

Sala, Emanuela (2022)

The Yōtenki: kami identities in medieval Sannō shintō

PhD thesis. SOAS University of London

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25501/SOAS.00037277>

<https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/37277>

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this thesis, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g. AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full thesis title", name of the School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

The *Yōtenki*: *kami* identities in
medieval Sannō shintō

Emanuela Sala

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
2021

Department of Religions & Philosophies, School of History,
Religions & Philosophies
SOAS, University of London

Abstract

My thesis focuses on Medieval Japan, in particular on the cult of the deities of the Hie shrines, near Kyōtō. This is known as Sannō shintō, and the deities themselves as Sannō (mountain sovereigns). Informed by Tendai Buddhism and linked to the main Tendai centre, the Enryakuji, Sannō shintō was central to the medieval cultural landscape, not only religious but also literary and political. My thesis is the first comprehensive study in English. It focuses on a text called *Yōtenki*, composed in stages from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, both by priestly lineages at Hie and monastics affiliated to the Enryakuji.

There is no comprehensive research on the Sannō deities. Only one monograph and articles exist in Japanese, as well as a few English-language articles. In the first two chapters of the thesis, I systematise the existing scholarship for the first time, reconciling it with my own textual research. I reconsider the neglected role of shrine lineages and produce a working definition of Sannō shintō which takes account of its continental models. In the third chapter, I tackle the composition process of the *Yōtenki*. The fourth chapter is the first extensive study on origin stories of the Hie deities, also showing the impact of medieval narratives on modern understandings of their identities. Finally, the fifth chapter shows how one chapter of the *Yōtenki* self-consciously addresses the continental models which I have introduced in the second chapter. My thesis also includes the first English translations of two sections of the *Yōtenki*, “Ōmiya no onkoto” and “Sannō no koto”.

My thesis is the first introduction in English to the main actors of the Sannō cult, both human and divine. It clarifies the institutional discourses reflected by mythologies on the Sannō deities and sheds light on the variety of purposes for which mythological accounts on the deities were composed.

Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Tables	5
Table of figures	5
List of abbreviations	6
Acknowledgments	7
Introduction	10
Subject and aims of the thesis	10
The “mountain sovereigns”	11
Sannō shintō as a medieval discourse	12
“Sannō shinto texts” and other works.....	13
The <i>Yōtenki</i>	15
Medieval discourses on <i>kami: honji suijaku</i>	17
A note on periodisation.....	18
Structure of the thesis and state of the field	19
Previous scholarship on Sannō shintō.....	19
Chapter outline.....	23
Critical terms.....	26
Final remarks	28
Chapter one: the Hie shrines and their “personnel”	30
Shrine personnel	33
<i>Hafuribe</i>	33
The Ōtsu <i>jinin</i>	45
Other shrine personnel.....	48
Shrine hermits and the foundation of the Marōdo shrine.....	54
Foundation	57
The Three saintly mountain sovereigns.....	58
A five-shrines system.....	61
Jūzenji and Sannomiya.....	63
Institutional systems	65
Seven shrines, seven stars.....	65
Hie and the twenty-two shrines system.....	68
Relationship with the Enryakuji.....	70
The latter Middle Ages and beyond	76
Chapter two: Shinbutsu shūgō at the Enryakuji	80
Shinbutsu shūgō and its main modalities	80
<i>Kami</i> in the wheel of rebirth.....	81
Honji suijaku.....	85
Methodological issues of <i>shinbutsu shūgō</i>	90
The Hie deities at the Enryakuji	95
The ancient period.....	95
Medieval period.....	114

Layers of meaning.....	132
Chapter conclusion.....	137
Chapter three: a textual history of the <i>Yōtenki</i>.....	140
Previous scholarship	140
Extant manuscripts	143
The Tanenaga manuscripts.....	143
The <i>Shōō go-nen futsuka no ki</i> 正應五年二日紀 manuscript.....	152
Edition timeline	156
“Sannō no koto”	164
Possible edition window.....	164
<i>Yōtenki</i> and the <i>kike</i>.....	176
Chapter conclusion.....	180
Chapter four: Deity identities.....	185
The <i>Ōmiya engi</i>.....	187
The <i>Ōmiya engi</i> in “ <i>Ōmiya no onkoto</i> ”	188
Chikanari’s explanation	189
Mondō and sermon.....	198
Narinaka’s explanation	204
Ninomiya	215
The <i>engi</i> of Ninomiya in “ <i>Sannō no koto</i> ”	215
Ninomiya, <i>Ōmiya</i> , and the motif of divine waves	217
Ninomiya before the creation of the cosmos	222
Ninomiya cedes his place to <i>Ōmiya</i>	227
The <i>Sannō-sai</i> and the origins of the <i>awazu no goku</i>	230
The basic structure of the <i>Sannō-sai</i>	230
The tale of Tanaka no Tsuneyo.....	233
The importance of Karasaki.....	235
The displacement narrative in early modern and modern sources	238
The early nineteenth century: Motoori Norinaga and the rediscovery of the <i>Kojiki</i>	238
The second half of the nineteenth century and the <i>Hiesha negi kudenshō</i>	240
Scholarship from the Meiji period to today	244
Chapter conclusion.....	245
Chapter five: “<i>Sannō no koto</i>” and its relation to the continent.....	248
Honji suijaku and the tale of the three sages.....	250
<i>Honji suijaku</i> as a pedagogical project in “ <i>Sannō no koto</i> ”	250
The three sages in the <i>Qingjing faxing jing</i> and Tiantai sources	252
Time and space in “<i>Sannō no koto</i>”	256
“ <i>Sannō no koto</i> ”, the five periods, and India	257
“ <i>Sannō no koto</i> ” and China	261
The time of Japan	267
“<i>Sannō no koto</i>” and etymological aetiology	269
Etymologies in the <i>engi</i> of <i>Ōmiya</i> : the characters <i>yashiro</i> and <i>hafuru</i>	271
Etymologies of composite words	273
Sacred monkeys and the character for <i>kami</i>	275
“ <i>Sannō no koto</i> ” and Chinese etymological practices	278

Character analysis in “Sannō no koto” in previous studies.....	284
Chapter conclusion.....	286
Conclusion	291
Appendix A: “Ōmiya no onkoto”, annotated translation	295
Appendix B: “Sannō no koto,” annotated translation	303
Appendix C: Table of contents of the Yōtenki jōō ni-nen ki 耀天記貞応二年記... 379	
Appendix D: Table of contents of the Sannō Yōtenki Hie Jōō ki 山王耀天記日吉貞 応記.....	381
Bibliography	383
Premodern sources	383
Secondary scholarship.....	384

Tables

Table 1 The Seven Upper Shrines	32
Table 2 The seven upper, middle and lower shrines from “Sannōki.....	65
Table 3 The Twenty-two shrines	69
Table 4 Honji of the seven upper shrines	116
Table 5 Honji of other shrines, commonly found in mandalas.....	116
Table 6 Yōtenki manuscripts consulted for this research.....	148
Table 7 Comparison of chapter outlines from the two manuscript families.....	159
Table 8 The nine changes of Laozi (Rōshi no kokonohen 老子ノ九変).....	262

Table of figures

Figure 1 Hafuribe lineage chart. From ZGR Jingibu 48, p. 601	38
Figure 2 Hafuribe lineage chart from Hiesha shinto himitsuki, ZGR Jingibu 16, p. 93 45	
Figure 3 Foundation timeline for the seven upper shrines	64
Figure 4 Distribution of colophons in the Tanenaga edition	149
Figure 5 The five periods.....	251
Figure 6 Table from Zürcher 2008, p. 314	253

List of abbreviations

- NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文學大系, 102 vols., Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968-1978
- ST *Shintō Taikai* 神道大系, 120 vols., Tokyo, Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1977–1994
- T. Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經, 100 vols., eds. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, et al. Tokyo, Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924-1935
- ZGR *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* 續群書類從, 1902–, ed. Hanawa Hokinoichi 塙保己一, Tokyo, Keizai zasshisha
- Zoku Gunsho ruijū*, 1923–1933, eds. Hanawa Hokinoichi and Ota Toshiro 太田藤四郎, 33 vols. Tokyo, Zoku gunsho runijū kanseikai.
- Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*, 1936, Tokyo, Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai
- Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*. 1957–1959, Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 續群書類從完成會, ed. 34 vols. Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai.

Acknowledgments

I started working on this thesis in October 2017. Four years later, I have such a long list of people to thank for their help that I wonder if the thesis was not a collective enterprise after all.

I am immensely grateful that my supervisor at SOAS, Prof Lucia Dolce, accepted to work with me. She has been an indefatigable and enthusiastic guide throughout, allowing me to talk to her about my project in four hours long marathon supervisions, offering support and encouragement, but also letting me know when things just did not work. I am a much better and more rigorous scholar for having had her as my supervisor.

My first second supervisor, Dr Antonello Palumbo, has offered brilliant feedback and kind words in the early phases of my project. I also thank Prof Timon Screech, my second-second supervisor, for coming on board this past year, and for being a careful and attentive reader of the final drafts of my chapters.

I spent most of the second year of my PhD, from Autumn 2018 to late Summer 2019, in Japan, as a visiting research fellow at Waseda University. My supervisor there, Prof Ōkubo Ryōshun, has been a dedicated guide, patient even with my terribly misspelled *kanji*! I must also thank Prof Matsumoto Ikuyo, from Yokohama City University, for being a wonderful host whenever I visited Yokohama, and for her help in the transcription of a difficult passage from the *Yōtenki*. Profs Satō Masato and John Breen, who have worked on Sannō shintō before me, both agreed to meet me when I was in Japan, and offered comments on my project. I am also grateful to the staff at Eizan bunko, in Sakamoto, for helping me wade through the manuscripts of the *Yōtenki* which are held there. A heartfelt thanks goes to Dr Anna Dulina, currently at Kyōto university, for the stimulating chats on *kami*, and for accompanying me to the Sannō-sai in Spring 2019, accepting to stand in the rain to wait for the boats in Karasaki with admirable poise, feeding me biscuits all the while.

While in Japan I was given the opportunity to present some preliminary conclusions of my thesis at Nagoya university, at the EFEO and ISEAS in Kyōto, and at the IMAP in Kyūshū. I am very grateful for the help and feedback I received on those occasions.

My work would not have been possible without the help of the generous donors who funded the various phases of my research. Starting from the most recent, I thank the Robert H. N. Ho family foundation for awarding me one of the Ho Family Foundation Dissertation Fellowships in Buddhist Studies on my writing up year, allowing me for the first time to work on my thesis

without needing a part-time job. The year before that was generously funded by the Sasakawa Studentship Programme. The two legs of my fieldwork were funded respectively by the Toshiba international foundation fellowship and by a Canon research fellowship. I thank in particular Mr Omori Keisuke, the president of TIFO, and Mrs Kuwayama Mariko, for meeting me for lunch in Tokyo. Mr Lorenz Denninger from EAJS and Ms Suzy Cohen from Canon have been wonderfully helpful with the logistics of the fellowships. In 2018 I also held the Meiji Jingū Japanese Studies Research Scholarships. I thank everyone at Meiji jingū, and especially Mr Sato and Mr Aoyama for welcoming me at the shrine in November 2018, and for watching me offer what remains without doubt the stiffest *tamagushi* ever performed. Finally, my first year was funded through the Centre for the Study of Japanese Religions Postgraduate Student Bursary at SOAS and the British Association of Japanese Studies Studentship.

At SOAS, I must also thank Dr Meri Arichi for being a wonderful *senpai* and taking me to see the Sannō *mandara* held at the British Museum. Everyone at the Pre-modern Chinese Buddhist texts reading group has made my time at SOAS, and eventually my time in lockdown, much more fun and interesting. I thank them also for allowing me to present some preliminary translations of poems attributed to Saichō, and for providing brilliant advice throughout. I thank in particular Dr Janine Nicol, whose kind words and encouraging postcards have helped turn around many a bad day, and for being the best workshop co-organiser one could hope for. Dr Chris Foster has been so kind to act as a soundboard for some of my ideas on Chinese lexicography, and has suggested some of the secondary sources that I cite in chapter five.

During my PhD I sat in the committee of the UK Association for Buddhist Studies, first as a PhD representative, and then as a committee member. I thank everyone at UKABS for this opportunity. I also thank everyone at the Centre of Buddhist Studies at SOAS, whose assistant I have been for three years, for their trust. Dr Rita Langer, at Bristol University, has been a mentor for my time teaching there, and her strength and generosity have set an example to me.

Finally, I am grateful for the people in my life who have been there for me in the past four years.

My mother, father and sister have been nothing but incredibly supportive throughout; together with my extended family of grandmas and aunties, they have been cheering on from the side-lines for my whole university career. Their support is seen and thoroughly appreciated.

Thomas is the best possible partner. I am grateful for his coolness under pressure, and for being so flexible and understanding with me, both when we were in a (very) long-distance relationship and when we ended up locked down together in a one-bedroom flat in London.

My best friend Luthien, the toughest person I know, has provided immense support to me through all these years, with immense love and an enviable no-nonsense attitude.

Lastly, I am grateful to the bosses, managers, and colleagues past and present at Skoob books, in Bloomsbury, where I have worked part-time for most of my PhD. Everyone at Skoob has been unerringly understanding with me, letting me take months off for my fieldwork, brewing me endless cups of tea, and in general making it the best workplace one can hope for.

Introduction

Subject and aims of the thesis

My thesis focuses on Medieval Japan (eleventh to sixteenth century), in particular on the cult of the deities of the Hie shrines (alternatively written 日枝, 日吉, 比叡, 日吉 also pronounced Hiyoshi, current official name Hiyoshi taisha 日吉大社). Hie is a group of shrines, twenty-one in number, divided in three subgroups of seven upper (*kami shichisha* 上七社), seven middle (*naka shichisha* 中七社) and seven lower ones (*shimo shichisha* 下七社). It is located in a small town called Sakamoto 坂本, in the Ōtsu province near Kyōtō, at the foothills of Mount Hiei (Hieizan 比叡山) and at the west of Lake Biwa (Biwako 琵琶湖).

The medieval cult of the Hie deities is now known as Sannō shintō 山王神道, and the deities themselves as Sannō (lit. “Mountain sovereigns”).¹ Informed by Tendai Buddhism, Sannō shintō linked the Sannō deities to the main Tendai centre, the Enryakuji 延暦寺, located a short distance away from the shrines, on Mount Hiei. The Enryakuji, founded by Saichō 最澄 (767-822), was a central templar institution of Japanese Buddhism throughout the Middle Ages and beyond that. My thesis is the first monograph-length introduction in English to the main actors of the Sannō cult, both human and divine, and aims to investigate the formation of complex identities of deities (*kami* 神) in mythological narratives.

By exploring the understudied material found in a text called *Yōtenki* 耀天記 (late thirteenth-late fifteenth century), I start off by clarifying the neglected role of priestly lineages in the formation of *kami* mythologies, focusing chiefly but not solely on the high-ranking lineage of

¹ While it is unclear whether it existed in the Middle Ages, the term “Sannō shintō” was in use in the Edo period. The Tendai monk Tenkai 天海 (1536-1643) used the term in his works, and referred to the combinatory system that he devised with the name of Sannō ichijutsu shintō 山王一実神垣. Sugahara Shinkai 菅原信海, *Sannō Shintō no kenkyū* 山王神道の研究, Tōkyō, Shunjūsha, 1992, pp. 4-5. I translate “Sannō” as “mountain sovereigns”. This is at odds with the most common English translation as “mountain kings”, and is deliberate on my part, as the term “kings” is gendered, obfuscating the fact that under the Sannō umbrella were subsumed female deities as well as male ones.

Hie priests, the Hafuribe 祝部.² This allows me to broaden existing paradigms of Sannō shintō by depicting it not as an exclusively monastic endeavour. By clarifying the institutional discourses reflected by mythologies on the Sannō deities, I shed light on the variety of purposes for which the latter were composed and clarify the relation of medieval *kami* narratives with continental discourses on the role of local divine entities in Buddhism. Finally, by reconciling existing scholarship with readings of mythological material, I propose new interpretations of long-held assumptions on the Sannō deities, such as the order of their enshrinement. My thesis also includes, as appendices, the first integral translations in English of two chapters of the *Yōtenki*, entitled “Sannō no koto” 山王事 (“Concerning the mountain sovereigns”) and “Ōmiya no onkoto” 大宮御事 (“Concerning Ōmiya”), centred respectively on the role of the Hie deities in the Buddhist world and on enshrinement tales of the main deity of Hie, Ōmiya 大宮.

The “mountain sovereigns”

Sannō shintō is the cult of the Sannō *kami*. As we shall see in the second chapter, the name Sannō (ch. *shanwang*) originally derives from scriptural sources, filtered through the Buddhist worship of the deities of Mt Tiantai (Tiantaishan 天台山) in China. In the case of Japan, it is only used for deities of the Hie shrines. It is often a collective name for groups of three or seven deities, or for the full set of twenty-one, but it often also indicates only one deity, in which case it is generally, but not always, synonymous with Ōmiya.³ In this case, it is frequently found in the compounded expression Sannō *gongen* 山王権現, where *gongen* (lit. “expedient manifestation”) indicates the function of the deity as a temporary manifestation of a Buddha or bodhisattva.

The Hie *kami* were central to the medieval cultural landscape, not only religious but also literary and political, and took on a variety of roles during the Middle Ages. They featured in rituals for the protection of the polity and were part of a group of shrines sponsored by the

² What I mean by “priests” throughout the thesis is specialised lineages who worked at the shrines, who were responsible for services and offerings for the deities, but who were not Buddhist monks, but householders. In general, but not always, “priest” as I use it overlaps with the Japanese word *shashi* 社司 or *hafuru* 祝. I discuss the role of shrine lineages in the first chapter of this thesis. Concurrently, I refer to Buddhist clergy as “monks” or “monastics”.

³ For a full list of the main Hie deities, with the places of their enshrinement and their current and medieval names, I refer to the first chapter.

imperial house, but their palanquins were also regularly paraded through the capital by Enryakuji monks, in acts of protest known as *gōso* 強訴. In this more wrathful guise, they are also recounted to have wrought illness to prominent political figures. We famously see this in the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語, where we find a chilling account of the regent Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062-1099) falling victim to the wrath (*tatari* 祟) of the deity Hachiōji 八王子. In a more benign role, the Hie deities could also use their formidable power to protect the capital, Buddhism in general, and the Enryakuji. Lastly, their fortune was by no means limited to the Middle Ages, or even the Biwa Lake area. Their cult became the model for that of the deified shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616) in the seventeenth century, and the shrines still exist today and continue to have a well-attended annual festival (*matsuri* 祭), called Sannō-sai 山王祭.

Sannō shintō as a medieval discourse

My thesis focuses on the medieval period as a pivotal moment for the cult of the Sannō deities. Firstly, it is only in the Middle Ages that the Hie shrines became a central presence on the Japanese religious scene. The seven main shrines of Hie were completed in the twelfth century, with the other fourteen following suit throughout the Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185-1333). In the middle Kamakura period Hie entered a group of elite shrines sponsored by the polity, thus coming to the fore of public life in the capital. Pilgrimages were directed to their deities, and poems on the shrines appeared in imperial collections such as the *Shinkokinwakashū* 新古今和歌集 and *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄. As the cult of the deities developed, a mythological apparatus was formed to reflect their increased institutional prominence, and their role in Buddhism was examined. The medieval period is also when the Enryakuji was at its most powerful: as I show in the first chapter, by the tenth century it had become one of the greatest landholder institutions of Japan. While the Enryakuji largely maintained this position throughout the Middle Ages, it never regained its power after being burned to the ground by the troops of Oda Nobunaga 織田 信長 (1534-1582) in 1571. Through the Middle Ages the Hie shrines were administratively affiliated to the Enryakuji, but they were also, as we will see in the first chapter, great landholders of the Biwa Lake area in their own right. Finally, as I

show below, the twelfth to sixteenth centuries are also when most textual material on the Sannō deities was composed.

Although I focus on the Middle Ages, and especially on the Kamakura period, this does not mean that discourses on the Sannō deities begin and end with it. Early in the thesis I show that earlier sources on the Hie *kami*, scarce as they are, are key to understanding the way these were first conceptualised, and so are the doctrinal and literary precedents, often continental, which shaped their identities. In most of the chapters I also draw attention to developments on the Hie *kami* from the Edo 江戸 (1600-1864) and modern period. These are key to clarify our modern understandings of the deity, which in turn, as I claim in the fourth chapter, influence the way in which scholarship has interpreted medieval mythological material.

“Sannō shinto texts” and other works

The key works on the Sannō deities, to which I variously refer throughout the thesis as “Sannō shintō works” or “Sannō shintō texts”, are ones which:

1. Have a focus on the Sannō deities, or at least chapters dedicated to them (for instance, many of the texts we will see have a chapter named “Sannō no koto” 山王事, lit. “Concerning the mountain sovereigns”);
2. Were produced in the main institutions where the Sannō deities were enshrined and worshipped. These are generally, in this thesis, the Hie shrines and Enryakuji, and only rarely the other Tendai centre, the Onjōji 園城寺.

Such texts have a variety of content, ranging from mythical accounts on the origins of the shrines and of their festival (*engi* 縁起), to tales (*setsuwa* 説話) where the deities appear to human characters. They often contain accounts of how the Sannō-sai was carried out, as well as narratives outlining the position of the Hie deities in the Buddhist world, and their role in Buddhist soteriology and the protection of the polity.

The chief Sannō shintō text in this thesis is of course the *Yōtenki*, whose content I outline later in this introduction. Below I list other main works to which I refer throughout the thesis.

The *Enryakuji gokoku engi* 延暦寺護国縁起, possibly composed in the thirteenth century, is a polemical work aimed at proving the superiority of Saichō to other founders of Buddhist institutions, especially Kūkai 空海 (774-835). It records the origin of the Enryakuji and its role

in the protection of the polity and diffusion of Buddhism, with its first volume entirely dedicated to the foundation of the seven main shrines of Hie and the enshrinement of their deities.⁴ This kind of *setsuwa* are also present in the collections *Hie sannō rishōki* 日吉山王利生記 (date unknown, Kamakura period), and in *Zoku kojidan* 続古事談 (possibly 1219).⁵

Items dedicated to the Sannō deities also appear extensively in the *Sange yōryakki* 山家要略記 and *Keiranshūyōshū* 溪嵐拾葉集. These are both, broadly speaking, collections of traditions on the Enryakuji compiled by scholar monks. The *Sange yōryakki* is known in various editions, and its compilation is traditionally attributed to the monk Kenshin 顯真 (1131-1192), with revisions from his disciple Gigen 義源 (c.1289-1351).⁶ As for the *Keiranshūyōshū*, a more extensive work, it was compiled by the scholar monk Kōshū 光宗 (1276-1350) in the fourteenth century.⁷ The *Keiranshūyōshū* in particular has enshrinement stories in the section entitled *Shinmeibu* 神明部, but also a wealth of doctrinal elaborations on the Hie *kami* in the section entitled “Sannō no onkoto” 山王御事. This contains Esoteric transmissions, and it is where we see an attempt to systematise various identities of the seven main Sannō deities. A similar systematisation can be found in the *Tenchi jingi shinchin yōki* 天地神祇審鎮要記, also known as *Sannō shinchin yōki* 山王審鎮要記, redacted the monk Jihen 慈遍 (active in the 1340s), where we see the Hie deities positioned in relation to other *kami* across the country and situated within pre-existing genealogies.

The works above were all produced by monastics affiliated to the Enryakuji, although books like the *Sange yōryakki* also contain traditions said to be transmitted within priestly lineages. A work composed entirely by a priest is the late medieval work *Hieshashintō himitsuki* 日吉社神道秘密記. This was redacted in 1577 by a member of the same Hafuribe family whose traditions are recorded in the *Yōtenki*, Hafuribe Yukimaro 祝部行丸 (also known as Shōgenji Yukimaro 生源寺行丸, 1512-1592), who led the reconstruction efforts of Hie after the shrines

⁴ I refer to the edition of *Enryakuji gokoku engi* found in GR 27:2.

⁵ Consulted in ZGR 27, *zatsubu* 雜部.

⁶ Three of its editions are edited in ST, *Ronsetsu hen* 論說編 4, *Tendai shintō* 天台神道, ge 下.

⁷ I refer to the edition in the Taishō canon, T2410, vol. 76.

were destroyed alongside the Enryakuji in 1571 and collected Hafuribe traditions that might have gotten lost otherwise.

Finally, if we expand our scope outside what I have termed “Sannō shintō texts”, information on the Sannō deities can also be found in official documents and *kami* genealogies. Before the Middle Ages we find mention of them in the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 (completed 901), in the “Jinmyōchō” 神名帳 section of the *Engishiki* 延喜式 (completed 927) and, earlier still, in the *Kojiki* 古事記 (714). Worship of the Sannō *kami* is also recorded in accounts of imperial visits such as the 1330 *Hiesha Eizan gyōkō ki Gentoku ni-nen* 日吉社叡山行幸記元徳二年, and diaries of courtiers such as Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078-1162) and Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062-1099).⁸ Poetry collections and longer works such as the *Heike monogatari*, as we have seen, also contain mentions of the Sannō deities, who also crop up in tales on the mythical origins of other shrines, such as the Ōmiwa shrine (Ōmiwa *jinja* 大神神社) in Yamato.⁹ Medieval *setsuwa* collections, even when not directly mentioning the Sannō deities, present striking resemblances to the modalities of *kami* representation that we find in the *Yōtenki*. Such is the case for the *Shintoshū* 神道集, a collection of tales on *honji suijaku* produced during the Nanbokuchō 南北朝 period (1336-1392) in a Tendai environment, and the *Shasekishū* 沙石集, composed in the 1280s by Mujū 無住. All these sources are also mentioned in the thesis, allowing me to integrate the framework found in Sannō shintō texts with the broader landscape of medieval religion, and to gauge the trajectory of discourses on the Sannō deities.

The *Yōtenki*

The central primary source for this thesis is the *Yōtenki*, which was composed, through the regular addition of items, from the thirteenth through the fifteenth century. Its first nucleus was composed before 1289; after this, chapters were added before 1301. The final, “longer” version, which is the base for all printed editions and consists of forty-two chapters, was first

⁸ Edited in Okami Masao (ed.) 岡見正雄, *Muromachigokoro: chūsei bungaku shiryōshū* 室町ごろ中世文学資料集, Kadokawa shoten, 1978, pp. 334-370.

⁹ The Ōmiwa *engi* is translated in English in Andreeva, Anna, “The Karmic Origins of the Great Bright Miwa Deity: A Transformation of the Sacred Mountain in Premodern Japan,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 65, no. 2, 2010, pp. 245–296.

copied in 1490.¹⁰ When I refer to the *Yōtenki* in this thesis, I generally refer to the forty-two chapters edition unless otherwise stated.

The composition of the *Yōtenki* straddles the two categories of Sannō shintō texts which we have seen, those composed at the Enryakuji and those composed at the Hie shrines: it records both monastic and priestly traditions, and its manuscripts were also copied both by monastics and priests, as can be seen from the surviving colophons. I give an extensive survey of manuscripts, as well as of the edition history, in the third chapter.

