijing* 易經 or Book of Changes), the numbers six through nine are associated with directions identical to those prescribed in manuscript P2615a. The same four numbers are also mentioned in the *Hoki naiden*, but the direction with which they are associated is slightly different as the position of numbers eight and nine has been reversed. Could this be the result of a simple copying error, or—at the risk of appearing facetious—could the author, deemed to have been a divination master, have simply mistaken left for right and vice versa? Or might there have been other elements at play? In any case, the numbers specified in the *Sakuteiki* truly stand out. There is correspondence only with the *Hoki naiden* in the east, as both require nine willows to be planted, but as indicated earlier, the *Hoki naiden* numbers may have been swapped inadvertently. On the other hand, because the *Sakuteiki* predates the *Hoki naiden* it is also possible that the requirement of planting nine willow trees as a substitute for the river flowing to the left of the site had become a well-established concept in Japan by the fourteenth century. This, however, does not explain why the other trees and numbers were not accepted. Moreover, it is also somewhat surprising that a garden manual would suggest substituting a missing river with willows, a tree species that requires a vast amount of water to grow and thrive. By planting no less than nine of these trees on a site that already lacks its requisite water supply one would in effect ruin the surrounding environment, not increase its auspiciousness.

There is a precedent for the auspiciousness associated with the number nine, however. According to the sixth-century *Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術 (Essential Techniques for the Welfare of the People) by Jia Sixie 賈思勰 (fl. sixth c.), planting nine peach trees 桃 (Jp. *momo*, *Prunus persica*) to the left of a site would benefit one's descendants and avert disaster; planting nine jujube bushes 棗 (Jp. *natsume*, *Ziziphus jujuba* Mill.) to the front would be beneficial to raising silkworms and avert provincial office; planting nine catalpas 楸 (Jp. *kisage*, *Catalpa ovata*) to the right would extend life and avert disease; and planting nine elm trees 榆 (Jp. *nire*, *Ulmus parvifolia* Jacq.) to the back would be beneficial

to raising silkworms and the production of grains.¹¹ Whereas the *Qimin yaoshu* suggests the same number of trees to be planted in each direction, in the *Sakuteiki*, the numbers for the three other directions seem almost random, especially the requirement of planting a mere three trees at the back of a site to make up for the lack of a protective mountain. Might it be the case that, since this is a garden manual, it would be relatively easy to construct some kind of artificial hillock in the required location and that the three trees may have been intended as merely adding extra protection against inauspiciousness rather than acting as substitutes for the lack of a hill?

Turning our attention to the trees suggested as substitutes in the works belonging to the second group, a much more uniform picture emerges. In fact, the uniformity in this group is so striking that it most likely points to a common source. All sources suggest to plant peach trees and/or willows to make up for the absence of flowing water to the left; flowering plums 梅 (Jp. *ume*, *Prunus mume* Sieb. et Zucc.) and/or jujube bushes should be planted to the front in the absence of a large body of water. Minute differences may be seen for the trees to be planted to the right of a site. All sources concur that planting elm trees may ward off inauspiciousness in the absence of a road, and three of the texts suggest that planting gardenia 梔 (Jp. *kuchinashi*, *Gardenia jasminoides* Ellis) will also make the site more auspicious. At first sight, the *Sallim gyeongje* seems to deviate from the other texts in that it suggest planting mountain mulberry 柘 (Jp. *tsugekuwa*, *Cudrania tricuspidata*) rather than gardenia to the right, but in his analysis of the *Sakuteiki*, landscape gardener and scholar Tamura Tsuyoshi concludes this might be a simple copying mistake.¹² Slight discrepancies may also be observed in the trees suggested as substitutes for the hill or mountain protecting the back of a site. As was the case for the trees to be planted to the right, one species, namely the apricot 杏 (Jp. *anzu*, *Prunus armeniaca* L. var. *ansu*), is consistent throughout all four sources. As for the second tree species, three texts suggest planting apple trees 柰 (Jp. *karanashi*, *Malus pumila* Mill.) to the

11 Jia Sixie, *Qimin yaoshu*, Chinese Text Project (<http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=5430>, last accessed February 24, 2016), and Mizuno Aki, "Shijin sōō to shokubutsu: Zōei takukyō to Sakuteiki o chūshin to shite," *Ningen shakaigaku kenkyū shūroku* 3 (2008), 189 and 193.

12 Tamura Tsuyoshi, *Sakuteiki* (Tokyo: Sagami shobō, 1964), 287.

north; only the *Tujie jiaozheng dili xinshu* deviates from the norm in listing Siberian hazel 榛 (Jp. *hashibami*, *Corylus heterophylla* var. *thunbergii*).¹³

Connections and Associations

Why were these specific trees singled out to make up for deficiencies in the landscape? Of all seven works, only the *Hoki naiden* elaborates on this topic. According to this text, the trees listed could act as the perfect substitute because there was a natural association between the tree species and the required landform and because these landscape features, in turn, represented the habitat of each of the four deities.¹⁴ For example, the *Hoki naiden* suggests that if there was no protective mountain at the back of a site, one could plant six pagoda trees (*enju* 槐, *Sophora japonica*) because these trees grow on mountaintops where the Turtle-Snake resides; or if there was no flowing water to the left of the site, one could plant nine willows (*yanagi* 柳, *Salix* sp.) as they typically grow in the vicinity of water where the Dragon lives.¹⁵ As will become clear from a more detailed analysis of the other six texts, however, the *Hoki naiden* does not seem to represent a clearly established tradition. Therefore, the reasons provided in the text as to why these tree species were deemed suitable may not have been widely supported either.

Because there is little agreement on suitable tree species between the texts and there does not seem to be a one-size-fits-all explanation despite the *Hoki naiden*'s assertion that there was a close link between tree species, required landscape feature, and the corresponding beast's lair, other reasons should be explored. For one thing, in addition to being linked to

a specific cardinal and relative direction, each of the four beasts was associated with a particular color in line with Five Phases (五行, Ch. *wuxing*, Jp. *gogyō*) theory. This may then have led to a preference for certain tree species over others. For example, the Tiger is associated with white, the color of the blossoms of the gardenia; and the Chinese parasol tree 青桐 (Jp. *ao-giri*, *Firmiana simplex*) mentioned in Dunhuang document P2615a may have been chosen because its name explicitly refers to the color of the Dragon.

That said, the seasonal connection between direction and each of the beasts may have been equally important in determining preferred substitute tree species.¹⁶ The Dragon, left, and east are typically associated with spring. According to the *Qimin yaoshu*, willow branches were used in the spring rituals on the first day of the lunar year, and according to the *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 (Thoroughly Explained Customs), a work on Chinese folk customs and beliefs compiled by Ying Shao 應劭 (ca. 140–204), peach blossoms were also used during spring festivities.¹⁷ The catalpa, on the other hand, was used during a festival celebrating the first day of autumn in the traditional calendar according to the *Shennong ben cao jing* 神農本草經 (Divine Farmer's Materia Medica), a Chinese work on agriculture and medicinal plants dating from the early centuries CE.¹⁸

Finally, the original habitat of the tree species may also have played a role in determining its suitability as a

13 Ito should be pointed out that in *Taishiden gyokurinshō*, a variant character (榛) is used for apple tree. Kunkai, *Hōryūjizō son'eibon Taishiden gyokurinshō*, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1978), 332.

14 *Hoki naiden* in Hanawa Hokinoichi, ed, *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, Vol. 31a (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kansaikai, 1958), 403.

15 The pagoda tree is native to China but was introduced to Japan very early on because it already appears in Japan's oldest extant natural-sciences dictionary, the *Honzō wamyō* 本草和名 (Materia Medica with Japanese Names, ca. 918) by Fukane no Sukehito 深根輔仁 (898–922) and the *Wamyō ruijushō* 和名類聚抄 (Japanese Names [for Things], Classified and Annotated, ca. 934) by Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911–83). Although not native to Japan, willows are already mentioned in eighth-century poetry and in the *Honzō wamyō*. Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, 283.

16 The connection between the directional deities and the seasons was already made in Dong Zhongshu's 董仲舒 (179–104 BCE) *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 (The Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals, 2nd c. BCE) and the *Huainanzi tianwenxun* 淮南子天文訓 (Patterns of Heaven in the Great Brilliance of Huainan, 2nd c. BCE). En-Yu Huang, "Comparing the Do's & Taboos in Chinese Feng-Shui and Indian Vāstu-Shāstra Architectural Traditions," PhD dissertation (Leiden University, 2012), (<http://hdl.handle.net/1887/18670>, last accessed February 21, 2016), 198–200.

17 Jia, *Qimin yaoshu*; and Mizuno, "Shijin sōō to shokubutsu: Zōei takukyō to Sakuteiki o chūshin to shite," 189.

18 While the character 梓 is used in the Pelliot manuscript, the *Sakuteiki* uses 楸, a combination of the characters for "tree" and "autumn," thus emphasizing its suitability as a tree to be planted to the west. Because the species does not appear in the tenth-century *Honzō wamyō* it was likely introduced to Japan at a later date, possibly even after the *Sakuteiki* was written. Tamura, therefore, suggests that the requirement of planting catalpas to the west may have been copied directly from a Chinese source. Jin Shenjia, ed., *Dunhuang xieben zhajing zangshu jiaozhu* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2007), 48; Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed., "Sakuteiki 作庭記," in *Kodai chūsei geijutsuron (Nihon shisō taikai*, Vol. 23) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1973), 243; and Tamura, *Sakuteiki*, 283.

substitute for missing topographical features. Both the jujube shrub and the katsura tree 桂 (Jp. *katsura*, *Cercidiphyllum japonicum*) were native to areas in southern China or south of China explaining their positioning to the south.¹⁹

Whatever the ultimate reason was, for private residences at least, its occupant could rest assured. Even if the surrounding landscape was not ideal—which in most cases probably was the case as each house site within a city could hardly be expected to have a “mountain–river–lake–road” configuration—planting specific trees, and medicinal ones at that, would still ensure good health and a long life, a successful career, and numerous descendants.²⁰

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19 Jia, *Qimin yaoshu*; and Hui-Lin Li, *Nan-fang ts’ao-mu chuang: A Fourth Century Flora of Southeast Asia* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1979), 83.

20 For example, gardenias were used to cure illnesses of the heart, liver, kidneys, lungs, and spleen, while ‘elm sauce’ was used to treat chest complaints. Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1996).

Considerations of Thunder Magic Rituals and Thunder Divinities

FLORIAN C. REITER

MODERN western studies of Daoist religion convey the notion that the appearance and existence of Chinese divinities oscillate between being bright and sinister, between good and bad, especially if the divinities had originally been active in this world and were then seen in their posthumous lives as divine, with possibly demoniac elements. Literary works and entertaining descriptions of extraordinary phenomena (*chuanqi xiaoshuo* 傳奇小說), such as the sixteenth-century *Investiture of the Gods* (*Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義), constitute entertaining source materials that seem to reflect widely known popular ideas. Some of the spirit forces we read about were allegedly humans who underwent a spiritual refinement through the help of higher divinities or through support given by Daoist priests.¹ The Daoist priests represent Heavenly Masters of Daoism (*Tianshi dao* 天師道), also known as *Cheng-i* Daoism (*Zhengyi dao* 正一道) or Daoism of Orthodoxy and Unity.

Heavenly Masters Daoism emerged in the second century of the Han period (206 BCE–220 CE) and thrives until today. The divine addressees of the liturgy in Heavenly Masters Daoism are first of all the divinities that represent the abstract and highest echelon of the divine constituted by the Three Pure Ones (*sansqing* 三清). They include the Heavenly Worthy of Prime Origin (*Yuanshi tianzun* 元始天尊), the Heavenly Worthy of the Numinous Jewel (*Lingbao tianzun* 靈寶天尊), and the Heavenly Worthy of Dao and its Virtue (*Daode tianzun* 道德天尊), the latter being the deified author of the *Daode jing* 道德經 who was also known as the Supreme Lord Lao (*Taishang Laojun* 太上老君). In fact, the two divine worthies Prime Origin and Numinous Jewel are believed to be transformations of Taishang Laojun who incorporated the absolute, cosmic being.² The Three Pure Ones are the supreme authorities and objects of veneration in the Daoist grand communal and public festivities or offerings (*jiao* 醮). However, the priests of Heavenly Masters Daoism also served

1 A notorious example is the deity Prince No Zha taizi (那吒太子), see Wilhelm Grube, *Die Metamorphosen der Götter* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1912), 156. Also see J. Chamberlain, *Chinese Gods* (Hong Kong: Long Island Publishers, 1983), 89; and Kubo Noritada, *Dao-jiao zhushen* (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1996), 146.

2 Florian C. Reiter, transl./ed., *Leben und Wirken Lao-Tzu's in Schrift und Bild, Lao-chün pa-shih-i-hua t'u-shuo* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1990), 21. Also see TT 774 *Youlong zhuan* 1.6a–6b; and TT 772 *Taishang Laojun jinshu neixu* 2b.

the daily needs of an agrarian society, where droughts, floods, and epidemics were constant problems. Such plagues and also the concerns of individual people who suffered from illness and other private problems were explained with demoniac interference. The priest of Heavenly Masters Daoism had exorcist ways and means to tackle this type of issue. He employed a different set of divine addressees that represented the forces of nature such as wind and fire, thunder and lightning, that were seen as martial forces with spirit generals and marshals. The priest of Heavenly Masters Daoism could isolate and trap them in amulets, which came to be most important ritual tools in Daoist exorcism that we call Thunder Magic rituals.

The term Thunder Magic rituals (*leifa* 雷法 / *wuleifa* 五雷法) has since the Song period (eleventh century) has summarized the confusion of these Daoist exorcist rituals that pertain to practical concerns of daily life.³ In the Song period some outstanding priests and scholars such as Wang Wenqing (王文卿, 1093–1153) followed the intellectual tendency of the time and formulated theories to explain the enactment of Thunder Magic rituals and the drafting of amulets, which were called Thunder amulets.⁴ Nowadays Daoist exorcist rituals are often performed by priests at their home altars where the term minor ritual (*xiaofa shi* 小法事) applies. Larger ritual events may be staged in temples and are called ritual arenas (*fachang* 法場), which we can see, for example in Taiwan.⁵ However, I now focus on

historical documents for this study on Thunder Magic rituals and Thunder Divinities, relying partly on literary contributions by Wang Wenqing.

Again, it is important to keep in mind that the essential component of Daoist Thunder Magic rituals is the drafting and application of Thunder amulets (*leifu* 雷符), crystallize and transmit the might of martial Thunder divinities. The creation of such amulets is an independent ritual process, but their application can be accommodated in the context of larger rituals. These are documented in literary sources of the later Daoist exorcist tradition of the *Daoism of Subtle Tenuity* (*Qingwei dao* 清微道) dating from the Yuan and Ming periods (fourteenth to sixteenth century).⁶

We emphasize that the performing priests thought of themselves as representatives of Heavenly Masters Daoism, performing in accordance with the respective rules and formal requirements. They explicitly venerated the Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling (張道陵) as their spiritual ancestor; this was their identity when they performed the Daoist offerings (*jiao* 醮). We notice that canonical sources since the Tang period (seventh to ninth century) do not attest a rigid and rationalized distinction between the two terms Master of the Dao (*daoshi* 道士) and Master of the Ritual (*fashi* 法師). The two terms both mean “exorcist priest” in Heavenly Masters Daoism.⁷

In the Song period the Daoist Wang Wenqing was the outstanding Thunder specialist at the court of emperor Song Huizong (宋徽宗 r. 1100–26). Here he performed exorcist Thunder rituals and then staged liturgies of Heavenly Masters Daoism to give thanks for successful exorcisms. Wang Wenqing analyzed and theorized about ancient exorcist practices, which had long been current in Daoist religious practice. He and his colleagues gave literary form to these ancient, largely oral traditions, and applied a new approach, using the

3 See the statements of the 43rd Heavenly Master Chang Yuchu 張宇初 in TT 1311 *Xianquan ji* 7.13a (*Shoufa pushuo* 授法普說) also see TT 1232 *Daomen shigui* 11a; and Florian C. Reiter, *Grundelemente und Tendenzen des Religiösen Daoismus, das Spannungsverhältnis von Integration und Individualität in seiner Geschichte zur Chin-, Yuan- und Frühen Ming-Zeit* (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 48) (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verl. Wiesbaden, 1988), 37–38.

4 See Florian C. Reiter, *Man, Nature and the Infinite, the Scope of Daoist Thunder Magic Rituals* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 81) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), and Florian C. Reiter, “The Discourse on the Thunders 雷說, by the Daoist Wang Wen-ch’ing 王文卿 (1093–1153),” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14/3 (2004), 207–29. See the Tang Daoist Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 in TT 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 1.4a–4b.

5 See Lin Zhenyuan, “Le rituel Daoiste du sud-est du Fujian,” PhD dissertation (EPHE, 2014), 89–127 (法場). Also see John Keupers, “A Description of the Fa-ch’ang Ritual as Practiced by the Lü Shan Daoists in Northern Taiwan,” in *Buddhist and Daoist Studies I*, edited by Michael Saso and David W. Chappell (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1977), 79–94. In Taiwan the term Thunder Magic rituals is not familiar as far as I know. I have learned, however, that the terms and ritual practice are still popular in some

provinces on the Chinese mainland, such as Hunan province.

6 See, for example, TT 223 *Qingwei yuanjiang dafa* 25.15b–17b (*Taishang wuji dadao tianjing* 太上無極大道天經). Generally, see chapters 1–50 of TT 1220 *Daofa huiyuan*.

7 See TT 1225 *Dongxuan lingbao sadong fengdao kejie yingshi* 4.6b–8a, which uses the terms “follower” *dizi* 弟子 and *fashi* 法師 to represent different Daoist ranks. Also see Florian C. Reiter, *The Aspirations and Standards of Taoist Priests in the Early Tang Period* (Asien- und Afrika-Studien 1 der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 133–37. Also generally see Wu Zhen, *Wei shenxing jia zhu, Tang Song Ye Fashan chongbai di zaocheng shi* (Peking: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2012).

notions of Internal Alchemy (*neidan* 內丹), of astronomy and other calculative means to explain the operation of Thunder Magic rituals. I continue on this basis to feature spirit generals, marshals, and emissaries, in short the Thunder divinities (*leishen* 雷神), and also show how they were made present in Thunder amulets.⁸

The Thunder divinities hold martial ranks and show martial appearances. They often look like fierce birdmen (*niaoren* 鳥人), with a beak and phoenix claws; wielding weaponry they appear to soar or jump wildly. There are also countless amulets of a different design, combining Chinese characters and graphic symbols such as the eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦) or other symbols.⁹ The most basic and seemingly simple amulet consists of a single Chinese character.¹⁰ An excellent example is the Thunder divinity Zhao Gongming Xuantan (趙公明玄壇), or Marshal Zhao (趙元帥), who is one of the protective deities (*hufa shen* 護法神) at Daoist altars whom we see depicted on the scrolls in the Dao-arena (*daochang* 道場) when rituals take place.¹¹

The surname Zhao 趙 in its assembled form may make up an amulet. The Chinese character can be broken down in order to specify the meaning of each stroke or component. This means that the priest who draws the *zhao* amulet assembles the strokes of his writing brush while at the same time having a meditative vision as he recites the intrinsic meaning of each part of the character. The *Practical Application of the Character Zhao* (*Zhaozi zuoyong* 趙字作用) presents the religious identification of the various graphic components of the character *zhao*. The text gives key words but rarely a complete sentence. Each of the fourteen statements, some of which are short and some extended, features one single stroke of the brush. It takes fourteen strokes to write the character and surname *Zhao* 趙:

/True void: subtle and mysterious (*weimiao zhenkong* 微妙真空)/Lord Zhao of Shenxiao Heaven (*Shenxiao Zhaogong* 神霄趙公)/Discharge the Thunders speedily and organize the lightning (*qulei chedian* 驅雷掣電)/Make fire rage and wind blow (*zouhuo xingfeng* 走火行風)/Fierce generals of the eight kings (*bawang mengjiang* 八王猛將)¹²/Unlimited and divine omnipresence (*wuliang shentong* 無量神通)/Divine troops, completely unite (*shenbing yiho* 神兵一合)/Fill all around the empty space (*bianman xukong* 遍滿虛空)/Which divinity does not comply? (*heshen bu fu* 何神不伏)¹³/Which demon dares to oppose? (*hegui ganchong* 何鬼敢衝)/Divine tiger, bite them [dead] at once (*shenhu yidan* 神虎一噉)/All demons have their tracks extinguished (*wangui miezong* 萬鬼滅蹤)/Orthodoxy and Unity, issue decrees and summons (*zhengyi chizhao* 正一敕召)/Speedily descend to the central palace (*sujiang zhonggong* 速降中宮)/ Gongming (*Gongming* 公明), I respectfully implore: Zhao Gongming speedily let your true magic might descend like fire. urgently, urgently, this is like an order from the Venerable Patriarch the Heavenly Master (*jinjing Zhao Gongming huosu jiang zhenling ji-ji ru Laozu Tianshi luling* 謹請趙公明火速降真靈急急如老祖先師律令).¹⁴

The priest honors the proper sequence of the individual strokes of the character *zhao* and knows by heart these interspersed formulae to write the surname Zhao, which addresses the Thunder deity Zhao Gongming.¹⁵ The priest commands the deity to appear with all his divine might. The priest does not set out to write the amulet without adopting a divine alter ego, which is the first Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (*Laozu Tianshi* 老祖先師). In other words, the priest identifies himself in meditation (*cunxiang* 存想) with the Heavenly Master.