As a whole, the *Yōtenki* is a collection of traditions on the shrines of Hie, their deities and priesthood. Most of its chapters are centred on topics such as the enshrinement of deities, and the liturgical and mythological traditions related to these. The latter are presented in a broad variety and paratactically, without any attempt to select among different versions. The chapters are either formed of essential notes or variably extensive narratives, with a focus ranging from the documentary (lineage charts, accounts of events, lists of priests' names and appointments) to the mythological. The style of the chapters is composite: there are lists, narrative sections, and paragraphs following the interrogatory pattern of *mondō* 問答 (lit. "question and answer") which report discussions among senior members of the priestly staff. All these styles sometimes appear in the same chapter, as we can see from "Ōmiya no onkoto".

As for the language of the *Yōtenki*, some sections have a mixed style of Chinese characters and *katakana* (*kanakanjimajiribun* 仮名漢字交文), the style of *setsuwa* collections such as the *Zoku kojidan*. These alternate with section in classical Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文), often within the same chapter. The mix of registers and styles is due to the nature of the *Yōtenki* as a record of material from various sources, some of which is presented in the form of direct quotes. A different case can be made for the chapter "Sannō no koto", which is considerably longer than any other section, amounting to more than half the bulk of the *Yōtenki*. It is entirely written in *kanakanjimajiribun* and constructs a coherent narrative on the salvific action of the Hie deities in the world, in some instances cannibalising segments of previous chapters.

The *Yōtenki* as a whole is an understudied text. Although it is often regarded as a *honji suijaku* volume expounding the Buddhist doctrine of Sannō Shinto,¹¹ most of its chapters, which have

¹⁰ Printed editions are in ZGR 48 pp. 582-635, ST 29 pp. 39-124.

¹¹ The *Shintō jiten* 神道辞典 says that the *Yōtenki's* "central idea is that the deity of the Hie shrine is Śākyamuni, and that it is the origin of various *kami*". In *Shintō shisō shū*, Ishida states that: "It is a typical work of the theory of *honji suijaku* interpreted as *shinbutsu shūgō*". Ishida Ichirō 石田一良, *Shintō*

received little scholarly attention, are also a valuable resource on medieval priesthood, its self-conception and manner of describing their relation to other shrines. “Sannō no koto” is the chapter that has received the most attention in English language scholarship, but even so there is only one article by Allan Grapard.¹² This examines sections of it rather than the whole text, which however, being one narrative, is not fully understandable unless it is read *in extenso*. Lacking the context of the production of the *Yōtenki* and its relation to other chapters further obscures its significance. In translating it integrally and dedicating to it the whole fifth chapter of the thesis, I hope to show that “Sannō no koto” is an important source work on medieval culture that has heretofore remained untapped.

Medieval discourses on *kami*: *honji suijaku*

Most Sannō shintō texts discuss the Sannō deities in reference to one main discourse on *kami* identities in relation to Buddhism, known as *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 (lit. “original ground and manifest traces”). According to this relation, Buddhist deities (the *honji*, “original ground”) choose to appear in Japan as “native” deities (performing *suijaku*, or “manifesting [their] traces”) to convert and save a Japanese populace yet unprepared for the mental and emotional labour of Buddhist salvation. *Kami* are therefore avatars of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, local manifestations of a universal Buddhist principle.

Sannō shintō has sometimes been understood as a discourse on the *honji suijaku* role of the Hie deities which consolidated itself in the Middle Ages: a description we find is that it is formed of the discourses on the three main deities of Hie, Ōmiya, Ninomiya 二宮 and Shōshinji 聖真子 and their avatars, the Buddhas presiding over the three areas (commonly translated as “pagodas”) of the Enryakuji: respectively Śākyamuni (Jp. Shaka 釈迦) for the eastern pagoda (Tōdō 東塔), Yakushi 薬師 (Skr. Bhaiṣajyaguru) for the central area (Konpon chūdō 根本中堂) and Amida 阿弥陀 (Skr. Amitabha) for the western pagoda (Saitō 西塔).¹³

Shisōshū 神道思想集, Tōkyō, Chikuma Shobō, 1970, p. 40. More recently, Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士, *Chūsei No Kami to Hotoke* 中世の神と仏, Tōkyō, Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2003, p. 33.

¹² Allan Grapard’s widely read article “Linguistic Cubism: A Singularity of Pluralism in the Sannō Cult,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2/3, 1987, pp. 211-234.

¹³ For instance, in Grapard 1987 and Kuroda Toshio, “Historical Consciousness and *Hon-jaku* Philosophy in the Medieval Period on Mt. Hiei”, in Tanabe, George Joji, and Tanabe, Willa Jane, *The Lotus Sutra in Japanese Culture*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989, pp. 143-159.

There are reasons for the identification of Sannō shintō as a *honji suijaku* system. One is related to scholarship: I discuss previous studies more in depth below, but most research on Sannō shintō was done in the eighties and nineties, when understanding *honji suijaku* was a central concern of scholarship both Japanese and Euromerican. An identification of Sannō shintō with *honji suijaku* is however also found in newer scholarship, and in part it reflects the prominence of discussions of *honji suijaku* in Sannō shintō texts. For instance, the *Keiranshūyōshū* has a detailed explanation of the *honji* and *suijaku* relations of the Hie deities in “Sannō no onkoto”.¹⁴ Similarly, in the *Yōtenki*, the chapter “Sannō no koto” is entirely focused on explaining the salvific work of deities in the context of *honji suijaku*.

Because *honji suijaku* was such a major component of the discourse on the Sannō deities, accordingly it holds a prominent space in this thesis: a discussion of the various *honji* correspondences of the main Sannō deities occupies the whole second chapter and part of the fifth. However, I also take care not to wholly identify Sannō shintō with a *honji suijaku* system, and argue in the second chapter that this identification obscures other ways of looking at *kami* that are otherwise not accounted for, as well as the fact that the *honji* for the deities were not fixed, and Sannō shintō never systematised. I reconfigure it as a “messy” process entailing a gradual accumulation of discourses on deities.

A note on periodisation

One last thing to clarify is my use of the term “medieval”, with its synonym “Middle ages” and the Japanese translation *chūsei* 中世. As stated before, I consider this period to span from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, therefore ending sometime around 1600. While in works of political history the beginning of the medieval period coincides with the establishment of the shogunate in Kamakura in 1185, my periodisation is coherent with that found in works of religious scholars, where the medieval period begins with the so-called Insei 院政 rule, or even earlier, in the latter tenth century.¹⁵ Such periodisation allows to emphasise the continuities in the Japanese religious landscape, for instance by bracketing the beginning and heyday of

¹⁴ Park Yeon Joo, *Shaking dance in the stormy valley: Tendai discourse on kami-buddha relations in fourteenth century mount Hiei*, University of Illinois at Urbana-champaign, 2016, Phd thesis.

¹⁵ The Insei, or “cloistered rule” period, is a period roughly spanning the century from 1086 to 1185, which saw emperors abdicating and taking the Buddhist tonsure, but retaining political influence. The 950s are part of the “early Middle Ages” in such overviews as Deal, William E., and Brian Ruppert, *A cultural history of Japanese Buddhism*, Malden, MA, Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.

the *honji suijaku* discourse, but also by representing a period of great political and economic power for religious institutions.¹⁶

The medieval period also brackets the earliest date when the seven main shrines of the Hie compound existed for certain (1140s) and Hafuribe Yukimaro's reconstruction efforts after the destruction of 1571, therefore letting me highlight a situation of relative continuity in the history of the shrines. As we shall see, the Edo period saw a drastic change in the relations of Hie to the Enryakuji and in the cult of the Hie deities.

I integrate this periodisation with other systems of time. Throughout the thesis I use the Japanese system of era names (*nengō* 年号), as well as the periodisation in eras which derive their names from the loci of political power, therefore referring to the Nara 奈良 (710-794), Heian 平安 (794-1185), Kamakura, Muromachi 室町 (1333-1576) and Edo periods.

Structure of the thesis and state of the field

Previous scholarship on Sannō shintō

When I set to work on Sannō shintō, a first challenge was the scarcity and configuration of secondary studies.

Only one monograph on Sannō shintō exists to date: this is Sugahara Shinkai's *Sannō shintō no kenkyū* 山王神道の研究, published in 1992, an history of the worship of the Sannō deities focusing exclusively on Tendai institutions, mainly the Enryakuji.¹⁷ With a doctrinal approach supported by textual history, Sugahara focuses on central figures of Tendai such as Saichō and Enchin 円珍 (814–891). He explores their relationship to the Hie deities, as well as the main textual material on the Hie deities, such as *Sange yōryakki* and *Yōtenki*, whose composition he investigates.¹⁸ Sugahara's reconstruction of the *Yōtenki*'s composition, which I address in the third chapter, follows the discovery of the oldest manuscript of the *Yōtenki*, minutely

¹⁶ As pointed out by historian Kuroda Toshio, who placed the beginning of the Middle Ages in the Insei period, and included religious institutions such as the Enryakuji among the elites sharing ruling powers in what he called the "gates of power" (*kenmon* 権門). For an account of historiographical views of the passage from the "classical" to the Medieval era, see Adolphson, Mikael S., "From classical to medieval? Ōchō kokka, kenmon taisei, and the Heian court," in Friday, Karl F., *Routledge Handbook of Premodern Japanese History*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2017, pp. 99-116.

¹⁷ Sugahara 1992.

¹⁸ Sugahara's textual history of the *Yōtenki* can also be found in an article,

reported in a 1979 article by Okada Seishi.¹⁹ Sugahara ultimately interprets Sannō shintō as a form of monastic (*bukke* 仏家) combinatory practice, arising from a multiplicity of lineages in the Enryakuji and at the Onjōji and largely consisting of a textual apparatus, established in works such as the *Yōtenki* and the *Sange yōryakki*.

A wealth of research on the Sannō deities can be found in the articles by historian Satō Masato, published across a period of more than thirty years, from the mid-eighties to the mid-2010s. Satō's articles are by far the most in-depth secondary works on Sannō shintō, and range from institutional history,²⁰ to articles with a more doctrinal and ritual focus,²¹ to shorter, more general ones introducing the main doctrines and features of the Sannō cult.²² Sato's 1989 article on the edition history of the *Hiesha negi kudenshō* 日吉社禰宜口伝抄 has proved an invaluable contribution to the study of Sannō shintō, as it convincingly showed that this work, previously accepted as a Heian original, is a Meiji forgery.²³ As the work had been considered one of the earliest sources on the Sannō deities, Satō's discoveries challenged previous assumptions on the ancient cult of the deities at Hie. One of these is the widely quoted interpretation of the annual festival for the deities as an ancient fertility cult, proposed by the art historian Kageyama Haruki 景山春樹, and hinging on readings on the *Kudenshō*.²⁴

Even when it is more than thirty years old, Satō's scholarship is often the most recent research on Sannō shintō, and certainly constitutes the bulk of it. As we will see, my own research often confirms his work, either by continuing it or expanding it. One setback is however how

¹⁹ Okada Seishi 岡田精司, "Yōtenki no ikkōsatsu: "Sannō engi" Shōō shahon no shutsugen wo megutte" 耀天記の一考察--「山王縁起」正応写本の出現をめぐって, in *Kokushigaku* 国史学 108, 1979, pp. 33-55.

²⁰ Satō Masato 佐藤眞人, "Sannō shichisha no seiritsu ni tsuite" 山王七社の成立について, *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究 58, 263, 4, 1985, pp. 242-243, and "Futatabi sannō shichisha no seiritsu ni tsuite" 再び山王七社の成立について, *Ōkurayama ronshū* 大倉山論集 23, 1988, pp. 161-178.

²¹ Satō Masato, "Sannō shintō Keiseishi no ippan: sannō shichisha, hokuto shichisei dōtai setsu no seiritsu wo megutte" 山王神道形成史の一斑・山王七社・北斗七星動態説の成立をめぐって, *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究 266, 59, 03, 1984, pp. 29-52.

²² Satō Masato, "Sannō shintō no kyōri" 山王神道の教理, *Kokubungaku kaiyaku to kanshō* 国文学解釈と鑑賞, vol. 52, 1987, pp. 32-38. More recently, "Sannō shintō no seikai" 山王神道の世界, *Tendai gakutanjin* 天台学探尋 2014, pp. 179-209.

²³ Satō Masato, "Hiesha negi kudenshō no seiritsu" 「日吉社禰宜口伝抄」の成立, *Okurayama ronshū* 大倉山論集 25, 1989, pp. 1-49. The *Kudenshō* is included in ST 29, the volume of the *Shintō taikai* focused on the traditions of Hie.

²⁴ In Kageyama Haruki 景山春樹, *Shintaizan* 神体山, Tōkyō, Gakuseisha, 1971.

fragmentary Satō's work is, due to the form in which it is published, articles, and the long period in which these were written, which often results in newer articles contradicting earlier findings.

The Sannō deities are also mentioned, in Japanese, in articles on origin narratives and their *topoi*,²⁵ and more passingly in articles on literature, doctrinal studies and art history, where it is often treated as a purely *honji suijaku* discourse. Work on the Sannō deities in English is even sparser. A widely read article by Allan Grapard, published in 1987, presents the folk etymologies found in the *Yōtenki* which I introduce in the fifth chapter.²⁶ Historian John Breen is the only Western scholar to have written on the Hie shrines and their priesthood in a book chapter dedicated to the history of Hie. This is a foundational work, which complements and expands the research of Japanese local historian Sagai Tatsuro.²⁷ Breen has worked on the modern evolution of the festival of the Hie deities in his most recent article.²⁸

We also find brief mentions of the Sannō deities and texts in monographs on Tendai Buddhism,²⁹ on origin narratives and doctrines of other shrines,³⁰ on wide spanning works on deities in Medieval Japan.³¹ Faure's most recent article focuses on one Sannō deity, Jūzenji 十禪師, and his presence in specific monastic discourses, chiefly in the Esoteric ritual context.³²

Two PhD theses focus on aspects of the Sannō cult. Meri Arichi's thesis introduces the iconographies of the Sannō deities as these are found in mandalas produced from the Middle Ages to the Edo period.³³ More recently, Yeonjoo Park's thesis is a philosophical and doctrinal

²⁵ Yamamoto Hiroko 山本ひろこ, *Monogatari no toposu to kōtsū* 物語のトポスと交通, in Hyōdoō Hiromi 兵藤裕巳, et al. (ed.), *Monogatari, Sabetsu, Tennōsei* 物語 差別 天皇制, Tōkyō, Gogatsusha, 1985, pp. 236-301.

²⁶ Grapard 1987.

²⁷ Breen, John, and Mark Teeuwen, *A new history of Shinto*, Chichester; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Sagai Tatsuro 嵯峨井建, *Hiyoshi Taisha to Sannō Gongen* 日吉大社と山王権現, Kyōto, Ninbunshoin, 1992.

²⁸ Breen, John, "Sannō Matsuri: Fabricating Festivals in Modern Japan", *Journal of Religion in Japan* 9, 1-3, 2020, pp. 78-117.

²⁹ Stone, Jacqueline Ilyse, *Original enlightenment and the transformation of medieval Japanese buddhism*, Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.

³⁰ Andreeva, Anna, *Assembling shinto: Buddhist approaches to kami worship in medieval Japan*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Asia Center, 2017, and Andreeva 2010.

³¹ Faure, Bernard, *Gods of Medieval Japan*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.

³² Faure, Bernard, "Jūzenji, ou l'enfance du divin," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 29, *Mythologies japonaises/Japanese Mythologies*, 2020, pp. 265-288.

³³ Arichi Meri, *Hie-sannō mandara: the iconography of kami and sacred landscape in medieval Japan*, SOAS, 2002, PhD thesis.

research on the *Keiranshūyōshū*, which dedicates some chapters to the elaboration within this one text of *honji suijaku* discourses on the Sannō deities.³⁴

The main issues of previous scholarship on Sannō shintō are the following:

1. There is no monograph, in any language, that gives a basic account of the development of the worship of Sannō deities *both* at the Enryakuji *and* at the Hie shrines.
2. Most scholarship is in the form of articles, and therefore brief or fragmentary.
3. In English scholarship especially, there exist two sides of doctrinal studies (mostly represented by Buddhologists) and institutional studies (historians of religion such as Breen) which do not seem to talk to each other. In other words, there is a chiasmus between works in which the Hie shrines and the Hafuribe are mentioned as a vital component in the cult of the Sannō deities (in English this is limited to Breen) and the rest of the works, where Sannō shintō is depicted as a purely monastic construct, and the Sannō deities entirely talked about in their relation to Buddhism, especially in the context of *honji suijaku* and the doctrine of original enlightenment.

This latter vision of Sannō shintō can ultimately be linked to the influence on English language scholarship of the work of historian Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄 (1926-1933). According to Kuroda, Buddhism acted on medieval religion as a powerful epistemic frame, so that the arising of somehow coherent *kami* discourses was strictly dependent from it.³⁵ In particular, Kuroda's article on Sannō shintō strongly connects its development to the rise of one lineage of scholar monks at the Enryakuji, the so-called *kike* 記家 (lit. "record [keeping] lineage"), in the thirteenth century, and to the development of *honji suijaku*.³⁶

The view of Sannō shintō as an entirely monastic endeavour was of course immediately off the table when I started looking at the *Yōtenki*, whose composition both by priests and monastics made it immediately evident that priestly traditions were also central to medieval conceptions of the Hie deities. This was confirmed by looking at other Sannō shintō works such as the *Sange yōryakki*, which consistently reported Hafuribe traditions, or tales in which members of the Hafuribe or other priestly lineages featured as characters. As I delved further into the institutional context at the background of the formation of mythologies, the dates

³⁴ Park 2016.

³⁵ Kuroda Toshio, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1981, p. 9.

³⁶ Kuroda 1989.

when various Hie shrines were founded, the role of priesthood, and the historical development of the power of Hie over the Biwa lake area, it also appeared clear that a study of Sannō shintō focusing exclusively on its relationship to Tendai doctrine incurred the risk of essentialising discourses on the deities, disconnecting their identities from the historical development of their cult and from the locale over which they presided.

Chapter outline

In order to start off my work, I decided to first concentrate on three points. To write anything about the identities of deities and their narratives I first needed to have an idea (and give my readers an idea) of the chronological development of the worship of the Sannō deities; secondly, of the main lineages involved with their cult; and thirdly, of the names and enshrinement dates of at least the main Sannō deities.

Asking myself these questions while putting order in the existing scholarship is how I wrote the first chapter. I envision its findings as the sort of introduction to the Sannō institutions and deities that I would have liked to read when I first set off to work on the thesis. In the chapter I briefly introduce the shrines and their geography, along with the deities that occupy them. Most of it is occupied by an overview on what I call what I call “shrine personnel”, that is the mostly priestly actors which animated the locale of Hie. Firstly, I introduce the Hafuribe, of which I trace the organisation and genealogy through lineage charts found in Sannō shintō texts. I then turn to the so-called Ōtsu *jinin* 大津神人, a mid-ranking priestly lineage based roughly in what is now Ōtsu city (Ōtsu-shi 大津市). Lastly, I sketch out the other figures that occupy the shrines: hermits, shamans, itinerant monks.

My interest in these priestly figures stems from the contradiction I perceive between their prominence in primary sources and the scarcity of secondary studies focused on them. By placing them in the spotlight at the beginning of the thesis, I hope to show immediately how my aim is to de-centre the production of Sannō shintō, showing how its formation does not arise from one monastic lineage only, but from the interaction of various lineages. In the case of the Ōtsu *jinin* in particular, while we see them chiefly mentioned in works on economic history because of their involvement with the finances of Hie and the Enryakuji, I argue that their liturgical roles are also essential to understand the formation of the most widespread

legend on the enshrinement of Ōmiya, that I explore in the first chapter.³⁷ The last part of the first chapter is an overview on the foundation dates of the seven main shrines of Hie and the institutional systems to which they participated, where I put order in existing scholarship. I conclude the chapter with a note on Edo developments at Hie involving the Hafuribe.

In tackling the formation of deity identities at the Enryakuji in the second chapter, I take account of discourses produced before the development of *honji suijaku*, and show that these are indispensable in understanding the Hie deities, both in the Middle Ages and today. I first address the globality of the discourses locating *kami* in the Buddhist world, what we call *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合. I outline the various discourses on *kami* indicated by this term, and use this discussion as a background to investigate how the study of Sannō shintō fits in existing scholarly overviews, thereby integrating the worship of the Sannō deities in the broader Japanese religious landscape. I bring attention to overlooked texts on the Sannō deities, especially ones attributed to the Tendai patriarchs Saichō and Enchin. Building upon the work of the historian Yoshida Kazuhiko, I show how these works clarify the role of Chinese sources in the formation of *kami* discourses, as they often had direct Chinese precedents.³⁸ I then turn to the medieval period. I analyse the Buddhist identity on the Hie deities with a focus on liturgy, with a brief section on the use of animal produce in offerings to the deities and a longer one on Esoteric rituals involving Sannō deities. I show concretely how various relationships with the deities and their *honji* were constructed, and introduce examples of medieval sources that tried to integrate various aspects of the deities by referring to Tendai doctrine. In the final section, I address one case of doctrinalisation relative to textual practice, by analysing medieval sources produced at the Enryakuji that analyse the characters for “Sannō” in relation to Tendai meditative practices or philosophical concepts. I demonstrate that there is not a unified Sannō shintō doctrine, but instead that this is formed of a multiplicity of discourses.

The third chapter is an overview of the writing, editing and transmission process of the various sections composing the *Yōtenki*, for which I propose a timeline for the first time in a Western study. I integrate previous scholarship, the two articles by Sugahara and Okada,³⁹ with my own

³⁷ Shimosaka Mamoru 下坂守, *Chūsei Jiin Shakai to Minshū: Shuto to Bashaku, Jinin, Kawaramono* 中世寺院社会と民衆：衆徒と馬借・神人・河原者, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2014, and in English Gay, Suzanne Marie, *The Moneylenders of Late Medieval Kyoto*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.

³⁸ The most recent publication on the topic is Yoshida Kazuhiko 吉田一彦, *Shinbutsu yūgō no Higashijashi* 神仏融合の東アジア史, Nagoya, Nagoya daigaku shuppankai, 2021.

³⁹ Okada 1979 and Sugahara 1984.

field research, conducted at the Eizan bunko and the National archives of Japan between the Autumn of 2018 and the Spring of 2019, where I looked at different manuscripts of the *Yōtenki*. With the composition history of the *Yōtenki* as a background, I re-examine its relation, and the relation of Sannō shintō in general, to *kike*, the “record-keeping” monastics at the Enryakuji who have been indicated as the central lineage in the emergence of Sannō shintō.

The institutional and textual background of the first three chapters allows me to tackle, in the fourth one, the matter of the medieval identities of the Sannō deities, specifically as these appear in tales of their enshrinement, investigating the wealth of their variants and explaining how some of these became to be perceived as the more important, and in some cases as the “correct” ones. Throughout the chapter I examine the full repertoire of the *engi* of Ōmiya and Ninomiya, the main deities of Hie, which in the case of Ninomiya has never been extensively studied in any language. I anchor my analysis of this mythological material to key phases in the institutional history of Hie, and follow the development of what I call a “narrative of displacement.” This is the reconstruction of the early cult at Hie that is currently found in material published by the Hie shrines, as well as the majoritarian position of scholarship. It sees Ōmiya as an old local deity originally connected to mountain cults, pushed to a secondary role in the seventh century by the arrival of Ōmiya, an “imported” deity from the Miwa shrine in Yamato.⁴⁰ Asking the question of how the discourse on the indigeneity and ancientness of Ninomiya was constructed, I claim that this arose in the Middle Ages from a series of complex factors. These ranged from the institutional needs of the priesthood at Hie, requiring the inclusion of lineages such as the Ōtsu *jinin* in their mythologies, to changes to the matsuri, and by reaching out to doctrinal and mythological discourses on “primeval” deities that were developing at that time in major shrines such as Ise. By the end of the chapter, I put forward a position that is extremely minoritarian in Japanese scholarship and all but non-existent in English language one, according to which the Ōmiya deity was the first one enshrined at Hie. I interpret the displacement narrative as a place where modern scholarship and medieval sources interface, raising the issue of how mythical material is employed in historical reconstructions of the early history of shrines.

The fifth chapter focuses on “Sannō no koto”. I investigate how it emplaces Japan and Hie in Buddhist geography, discursively constructing their relationship with the wider Buddhist world, especially China. I present three examples of how the relation to China was self-

⁴⁰ Most recently in English in Park Yeonjoo, “The making of an esoteric deity: Sannō discourse in the *Keiran shūyōshū*,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 47/1, 2020, pp. 166-167 states that Ninomiya was the only deity indigenous to Mount Hiei.

consciously claimed in the text. In the first section of this chapter, I tackle the description of *honji suijaku* in “Sannō no koto,” possibly the longest and most detailed exposition of its mythical origins in a medieval source. I show how “Sannō no koto” reaches out to scriptural sources created in China through the mediation of Tendai sources, which it integrates with Chinese discourses on the Buddhist identity of figures such as Laozi, Confucius and Yan Hui. In the second section, I turn to issues of spatiality and chronology and show that that the Buddhist world in “Sannō no koto” is a patchwork of real and imaginary spaces, whose timelines do not quite work in the same way. I link these temporalities and spatialities to the genre constraints of the Chinese material which the text indirectly quotes, especially official histories. In the third part of the chapter, I discuss the presence of folk etymologies and language games in “Sannō no koto,” which has been treated in Western sources as a puzzling one.⁴¹ I propose a new interpretation for these word games, and show for the first time that these are strongly linked to Chinese lexicographical practices.

Critical terms

Before turning to the thesis proper, it is necessary to introduce some critical terms which underpin my main arguments.

The first one is the term “narrative”, that I use in the classical formulation of Genette, according to whom a narrative is: “The succession of events, real or fictitious, that are the subjects of this discourse, and [...] their several relations of linking, opposition, repetition, etc.”⁴² A narrative is relatively independent from the way it appears in the text, which is to say that different tales, for instance in the *Yōtenki* (told in classical Chinese or vernacular) may have the same narrative.

In order to monitor different narratives focused for instance on the same deity, I use the terms variation and variant, commonly used in folklore studies but whose usage is not widely agreed upon.⁴³ In the thesis I use these in the sense that variations are closer to each other than variants, which present more reciprocal differences. While the term “variant” in this sense often indicates the divergence from a “standard” version of a story, I only use it to highlight the difference of stories in relation to each other, without identifying a standard, but only

⁴¹ Grapard 1987 and a brief section in Klein, Susan Blakeley, *Allegories of desire: esoteric literary commentaries of Medieval Japan*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2002.

⁴² Genette, Gérard, trans. Jane E. Lewin, and Jonathan Culler, *Narrative discourse: an essay in method*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1983, p. 25.

⁴³ Finnegan, Ruth H., *Oral traditions and the verbal arts: a guide to research practices*, London, Routledge, 1992, pp. 162-163. Variation and variant are often used synonymously.

highlighting more or less diffused instances of a narrative. I particularly focus on the places in the narrative where versions differ, drawing attention to when snippets were added or removed, and pointing out instances where these resurface as a story of their own, or become part of a wider narrative. By breaking apart narratives in such a way, I consider them modular entities, which can be composed of various “bits”. I refer to the whole set of variants and variations, and the modules that form them, as part of a repertoire on the Sannō deities, a term that I also loosely borrow from folklore studies. I posit this repertoire as not a fixed, but a dynamic one, shared among different textual, ritual and doctrinal communities.