8 See Chang Yuchu in TT 1311 *Xianquan ji* 7.13a, concerning the tradition of Qingwei Daoism (清微道). He observes the astonishingly long tradition of oral transmission since Zhang Daoling (Han period) to Zu Shu (祖舒, Tang period). The crucial importance of oral traditions is usually not taken into account in modern studies of Daoism. Also see Florian C. Reiter, *Basic Conditions of Daoist Thunder Magic*.

9 See Florian C. Reiter, *Man, Nature and the Infinite, the Scope of Daoist Thunder Magic Rituals*, 165–68.

10 See below the example of the character *zhao* 趙.

11 See Florian C. Reiter, "Daoist Thunder Magic (*Wu-lei fa*), Illustrated with the Example of the Divine Protector Chao Kungming," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 160 (2010): 121–54.

12 TT 1220: 232.3a–3b. Also compare TT 1220: 236.3a–3b.

13 The word *fu* (伏) means to fall prostrate and yield. We understand the word in the sense of *fushi* (伏侍/奉) "to wait upon/to serve," see Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (Taipei: Cheng Wen Publishing Co., 1972), nr. 3691.

14 TT 1220: 232.13b, in *The Secret Rituals of Marshal Zhao at the Heavenly Altar of Orthodoxy and Unity* (*Zhengyi xuantan Zhao Yuanshuai mifa* 正一玄壇趙元帥秘法). The secret rituals were compiled after the time of Wang Wenqing but they are in line with his Daoist tradition. The slashes stand for the single strokes of the writing brush, which are clearly shown in the text.

15 Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, nr. 498.

Exorcist traditions of Thunder Magic usually demand that the priest transforms (*bianshen* 變神) into a Thunder divinity, which is a most complex process that the priest and scholar Wang Wenqing described in terms of Internal Alchemy.¹⁶ Many Daoist scholars like Sa Shoujian (薩守堅, fl. 1141–78?) continued in this sense to develop Thunder theories.¹⁷ However, the short *Practical Application of the Character Zhao* indicates that the amulet-character *zhao* (趙) that has a demon-quelling capacity does not require such a demanding transformation.

The majority of Thunder amulets are much more complicated. A magnificent example is the *Personal Amulet of Marshal Chao* (*Zhaoshuai benshen fu* 趙帥本身符), shows a fierce bird-man wielding an iron whip as his weapon. The single components of the amulet are instilled with meanings as follows:

Great Yang, be powerfully active and let the Golden Wheel appear (*taiyang hehe xianchu jinlun* 太陽赫赫現出金輪)/
 Zhao Gongming (趙公明)¹⁸/
 Gongming, Gongming, show speedily your true form. (*Gongming Gongming suxian zhenxing* 公明公明速現真形)/
 Decree (*chi* 敕)/
 Respectfully receive the decree from the supreme God-emperors to arrest the wicked spirits (*feng shangdi chi shouzhao xiejing* 奉上帝敕收捉邪精)/
 Kill (*sha* 煞)/
 Kill Heaven, kill earth, kill year, kill month, kill day, kill times. Hsüan-t'an presents the order to kill all wicked demons, they must all be killed (*tiansha disha niansha yuesha risha shisha Xuantan yuanshuai fengchi sha yiqie xiemo jie shousha* 天煞地煞年煞月煞日煞時煞 玄壇元帥奉敕煞一切邪魔皆受煞)/
 Assistance (*she* 攝)/
 - assist Heaven, assist earth, assist earth, assist

heaven. Demons and divinities without *Dao*, all must be arrested (*tianshe dishe dishe tianshe wudao guishen jinjie zhuoshe* 天攝地攝地攝天攝無道鬼神盡皆捉攝)/
 田¹⁹/

Open the Gate of Heaven. Close the Window of Earth. Keep open the Gate of Man. Obstruct the Way of Demons. Pierce the demons' hearts. Crush the demons' bellies (*kai tianmen bi dihu liu renmen sai guilü chuan guixin po guidu* 開天門閉地戶留人門塞鬼路穿鬼心破鬼肚)/

With your left [hand] hold the iron whip so as to shake and stir up the cosmos, wind, thunders, lightning, radiance, and rumbling of Thunders that may assist you (*zuochi tiebian zhendong qiankun fenglei dianguang pili she* 左執鐵鞭震動乾坤風雷電光霹靂攝)/

With your right [hand] hold up the iron chain and assist as do the fierce spirit troops of the divine twenty-eight stellar divisions. Recollect the complete row of symbols of the twenty-eight stellar divisions (*youti tiesuo shezhao ru ling ershiba xiu menglie jingbing nian ershiba xiu shusuo* 右提鐵索攝捉如靈二十宿猛烈精兵念二十八宿書索)/
 On your front side you discharge Thunders and lightning. Behind you, you raise winds and clouds (*qianqu leidian houqi fengyun* 前驅雷電後起風雲)/

Tan 貪, *ju* 巨, *lu* 祿, *wen* 文, *lian* 廉, *wu* 武, *po* 破²⁰

Fierce generals of the eight kings, lead on the cohorts of all the divinities to enter speedily the centre of the amulet, and the response will become clearly manifest (*ba wang mengjiang buling zhushen su ru fuzhong baoying fenming* 八王猛將部領諸神速入符中報應分明)/

Deities of Wind and Fire, you must be extremely fast at chasing and arresting. Act most urgently

16 See Florian C. Reiter, "A Preliminary Study of the Daoist Wang Wen-ch'ing (1093–1153) and his Thunder Magic (*lei-fa*)," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 152 (2002): 155–84, esp. 172 (*Assembling the Divine Force*), which shows the transformation into the divinity Marshal Deng (Deng Bowen 鄧伯溫), see below.

17 TT 1220: 67.11a–18a (*Discourse on the Thunders Leishuo* 雷說 by Sa Shoujian).

18 The three characters are in bold print, denoting that Zhao Gongming is the golden wheel. See above his religious titles.

19 The graph resembles the character for the word "field" (*tian* 田). In fact, the graph combines six strokes of the brush that represent the six statements (Six Instructions *liujue* 六訣), see also Florian C. Reiter, "The Management of Nature: Convictions and Means in Daoist Thunder Magic (*Daojiao leifa*)," in *Purposes, Means and Convictions in Daoism, A Berlin Symposium (Asien- und Afrika-Studien 29 der Humboldt Universität zu Berlin)*, edited by Florian C. Reiter, 198, note 62.

20 These are the seven visible stars of *ursa major* (Great Dipper). A second column has the seven religious taboo names (*hui* 諱). All are written with the radical *gui* 鬼, "demon."

as if you have the decree of the Perfected King of Shenxiao Heaven (*fenghuo shen e jisu zhuizhuo jijiru shenxiao zhenwang chi* 風火神惡疾速追捉急急如神霄真王敕)

[Zhao Gongming,] your radiant halo is brilliant, and its light defeats the hordes of demons (*yuanguang huangyao zhaobai moqun* 圓光晃耀照敗魔群).²¹

Again, it is important to remember that the priest recites the information given in the dissolved amulet at the moment he writes the amulet. The phrases and statements characterize the respective Thunder divinity.

In this case the priest has first united his own spirit potential with the cosmic Marshal Zhao Gongming to be in position to address spirit troops and issue orders. How could this be done? We find for example in the canonical collection of exorcist rituals, *A Corpus of Daoist Rituals* (*Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元) of the fourteenth to fifteenth century during the Ming period (1368–1644), a revealing description of such a meditation that leads to the required spiritual transformation.²² A magic spell of fourteen characters in pseudo-Sanskrit either precedes or concurs with the meditation.²³ The spell resists translation, and then we read:

You concentrate your meditation on the sound of Thunder that arises at the Window of Earth (*dihu* 地戶) in a terrifying manner. Concentrate in meditation on the Marshal [Zhao Gongming] who from the Gate of Heaven (*tianmen* 天門) descends and stands at the Window of Earth. In the following procedure you swallow the fire of the heart and let it unite and wed the water of the kidneys in the Central Palace (*zhongong* 中宮). Concentrate your meditation on the ancestral breaths (*zuqi* 祖氣) that rise upward following the spine up to the Mud-Pill Palace (*niwan gong* 泥丸宮) where they visit the God-emperors of Shenxiao Heaven

(*Shenxiao dijun* 神霄帝君). You exhale the breaths that resemble a pearl of fire, which is vast and appears to have the shape of a wheel of fire. You use the Sword Mūdra (*jianjue* 劍訣) to cut open [that pearl of fire] and see the blaze of fire peeling off, and you also see the Marshal who stands at the Window of Earth and becomes a single entity with yourself as marshal (*ziji yuanshuai* 自己元帥).²⁴

We keep in mind that the priest can transform himself into such a Thunder divinity if he had been initiated to receive the respective register (*lu* 籙). He acts then on the basis of his initiation into this or that tradition of Thunder rituals; this enables him to adopt the respective divine alter ego that will evolve from within his own body and mind. There is no spirit-possession involved: that would imply that a divinity descends upon the person from the outside and takes possession of the person. We know that spirit possession is a characteristic feature of shamanism, which differs totally from religious Daoism and Daoist exorcism. In the course of history, Daoists had to make unceasing and strenuous efforts to convince the Chinese intelligentsia and the imperial administration that Heavenly Masters Daoism with all its exorcist proficiency must not be taken for shamanism.²⁵

What do we know about the Thunder divinity Zhao Gongming? The canonical *Report on the Marshal Zhao [Gongming]* says that Zhao Gongming incarnated Brahma breaths that would make him a divinity of Anterior Heaven (*xiantian* 先天).²⁶ However, the same canonical *Report* also claims to have examined Zhao Gongming to find out that he lived on earth around the end of the Zhou period (third century BCE). He evaded the Qin administration (秦, 255–209 BCE) and toiled to accomplish Daoist self-cultivation. Finally he received the divine call to advance to the rank of Thunder divinity. This story could be understood as an attempt to justify the divine status of Zhao Gongming on the basis of a successful Daoist life in the world of man, which

21 TT 1220: 236.11a–12a.

22 Concerning the title, *A Corpus of Daoist Rituals*, see Kristofer Schipper and Yüan Ping-ling, in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Daoist Canon, A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1105–13.

23 Chinese pseudo-Sanskrit characters are new magic signs of sound that combine generally known characters. In this case all characters have the radical mouth (*kou* 口) that is combined with other characters to indicate the pronunciation—but the sense remains secret.

24 TT 1220: 234.7b–8a. This is only one example taken from a row of spells and descriptions of appropriate meditation. The compilation collects materials that belong to the cult of Zhao Gongming.

25 See Florian C. Reiter, *Grundelemente und Tendenzen des Religiösen Daoismus, das Spannungsverhältnis von Integration und Individualität in seiner Geschichte zur Chin-, Yüan- und Frühen Ming-Zeit* (*Münchener Ostasiatische Studien* 48) (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verl. Wiesbaden, 1988), 40 and note 90.

26 TT 1220: 232.1a–2b.

would associate him with the category of Posterior Heaven (*houtian* 後天).

Since the Song period Daoist theoretical expositions distinguish different existential qualities that were called: Anterior Heaven and Posterior Heaven. Of course, this fundamental issue also pertains to the sphere of the divine.²⁷

Many glorious divine titles in the Thunder pantheon are accompanied by personal names, which suggest an ascent from a human existence to life in the spheres of the divine. Zhao Gongming is a fine example to show that both categories, Anterior Heaven and Posterior Heaven, easily merge into a single name. The notions of Anterior Heaven and Posterior Heaven represent oscillating categories that are not at all irreconcilably opposing positions. This situation describes a basic condition of Thunder divinities. The many standard and divine functional titles, for example, the divinities of the five directions, were eventually combined with different personal names, which may well reflect a specific local or regional background. This reminds us of a basic feature of Daoism. The many names of Laozi (老子) or Taishang Laojun (太上老君) that we find, for example, in the Han-era *Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi* (*Laozi bianhua jing* 老子變化經), may represent the names of leaders in the many local Daoist centers that must have flourished during the Han period.²⁸ These leaders may have been seen as incarnations or representatives of Taishang Laojun. There is no point in assuming that those names were naïve pious fiction. In this way the later and regionally widely scattered Thunder traditions evolved within the frame of historical Heavenly Masters Daoism.

There is another important aspect that we must explore: Thunder divinities are believed to staff a celestial administration that gives the priest and spirit administrator the chance to deliver addresses and submit literary petitions. We may look at such a spirit administration following a description offered by Wang Wenqing. Here we study parts of chapter 56 in *A Corpus of Daoist Rituals* that reveal some ritual implications:

The Headquarter Office of Thunder and Thunderclaps (*leitong dushi* 雷霆都司) is the Special

Control Office (*zhuansi* 專司) of the God-emperor of the North (*beidi* 北帝) that arranges the ranks of officials, distributes their individual duties, and assists the governance of the Jade Pivot.²⁹ Whenever in the world floods cause inundations [or] drought-demons [operate], in each case you ask the Court of the Jade Pivot (*yushu yuan* 玉樞院) that the respective reports [about the disasters] be listened to and that action be taken. As to the battle-axes and halberds of Thunder and thunderclaps, as to applause, reward, and punishment, they all have their regulations and are not in confusion. Officials are in charge of all relevant matters. . . .

In addition there is the *Penglai* Office (*Penglai si* 蓬萊司), controlled by the Assistant Commissioner of the Waters. His generals and emissaries are specialized to administer the duties concerning water. They distribute clouds, scatter the breath, and equally [take care of] the [*Chang*]jiang, the sea, the [*Huang*]he, the marshes, the springs, and fountains. When excessive heat occurs in the world, you must report to the Court of the Jade Pivot. You pray and memorialize the request that heavy rain and soaking moisture may be sent down to save the people. . . .

The persons who study perfection and receive ritual methods (*feng fa* 奉法) all request [the service of Thunder] troops in accordance with their orderly divisions. On the occasion of the transmission of [ritual] norms (*chuanke* 傳科) one should obtain proper knowledge concerning the *Divine Ranks of Thunder and Thunderclaps* (*leitong shenwei* 雷霆神位).³⁰

The information is clear: the well-organized administration is staffed with responsible divine officers. It is not difficult to recognize ways of thinking that characterize the Chinese secular administration.³¹ The text does not refer to the categories of Anterior Heaven

29 The text uses the term "Jade Initiatory Force," or perhaps "Jade Chi [Military Office]" (*yuji* 玉機), which most certainly is a mistake. The phrase occurs nowhere else. I believe we should read *yushu zhi zheng* 玉樞之政 as translated.

30 TT 1220: 56.4b. This refers to the initiation as priest and thunder specialist in the context of Heavenly Masters Daoism.

31 Perhaps the best documentation is Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

27 See Reiter, *Man, Nature and the Infinite*, 8–31 (Part I: *Aspects of the Pantheon in Thunder Magic*).

28 For this text see Anna Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao tseu dans le Daoisme des Han* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1969).

and Posterior Heaven, but neither does it allow us to connect the Thunder divinities and spirit officials with human proper names, which might have suggested that the spirit officials in consideration had posthumous careers as divinities. In fact, the presentation remains part of the abstract top level of Anterior Heaven.

We learn that the divine realm of the Thunder administration keeps a keen eye on what is going on in the world, and we learn how the Daoist priest becomes involved. He has to perform the liturgical task of dispatching memorials to the Thunder administration, acting on behalf of individual clients or communities. We retrieve some more information about the spirit administration:

The Divine Thunder (*shenlei* 神雷) has hundreds of officials and thousands of generals, who reside in the centre of the three realms (*sanjie* 三界). They are all stationed (*dunzhu* 屯駐) in accordance with the seasons, and on behalf of heaven they operate and exert their transforming influences. In one year and within the four seasons [the Divine Thunder] issues *paroles* (*fahao* 發號) and dispatches *orders* (*shiling* 施令) to spread rain and moisture evenly. In the case that [people in] the lower regions were neither loyal nor pious, neither humanitarian nor faithful (*zhong-xiao-ren-yi* 忠孝仁義), and [either] in their former lives [or] in their present time harmed creatures in hideous ways and unjustly amassed properties, the Three Officials (*sanguan* 三官) hand in [appropriate] reports to the higher [institutions in heaven] and have the [respective] names registered in the *Files of the Wicked* (*e'bu* 惡簿).³² The superior god-emperors order the Divine Thunder to crusade against [the guilty ones]. Perhaps today, when wild winds and heavy rain occur and the terrifying sounds of Thunder punish and kill men and creatures, this is just such an event. If you desire to activate the Divine Thunder, you must send a report to the Three Monitoring Offices (*sansi* 三司) and cause memorials to soar up to the nine pure [heavens] (*jiuqing* 九清). It is then that you can employ the Divine Thunder.³³

32 *Zhong-xiao-ren-yi* are traditional Confucian ideals and virtues.

33 TT 1220: 56.13b, compare Florian C. Reiter, *Basic Conditions of Daoist Thunder Magic* (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 61) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 82.

The listing of *Divine Ranks of Thunders and Thunderclaps* (*leitng shenwei* 雷霆神位) in chapter 56 of *A Corpus of Daoist Rituals* displays a fascinating pantheon.³⁴ A very short introduction is offered here: The *Divine Ranks of Thunders and Thunderclaps* give the supreme position to the Heavenly Ruler, the God-emperor and Lord of the Six Pāramitās (*Liubo tianzhu dijun* 六波天主帝君).³⁵ Only this Heavenly Ruler and Lord holds the rank of God-emperor. The supreme position is paired with the Five Thunder emissaries of the chancellor in the Jade Department (*yufu shangqing wulei shi* 玉府上卿五雷使). The group of Thunder Lords that represent the five directions follow immediately after the True Lord of the Court of the Jade Pivot (*Yushu yuan zhenjun* 玉樞院真君).³⁶ They precede a long listing of divinities that are further qualified by official titles, such as administrator, chancellor, and Heavenly Master. There are many emissaries, immortal masters, ritual masters, marshals, and judges. We note that martial ranks like the Thirty-Six Stalwarts of the Thunder Drums (*Sanshiliu leigu lishi* 三十六雷鼓力士) and various spirit generals complete the listing.³⁷

Some of the names allude to famous traditions, like the mighty divinity with glaring eyes and silver teeth that controls the thunderclaps and the radiance of fire (*zhang pili huoguang yinya yaomu weishen* 掌霹靂火光銀牙耀目威神). The divinity is in fact a certain Deng Bowen (鄧伯溫), who had become the Great Divinity of Blazing Fire (*Yanhuo dashen* 焱火大神).³⁸ The figure of Deng Bowen again oscillates between the categories of Posterior Heaven and Anterior Heaven as shown by his canonical biographies show.³⁹ However, we will not continue to present this theme.

The Thunder specialist who happens to follow the exorcist tradition of the Divinity of Blazing Fire must evolve Blazing Fire out of himself and adopt the divinity as his alter ego in order to execute ritual tasks. Wang Wenqing featured the visualization of the divinity and

34 TT 1220: 56.5a–10a.

35 Concerning the divinity see also TT 1220: 122.1a. See F.C.Reiter, *Man, Nature and the Infinite, The Scope of Taoist Thunder Magic Rituals* (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 81) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 12. See below note nr.43, concerning another Buddhist import: the divinity Heavenly Mother Marici.