When I talk about the mythologies of Hie, I often deal with stories about the origin of an institution, be it a shrine or a festival. In this case, my use of “mythology” is largely synonymous with the word *engi*, tales describing the origins of things.⁴⁴ In using the word *engi* I do not only refer to one iteration of a specific origin narrative, but also to the sum of the variants on an enshrinement story: that is to say that when I talk about the *engi* of Ōmiya I mean the sum of the variants of the enshrinement of Ōmiya as we find these across Sannō shintō texts. In this usage I follow the example of Japanese scholarship, especially the work of Yamamoto Hiroko and Satō Masato on the *engi* of Ōmiya.⁴⁵

I consider the *Yōtenki* itself, with its itemized composition, to be in essence a pocket-sized mythological repertoire, where variants are presented at the same time and without attempts to make them into a cohesive system. This allows me to see the changes in mythologies, and to form hypotheses on why some versions got picked up in some material rather than other. To complement my study, I also draw from a variety of texts that reach out to the repertoire on the Sannō deities, both “Sannō shintō texts” and poetry and *setsuwa* collections, as well as *kami* genealogies and doctrinal texts related to other shrines such as Ise.

Mentioning this textual apparatus related to *kami* leads me to another issue, which is that the Japanese word that translates mythology is not strictly speaking *engi*, but *shinwa* 神話, a term popularised from the late nineteenth century by the literary scholar Takayama Chogyū 高山樗牛 (1871-1902). While I prefer talking about mythologies in term of *engi* and *setsuwa* because these were terms already used in the Middle Ages, it is worth noting that the material I study in this thesis is part of what scholarship calls *chūsei shinwa* 中世神話 (“medieval

⁴⁴ I give a detailed discussion of the term *engi* and its etymology in chapter five.

⁴⁵ Yamamoto 1985, Satō 1994.

mythology”), a term introduced by Fujii Sadakazu in 1974.⁴⁶ This refers to the mythological corpus composed in the Middle Ages focusing on deities and their encounters with humans, as well as the foundation of religious institutions, which is often found in *setsuwa* collections. In this sense, the many *engi* and *setsuwa* composing the mythological corpus of Sannō shintō are part of *chūsei shinwa*, and one that remains severely understudied at that.

In the past ten years, mythological narratives and origin histories have been the object of scholarly interest both in Japan and in Euromerican scholarship. Examples collecting both types of scholarship are two special issues, one of the Japanese Journal of Religious Studies and one of the Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie, respectively focusing on the interdisciplinary study of *engi* and on Japanese mythologies.⁴⁷ Despite all this, our understanding of mythologies on the Sannō deities still lags behind, with only one article in the whole two collections, Faure’s, focusing on one Sannō deity.⁴⁸ Sannō shintō texts in general remain a largely untapped resource to work on medieval mythology, leaving one to wonder whether the complex, unwieldy nature of most Sannō shintō texts, together with lack of introductory works on the Sannō deities against which to contextualise mythological works, have contributed to this comparative dearth of studies. The lack of studies on the mythologies of the Sannō deities, some of the most prominent deities of Medieval Japan, means that we are missing a huge piece of what we call *chūsei shinwa*. In the thesis I claim that they can be used to clarify and expand our knowledge of how discourses on deities and their position in Buddhism were constructed.

Final remarks

One of the reasons that pushed me to work on the identities of deities is the investigative, tentative nature of Buddhist discourses on *kami*. When discussing combinatory institutions, Helen Hardacre points out that these were borne out of a “*desire to discover* how the Kami and Buddhist figures were related”.⁴⁹ This desire to discover is for me at the forefront of Sannō shintō, and while I do not necessarily mean to reify *kami*, I still take them seriously, as for the

⁴⁶ In “Otogizōshi ni okeru monogatari no mondai: chūsei shinwa to katari to” 御伽草子に於ける物語の問題中世神話と語りと, *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 国文学解釈と鑑賞, vol. 39, no. 1, 1974, pp. 174-184.

⁴⁷ Macé, François and Allan Rocher (eds.), *Mythologies japonaises/Japanese Mythologies*, *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* vol. 29, 2020, and Blair, Heather, and Kawasaki Tsuyoshi 川崎剛志 (eds.), *Engi: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins*, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* vol. 42 no. 1, 2015.

⁴⁸ Faure 2020.

⁴⁹ Hardacre, Helen, *Shinto: a history*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2016. Italics in the source text.

actors involved in their worship these were living, breathing (but only partially knowable) creatures. At the same time, from the vantage point afforded to us both by time, we can see that these entities were perennially in flux, a state which I show in thesis by presenting as full a repertoire on the deities as I can.

A striking example of the changeability of the Sannō deities through time is their gender. Throughout the thesis, whenever I talk about the Sannō deities, I utilise gendered pronouns, which is admissible because primary sources clearly indicate whether a deity is male or female. At the same time, even these genders are not set in stone: if a deity is a male one in one source, or one period of Hie, it does not mean that it cannot become a female deity later in the history of worship. The deity of the Jūzenji shrine, for instance, a male one for most of the history of Hie, is now identified with a female deity, Tamayorihime 玉依姫尊.⁵⁰ So, while I chiefly refer to the deities with the gender under which they appear in *Yōtenki*, we shall bear in mind that this was always liable to change. Even in the *Yōtenki* itself, we see characteristics which we now see as gendered, such as the generative ability of deities, described in terms of factors independent of their ostensible gender. For instance, we see two male deities, Ōmiya and Ninomya, generate a third one, Shōshinji, from the union of their *yin* and *yang* principles. For this reason, throughout the thesis I remain wary of essentialising narratives on the deities linking these to, for instance, ancient cults of fertility, focusing instead on trying to convey their fluid nature.

In my exploration of Sannō shintō I find myself regarding mythology as an ongoing investigation process, responding to the question of where deities are, and what effects they have in a world that is often one built by Buddhism and governed by karma. My attention is therefore directed to the hermeneutical methods devised to get to know these entities, both in their deity and Buddha forms. This uncertainty on *kami* identities partially accounts for the proliferation of ways in which we can picture and recount them, which might depend on the guise they took on a specific encounter, or on one specific aspect that is relevant to a community. It is with this variability in mind that I begin my thesis.

⁵⁰ For a list of the current identifications of the seven main deities of Hie, see *Hiyoshi taisha ni tsuite* 日吉大社について, <http://hiyoshitaisha.jp/about/>, consulted on 26/10/2021. See also Faure 2021, p. 287.

Chapter one: the Hie shrines and their “personnel”

Sakamoto, where the Hie shrines are located, is a short twenty-minute train ride from the former capital Kyōto. A further half hour cable ride away, on Mount Hiei, is still sprawled the monastic complex of the Enryakuji. The shrines are well-known in the area as a scenic spot for cherry trees and autumn leaves, and for hosting the largest festival of the Biwa Lake area, the Sannō-sai, a three-days event involving the whole town of Sakamoto.

Coming out of the station, keeping the Biwa Lake to one’s back, the Sakamoto main road leads directly to the shrines turning into the Banba 馬場 promenade. To the sides of the main road are auxiliary shrines of Hie, tea gardens, and small temples affiliated to the Enryakuji. The archives of the Enryakuji, the Eizan bunko 叡山文庫, are also in Sakamoto. Retired monastics from the Enryakuji came to live in Sakamoto through the Middle Ages, and many middling ranking monastics also had their families there, one of the ways in which the development of Sakamoto was closely linked to that of the Enryakuji for most of its history, making it, according to historian Kageyama Haruki, a “typical *monzen* 門前 town” (lit. “a town in front of a temple’s gates”).⁵¹

The present-day shrines occupy an area of approximately four hundred thousand square metres, with the shrine buildings distributed in three focal zones: the Western compound, hosting the main Western shrine (*nishi hongū* 西本宮), the Eastern compound, hosting the main Eastern shrine (*higashi hongū* 東本宮), and Mount Hachiōji, an elevation of 381 metres atop which are the shrines now called Sannomiya 三宮 and Ushio 牛尾. West of Mount Hachiōji is the Enryakuji central area, the Konpon chūdō 根本中堂; to its north, one can glimpse the Obie 小比叡 or Hamoyama 波母山 peak, an elevation of 770 metres now also known as Yokotakayama 横高山.

⁵¹ Kageyama 1971, p. 18.

Together, these elevations constitute the Hie mountainscape, where most of the mythological events related to the Hie shrines take place.⁵²

The main shrines of the complex are seven, to which we add smaller and auxiliary shrines for a total of twenty-one. These are to this day divided in three groups: the seven upper shrines, seven middle shrines, and seven lower shrines.

In addition to the Nishi hongū, Higashi hongū, Sannomiya and Ushio, the seven upper shrines include the Usa 宇佐 and Shirayama 白山 shrines in the Western compound, and the Juge 樹下 shrine in the Eastern compound. The current names are not the premodern ones, but have been introduced in the Meiji period, when state legislations enthusiastically embraced by the Hie priesthood determined the separation of *kami* cults from Buddhism for the first time in history. When the Hie shrines reinvented their identity as a purely “Shintō” one, the names of the shrines that betrayed too close a relation to Buddhism were changed.

Current name	Pre-Meiji name
Nishi hongū 西本宮	Ōmiya 大宮; Ōbie 大比叡
Higashi hongū 東本宮	Ninomiya 二宮; Obie 小比叡
Usa no miya 宇佐宮	Shōshinji 聖真子
Ushio no miya 牛王宮	Hachiōji 八王子

⁵² Kageyama argues that the peaks of Hamoyama, Ushio no yama (= Hachiōji) and Obie are the “simple origin” of the Eastern compound. He also states Hamoyama/Obie is another name for Ushio no yama, an identity which we also find in *waka* where these used interchangeably. Kageyama 1971, p. 23, 29. I must say that I found this difficult to verify. While Hamoyama and Obie are sometimes used interchangeably in the sources I have consulted, I could not find any example where this peak is equated with Mount Hachiōji, where the Sannomiya and Hachiōji deities first manifested themselves.

Shirayama no miya 白山宮	Marōdo 客人
Juge no miya 樹下宮	Jūzenji 十禪師
Sannomiya 三宮	Sannomiya 三宮

Below is a list of the current names of the seven upper shrines along with their premodern equivalent. To be consistent with premodern textual traditions, I henceforth refer to the shrines by the latter

Table 1 The Seven Upper Shrines

While Sannō can be a collective name for all the Hie deities, in medieval sources it generally indicates the deities of the seven upper shrines, and even more often only the ones known as “three saintly mountain sovereigns” (*sannō sanshō* 山王三聖), Ōmiya, Ninomiya and Shōshinji. In addition, Sannō is frequently synonymous with just the Ōmiya deity. As we shall see, these variations can all be present together in the same source.

The *Yōtenki* and overall Sannō Shintō mythology are focused primarily on the seven upper shrines. Because these also have a more prominent role in the history of Hie, as well as in ritual events such as the *matsuri*, both in its historical and contemporary form, I shall focus my introductory discussion on the seven upper shrines, introducing the middle and lower ones as I mention these throughout the thesis. A complete list of the twenty-one Hie shrines can be found later in this chapter.

In this chapter I introduce the key actors and events in the history of the shrines. The first section will present three categories of what I call “shrine personnel”, which I use loosely to indicate what in Japanese are called *shashi* and *jinin*, as well as other more informal groups. I focus first on the Hafuribe, the authors of the first version of the *Yōtenki* and hereditary priests at the shrines for most of the history, and secondly on other hereditary lineages and low-ranking personnel at the shrines. In the second section I turn to the foundation of the seven upper shrines, establishing a chronology for the building of physical shrines and showing how the *Yōtenki* can serve as a source for their development. The third section focuses on the Middle Ages, describing Hie in

relation with its surroundings and its position in institutional networks. I first examine the position of the Hie shrines in a system of shrines subsidised by the court, and then turn my attention to its immediate neighbour, the Enryakuji. In the last section I wrap things up with an overview on the early-modern and Meiji-period developments at the shrines, particularly those involving the actors and institutions which we will have encountered throughout the chapter.

Shrine personnel

This section firstly focuses on the Hafuribe, who were members of a hereditary shrine priesthood who received a stipend from the court in parts of their history. I then examine other religious and semi-religious figures orbiting around the shrines, especially the so-called Ōtsu *jinin*, who held a liturgical function at the annual *matsuri* for the deities. The *Yōtenki* is a precious source on the mythological origins of the Ōtsu *jinin*, who are framed as a hereditary lineage. Finally, I turn to personnel who performed oracles or menial works. We find these repeatedly in textual descriptions of the shrines and origin stories, where they have central roles, and in the last part of the chapter I investigate why they are so prominent in these narratives.

Hafuribe

The mythical origins of the Hafuribe are found in most Sannō shintō texts, as these are tied up with the story of the enshrinement of Ōmiya. Because this central moment in mythology is often also referenced in other sources on the Hafuribe, such as lineage charts, which invariably begin with the mythical founder of the Hafuribe, I begin my overview by introducing its most widespread variant. This sees Ōmiya as not a local deity, but is the deity of the Miwa shrine, in Yamato. When the court briefly moved to Ōtsu during the reign of the emperor Tenji 天智 (r. 626-672), the deity moved with them. In most versions we see Ōmiya, transported by boat on the Biwa lake, making a stop in Karasaki 唐崎, the harbour where stands a famous pine tree, later depicted in the Eight views of Ōmi. There he meets a refugee from Hitachi, a man called Kotonomitachi no Ushimaro 琴御館宇志丸 whom Ōmiya tasks with building a shrine.

汝為我氏人ト、可令社務於我宝殿者、自此西北ニ可ト勝地、結草之所ヲ以テ
為其驗、建立シテ宝殿ヲ、可致礼奠ヲ云々、仍宇志丸即隨神勅ニ、指西北方
ヲ尋之処、有粉楡之所、「中略」則是今大宮宝殿是也、昔宇志丸者、「中略」
今社司等者、彼末葉也云々

ST 29, p. 44

“You shall serve in the shrine as my clansman. As for my shrine hall, divine a favourable place north-west of here. I shall show it to you by tying grass to the spot. Build a shrine hall and install me there.” Ushimaro instantly obeyed the deity’s command. He looked for the indicated spot to the north-west, where an elm tree stood. [...] That is none other than the current Ōmiya shrine hall. As for that Ushimaro of old [...], the current shrine attendants (*shashi* 社司) are his descendants.

Origins of the lineage

Hafuribe, a somewhat generic name, deserves clarification. A *hafuri* 祝 is literally “someone who tends (*hafuru* 祝) to the deities”, and before the eighth century this title indicated a person appointed to preside over the enshrinement of *kami*, as well as over the rituals and festivals organised in shrines. After the eighth century, with the establishment of the *ritsuryō* 律令 system, the position became a governmental one appointed by the Jingikan 神祇官 (Office for *kami* matters). *Hafuri* were chosen among local families who had served a shrine for various generations, or sent to the shrine by the government. Although this varied, in general each shrine was only assigned one *hafuri*, who shared their liturgical duties with other ranks of priests.

The title eventually became a family name for those clans which had held the position of *hafuri* for various generations, as is the case for the Hafuribe of Hie: already in the *Ruijūkokushi* 類聚国史 (completed 892), under the heading of the year Tenchō 天長

1 (824), there is a reference to the Hafuribe-shi 祝部氏 (Hafuribe family), which presided over both Hie and the lower Kamo 賀茂 shrine, in Kyōto.⁵³

The *Yōtenki* was likely first written as a memorandum of Hafuribe traditions, as told by the *negi* 禰宜 (head priest) Narinaka 成仲 (1099-1191) and his successor Chikanari 親成 (dates unknown). Its earliest sections, redacted before 1301, are therefore a crucial primary source to learn about the Hafuribe before the thirteenth century, making it possible to parse through what a shrine lineage deemed essential information about themselves in the middle of the Kamakura period. The *Yōtenki* contains multiple versions of the legendary origins of the Hafuribe as told by themselves and others. It also contains material on the Hafuribe institutional history, as well as documentary material in the form of a lineage chart and a list of shrine attendants. It is to these that I now turn.

The Hafuribe lineage in the Yōtenki

At the very beginning of the *Yōtenki*, immediately after the table of contents, we find a chapter entitled “Gennin shashi” 現任社司 (“Current shrine attendants”) which bears the date of the second year of the Jōō 貞応 era (1223).⁵⁴ “Gennin shashi” lists the thirty-three shrine attendants serving under the head priest Chikanari with different appointments (*kannushi* 神主, *hafuri*), providing their position and their court ranks.

These ranks were part of a general ranking system for public posts (位 *i*, 位階 *ikai*).

This had thirty possible ranks, with “senior first rank (正一位 *shō ich-i*)” as the highest

⁵³ Suzuki Masanobu, *Clans and Genealogy in Ancient Japan: Legends of Ancestor Worship*, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017, p. 120. On the *hafuri* (but not the Hafuribe from Hie) in the *ritsuryō* system see Iwahashi Koyata 岩橋小弥太, “Hafuribe” 祝部, in *Shintōshi sōsetsu* 神道史叢説, Yoshikawa kōbunkan, Tōkyō, 1971.

⁵⁴ The placement of this date at the very beginning of complete editions of the *Yōtenki* has led to its misinterpretation as a colophon and adoption as a redaction date for the entire *Yōtenki*. This is disproven by looking at the internal structure of the work and its redaction history. See the third chapter of this thesis and Okada 1979, pp. 38-41.

position. From first to eighth rank (八位 *hachi-i*), each rank could be indicated as either senior and junior (*shō* 正 and *ju* 從) and the ranks from fourth to eighth rank were also divided in higher and lower (*kami* 上 and *shimo* 下). The top six ranks coincided with the aristocracy, and throughout the Heian period there was a considerable gap, in earnings as well, between officials of the fifth level and those of the sixth.

The Hafuribe in “Gennin shashi” all held between the fourth and fifth rank. Starting with *shō shi-i no jō* 正四位上 (senior upper fourth rank), the ranking appointed to the head priest Chikanari, the lowest rank was that of *ju go-i no ge* 從五位下 (junior lower fifth rank) for the *shashi* Shigekazu 成實. It is therefore clear that the term *shashi* which we find in the heading of the chapter does not indicate a generic priest, but only high-ranking figures linked to the Hafuribe family. This is coherent with the usage of the term in another chapter of the *Yōtenki*, “Sannō no koto”, which as we shall see was redacted by Enryakuji monastics between half a century and a century later, where the term appears alongside *shinkan* 神官 and *hafuri* to indicate a high-ranking priest and is contrasted with lower forms of priesthood. Although later, information on how these ranks were bestowed can be garnered from the record of an imperial visit in the second year of the Gentoku 元徳 era (1330), where we see *shashi* being promoted to the senior upper fourth rank in a collective ceremony.⁵⁵

At the initial time of redaction of the *Yōtenki*, the Hafuribe of Hie were an established aristocratic lineage and a well-connected clan, both in the capital and the surrounding regions.

We have seen that the same Hafuribe family was said to preside both over Hie and lower Kamo in the ninth century. Material in the *Yōtenki* shows that the thirteenth century Hafuribe still claimed this connection. In the section “Ōmiya no onkoto”, redacted before 1292, it is said that the Hafuribe of Hie were related to those of Kamo not only by blood but also by marriage, through the governor of the Mino province

⁵⁵ *Hiesha Eizan gyōkō ki Gentoku ni-nen* 日吉社叡山行幸記元徳二年, in Okami 1978, p. 336.

who was the son in law of Narinaka and the nephew of the *negi* of Kamo.⁵⁶ Connections between these lineages were also established mythically and liturgically, and are claimed by the *Yōtenki* in multiple places. One tale on Ōmiya found in “Ōmiya no onkoto” connects the deity to the origins of the upper and lower Kamo shrines, and a *matsuri* narrated in the fifteenth section, “Negi no koto” 禰宜事, sees a tree branch transported from Kamo to Hie. Other connections are more subtle. “Ōmiya no onkoto” features a poem recited during the *matsuri* which also appears in *Shinkokinwakashū* 新古今和歌集, slightly different, as a poem recited in Kamo “on the day of the horse”.⁵⁷ This might be an external piece of evidence pointing to a shared liturgical tradition.

Poetry in general was an important part of the identity of Hie, to the point that legends on Hie deities feature in poetic collections where they originated tropes.⁵⁸ Poetic contests were held at Hie. We know that Hafuribe Narinaka was a member of literary circles. He was a poet featured in *Shin kokin waka-shū* 新古今和歌集, and his granddaughter, Go-toba-in no Shimotsuke 後鳥羽院下野, a retainer of the emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽 (1180-1239), became part of the female poets singled out in *Nyōbō Sanjūrokkasen* 女房三十六歌仙.

More information on the genealogy of the Hafuribe can be retrieved from the *Yōtenki* section entitled “Hie shashi no koto” 日吉社司事 (“Concerning the Hie shrine attendants”). The middle section of this chapter is made up of an annotated lineage

⁵⁶ ST 29, p. 56.

⁵⁷ The poem in *Yōtenki* is: ヤマトハバ、ウミニニシヨリカゼフカバイヅレノウラニミフ子ヨスラ ム *Yamato haba, umi ni nishi yori kaze fukaba idure no ura ni mifune yosuramu* “If in Yamato blows a west wind on the sea, where is the harbour upon which we can dock our august boat?”, ST p. 44. The *Shin kokin waka-shū* has: *Yamato kamo umi ni arashi no nishi fukaba idzure no ura ni mifune tsunagamu* “If in Yamato blows a west storm on the sea, where is the harbour upon which we can moor our august boat?”.

⁵⁸ On literary tropes see Hirata Hideo 平田英夫, “Seinaru nami no denshō: chūsei jingika no sasanami wo megutte” 聖なる波の伝承中世神祇歌のささなみをめぐって, in Hirata Hideo, *Wakateki Sōzōryoku to Hyōgen No Shatei: Saigyō No Sakka Katsudō* 和歌的想像力と表現の射程西行の作歌活動, Shintensha kenkyū sōsho, 2013, pp. 107-115.

chart of Hafuribe head priests. To the best of my knowledge, the only comparable documents are a lineage chart entitled *Hie shashi Hafuribe-shi keizu* 日吉社司祝部氏系図, from the holdings of Nishida Nakao 西田長男,⁵⁹ and a discussion of the Hafuribe lineage, including a chart, in *Hiesha shintō himitsuki*. I present the *Yōtenki* chart below.

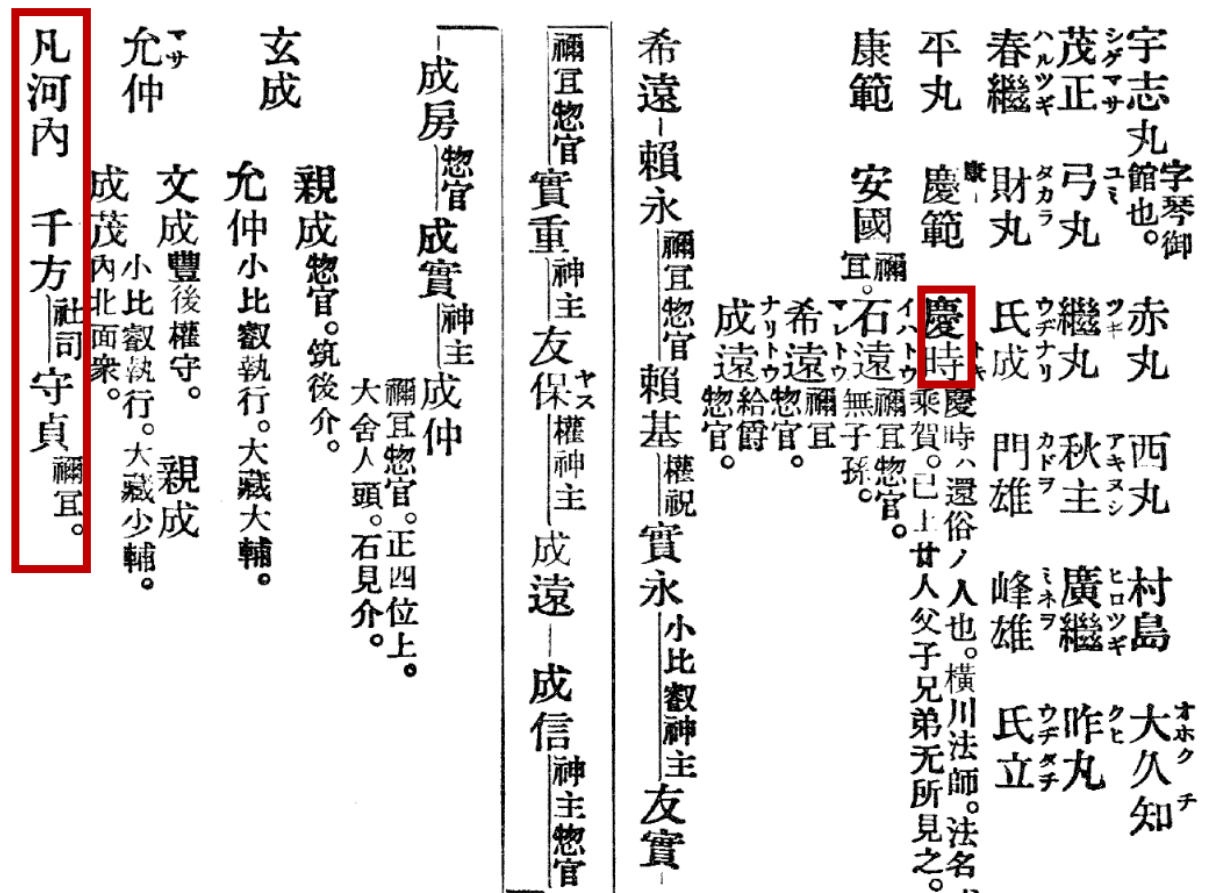


Figure 1 Hafuribe lineage chart. From ZGR Jingibu 48, p. 601

We can read the chart as a condensed history of the Hafuribe lineage from the seventh to the thirteenth century: the first name we see is that of the legendary Hafuribe ancestor, Kotonomitachi no Ushimaro, and the last is that of Chikanari.

Central figures in the history of the Hafuribe

Annotations preceding and following the chart explain the role of central figures, to which I now turn. The first is Yoshitoki 慶時, highlighted in the chart, who served as a

⁵⁹ Presented undated in Sugahara 1992, p. 152.

priest in the Enchō 延長 (923-931) era of the reign of the emperor Daigō 醍醐 (r. 897-930).⁶⁰

Yoshitoki is a watershed figure in the Hafuribe history, marking the passage from the “old” Hafuribe to a lineage that the thirteenth century Hafuribe must have recognised as more alike their own. From Yoshitoki onwards, the Hafuribe became able to ascertain the relations according to which status was passed within the lineage. Under Yoshitoki’s name, the chart states that “it is not ascertained whether the above twenty people were father and son or brothers” (已上廿人父子兄弟无所見之).⁶¹ I take this to mean that the role of head priest could be inherited from a brother or a father or grandfather even before the tenth century, but that the thirteenth century Hafuribe could only reconstruct which of the two was the case after the tenth century. We do know that Yasunori 康範, the next in line after Yoshitoki, was the latter’s son. The Hafuribe after Yoshitoki were also the first in their lineage to receive a state pension, as well as the title of *shashi*: this happened for the first time in the time of Yoshitoki’s son, Yasunori, in the Tenryaku 天曆 years (947-957) of the reign of Murakami 村上 (r. 946-957).⁶²

Yoshitoki’s importance is not confined to this watershed function. What we can gauge of his biography in the chapter is also useful to our current understanding of high-ranking priesthood in the late Heian and mid-Kamakura period, especially in relation to Buddhist initiation. Both in the chart and in the following note, we learn that Yoshitoki had been a monk, a “master of the Dharma” (*hōshi* 法師) at Enryakuji’s Yokawa under the name Jōka (or Jōga) 乗賀. Having retired from monastic life, “returning to lay life” (*kanzoku* 還俗), he took up the role of head priest at Hie.⁶³

⁶⁰ 慶時ハ延長醍醐御宇年中也 ST p. 64. “Yoshitoki [was in charge] in the Enchō era of the reign of Daigō”.

⁶¹ ST 29, p. 63.

⁶² 給爵於康範社司給爵自此而始也 ST 29, p. 65. 天曆村上御宇年中、社司給爵之日 ST 29, p. 64.

⁶³ 又於慶時者、出家之人也、法名乗賀、而依无氏人、還俗從神事云々 ST 29, p. 65.

We see here that the role of *shashi* is not compatible with that of a Buddhist monastic for the reason that a *shashi* needs to be a householder: “he was someone who had left the world [...] for this reason, he was not a member of the clan” (出家之人也。

「中略」 而依无氏人).⁶⁴ To use current terminology, we might argue that the Hafuribe seem to think of themselves and monastic as embodying two separate spheres of religious life. We might refer to these as secular and religious, which I intend however in the limited sense which the medievalist Charles Taylor uses for “Latin Christendom”: a division of religious labour where “secular” refers to clergy and church institutions concerned with this-worldly affairs, and “religious” to world-renouncing communities.⁶⁵ Discussions on Shintō as a “secular” religion are of course fraught and by no means settled, but what I intend here is solely to stress the position of Hafuribe as members of the religious community who are also officially householders (this is the sense in which I talk of “this-worldly affairs”), vis à vis monastics who might have heirs, but only in a legal grey area. On the other hand, the former position of Yoshitoki as a monk highlights in a very concrete way a certain permeability between the priesthood at Hie and the Enryakuji monastics, and, although we do not know any more about Yoshitoki, we can presume that his expertise as a Buddhist master must not have been forgotten in the passage from one role to the other.

Yoshitoki’s biographical note alerts us to see the role of head priest as one that is strictly dependent on being part of the Hafuribe family, not only by blood but by name. There is one more instance of this dynamic. To the left of the chart, also highlighted in the picture, we see two people with a different surname than Hafuribe, Ōshikōchi Senbō 凡河内千方 and Ōshikōchi Morisada 凡河内守貞. From the accompanying note we learn that they are the nephews of Ujitachi 氏立 (three position before Yoshitoki in the list, relation unclear), and that they were called to aid at the shrine whilst Yoshitoki’s successor, Yasunori, was still a child. On one hand, this shows that while the presence of people outside the Hafuribe clan serving at Hie is recorded, it is

⁶⁴ ST 29, p. 65.

⁶⁵ Taylor, Charles, *A Secular Age*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 423.

enough of an anomaly that it must be explained, to the extent that Sugahara suggests that the Ōshikōchi are to be regarded as another priestly lineage.⁶⁶ On the other hand, the presence of the Ōshikōchi casts further light on the relations of the Hafuribe, who could count on the aid of extended family members, further clarifying the extent of their networks. We must keep in mind the importance of lineage for the Hafuribe throughout the thesis. In my later chapter focused on mythologies and the identity of the deities, I claim that the Hafuribe selected some variants of the myth of the enshrinement of Hie rather than others not with the aim to oppose monastic views on Sannō (as they shared the same pool of mythological possibilities as the monastics, because of proximity and because lineages were permeable), but because they needed to reject those versions which were incompatible with the story of their lineage.

The two branches of the Hafuribe

If we return to our chart, we can see that the next watershed figure after Yoshitoki is Yasukuni 安國, Yasunori's son. Yasukuni had three sons, Maretō 希遠, Iwatō 石遠, and Naritō 成遠. Starting from Maretō and Naritō, the only brothers to have heirs, the Hafuribe lineage split in two branches.

We can only speculate why the Hafuribe lineage split. Among the *Yōtenki* chapters, “Hie shashi no koto” does not help us, as the reason for the split is not explained in the annotations and does not appear in the chart, where Maretō is connected by a line to his successors: his sons, then Naritō, and finally Naritō's great-grandson Narinaka. Traces of the split are however found in “Gennin shashi”, where, at the end of the list of attendants, these are indicated as belonging to either the “right side” (uhō 右方), to whom the *negi* Chikanari belongs, or the “left side” (sahō 左方).

Okada states that the division in branches was determined according to whether one was a priest for Ōmiya (the descendants from Naritō) or Ninomiya (the descendants

⁶⁶ Sugahara 1992, p. 248.

from Maretō).⁶⁷ Both the custodians of Hafuribe traditions in the *Yōtenki*, Narinaka and Chikanari, are descended from Naritō and belong to the right-side group, and the *Yōtenki* is, indeed, overwhelmingly focused on Ōmiya rather than Ninomiya. Anzu surmises that, because the highest-ranking figures in *Yōtenki* belong to the right side, which has prominence in some Buddhist rituals, the right-hand branch was the prominent one.⁶⁸ It is however more likely that, as Sugahara and Sagai have suggested, there was an alternance between the two branches when it came to the position of head of the family.⁶⁹

The two branches are currently known as Shōgenji 生源寺 and Juge 樹下.⁷⁰ Both are names of places in what we call Upper Sakamoto (Kamisakamoto 上坂本), the part of town towards the foothills of Mount Hiei: Shōgenji was the Tendai temple built on the birthplace of Saichō, and Juge was an auxiliary shrine of Jūzenji.⁷¹

These locations are linked to priestly residences, as we can ascertain by turning again to *Hiesha shintō himitsuki*. If we look at the Hafuribe chart found there, which I present below, we see that under Narinaka's name it is said: "From him commenced the move to Juge" (是ヨリ樹下へ移住ノ始也). Indeed, Narinaka's side of the family, initiated by his great-grandfather Naritō, is the one currently known as Juge, whilst the author of the *Hiesha shintō himitsuki* Hafuribe Yukimaro, also known as Shōgenji Yukimaro, identified himself as the sixteenth descendant of Maretō.⁷²

Right before the chart we find the following text:

⁶⁷ Okada Seishi 岡田精司, "Hiyoshi taisha" 日吉大社, in *Kokushi daijiten* 国史大辞, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979.

⁶⁸ Anzu Motohiko 安津素彦, "Tendai shintō oboegaki: *Yōtenki* wo chūshin to shite" 天台神道覚書『耀天記』を中心として, *Kokugakuin zasshi* 国学院雑誌 vol. 82, no. 11, Tōkyō, 1981, pp. 191.

⁶⁹ Sugahara reached his conclusion by comparing the Hafuribe lineage chart in "Hie shashi no koto" with the *Hie shashi Hafuribe-shi keizu*. Sugahara 1992, p. 251. Also see Sagai 1990, p. 26.

⁷⁰ Sugahara 1992 pp. 250-252 and Sagai 1990, p. 26.

⁷¹ There currently exists a Juge shrine at Hiyoshi, but this corresponds to the premodern Jūzenji shrine, which had its name changed in the Meiji era.

⁷² ZGR *Jingibu* 16, p. 94.

富崎町。河崎町。和田小^町崎。江津等已下。悉社家中之住居此处也。成仲宿祢
樹下上初。行言生源寺へ上初。上坂本中処々住処也。

ZGR *Jingibu* 16, p. 92.

Tomisaki-chō. Kawasaki-chō. Wada-kozaki (annotation: komachi). Ezu. Before, the residences of the various shrine lineages were in those places. The *negi* Narinaka was the first [to reside] in Juge. Yukigoto was the first [to reside] in Shōgenji. All the residences are in Kami-Sakamoto.

The passage therefore explains that the residences of the Hafuribe were all originally in the area called Lower Sakamoto (Shimosakamoto 下坂本), towards the shores of the Biwa lake, until the residences were moved by Narinaka first and then by Yukigoto.⁷³

From the information above we can easily hypothesise that when the Hafuribe lineage split there only existed a division in right-hand and left-hand branch. The branches were subsequently renamed Juge and Shōgenji sometimes after Narinaka's tenure as *negi* in the twelfth century, possibly from the areas where residences of shrine priests were found. We can surmise that at the time of "Gennin shashi" the Hafuribe had not yet settled into the Juge and Shōgenji division, which the Hiesha shintō himitsuki tells us was only completed after Yukigoto. Because Yukigoto does not appear in "Gennin shashi", but his father does, this must be later than 1223. Another proof for the lack of the Juge and Shogenji names for the divisions at this stage is that, if we look back to the list of shrine attendants, we clearly see that one Yukinori 行經, holding the role of daifu 大夫 at Juge, belonged to the left-hand group of the family, currently known as the Shōgenji branch. One thing that can cast doubt on this reconstruction is that in "Gennin shashi" are indicated the places for which the various priests are responsible, and most of these are located in Kitasakamoto, even for priests who belonged to the

⁷³ Tomisakichō was the stretch at the intersection between the Ōmiya and Isonari rivers, not distant from the Biwa Lake. Wadakosaki is north of what is currently called the Hietsuji area. Kawasaki was either close to the lake approach or between Wadachō and Tomisakichō. Gozu is also uncertain, but possibly on the lake shore in Shimosakamoto. Satō 1994, pp. 68-69.

left-hand of the Hafuribe that would become the Shōgenji branch.⁷⁴ This might be representative of a state of things where the move of the Hafuribe to Kitasakamoto was more or less complete even before Yukigoto, and one scholar who has surmised this is Satō.⁷⁵ Because however the Himitsuki is the source focused on the residences, while “Gennin shashi” only mentions the locales where there were shrines for which the priests were responsible, I do not necessarily see this as a big problem. What remains certain is that the Hafuribe must have been, from the origin of their lineage, a family local to Shimosakamoto, towards the lakeshore, which then moved to Kamisakamoto in the Middle Ages. I further examine this geographical origin, together with the legend that the Hafuribe ancestor originally dwelled in Karasaki, in the fourth chapter.

⁷⁴ Such is the case of one Tomoyuki 友行, *gongen nushi* 権現主 at Isesō 伊勢園. ST 29, p. 42.

⁷⁵ Satō 1994, p. 69.

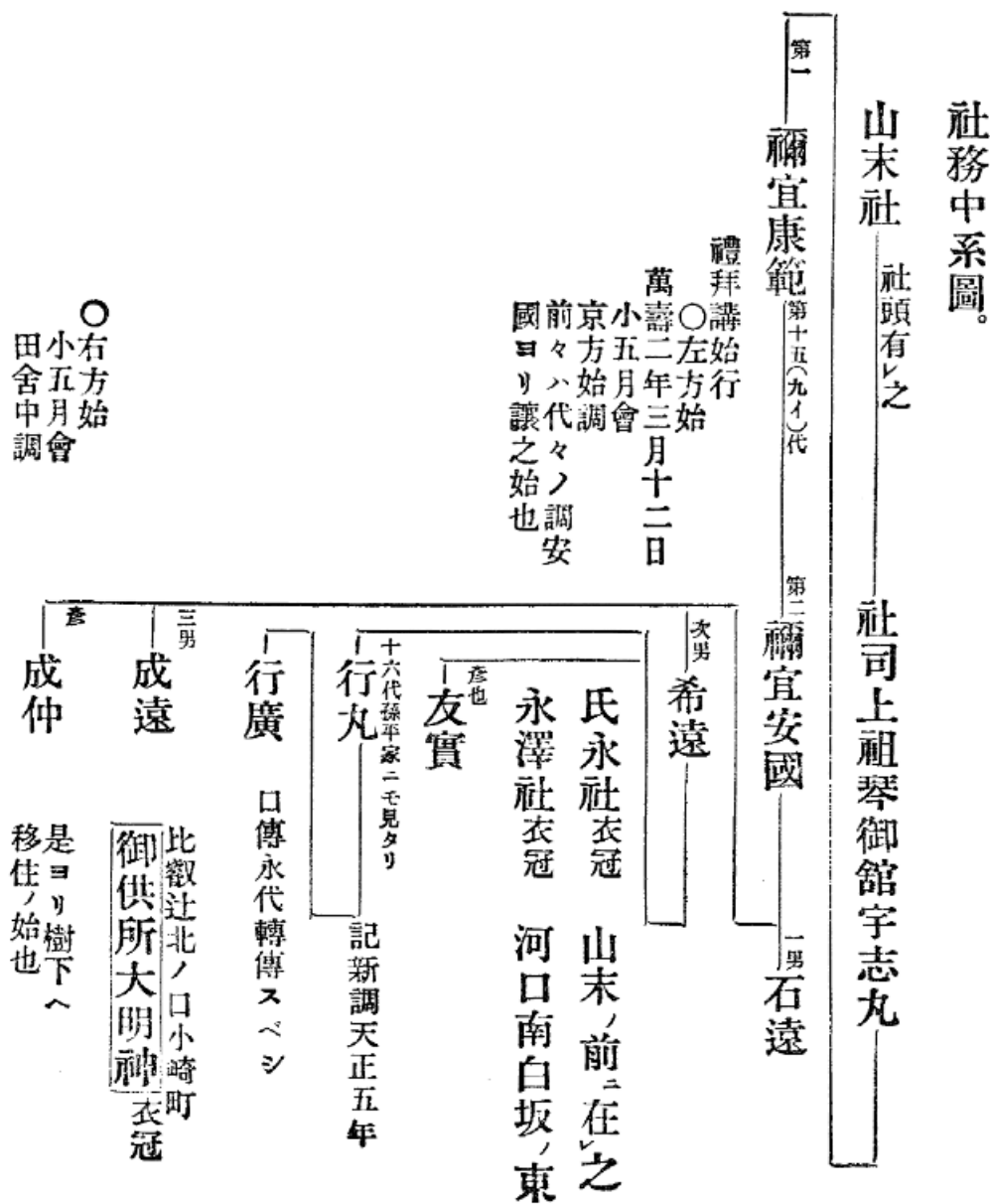


Figure 2 Hafuribe lineage chart from Hiesha shinto himitsuki, ZGR Jingibu 16, p. 93

The Ōtsu jinin

Among the people affiliated to Hie which defined its role in the Middle ages is also a group of priests known as *jinin*. These were functionaries who responded to the head priest, and who were responsible for a variety of liturgical and administrative tasks such as the organisation of the festival and the carrying of the palanquins (*mikoshi* 神輿), the maintenance of the shrines, and even the armed protection of shrine territories. While some *jinin* performed lowly tasks, they could also achieve high rank,

as they had a clerical character which they derived from their closeness to sacred objects as well as economic influence: it was *jinin* who produced and provided offerings to shrines, to the point of forming trade guilds in the capital. Breen estimates that in the thirteenth century eighty per cent of sake brewers in Kyōto were *jinin* affiliated to Hie.⁷⁶

Among the groups of *jinin* affiliated to Hie, the ones located in Ōtsu typified the kind of higher-ranking *jinin* associated with high status and providing financial services. Starting their career as moneylenders and bankers, the Ōtsu *jinin* became employed at the Hie shrine with the profit thus generated, coming to hold a central position at the annual Sannō festival.⁷⁷ One of the rites to which the Ōtsu *jinin* presided is the *ōsakaki shinji* 大榊神事, still held today and started sometime in the Kamakura period.⁷⁸ In this rite, at the beginning of the fourth lunar month, a great branch of *sakaki* 榊 (*Cleyera japonica*) is cut from Mount Hiei and taken to the Ōtsu *shingū* 大津新宮 shrine (now Tenson *jinja* 天孫神社) in Ōtsu, where it is placed in the worship hall (haiden 拜殿). On the second day of the Sannō-sai, the so-called “day of the monkey” (*saru no hi* 申の日), the branch is brought back to the Hie shrine, and placed in the precincts of Ōmiya where offerings are made.

The central liturgical position of the Ōtsu *jinin* was their role in the organisation of the Sannō-sai. We see the origin of this in an excerpt entitled *Hiesha sōjō* 日吉社奏状, from a *kansenji* 官宣旨 dated to the first year of the Eihō 永保 era (1081):

日吉大明神者、八島金刺廷大津宮御宇之時初天下座、自爾以來、毎年四月中申日、御輿奉振於唐崎、御供・舞樂之儲、大津浜住人所謹仕也、數百歲于今無怠。

⁷⁶ Breen 2010, p. 87.

⁷⁷ Shimosaka 2014, pp. 173-174.

⁷⁸ There is mention of this ritual in the edition of the *Yōtenki* copied after 1490.

As for Hie *daimyōjin*, he descended from heaven for the first time during the reign of the Yashima Kanasashi court at the imperial palace in Ōtsu.⁷⁹ Since he came to us, every year in the middle of the fourth month on the day of the monkey the people of the port of Ōtsu (Ōtsunohama 大津浜) have been employed to carry the palanquins [on foot] (*mikoshi furuitatematsuru* 御輿奉振) to Karasaki, and to organise the food offerings and the dance and music. For hundreds of years until now, they have not neglected [their task].⁸⁰

As demonstrated by Satō, there are many reasons to doubt that the Ōtsu *jinin* had held the position for “hundreds of years”.⁸¹ However, the document shows that at the end of the Heian period the Ōtsu *jinin* were a well-established religious group, with a central role in the festivities for the Sannō deities. The “food offerings” to which the document refers are especially crucial to their position. These are known as the *awazu no gokū* 粟津御供, an offering of cooked millet which is now performed in the Karasaki bay, on a boat cruising the Biwa lake on the third day of the festival.⁸²

In the Kamakura period, the *awazu no goku* was where the Ōtsu *jinin* staked their claim as a central ritual lineage in the Sannō cult. The symbolic importance of the rite for the *jinin* is explained in the *Yōtenki*, where the origins of the ritual are linked to their lineage through a mythical ancestor called Tanaka no Tsuneyo 田中恒世, who was the first to perform such offerings.

自大和国。志賀浦唐崎浜へ渡御之時ハ。大津西浦田中恒世^{タナカノツネヨ}船ニ奉載。唐崎琴御館宇志丸之住处へ。奉送付畢。於其処。田中恒世奉備粟御飯之刻。被仰

⁷⁹ A reference to the reign of emperor Kinmei 欽明 (r. 539-572?), who resided in the Kanasashi palace, and during whose reign the Ōmiya deity (here Hie *daimyōjin*) first manifested himself.

⁸⁰ As quoted in Shimosaka 2014, p. 176. For reasons I have not yet ascertained, the description of the Ōmiya deity’s enshrinement here seems to fuse two events: the first appearance of the deity at the Kanasashi palace, during the reign of Kinmei, and its enshrinement at Hie when the court was temporarily moved to Ōtsu during the reign of Tenji. This is the only source that collates the two events, which are ubiquitously found separate in sources such as *Yōtenki*, ST 29 p. 44, and *Enryakuji gokoku engi* 延暦寺護国縁起 ZGR vol. 87, p. 430.

⁸¹ Satō 1994, p. 60.

⁸² As I show in the fourth chapter, there is some discussion on whether the offering was always performed on a boat.

云。於汝等者。為我神人。每年出御之時。必可奉供御云々。初依粟御料献。
于今無改也。大津神人者。即彼恒世末胤也。

ST 29, p. 47.

When they transferred the deity from Yamato to the port of Karasaki in Shiga bay, Tanaka no Tsuneyo 田中恒世, from the western port of Ōtsu, transported the deity on his boat to deliver him to Karasaki, Kotonomitachi no Ushimaro's home. There, Tanaka no Tsuneyo prepared a meal of millet. That instant, the deity said: "[Starting] from you, I make your lot my servants. Each year, when I depart from the shrine, you must make this offer." From this first offering of millet until this day, nothing has changed. The Ōtsu *jinin* are none other than the descendants of that Tsuneyo.

As we will see in the fourth chapter, this origin tale changed as the organisation of the festival became more complex. The version of the *Yōtenki* records a moment in time, however one where the Ōtsu *jinin* were being discursively constructed as a lineage which had a role as old as that of the Hafuribe and almost as lofty: Tanaka is the only person other than Ushimaro who is said to meet the travelling deity, and his story is nested within that of the Hafuribe ancestor's foundation of the Ōmiya shrine. As I further argue in the fourth chapter, this central role in legends reflects their rise in position throughout the Kamakura period, when they acquired a rank such as allowed them to participate in the horse races of the *kosatsukie* 小五月会 annual festival at the Hie shrine, and to eventually go on to become public servants, such as tax collectors, especially during the regime of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (in power 1368-1394).⁸³

Other shrine personnel

So far, we have chiefly encountered high-ranking lineages. But attached to the shrines, permanently or temporarily, was also a multitude of other figures: low-ranking priests, ascetics, different types of oracular specialist included male or female shrine helpers (*fugeki* 巫覡). These figures might not have left any documentary evidence of the kind

⁸³ Shimosaka 2014, pp. 173-174.

we find for higher-ranking lineages, but they appear ubiquitously in narratives on the shrines, pointing to their existence as an important part of the identity of Hie. In closing this section, I shall quickly turn to them, examining their role in the discursive construction of medieval Hie.

We find a memorable depiction of low-ranking religious figures at Hie in the first *maki* of the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語. In the section entitled “The vow” (*Gandate* 願立), the regent Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062-1099) is cursed by one of the Sannō deities, Hachiōji. In the excerpt here presented we see his mother secretly visiting the shrines, to offer vows in exchange for her son’s life. A shrine maiden (*miko* 御子) is possessed by the deity, and utters an oracle prescribing the outcome of the

vows:

大殿の北の政所、けふ七日わが御前に籠らせ給たり。御立願三あり。一には、今度殿下の壽命をたすけてたべ。さも候はゞ、下殿に候もろくのかたは人にまじはって、一千日が間朝夕みやづかひ申しむとなり。大殿の北の政所にて、世を世ともおぼしめさですごさせ給ふ御心に、子を思ふ道にまよひぬれば、いふせき事もわすられて、あさましげなるかたはうどにまじはって、一千日が間、朝夕みやづかひ申しむと仰らるゝこそ、誠に哀におぼしめせ。

NKBZS 45, p. 81.

Morozane’s consort [Moromichi’s mother] has completed a seven-day retreat in my presence today. She has made three vows. First, if the Regent’s life is spared, she vows to act as my attendant morning and evening for a thousand days, mingling with the throngs of cripples in the retreat [jp. *shitadono* = *geden* 下殿]. It is truly moving that the wife of a former regent, a woman in a position to live with no concern for the rest of the world, should “lose her way on the path of affection for a child”, ignore what is repulsive, and propose to mingle with unclean cripples as my servant, morning and evening, for a thousand days.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Translation in McCullough, Helen Craig, *The Tale of the Heike*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1988, p. 51.

In this passage the oracle is issued from the Hachiōji shrine, but there are other versions where the action takes place at the Jūzenji shrine, where the oracle is a male one.⁸⁵ In the *Heike* the oracles of Sannō often have a crucial role in determining the fate of the protagonists, and if we look at sources on Hie we get a sense that oracles were one important service that Hie offered. Origin tales such as we see in the *Yōtenki* prominently feature deities communicating their will by issuing oracles, but we often also find a focus on the figure of the oracular specialist, especially the *miko*.

One of the aims of the section entitled “Sannō no koto” is to establish the effectiveness of visiting Hie for one’s benefit in this life or the next by describing various shrine lineages and their privileged relation with Buddhist salvation, all the while enumerating the services that the shrine offers. In the logic of the text, the Hie shrines might appear to function like any other shrine, but because of the skilful means (*hōben* 方便) of the Buddhas presiding over it, every act performed there for worldly benefits serves, even if unbeknownst to the worshippers, to expedite rebirth in a Pure land.

It is in this context that “Sannō no koto” recounts the origin tale of the *azusa yotsura* アツサヨツラ, the oracle performed by plucking the strings of a catalpa bow also known as *kuchiyose* 口寄せ. In the tale a woman from Kitsuji 木辻, perhaps a courtesan, is implied to be the lover of a monk, the assistant director of monks of the Gūbō residence Jitsuin 実因 (Jitsuin the Gū[soku]bō sōzū 具房僧都 945-1000).⁸⁶ Worried for her well-being after his death, Jitsuin devises a plan for her financial safety:

⁸⁵ Kuroda Ryūji 黒田龍二, “Yukashita sanrō, yukashita saigi” 床下参籠・床下祭儀, in Yamaori Tetsuo, and Miyamoto Kesao, *Saigi to jujutsu* 祭儀と呪術, Tōkyō, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1994, p. 80. On the oracles attached to the cult of Jūzenji as liminal figures see Porath, Or, *The Flower of Dharma Nature: Sexual Consecration and Amalgamation in Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, UC Santa Barbara, doctoral dissertation, 2019, pp. 261-263.

⁸⁶ I summarise this tale by integrating the version in “Sannō no koto” with the extended version of the story as it appeared in the 1298 manuscript of the *Yōtenki*. This does not appear in the longer *Yōtenki* on which print editions are based, and Okada Seishi shows that it was cannibalised into “Sannō no koto”. Both a transcription of the story and Okada’s argument can be found in Okada 1979, pp. 46-48.

サテ施入ナハアツサヨツラト云事ヲシハジメテ、ヌシニムカハズトモ、夫ガ
思ハム事ヲウラナフトイフ事ヲ人ニシラセヨ、夫ヲセムヲリハ弓ノツルヲウ
ツモノナラバ、其ヲトニツキテ浄土ヨリ来テ、弓ノ絃ヨリツタイテ、ヲノレ
ガ口ニ入テ、人ノ問ント思ハム事ヲイハセム トノ給ヒテ、隠レ給ニケル後
ニ、アツサイフ事ヲシハジメテ有ケレバ、約束ノヤウニミルガ如ク、何事モ
明カニイハレケルナリ、日本国ノ中ニイマ、デモシツタヘテ、アツサヨツラ
トイフ事ハシ侍也

ST 29, p. 88

“[...] So, when receiving alms, you shall henceforth do what we call *azusa yotsura*, the oracle with a catalpa bow. Let it be known that, even without your patrons in front of you, you will divine what they might be thinking. From doing this, by plucking the string of the bow, invoked by this sound, I will descend from a Pure Land, and along the string of the bow I will enter your mouth, and I will make you able to answer the question people ask and tell what they think.”

After [the monk Jitsuin] had disappeared, the woman started to do what we call the “*azusa*”, and exactly as promised she became able to foretell clearly about all manner of things. The technique for these oracles is still transmitted in Japan to this day, and the “*azusa yotsura*” is performed.

This tale has the flavour of a *setsuwa*. Jitsuin is a character in many *setsuwa* collections, and in the *Konjaku monogatari-shū* 今昔物語集 (late Heian period), where he thwarts an effort at robbing him, passes through Kitsuji like in this story, although the place has no narrative role there.⁸⁷

Faure argues that the above excerpt attests the role of female mediums as mouthpieces of Buddhas.⁸⁸ This is perhaps a too-strong claim, suffering from the use of a translation where the *miko* is understood to be possessed directly by Amida,

⁸⁷ Translated in English in “The might of assistant high priest Jitsu-in of Hieizan”, in Jones, Susan W., *Ages ago: thirty-seven tales from the Konjaku monogatari collection*, Harvard, Harvard University Press, 1959, pp. 57-59.