36 TT 1220: 56.5a.

37 TT 1220: 56.9a.

38 TT 1220: 56.6a.

39 TT 1220: 56.14b–15a. See Florian C. Reiter, *Basic Conditions of Daoist Thunder Magic*, 85–6.

spirit transformation in the tract *Assemble the Divine Force* (*Lianshen* 鍊神), which reads as follows:

Let your divine forces coalesce and sit quietly in meditation. Concentrate on the one most shining point in the Kidney Palace (*shengong* 腎宮). Within a short time, fire arises, gradually engulfing your body. You blow one load of breath from your mouth, and the ashes are altogether blown away. Then, you concentrate on the breaths in the five colors of the five directions, which mix and combine to shape a single united aura of radiant shining in purple and golden colors; this [aura] transforms itself into an infant (*ying'er* 嬰兒) that gradually grows big. [This image] has the beak of a phoenix with silver teeth, red hair, and a body shaped like a quail. Both eyes shine fiercely, penetrating [a distance] of ten thousand feet (*zhang* 丈). Both wings shine like fire. On both forelegs, a head with eyes emerges. Each of them also emits a shining fire. The belt has the colour of gold. The left hand clutches a fire auger and the right hand clutches an eight-faceted mallet. A fiery dragon winds around the body.⁴⁰ Thereupon you concentrate and see yourself as this Divine General of the Five Thunders. His head touches the heaven, and he stands on the earth. Close around him there are fiery clouds that wrap him with the divine and fierce might of blazing fire. This is “Blazing Fire,” the Heavenly Lord Deng (*Yanhuo Deng tianjun* 焱火鄧天君) who is the ruling and commanding divinity in the rituals of the fire chariots.⁴¹

Whatever the description of a Thunder divinity may contain, the priest must merge in person with the divinity as his alter-ego so as to reach an equally divine status and the resulting cosmic might.⁴² This is the pre-

condition for operating Daoist exorcist rituals. The separation of man and the divine melts away in the event of Thunder Magic rituals.

It is worthwhile considering some general and basic aspects of the world of the divine and the demoniac in Daoism. Early Daoism already produced conclusive books such as the *Demon Law of the Lady in Blue* (*Nüqing guilü* 女青鬼律), possibly dating to the third century, which reveals particularities of the demons.⁴³ The text describes the omnipresence of demoniac potentials that permeate the world and the cosmos.⁴⁴

Nüqing guilü starts out listing demons that are identified by proper human names. They occupy the astral constellations, indicators of the sexagesimal cycle that pairs the ten Heavenly Stems (*tiangan* 天干) and the twelve Earthly Branches (*dizhi* 地支). The demons fulfill clearly defined tasks. For example, the cruel divine demons of the five directions administer the killing of people. Two more examples include the cruel divine demon of the East that is named Jian Jiaozi (堅角子), and the demon of the West, which is named Xie Guzi (邪古子). We learn that the God-emperors deploy the five directional demons, together with other forces, to administer and punish the crimes committed in the world of man. We learn that these demons always dwell amongst people, but that nobody sees them.⁴⁵ By following the *Nüqing guilü*, the Daoist who knows the names of the demons can ward them off. He may also avoid them by helping the divinities who distribute vital breaths.

Other issues cause common people to wrongly neglect the divinities and focus solely on the demons, since they are afraid of them.⁴⁶ Demons are responsible, for example, for epidemics. We are told that such demoniac interferences are punishments that are deserved since they result from human misbehavior.⁴⁷ Demons were thought

40 TT 1220: 80.1a–1b (*Yanhuo lüling Deng tianjun dafa* 焱火律令鄧天君大法) shows a very good example for later (probably thirteenth century) *addenda* and embellishments of the status symbols of this divinity. The divinity is said to have, among other characteristics, “three eyes,” and below the two wings are “two heads. The left one is in charge of the wind, and the right one is in charge of the rain. The whole body of the divinity is engulfed in fierce fire, and he rides a red dragon.” There is no exclusive canon of such marks of identity, which religious imagination freely molds and enlarges on the basic pattern of the body of a quail.

41 TT 1220: 124.1b–2a.

42 In the thirteenth to fourteenth century the cult of the Heavenly Mother Marici (Molizhi 摩利支) developed, also in the context of

Thunder Magic rituals. It was quite demanding to transform into a female divinity, known as Dipper-Mother (Doumu 斗母), see TT 1220: 85.14b–18a. The divinity Marici is a Buddhist import; compare William E. Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (Taipei: Cheng Wen Pub. Co., 1972), 435a.

43 TT 790 *Nüqing guilü*. See A. Dudink in Schipper and Verellen, eds., *The Daoist Canon, A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, 127–9.

44 Also see TT 1201 *Daoyao lingqi shengui pinjing* for a survey on various categories like mountain spirits, see TT 1201: 5a–6b.

45 TT 790: 1.2b, 3a.

46 TT 790: 1.8a, 8b.

47 TT 790: 6.1a sq.

to be the souls of deceased and possibly malevolent persons who linger as dangerous demons. The notion of a posthumous transcendent carrier does not of course exclusively recognize negative phenomena.

The now familiar scholar and Daoist Wang Wenqing is a fine example of a person of this world who was posthumously allotted the rank of a Thunder divinity. The deified Wang Wenqing certainly fulfilled the category of Posterior Heaven. He was deified in the thirteenth or fourteenth century as Divine General *Jiazi* Wang Wenqing (*Jiazi shenjiang Wang Wenqing* 甲子神將王文卿).⁴⁸ *Jia* and *zi* are the first positions of the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches, and represent the traditional sexagesimal cycle of time that indicates the comprehensive cosmic might of the Divine General Wang Wenqing.

Many centuries earlier, the *Nüqing guilü* listed the name Radiance of Origin (*Yuanguang* 元光) for the demon in charge of *Jiazi* days.⁴⁹ Here the troupe of sixty demons comprised sixty persons dedicated to killing. They have human bodies, red hair, and wear no garments. They have ears but no eyes, and can soar rapidly for distances of one thousand miles. In human life they had committed murderous crimes, were not filial, and now are committed to harming people. If one keeps their names in mind all day long, these demons do not dare to approach the respective persons.⁵⁰

Centuries later, from the Song period onward, the Thunder divinities handled the same responsibilities that the *Nüqing guilü* had attributed to demons. The Thunder divinities were now in charge of human conduct and accordingly administered punishment.

In the Song period, a Thunder divinity was explained as internal, bodily reality. We have seen that the priest could adopt a divinity as a spiritual alter ego, which

he could then unite with the respective cosmic counterpart. The united entity of priest and divinity would exert martial might and execute exorcist functions by means of the Thunder amulet.

The Song-era presentations and descriptions as well as the terminology of Internal Alchemy lend the individual Thunder divinity a rather personal dimension. We understand that man creates the god that he is himself. Perhaps it is this aspect that we should keep in mind when we discuss the world of the divine in Daoism.

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TT 790 *Nüqing guilü* 女青鬼律

TT 1201 *Daoyao lingqi shengui pinjing* 道要靈祇神鬼品經

TT 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元

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48 TT 1220: 201.14b, 15a. See Florian C. Reiter, "Daoist Transcendence and Thunder Magic, as seen in the Great Rituals of Heavenly Ting of Metal and Fire in the Divine Empyrean (神霄金火天丁大法)," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 161 (2011), 418–19. Also see Robert Hymes, *Way and Byway, Daoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 154–62. Concerning the combination *Chia-tzu*, see for example TT 790: 1.4b, where the name of the demon in charge of a *Jiazi* day is The Radiance of Origin (Yanguang 元光).

49 TT 790: 1.4a. For this list also see TT 1201 *Daoyao lingqi shengui pinjing* 13a–16a. The description of the troupe varies. They lead on the three cadavers (*sanshi* 三尸), which are disastrous forces in the human body. The demons have a human body but no head at all. And yet, they have ears but no eyes.

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Envisioning and Observing Women's Exclusion from Sacred Mountains in Japan

LINDSEY E. DeWITT

Exclusion and Ōminesan

A THIRTEEN-FOOT-TALL stone pillar inscribed with the words “Women’s restricted zone from this point on” (*kore yori nyonin kekkai* 從是女人結界) stands at the main trailhead to Sanjōgatake 山上ヶ岳, in the Ōminesan 大峰山 mountain range of southern Nara prefecture. Accompanying it is a roughly eleven-foot-tall wooden gate topped by metal spikes that bears the words “Women’s restricted zone gate” (*nyonin kekkai mon* 女人結界門) (Figure 1). Welcoming the prospective visitor before both gate and stone pillar is a signboard roughly six feet tall and three feet wide stating in English and Japanese, “No Woman [sic] Admitted: Regulation of this holly [sic] mountain Omnesan prohibits any woman from climbing farther through this gate according to the religious tradition.”

These inscriptions demonstrate the practice of women’s exclusion, a widespread cultural phenomenon in Japan.¹ Elements of gender-exclusive practices can be

found at many mountains in Japan, especially those like Ōminesan controlled by powerful Buddhist temples. At the same time, our understanding of how restricted zones were established or managed is very limited, as are the ways in which men and women negotiated and contested them in the past and today, or how they changed over time. We know that most territorial prescriptions dissolved in 1872 when the government of the Meiji period 明治時代 (1868–1912) granted women full access to mountain shrine and temple lands, but this reveals only one part of the story.² Female climb-

For an overview of the broader phenomenon, see Suzuki Masataka, *Nyonin kinsei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002), 6–26; and Minamoto Junko, editor, “*Nyonin kinsei*” Q&A (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 2005), 1–10. Women’s exclusion from sacred sites (including but not limited to mountains) is a global phenomenon. Mt. Athos in Greece, for example, is a World Heritage-designated sacred mountain that prohibits women’s access.

2 According to the May 4, 1872, Grand Council of State Edict 98 (*Dajōkan fukoku dai kyū hachi gō* 太政官布告第九八號), “Any remaining practices of female exclusion on shrine and temple lands shall be immediately abolished, and mountain climbing for the purpose of worship, etc., shall be permitted” 社佛閣ノ地ニテ女人結界ノ場所有之候処自今被廢止候条登山參詣等可為勝手事. Naikaku Kanpōkyoku, *Hōrei zensho* 5(1) (Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1974), 82.

1 “Women’s exclusion” (*nyonin kekkai* 女人結界, *nyonin kinsei* 女人禁制) denotes a variety of prohibitions against women from entering sites, such as shrines, temples, mountain pilgrimage sites, festivals, sumo platforms, tunnels, or engaging in certain activities, for example brewing sake or firing kilns. In this essay I use the term most often to refer to women’s exclusion from mountains.



Figure 1. Sanjōgatake (peak) main trailhead, Ōminesan. Nara prefecture (Japan). Photograph by the author, 2015.

ers were already permitted at Fujisan 富士山 by 1860; at sacred Buddhist Kōyasan 高野山, Wakayama 和歌山 prefecture, they remained *persona non grata* until 1906.³ The stone and wooden signage at Ōminesan is not physically historical but modern—erected less than fifty years ago—and conceptually inconsistent, indicative of neither a true modern nor ancient history, but instead presenting us with an “imagination,” that is, an imagining of the past.

Ōminesan, a name synonymous with a mountain range and a single peak, Sanjōgatake 山上ヶ岳, is set apart geographically in the Kii 紀伊 peninsula, which consists of several thousands of peaks (Figure 2). It is distinguished in many ways: set apart culturally, imagined in popular and scholarly perceptions as a changeless and timeless place and the spiritual heartland of Japanese mountain religion (Shugendō 修験道), a National Park, and a World Heritage Site.⁴ Ōminesan

is also set apart by its exclusionary practices toward women. Women’s exclusion, too, is often imagined as changeless and timeless. The term “religious tradition,” or *shūkyōteki dentō* 宗教的傳統, appears frequently on signboards and in conversation to describe, defend, and thus legitimate the ban on women from entering Sanjōgatake. Tradition (*dentō*) is part of the discourse of modernity in Japan, when practices of the past were

3 Miyazaki Fumiko, “Female Pilgrims and Mt. Fuji: Changing Perspectives on the Exclusion of Women,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, no. 3 (2005): 340. On the dissolution of the ban at Kōyasan, see Washio Junkyō and Jinki Hōju, “Nyonin kekkai no haishi tenmatsu,” *Gendai Bukkyō, Jūshūnen kinen tokushūgō* (1933), 236.

4 For studies of Ōminesan’s religious history, see Shudō Yoshiki,

Kinpusenji (Tokyo: Meiwa Insatsu Kabushikigaisha, 2004); and Miyake Hitoshi, *Ōmine Shugendō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōsei, 1988). For a study of Heian-era Ōminesan (Kinpusen), see Heather Blair, *Real and Imagined: The Peak of Gold in Heian Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015); and for the Tokugawa period, see Georgios Klonos, “Shugendō in the Tokugawa Period: Mount Ōmine as Imaginary Space and Place of Practice,” PhD dissertation (Stanford: Stanford University, 2012). Ōminesan is part of the Yoshino–Kumano National Park formed in 1936. On National Park designation and women’s exclusion, see Lindsey E. DeWitt, “A Mountain Set Apart: Female Exclusion, Buddhism, and Tradition at Modern Ōminesan, Japan,” PhD dissertation (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 2015), esp. 91–108.

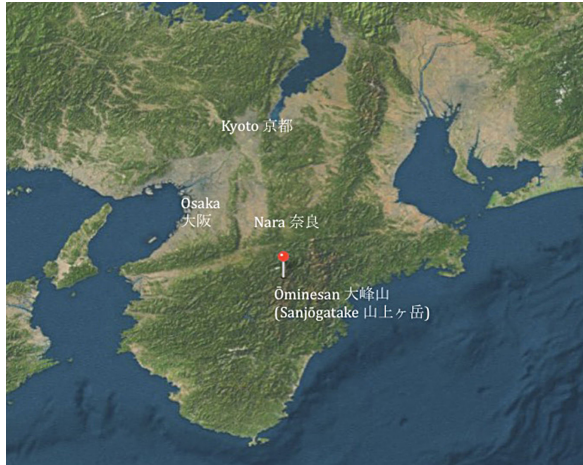


Figure 2. Wakayama and Nara prefectures map with the the peak Sanjōgatake, Ōminesan, marked by a red dot. Image adapted from Google Maps.

either carefully protected and maintained or redefined and reformulated in the interests of a new juxtaposition of past and present—a resistance to modernity, a promotion of modernity, or elements of both. The mode of historical summation we see at and for Ōminesan suggests a practice of women’s exclusion that is ancient and stable. The standard narrative presents a 1300-year practice originating with the layman-cum-saint En no Gyōja 役行者 (634?–701?), who legendarily founded the mountain’s wealth of religious practices. The beliefs that paralleled the veneration of En, along with their associated practices, were later defined as Shugendō.

The *Yichū liùtiē* 義楚六帖 (Jpn. *Giso rokujō*, henceforth cited by the Japanese pronunciation since that is how people in Japan recognize and deploy it) preserves the travel records of the monk Yichū 義楚 (907–960) in Japan in the year 954.⁵ One short passage paints a vivid portrait of Ōminesan’s (given as Kinpusen 金峯山) exceptional elements and exclusive topography:

The Peak of Gold [Kinpusen] lies 500 *ri* south of Japan’s capital. Bodhisattva Kongō Zaō [resides] at the summit. It is the supreme other world. There are pines, cypresses, famed flowers, and strange plants. At several hundred shrines and temples small and large dwell those practicing the Great Way. Women cannot climb it. At present, men afire with the yearning to go up there must abandon

alcohol, meat, and sex for three months; then all their hearts’ desire will be fulfilled. It is said that the [mountain’s] bodhisattva is the transformation body of Maitreya, like Mañjuśrī at Wutaishan.⁶

又云ワク。本國都城ノ南五百余里ニ金峯山有り。頂上ニ金剛藏王菩薩有り。第一ノ靈異ナリ。山ニ松松名花軟草有り。大小ノ寺数百、節行高道ノ者コレニ居ス。曾テ女人有リテ上ルコトヲ得ズ。今ニ至リテ男子上ント欲スレバ、三月酒肉欲色ヲ断ツ。求ムル所皆遂グ。云ワク、菩薩ハ是レ弥勒ノ化身、五台ノ文殊ノ如シ。

The *Giso rokujō*, and this passage in particular, serves as a font of legitimacy for locals and patrons of the mountain. The passage is universally familiar in the Ōminesan area today. Local residents can easily recount it, and it appears ubiquitously in local literature. The same passage is routinely cited in scholarship on Ōminesan, too, where it is offered up as one of the earliest substantiations of female exclusion in Japan.⁷

The present article explores the relationship between this ancient imagination—the imagining—of the mountain and modern realities. The following two-part analysis uses excerpts from the *Giso rokujō* as focal points to investigate how modern agency transfigures ancient texts: first, the matter of women’s exclusion,

5 Also known as *Shishi liùtiē* 釋氏六帖 (Jpn. *Shakushi rokujō*). See *Shishi liùtiē* 釋氏六帖 (Kyoto: Hōyū Shoten, 1979). The Chinese original can be referenced in *Shishi liùtiē* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1990).

6 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 459.

7 Examples can be found in Suzuki, *Nyonin kinsei*, 124–25; and Taira Masayuki, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1992), 412.

analyzed in light of contemporary World Heritage literature; second, austerities undertaken by men in preparation for climbing the mountain, considered in view of contemporary access policies.

Reconstructing History: "Women cannot climb it"

The "Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range" UNESCO World Heritage Site, inscribed in 2004, features Ōminesan as a stage for mountain ascetic practices whose reputation as "one of the most sacred mountains in Japan" had reached "as far as China" by the tenth century.⁸ Here, World Heritage literature irrefutably references the *Giso rokujō*: no other Chinese texts survive that mention Ōminesan. This section examines how the World Heritage vision of Ōminesan approaches the mountain's ban on women.

Let us first consider the nominating process of World Heritage Sites, which requires rigorous articulation of a site's exceptional cultural or natural uniqueness. According to UNESCO's operational guidelines, a nomination dossier should provide "all the information to demonstrate that the property is truly of 'outstanding universal value.'" Each application requires official state endorsement before it can be submitted to the UNESCO World Heritage Centre in Paris, France, where the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) evaluates it. If an application receives approval, ICOMOS sends an inspectorate to visit the sites under consideration in order to issue an evaluation of the state of conservation (natural and cultural) and site management. ICOMOS also conducts a risk analysis, judging the authenticity and integrity of the claims and compar-

ing the site with other similar sites. The World Heritage Committee makes the final decision on whether a site deserves World Heritage inscription. In a word, World Heritage status is the culmination of a long and exhaustive process. The nomination that includes Ōminesan, for example, was crafted over the course of ten years.

The eight-page evaluation for Ōminesan and other nominated sites in the Kii mountains identifies three issues relating to authenticity: the reconstruction of monuments, visitor facilities, and overhead wires. It also mentions one issue connected to integrity, the discontinuity of the listed pilgrimage routes.¹⁰ The World Heritage Committee approved the nomination, granting Ōminesan World Heritage status, but one very important matter is conspicuously absent from the nomination dossier or any other related literature: women's exclusion. In the carefully crafted 260-page nomination dossier, which represents almost a decade of planning and approval from within and without Japan, there is not a single mention of the words "woman," "women," "gender," or "exclusion." It is neither hyperbole nor truth to say that the World Heritage Committee simply does not acknowledge the universally recognized discriminatory practice of restricting access to public lands, however, because the status of the lands is not universally agreed upon.

The ICOMOS "team" sent to survey Ōminesan consisted of one person, a male professor from Korea. This came as a great relief in Dorogawa 洞川, today's opening to the main Sanjōgatake trailhead, where residents had decided in advance that if a woman arrived as part of the inspectorate she would be refused entrance to Sanjōgatake, even if it jeopardized the entire World Heritage designation.¹¹ Dorogawa headman Masutani Gen'ichi 榎谷源逸 climbed Sanjōgatake with the Korean professor and described the experience in the following manner: "He asked me, 'OK, I understand the mountain has this tradition.' And I waited. And he asked me, 'Do you think this small gate will be enough to keep them out? Women could just come up here at night and there is nothing to stop them.'" Masutani responded that "the same gate had kept them out for 1,300 years."¹² The gate in question was actually con-

8 ICOMOS, "Dossier for Designation of the Kii Mountain Range as a UNESCO World Heritage Site," No. 1142 (Tokyo/Paris: ICOMOS, 2004), 6. Since its foundation in 1972, UNESCO's World Heritage Convention has designated 1031 properties in 162 countries as such sites. Japan's number of World Heritage Sites totals nineteen to date. The Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range was the twelfth to be secured. A complete list of sites and accompanying maps and dossiers can be found at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/jp> (last accessed March 5, 2016).

9 Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention" (Paris, 2012), available online at <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide12-en.pdf> (last accessed March 1, 2016).

10 ICOMOS, "Dossier for designation," 39.

11 Bruce Wallace, "A Mountain Pilgrimage for Men Only: Tradition Bars Female Climbers," *Los Angeles Times*, September 4, 2004. Confirmed by the author during fieldwork in Dorogawa.

12 Ibid.

structed in 1970 when the restricted area was reduced in response to changing economic needs.¹³ The gate described at the opening of the paper (see Figure 1) stands at a newly consecrated site, The Bridge of Great Purity (*Seijō hashi* 清浄大橋), which has no historical record. The 1970 decision resulted in a topographical and conceptual re-mapping of Ōminesan's bounded realm that essentially stripped away the locational significance of a purported 1300-year-old boundary line, theretofore situated at a hall dedicated to En's mother, the Hahakodō 母公堂. Thus, in order to accommodate twentieth-century concerns, historically significant features of the mountain, in tandem with the memory of its religious practices, were and are altered or erased, reconstructing the history of Ōminesan.

In retrospect, Masutani and other proponents of the ban at Ōminesan had little reason to worry about the ICOMOS inspectorate. At the time, however, they certainly did. Many were dismayed at the inclusion of a male-only site, Sanjōgatake, in a World Heritage nomination, and some even mobilized to oppose it. The Nara Women's History Research Group (*Nara joseishi kenkyū kai* 奈良女性史研究会), for example, held a lecture series in 2001 to discuss gender discrimination in the context of tradition and custom at the mountain. The I-Net Women's Conference of Nara (*Ainetto josei kaigi Nara* アイネット女性会議なら) presented a report to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women that same year.¹⁴ A group called The Association Seeking to Liberate "Ōminesan's Female Exclusion" ("Ōminesan nyonin kinsei" *no kaihō o motomeru kai* 「大峯山女人禁制」の開放を求める会; hereafter *Motomeru kai*) was launched in 2003, led by scholar and advocate Minamoto Junko 源順子.¹⁵

The Association collected signatures protesting the designation, drawing on the support of a group of female teachers who publicly climbed Sanjōgatake in 1999, members of the Nara Women's History Research Group, and others. In March, *Motomeru kai* held a symposium to discuss Ōminesan's female exclusion. According to the Association's website, 12,418 signatures were counted as of March 31, 2004. They ranged from women who had climbed Ōminesan to Dorogawa

local people and even male temple priests. In April, *Motomeru kai* sent the signatures, along with a request to review the legality of female exclusion, to the following parties: the UNESCO World Heritage Commission, Japan's Prime Minister, the Minister of Education, Sports, and Technology (*Monbu kagaku daijin* 文部科学大臣), the Minister of Justice (*Hōmu daijin* 法務大臣), the Minister of Foreign Affairs (*Gaimu daijin* 外務大臣), the Gender Equality Bureau of the Cabinet Office (*Naikaku fu danjo kyōdō sankakukyoku* 内閣府男女共同参画局), the Nara Prefectural Government (*Nara kenchō* 奈良県庁), and the Nara District Legal Affairs Bureau (*Nara chihō hōmukyoku* 奈良地方法務局), the mountain's managing temples, lay religious climbing guilds, and the village headmen of the Dorogawa and Yoshino climbing guilds.¹⁶

The petition asserts, first, that a large sum of public tax money had been used to promote the UNESCO designation. The prefectural budget for World Heritage site promotion and related commemorative projects amounted to roughly eighty-two million yen in 2002 (roughly \$654,000), seventeen million yen in 2003 (roughly \$155,000), and eighty-three million yen in 2004 (roughly \$798,000). It also notes that several roads and trails within the restricted realm occupy public land and had received public funds for repairs. The petition also charged that the ban violated the United Nations Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (ratified by Japan in 1985), the Japanese Constitution, and the 1999 Basic Act for a Gender Equal Society (*Danjo kyōdō sankaku shakai kihonhō* 男女共同参画社会基本法), along with numerous other prefectural and local regulations.¹⁷

16 <http://www.on-kaiho.com/action/contents.html> (last accessed March 1, 2016).

17 Ibid. The other regulations *Motomeru kai* noted include the Nara Prefecture Ordinance Concerning Respect for Human Rights and the Abolition of All Discrimination (*Nara ken arayuru sabetsu no teppai oyobi jinken no sonchō ni kansuru jōrei* 奈良県あらゆる差別の撤廃及び人権の尊重に関する条例, 1997), Nara Prefecture Ordinance for the Promotion of Gender Equality (*Nara ken danjo kyōdō sankaku suishin jōrei* 奈良県男女共同参画推進条例, 2001), Yoshinoyama Town Ordinance Concerning Human Rights Protection and the Abolition of All Discrimination (*Yoshinomachi arayuru sabetsu no teppai to jinken yōgo ni kansuru jōrei* 吉野町あらゆる差別の撤廃と人権擁護に関する条例, 1997), and the Declaration Concerning "Village Human Rights Protection" (*Jinken yōgo mura' ni kansuru sengen* 「人権擁護村」に関する宣言). This information is available at <http://www.on-kaiho.com/action/20040828> (last accessed March 1, 2016). More information on the United Nations Convention for Elimination of All Forms

13 See DeWitt, "A Mountain Set Apart," 27–31.

14 DeWitt, "A Mountain Set Apart," 109.

15 Website for the Association Seeking to Liberate "Ōminesan's Female Exclusion," http://www.on-kaiho.com/action/action_top.html (last accessed March 4, 2016).

Motomeru kai members even protested on the steps of the Zaō Hall at Kinpusenji on October 13, 2003. None of these efforts, despite their breadth and variety, were effective in halting the nomination.¹⁸ In fact, a male representative from the tourism office of neighboring Tenkawa Village 天川村, summarily dismissed any efforts to change the ban, remarking that “we cannot touch it [the ban] because it’s a religious matter...the citizens’ group is completely dismissing the rule of a religion that dates back 1,300 years.”¹⁹ Ōminesan’s managing bodies reaffirmed with a united voice that the mountain would remain closed. Local men installed a new signboard at the main trailhead on April 28, 2014 that framed women’s exclusion as an “unquestioned” tradition that “countless people spent over a thousand years building up while revering the sacred mountain.”²⁰

Research on World Heritage representations by Sophia Labadi identifies a problematic tendency toward creating “linear, continuous and unilateral presentations of history” that can “omit different perspectives and other histories that might have been linked to the site.”²¹ Indeed, the dossier on Ōminesan crafts an idealized and imaginary vision of the mountain that emphasizes its “outstanding universal value” at the cost of erasing one of its most conspicuous features. This mode of selective remembering extends beyond women’s exclusion to include major historical vicissitudes at the mountain, such as the Meiji government’s forced separation of buddhas and gods (*shinbutsu bunri* 神

仏分離) in the late nineteenth century.²² The matter of discontinuous pilgrimage routes that appeared in the ICOMOS evaluation as potentially impinging upon the integrity of the nomination was similarly disregarded ultimately. World Heritage literature describes the Okugake 奥駆 as a trail “first constructed in the early 8th century,” which “linked the northern and southern sites of Yoshino and Omine, and Kumano Sanzan,” despite the fact that Japan’s Agency for Cultural Affairs and the prefectural government in Nara have resisted bestowing accolades on the Okugake precisely because it cannot be sufficiently documented as a historical route.²³

It is difficult to find any reason to discount the claims of Minamoto and *Motomeru kai*, who point out that UNESCO simply did not regard women’s exclusion as an important issue.²⁴ At Ōminesan, women’s exclusion stood as *the* important issue to many persons, male and female, and many histories, documented as well as remembered. The process of crafting a World Heritage site is an exercise in collective memory-making and cultural imagining, so how can we account for the absence of women’s exclusion in the reports and assessments? We find some clues by looking at the attitudes of local people during the nomination period and during the years following its successful inscription.

Residents of Yoshino 吉野 and Dorogawa, to the north and west of Sanjōgatake, respectively, enthusiastically promoted the designation, proud of the international acclaim bestowed upon the mountain and eager to benefit from increased tourism revenue that a UNESCO designation inevitably guaranteed. A news report in the *Los Angeles Times* on the heels of the designation notes that Dorogawa headman Masutani proudly showed off “World Heritage site key chains and World Heritage site bells that hang from a climber’s hip and tinkle to ward off bears.”²⁵ A special edition of *Kirin Beer* was made to celebrate the UNESCO designation.

These examples of “venerative consumption” point

of Discrimination against Women can be found on the official site <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/> (last accessed March 4, 2016). For the 1999 Basic Act for a Gender Equal Society, see http://www.gender.go.jp/about_danjo/law/kihon/9906kihonhou.html (last accessed March 1, 2016).

18 A photo of women protesting with banners in Japanese and Korean appears in Fujiwara Tomoyo, “‘Ōminesan nyonin kinsei’ no kaihō o motomeru undō madeni, dono yō na undō ga arimashita ka”, in Minamoto Junko, ed., “*Nyonin kinsei*” Q&A (Osaka: Kaiho Shuppansha), 154.

19 Yumi Wijers-Hasegawa, “Kii Mountain Range Gambit: UNESCO Heritage Bid Challenged over Gender Bias,” *Japan Times*, May 1, 2004.

20 Quoted in Usui Atsuko, “Tojiru seichi, aku seichi—‘Nyonin kinsei/nyonin kekkai’ o meguru giron kara miete kuru mono”, *Gendai shūkyō, Tokushū “Shūkyō fukkō no chūryū”* (2005): 210–11. No photo available but confirmed by other sources.

21 Sophia Labadi, “Representations of the Nation and Cultural Diversity in Discourses on World Heritage,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 7, no. 2 (2007): 161. No photo is available of the sign, which has since been taken down, but the text and sign have been confirmed in conversation with local residents in Dorogawa.

22 Heather Blair, “Zaō Gongen: From Mountain Icon to National Treasure,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 66, no. 1 (2011): 1–47. At other Japanese sacred sites as well, Blair points out, official descriptions feature a “projection of a stable, fertile past,” 39.

23 ICOMOS, “Dossier for designation,” 36. See also DeWitt, “A Mountain Set Apart,” 35 and 113–4.

24 Minamoto was quoted as saying, “UNESCO didn’t even seem to think this was an issue.” Wallace, “A Mountain Pilgrimage for Men Only.”

25 Ibid.

only in part to what seems to be at stake here.²⁶ On the one hand, a World Heritage designation is accompanied by soft power and cultural prestige. On the other, it contributes in a very real sense to local economies, which are heavily dependent on tourism. Women's exclusion, imagined as having occurred in the past and actively enforced in the present, is made history. The designation erases history by endowing a new history—replete with omissions and new proofs, and bearing the seal of a legitimate (government-approved) and universally recognized cultural organization. Modern agency distorts ancient visions of the mountain. The second part of the following analysis reveals a different type of discordance.

Drawn to Sacrality: "Men afire with the yearning to go up there must abandon alcohol, meat, and sex for three months"

Scholars have noted that liminal spaces, engendered by boundaries and revealed through transgression, form the bedrock of a site's sacredness.²⁷ Bernard Faure, for example, describes an elliptical "logic of transgression" that symbolically undergirds prohibitions against women.²⁸ According to this interpretation, exclusion itself sustains the sacredness of a site. But what exactly do these thresholds entail? Who benefits from them? Men climb sacred peaks for a variety of reasons that interweave spiritual and worldly dimensions.

Sarah Thal shows us in the case of Konpirasan 金比羅山 during the Edo period 江戸時代 (1600–1868) that sacred mountains may have been regarded as ideal sites of numinous purity that women's presence would disrupt, but they were also sites of "chaotic rev-

elry" that "served as an escape from the restrictions of everyday propriety" and would be meaningless without women present.²⁹ The businessmen from Western Japan who worshipped at the mountain and assured its economic livelihood did not pool community resources or make the arduous journey to the mountain merely to seek respite from the presence of women. Part of the journey was the promise of worldly pleasure. In Thal's words, "vacationing men found the gambling and pleasure quarters of Konpira's inns and brothels constituting one of the main attractions."³⁰ A similar situation existed at Ōminesan. Dorogawa's red-light district long operated as an unquestioned part of religious tourism at the mountain. When guilds of laymen and other male travelers began visiting Sanjōgatake in large numbers from the early modern period, they seem to have been drawn by both the mountain's perceived sacrality and the threshold of its borders. Dorogawa became the place where male travelers made last-minute preparations for the climb and later availed themselves of worldly pleasures at the many inns and teahouses, where they could call for the services of women.

Significantly, men were not the sole beneficiaries of Ōminesan's liminal spaces, even if they appear to have been the primary stakeholders. Women stood to gain in practical terms, as proprietors, wives, and daughters of local businesses, and in spiritual terms, as recipients of the power of the mountain, which the men who climbed Sanjōgatake brought back to town with them.³¹ The prostitutes benefited economically. This local state of affairs changed greatly after anti-prostitution legislation was passed in 1956, and today Dorogawa no longer seems to identify with this kind of practice, even if it still serves to contrast with the sacred realm beyond it with its many teahouses and rest spots.

26 David Chidester and Edward T. Linenthal, *American Sacred Space* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 4.

27 Abe Yasurō, "Nyonin kinsei to suisan," in "Miko to joshin," *Shirizu josei to Bukkyō* 4, edited by Ōsumi Kazuo and Nishiguchi Junko (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 153–240; D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard East Asian Center), 203; and Bernard Faure, *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 245.

28 Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 245. Discourse on "transgression" and the sacred appears in several works by prominent Western philosophers, but Faure is the first to my knowledge to apply the logic of transgression to the Buddhist context, in the case of not only female exclusion but also gender and sexuality more broadly. See also Faure, *The Red Thread: Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

29 Sarah Thal, *Rearranging the Landscape of the Gods: The Politics of a Pilgrimage Site in Japan, 1573–1912* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 114.

30 Ibid.

31 Miyake suggests that many women believed that "mingling" with mountain ascetics after their ascent would strengthen their fertility force. Miyake, *Ōmine Shugendō no kenkyū*, 7. Others have noted the existence of a widespread belief that ascetics were thought to bring back with them the power of the female mountain god from their climbs and bestow blessings for fertility or heal illnesses. See for example Morinaga Masao, "Shugendō ni okeru 'nyonin kinsei' ni wa, dono yō na mono desu ka", in Minamoto, ed., "Nyonin kinsei" Q&A, 23–4.

The boundary line at the foot of Sanjōgatake in Dorogawa marks a threshold where purity, and profanity, were exchanged and negotiated. The exchange and negotiation can be understood to take shape in at least three ways: first, between men and women in the form of union (often sexual acts); second, between men, individually and in groups, in the form of spiritual and bodily abstinence pre-climb and gratification post-climb; and third, from women to men, in the form of fertility and pleasure.

The image of pure-minded men observing rigorous bodily preparations in order to “sip the mist” of the mountains is part and parcel of a body of idealized religious practices at Ōminesan.³² It cannot, however, necessarily be reconciled with lived realities at the mountain today—nor, we venture, in times past. The vision of austerities undertaken by men in the oft-cited Chinese text, *Giso rokujō*, is difficult to substantiate at Ōminesan, where men are permitted to enter today without restriction. Here, when expedient, ancient visions of the mountain are disregarded.

Conclusion

Previous scholarship on women’s exclusion has framed inquiries around two main points—origins and early development—and presented a range of theorizations based on a small body of premodern texts, primarily literary, hagiographic, temple regulations. We benefit greatly from the results of textual investigations; they contribute a robust understanding of the mythological, symbolic, and imagined dimensions of restrictions.³³ But we know very little about the broader context of

most sources that form the bedrock of various origin theories such as for whom were they written, who was aware of them, or how they reflected and inflected practices on the ground. All we really know is who they were written by: aristocratic men and male clerics. Narrative frameworks construct largely fictionalized ideologies; they are retrospective idealizations that are neither grounded in real contexts nor necessarily aligned with lived realities. These should not be conflated with historical realities, which in the case of women’s exclusion are often not well understood.³⁴

This paper draws into relief some of the historical contours and complexities concerning women’s exclusion at Ōminesan in the modern and contemporary period. Proponents of the ban at Ōminesan today claim legitimation from ancient sources, but as I hope has been amply demonstrated, a clear disjuncture exists between those ancient sources and actual practices. The much-cited tenth-century Chinese account of Ōminesan describes it as a peak off-limits to women, but the mountain’s exclusionary practices are conspicuously absent from modern acknowledgments of the mountain’s unique cultural and religious heritage—even

32 Heian-period courtier Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062–1099) wrote of monks who “sip upon the mist” at Sanjōgatake. *Go-Nijō Moromichiki* 後二条師通記 (Record of Moromichi of Second Avenue), as it appears in Blair, *Real and Imagined*, 58. Alcoholic beverages may be purchased in direct proximity to the trailhead at the Bridge of Great Purity, from a vending machine or a small cafe. To watch, as I have, men in religious attire pack coolers of beer at dawn for what ostensibly devolves into a spirit-sipping journey up Sanjōgatake is surely at odds with the notion of religious pilgrimage more widely recognized in religious circles. See DeWitt, “A Mountain Set Apart,” esp. 175–80.

33 See Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 219–49; Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*, esp. 181–231; Gaynor Sekimori, “Sacralizing the Border: The Engendering of Liminal Space,” *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 4, no. 20 (2006): 53–69; Miyazaki, “Female Pilgrims and Mt. Fuji,” esp. 340–3; and Blair, *Real and Imagined*, 48–56.

34 Miyake Hitoshi’s massive 700-page study on religion at Ōminesan devotes only four pages to the entire history of female exclusion at the mountain. Miyake, *Ōmine Shugendō no kenkyū*, 390–394. Miyake is not the only scholar to consider the history of women’s exclusion at Ōminesan. Suzuki’s *Nyonin kinsei* devotes roughly fifty pages to historical concerns (28–79). See also Kizu Yuzuru, *Nyonin kinsei: Gendai kegare, kiyome kō* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1992), 62–136; and Minamoto, “*Nyonin kinsei*” Q&A, 134–230. In English, see Sekimori, “Sacralizing the Border;” and DeWitt, “A Mountain Set Apart.” Scholars commonly trace women’s exclusion from sacred mountains to the ninth century (or some two hundred years earlier according to proponents of the ban at Ōminesan today) and assume that it developed along a linear trajectory until the Meiji period or later. The historicity of exclusionary practices has not been convincingly demonstrated in many cases, however. Caleb Carter has pointed out in the case of Togakushisan 戸隠山 in Nagano Prefecture, for example, that medieval texts hint at the real existence of gendered exclusions but overall portray a “highly ambiguous picture of the policy, its physical boundaries and the degree of consensus.” Caleb Swift Carter, “Producing Place, Tradition and the Gods: Mt. Togakushi, Thirteenth through Mid-Nineteenth Centuries,” (PhD dissertation, Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 2014), 40. Material evidence (e.g., stone pillars, stele, women’s hall) at the mountain, according to Carter, traces back only to the eighteenth century. We find a similar situation at Ōminesan. The earliest physical evidence—a stone pillar at Aonegamine 青根ヶ峰 on the Yoshino side of the mountain—dates to 1865 and bears an inscription that notes it replaced a stone from 1754. A mountain guidebook from 1671 describes that same place but makes no mention of gender prohibition or a stone marker. DeWitt, “A Mountain Set Apart,” 55.

though they remained a matter of central importance beneath the official line. The encounter between women's exclusion and modern cultural imaginings reveals that expediency (often economic) and not cultural or religious transmission alone is a dominant driving force. On the other hand, observing the ambivalent status of purity in the production of Ōminesan's sacred space attests a different kind of discordance. Dorogawa stands at the border between the profane and sacred, but even when the sacred realm is not entirely pure, the perception that it is so (rather than observable realities) remains foremost in the imagination.

These examples cast doubt on the standard interpretive model of ascribing women's exclusion, and also men's inclusion, a largely unquestioned position in Japan's religious landscape. They show that exclusionary practices cannot be properly understood divorced from context. Paying attention to context reveals important historical vicissitudes, and historical vicissitudes are important to the study of women's exclusions for at least three reasons. First, they divulge the work involved in creating and maintaining sacred spaces and their boundaries. This is significant because the social and historical work involved in the making and remaking of this tradition often denies the social and historical changes that made it possible. At Ōminesan, proponents staunchly support the mountain's ban on women as a 1300-year-old religious tradition, and yet in 1970 those same agents sanctioned major reductions to the bounded realm in order to accommodate tourism and other economic interests.³⁵ Second, context reveals geographically and culturally contingent agents and arguments. Women's exclusion is not a monolithic entity; it takes on different guises depending on location and situation.³⁶ Third, context draws attention to the complex social, political, and economic entanglements that concerned parties such as religious institutions, local residents, patrons, critics, scholars, and others must negotiate.³⁷

35 See DeWitt, "A Mountain Set Apart," 27–57.

36 David Chidester offers insightful thoughts on the situational, relational, and contested aspects of sacred space (which I adapt here to women's exclusion). Chidester and Linenthal, *American Sacred Space* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), esp. 1–42.