⁸⁸ Faure, Bernard, *The power of denial: Buddhism, purity, and gender*, Princeton University Press, 2003, p. 306.

rather than acting as the mouthpiece of the spirit of a dead person who in turn grants her supernatural powers.⁸⁹ The story is however still relevant from a religious studies perspective, as in the context of the narrative it strongly suggests that this sort of oracle was performed at Hie, and highlighted as a popular service performed all over Japan but originated around Mount Hiei. It also shows the wide range of oracles performed at Hie, from spontaneous possession to a more structured séance with a professional medium. These mediums are all clearly established as lowly figures by the narratives where we find them, and yet they become indispensable to establish Hie as a place where one can access numinous forces.

A similar argument can be made for the many people with disabilities which we have seen populating Hie in the *Heike*. We find these again in “Sannō no koto”, where we see a list of disabilities associated with karmically bad actions of a previous life: deafness, blindness, speech impairments, broken hands and weak legs, noses falling off or crooked mouths. Those who suffer these ailments are narrated as particularly benefitting from visiting the shrines, which can remove these karmic hindrances, thus setting them back onto the path of enlightenment.⁹⁰ On one hand, the presence of such figures was likely a reality of the shrines; on the other hand, however, we see these becoming part of a repertoire of literary imagery associated to Hie. While in the case of the *Heike* the selfless gesture of Moromichi’s mother is enhanced by her willingness to mix with what the narrative frames as the wretched, in the *Yōtenki* we see this image pivoted to Hie’s favour: the power of the Sannō deities is enhanced by their ability to save even the most hopeless of people.

As we see from the *Heike* excerpt, there is a space at Hie which is dedicated to seclusion for people of all classes. This space, called *geden*, is a room found below the seven upper shrines, which have a raised floor supported by pillars creating a chamber tall enough for a person to stand, accessible via a door under the steps. There is

⁸⁹ The translation employed by Faure is from Grapard, Allan G. “Linguistic Cubism: A Singularity of Pluralism in the Sannō Cult,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2/3, 1987, p. 218.

⁹⁰ ST 29, p. 94.

evidence that before the Meiji period Buddhist icons were placed on the altar, and Buddhist rituals were held in the geden, although the nature of these is not certain.⁹¹

The *Hie sanno rishōki* describes it in this way:

Shady beggars and outcasts called *miya-komori* flock together in the space underneath the Hachiōji [shrine], refusing to leave the shrine precincts day or night.⁹²

Miya komori 宮籠 (shrine hermits) is a term deserving our attention. It generally indicates lowly religious figures, performing religious austerities or tending to the shrines as cleaners and entertainers. The term was used for women as well as men: in the record of Go-Daigo's 後醍醐 (r. 1318-1339) imperial visit to the shrines in second year of the Gentoku 元徳 era (1330) we see a woman *miya-komori* called Miroku, who exits the Hachiōji shrine to deliver an oracle.⁹³

In “Sannō no koto”, *miya komori* are grouped with similar low-ranking religious figures, and placed at the bottom of a hierarchy of those who work at the shrines.

山王ニ近付ツカマツラム人ハ、宮主宮籠ニイタルマデ、独モノコ
ラズ決定生死ヲハナルベキ者ト知ルベキナリ

ST 29, p. 92

None of those who come near the Sannō deities [i.e., all the shrine attendants], down to the shrine guardians (*miya nushi* 宮主) and shrine hermits, is left behind. We must know them for certain as people who shall leave [the cycle of] birth and death.

Both *miya komori* and shrine guardians (*miya nushi*) are framed as figures worthy of salvation in the next life by virtue of their proximity to the Sannō deities. Again, we see a discourse on lowliness used to highlight the salvific power of the shrines. But we

⁹¹ Sagai 1992, pp. 140-171.

⁹² Translated in Breen 2010, p. 80.

⁹³ 神輿を八王子の神殿によせたてまつるところに、弥勒といふ宮籠、俄くるひ出て申様、我八王子権現なり「...」と託宣し侍りしを、“As soon as the palanquin was brought near the shrine of Hachiōji, a *miya-komori* called Miroku came running out, and delivered an oracle saying: “I am the avatar deity Hachiōji [...]”. As quoted in Kuroda 1994, p. 79.

also see the real consideration that people might have afforded them in the following story, also from “Sannō no koto”:

昔東塔ノ北谷ニ寿門阿闍梨ト申ケル人有ケリ、十禪師ノ御宝殿ノ前ニテ、百ケ日ノ祈精ヲイタシテ、巡次往生ノ本願成就セサセテタベト申ケルニ、百日満ヌル夜ノ示現ニ、汝ヲバ次ノ生ニ宮主ニ成テ能能召仕テ、其次ノ生ニコソ、浄土ノ往生ヲバ遂ニサセムズレト仰ラレタリケルヲ、ウラミヲナシテ山ニ登テ

ST 29, p. 92.

Once, in the north valley of the eastern pagoda, there was a man called the *ācārya* (*ajari* 阿闍梨) Shūen. He prayed in front of the shrine hall of Jūzenji for a hundred days, saying: “I beg to obtain the fulfilment of my vow, to be born in a Pure Land in my next cycle of rebirth”. On the final evening of the one hundred days, the deity manifested himself, and said: “In your next life you shall be a shrine guardian, and serve me well. I shall allow you to be reborn in a Pure land in the life immediately after that.”

Disgruntled, Shūen hiked back to Mount Hiei [...].

Once on Mount Hiei, senior monks explain to Shūen what an honour he has been bestowed: “sages and lofty people, and those who have made vows to achieve enlightenment in their next lives, are many, but many are also the times when these are reborn into evil births, utterly wasting their good practices of many years”.⁹⁴ It is all well and good to practice, but one needs a firm karmic link with a Pure land, and being reborn as the lowliest priest at the Hie shrines will grant one just that. Still, the effectiveness of the tale hinges entirely on shrine guardian being a very modest position, and on Shūen’s disgruntlement.

Shrine hermits and the foundation of the Marōdo shrine

What is common to all the figures above is that their low status ensures their centrality within the discourse on Hie. We see just how central they can be to the identity of Hie

⁹⁴ ST 29, p. 92.

in the origin story of the Marōdo shrine, where a *miya komori*, this time of the kind performing austerities, is the central character. This is found in the *Yōtenki* chapter entitled “Marōdo no koto” 客人事.

昔宮籠広秀法師初奉崇之、其濫觴者、被広秀年来参詣白山、而年老力^{ツカレテ}疲不能参詣、爰祈願云、我数十年之間、参詣不怠、然而、於今者老屈之間、不能参詣云々、爰夢想云、我ヲ聖真子ノ東勝地ニ可崇、サテ其砌へ以参詣ヲ可存白山参詣之由也云々、仍奉崇之、而無動寺第廿七慶命御時、私奉崇者也、
「中略」奉見件宝殿、被仰云、此宝殿ハ、イツヨリ奉崇哉、社司申云、組承候へバ、宮籠広秀法師所奉崇也云々、重被仰云、此条元謂事也、如此宮籠等任雅意奉崇者、宝殿不知其数歟、慥可壞弃也云々、仍社司等欲壞弃之処、重被仰云、今日計ハ可相待也、今夜ニ致祈念、明日可左右云々、翌日又参社、奉拜客人宝殿之処、件宝殿上雪一尺計積レリ、于時七月云々、座主示云、参集諸人見此雪否、答云、不見、

爰座主住シテ奇特ノ念ニ、自今已後者、我門弟等、偏以此社可奉崇也云云、
「中略」

已上親成説、慥在日記申云々

ST 29, pp. 49-50

The shrine hermit called Master of the law Kōshū was the first to worship there a long time ago. This was because Kōshū used to make a pilgrimage to Hakusan every year, but as he became older and his strength weakened, he could not make the pilgrimage [anymore]. So, he prayed: “For years and years I have made tireless pilgrimages. But now I am old and bent, and I cannot come to see you anymore.” [The deity] appeared [to him] in a dream, and said: “There is a suitable spot East of Shōshinji shrine. You are welcome to worship me there. This way, when someone visits that place, it shall be because of your pilgrimage at Hakusan.” Therefore, he prayed there. At the time of the twenty-seventh abbot of the Mudōji Keimyō 慶命 (965-1038), the abbot himself came to pray there and see the shrines. [...] He saw

the [Marōdo] shrine building, and asked: “Since when has this shrine been worshipped?” A shrine attendant said: “To the best of my knowledge, the shrine hermit Master of the law Kōshū worships here.” The abbot replied: “This prohibition is something that was said from the beginning. If all shrine hermits did the same and worshipped in whichever way they see fit, there would be so many shrine halls that you could not even count them. We must tear it down.” And so, the shrine attendants were just about to tear it down when the abbot said: “It can wait for today. Come night I shall pray, and tomorrow I will let you know [what to do].”

The following day he went to the Hie shrines again to worship at the Marōdo shrine. And lo, the shrine was covered in snow one *shaku* high- and that was in the seventh month! Pointing to it, the abbot said: “Does everyone else gathered here see this snow?” But they said that they could not.

The abbot stopped in his tracks, as it dawned on him that this was a miracle. He said: “From now on, we shall worship this shrine: I shall do so now, and so will those after me, and all my disciples.”

[...]

The above is Chikanari’s tale. It is true, as stated in his diary.⁹⁵

The Master of the law Kōshū is the last of the shrine figures we are to encounter in this overview, and the one with the most important role. We have seen that figures such as him are present in narratives on different levels. On one hand, they helped create a discourse on Hie as a place that offered specialised services or emphasised its salvific power. It is also possible to read in some of the lengthier tales, such as Kōshū’s and the abbot Shūen’s, a “comic relief” quality: they are after all stories where a haughty monk is put in his place. On the other hand, however, these narratives can and should be engaged with as historical sources, giving us glimpses on figures on which little documentary evidence exists. The case of Marōdo’s origin tale is exemplar in this respect: by narrating the passage from informal to formal cults at Hie, it also offers the most reliable foundation date for the Marōdo shrine, as we shall see in the next section.

⁹⁵ This tale is also translated in Breen

Foundation

We have seen that Hie in the Middle Ages was a thriving site of religious activity, and had been for some time.

There is a case to be made for Hie as a venerable religious centre, with links to the remote past. There is evidence that prehistorical cults occurred around Mount Hachiōji, which was a burial site. According to Sagai, approximately seventy remains of *kofun* 古墳 have been located within the Hie Shrine compound during the survey conducted by the Ōtsu City Educational Trust in 1981, suggesting the existence of religious activities at least from the middle of the Kofun period (300-538).⁹⁶ However, we do not know what kind of veneration was conducted then, and for the manifestation of clearly recognisable *kami* we must look further in time.

Legends such as the one recounting the origin of the Hafuribe tell us that an informal cult of Ninomiya was present at Hie since the remote prehistory, with a formal cult only established when the Ōmiya deity was imported to Hie from Miwa in the seventh century. Although these myths deserve to be engaged with seriously, the number of variants makes them problematic sources if we want to discuss the establishment of Hie from a historical perspective. I therefore chiefly discuss these in later chapters, where I will be able to embark on a lengthier discussion on the whole mythical repertoire associated to Hie. In this section I concentrate instead on historical material, to reconstruct what evidence we have for the establishment of physical shrines at Hie.

The central primary source to establish dates for the establishment of shrine buildings will be the section of the *Yōtenki* entitled “Mikoshi shidai” 御輿次第, which features a list of *mikoshi* for the seven upper shrines along with the dates when these were first built. As we do not have foundation dates or even origin tales for all the seven main shrines, this chapter is a crucial historical document if we posit that the existence of a *mikoshi* presupposes that of a formal cult and therefore of a shrine building. These dates can then be contrasted with sources such as diaries describing visits to the shrines and Enryakuji documents. In secondary scholarship, the main discussion on

⁹⁶ Sagai 1992, p. 24.

the establishment of the shrines is to be found in a back-and-forth between Sugahara and Satō consisting of three articles published in the late eighties.⁹⁷ I shall engage with these articles throughout the section.

The Three saintly mountain sovereigns

This overview begins with the most common Sannō triad, Ōmiya, Ninomiya and Shōshinji. I shall first turn to Ōmiya and Ninomiya.

Tracing the origins of the shrines in “Sannō no koto”, the *Yōtenki* describes in a mythical fashion the passage from an informal presence of Ninomiya at Hie, where it first dwelled “under the cedar trees” and then “in the place where currently is Ōmiya”, to the emergence of rough shrine buildings once Ōmiya was installed from Miwa, and finally to the building of permanent shrines. Picking things up where we left them with Ushimaro, it says:

今大宮御ス処ニ粉楡ヲヒキヨセテ結テヲカレタリ、宇志丸其ヲ尋テ、集マリ
テ神ノ御約束ノ如ク、形ノ様ナル御宝殿ヲ作りテアガメタテマツレリ、[...]
サデウルハシク神殿作ラル、事ハナシ、無動寺建立ノ大師相応和尚ノ御時也、
夫ハ先ヅ二宮ノ御宝殿ヲ作ラセ給タリケルヲウラヤミテ、我ニモ作テ給ヘト
御示現ノ有ケレバ、イソヒデ造テ奉ラセ給ケル也

ST 29, p. 86

In the place where now is Ōmiya, [the deity] pulled [a branch from] an elm tree and bound [his sign] in place. Ushimaro sought this sign, and gathering up [a team] built and offered up a treasure hall such as he had promised the deity. [...]

But no splendid shrine had been built yet. Then came the time of the Great master Soō Ōshō 相応和尚 (831-998), who built the Mudōji.⁹⁸ Jealous that a treasure hall was being built for Ninomiya first, the deity [of Ōmiya] manifested himself, bidding: “Build one for me too!”, and for this reason, they quickly built a shrine hall for him.

⁹⁷ Satō 1985; Sugahara Shinkai, “Sannō shichisha no keisei” 山王七社の形成, *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 4, 1987, pp. 1-19; Satō 1988.

⁹⁸ Or Ōshō.

While the above section is a mythological one, it mirrors the historical material first attesting the worship of the Hie deities.

One of the Hie deities had been probably worshipped as early as the eighth century, a situation which we can tentatively verify in the *Kojiki* 古事記:

大山咋神、亦名、山末之大主神、此神者、座近淡海国之日枝山、亦座葛野之松尾、用為鑄神者也

Ōyamakui, also known as Yamasue no Ōnushi no kami. Seats at mount Hiei in Ōmi province and at Matsunoo in Kadono. He uses a humming arrow (*meiteki* or *narikabura* 鳴鑄).

I leave aside for now the matter of the identity of Ōyamakui. After the *Kojiki*, we see in the *Shinshō kyakuchoku fushō* 新抄格勅符抄 entry for the first year of Daidō 大同 (806) that Hie was being allowed ten households, meaning that the taxes paid by these households were reserved to the shrine. While ten households are not a great number, the document clearly shows that by 806 Hie had established some sort of institution and there was at least one deity worshipped there.⁹⁹ We can compare this with the situation we see in *Engishiki* 延喜式 (completed 927), where, in the “Jinmyōchō” 神名帳 section, the *myōjin taisha* 名神大社 for the Ōmi province is Hie (日吉神社).

We can safely admit that both Ōmiya and Ninomiya were already worshipped during Soō’s lifetime, as the shrines were first listed as receivers of imperial offerings in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 (completed 901), where their court ranks are reported according to the same system which we have seen outlined in the previous section.¹⁰⁰ As early as the first year of the Jōgan 貞觀 era (859), the two deities, indicated with the names of Hie and Obie, occupied respectively the Junior second rank (*jun ni-i* 從

⁹⁹ Yoshida Kazuhiko 吉田 一彦, “Saichō no shinbutsu shūgo to Chūgoku bukkū 最澄の神仏習合と中国仏教”, *Nihon bukkū sōgō kenkyū* 日本仏教総合研究 7, 2009, p. 19.

¹⁰⁰ The two deities also both appears in his biography, the *Tendai Nanzan Mudōji konryū Oshō den* 天台南山無動寺建立和尚伝 (abbr. *Sōō Oshō den*). Sugahara 1992, pp. 78-79.

二位) and Junior upper fifth rank (*jun go-i-jō* 從五位上), and were promoted in the fourth year of the Ninna 仁和 era (888) to respectively the Senior upper rank (*shō ichi-i* 正一位), the highest position, and the Junior upper fourth rank (*jun yon-i-jō* 從四位上).¹⁰¹ In 859, then, there existed an imperial cult of these two Hie deities, plausibly implying the existence of physical shrines.

As for Shōshinji, his enshrinement must have come soon after. If we look at “Mikoshi shidai” in the forty-two chapters version of the *Yōtenki*, reflected in printed editions, this boasts that *mikoshi* had been built for Ōmiya, Ninomiya and Shōshinji as soon as Enryaku 延暦 10 (791).¹⁰² This version, however, is based on a manuscript from 1490. In the earliest manuscript of the *Yōtenki*, copied in 1292, the chapter is shorter, with the dates for these three palanquins completely missing. It appears then that the shrine priests who had composed it did not have a date for the building of the *mikoshi*.¹⁰³ Because in the newer version of the *Yōtenki* we find a tale stating that the palanquins for Ōmiya and Ninomiya were built on that year, Satō surmises that the date on “Mikoshi shidai” must have been based on that mythical explanation, and added before the later manuscript was copied.¹⁰⁴

Although 791 is too early a date, we have good reason to believe that Shōshinji was already worshipped in the Heian period, as Enchin’s *Seikaimon* 制誠文 (888) refers to “three saints” (or sages; *sanshō* 三聖), Ōmiya, Ninomiya and Shōshinji. With what information we have, although the specifics are muddled, we can therefore state with

¹⁰¹ Sugahara considers them a proof of the displacement of the older deity Ninomiya by the newcomer Ōmiya, an imperial deity and thus more powerful. Sugahara 1992, p. 12. This situation is more readily explained if we accept that Ōmiya had been the first recipient of imperial offerings, as I also discuss in the second and fourth chapter.

We must note that, as we see from *Yōtenki*’s rankings in the section entitled “Mikurai no koto”, by the second year of the Juei 寿永 era (1182-1184) the roles of the two deities were practically equal, as Ninomiya was made *shō ni-i* 正二位 (senior second rank) to Ōmiya’s senior first rank. It is thus clear that, if anything, the Ninomiya deity made a more marked progress than the Ōmiya one.

¹⁰² ST 29, pp. 51-52.

¹⁰³ Satō 1988, p. 168.

¹⁰⁴ Satō 1988, p. 170.

relative certainty that by 888 a formal cult of the “three saintly mountain sovereigns” had been established, possibly alongside shrine buildings.

As for the establishment of the other four shrines, we have more sources but a more complicated situation. Below I present a reconstruction based on the more recent research, as of today the most complete one, which is found in Satō’s second article in response to Sugahara.¹⁰⁵

A five-shrines system

The first mention we have of seven shrines existing at Hie is in 1140, when the *Sōsainen ganmon* 僧西念願文 (1140) reports a reading of the *Hannyakyo* 般若經 (sskr. *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*) in front of seven shrines. We must then reverse-engineer the events between 888 and 1140.

In the 1108 entry of the *Tenryaku* 殿曆, the diary of Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078-1162), we see him making offers of horses and coins at the Hie shrines. The coins in particular, gold and silver, are said to be placed in five offertory boxes, which are said to correspond to “five places”. These must be shrines: in the same way, Ōmiya and Ninomiya are called the deities of the “two places” (*ryōsho* 兩所) and the Kasuga deities are the “deities of the four places” (*shisho myōjin* 四所明神).¹⁰⁶

Because offerings are said to have been brought to five, and not seven shrines, we can safely assume that only five shrines existed at the time. Of course, for the same argument as before, we cannot exclude that the two missing deities were already there, perhaps venerated in small shrines or together with other deities, but we can say with certainty that, as a system, the seven shrines must not have yet existed in 1108. As for what the five shrines are, we know that the “three saints” had already been enshrines. The other two shrines are almost certainly Hachiōji and Marōdo.

In *Yōtenki*’s “Mikoshi shidai” Hachiōji receives a palanquin for the first time in 1053. This date is earlier than what other sources we have, but might not be too far off the

¹⁰⁵ Satō 1988.

¹⁰⁶ 幣筥五、五所新也。各入金一枚銀一枚也。As quoted in Satō 1988, p. 167

mark. Hachiōji's first appearance in any source according to Sugahara is 1108, when we see him mentioned in the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141), *Chūyūki* 中右記 (1087-1138). Satō, however, pushes the date as early as 1088, when Hachiōji appears in *Go-nijō Moromichi no ki* 後二条師通記, the diary of Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062-1099). In the article for 1089 is reported a sign of the deity from the year before. As it is an oracle issued by the deity, we can think that the shrine itself had been established.¹⁰⁷

As for Marōdo, as I have already mentioned we do not have a hard proof for his enshrinement date, but we must rely on origin stories. There are two of those:

1. According to *Sange yōryakki*, the Marōdo shrine was established in the second year of the Tenan 天安 era (858) by Sōō Kashō.
2. According to *Yōtenki*'s "Marōdo no koto" (before 1292) and in *Kojidan* 古事淡 (1212-1215), Marōdo was enshrined during Keimyō's tenure as abbot (*zasu* 座主), therefore between 1028 and 1038.

Both are legendary origins, but the second one is more plausible. We cannot see the *Sange yōryakki* tale in Sōō's biography *Tendai nanzan Mudōji enritsu wakōden* 天台南山無動寺延立和尚伝 (918-923), and because *Sange yōryakki* is a later source than either *Kojidan* or "Marōdo no koto", we can surmise that they record an older legend. Satō surmises that the legend linking Marōdo's construction to the Mudōji founder, Sōō, was created to cement the connection between the Mudōji and Marōdo, which as we have seen was already present in the older origin tale.¹⁰⁸

Having no other sources, we have no choice but posit that Marōdo was indeed founded between 1028 to 1038, as this contradicts neither "Mikoshi shidai", where the palanquin for Marōdo is indicated to 1053, nor Moromichi's diary.

¹⁰⁷ Satō 1988, p. 166.

¹⁰⁸ Satō 1985, p. 242.

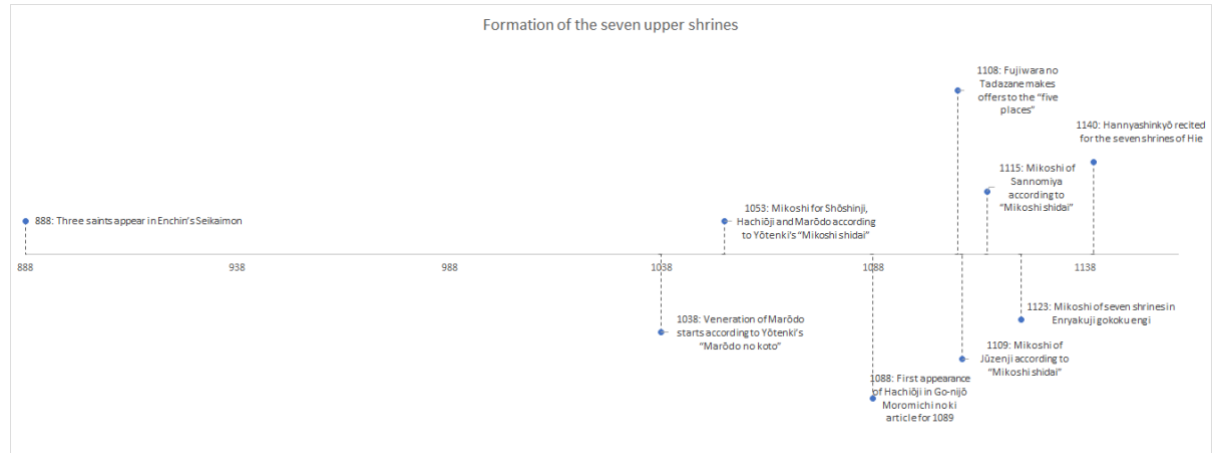
As for establishing a date range for Jūzenji and Sannomiya, we must pay attention to three dates:

1. Tennin 天仁 2 (1109), during the reign of the emperor Toba 鳥羽 (1103-1156, r. 1107-1123), when the *mikoshi* of Jūzenji was built according to “Mikoshi shidai”.
2. Eikyū 永久 3 (1115), when the *mikoshi* of Sannomiya was built according to “Mikoshi shidai”.
3. Chian 治安 3 (1123). The *Tendai zasuki* 天台座主記 for this date states that the *mikoshi* of the seven Sannō shrines were taken down the mountain all together for the first time to protest the court. This is an early date, but coherent from what we know from the *Sō sainen ganmon*, which is that in 1140 the *Hannyashinkyō* was recited for the “Seven shrines of Hie”. Again, since it is difficult to believe that *mikoshi* were being built without shrines, if we trust this story, we can very well date the emergence of a system of seven shrines between 1123 and 1140. 1140 remains however the earliest date where we see any mention of seven shrines, and not merely *mikoshi*.

The dates in “Mikurai no koto” for the *mikoshi* of Jūzenji and Sannomiya are earlier than the first occurrence of the term “seven shrines”, so there is no great incompatibility. It is also not too farfetched to think the *Yōtenki* quite credible in this respect, as in general, as we have seen, the dates from “Mikurai no koto” have been coherent with what other material we have, except for the ones for Ōmiya and Ninomiya, which however were added in later redactions. Moreover, since the chapter states that the *mikoshi* for Jūzenji and Sannomiya had been built in April on the day of the monkey, when the festival was held, we can easily imagine a situation

in which these were built in connection with the *matsuri*.¹⁰⁹ “Mikoshi shidai” thus has the palanquins of all the seven shrines by 1115.

Figure 3 Foundation timeline for the seven upper shrines



From then, the deities enshrined at Hie and the construction of shrines proliferated gradually. After that, in the last half of the Heian period the shrines increased their status. Under the tenure as abbot of the eighteenth patriarch Ryōgen 良源 (912-985), new *mikoshi* were built for the shrines, the form of the Hie festival was stabilised, and tax breaks for the territories of Hie were ensured.¹¹⁰

In the *Yōtenki* chapters “Mikurai no koto” and “Sannōki” 山王記, both interpolated before 1490, we can see a list of the seven upper, middle, and lower shrines called as such. By the time when the *Yōtenki* was finished, and possibly as early as 1301 when “Mikurai no koto” was probably interpolated, the system which we see below must have already been put in place.¹¹¹

Seven upper shrines (<i>kami shichisha</i> 上七社)	Seven middle shrines (<i>naka shichisha</i> 中七社)	Seven lower shrines (<i>shimo shichisha</i> 下七社)
Ōmiya 大宮	Daigyōji 大行事	Kozenji 小禪師
Ninomiya 二宮	Ushio no miko 牛御子	Ōmiya Kamodono 大宮竈殿

¹⁰⁹ Satō 1988, p. 171.

¹¹⁰ Groner, Paul, *Ryōgen and mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the tenth Century*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002, p. 206.

¹¹¹ For a detailed discussion on the redaction of the *Yōtenki*, see chapter three.

Shōshinji 聖真子	Shingyōji 新行事	Ninomiya Kamodono 二宮 龜殿
Hachiōji 八王子	Shimo Hachiōji 下八王子	Yamasue 山末
Marōdo 客人	Hayao 早尾	Iwataki 岩滝
Jūzenji 十禪師	Ōji no miya 王子宮	Kehi no miya 氣比宮
Sannomiya 三宮	Shōjo (or Seijo) 聖女	Ken no miya 劍宮

Table 2 The seven upper, middle and lower shrines from “Sannōki”

The above list comes from “Sannōki”, as “Mikurai no koto” does not report the names of the seven lower shrines which do not have a court ranking, although it does mention them, thereby confirming that these might have existed on or before 1301. We also learn from “Sannōki” that, as far as the deities enshrined are concerned, this is not a fixed system, but, as stated by the head priest Chikanari 親成, once at the level of the lower seven shrines the explanations vary from person to person.¹¹² The same chapter, recorded by the monastic Chishin (Chishin *ajari* 智信阿闍梨 ?-?) from Mudōji, also lists the auxiliary shrines (*wakamiya* 若宮) of the Seven upper shrines.

Institutional systems

Seven shrines, seven stars

Why were the Hie shrines divided in three groups of seven, and why was the division into upper, middle and lower shrines emplaced?

We must first briefly address the first question, as it is tightly connected to the issue of when the cult of the Hie deities arose and how it intertwines with Esoteric Buddhism, which I tackle in the next chapter.

¹¹² 親成説云、至下七社者、未有定説、人々任意 ST 29, p. 65 “Chikanari states that, once reached the Lower seven shrines, there are no set explanations. People choose these of their own discretion”.

A part of scholarship argues that the division of the Hie shrines in groups of seven was affected by astrological and ritual considerations, that is by the identification of the seven main Sannō deities with the seven stars of the Big Dipper.¹¹³ We see the analogy in pictorial depictions of the deities,¹¹⁴ as well as doctrinal discussions of their role in a Tendai environment, but also in Esoteric ritual. Breen argues:

These numbers were not random; they were chosen to reflect Tendai ceremonies and doctrines. The number seven referred to the stars of the Big Dipper, which was the focus of the most important ritual performed in the imperial palace by the Tendai abbots in prayer for the emperor's health and longevity (*shijōkōhō*).¹¹⁵

The Sannō deities were among the entities receiving offerings in the *shijōkōhō* 熾盛光法, established at the Sōjiin 惣持院 on Mount Hiei, and in other astral rituals of the Esoteric Tendai curriculum which were also performed at court.

I further detail this topic, from a doctrinal perspective, in the next chapter. For now I must point out that, although the rituals were already established from the times of Ennin 圓仁 (793-864),¹¹⁶ the seven Sannō deities only started to be consistently present there well after the completion of the first seven shrines. The first detailed explanation of rituals including the Sannō deities is found in the thirteenth century *Asabashō* 阿婆縛抄 (1242-1281), which shows these appearing in various rituals centred on one deity, *besson-hō* 別尊法. In the description of the *hokutohō* 北斗法, centred on the deity Ichijikinrin 一字金輪, we see that Ichijikinrin, the Big Dipper, and the twelve devas are invoked together with the “princely retinue of the seven Sannō shrines” (*sannō shichisha ōshi kizoku* 山王七社王子眷屬).¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Throughout the thesis I use the North American “Big Dipper” rather than the name used for the constellation in the UK and Ireland, “plough”. This is in line with the nomenclature used by most scholarship on Esoteric Buddhism, where the constellation is found as “Big Dipper”.

¹¹⁴ Arichi Meri, “Seven Stars of Heaven and Seven Shrines on Earth: The Big Dipper and the Hie Shrine in the Medieval Period”, *Culture and Cosmos*, Vol. 10 no 1 and 2, 2006, p. 206.

¹¹⁵ Breen 2010, p. 79.

¹¹⁶ Dolce, Lucia, “Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School.” In: Orzech, Charles, (ed.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden, Brill, 2011, pp. 744-767.

¹¹⁷ Satō 1984, pp. 32-33.

The three main Sannō deities had been present before in some special rituals, such as an especially commissioned *shijōkōhō* performed in 1102 by Kensen 賢暹 (1029-1121), but we should note that in both this case and in the *hokutohō* the Big dipper stars are also reported to receive offerings alongside Sannō.¹¹⁸ It is thus unclear whether an identification was in place. It certainly was not in 1102, as the Sannō deities included in the rite are three, and not seven. The identity started to be systematically applied only after the Kamakura period, and then disseminated through works such as *Keiranshūyōshū* 溪嵐拾葉集 and *Sange yōryakki* 山家要略記.¹¹⁹

It is therefore reasonable to consider the equivalence of the shrines with the seven stars a post-hoc explanation. I admit that it might be a bit of an egg or chicken situation here, but it seems plausible to me especially because the seven shrines were not engineered all at the same time and their building was not owed to a systematic project, but as we have seen they arose at different times and for different reasons.

The equivalence of seven stars and seven deities of the upper shrines was already in place as the full system of twenty-one shrines was forming, and it is not impossible that it might have influenced the grouping of the shrines by seven after the formation of the Upper shrines. However, there is currently no explicit documentary evidence confirming it. The *Yōtenki*, among the earliest sources talking about groups of seven shrines, does not say anything about it when discussing the groupings of the shrines in “Mikurai no koto”.

Another reason for the silence of the *Yōtenki* on the equivalence of the shrines with stars might be that all the rituals and texts that we have examined so far as having the equivalence are Esoteric ones, and the *Yōtenki* does not have an Esoteric focus. We can therefore argue that the equivalence of seven stars and seven deities was

¹¹⁸ This is based on lists of offerings in rituals performed for sponsored occasional rites. The candle offerings for a *shijōkōhō* performed in 1102 are listed as eighty. If we look at the *Asabashō*, it has a quote of the *Kyōōki* 教王記, attributed to Kensen. According to this citation, during the *shijōkōhō* seventy-seven candles are offered in front of the *shijōkō mandara*, one for each deity represented. Sometimes, however, the Sannō deities are included, together with the *gyōyakujin* 行疫神 and the Big dipper dipper, which were offered candles bringing the number to eighty. Satō 1984, p. 41.

¹¹⁹ Satō 1984, pp. 32-33, pp. 48-49.

circulated in some contexts more than others, making it hard to believe that it was the sole reason for the shrines being divided in groups of seven, but that it was perhaps one concurring reason, connected to ritual and imagery, which operated alongside other ones.

Hie and the twenty-two shrines system

One thing we can say for certain is that the presence of the Sannō deities in rituals for the protection of the state and of the emperor's body points to their role as protectors of the polity. I suggest that we also look to this relationship to explain the tiered system of the Hie shrines.

When the division in groups of seven upper, medium and lower shrines emerged for Hie, these were already part of a three-tiered system of imperially supported shrines, known as the Twenty-two shrines (*nijūnisha* 二十二社). This system was first implemented in the late ninth century, when a group of sixteen shrines was singled out for receiving yearly offerings from the court, for whose benefit they administered occasional rituals. This support then took the form of imperial visits on ritual occasions, of food offerings, grants of produce, and eventually land estates.¹²⁰ In the early eleventh century five more shrines were added to the original sixteen, and finally Hie became part of the group in 1081, factually rendering the system a closed one, and incidentally disrupting a group of twenty-one shrines that had comprehended seven shrines per tier. It is not too farfetched to argue that the presence of the Hie shrines among the twenty-two shrines influenced their development. On one hand, as Satō has argued, the position of Hie among shrines protecting the polity could have persuaded the Enryakuji monastics to include the Hie deities in their rituals.¹²¹ On the other hand, the organisational structure in tiers comprehending seven shrines might have been adopted for the Hie shrines when these started proliferating.

The table below is a full list of the Twenty-two shrines, adapted from Grapard.¹²²

¹²⁰ Grapard, Allan G., "Institution, ritual, and ideology: the twenty-two shrine-temple multiplexes of Heian Japan," *History of religions* vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, p. 248.

¹²¹ Satō 1984, p. 42.

¹²² Grapard 1988, p. 250.

Seven upper shrines	Seven middle shrines	Eight lower shrines
Ise 伊勢	Ōharano 大原野	Hie 日吉
Iwashimizu 石清水	Ōmiwa 大三輪	Umenomiya 梅宮
Kamo 賀茂 (Kamo wake ikazuchi 賀茂別雷 and Kamo mi-oya 賀茂御祖)	Isonokami 石上	Yoshida 吉田
Matsunoo 松尾	Yamato 大和	Hirota 廣田
Hirano 平野	Hirose 広瀬	Gion 祇園
Inari 稻荷	Tatsuta 龍田	Kitano 北野
Kasuga 春日	Sumiyoshi 住吉	Nibunokawakami 丹生川上
		Kibune 貴船

Table 3 The Twenty-two shrines

Looking at the table above, two considerations can be made.

On one hand, as noted by Grapard, the Twenty-two shrines are partly categorised by proximity with the court. The upper seven shrines are the closest to the polity represented by the court and the Fujiwara: geographically, because these are mostly located in the province of Kyōto, Yamashiro 山城, but also ideologically. Both Ise, the imperial shrine, and the ancestral Fujiwara shrine of Kasuga are in this first group. The middle seven shrines are chiefly in Yamato, “the older political center”.¹²³ As for the lower eight in Ōmi, Yamashiro and Yamato, these represent “the periphery close to the two former areas under governance of the court”.¹²⁴

¹²³ *Ibidem.*

¹²⁴ *Ibidem.*

The priestly lineages administering the shrines were also tightly knit with the court: Grapard notes that most of the Twenty-two shrines were governed by Nakatomi and Urabe priests, related to the Fujiwara house, and that the rest of the shrines were governed by sacerdotal lineages that fell under the jurisdiction of the Nakatomi lineage or that were issued from nobility.¹²⁵

On the other hand, all twenty-two shrines functioned in combination with temples to which they were administratively attached, with many falling under the control of the Enryakuji in some way. The Gion shrine (Gion Kanjin'in Gionsha 祇園感神院) and the Kitano Tenmangū 北野天満宮 in Kyōto were both affiliated with Enryakuji, as a combination of shrine and Tendai temple (*gūji* 宮寺). As for Hie, its relation to the Enryakuji was by far the closest.

Relationship with the Enryakuji

The Enryakuji and Hie shrines are a successful example of the medieval configuration of religious institutions, working as trusts formed by shrines and temples which were affiliated in “institutional, ritual, and sociopolitical ways”.¹²⁶ This affiliation is closely connected to the status of the Enryakuji as a landholder.

Territorial relationship

From the tenth century the Enryakuji had become able to accumulate land privately in the form of estates, over which it held overlord rights. The Enryakuji also enjoyed government aid in the form of rights over public lands (*kokugaryō* 国衙領), and aristocrats entering the monastery often brought some rights to land with them. As a result, it increased its territorial power. For instance, the tenth century saw the annexation of the territory of Karasaki, where the ancestor of the Hafuribe family was based in the *engi*. In the *Jie daishi sōjō shūiden* 慈惠大僧正拾遺伝 for the second year of the Tengen 天元 era (979) we see Ryōgen complaining about a misconduct of the Ōmi envoy. As a result, he obtained a discharge from taxes and the establishment of

¹²⁵ Grapard 1988, p. 252.

¹²⁶ As illustrated in Grapard, Allan G. “Institution, Ritual, and Ideology: The Twenty-Two Shrine-Temple Multiplexes of Heian Japan,” *History of Religions*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, p. 264.

an occasional festival for the Sannō *sanshō* to be held for three years, and had the Karasaki shrine built anew.¹²⁷ Also in 979, we have the emperor Enyū 円融 (959-911) bestowing a tax exemption on Higashi Sakamoto, Mitsu no hama and Nōkamura 苗鹿村, thereby officially recognising these territories as Enryakuji land. After, we see in the *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 article for 986 that the Tendai *zasu* prohibited fishing and hunting from north Ōtsu through Kinugawa 衣川郷, showing that the whole area of the Western shore of the Biwa Lake was under the control of the Enryakuji.¹²⁸ The shrines of all these locales were to become auxiliary shrines of Hie.

The hundred years following Ryōgen's tenure saw the further expansion of the territory of the Enryakuji and Hie.

By the eleventh and twelfth century the Enryakuji had become one of the major overlords in Japan, with land holdings comprising over three hundred estates, from the Ōmi 近江 province in the East to Yamashiro 山城 in the south, reaching as far as the Hokuriku 北陸 region in the provinces of Echizen 越前, Wakasa 若狭, Mino 美濃, and Kaga 加賀.¹²⁹ These estates were administered by low-ranking monks and lay officials, but also, as we have seen, furnished with subsidiary shrines of Hie, with *jinin* personnel appointed by Hie. The Hie shrines were therefore part of the territory of the Enryakuji, participated to its administration, and were instrumental in imposing and furthering its rule through lineages affiliated to them. While not exhaustive, in this section I present some examples of these relations, with the aim to clarify how this participation played out roughly at the time of redaction of the *Yōtenki*. I particularly focus on events entailing the manipulation of religious space and religious objects.

Ritual relationship

A first level in which we see the space of the Hie shrines becoming an extension of the Enryakuji is a liturgical one. Enryakuji monastics performed a variety of ritual activities

¹²⁷ Groner 2002, pp. 140-141.

¹²⁸ Satō 1994, pp. 64-66.

¹²⁹ Gay 2001, pp. 64-65.

at Hie. The recitation of sermons and reading of Buddhist sutras are widely documented.

“Ōmiya no onkoto”, the second section of the *Yōtenki*, vividly describes a sermon held by the renowned preacher Chōken 澄憲 (1126-1203) in front of the shrines, in the presence of gathered Enryakuji monastics from the three pagodas as well as priests from the Hafuribe family. The diary of Fujiwara no Sadaie (or Teika) 藤原定家 (1162-1241), the *Meigetsuki* 明月記 (1180-1235), describes the creation of a ritual space under the eaves of the hall of worship (*haiden* 拝殿) in front of the Jūzenji shrine.¹³⁰

A regular liturgical event involving both the Enryakuji and Hie was the *raihaikō* 礼拝講, a ceremonial debate on the Lotus Sutra (sskr. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, ch. *Fahua jing*, jp. *Hōkekyō* 法華經), which was established in the eleventh century and saw the Tendai zasu officiating rituals in front of Ōmiya. The organisation of the *matsuri* in the fourth month also heavily involved Enryakuji monastics.

Enryakuji monastics could also manipulate sacred objects normally kept at the Hie shrines. Protests involving palanquins of Hie are perhaps the most emblematic example of this relation. During these protests, known as *gōsō* or *mikoshiburi* 神輿振り, the palanquins were transported by low-ranking monastics to the central area of the Enryakuji. The wrath of the deities was invoked, and the palanquins were carried to the capital, often to be left there until the Enryakuji requests were met, causing disruption and disquiet.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Fujiwara no Teika, *Meigetsuki* 明月記, Kobundo, 1911, p. 107. Also Matsumoto Kōichi, *Shintō mandara no kosumorojī: miya mandara no shōchōsuru sekaikan ni tsuite*, *Nihon no bukkō* 3, 1995, pp. 149-150.

¹³¹ Adolphson, Mikael S., *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2000, p. 205.

Protests

Looking at sources, we see this protest pattern carried out completely or partially. Perhaps the most famous depiction of monastics using the palanquins of Hie is again the “Gandate” section of *Heike monogatari*:

是によつて日吉社司延暦寺寺官、都合卅余人、申文をさゝげて陣頭へ参じけるを、後二条關白殿、大和源氏中務權少輔頼春に仰てふせかせらる。頼春が郎等箭をはなつ。やにはにみころさるゝ者八人、疵を蒙る者十余人、社司諸司四方へちりぬ。「中略」山門には御裁斷遅々のあひだ、七社の神輿を根本中堂にふりあげ奉り、其御前にて信讀の大般若を七日ようで、關白殿を咒咀し奉る。「中略」「我等なたねの二葉よりおほしたて給ふ神だち、後二条の關白殿に鏑箭一はなちあて給へ。大八王子權現」と、たからかにぞ祈誓したりける。

NKBZS 45, p. 79-80

Enryakuji temple officials [and Hie shrine attendants] came [thirty people strong] with a complaint to one of the palace guard posts. The Go-nijō regent Moromichi ordered a member of the Yamato Genji, Provisional Junior Assistant Minister of Central Affairs Minamoto no Yoriharu, to hold them off; and Yoriharu’s retainers shot at them, killed eight on the spot, wounded more than ten, and scattered [several of the shrine attendants] in every direction. [...] Angered because the Retired Emperor was slow to act in the matter, the monks bore sacred palanquins from the Hie seven shrines to the Enryakuji Central Hall, performed a full seven-day reading of the Great Wisdom Sutra in the divine presence, and called down curses on the Regent. [...] “Ye gods who have nurtured us from infancy! Great God of Hachiōji! Transfix the Go-Nijō Regent with a humming-bulb arrow!”¹³²

The first attempt to descend into the capital with palanquins of the Hie deities is already recorded for the 1090s, when there were still only five shrines at Hie. As Adolphson reports:

¹³² Translation modified from McCullough 1988, p. 50.

[W]hen Minamoto no Yoshitsuna was acquitted by the imperial court after having killed an Enryakuji monk in a shōen of Mino Province in 1095, sacred palanquins from Hiesha were carried to the main temple building (the Konpon chūdō) on top of Mt. Hiei for the first time. The monks further threatened to bring the palanquins with them to the capital if their demands were not met, but Retired Emperor Shirakawa was not intimidated. Instead, he sent a message to the Department of Divine Affairs (*jingikan*) stating that the sacred palanquins should be stopped and that they were not to be feared. In the end, the *mikoshi* never entered Kyoto, as only a handful of messengers were sent to the court to deliver the appeal.¹³³

As for the first complete *mikoshiburi*, this was in 1108 according to *Tendai zasuki* 天台座主記, which states that the protest involved the *mikoshi* of Jūzenji, Marōdo and Hachiōji.¹³⁴ I wish to examine this further because earlier in the chapter I gave 1109 as the earliest certain date for the *mikoshi* of Jūzenji. The discrepancy is explainable, and gives us more insight into how these protests were performed.

Firstly, as we have seen, Fujiwara no Tadazane made offers to “five shrines”, among which Jūzenji was not present, in 1108. Jūzenji might have already existed as an auxiliary shrine, but it is hard to believe that an auxiliary shrine had a *mikoshi*.¹³⁵ Alternative sources for the same event are the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原致忠 (dates unknown), *Chūyūki* 中右記 (1087-1138), and the chapter entitled “Hie mikoshi nyūroku daidai sōchō kanmon dai shichi” 日吉神輿入洛代代崇重勘文第七 in *Enryakuji gokoku engi* 延曆寺護国縁起 (thirteenth century), but none of these specifies how many *mikoshi* were made to descend into the capital.¹³⁶ 1108 was the first time that such a protest was performed with *mikoshi* brought down from Mount Hiei and made to enter the capital. In later sources we can see that a pattern for such a protest is that the seven *mikoshi* are brought up to Mount Hiei and then Jūzenji, Hachiōji and Sannomiya are made to descend. We are therefore able to argue with

¹³³ Adolphson 2000, p. 243.

¹³⁴ Satō 1988, p. 153.

¹³⁵ Satō 1988, p. 171.

¹³⁶ Satō 1988, pp. 172-173.

Satō that it is possible the *Tendai Zasuki* was building from this example, meaning that the “Mikoshi shidai” date of 1108 is probably accurate.¹³⁷

As for the first protest involving all the seven shrines, this was held in 1223. The *Tendai zasuki* 天台座主記 entry for this date states that the *mikoshi* of the seven Sannō shrines were taken down the mountain all together for the first time. These protests, to which Hie lineages actively participated, show the concerted acting of shrine lineages and Enryakuji in protecting their interest.

Protests during the matsuri and the Ōtsu jinin

The annual *matsuri* for the deities could also become a space to air protests and grievances. Lineages affiliated to the shrines such as *jinin* were instrumental when clashes occurred during these religious events, and had the power to sway the balance between institutions.

One such occasion, narrated in *Onjōji denki* 園城寺伝記 (fourteenth century?) and *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 (twelfth century), gives a good idea of how far this power could reach. In 1081,¹³⁸ while performing offerings at the Hie shrine on the first day of the year, some one hundred Ōtsu *jinin* were involved in a skirmish with servants and palanquin-bearers (*kayōchō* 駕輿丁) of Hie, probably low-ranking monastics, which resulted in a stabbing incident. When the Enryakuji establishment did not issue a judgement on the matter, the *jinin* intervened themselves. Aligning themselves with the opposing Tendai lineage of the Onjōji, in the fourth month they interrupted the festivities of the *matsuri* with a great crowd, and forcibly removed the rituals to the Shingū shrine (*Shingūsha* 新宮社, now Nagara jinja 長柄神社), within the precincts of the Onjōji, triggering a chain of events which ultimately led to the destruction of the Onjōji by fire for the first time.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Satō 1988, p. 173.

¹³⁸ *Onjōji denki* and *Tendai zasuki* 天台座主記 have 1053, however the *Fusō ryakki* date of 1081 might be more credible. Satō 1994, p. 58.

¹³⁹ Satō 1994, pp. 58-59.

Another accident is closely linked to this event.

After the destruction of the Onjōji, the port of Ōtsu was distributed between Onjōji and Enryakuji, with the Onjōji having control of the west part of the harbour and the Enryakuji the east harbour and the area of Awazu. Despite this division, in 1120 residents of the Enryakuji illegally built a *torii* on the Onjōji side of the border, allegedly to prevent the disposal of corpses in the area of the Hie jingū 日吉神宮, a branch shrine of Hie on the Enryakuji side. Onjōji monks tore the *torii* away, resulting in the Enryakuji taking the side of its residents.¹⁴⁰ To resolve the conflict an arbitrate from the emperor Shirakawa became necessary, in which the Enryakuji obtained permission to rebuild the *torii* in the same spot in exchange for punishing those responsible for building the *torii* on Onjōji land.¹⁴¹

Both episodes illustrate the variety of lineages and the sheer number of people involved in the ritual and administrative program of the Enryakuji/Hie territories, reportedly in the order of hundreds and thousands. The first episode in particular shows the lengths to which shrine lineages could go to protect their interests, using the protection of the Onjōji whenever they perceived that the Enryakuji had failed them. The lineages of Hie were central to Enryakuji power structure, so much so that they could become a disruptive force. They interacted not only within the confines of the Tendai power system, but also with other political entities such as the emperor. However far the relation with the Enryakuji reached, medieval shrine lineages were not completely dependent from it, but had various means to leverage their position.

The latter Middle Ages and beyond

A case for the increased dependence of the Hie shrines from the Enryakuji can be made for the Edo period.

After the destruction of the Enryakuji and the shrines in 1571, Yukimaro submitted to Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598) and Emperor Ōgimachi 正親町 (r. 1557-86) an official request to rebuild the shrines in 1582. Ōmiya was rebuilt in 1585,

¹⁴⁰ Satō 1994, pp. 60-61.

¹⁴¹ Adolphson 2000, pp. 91-92.

followed by the rest of the shrines in 1601. After the swift reprise under Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the Edo period saw Hie entering a complicated situation.

On one hand, it remained the major shrine complex of the Biwa Lake area. The Sannō festival, seeing a wide participation from the towns around the lake, continued to be one of the central ones of the Kyōtō region, together with those for the Gion and Kamo shrines. We see this position clearly depicted in accounts of the festival and visually represented in the many extant folding screens (*byōbu* 屏風) depicting the *matsuri*.¹⁴²

On the other hand, we see the shrines losing whatever economic and institutional independence they had enjoyed in the Middle Ages. The momentum leading to their reconstruction was quickly lost. In 1601, the Enryakuji was allotted by the Tokugawa three thousand *koku* 石 of land. The Hie shrines only received four hundred and two *koku* for the performance of rites. Their territorial independence dwindling, they were subjected to the economic administration of the Enryakuji.¹⁴³

The Enryakuji itself saw its power reduced under the new government. Its territorial range was largely diminished when compared with institutions such as Kōfukuji and the Kasuga shrine, which were allotted twenty-two thousand *koku*, and Mount Kōya, which had twenty-one thousand.¹⁴⁴ For the first time, Tendai institutions rivalling the Enryakuji were also founded in Kantō, with closer links to the Tokugawa government. The Kaneiji 寛永寺, a temple north-east of the Edo castle founded in 1655, was so closely modelled on the Enryakuji that it earned the popular name Tō-eizan 東叡山 (Eastern Eizan). It received an allotment of thirteen thousand *koku*, and was eventually given direct authority over the institutions on Mount Hiei.

¹⁴² Sometimes on the other side of the Gion festival, as we see in the Muromachi example at the Suntory Museum in Tōkyō. <https://www.suntory.co.jp/sma/collection/gallery/display?id=548>.

¹⁴³ Satō Masato, “Kinsei shake no Yoshida Shintō juyō: Hie shashi no jirei wo megutte” 近世社家の吉田神道受容 - 日吉社司の事例をめぐって, *Ōkurayama Ronshū* 33, 1993, pp. 109-111.

¹⁴⁴ Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, *Hieizanshi: tatakai to inori no seiki* 比叡山史闘いと祈りの聖域, Tokyo bijutsu, 1994, pp. 308-309.

Another powerful Tendai centre in Kantō was the Manganji 万願寺 (called Rinnōji 輪王時 from the 1660s), in Nikkō 日光, where Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616) was buried and as Tōshō Daigongen 東照大権現. The deification of Tokugawa Ieyasu, chiefly orchestrated by the prelate Tenkai 天海 (1536-1643), was another chapter in the transferral of the Tendai headquarters to Kantō. Tenkai, who had led the reconstruction project of the Enryakuji after 1571, laid the foundations of a new discourse on Sannō, now known as Sannō ichijutsu shintō 山王一実神道. These are recorded in the *Tōshōsha engi* 東照社縁起, a work attributed to Tenkai on the mythical origins of Tōshōgū 東照宮, where the deified Ieyasu is enshrined. Although initially also known as Sannō shintō, Sannō ichijutsu shintō was not centred on the Sannō deities of Hie but developed from the medieval discourse on these to focus on Tōshō daigongen and the protection of the Tokugawa state.¹⁴⁵ It did not take long for these developments to ripple to Hie: in 1634 a shrine dedicated to Tōshō daigongen was built in the precincts of Hie. According to John Breen, this “transformed the nature of the Hie site”, displacing Ōmiya as its main deity.¹⁴⁶

In sum, the Edo period saw the Hie shrines losing their central position in two ways. On one hand they became increasingly dependent on the Enryakuji, losing what territorial rights they had in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, because of their dependence from the Enryakuji, they saw their deities displaced by new discourses issuing from religious centres in Kantō.

According to Satō, the new situation of Hie provoked tensions, where the Hie priests claimed their independence and ideological distance from Enryakuji.¹⁴⁷ An exemplary case comes from 1683, when Juge and Shōgenji priests removed Buddhist icons from the seven upper shrines, and destroyed these following disputes with the Enryakuji monks, an attempt to disenfranchise themselves from the Enryakuji and become

¹⁴⁵ Sugahara Shinkai, trans. Bernard Scheid, “The distinctive features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto”, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1/2, 1996, pp. 65-72.