37 Miyazaki's study of Fujisan in the Edo era highlights the highly contested and often tumultuous dynamic between associations of lay believers, local communities, and the female pilgrims themselves that led to the breakdown of the ban more than two decades before the Meiji edict. Miyazaki also, importantly, points out the economic benefits associated with permitting women's access—they were, after all, paying customers at the

Exclusion exists in social realities and reveals important aspects of the lives of men and the lives of women—it is highly contested and continually re-configured. Nevertheless, the work involved in the making and remaking of Ōminesan's traditions often denies the historical vicissitudes that underwrite it. This serves as a reminder that, in our analysis of religious landscapes, we need to attend all the more to the social and the historical precisely because the maintenance of religious landscapes is often characterized by the urge to deny the importance or erase the traces thereof. Recognizing these aspects requires us to take care in researching people, places, and religious practices and beliefs, and to question purported history, including recorded history. In so doing we enrich our understanding of the subjects involved and the histories that have yet to come.

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The Birth of Kūkai as a Literary Figure: A Translation and Analysis of Shinzei's Preface to the *Henjō Hokki Shōryōshū*

WILLIAM MATSUDA

Introduction

ALONG with such celebrated literati as Emperor Saga 嵯峨天皇 (786–842, r. 809–823), Ono no Minemori 小野岑守 (778–830), and Yoshimine no Yasuyo 良岑安世 (785–830), Kūkai 空海 (774–835) is often considered one of the outstanding *kanshi* 漢詩 poets of the early Heian period. Indeed, even a brief glance at his poetic output amply demonstrates his vast erudition in the Chinese classics and his creative prowess. In modern times, the image of Kūkai as a canonized literary figure is reinforced by the inclusion of a volume devoted to his writings in the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系 (henceforth, NKBT), a 102-volume collection of the premodern literary “classics.” The addition of Kūkai’s works to this anthology in 1965 was a declaration that he could be appreciated as a figure worthy of membership at the highest echelons of the Japanese literary world, not just as an esoteric theologian or the protagonist of innumerable legends. Nevertheless, modern collections of “literary classics” are deceptive because the anthologized texts are presented as timeless monoliths of uncontroversial canonicity. The presence of Kūkai’s poetic *oeuvre* among premodern masterpieces lends the impression that the “literary” quality of his work was immediately apparent from the onset. Yet, despite the laudatory assessment that Kūkai’s compositions

have received in later centuries, his reputation as a poet was not firmly established during his lifetime. This paper argues that Shinzei 真濟 (800–861), one of Kūkai’s senior disciples, was responsible for the earliest attempts at portraying Kūkai as a literary figure. Textual evidence for Shinzei’s agenda is present in the preface he penned for the *Henjō hokki shōryōshū* 遍照發揮性靈集,¹ an anthology of Kūkai’s poetry and prose that Shinzei edited. An analysis of this preface suggests that Shinzei’s attempts at literary canonization were intended to generate political and cultural capital for himself in the turbulent years immediately following Kūkai’s death.

About the *Henjō hokki shōryōshū*

Compared to Kūkai’s doctrinal works, the texts collected in the *Henjō hokki shōryōshū* (henceforth, *Shōryōshū*)² are not widely studied by scholars either

1 Possible translations of this title will be discussed below.

2 A note on the transcription: while texts from the Heian period transcribe the characters 性靈集 as *Seireishū*, this study will follow modern conventions and transcribe the collection’s title as *Shōryōshū*.

in Japan or abroad.³ This is not surprising, since the *Shōryōshū* lacks the thematic cohesion and philosophical synthesis of his religious treatises. Nevertheless, the *Shōryōshū* contains many important documents: letters that Kūkai wrote to various officials while in Tang China, the epitaph he dedicated to his departed master Huiguo 惠果 (746–806), along with numerous poems, memorials, and votive documents.

David Gardiner, who has published translations of two documents from the *Shōryōshū*, offers the following comments:

Although the *Shōryōshū* does not contain any of Kūkai's major doctrinal works, many of its texts portray esoteric Buddhist theories as refracted through the lens of actual practice, thereby revealing how Shingon Buddhism took shape in its initial stages, during his lifetime. The *Shōryōshū* is an important historical resource for understanding the concrete means by which Kūkai propagated Shingon Buddhism.⁴

Indeed, since the *Shōryōshū* is a collection of miscellaneous documents on a variety of subjects produced over the course of Kūkai's life, it provides a variety of insights into his everyday activities in religion, politics, and literature.

The 111 pieces of prose and poetry contained in the *Shōryōshū* are divided into ten volumes, with each volume generally dedicated to a specific category of writing, such as poetry, epistles, epitaphs, or votive documents. Textual studies on the transmission of the *Shōryōshū* text show that the first seven chapters of the collection have remained intact since their original compilation by Shinzei. However, at some point during the mid-Heian period the last three volumes were lost, so in 1079 Saisen 濟暹 (1025–1115), a scholar-monk at the Ninnaji 仁和寺 temple in Kyoto, visited various

temple libraries and recompiled the missing volumes using primary source texts he located. Yamazaki Makoto has suggested that Saisen's efforts at recovering the *Shōryōshū* were an attempt to reassert Kūkai's prestige in the face of Tendai revivalism.⁵ Strictly speaking, the last three volumes are referred to as the *Shōryōshū hoketsushō* 性靈集補闕鈔 (*Supplement to the Shōryōshū*), but for the purposes of this study, the entire collection will be referred to as the *Shōryōshū*. While Saisen presents the entire collection as Kūkai's work, modern scholarship generally agrees that the authorship of a number of the texts in the *Shōryōshū hoketsushō* cannot be positively attributed to Kūkai.

The documents in the *Shōryōshū* provide a glimpse into the multiple facets of Kūkai's complex life that cannot be readily discerned solely from his doctrinal writings. They demonstrate that Kūkai was not only an innovative theologian and erudite writer, but also a shrewd politician, a formidable advocate, and a passionate educator. Also, as these texts were produced by Kūkai during his actual lifetime, the *Shōryōshū* makes it possible to extricate Kūkai from the discourse of the Kōbō Daishi legend and squarely position him within the political, social, and literary milieu of his day.

Several years before Kūkai's death in 835, Shinzei started gathering the documents that appear in the collection. In addition, Shinzei authored the preface, a key text to understanding his attempt to canonize his master and generate political capital for himself. A complete, annotated translation of the preface is presented below.⁶

Shinzei's Preface to the *Shōryōshū*

西山禪念沙門真濟撰集

Compiled by Shinzei, Meditation Monk in the Western Mountains⁷

3 An exception is Judith Rabinovitch and Timothy Bradstock's *Dance of the Butterflies: Chinese Poetry from the Japanese Court Tradition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005). They hold the *Shōryōshū* in high regard, stating "Kūkai's collection of largely Buddhist Chinese poetry and prose, *Seireishū* [*Shōryōshū*] remains a classic in the Chinese literary tradition of the Heian court and bears testimony to his belief in the high value of Chinese letters in imparting Buddhist doctrine." Rabinovitch and Bradstock, 20.

4 David Gardiner, "The Consecration of the Monastic Compound at Mt. Kōya," in David White, ed., *Tantra in Practice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 127.

5 Yamazaki Makoto 山崎誠, "Kaidai," 解題 in Abe Yasurō 阿部安郎 and Yamazaki Makoto, eds., *Shōryōshūchū* 性靈集注 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2007), 837.

6 Translation by William Matsuda. NKBT vol. 71 used as the source text (see note below).

7 The Western Mountains refer to the Takaosanji temple. Watanabe Shōkō 渡辺照宏 and Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, eds., *Sangō shiiki*, *Shōryōshū* 三教指歸, 性靈集, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本文学大系, vol. 71 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 150.

余少小也頗貴先氏之風。志學之後。樂寂歷而不屑此事。仰幽人之幽行。爰有一上人。耽大道之大妙。号曰大遍照金剛。青襟積槐林之春秋。絳帳富山河之英萃。遂則陋域中近智。慕超然遠猷。出俗入真去偽得真。

When I was young, I had deep respect for the scholarly ways of my ancestors. But after reaching the age of “aspiration to learning,”⁸ I found solace in tranquility and lost interest in the Confucian teachings. Revering the profound actions of profound people,⁹ I immersed myself in the great mysteries of the Great Way. There is a saint named Dai Henjō Kongō. In the spring and fall of his student days he wore a blue collar¹⁰ and plucked the fruits of the forest of learning. Then, he displayed the scarlet curtain¹¹ of a teacher and collected the flowers of the mountains and rivers. Despising the shallow wisdom of our isolated land, he yearned for the transcendent and the profound. He left the vulgar and entered the true; he departed from the false and obtained the pure.

- 8 The age of fifteen, as recorded in the *Analects*: “The Master said, ‘At fifteen I set my heart on learning; at thirty I took my stand; at forty I came to be free from doubts; at fifty I understood the Decree of Heaven; at sixty my ear was attuned; at seventy I followed my heart’s desire without overstepping the line’” 子曰吾十有五而志乎學三十而立四十而不惑五十而知天命六十而耳順七十而從心所欲不踰矩。D.C. Lau, trans., *The Analects* (London: Penguin Books, 1979, 62); Kanaya Osamu 金谷治, ed. *Rongo 論語* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1964), 28.
- 9 “Profound people” 幽人 refers to the buddhas and bodhisattvas. (Watanabe and Miyasaka, 150).
- 10 Blue collars as student emblems are based on a poem in the *Book of Songs*:

青青子衿	O you, with the blue collar,
悠悠我心	Prolonged is the anxiety of my heart.
縱我不往	Although I do not go [to you]
子寧不嗣音	Why do you not continue your messages [to me]?

Imataka Makoto 今鷹真, et al., eds., *Henjō hokki shōryōshū 遍照發揮性靈集*, in *Kōbō daishi Kūkai zenshū henshū iinkai 弘法大師空海編集委員会*, eds. *Kōbō daishi Kūkai zenshū 弘法大師全集*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1984), 152; James Legge, *The She King* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 144.

- 11 The “scarlet curtain” 絳帳 is the scarlet silk curtain displayed by Confucian scholar and commentator Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166) when he lectured. Imataka et al., 152. According to the *History of the Later Han*, Ma “occupied an elevated hall. He sat before a scarlet curtain to teach his students; behind it were his female musicians. The students taught one another in order of seniority; rarely did anyone ‘enter his chamber.’” Haun Saussy, “Classical Exegesis,” in Victor H. Mair, ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 912.

夙巖豁溪之美。神木靈草之區。耳目所經未嘗不究。每歎曰。堤葉彫落久。龍葩待何春。吾生之愚憑誰歸源。但法有在。起予是天。天隨其願果擢求法。去延曆未銜命入唐。適見京城青龍寺大德惠果阿闍梨。

The beauty of the towering peaks and wide valleys and the variety of holy trees and sacred grasses tantalized his eyes and ears, and he could not help but be astounded. He frequently lamented, “It has been an eternity since the *bodhi* leaves fell. What spring does the dragon blossom tree await?¹² As I was born foolish, whom shall I rely upon to return to the Source? Yet, surely this Dharma exists, and what shall guide me is Heaven.”¹³ The emperor, assenting to his prayer, finally selected him to be a Dharma-seeking monk. At the end of the Enryaku reign, an era now long past, he journeyed to Tang China on the emperor’s orders.¹⁴ In the capital, he happened to meet the *acharya* Huiguo, the revered priest of the Qinglongsi temple.

即南天竺大弁正三藏上足弟子。代宗皇帝所師供也。和尚始一目以喜。待已厚曰。吾待汝久。來何遲矣。生期向闕。精勤早受。則授二部大曼荼羅法。百餘部秘藏。上人性也。得善聆聲知意經目止口。積年之功旬時學得。

Huiguo was a senior disciple of the Indian monk Amogavajra, the Great Senior Preceptor of the Tripitaka who had served Emperor Daizong.¹⁵ Huiguo took one look at him [Kūkai] and was overjoyed. Welcoming him, warmly he said, “I have waited for you for so long. Why did you come so late? My life is almost at an end. Be diligent

- 12 The dragon-blossom tree is supposed to blossom when the *bodhisattva* Maitreya appears in the world. (Watanabe and Miyasaka, 151).
- 13 This is an allusion to the *Analects*: “The Master said, ‘There is no one who understands me.’ Tsu-kung said, ‘How is it that there is no one who understands you?’ The Master said, ‘I do not complain against Heaven, nor do I blame Man. In my studies, I start from below and get through to what is above. If I am understood at all, it is, perhaps, by Heaven.’” 子曰莫我知也夫子貢曰何為其莫知也子曰不怨天不尤人下學而上達知我者其天乎。Watanabe and Miyasaka, 150; Lau, 129; Kanaya, 203. “Heaven” indicates the emperor.
- 14 The phrase “sent on a mission on the ruler’s orders” 銜君命而使 appears in the *Liji* 禮記. (*Book of Rites*). Watanabe and Miyasaka, 150.
- 15 Emperor Daizong 代宗 ruled from 762–779.

and quickly receive my teachings.” Then Huiguo conferred the teachings of the dual Womb and Diamond mandalas and more than one hundred¹⁶ texts from the secret treasury. Saint Kūkai’s nature was such that he could understand the import of what he heard, and whatever his eye passed over was retained by his tongue. He accumulated years’ worth of effort and learning in a single season.

大師亦奄然而從化。故付法云。今有日本沙門來求聖教。以兩部秘奧壇儀印契。唐梵無恙悉受於心。猶如寫瓶。吉矣汝伝燈了吾願足焉。金剛薩捶扣大日之寂後。所謂第八折負者吾師是也。故得伝命以唐梵之式。答恩以秘密之實。真言加持之道日來漸。曼荼羅頂之風是時彌布。

The Great Master Huiguo suddenly went to his death.¹⁷ That is why when Huiguo transmitted the Dharma to Dai Henjō Kongō he said, “Now, there is a monk from Japan who came to seek the sacred teachings, embodied in the secret rituals and mudras of the Womb and Diamond platforms. He has taken the pledge in both the Womb and Diamond *mandala* chambers. Whether in Chinese or in Sanskrit, he received the teachings in his heart; it was like pouring water from one jar into another. How fortunate that I transmitted the lamp to you! My prayers have been fulfilled.” My master is the eighth in line from Vajrasatta, who sought the *samadhi* of Mahāvairocana.¹⁸ That is why he used both Chinese and Sanskrit rituals to fulfill his mission of transmitting the Dharma to Japan and used the treasure of esoteric teachings to display his gratitude to the emperor. The way of Shingon rituals was transmitted on that day, and *abhisekha* using *mandala* spread from that moment on.

是即以我上國聖出運大化兼徹。而令印度新教

授若人以安來者矣。于嗟迷方問津何得千里即目。弟子久渴清塵恭至下風。鐘籟相響新扣如舊。執事年深未見其淺。誠知二氣變龍雲雷成章。信不虛言哉。和尚昔在唐日作離合贈土僧惟上。前御史大夫泉州別駕馬綸一時大才也。覽則驚怪因送詩云。

Our Emperor Kanmu, a sage whose like appears once every thousand years, spread his vast virtue throughout the realm, making it possible for Kūkai to bring peace to future generations with these new teachings from India. Ah! Lost, I ask for the way to the ford; how can I see thousands of *li* ahead?¹⁹ I, his disciple, have long sought a world free of dust, so I reverently received his teachings. Just as a bell and flute are in perfect harmony, newly acquainted people may speak to each other as though they were old friends. Though I have served him for many years, I have yet to see anything shallow in his thought. The dual forces of yin and yang transforming into a dragon and then forming clouds that create thunder—I now know that this is not an empty saying!²⁰ Long ago, when the master was in China, he composed a poem in the *li he* style and presented it to Weishang, a local monk.²¹ Ma Zong, the former Inspector General

19 In the *Analects*, Zilu (Tsu-lu) 子路 asks two men plowing a field for directions to the river crossing. Upon learning that Zilu was a disciple of Confucius, one of the men says (in derision) that Confucius should already know the way. Watanabe and Miyasaka, 152; Lau, 150; Kanaya, 253–4. Here, it seems that Shinzei has inverted the rhetorical thrust of the source text and turned it into an expression of humility.

20 Modern commentators have opposing interpretations: Shinzei is praising his ability to immediately absorb Kūkai’s teachings, Imataka et al., 154, or the inability of his disciples to perceive fully the profundity of his actions, Watanabe and Miyasaka, 154. The second interpretation draws on commentary to the *Daode jing*. Ibid.

21 Weishang was one of Huiguo’s disciples, and was mentioned in the epitaph that Kūkai composed for Huiguo (refer to Chapter Two). *Lihe* 離合 (separating and joining) refers to a “miscellaneous” style of Chinese poetry where the component of the Chinese character (such as the radical or the remainder) used to start the first line is then used to begin the second line. Although the *li he* poems that Kūkai and Weishang exchanged are no longer extant in any sources from the period, the *Kansekishō* 減石鈔, a commentary on the *Shōryōshū* written by Saisen, claims to contain one of the *li he* poems Kūkai wrote in China:

磴危人難行	Stone-paved slopes crumble, they are difficult for people to traverse
石嶮獸無登	The rocks are steep, wild beasts do not climb them

16 According to the *Goshōrai mokuroku*, there were 142. Ibid.

17 化 is an abbreviation of 遷化, which refers to the death of a high priest. Ibid.

18 Vajrasatta 金剛薩捶 is considered the second patriarch of esoteric Buddhism. In the *Mahāvairocana sutra*, Vajrasatta resides in Mahāvairocana’s cosmic palace and serves as his interlocutor for his discourses on all-embracing wisdom and enlightenment. Ryuichi Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 131–2.

and Vice-Governor of Quanzhou,²² was one of the great talents of his generation. He saw Kūkai's poetry and was astounded with disbelief. Therefore, he sent Kūkai the following poem:

何乃萬里來	Why have you come from so far away?
可非銜其才	Surely not to flaunt your talents!
增學助玄機	Study even harder and aid the profound teachings!
土人如子稀	People here like you are rare

其後藉甚滿邦緇素仰止。詩賦往來動剩篋笥。遂使絕域寫憂殊方通心。詞翰俱美誠興東方君子之風。故毘陵子胡伯崇歌云。

Afterward, his fame spread²³ throughout the land, and he was revered by both laymen and clergy. Poems and rhapsodies were exchanged back and forth, and before long his letterbox was filled with poetry. In this way he let out his laments in a faraway land, and gave expression to his feelings

燭暗迷前後	The torch is extinguished, there is confusion all around
蜀人不得過	People from Shu would be unable to make their way through

The first character in the second line 石 (stone) is the radical from the character that opens the first line 磴 (stone-paved slope). The reverse operation is performed in the third and fourth lines: the non-radical remainder (in this case, the phonetic portion) of the first character in the third line 燭 (torch) is used to start the fourth line 蜀 (Shu, a non-Han kingdom located near present-day Chengdu, Sichuan Province), *Ibid.*, 493.

22 Shinzei lists two distinct titles for Ma Zong: former Inspector General 前御史大夫 and Vice-Governor of Quanzhou 泉州別駕. Quanzhou is part of modern-day Fujian Province. Inspector General was a fairly high position (Junior Third Rank, one step below the Ministers of State) and responsible for supervising government officials. A provincial vice-governor was classified as Fifth Rank, Lower. The *Old Records of the Tang* 旧唐書 and the *New Records of the Tang* 新唐書 both mention that Ma Zong was appointed vice-governor as a demotion, but not his former service as an Inspector General. Imataka et al., 154. Ma Zong claimed also to be the descendant of Ma Yuan 馬元 (14–49), the famed Han general who suppressed a rebellion in what is modern-day Vietnam and erected “bronze pillars” to mark the southern boundaries of the Han state. Historical veracity notwithstanding, Ma Zong also claimed to have erected bronze pillars at the same site to commemorate his great-ancestor's achievement. Liam Kelley, *Beyond the Bronze Pillars: Envoy Poetry and the Sino-Vietnamese Relationship* (Honolulu, HI: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 7, 102.

23 The phrase 藉甚 is an abbreviated quotation of a line from the *Records of the Han*: 名聲藉甚. Imataka et al., 154–5.

in a foreign country. His diction and writing were both beautiful, and he truly adopted the style of the Eastern gentleman.²⁴ That is why Hu Bochong of Piling²⁵ said in his song:

說四句演毘尼	Preaching on the Four Verses ²⁶ and expounding on the Precepts
凡夫聽者盡歸依	All those who hear these shall take refuge

天假吾師多伎術。就中草聖最狂逸。不可得難再見。是以啄雞奔獸之點獨留九州。涌雲迴水之畫盛變八紘。或臥煙霞而獨嘯任意腑詠。或對天問以獻納隨手成章。至如慕仙詩。高山風易起。深海水難量。又遊神泉。高台神構非人力。池鏡泓澄含日暉。

The heavens have granted my master many skills, but none as extraordinary as his grass script. How rare—it will be difficult to see such talent again! It is for this reason that the calligraphic styles depicting the power of a rooster's beak or a charging beast have remained in the Nine Provinces of China, and brushwork like floating clouds and flowing water have spread to Japan. One day, Kūkai lay in the mist talking to himself and committed his thoughts to poetry. On another day, he presented a poem in reply to the emperor, and it was as though the writing just flowed from his hand. In a poem where he seeks the mountain sage, he wrote, “On tall peaks, the wind is easily aroused/In deep seas, water is difficult to measure.”

24 The “Records of Eastern Barbarians” 東夷伝 chapter of the *Records of the Later Han* 後漢書 refers to a land of gentlemen across the eastern seas. Watanabe and Miyasaka, 154.

25 Hu Bochong 胡伯崇 (dates unknown) was a poet whom Kūkai apparently encountered in China, but very little is known about him, and the specific location of Piling cannot be ascertained from Chinese gazetteers of the period. Watanabe and Miyasaka, 154, 493.

26 This is likely to be from a *gatha* 偈 (Chn. *ji*, Jpn. *ge*) known as the *Gatha on the Admonitions of the Seven Buddhas* 七仏通戒偈, a compilation of the common teachings of the historical Buddha and the six Buddhas who came before him. The “four verses” are:

諸惡莫作	Commit no acts of evil
衆善奉行	For the benefit of all, perform acts of good
自淨其意	Keep one's thoughts pure
是諸仏教	These are the teachings of the Buddhas

Ibid., 493.

Also, when he visited the Shinsen'en Garden, he wrote, "The high dais is the work of the gods and not of man/The mirror-like surface of the pond is crystal clear and absorbs the sunlight."

比興爭宣氣質衝揚。風雅勤戒煥乎可觀。夫其詩賦哀讚之作。碑誦表書之制。所遇而作不假草案。纔了不競把。無由再看之。弟子憂金玉糶谿。歎蘭桂壓秋艾。侍坐而集記略得五百以來紙。兼摭唐人贈答。稍警策雜此帙中。編成十卷。名曰遍照禿揮性靈集。其餘調分卷別者。今之所不撰也。願吾黨好事永味師迹。俾禪餘之愁來。時時披对此文。唯備一菴遊目。誰稱他人沽哉。

In these verses simile and metaphor vie with each other, and instruction and odes shine throughout.²⁷ The poems, rhapsodies, laments, and praises he composed and the monuments, prayers, petitions, and calligraphy he produced were created on the spot without benefit of a draft. If you did not seize a text as soon as he finished it, you would never see it again. I, his disciple Shinzei, worry that the gold and jade will mingle with stones in the riverbed, and lament that the orchids and cassia will be overrun by the autumn mugwort. Serving at his side, I have collected and transcribed his writings, accumulating over five hundred pieces of paper. In addition, I have included his correspondence with people of Tang as outstanding examples of poetry and prose. This collection of ten volumes I have named the *Henjō hokki shōryōshū*. Extraneous texts that fall outside the categories presented in these volumes have been excluded for the time being. It is my wish that Kūkai's disciples savor his writings for years to come, and that they occasionally open and read these volumes as respite from their meditation. Mere amusement for the eye while alone in one's hut—who would think of peddling them to others?²⁸

Situating the Preface

The first half of the preface provides a summary of the key elements common to hagiographic narratives on Kūkai: his first encounter with Huiguo, how this encounter was predicted by Huiguo, and how transmitting the esoteric teachings to Kūkai was as simple as "pouring water from one jar into another." Kūkai's facility in Chinese and Sanskrit—staples in any account that mentions Kūkai's sojourn in Tang China—are also mentioned.

Once the requisite details establishing Kūkai's background and lineage are provided, Shinzei describes Kūkai's literary accomplishments. He does not attempt to situate Kūkai's literary output into an overtly Confucian "statescraftism" or esoteric Buddhist discursive frame; rather, he presents Kūkai as a literary talent in his own right. By mentioning Kūkai's encounters with literati-bureaucrats such as Ma Zong 馬綜 (?–823), who declares Kūkai to possess a talent rarely found even in China, Shinzei establishes Kūkai as a literary figure on a par with the Chinese, something that very few Japanese literati (even those who were prolific poets in Chinese) could claim. However, this strategy should not be interpreted as an attempt to marginalize *kanshi* composed by other Japanese as inferior. Rather, Kūkai's experiences in China are used to compensate for his lack of proper credentials, especially the completion of a course of study at the State College. In other words, since Kūkai was not in a privileged position as a canonical writer, "China" is evoked to provide an alternative source of legitimacy, not to challenge the quality of Japanese *kanshi*. Finally, Shinzei cites specific poems composed by Kūkai and presents them as examples of "simile" 比 (Ch. *bi*) and "metaphor" 興 (Ch. *xiao*), demonstrating Kūkai's mastery of poetic forms found in canonical sources such as *The Book of Songs*.

Shinzei also explicitly states another major objective in compiling the *Shōryōshū*: collecting and preserving Kūkai's best literary works for the benefit of his disciples and for future generations. He also presents the potential for Kūkai's writings to serve as a diversion by

27 Shinzei references four of the six modes of expression found in the *Book of Songs*: *bi* 比 (simile), *xing* 興 (metaphor), *feng* 風 (instruction) and *ya* 雅 (odes). The remaining two are *fu* 賦 (description) and *song* 頌 (hymn). Imataka et al., 155; Victor H. Mair, "Introduction: The Origins and Impact of Literati Culture," in Victor H. Mair, ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 5.

28 This is a reference to the *Analects*: "Tsu-kung said, 'If you had a beautiful piece of jade here, would you put it away safely in a box

or would you try to sell it for a good price?' The Master said, 'Of course I would sell it. Of course I would sell it. All I am waiting for is the right offer'" 子貢曰有美玉於斯韞匱而藏諸求善賈而沽諸子曰沽之哉沽之哉我待賈者也。Imataka et al., 156; Lau, 98; Kanaya, 122.

suggesting that the monks read them when taking a break from meditating. Finally, Shinzei hints at sharing Kūkai's writings with a wider readership when he says "Mere amusement for the eye while alone in one's hut—who would think of peddling them to others?" 唯備一菴遊目誰稱他人沽哉。

The title of the collection, *Henjō hokki shōryōshū*, reveals a great deal about Shinzei's motives. While Kūkai saw himself as a religious and philosophical pioneer, and part-time statesman, Shinzei wanted to use the *Shōryōshū* to establish Kūkai as a literary figure. The title itself is infused with an amalgam of continental literary and philosophical aesthetics. *Henjō* 遍照 (shines throughout the world, i.e., Vairocana), was often used in part of Kūkai's Buddhist name Henjō Kōngō 遍照金剛 (the adamantine that shines throughout the world). The expression *hokki* 發揮 is taken directly from a line in the *Yijing* 易經 (*Book of Changes*) that states, "The six lines, as explained (by the Duke of Kau [Zhou]), bring forth and display (its meaning), and everything about it is (thus) indirectly exhibited" 六爻發揮旁通情也.²⁹ In other words, this phrase refers to the manifestation of latent abilities. *Shōryō* 性靈 literally means "the spirit of the essence," in this case, the "essence" of Kūkai's writings. Shinzei appropriated the concept of *shōryō* from a line in the *Wenzhang* 文章 (Essay on Literature) section of the *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 (*Family Instructions for the Yen [Yan] Clan*) by Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–591).³⁰ The *Yanshi jiaxun* was composed during the turbulence of the late Northern and Southern Dynasties period (420–589), and its author rebuked the decadent tendencies of southern literature, as opposed to the rel-

ative austerity of northern culture.³¹ Specifically, the line Shinzei quoted reads, "I have often thought, on the basis of accumulated (experience), a body of essays exhibits the writer's interests, develops his nature, and makes him proud and negligent of control as well as determined and aggressive" 原其所積文章標舉興會發引性靈使人矜伐故忽於持操果於進取.³² Although somewhat cumbersome, perhaps the most accurate translation of the title would be "Collection of Works that Reveal the Hidden Literary Talents of the One Who Illuminates the World."³³

Yet, no anthology is a transparent enterprise. While a surface reading of Shinzei's motives suggests that he is merely attempting to preserve exemplars of his master's writing for posterity, the political milieu in which he operated cannot be ignored. Japanese scholarship generally affirms Shinzei's stance and views the anthology as a literary monument to his master.³⁴ After Kūkai's death, rivalries among Shingon-affiliated temples, particularly Tōji and Kōyasan, meant that there was no central temple, or unified voice, for the fledgling Shingon

29 James Legge, *The I Ching*, in Max F. Muller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 16 (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 415.

30 Watanabe and Miyasaka, 36. Yan Zhitui was reared in the Confucian tradition, but was also a Buddhist with a keen sense of politics. *The Family Instructions for the Yen Clan* is a valuable document since it provides a detailed look into aristocratic life of the period through its admonitions on a vast array of topics, such as familial relations, proper study habits, the reconciliation of theory and practice, self-sufficiency, as well as the literary arts. This collection is also considered the prototype for the *jiaxun* 家訓 (family instructions) genre of writing. As a devout Buddhist, Yan vigorously defended the Buddhist faith against its critics. In addition to his writings defending the tenets of Buddhism, he compiled the *Yuanhunzhi* 冤魂志 (*Accounts of Ghosts with Grievances*), a collection of tales of karmic retribution. Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer and Victor H. Mair, "Buddhist Literature," in Victor H. Mair, ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 171.

31 Dore J. Levy, "Literary Theory and Criticism," in Victor H. Mair, ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 929–930.

32 Watanabe and Miyasaka, 36; Teng Ssu-yu, trans., *Family Instruction for the Yen Clan* (Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1968), 90.

33 Other translations of the title include *Collected Inspirations* (Donald Keene), *The Spirit and Mind Collection: The Revelations of Priest Henjō [Kūkai]* (Rabinovitch and Bradstock), and *Henjō's Collection for Giving Free Rein to the Spirit* (Emanuel Pastreich). Donald Keene, *Seeds in the Heart: Japanese Literature from the Earliest Times to the Late Sixteenth Century* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 187; Rabinovitch and Bradstock, 99; Emanuel Pastreich, "The Reception of Chinese Literature in Japan," 1084.

34 Perhaps this is not such a surprise, considering that the major scholarly treatments of the *Shōryōshū* have been by scholars with sectarian affiliations. One of earliest attempts to provide a modern interpretation of the *Shōryōshū* is Sakata Kōzen's *Shōryōshū kōgi* 性靈集講義, published in 1942. Sakata was a professor at Kōyasan University, and the volume is a compilation of his lectures on the collection. The work itself is impressive: it presents each text in the *Shōryōshū* line by line, with phonetic glosses, explanations of difficult characters, a summary in modern Japanese, and a few interpretative comments. However, he provides no background information aside from what Shinzei presents in his preface, which he appears to accept uncritically. The liberal use of honorifics to refer to Kūkai and describe his actions reveals the author's sectarian bias. Sakata Kōzen 坂田光全, *Shōryōshū kōgi* 性靈集講義 (Wakayama, Japan: Kōyasan Jihōsha, 1942). Watanabe and Miyasaka, the co-editors of the NKBT edition used as the primary source for this study, provide much more historical detail regarding Shinzei's life, but do not entertain the possibility of political motivations.

school.³⁵ While there appeared to be no direct animosity among his disciples, differing political loyalties inevitably put them at odds.³⁶ One such example is Shinzei's acceptance of a request from Emperor Montoku 文徳天皇 (827–858, r. 850–858) in 850 to perform prayers so that his son, Prince Koretaka 惟喬親王 (844–897), could ascend to the throne.³⁷ Koretaka's mother was Ki no Seishi 紀静子 (?–866), the daughter of Ki no Natora 紀名虎 (?–847), so Shinzei was a blood relative of the prince.³⁸ However, the ascent was opposed by the Minister of the Right, Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804–872), whose daughter Meishi 明子 (829–900) was a consort to Montoku and mother of Prince Korehito 惟仁親王 (850–881). Yoshifusa enlisted the services of Shinga 真雅 (801–879), another disciple of Kūkai, who established the Shingon-in at the Tōdaiji temple, to perform similar prayer rituals on behalf of Korehito. Thus, Shingon priests representing two different temples were used as pawns in a proxy struggle between the Ki and the Fujiwara, with the latter emerging victorious.³⁹ After Montoku's abdication, Korehito assumed the throne as Emperor Seiwa 清和天皇 (r. 858–876), allowing Yoshifusa to consolidate his power base.

Therefore, Shinzei's compilation of the *Shōryōshū* may be interpreted as an attempt to acquire political and cultural capital by monopolizing Kūkai's literary legacy. His origins in the highly erudite Ki clan made him well suited to the task, and the preface to the *Shōryōshū* amply demonstrates Shinzei's facility in literary Chinese and his knowledge of continental source materials. His acknowledgment of the existence of texts excluded from the *Shōryōshū* and his reference to “over five hundred pieces of paper” demonstrate a deliberate agenda regarding the collection's editorial policy. Shinzei is declaring that he is in possession of Kūkai's writings and will determine which ones are published. Also, his concern that “the gold and jade will mingle with the stones in the riverbed” and lament that “the orchids and cassia

will be overrun by the autumn mugwort” suggests anxiety that his rivals might attempt to publish their own Kūkai anthologies and establish competing interpretive traditions. Shinzei reassures his readers that he had exclusive access to Kūkai and his writings, claiming that he served “at his side” as his amanuensis.

Conclusion

Shinzei's preface to the *Shōryōshū* was a monument to Kūkai's literary talents and an embodiment of his wish to preserve the best examples of Kūkai's writings for future generations. Situating the *Shōryōshū* within the political milieu of its day reveals another agenda: creating political and cultural capital for Shinzei after Kūkai's death. A lack of unity in the newly formed Shingon “school” inevitably put Kūkai's disciples at odds, so Shinzei drew on his background as a member of the erudite Ki clan to recast his departed master as a literary figure. In the preface, he established himself as an authority on Kūkai's writings by highlighting his unparalleled access and editorial powers. The interpretation and transmission of Kūkai's legacy in the years following his death are often understood within the framework of hagiographies based on the Kōbō Daishi legend. In contrast, the *Shōryōshū* and its preface present an opposing tradition, where Kūkai is venerated as a real person navigating the literary and political milieu of his day.

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35 Stanley Weinstein, “Aristocratic Buddhism,” in Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, eds., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 498.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Sakaue Yasutoshi 坂上康俊, *Ritsuryō kokka no tenkan to “Nihon” 律令国家の転換と「日本」* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001), 216.

39 A somewhat corrupted version of this event is recreated in Chapter Eight of *The Tale of the Heike*. Helen Craig McCullough, trans., *The Tale of the Heike* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), 260–1.

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Negotiations Between the *Kami* and Buddha Realms: The Establishment of Shrine- Temples in the Eighth Century

LISA KOCHINSKI

Introduction¹

THIS paper takes up legends that record the establishment of four eighth-century shrine-temples (*jingūji* 神宮寺, also *jinganji* 神願寺): Keki Jingūji 氣比神宮寺, Wakasahiko Jinganji 若狭比古神願寺, Usa Hachimangū Mirokuji 宇佐八幡宮弥勒寺, and Tado Jingūji 多度神宮寺.² The impetus for such an investigation arose from musings about ways in which we might productively consider the ontological status of *kami* 神. I will therefore make a foray into the metaphysical with the aim of shedding light on the historical.

Jingūji are combinatory worship sites where Buddhist temples were built adjacent to shrines. The purpose of a *jingūji* was to provide a site where Buddhist monks could recite sutras (*dokyō* 読経) and perform

rituals for the *kami* of the shrine, who were believed to be suffering and in need of Buddhist salvation.³ There exist records of shrines and temples from the seventh century and earlier, but the establishment of *jingūji* was a new phenomenon in the early eighth century, and resulted in a close association⁴ between the Buddha realm and *kami* cults.⁵

There has been a tendency in scholarship about *jingūji* to refer to *kami* and their shrines as having been subsumed or subjugated by Buddhism. This Bud-

1 This paper is adapted from a paper presented at The Third IMAP in Japanese Humanities Symposium on Pre-Modern Japanese Culture at Kyushu University, Hakozaki Campus, January 21–22, 2016, and at Networks and Negotiations, a graduate student conference at the University of California, Santa Barbara, February 12–13, 2016.

2 There are extant records of sixteen *jingūji* that were established in the eighth century. For a chart listing these *jingūji* and the primary sources where they are recorded, see Tsuji Hidenori, *Hachimangūji seiritsushi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruiji Kanseikai), 396–7.

3 See Tsuda Tsutomo's discussion of *engi* describing Buddhist rituals and their rationale at *jingūji*. "Shinbutsu shūgō no tenkai to Hachimanjin," *Shintō shūkyō* 1, no. 204–205 (2007), 85.

4 The scholarly term for this early association is *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合, a neologism that was coined in the early modern period (1600–1867). Itō Satoshi, "The Medieval Period: The Kami Merge with Buddhism," in *Shinto—A Short History*, ed. Inoue Nobutaka (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 68–9. In my view, the genericity of the term *shinbutsu shūgō* does not account for the complexity of early interactions in Japan.

5 Kuroda Toshio argues that it is ahistorical to refer to early *kami* cults as 'Shinto.' Kuroda, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion," trans. James C. Dobbins and Suzanne Gay, *Journal of Japanese Studies* 7, no. 1 (1981): 4–6. Mark Teeuwen and Bernhard Scheid propose using the term "kami worship" instead. Teeuwen and Scheid, "Tracing Shinto in the History of Kami Worship," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29, nos. 3–4 (2002): 200.

dhist-centric approach tends to construct a totalizing narrative of Buddhist domination and colonization of the cultic landscape, implying passivity on the part of the *kami*. The interaction between Buddhism and *kami* cults, however, was far from totalizing. As we will see, legendary accounts highlight the complexity and diversity of these interactions. Furthermore, the *kami* were far from being passive. The legends record negotiations between the divine and human realms, emphasizing that it was the *kami* who requested the construction of *jingūji* and dictated the terms. The legends thus construct narratives that trace the intersection of the metaphysical category of *kami* with historical time.

Actor-Network Theory

To understand how we might account for the voices of *kami* in these legends, I turned to the work of Bruno Latour and Actor-Network Theory (henceforth ANT).⁶ ANT is not so much a theory, but a method of tracing the relational associations between actors in a given situation. ANT attempts to account for the agency of human and non-human actors or actants. For example, if a particular situation includes gods and other spiritual beings, Latour argues that we should be attentive to them in order to account for “the diversity of agencies acting at once in the world.”⁷ Here Latour is not only pointing to multiple realities, but proposing that agency is not the sole domain of human actors.⁸ By acknowledging that intentional agency can be prompted or impelled by material and immaterial agents, including dreams, texts, ideas, and gods, ANT flattens out onto-

logical hierarchies that privilege human actors. This is not to claim symmetry between humans and non-humans; the point is rather to attempt to understand how different agencies act. According to Latour, what matters about agency in ANT is that actors must contribute to making something happen. Thus, an ANT study observes how sets of actors are assembled, traces their activity, and reveals how they are associated in networks that generate observable outcomes.⁹ In the legends, the outcomes are *jingūji*, and the actors include shrine priests, Buddhist monks, notions of *karma*, and *kami*. According to the founding legends that we will look at, the most crucial actors were the *kami*.

Two Aspects of the *Kami*

To understand why *kami* play a leading role in these legends, we need to consider people’s relationship with *kami* in the premodern period and ask why they would have listened to *kami*. One very compelling reason was that *kami* were potentially dangerous—ignoring their wishes could incur their wrath.