¹⁴⁶ Breen 2010, p. 94.

¹⁴⁷ Satō 1993, pp. 122-123.

attached to Yoshida Shintō that was ultimately unsuccessful: in 1689 the Buddhist icons were re-enshrined at Hie and the authority of the Enryakuji consolidated.

Two hundred years later, in 1868, attempts to eradicate the Hie deities' Buddhist identity finally succeeded. Juge Shigekuni 樹下茂国 and (1822–1884), Shōgenji Kiyo 生源寺希璵 (dates unknown), together with other Hafuribe members, stripped the Hie shrines of every Buddhist object there enshrined, leading to the destruction of more than one thousand objects.¹⁴⁸ Only days before, the Meiji government had promulgated the edicts known as *shinbutsu hanzenrei* 神仏判然令 (separation edicts of *kami* and Buddhas), issuing decrees which ordered the dissociation of Shintō and Buddhist divinities (*shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離). This was also the end for the Hafuribe as chief priests of the Enryakuji: 1873 saw the appointment as head priest of Matsuda Inari 松田稲荷, the first non-hereditary head priest in the history of the shrines, who was appointed by the state.¹⁴⁹

Much of our current understanding of the Hie shrines and their deities stems out of discourses arisen from these Edo and Meiji developments. The Hafuribe attempts to disenfranchise Hie from the Enryakuji, Sannō ichijutsu shintō and the creation of a new kind of Shintō in Meiji Japan created the current form of the *matsuri*, gave new names to the Hie shrines and, as we shall see, determine to this day our understanding of who are the deities there enshrined. Throughout the thesis we shall encounter again the actors and ideas introduced in this final section.

¹⁴⁸ Breen, John, "Sannō Matsuri: Fabricating Festivals in Modern Japan", *Journal of Religion in Japan* 9, 1-3, 2020, p. 99.

¹⁴⁹ Breen 2020, p. 101.

Chapter two: *Shinbutsu shūgō* at the Enryakuji

This chapter focuses on discourses centred on the Sannō deities which were elaborated at the Enryakuji in the ancient and medieval period. My aim is to give an overview of the worship of the Hie deities at the Enryakuji through a selection of documents, and to contextualise the textual and ritual practices issued from this worship within the main trends of what we now call *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合, that is the sum of discourses determining the position of *kami* in the Buddhist world. I trace the history of these discourses in the first half of the chapter, focusing on the main typologies identified by scholarship. In this preliminary discussion I leave the expression *shinbutsu shūgō* untranslated, focusing instead on the range of phenomena covered by the expression. I tackle translation problems in the second section, where I reflect on methodological issues related to the study of *shinbutsu shūgō*. This is not intended to be a complete survey of scholarship, but it is rather meant to highlight and situate the main themes of the chapter and, more broadly, of the thesis.

In the second half of the chapter, I describe the worship of the Hie deities at the Enryakuji in a loosely chronological fashion up to the end of the medieval period. This is, again, not a complete overview, but one aiming to show how the trends seen in the first section are reflected in material, mostly textual, produced at or around the Enryakuji, and the identities of deities thus produced.

In the final section of the chapter, I tackle discourses that have been identified as the doctrinal tenets of Sannō shintō, and question whether it is correct to interpret these as such.

Shinbutsu shūgō and its main modalities

In this first section I introduce the variety of discourses which fall under the category of *shinbutsu shūgō*. This overview does not present any especially new material, but summarises the findings of previous scholarship as a framework within which to position the Sannō deities in the second part of the chapter.

The main trends of *shinbutsu shūgō* were first outlined by Tsuji Zennosuke in the late Meiji 明治 period (1868-1912), and further explored throughout the twentieth century.¹⁵⁰ These modalities are:

1. Deities are sentient beings who seek refuge into Buddhism to be released from their godly existence: *shinjin ridatsu* 神身離脱
2. Virtuous deities are protectors of Buddhism: *gohō zenjin* 護法善神
3. Deities are avatars of Buddhas and bodhisattvas and manifestations of a universal Buddhist principle: *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 (lit. “original ground and temporary traces”)

Tsuji’s interpretation is still largely considered the standard one, and thus I shall use it as a structure for my overview, employing a diachronic perspective where the first two modalities precede the third. This does not mean I am also espousing an evolutionary outlook, where each of these modalities supersedes its precedents or even as a teleological process which leads to the affirmation of the sophisticated *honji suijaku* paradigm in the middle ages.¹⁵¹ As I hope to show, various ideas on *kami* persisted and were integrated with each other, and this overview seeks to highlight the continuities among different modalities as well as their differences.

Kami in the wheel of rebirth

It is now a well-established fact of scholarship that what we call Shintō formed itself gradually throughout history. Those *kami* cults which might have existed pre-

¹⁵⁰ Tsuji first published his findings in a series of six articles in 1907. Collected as a volume in Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助, “Honji suijaku no kigen ni tsuite” 本地垂迹説の起源について, in *Nihon bukkyōshi* 日本仏教史 10, 1955. Other works presenting the same pattern are Hayami Tasuku 速水侑, “Shinbutsu shūgō no tenkai” 神仏習合の展開, *Higashi ajia ni okeru Nihon kodaishi kōza* 東アジア世界における日本古代史講座, 1986. Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, *Shinbutsu Shūgō Shichō* 神仏習合思潮, Kyōto, Heirakuji Shoten, 1964. Ōyama Kōjun 大山公淳, *Shinbutsu Kōshōshi* 神仏交渉史, Ōsaka, Tōhō Shuppan, 1989.

¹⁵¹ In relatively recent overviews we see the first two modalities of *shinbutsu shūgō* described as “The process of amalgamation that led up to the emergence of the *honji suijaku* paradigm”, although in the same book the three modalities are also shown to coexist. Teeuwen, Mark, and Fabio Rambelli, *Buddhas and kami in Japan: honji suijaku as a combinatory paradigm*, London; New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, p. 7, italics mine.

Buddhism were not institutionalised and left no documentary evidence, and therefore we can say that *kami* and their cults were first made sense of through the encounter with Buddhism, as well as other traditions and ritual practices issued from continental religious practice.

Shinjin ridatsu and the rise of jingūji

Buddhism was first introduced to Japan in the sixth century, and gradually established itself at court throughout the seventh century. At this early stage, Buddhist deities were first worshipped as “foreign *kami*”, largely equivalent to Japanese deities.¹⁵² This relation, however, changed in the eighth century, with *kami* assuming a subaltern role as sentient beings in need of salvation.

We see this new role not only attested in narratives, but creating institutional change, with the rise of institutions called *jingūji* 神宮寺 (also attested as *jinganji* 神願寺 or *daijinji* 大神寺). These were Buddhist temples built in the vicinity of shrines,¹⁵³ with the aim of having monks transferring merit to the *kami*, eventually through the reading of sutras.¹⁵⁴ This fulfilled the *kami*'s request, typically delivered through a dream or an oracle, to be instructed on Buddhist teachings and ordained into Buddhism, with a view to shed the evil *karma* which had led them to become a deity, a relatively unfavourable path of rebirth not conducive to becoming a Buddha or bodhisattva.¹⁵⁵ Connected to the idea of a Buddhist ordination for deities, which remained popular all through the Heian period, are the many extant depictions of *kami* in monastic clothing (*sōgyō* 僧形), as well as their reception of the title of *bosatsu* 菩薩 (bodhisattva).

¹⁵² Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003, p. 7.

¹⁵³ Satō 1990, p. 112.

¹⁵⁴ Yoshida argues the first source about it is Heian, a 794 article from the *Ruiju kokushi* 類聚国史. Yoshida Kazuhiko 吉田一彦, “Tado jingūji to shinbutsu shūgō” 多度神宮寺と神仏習合, in Umemura Takashi 梅村喬, *Isewan to Kodai No Tōkai* 伊勢湾と古代の東海, Tōkyō, Meicho Shuppan, 1996, p. 228.

¹⁵⁵ For an overview of accounts of dreams and oracles in *jingūji* foundation tales see Yoshida 1996, pp. 223-225.

The institution of *jingūji* therefore inaugurates the mode of *shinbutsu shūgō* which we call *shinjin ridatsu*. In exchange for their ordination, the deities brought benefits to the community: once pacified, they ensured political and economic order allowing for the diffusion of the Buddhist teachings. *Jingūji* became diffused in the Nara period, and were often founded by itinerant Buddhist ascetics with the sponsorship of local or national elites. The earliest example of a *jingūji* is found in the *Tōshi kaden* 藤氏家伝 (c. 760) entry for 715, where we see Fujiwara no Muchimaro 藤原武智麻呂 (680-737) receiving an oracle from the deity of Kehi 氣比神宮, in Echizen:

公仏法を愛慕せり。人神共に和して、吾がために寺を造り、吾が願を助済せよ。吾れ宿業に困りて神となることを固より久し。今仏道に帰依し、福業を修行せんと欲すれども、因縁を得ず。故に來りて之を告ぐ。

You love the Buddhist teachings and are at peace with deities and Buddhas alike. Build me a temple to help accomplish my vow. For a long time, trapped by my past karma, I have suffered the hardship of being a *kami*. Now, even though I wish to take refuge in Buddhism and to practice meritorious actions, I do not have the karmic conditions to do so. Thus, here I come to address you.¹⁵⁶

After the Kehi shrine, we see a rapid proliferation of *jingūji*, with the foundation of, among many, the Wakasahiko *jinganji* 若狭比古神願寺 (717), the Usa Mirokuji 宇佐弥勒寺 (725), the Kashima *jingūji* 鹿島神宮寺 (750) and the Tado *jingūji* 多度神宮寺 (763). The deity of the latter might have been the first to receive the title of bodhisattva.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ As quoted in Satō Masato 佐藤真人, “Shinbutsu shūgō no shoyōsō” 神仏習合の諸様相, *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū* 東洋学術研究 124, 1990, p. 112. Similarly, in the origin story of the Tado shrine, the *Tado jingūji garan engi narabi ni shizaichō* 多度神宮寺伽藍縁起并資財帳 (c. 788), we see: “I am the kami of Tado. Because I have committed grave offences over many kalpas, I have received the karmic retribution of being born as a kami (*jindō*). Now I wish to escape from my kami state once and for all, and take refuge in the Three Treasures of Buddhism.” Trans. in Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003, p. 10.

¹⁵⁷ Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003, p. 10.

Deities as protectors: *gohō zenjin*

Another deity bestowed with the title of Bodhisattva at an early stage, in 781, was Hachiman 八幡 (or Yahata), whose cult originated at the Usa shrine in North-east Kyūshū.¹⁵⁸ His relation to Buddhism was however slightly different from what we have seen so far, inaugurating the second modality of *shinbutsu shūgō*.

In 749, during the construction of the *daibutsu* 大仏, the monumental statue of Rushana 盧舎那 (sskr. Mahāvairocana, jp. Dainichi nyorai 大日如来) at the future site of the Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara, Hachiman issued the following oracle:

We, as a *kami*, will invite the *kami* of heaven and earth and will certainly accomplish [your wish]. We will turn water into steam for the casting of copper. We will merge our body with the grass, trees and earth. It shall be done without hindrance.¹⁵⁹

Differently from the Kehi oracle, here Hachiman does not beg to be released from his godly form, but acts as a patron of Buddhism, namely a “virtuous deity” (*gohō zenjin*) who invokes the help of other *kami* to sponsor a Buddhist project.

In the following years we see this role of deities taking shape even more vividly. In 765, during the *daijosai* 大嘗祭 enthronement liturgy of empress Shōtoku 称徳 (718-770, r. 749-758 as Kōken 孝謙 and 765-770 as Shōtoku), an edict (*senmyō* 宣命) stated:

神等をば三宝より離（さ）けて触れぬ物ぞとなも人の念いて在る。然れども
経を見まつれば、仏の御法を護りまつり尊みまつるは諸の神たちにいましけ
り。

The thought of the populace is that deities are beings who are far from the three treasures and to which we do not go near. But if we look at sutras, protecting the Buddhist teachings and honouring them is the duty of a multitude of deities.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003, p. 13.

¹⁵⁹ Trans. from Scheid, Bernhard, “Shōmu Tennō and the Deity from Kyushu: Hachiman's Initial Rise to Prominence,” *Japan Review* no. 27, 2014, p. 37.

¹⁶⁰ Excerpt from *Shoku nihongi* 続日本紀 (completed 797), as quoted in Satō 1990, p. 113.

Without elaborating too much, we can say that even though this second modality of *shinbutsu shūgō* sees *kami* in a somewhat better position than the first, it still positions them within the wheel of rebirth. Their protective function is also not entirely different from the one we saw in the case of *shinjin ridatsu*, where we also see oracles where *kami* declare their intent of protecting Buddhist institutions. Satō states that the difference between the two views of the *kami* is that the *shinjin ridatsu* paradigm was diffused at a “base” (ベース) level, while the *gōhō zenjin* one was sponsored at the level of the polity and the court, as also proposed by scholars such as Tamura Enchō.¹⁶¹ While it is certain that in the first case *kami* are protectors at the local level, while in the second they become enmeshed within the ideological structure of the state, the two modalities are typologically similar and temporally simultaneous, and overstating their differences might obscure their historical connection. In a 1996 article, Yoshida has successfully proven that the concepts of *shinjin ridatsu* and *gōhō zenjin* are often found simultaneously in the same sources, such as the *Nihon ryōiki*, and that they have a common origin in Chinese Buddhism.¹⁶²

I further discuss Yoshida’s views in my literature overview below. For the time being, I turn to the next *shinbutsu shūgō* modality in the next section.

Honji suijaku

Institutional precedents

Before we discuss *honji suijaku*, I must take a step back and see how institutional changes were linked to the rise of this paradigm, as in entering the Heian period we see the rise of new institutions for the worship of *kami*.

Whereas *jingūji* existed for the benefit of *kami* but enshrined Buddhist deities, from the ninth century we start seeing the diffusion of *miyadera* 宮寺, Buddhist institutions which enshrined *kami*. Kyōto *miyadera* such as the Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū 石清水

¹⁶¹ Satō 1990, p. 113, Nakamura Enchō 田村圓澄, “Jingūji to shinzen dokyō to mononoke” 神宮寺と神前読経と物の怪, *Nihon bukkyōshi* 日本仏教史 2, 1983.

¹⁶² Yoshida 1996, pp. 246-247.

八幡宮 (859), the Gion shrine (876) and the Kitano Tenmangū (947) became central to the liturgical structure of the polity, becoming absorbed in the twenty-two shrines system subsidised by the court that we have seen in the first chapter. In the case of Gion and Kitano, both under the Enryakuji umbrella, the link to the court was made stronger by their enshrinement of *gōryō* 御霊, pacified spirits of wrongly killed political enemies, a different kind of *kami* from the ones we have seen so far, which had been entities linked to a locale as its presiding deities.

Differently from *jingūji*, which existed alongside shrines with specialised lineages, *miyadera* incorporated the functions of a shrine. They were primarily administered by Buddhist “shrine monks” (*shasō* 社僧), and priests such as *negi* and *kannushi*, when present, were subordinated to the administration of a temple and had a lower liturgical rank than Buddhist monks.¹⁶³ This impacted liturgy as well: the *kami* enshrined in *miyadera* were considered “enlightened deities” (*shōjin no kami* 精進の神), and their worship conducted in accordance with Buddhist prohibitions, such as the avoidance of meat and fish as offerings.¹⁶⁴

The idea of *kami* as enlightened beings was further developed in the next phase of *shinbutsu shūgō*, which we now call *honji suijaku*. Because the rationale of *honji suijaku* is based in Buddhist doctrine, it is to this that I now turn.

The doctrinal basis of *honji suijaku*

The terms *honji* and *suijaku* have a long history in Buddhist philosophy. Sengzhao 僧肇 (384–414?), who assisted Kumārajīva in the translation of the Lotus sutra, first used the terms in his commentary on the *Vimalakīrti nirdeśa sūtra* (jp. *Yuimakitsukyō*, ch. Wéimójiéjīng 維摩詰經). The Tiantai patriarch Zhiyi 智顛 (538–97) consequently used *honji* and *suijaku* to indicate the division of the Lotus sutra in two halves: the “trace

¹⁶³ Satō Masato, “Gūjisei jinja no saikai ni tsuite” 宮寺制神社の齋戒について, *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究 303.68.4, 1995, p. 191.

¹⁶⁴ Satō 1995, p. 191.

teachings” (jp. *shakumon*, ch. *jimen* 迹門), where Śākyamuni appears as a newly enlightened being, and the “original teachings” (jp. *honmon*, ch. *benmen* 本門) where the Buddha bestowing the *shakumon* is revealed as an eternally-abiding being, who attained enlightenment aeons before the preaching of the sutra. Since their emergence in doctrinal arguments, *suijaku* and *honji* therefore indicate the relationship between a manifest this-worldly activity and its underlying motives, the latter rooted in Buddha’s eternal salvific project and not immediately accessible. In other words, between an ultimate (*jitsu* 実) and expedient (*gon* 權) reality.

In medieval Japan, the terms *honji* and *suijaku* came to indicate the most prominent medieval discourse on the nature of *kami*. At a basic level, a *honji* is a Buddhist deity whose power has a universal scope, and *suijaku* is their disguise in this world as entities with which humans have an already established, comfortable relationship. In the case of Japan, these entities are chiefly *kami*.

Performing the action of *suijaku* allows a *honji* to enact their salvific plan at the local level, without incurring the risk of prematurely exposing the populace to the complicated and emotionally taxing details of Buddhist doctrine. This essentially pedagogical activity is often described in terms of *wakō dōjin* 和光同塵 (lit. “[making one’s] light equal with the dust”), an expression borrowed from Laozi’s Daodejing 道德經. Such a view of deities is evident in narratives, where Japanese (or Japanised) deities are ubiquitously referred to as *gongen* 權現 (“avatars”), as well as in visual representations where these are pictured side by side with their Buddhist counterpart.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ In the case of Sannō shintō, the most striking representation is the Muromachi period Sannō *mandara* 山王曼荼羅 at the Nara national museum, where we see a cartouche with the twenty-one Sannō deities at the bottom and their *honji* at the top, with their respective names. *Important Cultural Property Mandala of Hie Sannō Shrine (J., Sannō Miya Mandara)*, accessed on 15/11/2021, <https://www.narahaku.go.jp/english/collection/732-0.html>.

Honji suijaku in historical sources

As for historical sources attesting the development of this paradigm, we see the first instance of the word “trace” (*ato* 跡) referred to *kami* in the *Sandai jitsuroku* 三代実録 (completed 901) article for the first year of the Jōgan 貞觀 era (859). This reports a petition to the emperor by the Enryakuji abbot Eryō 惠亮 (802-860), requesting the permission to assign two of the eight annual ordinands (*nenbun dosha* 年分度者) of the Enryakuji to train in the Vimalakīrti sutra (Jp. *Yuimakyō* 維摩經) and the Nirvana sutra (Jp. *Nehankyō* 涅槃經), and be assigned to the deities of the Kamo and Kasuga shrines.

While the reading of sutras for deities was by then a well-established practice, Eryō also writes:

皇覺物導。且実且權。大士垂迹。或王或神。

The teachings of the king of enlightenment are either ultimate or expedient.

Bodhisattvas manifest their traces either as sovereigns or as *kami*.¹⁶⁶

Although it is disputed whether this passage can be truly considered as fully representative of *honji suijaku*, the juxtaposition of ultimate and expedient teachings together with the designation of *kami* as “traces” suggests we seriously consider this passage as a first emergence of at least the concept of *suijaku*.¹⁶⁷

As for the development of *honji*, it was slower. In the *engi* of the Daianji Hachiman shrine (*Daianji Hachimangū engi* 大安寺八幡宮縁起, 962) it is narrated that the monk Gyōkyō 行教, the founder of the Iwashimizu Hachimangū, had an Amida triad appear on his sleeve whilst in prayer at the Usa shrine. Because Amida is the most commonly found *honji* for Hachiman, this has been regarded as a possible first source showing a *honji suijaku* relationship.¹⁶⁸ Whether we accept it or not, we do not see the paradigm

¹⁶⁶ As quoted in Satō 1987, p. 36. Also in SZKT 1, p. 37.

¹⁶⁷ Satō 1990, p. 114.

¹⁶⁸ Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003, pp. 16-17.

applied consistently until the end of the Heian period, when we see *kami* more frequently and explicitly associated with Buddhas: Dainichi nyorai 大日如来 for Ise, Jūichimen Kannon 十一面觀音 for Hakusan 白山, and later Śākyamuni, Yakushi and Amida for the Sannō triad.

These associations were not fixed, only common, something that I will show in detail for the Sannō deities. As we see from this 1046 document on Hachiman, determining a *honji* was a difficult task:

The original source of his enlightenment (*hongaku*) is mysterious and dark (*yūgen*) [...] The Way that benefits the sentient beings manifests the trace [of Hachiman], and the Gate of compassion produces his body; is he then an hypostasis of Śākyamuni, or an embodiment of Kannon?¹⁶⁹

While the *shinbutsu shūgō* mode of *honji suijaku* is set apart from its Nara predecessors by *kami* being placed at the same level as Buddhas and bodhisattvas, therefore outside the wheel of rebirth, the document above shows striking continuities between the two modalities, such as the continued importance of dreams and oracles to help determine the *honji* of a deity.

Another continuity with the Nara period is that the *honji suijaku* model is not uniformly applied to all deities, but that the status of deities as sentient beings is preserved for some of them. This can be seen in the diffusion in the middle ages of concepts such as *gonja* 権者 and *jissha* 実者, respectively deities with a *honji* and deities without one, with the latter identified variously as snake gods 蛇鬼, spirits of living people (*ikiryō* 生靈), spirits of dead people, disease deities (*gyōyakujin* 行疫神) and deities who wreak *tatari*.¹⁷⁰ According to the *Onjōji denki* 園城寺伝記, these are originally Indian deities like Shukongōjin 執金剛神 (Vajrapāṇi) or Kenrōjishin 堅牢地神 (Pṛthivī), that is deities who are protectors of the dharma.¹⁷¹ As we shall see, these

¹⁶⁹ Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003, p. 17.

¹⁷⁰ Satō 1990, p. 117.

¹⁷¹ Satō 1990, pp. 116-117.

categories play a part in Esoteric rituals where the Sannō deities are present, and some scholars even regard the rise of concepts such as *jissha*, deities without a clear identity, to the gradual elaboration of Shintō as an independent system of worship from Buddhism.¹⁷² Not all *kami* were therefore the same, and not all can be understood through the paradigm of *honji suijaku*. At the same time, as we shall see with concrete examples in chapter five, the type of entities who can have a *honji* in medieval origin narratives are not strictly confined to *kami*. Another thing we shall see in chapter five is the context for the success of *honji suijaku*, that is a wider cultural concern with the relation of Japan to the Buddhist world, which led among other things to defining the geography of Japan in relation to places in sutras and pure lands (what Grapard calls “mandalisation”).¹⁷³ As we will see, these two concepts are found contiguously in “Sannō no koto”.

Methodological issues of *shinbutsu shūgō*

I conclude the first part of the chapter with an overview of previous studies on *shinbutsu shūgō*, where I identify the main trends of scholarship and the possible contributions that a study of Sannō shintō can bring forward.

Since the first modern studies in Japanese, one central question has been whether *shinbutsu shūgō* typologies, and especially *honji suijaku*, are a specifically Japanese process, as argued by Tsuji Zennosuke, or a widespread Buddhist one inherited from India and then China. The latter position has been argued early on by Tsuda Sokichi 津田左右吉 (1873-1961), and is also found in the first monograph in English, Alicia Matsunaga’s *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*.¹⁷⁴ Matsunaga argues that *shinbutsu shūgō*, and *honji suijaku* in particular, are the end result of a general

¹⁷² Rambelli, Fabio, “Re-positioning the Gods: “Medieval Shintō” and the Origins of Non-Buddhist Discourses on the Kami”, in Faure Bernard, Michael Como and Iyanaga Nobumi (ed.), *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 16, *Rethinking Medieval Shintō*, 2006, pp. 305-325.

¹⁷³ Grapard, Allan G., “Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions,” *History of Religions*, vol. 21, no. 3, 1982, pp. 195–221.

¹⁷⁴ Matsunaga, Alicia, *The Buddhist philosophy of assimilation: the historical development of the honji-suijaku theory*, Tokyo, Rutland, Vermont: Sophia University; C.E. Tuttle Co., 1969.

Buddhist manner of assimilating local entities into its cultic system, which was however exported and perfected in Japan.¹⁷⁵

More recent work by Japanese thought historian Yoshida Kazuhiko makes a compelling argument for a direct genealogy of combinatory practices, uncovering direct textual and ideological links between Japanese *shinbutsu shūgō* and continental, especially Chinese, models of locating deities in the Buddhist world.¹⁷⁶ Yoshida's work also differs from Matsunaga, who considers discourses on deities as ancillary to Buddhist doctrine, in that for Yoshida *shinbutsu shūgō* has a central position in the transmission of Buddhism.¹⁷⁷ Most of Yoshida's work focuses on ancient Japan, and therefore more prominently on the first two modes of *shinbutsu shūgō*. A preliminary argument for a direct textual linkage between Chinese sources and *honji suijaku* is presented in chapter five of this thesis.

Another central question posed by *shinbutsu shūgō*, this time prevalent in European and American scholarship, is a typological one. Is *shinbutsu shūgō* a form of syncretism, and is premodern Japanese religion a hybrid one? This question partially arises from translation issues. While the term *shūgō*, first used by Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼俱 (1435–1511), is the most recurring one in Japan to explain the process of location of *kami* in Buddhism, western scholars have faced the challenge of translating and explaining this expression, as well as other which are used to talk about the relations of Buddhas and *kami*.¹⁷⁸ This typological question is central to the collection *Buddhas and kami in Japan* edited by Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, the most influential English language work on *honji suijaku* in the past twenty years, which points to it as a complex correlative system involving various entities, Japanese, Indian, and Chinese, linked together by means of a specifically Japanese “logic of associations”.¹⁷⁹ This outlook is informed by earlier works such as Allan Grapard's study of the Kasuga cult

¹⁷⁵ Matsunaga 1969, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Yoshida 1996. Yoshida Kazuhiko, “Saichō no shinbutsu shūgo to Chūgoku bukkyō” 最澄の神仏習合と中国仏教, *Nihon bukkyō sōgō kenkyū* 日本仏教総合研究, 2009. Yoshida 2021.

¹⁷⁷ Matsunaga 1969, p. 3. Yoshida 1996, p. 242.

¹⁷⁸ Other terms in Japan are *yūgō* 融合, “blending”, and *kongō* 混合, “melding”.