Kami had a gentle, beneficial aspect (*nikimitama* 和御魂), but they also had a rough, malevolent aspect (*aramitama* 荒御魂) and could curse or kill individual people, including the emperor. For example, according to the *Record of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki* 古事記), Emperor Chūai 仲哀天皇 (r. 192–200, trad.) was in Kyushu, planning a military campaign to attack the Kumaso 熊襲 in the south. Jingū Kōgō 神功皇后 (r. 201–269, trad.), Chūai’s chief consort, entered a trance and received a divine oracle from the *kami* advising Chūai to attack the Korean peninsula instead. Chūai ignored the oracle, and died shortly afterwards.¹⁰ It was believed that *kami* killed him for disobeying the oracle. According to the *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀), Emperor Tenmu 天武天皇 (631–686, r. 673–686) fell ill because of a curse from the sacred Kusanagi sword (*Kusanagi no tsurugi* 草薙之劍, lit. Grass Cutter Sword) and later died.¹¹

Kami could also inflict natural disasters and disease. This not only caused great suffering for the populace,

6 Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

7 *Ibid.*, 48.

8 This is very much in step with recent trends in scholarship that emphasize object-oriented ontologies and seek to account for the agency of spirits and suprahumans. See, for example, Michael Stausberg, “Distinctions, Differentiations, Ontology, and Non-humans in Theories of Religion,” *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 22 (2010): 369–72; Patrice Ladwig, “Can Things Reach the Dead? The Ontological Status of Objects and the Study of Lao Buddhist Rituals for the Spirits of the Deceased,” in *Engaging the Spirit World: Popular Beliefs and Practices in Modern Southeast Asia*, ed. Kirsten W. Endres and Andrea Lauser (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011); and Janet Hoskins, *The Divine Eye and the Diaspora: Vietnamese Syncretism Becomes Transpacific Caodaism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press: 2015).

9 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 128–30.

10 *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1997), 247.

11 Tenmu 14.6.16 (686). W. G. Aston, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, Vol. 2 (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 1972), 377.

but was interpreted as evidence of failure on the part of the emperor who, as chief sacerdotal ritualist, was responsible for controlling the dangerous aspects of *kami*. Control of dangerous and violent *kami* was therefore perceived to be a matter of vital state importance, and official *kami* rituals were administered through the Ministry of Kami Affairs, the Jingikan 神祇官.¹² As *kami* were capricious and unpredictable, there was a need for almost constant propitiation, as is attested to in many official records and courtier diaries.

The *Kami* Encounter Karma

In the early eighth century, *kami* began to express remorse for their malevolence. This is recorded in the *jingūji* legends, and indicates a new development compared to older tales of the wrath of the *kami*. The impetus for this change arose from the confluence of *kami* cults with Buddhist cosmological notions of *karma* (*gō* 業)¹³ and rebirth.

According to these notions *karma* from the good or bad deeds of one's previous lives determined rebirth in one of the Six Realms (*rokudō* 六道) of existence.¹⁴ These are the realms of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, fighting demons, humans, and gods. In this cosmology the realm of the gods is just one of the realms in the cycle of birth and death (Jp. *rinne* 輪廻, Sk. *samsāra*), and like all the other five is marked by suffering. The malevolent side of the *kami*—the *aramitama*—therefore began to be interpreted as evidence of negative karma that was causing the *kami* to suffer. As we will see in the *jingūji* legends, *kami* began to speak through

dreams and oracles about their malevolent aspect in terms of suffering, karma, and release.

Shrine-Temple Founding Legends

Founding legends appear in a number of different genres, including official histories, biographies of monks and other people, and founding documents entitled *engi* 縁起 (lit. karmic origins).¹⁵ These records often include fantastic or miraculous events, but are nevertheless of great historical value for what they reveal about religious beliefs and practices.¹⁶

The earliest recorded shrine-temple is Kehi Jingū-ji,¹⁷ founded in Echizen 越前 province (the northern part of present-day Fukui prefecture) in 715,¹⁸ and recorded in the biography of the statesman Fujiwara no Muchimaro 藤原武智麻呂 (680–737).¹⁹ According to the biography, a strange person appeared in a dream to Muchimaro. This person explained that, due to karma, he had been reincarnated in the body of a *kami* and was suffering. He therefore wished to “convert to the way of the Buddha” (*kie butsudō* 帰依仏道), and asked for a temple to be built to release him from his suffering. The apparition in the dream also conveyed to Muchimaro that even though he wanted to convert he did not

12 Shōji Okada, “The Circular System of Rites Linking the Emperor and the *Kami*,” trans. Jesse LeFebvre, *Articles in Translation*, Kokugakuin University, http://k-amc.kokugakuin.ac.jp/DM/detail.do;jsessionid=0F25550519EB2DEAF7D46806C3944667?-data_id=75430&class_name=col_jat (accessed March 1, 2016). Originally published in Japanese. “Tennō to kamigami no shunkangata saishi taikai: Kodai no tatarigami,” *Shintō shūkyō* 199/200 (2005), 8.

13 The Buddhist doctrine of *karma* explains that actions in this and in past lives determine the level of one's rebirth: evil actions lead to rebirth in one of the lower *rokudō* realms, while good actions lead to rebirth in one of the higher realms. “Gō,” *Sōgō bukkyō daijiten* (Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 2005), 363–5.

14 The Six Realms, or Six Destinies (*rokushu* 六趣), are mentioned in many early sutras, including the *Golden Light Sutra* (*Konkōmyōkyō* 金光明經, T 663), which was known in Japan from at least 677, when Tenmu ordered it to be chanted. Tenmu 5.11.20 (677). Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. 2, 335.

15 Heather Blair and Kawasaki Tsuyoshi discuss taxonomic classification and genre in regards to *engi*, but conclude that *engi* cannot be defined by monothetic criteria because of the diversity of the texts and the complex situations from which they arose. Heather Blair and Kawasaki Tsuyoshi, “*Engi*: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 42, no. 1 (2015): 12–8.

16 Gorai Shigeru, *Jisha engi to denshō bunka*, vol. 4 of *Gorai Shigeru chosakushū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2008) 3–4.

17 A story in the *Miraculous Tales of Japan* (*Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記, compiled ca. 810–24) mentions Mitaniidera 三谷寺, a temple that was built for the *kami* sometime during the reign of Emperor Tenji 天智天皇 (626–672, r. 661–671) in Bingo 備後 province (eastern part of present-day Hiroshima prefecture). I have not included it here because the temple was not named a *jingūji*. Kyōkai, *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon Ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai*, trans. and ed. Kyoko Motomochi Nakamura (London: Routledge, 2007), vol 1, no. 7, 116–8.

18 Records did not use uniform terminology or dating, and it is therefore unclear whether the dates refer to when the *jingūji* was vowed, built, or dedicated. Tsuji, *Hachimangūji seiritsushi no kenkyū*, 396.

19 *Biographies of the Fujiwara Clan* (*Tōshi Kaden* 藤氏家伝), a biography of eminent members of the Fujiwara family 藤原氏, was written by Fujiwara no Nakamaro 藤原仲麻呂 (706–764) and the priest Enkei 延慶 (fl. early eighth c.) and completed in 760. The only three extant biographies are those of Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足 (624–669), the monk Jōe 藤原貞惠 (643–665), and Fujiwara no Muchimaro.

want to give up his *kami* body. When he awoke, Muchimaro asked a monk to interpret the dream. The monk explained that the strange apparition in the dream was in reality the Kehi *kami* 気比神. Muchimaro then commissioned the construction of a temple next to the shrine of the Kehi *kami*, thus transforming the shrine into a *jingūji*.²⁰

ANT analysis shows how this founding legend assembles a group of actors into a network that operates like a relay: from the strange person in Muchimaro's dream to the monk's revelation about the Kehi *kami*, and back to Muchimaro, who commissions the temple. Each actor in this network plays a critical role, but it is the Kehi *kami* who requests the temple, and states the terms: he will convert to the way of the Buddha, but he will keep his *kami* body. This was one of two modalities of *kami* conversion, the other of which was to convert and separate from the *kami* body (*shinshin ridatsu* 神身離脱),²¹ which we will see in the next example.²²

The next recorded shrine-temple is Wakasahiko Jinganji, established some time between 717 and 724 in Wakasa 若狭 province (the southern part of present-day Fukui prefecture), and recorded in the *Classified Records of the National Histories* (*Ruijū kokushi* 類聚国史, 892).²³ According to this record, the Wakasahiko *kami* announced through an oracle that he was suffering, which in turn caused the populace to suffer from drought and epidemic. He therefore wanted to embrace the Three Treasures (*sanbō* 三宝),²⁴ that is, to convert to the way of the Buddha. Unlike the Kehi *kami* mentioned previously, however, this *kami* announced that he wanted to separate from his *kami* body. A tem-

ple was then built at the site of the shrine for the Wakasahiko *kami*, transforming it into a *jingūji*.²⁵

This legend traces a network that includes disease and failed crops, starving people, and the *kami* who realizes that he is the cause of the suffering. He negotiates the terms, asking to convert and opting to separate from his *kami* body. The result is a new *jingūji*.

The third *jingūji* was established in Buzen 豊前 province (the northern part of present-day Ōita prefecture) for the *kami* Hachiman 八幡神 in 737. It is recorded in the *The Founding Legend of Usa Hachimangū Mirokuji* (*Usa Hachimangū Mirokuji konryū engi* 宇佐八幡宮弥勒寺建立縁起, 844). The story of this *jingūji* actually begins in 720, when the central government sent prayers asking the *kami* Hachiman to help suppress the Hayato 隼人 rebellion in southern Kyushu.²⁶ Shrine priests carried Hachiman into battle in a *mikoshi* 神輿 and, according to legend, Hachiman helped the imperial army to slaughter the Hayato.²⁷ Afterwards, however, Hachiman expressed remorse through an oracle at having participated in the bloody massacre. In order to expiate the negative karma from the killing and to appease the souls of those who had died, Hachiman requested the performance of a Buddhist rite of animal release (*hōjōe* 放生会), in which birds, fish, and other creatures are freed from captivity as an act of atonement.²⁸ According to the founding legend, a shaman-monk named Hōren 法蓮 (fl. late seventh–early eighth c.) performed the rite for Hachiman.²⁹ Hōren

20 Tōshi Kaden, *Kaden shita Sō Enkei*, Kodaishi dassai, http://www004.upp.so-net.ne.jp/dassai1/kaden/kaden02_frame.htm (accessed March 11, 2016).

21 Murayama Shūichi suggests that Buddhist priests devised the modality of *shinshin ridatsu* as a way of propagating Buddhist teachings among the general populace in the provinces whose sympathies would resonate more with suffering *kami*. Murayama Shūichi, *Honji suijaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1994), 48.

22 For a discussion of patterns of *kami* conversion, see Tsuda, "Shinbutsu shūgō no tenkai," 87–8.

23 The *Ruijū kokushi*, an historical text commissioned by Uda Tennō 宇多天皇 (867–931, r. 887–897), is a compilation of events from the Six National Histories (*Rikkokushi* 六国史) classified according to a wide variety of categories including gods, rulers, and customs. It was completed by Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903) in 892. Yanagi Kōtarō, "Ruijū kokushi," *Kokushi daijiten* 14, 680.

24 There are different interpretations of what constitutes the Three Treasures, but the basic group contains the Buddha, the Dharma (teachings of the Buddha), and the *sangha* (the community of Buddhist monks and nuns). *Sōgō bukkyō daijiten*, 502.

25 *Ruijū kokushi*, cited in Tsuji, *Hachimangūji seiritsushi no kenkyū*, 399.

26 The Hayato rebellion was a simmering conflict that started around the beginning of the eighth century and was finally crushed by the central government in 720. The official account of this rebellion is recorded in *Shoku Nihongi*. Yōrō 4.2.29 (720), 4.8.12, and 5.7.7 (721), *Shoku Nihongi* 2 (SNKBT 13), 66, 76, 100.

27 According to legend, Hachiman was ritually transferred to a small pillow made of wild rice (*komo makura* 薦枕). This pillow, known as a *shintai* 神体 (lit. 'god body'), was placed inside an ornate palanquin (*mikoshi* 神輿) and carried to the battle against the Hayato. This legend was related to me by the head priest of Komo shrine 薦神社, Ikenaga Takashi 池永孝 (July 22, 2015).

28 This basic form of ritual animal release was practiced in Japan from at least 677, when Tenmu ordered the release of living creatures in all provinces. Tenmu 5.8.17 (677). Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. 2, 333–4. The animal release rite performed for Hachiman, however, is significant because it is the first recorded instance of a Buddhist rite performed for a *kami*.

29 Most records give the date of 720 for the establishment of *hōjōe* at Hachimangū, and most scholars concur. A few records, however, give alternate dates ranging from 718 to as late as 777. See Tsuji, *Hachimangūji seiritsushi no kenkyū*, 275–9.

then built a meditation hall adjacent to Hachiman's shrine in 725. With the support of government funding and help from monks and local clan members, Hōren built a large temple (dedicated to Miroku 弥勒, the Buddha of the Future) close to a newly constructed shrine for Hachiman in 737. Monks resided at this large shrine-temple complex, known as the Usa Hachimangū Mirokuji, where they recited sutras and performed rites for Hachiman. Shrine priests and monks continued to perform the animal release rite, which became an important annual event in the ritual calendar of the *jingūji*.³⁰

The Hachiman legends construct a series of interlocking networks, including the Hayato rebels, government soldiers, warrior priests, and the shaman-monk Hōren. It was the *kami* Hachiman, however, who provided the rationale for the whole enterprise through his request of animal release rites to expiate his guilt and to appease the souls of the massacred Hayato. Unlike the other *kami*, he did not make a statement regarding whether or not to separate from his *kami* body.

The last *jingūji* to be considered in this paper is Tado Jingūji 多度神宮寺, established in Ise 伊勢 province (present-day Mie prefecture) in 763, and recorded in the *Record of the Founding Legend and the Holdings of Tado Jingūji* (*Tado Jingūji garan engi shizaichō* 多度神宮寺伽藍縁起資材帳, 801). According to this record, the Tado *kami* appeared to the monk Mangan zenshi 満願禪師 (ca.720–816). He told Mangan he was suffering, and therefore wanted to separate from his body, and convert to Buddhism by embracing the Three Treasures. Mangan then built a small worship hall, and enshrined an image of the *kami* that he had carved and named Great Bodhisattva Tado (*Tado Daibosatsu* 多度大菩薩).³¹ With the establishment of the hall and installation of the image, Tado shrine was transformed into a *jingūji*.

Once again, it was the Tado *kami* who initiated the conversation with Mangan, expressed his suffering in Buddhist terminology, and dictated the terms of his

conversion. This record is notable for containing the earliest mention of the title “Great Bodhisattva” in connection with a *kami*. It does not necessarily mean, however, that the Tado *kami* became a bodhisattva. Scholars argue that the title “Bodhisattva” applied to a *kami* in this time period may have more likely been a mark of respect.³² This record also contains the earliest mention of an image of a *kami* (*shinzō* 神像). Unfortunately, the Tado Bodhisattva image, if it ever actually existed, is no longer extant.

Concluding Remarks

The founding legends discussed above appear to gain narrative elements, an accretion that suggests that *jingūji* legends themselves became actors³³ in a wider network of associations that provided the impetus for the production of more texts and the construction of more *jingūji*. I would need to conduct more research to ascertain if this trend continues through the rest of the eighth-century founding legends. Here, I draw attention to the fact that the legends examined above record series of networks in which *kami* are portrayed as social beings in dialogue with humans. And in all the legends, the dialogue between the divine and the human realms results in the establishment of material *jingūji*. In other words, the legends are concerned with the power of the oracular and the visionary to impel human action. The result was not only the construction of buildings, but the performance of ritual.

Kami were not transferred out of their shrines at *jingūji*; they remained in their respective shrines, and shrine priests continued to make propitiatory offerings and prayers to control the dangerous potential of the

30 Construction of these temple and shrine buildings is recorded in *The Founding Legend of Hachimangū Mirokuji*. Nakano Hatayoshi, *Usa*, vol. 47 of *Shintō taikai: Jinjihen* 神道大系: 神社編 (Tokyo: Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1989), 4–11.

31 *Tado Jingūji garan engi shizaichō*, “Tado Jinja,” *Shinto Jinja Database*, Kokugakuin University, <http://21coe.kokugakuin.ac.jp/db/jinja/070101.html> (accessed March 11, 2016).

32 Suzuki Shōei parallels this to the use of the title of “Bodhisattva” that was given to Buddhist practitioners in the Nara period in recognition of their good works, such as Gyōki 行基 (668–749) who was the chief fund-raiser for the Tōdaiji Great Buddha project sponsored by Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701–756, r. 724–749). Suzuki Shōei, “The Development of *Suijaku* Stories about Zaō Gongen,” trans. Heather Blair, in *Cahiers d’Extrême Asie* 18, ed. Bernard Faure et al. (2009), 144.

33 Catherine Bell stresses the importance of recognizing texts as actors. Bell, “Ritualization of Texts and Textualization of Ritual in the Codification of Taoist Liturgy,” *History of Religions* 27, no. 4 (1998), 366–92, 390. Blair and Kawasaki discuss founding legends as “social actants” that are not only the effect of literary and artistic production, but also “a cause for social situations.” Blair and Kawasaki, “Engi,” 11.

shrine's resident *kami*.³⁴ The duties of shrine priests at *jingūji*, therefore, were not significantly altered. One significant change, however, was that Buddhist monks came to reside at the temple. These monks, known as shrine-monks³⁵ (*shasō* 社僧), were specially trained to officiate at shrines in order to perform rituals for the *kami*, including sutra recitation and rites of taking refuge in the Three Treasures. This brought Buddhist ritual technologies within the sphere of *kami* cults where they were integrated into the existing ritual calendar at *jingūji*. In my view, this maintained continuity with ritual shrine practices by providing an additional modality of propitiation through which the malevolent aspects of *kami* could be appeased.³⁶ This challenges the standard narrative of Buddhist domination and subjugation, and offers us another way to consider the interactions between the *kami* and the Buddha realms.

What we learn from these four founding legends is that the establishment of *jingūji* in the eighth century was far from being totalizing or uniform. Instead, each case was unique, as we have seen from the specific situations, the diverse associations of actors that were assembled, the modalities of conversion, and the events that subsequently unfolded. The close association between monks and shrine priests served to integrate the overlapping and combinatory aspects of *jingūji*, and provided multiple modalities of appeasing angry *kami*.

In these legends, however, the *kami* were the key actors.³⁷ The encounters were initiated by *kami* through the mediums of dream, oracle, and apparition, and each one of the *kami* negotiated the outcome of the encounter, requesting the construction of temples or the performance of Buddhist rites. The *kami* also dictated the modality of their conversions, choosing either to remain in or to separate from their *kami* body.

This prompted correlate human intentional action that resulted in the establishment of *jingūji*. Although *kami* cannot be said to have the same intentional agency as humans, we should nonetheless take careful note of their depiction in the *engi* as formative actors in the founding legends of *jingūji*.

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34 This maintained the integrity of shrines (*seigōsei* 整合性), even when temples were built within shrine precincts. Tsuda, "Shinbutsu shūgō no tenkai," 88.

35 Ordination of monks for shrine service dates from the eighth century. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, "Introduction: Combinatory Religion and the *Honji Suijaku* Paradigm in Pre-Modern Japan," in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, ed. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London: Routledge, 2003), 15.

36 The result is something of a soteriological dichotomy: on the one hand, Buddhist ritual maintained continuity with propitiatory *kami* rites at shrines, and on the other hand, new Buddhist notions placed *kami* within a cosmology that provided an explanation for their malevolence.

37 I would need to conduct more research on other founding legends to draw wider conclusions than are offered here.

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Ganjin: From *Vinaya* master to Ritsu School Founder

YUZHONG ZHOU

Introduction

THE monk Ganjin 鑑真 (Ch. Jianzhen, 688–763) holds a prominent place in Japanese Buddhist history.¹ Nowadays, he is venerated as the founder of the Ritsu 律 school, the branch of Japanese Buddhism that focuses on the study of the *vinaya* (Ch. 律; Jp. anglicization *ritsu*), or the laws and precepts of the monastic order. The view that Ganjin was the founder of a distinct school of Buddhism has found expression in textual, material, and visual culture.² Yet Japanese and Western scholarship have both concluded that the Ritsu school was not a distinct sectarian community during Ganjin's lifetime. Indeed, Ganjin did not found the Ritsu school but was designated its founder during the Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185–1333), a time when founder worship had emerged and flourished.

Modern scholarship on Kamakura Buddhism has been dominated by the founder-centered approach of sectarian scholarship.³ Key figures of this time, such as Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1263), Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253), Eisai 栄西 (1141–1215), and Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282), were regarded as the putative founders of the Pure Land sect 浄土宗, the Pure Land Shin sect 浄土真宗, the Sōtō Zen sect 曹洞宗, the Rinzaï Zen sect 臨濟宗, and the Nichiren sect 日蓮宗, respectively. In addition, Kūkai 空海 (774–835), representative of monastics from the early Heian 平安 period (794–1185), was elevated into an object of founder worship during the Kamakura period.

Although prior scholarship has addressed the phenomenon of founder worship during the Kamakura period, no studies have examined how Ganjin was transformed from an idealized leading figure of the

1 This paper focuses mainly on Japanese sources, therefore, I use his Japanese name, Ganjin, rather than his Chinese name. For other Chinese monks mentioned, I use their Chinese names.

2 Modern Japanese dictionaries, such as *Kokushi daijiten* 国史大辞典 (1983), *Nihon bukkyōshi jiten* 日本仏教史辞典 (1999), *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 (digital version, 2007), *Nihon jinmei daijiten* 日本人名大辞典 (2001), all concur that Ganjin was the founder of the Ritsu school. In addition, the Nara-period wooden statue of Ganjin is stored and worshiped in the Founder's Hall of Tōshōdaiji.

3 The research on this issue can be found in Christopher Callahan, "Kakuno and the Making of Shinran and Shin Buddhism," PhD dissertation (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2011); Richard K. Payne, *Re-visioning "Kamakura" Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998); and David Quinter, *From Outcasts to Emperors: Shingon Ritsu and the Mañjuśrī Cult in Medieval Japan* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015).

Ritsu study group to a venerated founder. I will argue that the hagiographic texts on Ganjin produced shortly after his death were a critical first step toward the transformation of a monk who was merely a *vinaya* master into a venerated sectarian founder. These works portrayed him as a charismatic monk with countless virtues, and this can be interpreted as an attempt by Ganjin's successors to confirm his authority in the Ritsu community and spread his merits to future generations. This paper examines the process by which Ganjin was promoted from a *vinaya* master to an idealized monk who was later regarded as the leading authority of the Ritsu school. First, I provide a historical overview of the transmission of the *vinaya* to Japan prior to Ganjin's arrival. Second, I discuss the motivations of the Nara 奈良 court (710–794) to demonstrate why a *vinaya* master like Ganjin was regarded as necessary in Japan. Third, I use an analysis of the earliest hagiographies to explore how the received image of Ganjin changed after his death.

The Historical Transmission of the *Vinaya* to Japan

The *vinaya* is concerned with the rules and regulations governing the *sangha*, or monastic community. Five Buddhist canonical texts that contain treatises on the practices of moral discipline (Jp. *ritsuzō* 律藏) were introduced from India to China to provide the basic framework for Chinese Buddhism as it formed its initial interpretation of traditional monastic discipline by the eighth century.⁴ Among these texts, the *Sifen lü* 四分律 is the *vinaya* text that has been used in the ordination ceremony of monks and nuns from the Tang 唐 period (618–907) until the present day. In the early Tang dy-

nasty, the *Sifen lü* rose to prominence over other *vinaya* texts. It was imposed by imperial decree as the only valid *vinaya* in China, a process strongly encouraged by the monk Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), the founder of what came to be regarded as the Nanshan *lüzong* 南山律宗, or *vinaya* school of Nanshan.⁵ This school particularly promoted the *Sifen lü*. As scholar of Chinese Buddhism Ann Heirman suggests, there were two major factors that contributed to the rise of the *Sifen lü*: first, the eminent monk Daoxuan wrote *vinaya* commentaries with the conviction that the *Sifen lü* ordination procedure had been the model for the first Chinese ordinations; second, the Sui 隋 (581–618) and Tang emperors probably sought unification of the ordination procedure to simplify state control.⁶ As a result, the *Sifen lü* came to be regarded as the orthodox *vinaya* in China, and consequently became the basis of the development of rituals and precepts in Chinese Buddhism as a result of Daoxuan's commentaries on the text. In principle, monks and nuns belonging to every school in China were ordained in accordance with the *Sifen lü*, as it provided clear guidance on how a monk or nun should live.

In terms of the historical transmission of the *vinaya* to Japan prior to Ganjin's arrival, a vague description can be found in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (The Chronicles of Japan, 720), the *Shoku Nihongi* 續日本紀 (The Chronicles of Japan Continued, 797), and some miscellaneous writings by Buddhist monks.⁷ According to the *Nihon shoki*, the earliest transmission of *vinaya* to Japan can be traced back to the sixth century. In 588, Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子 (?–626) invited monks from Paekche and asked them how the precepts were to be received; Zenshin'ni 善信尼 (568–?) and two other nuns were then sent to Paekche to study the *vinaya*.⁸ The next step of the so-called Chinese orthodox *vinaya* transmission to Japan was conducted by the monk Dōkō 道光

4 The five *vinaya* texts include the *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (Sk. *Sarvāstivādaśāstikāvinaya*; Eng. *Vinaya of Ten Recitations*), the *Sifen lü* (Sk. *Dharmaguptakāvinaya*; Eng. *Vinaya in Four Parts*), the *Mohe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 (Sk. *Mahāsamghikāvinaya*; Eng. *Vinaya of Mahāsamghika*), the *Wufen lü* 五分律 (Sk. *Mahīśāsakāvinaya*; Eng. *Vinaya in Five Parts*), and the *Genben Shuoyiqie youbu pinaiye* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 (Sk. *Mūlasarvāstivādaśāstikāvinaya*; Eng. *Vinaya of Mūlasarvāstivāda*). For details on these *vinaya* texts in China, see Ann Heirman, "Vinaya from India to China," in *The Spread of Buddhism*, edited by Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter Bumbacher (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 175–9; Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 3–52.

5 Ann Heirman, "Can We Trace the Early Dharmaguptakas?" *T'oung Pao* 88 (2002): 419–23.

6 For a detailed discussion on why the *Sifen lü* eventually became the only *vinaya* used in Chinese ordination ceremony, see Heirman, "Can We Trace the Early Dharmaguptakas?" 396–429.

7 Historian of Buddhism Naobayashi Futai notes that the appearance of distinctly Buddhist historical writing would have to wait until the medieval period. Naobayashi Futai, "Sangoku buppō denzū engi · Genkō shakusho no egaku rikishizō: Nihon kodai no sangaku juyō o megutte," *Nara, Nanto Bukkyō no dentō to kakushin*, edited by Samuel Crowell Morse and Nemoto Seiji (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2010), 14.

8 Kuroda Katsumi, ed., *Nihon shoki*, vol. 2 of *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* (hereafter, SZK 2) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964), 130.

(?-694). Based on a passage pertaining to Dōkō in the *Sangoku buppō denzū engi* 三國佛法傳通緣起 (History of the Propagation of Buddhism in India, China, and Japan; hereafter, SBDE; 1311), Dōkō was dispatched by Tenmu Tennō 天武天皇 (?-686) to study the *vinaya* in China. The source also mentions that he brought to Japan Daoxuan's commentary on the *Sifen lü*, the *Sifen lü xingshichao* 四分律行事鈔 (Transcript of the Procedures for the *Sifen lü*, seventh century), which was the most influential work of the *vinaya* school of Nanshan.⁹ Extant, albeit limited, sources indicate that Dōkō was likely the first person it is likely that Dōkō was the first person to introduce the orthodox *vinaya*, the *Sifen lü*, from China to Japan. Although the SBDE is a much later source, the existence of Dōkō can be confirmed in the *Nihon shoki*, where a short passage states “a contribution was sent for the funeral expenses of the *vinaya* master Dōkō.”¹⁰ This information was written down in the official record of Japanese history, suggesting the importance of Dōkō in his own time. Despite this, Dōkō was not included in the lineage of the Ritsu school. A reasonable explanation can be found in the official account on Ganjin in the *Shoku Nihongi*: “The Buddhist law flowed to the east, reaching our country [Japan]. Although we had its teachings, there was no one to transmit them.”¹¹ Thus, the government invited Ganjin to teach the precepts in Japan.

The Motivations of the Nara Court

According to the *Sifen lü*, the designated orthodox *vinaya* text, candidates in China who wanted to formally join the monastic community were to receive full ordination after they entered adulthood at the age of twenty. At the ordination ceremony, three superior monks and a minimum of seven witnesses, known as the *sanshi shichishō* 三師七証, should be present.¹² Yet,

even though the basic ideas of the Ritsu school had already been introduced to Japan, there was no qualified master in Japan capable of performing ordination procedures that satisfied these conditions. Since entering the priesthood freed commoners from taxation and labor obligation, large numbers of farmers abandoned their lands and became self-ordained monks, or *shidosō* 私度僧, without official permission. Consequently, revenue declined steeply, posing a danger to the centralized system of government. In order to contain the rapidly swelling numbers of non-officially sanctioned priests, the government decided to invite *vinaya* masters from China to Japan to strengthen religious discipline. As the result, the Chinese *vinaya* master Daoxuan 道璿 (702–760) was invited to come to Japan in 736.¹³ Nevertheless, it appeared that he was not capable of conducting ordinations that his Japanese clients considered sufficiently effective. In 753, the *vinaya* master Ganjin and his disciples finally arrived in Japan after experiencing extreme hardships during five failed attempts to cross the sea, during which Ganjin lost his eyesight.¹⁴ After his arrival in Japan, an adequate number of monks able to perform ordination ceremonies emerged.

Ganjin's activities in Japan were recorded in his earliest hagiographies.¹⁵ When he arrived in the Nara capital in 754, he constructed a temporary ordination platform in front of the Great Buddha Hall, where he conferred the bodhisattva precepts on Shōmu Tennō 聖武天皇 (701–756), then retired; his consort Kōmyō Kōgō 光明皇后 (701–760), the reigning empress, Kōken Tennō 孝謙天皇 (718–770), and 440 monks.¹⁶ Daoxuan's work, *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tu jing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 (Discussion and Diagram of the Ordination Platform in Guanzhong; early seventh cen-

preceptor), who was responsible for judging the qualifications of a postulant; and the *katumashi* 羯磨師, who recited the *vinaya* texts and instructed their recipient. See Tōno Haruyuki, *Ganjin* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), 19–20.

9 Gyōnen, *Sangoku buppō denzū engi, Koji ruien: Shūkyō bu*, edited by Jingū Shichō (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1968), 485.

10 SZK. 2, 422. The original text reads: 贈律師道光賻物. For an English translation, see Marcus Bingenheimer, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Japanese Student-Monks of the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries: Their Travels to China and Their Role in the Transmission of Buddhism* (München: Ludicum, 2001), 96.

11 仏法東流至於本國雖有其教無人伝授. Aoki Kazuo, et al., *Shoku Nihongi 3, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai* (hereafter, SNKBT) 14 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 430.

12 The three teachers were the *kaiwajō* 戒和上, who was responsible for instructing the postulant; the *kyōjushi* 教授師 (the instructional

13 A discussion on Daoxuan's activities in Japan can be found in Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 22–4. Daoxuan 道璿 was the eighth-century monk (who should not be confused with the Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), founder of the *vinaya* school of Nanshan) who is mentioned earlier in this study. In the rest of the paper, “the eighth-century monk Daoxuan” is used to indicate Daoxuan 道璿.

14 SNKBT 14, 430.

15 More explanation is provided in the next section.

16 Ōmi no Mifune, *Tō daiwajō tōseiden*, No. 553 of *Dainihon bukkyō zenshū* (hereafter, DBZ 553), edited by Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1972), 29.

tury), provided an abundance of information on the procedure of ascending the platform to receive the precepts.¹⁷ Ganjin continued Daoxuan's efforts by establishing an official and permanent ordination platform at Tōdaiji. Prior to Ganjin's arrival, there was no fixed location for the ordination ceremony. After his arrival, the court had sought to control the numbers of monks by permitting full ordinations to be performed only on officially recognized precepts platforms (*kaidan* 戒壇).¹⁸ In addition to the platform in Nara, two more platforms were set up in 761 at Yakushiji 薬師寺 in Shimōsa 下総 province (present-day Chiba prefecture), and at Kanzeonji 観世音寺 in Dazaifu 太宰府 on the island of Kyushu.¹⁹ The other significant contribution to the *vinaya* transmission in Japan made by Ganjin was the establishment of Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 in 759, which is now regarded as the headquarters of the Ritsu school in Japan.

Nara-period Hagiographies of Ganjin

Essentially, what people throughout Japanese history have known about Ganjin has been grounded mostly on hagiographies composed shortly after his death. They not only provide a record of Ganjin's life, but also create his history, constructing him as an extraordinary, charismatic teacher with countless virtues.

The oldest hagiography on Ganjin is the *Daitō denkaishi sōmeiki daiwajō Ganjin* 大唐传戒師僧名記大和上鑑真伝 (Hagiography of Tang *Vinaya* Transmitter Great Master Ganjin; hereafter, *Kōden* 広伝; sometime before 779). This was written by Ganjin's disciple Situō 思託 (d. 801–806), who accompanied him on all six of his arduous voyages. The second hagiography is the *Tō daiwajō tōseiden* 唐大和上東征伝 (Records of Tang Great Master's Eastern Journey; hereafter, *Tōseiden* 東征伝; 779), which was composed by Ōmi no Mifune 淡海三船 (722–785) at Situō's request. The last is the *Kōsō shamō shakuganjinden* 高僧沙門釋鑑真伝 (Hagiography of the Eminent Monk Ganjin; hereafter, *Ganjin-den* 鑑真伝), collected in the *Enryaku sōroku* 延暦僧錄 (Records of Monks in the Enryaku Era, 788), produced by Situō. The *Tōseiden* is still extant, but only fragments

of Situō's two accounts have been preserved in other historical sources.²⁰

Viewing Situō's dominant role in the production of hagiographical writings on Ganjin, I believe that Situō was motivated by a desire to prevent Ganjin's life story from being cast into obscurity, and to legitimate his role in the Japanese monastic and secular society. This motivation is evident from the fact that he requested Ōmi no Mifune, who was regarded as the preeminent sinophilic literatus of the time, to write a shorter and well-polished version of Ganjin's hagiography based on his own version.²¹ Mifune's version allowed the hagiographies to reach the upper echelons of literate Japanese society, not just the monastic community. Evidence of Situō's intentions is clearly expressed in his autobiography *Jukōsō shamō Shitaku den* 從高僧沙門思託伝 (The Biography of the Junior Eminent Monk Situō, 788): "Situō composed *Wajō gyōki* [the *Kōden*], and requested Ōmi Mabito Genkai to write *Wajō tōgyōsō* [the *Tōseiden*], in order to bring forth [Ganjin's] past virtues and spread his glory to future generations."²²

As Situō had hoped, the production of these hagiographies resulted in increased awareness of Ganjin's merits in later Buddhist literature.²³ It appears that these Nara-period hagiographies were able to provide an example of the holy man of the Ritsu teaching for future generations and convince them of the efficacy of monastic doctrines. A similar view is evinced by the words quoted in the preface of the tenth-century hagiographic collection *Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki* 日本

20 Marcus Bingenheimer suggests the *Enryaku sōroku* was written between 782 and 805. See Marcus Bingenheimer, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Japanese Student-Monks of the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries: Their Travels to China and Their Role in the Transmission of Buddhism* (München: Ludicium, 2001), 129.

21 In a passage from the *Shoku nihongi*, in the sixth month of the first year of Ten'ō 天応 (781), Ōmi no Mifune and Isonokami no Yakatsugu were described as "the top of the literati" 文人之首. See SNKBT 16, 200.

22 思託述和上行記。兼請淡海真人元開述和上東行傳莖。則揚先德流芳後昆。SZK 31, 80. Translated by Yuzhi Zhou.

23 Ganjin's life story has been well preserved in many later historical sources. These include *Kairitsu den raiki* 戒律傳來記 (History of the *Vinaya* Transmission, 830), *Ganjin wajō san iji* 鑑真和上三異事 (Three Fantastic Things about Ganjin, 831), *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 (A Short History of Japan, 1094), *Tōdaiji yōroku* 東大寺要錄 (Concise History of Tōdaiji Temple, 1106), and *Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō* 日本高僧伝要文抄 (Hagiographies of Japanese Eminent Monks, 1249), *Ganjin wajō tōseiden e engi* 鑑真和上東征伝絵縁起 (Illustrated Scroll of the Great Monk Ganjin's Eastern Journey, 1298), and *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書 (History of Buddhism of the Genko Era, 1323).

17 Yifa, *The Origins*, 26.

18 Groner, *Saichō*, 26.

19 Richard Bowring, *The Religious Traditions of Japan, 500–1600* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 88.

往生極樂記 (Biographies of People who Attained Birth in the Pure Land, 986) that “most people, foolish and of limited intellect, are unable to understand the logic of Amitābha’s salvation. Without accounts of actual instances of salvation, it is impossible to convince people and bring them to believe.”²⁴ Concerning Ganjin, consolidation of his role as a source of authority within the Ritsu community emerged during the Heian period. Appreciation of his glorious deeds and great achievements recorded in his earliest hagiographies is demonstrated by his designation as the founder of the Ritsu school in the Kamakura period, which was strongly promoted by the Tōdaiji monk Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321). These hagiographies from earlier times could thus be used as an effective way to legitimate the esteemed monk’s authority within the community, and to propagate his teachings.

As a third-generation disciple of Daoxuan, Ganjin is commonly credited as the first *vinaya* transmitter in Japan. This assertion can be traced to the *Kairitsu den raiki* 戒律傳來記 (History of the *Vinaya* Transmission, 830) written by the monk Buan 豐安 (?–840). It is the first history of *vinaya* transmission written in Japan. On the introduction of the *vinaya* to Japan, Buan wrote: “The first *vinaya* transmitter is Ganjin, who constructed the first ordination platform to transmit the *vinaya* in Japan.”²⁵ Even though the *vinaya* had already been introduced to Japan before Ganjin’s arrival, Buan still asserts that Ganjin was the first person to transmit the *vinaya* to Japan, probably because he was the first to construct an ordination platform at Tōshōdaiji. Meanwhile, Ganjin’s charisma may have also contributed to this declaration, since the rest of the text is filled with the glorification of Ganjin’s merits, mostly borrowed from the Nara-period hagiographies. Buan also composed a hagiography on Ganjin entitled *Ganjin wajo san iji* 鑑真和上三異事 (Three Fantastic Things about Ganjin, 831), an abridged version of the earlier texts.

The Kamakura period witnessed widespread acceptance of Ganjin’s importance, resulting in his veneration as the founder of the Ritsu school. Gyōnen played a pivotal role in establishing the Ritsu school in Ganjin’s

name in his writings. Ganjin was described as “the first patriarch” (*daiichi so* 第一祖), “the founding patriarch of the *vinaya* in Japan” (*Nihonkoku kairitsu shiso* 日本國戒律始祖), and “the founding patriarch of the Ritsu school in Japan” (*Nihon risshū no shiso* 日本律宗之始祖) by Gyōnen in his doxographies, namely the *Risshū kōyō* 律宗綱要 (The Essentials of the *Vinaya* Tradition, 1306), the *Bonmōkai honsho nisshushō* 梵網戒本疏日珠鈔 (Annotation to the Commentary on Brahmajala Sutra, late thirteenth century), and the *Kegon gogyōshō tsūroki* 華嚴五教章通路記 (Commentary on Saddharma-pundarika Sutra, late thirteenth century).²⁶ Nichiren considered Ganjin to be the founder of the Ritsu school (*ganso* 元祖) in his work *Hōonshō* 報恩抄 (On Repaying Debts of Gratitude, 1276).²⁷ Since then, Ganjin’s image as the founder has been broadly accepted in Japanese Buddhist history.

Conclusion

The *vinaya* had been introduced to Japan far earlier than Ganjin’s arrival, but the Japanese court felt that there was no one qualified to supervise ordination rituals. Therefore, despite their efforts to transmit *vinaya* to Japan, people like Dōkō and the eighth-century monk Daoxuan are not included in the lineage of the Ritsu school. When Ganjin came to Japan, he took major steps to develop what later became the Ritsu school in Japan by establishing an ordination platform at Tōshōdaiji. Shortly after his death, Ganjin’s disciple Situo and the renowned literatus Ōmi no Mifune composed hagiographies about him in order to communicate his merits and glory to future generations. These early hagiographies served to establish Ganjin as the founder of the Ritsu school during the Kamakura period.

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24 Yoshishige no Yasutane, *Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki*, *Nihon shisō taikai* 7 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), 11. English translation is quoted from Kazuo Kasahara, ed., *A History of Japanese Religion* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 2009), 161.

25 初述傳戒法者。謂鑑真大和上入界始建壇場而傳戒法。T.2347.74.3c. Translated by Yuzhi Zhou.

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