¹⁷⁹ Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003, p. 52.

in *Protocol of the gods*, where the term “combinative” is introduced to refer to the character of Japanese religion as a whole.¹⁸⁰

An underlying theme of these works is the rejection of the term “syncretism”, which has the connotation of an elite religion blending with a popular one. According to the combinative view, there can be no such blending because medieval Shintō was not an independent religion in premodern Japan, but one cog in a cultic and institutional machine which was chiefly Buddhist in nature, an idea pioneered by the historian Kuroda Toshio.¹⁸¹ One drawback of such an approach was the initial emphasis, possibly influenced by the popularity of Grapard’s work, on highly combinatory Shintō practices and institutions like *miyadera*, where shrine lineages were entirely subordinated to Buddhist ones.¹⁸² In the past fifteen years, however, some attention has been given to the places where Shintō and Buddhism existed in different spheres, showing how these had a degree of institutional separation in ancient and medieval Japan. Such is the case for articles collected in the sixteenth issue of *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, “Rethinking medieval Shintō” in English, and more recently in the volume called “*Shinbutsu Shūgō*” *saikō* 「神仏習合」再考, where an article by Satō explores the consequences of the separation of *kami* rites and Buddhism for courtiers after the reign of empress Shōtoku.¹⁸³ “*Shinbutsu Shūgō*” *saikō* also highlights the limits of an approach of many of the works seen so far except for Yoshida’s, which see medieval *honji suijaku* as the culmination of *shinbutsu shūgō*. The articles collected in this volume introduce the broader methodological issues arising from Euroamerican and Japanese scholarship. They show that *shinbutsu shūgō* was a manifold and variegated phenomenon, whose establishment in ancient times and survival in contemporary Japan also need to be explored.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Grapard, Allan G, *The protocol of the Gods: a study of the Kasuga cult in Japanese history*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992, pp. 1-4.

¹⁸¹ In English see Kuroda 1981.

¹⁸² Grapard 1992.

¹⁸³ Faure, Como and Iyanaga 2006. Satō Masato, *Heian jidai zenki ni okeru shinbutsu yūri no seidōka to kyūtei butsuji* 平安時代前期における神仏隔離の制度化と宮廷仏事, in Dolce, Lucia, and Mitsuhashi Tadashi (eds.), “*Shinbutsu Shūgō*” *saikō* 「神仏習合」再考, Tōkyō, Bensei Shuppan, 2013, pp. 62-87.

¹⁸⁴ Dolce 2013, pp. 17-18.

Although *honji suijaku* is at the centre of *Yōtenki*'s "Sannō no koto" and a central element to my thesis, I also seek to broaden its paradigm in two ways. First, I claim in this chapter that Sannō shintō is not an exclusively a discourse laid out to explain the *honji* and *suijaku* relationships of the deities, but participates of other kinds of discourses on the nature of deities. Secondly, by exploring the detailed explanation of *honji suijaku* from the *Yōtenki* in chapter five, I explore how other discourses on the position of divine entities in the Buddhist world interfaced with it, and how *honji suijaku* did not solely involve Buddhas and *kami*. This is chiefly in response to extant studies on Sannō shintō, which, as we have seen, are largely focused on its development as a *honji suijaku* system, and allows me to re-examine Sannō shintō in light of scholarship on combinatory practices of the past twenty years, which has been moving away from the centrality of *honji suijaku*, exploring other ways of identity formation for *kami*. I would divide this more recent re-evaluation of *honji suijaku* in two broad trends.

First are the endeavours to identify the ways in which the *honji suijaku* paradigm does not entirely apply to premodern religion. These are notably at the centre of recent work by Bernard Faure,¹⁸⁵ informed in turn by highly influential Japanese work such as Yamamoto Hiroko's research on what she calls *ijin* 異神, that is deities, especially imported one, who are not easily categorizable as *kami* or Buddhas and bodhisattvas.¹⁸⁶ Faure's work successfully highlights the limits of "combination"/*shinbutsu shūgō*, which implies the idea of fixed pantheons, whereas deities kept being imported to Japan, but also created wholesale, throughout the course of history.¹⁸⁷ In my thesis I treat *shinbutsu shūgō* not so much as a process of combination, but as one of location: the negotiatory process of finding a place for both *kami* and Buddhist deities in the Japanese religious framework. However, in contrast to Faure, who argues that mythological narratives seek to give order the Japanese

¹⁸⁵ Faure, Bernard, "The fluid pantheon", *Gods of medieval Japan* vol. 1, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2016, and "Protectors and predators", *Gods of medieval Japan* vol. 2, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.

¹⁸⁶ Yamamoto Hiroko 山本ひろ子, *Henjōfu: chūsei shinbutsu shūgō no sekai* 変成譜中世神仏習合の世界, Tōkyō, Kōdansha, 2018.

¹⁸⁷ Faure 2016 vol. 1, p. 23.

pantheon, I demonstrate that these are also a place for producing a multiplicity of identities.¹⁸⁸ A second trend of scholarship, already present in *Buddhas and kami in Japan*, is to explain *honji suijaku* itself as more complicated than a binary association between one Buddha and one deity, but as a “kaleidoscopic room” where many associations are possible.¹⁸⁹ On the opposite side of this is a view for which *honji suijaku* is “an extremely simple concept”, namely the idea that a being can be the incarnation or emanation of another one, exemplified in an early article by Susanne Tyler.¹⁹⁰

I bring attention to these two opposite ways of seeing *honji suijaku*, a “complex” and “simple” one, in this chapter, considering them polarities of a single discourse. On one hand this allows me to show the tension between the basic idea of *honji suijaku* and its historical execution. The latter was complicated by an immense proliferation of doctrinal, iconographic, and mythological sources making for a variety of possible identities, and depended on the communities who wrote the texts or who claimed encounters with the deity in the form of an oracle or a dream. On the other hand, while analysing different texts related to the Hie deities I also seek to show that the identities produced by *honji suijaku* were complicated and manifold in the texts themselves, and do not only appear so from the vantage point of looking at a multitude of texts; for instance, as we shall see later, works connected to Esoteric Buddhism like some sections of the *Keiranshūyōshū* show that it was possible for a multitude of deities to emanate each other. At the other end of the spectrum, there are texts which operate a selection among the various possible *honji suijaku* relations. These have deities with better defined individual personalities, connected to one or, more rarely, two Buddhas. Whether multiple identities are accepted or selected, and how this selection is justified, is a worthwhile distinction to make when talking about *honji suijaku*, and I show this concretely in the second half of this chapter.

¹⁸⁸ Faure 2016, vol. 1, p. 8, p. 13.

¹⁸⁹ Iyanaga Nobumi, “Honji suijaku and the logic of combinatory deities: two case studies”, in Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003, p. 176.

¹⁹⁰ Susanne Tyler, “Honji suijaku faith”, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2/3, p. 237.

The Hie deities at the Enryakuji

In the next sections I present in a chronological manner textual material highlighting the institutional, mythological and ritual ways in which the worship of the Sannō deities was established and conceptualised at the Enryakuji. I focus on how these conceptualisations gradually built up to form the complex identity of the deities, which I put in relation to the various modalities of *shinbutsu shūgō* which I have introduced in the first part of the chapter.

The ancient period

My overview begins with the first Japanese patriarch of Tendai, Saichō, the founder of the Enryakuji. I examine two types of material connected to Saichō: first, biographical sources where his immediate disciples describe his relations with the deities of Hie and of other shrines; secondly, texts traditionally attributed to him which mention the Hie deities.

Saichō's encounters with deities

According to Saichō's biography *Eizan daishiden* 叡山大師傳, written in the ninth century by his disciple Ninchū 仁忠, Saichō's relationship with the Hie deities precedes his birth. The *Daishiden* tells us about Saichō's father Momoe 百枝, a Sakamoto native belonging to a lineage of Chinese descent, the Mitsu no Obito 三津首.¹⁹¹ Worried for his lack of a male heir, Momoe builds a thatched hut to the western side of the Hie shrine, secluding there in prayer for seven days. At the end of this period, having obtained a favourable sign from the deities that Saichō will be born, he commissions a shrine, the *Jingū zenin* 神宮禪院, to be built in the location of his thatched hut.¹⁹²

Two other memorable encounters of Saichō with *kami* are set in Kyūshū. Scholars think of these as reasonable sources for the thought around *kami* in Saichō's times,

¹⁹¹ Satō points out how the "Mitsu" in Mitsu no Obito might be related to the toponymic Mitsugahama 三津浜, one of the legendary candidates for the territory where the Ōmiya deity first manifested himself in the region. Satō 2014, p. 182.

¹⁹² Satō 2014, p. 181.

which shaped Tendai views of *shinbutsu shūgō*.¹⁹³ I therefore briefly report these to compare with what we can reconstruct of the projects for the Hie deities conceived after Saichō's return to Japan.

The first meeting involves Hachiman. In the fifth year of the Kōnin 弘仁 era (814), Saichō stops in Chikushi 筑紫 (northern Kyūshū). There he lectures on the Lotus sutra for the benefit of Hachiman at his *jingūji*, receiving in return new Buddhist clothes, tossed out of the shrine doors by an invisible force. As for the second meeting, it still takes place in Northern Kyūshū, this time in Buzen 豊前, where we see a dream encounter between Saichō and the Kawara 香春 deity. In the dream, set before Saichō's voyage to China, the deity appears as an Indian monk with the left half of his body human and the right side made of stone. The dream-monk tells Saichō that he wishes to be delivered from his rebirth path as a *kami* (*jindō* 神道), and to become a protector deity of Buddhism. Upon waking, Saichō looks at the mountain, sees that its right side is barren, and thus verifies the dream. An oracle from the deity consequently confirms the successful delivery of the deity from his rebirth path as a *kami*, and manifests the *kami's* desire to protect Saichō from shipwrecks by casting a light upon the ocean. Saichō is indeed saved by the deity, and on his return from China we see him expounding the Lotus sutra at the Kawara *jingūji*, receiving in return an auspicious sign of purple clouds.

There are more tales of this kind with Saichō as a protagonist, which, as we will see, also involve the Hie deities. The ones I reported above are however the only ones in his immediate biography. Both these narratives closely match the stages of *shinbutsu shūgō* that we have seen above: we see the presence of *jingūji*, the *shinjin ridatsu* model, and the liturgical activity of reading sutras for the deities. As for Saichō's own views on Buddhism and *kami*, especially after his return from China, it is a far more complicated issue.

¹⁹³ "His belief in kami is noteworthy and can be seen as a forerunner to later Tendai Sannō shintō". Groner, Paul, *Saichō: the establishment of the Japanese Tendai school*, Honolulu, Univ. of Hawai'i Press 2002, p. 89. See also Yoshida 2009, p. 12 and Satō 2014, p. 161.

Works attributed to Saichō

The two texts mentioning the Hie deities which are traditionally attributed to Saichō are the *Sōrintōmei* 相輪檜銘 and the so-called *Rokushōzō hōtō ganmon* 六所造宝塔願文.

The first is the dedicatory poem inscribed on the *Sōrintō*, a pillar in the grounds of the *Hōdōin* 寶幢院 in the Western pagoda area of the Enryakuji. As for the *Rokushōzō hōtō ganmon*, it is generally considered a votive poem testifying Saichō's aspiration to build six pagodas in six places in Japan, each enshrining a thousand copies of the Lotus sutra.¹⁹⁴ Although these two works mentioning the Hie deities are the best candidates among many of their kind attributed to Saichō, there is an ongoing discussion on whether these were truly authored by him. The *Rokushōzō hōtō ganmon*, found in a manuscript dated to the ninth year of the *Kōnin* 弘仁 era (818), has the best chances of being a ninth century authentic.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, although the *Sōrintōmei* appears in medieval sources which date it to *Kōnin* 11 (820), such an early composition is unlikely, especially as it is highly improbable that the *Sōrintō* itself had been built yet in Saichō's times.¹⁹⁶ I nevertheless discuss it below because of the similarities it displays with Heian material on the *Sannō* deities, and because of its transmission in medieval works.

The *Rokushōzō hōtō ganmon*

The *Rokushōzō hōtō ganmon* reads:

¹⁹⁴ Although Yoshida connects it to a prayer for rain (*kiu ganmon* 祈雨願文) requested to Saichō by Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu 藤原冬嗣. Yoshida 2009, pp. 22-23.

¹⁹⁵ The colophon of the manuscript is *Kōnin kyūnen Hieizan jisōin no ki* 弘仁九年比叡山寺僧院等之記 (818). For a detailed discussion on the attribution see Nomoto Kakujō 野本覚成, "Dengyō daishi no Hiei-shin shinkō" 伝教大師の比叡神信仰, in Okada Shigekiyo 岡田重精 (ed.), *Nihon shūkyō e no shikaku* 日本宗教への視角, Tōhō Shuppan, Ōsaka, 1994, pp. 147-176.

¹⁹⁶ The *Keiranshūyōshū* reports the full text and date in T2410_.76.0855c15- T2410_.76.0856a09. For a summary of the *Sōrintōmei*'s attribution see Satō 2014, pp.160-162.

法界地 <東限比叡社并天之埜 南限登美溪 西限大比叡北峯小比叡南峯
北限三津溪橫川谷> 「中略」

住持仏法、為護国家、仰願十方、一切諸仏、般若菩薩、
金剛天等、八部護法、善神王等、大小比叡、山王眷属、
天神地祇、八大名神、薬心楽円、同心覆護、大日本国、
陰陽心節、風雨隨時、五穀成熟、百姓安楽、紹隆仏法、
利益有情、尽未来際、恒作仏事

Territory of the dharma realm: at the Eastern boundary, the Hie 比叡 shrine and Amanami no tsuka. At the Southern boundary, the gorge of Mino. At the Western boundary, the Ōbie northern peak and Obie southern peak. At the Northern boundary, the Mitsu gorge and Yokawa valley. [...] ¹⁹⁷

Preserving the Buddhist teachings to protect the state, vows be extended to the ten thousand directions, [to] all the many Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas of wisdom, the *vajradevi*, the eight kind of beings who protect the Buddhist teachings, ¹⁹⁸ the goodly divine sovereigns, the retinue of the mountain sovereigns of the Ōbie and Obie [peaks], the heavenly deities and earthly deities, the Eight great *kami*. ¹⁹⁹ The medicine responds [to the needs] and joyfulness is perfected, the great state of Japan is protected single-mindedly. Yin and yang respond to the appropriate time of year, wind and rain are in accord with their time, the five cereals become ripe, the one hundred names are at peace and happy. Perpetuate the Buddhist teachings benefitting sentient beings, and to the end of time, always, do the work of Buddhas.

200

¹⁹⁷ This first part, which continues to describe the boundaries of the Enryakuji territory, often appears on its own (for instance in *Eizan yōki*, GR 24, p. 505) and is identified with the section composed by Saichō to testify his project of building the six pagodas. Yoshida suggests we read it together with the following part as the prayer for rain, as the two sections appear together in the *Kōnin kyūnen Hieizan jisōin no ki*. Yoshida 2009, pp. 22-23. Satō also reports it as one poem in Satō 2014, p. 152, but treats the second part as a coda and links the first to the building of the pagodas.

¹⁹⁸ Devas (*ten* 天), nāgas (*ryū* 龍), yakṣas (*yasha* 夜叉), gandharvas (*kendatsuba* 乾闥婆), asuras (*ashura* 阿修羅), garuḍa (*karura* 迦樓羅), kimnara (*kinnara* 緊那羅), mahoraga (*magoraga* 摩睺羅迦).

¹⁹⁹ The eight deities enshrined in the Hasshinden 八神殿 shrine at the Jingikan, who protected the imperial house. See Hardacre, Helen, *Shinto: A History*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 33.

²⁰⁰ I am using the transliteration found in Yoshida 2009, p. 22. The poem is also found in collections of Saichō's works, as well as editions of medieval texts, for instance *Eigaku yōki* 叡岳要記, a miscellany of

The first striking thing about the poem is that it has a variety of names for deities related to Hie and the Enryakuji. In the first section, we see the Hie shrine and what looks like a name for its presiding deity, Amanami no Tsuka 天之埜.²⁰¹ This is possibly another name for Ōyamakui, but I wonder whether it might be a form of Ame no Sazuchi 天之狹土神, the deity who in the *Nihon shoki* is paired with his brother of Kuni no Sazuchi 國狹槌. I chiefly argue this because of the similarity of the last character of Amanami no Tsuka 埜 with the last one of Ame no Sazuchi 槌, and because these sibling deities are present in Sannō shintō texts, where Kuni no Sazuchi is identified with Hachiōji.²⁰² Even though Hachiōji was not yet enshrined at the time when the *ganmon* is supposed to have been written, and even though there is no mention of Ame no Sazuchi in Sannō shintō texts, we can perhaps imagine a situation where deities such as these were part of a repertoire of possible identities for the Hie deities.

In the body of the votive text, we then see the name “mountain sovereigns”, Sannō. Since we accept an early redaction, this might well be the first instance of the name being referred specifically to the Hie deities, but it is also worth noting that the name Sannō already existed in the Tiantai tradition. While the characters *shan wang* 山王 are already present in Chinese translations of scriptural sources, most notably the Lotus sutra, *shan wang* was also, certainly since the times of Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597), the collective name of the deities enshrined on Mount Tiantai in China, especially Wang Ziqiao 王子喬 (also known as Wang zhenjun 真君 or Youbi 右弼).²⁰³ It is therefore

history and lore of the Enryakuji (accessible on JapanKnowledge), but the latter lacks the first line and a half, which is sometimes transmitted separately.

²⁰¹ Reading is from the *furigana* in a version of the beginning of the poem found in *Kuin bukkaku shō* 九院仏閣抄 (fourteenth century), ZGR 440, p. 565. To the best of my knowledge, this is a *hapax* from this poem.

²⁰² 八王子俗形天神國狹槌 T2410_.76.0526b14 Hachiōji has the form of a layperson. He is the heavenly deity Kuni no sazuchi.

²⁰³ Lotus sutra T0262_.09.0033b10. Venerated for certain within Buddhist institutions from the tenth century onwards. Yoshida 2009, p. 17.

reasonable to look for the Chinese precedents of Saichō's poem, especially ones where the mountain sovereigns are called to testify a vow, in order to learn more about the possible inspirations for the way these were first related to the Enryakuji. Yoshida, following Nomoto, points out the following passage in the earliest biography of Zhiyi, the *Guoqing bailu* 國清百錄 by Zhiyi's disciple Guanding 灌頂 (561–632), where the deities of Mount Tiantai have the same function of the Japanese mountain sovereign(s).²⁰⁴

爲天台山王王及眷屬峯麓林野一切幽祇。願冥祐伽藍作大利益。敬禮常住諸佛

T1934_.01.0794c02-03

I raise my prayer to the eternally abiding Buddhas for the sovereigns of Mount Tiantai, the sovereigns and their retinue, all the pacific spirits of the peaks and foothills, forests and fields, [for them] to vow to bestow their divine protection on the Buddhist monastery (*qielan* 伽藍) granting great benefits.

It is therefore clear that the presence of the term Sannō in Saichō's poem closely follows Chinese precedents, and we can assume, as argued by Yoshida, that the worship of deities was a crucial part of Saichō's project to create a Tendai institution closely mirroring the structure of cults on Mount Tiantai.²⁰⁵ Because Mount Tiantai saw the veneration of mountain deities around, and perhaps already within, the space of the monastery, the same must apply to its Japanese counterpart.

It is worth mentioning that after the inception of the Enryakuji, the identical function of the Chinese and Japanese mountain sovereigns did not fail to be noticed by Japanese travellers to China. In the *San Tendai Godai sanki* 參天台五臺山記, by Jōjin 成尋 (1011-1081), we read that in 1072 he went to the Guoqing temple, where he paid respect to the abbot and visited various shrines. Finally, he prayed to “Mountain sovereign lord of the place Yuanbi zhenjun” (*Tudi shang wang yuan bi zhenjun* 地主山王元彌真君):

²⁰⁴ Yoshida 2009, pp. 16-17.

²⁰⁵ Yoshida 2009, p. 24.

真君者，是周靈王子，王子晉也。寺者，王子宅也。成仙經數百年，而謁智者大師受戒付屬地也。宛如日本天台山王。

Zhenjun is Wang Zijin 王子晉, the son of the sovereign spirit of these surroundings. The temple is the residence of Wangzi. Some hundred years after he had become an immortal, he had an audience with the great master Zhizhe 智者大師, received the precepts and entrusted him the land. It is exactly the same as the mountain sovereigns of Tendai in Japan.

We find a similar predicament in “Sannō no koto”, where it is said that “the deities called *shanwang* 山王 in China now reside in the deities [of Hie], which we call Sannō.”

The ganmon and shinbutsu shūgō

Another way in which we can look at the *Rokushōzō hōtō ganmon* is from the point of view of the broader *shinbutsu shūgō* paradigm.

The Sannō deities (or perhaps, at this stage, deity) of Mount Hiei are invoked in the poem among categories of deities which are either protectors of the Buddhist teachings (the “eight beings protecting the dharma”), or of the polity (the “eight great deities”). We can therefore infer that invoking the deities of Mount Hiei into the sacred space of the Enryakuji had a protective function, coherent with the *gohō zenjin* paradigm.

Another function of the deities in the poem is that of granting the balance of natural phenomena in the area, expressed in terms of granting “*yin* and *yang* as the seasons require, wind and rain according to their time, the five cereals to become ripe”. This is a feature that we find in texts associated with *shinjin ridatsu*. In the origin tale of the Tado *jingūji*, the *Ise no kuni Tado jingūji garan engi narabi ni shizaichō* 伊勢国多度神宮寺伽藍縁起并資財帳 (c. 788), we read:

多度大神一切神等。增益威光永隆仏教。風雨順序五穀豊稔。速截業綱同致菩提。

ZGR 27 下, p. 354

All the deities of Tado: with increased benefits and power, let Buddhism prosper always. Grant wind and rains according to their time, make the five cereals ripen. Swiftly cutting through the net of karma, bring about enlightenment.

The view of deities emerging from Saichō's poem strengthens the point that it is hard to draw a line between these first two modalities of *shinbutsu shūgō*. What is more, these functions too seem to find parallels in continental precedents. This can be clearly shown if we compare the language used in the *ganmon* and the Tado *engi* to the following passage from *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* (jp. *Kōsō hokkenden*, 高僧法顯傳), the account of the monk Faxian's 法顯 (320?-420?) visit to India:

住處有一白耳龍。與此衆僧作檀越。令國內豐熟雨澤以時無諸災害。使衆僧得安。

T2085_.51.0860a06-13

On the grounds [of the monastery] is a white-eared dragon. He is a benefactor (sskr. *danapati*, jp. *danotsu* 檀越) for the monks. In the country, [he ensures] the bountiful ripening [of crops], the welcome rains according to their time, so that there are no natural calamities. He allows the monks to live in peace.²⁰⁶

The Hie deities in the *ganmon*

The final way in which we may look at the *ganmon* is to identify which ones among the Hie deities it mentions.

A first issue are the names of Obie and Ōbie, which as we will see will become synonymous with the deities of Ōmiya and Ninomiya, and which we find in two places of the poem. Does this mean that both deities had already been enshrined and were known by these names? This is no trivial matter: as we shall see better from chapter four, determining when these two deities are first attested is integral to the history of their cult.

²⁰⁶ Admittedly thorny as it is the Chinese (and sinicized?) account of an Indian situation, but rituals linking naga worship to weather control for agriculture are attested in ancient India, see Hidas, Gergely, *A Buddhist ritual manual on agriculture*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter, 2019.

As reflected by my translation, I suggest that at this stage the names might not yet refer to the deities, but only to the two peaks of Mount Hiei.²⁰⁷ If we look at the first section of the poem, where a sacred precinct is established, we see that the Hie shrine and its one deity are mentioned separately from the peaks of Obie and Ōbie, and nowhere are these put in relation.

We then have the name Sannō in the body of the poem. I believe that we can verify that this refers to the deities inhabiting the peaks of Obie and Ōbie, but not yet to deities called Obie and Ōbie, by comparing it to the precedent in Guanding. Here the phrase *Tiantai shan wang wang ji juan shu* 天台山王王及眷屬 is analogous to *Ōobie, sannō kizoku* 大小比叡、山王眷屬 that we find in Saichō's *ganmon*. I would therefore assume that the expression *Ōobie* is a geographical marker preceding mention of the deities and their retinue.

Another issue linked to identity is that from Saichō's poem alone there is no way confirm that the mountain sovereigns he is talking about are indeed the Hie deities. I am unable to entirely disprove the possibility, suggested by Yoshihara Hiroto, that the deity first venerated at the Enryakuji under the name of Sannō might have been Wang Zenjun himself, imported by Saichō.²⁰⁸ This is however unlikely. As Yoshida points out, there is no inkling in sources that at Hie in Sakamoto were worshipped Chinese deities, and discourses on the Hie deities are completely different from discourses around imported deities such as exist for Sekizan myōjin 赤山明神 or Shinra myōjin 新羅明神.²⁰⁹ We would therefore do better to think that Sannō is a name given to the Hie deities in a fashion derived from worship practices on Mt Tiantai.

²⁰⁷ As opposed to Sugahara 1992, p. 13, who states that, because the two names appear in the *Rokushōzō hotō ganmon*, there is no reason to doubt that by Saichō's time Ōmiya and Ninomiya were already venerated as Ōbie and Obie.

²⁰⁸ Yoshihara Hiroto 吉原 浩人, "Tendai Sannō no Ōjin shin kō: Retsusen den kara Kumano gongen gosuijaku engi e no kakehashi" 「天台山の王子信（晋）」考『列仙伝』から『熊野権現御垂跡縁起』への架橋, *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 12, 1995, p. 102.

²⁰⁹ Yoshida 2009, p. 23. On the identity of Sekizan and Shinra see Kim Sujung, *Shinra Myōjin and Buddhist Networks of the East Asian "Mediterranean"*, Honolulu, Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i Press, 2020.

As to how many and which of the Hie deities are indicated at this stage by the name Sannō, we must take some factors into consideration. Firstly, the poem tells us about only one deity enshrined at Hie, called Amanami no tsuka. This would be coherent with the historical material that we have seen in the previous chapter: in *Engishiki*, Hie originally only had “one seat”. If we sum this with the fact that the names Ōbie and Obie are geographic indicators and not deity names, we can conclude that within the collective name “mountain sovereigns” was at the time included one deity of Hie only, if at all. As for which of the Sannō deities this was, the name Amanami no Tsuka cannot help us, as to the best of my knowledge it only appears in this poem. I am however inclined to suggest it was the one we now call Ōmiya, as this deity is the only one which appears in the first texts on worship at the Enryakuji, as I first show this chapter and further detail in the fourth.

The Sōrintomei

As we turn to the *Sōrintomei*, I am even more hesitant to make normative statements, seen as its attribution is so uncertain. However, because it shares linguistic and thematic features with material from the second half of the ninth century, I present it as a background to introduce these discourses.

I quote the version attested in the “Records” (*kiroku* 記録) section of *Keiranshūyōshū*, where in the central part of the poem the name Sannō is mentioned thus:

山王一等 思存給孤

法宿爲號 開顯毘盧

T2410_.76.0855c28-29

The first among the mountain sovereigns Holding Gikko [Anāthapiṇḍika] in his thoughts

Took the name Hōsshuku [= Dharma residence] Opening up and revealing Biru

The whole poem is exceedingly difficult, and this passage is perhaps the most complicated. Some further observations are necessary.

The first issue is again the identity of deities, and particularly their names. “The first” among the mountain sovereigns is here one deity only, also known by the name Hōsshuku. Differently from the other poem, this is without question a deity of Hie: as we better understand from later sources, Hōsshuku is the “dharma name” that the Ōmiya deity acquires after his Buddhist ordination, which was ubiquitously bestowed by Saichō in medieval narratives.²¹⁰ In the *Yōtenki* chapter “Ōmiya no onkoto”, redacted before 1289, we see:

世間相伝云、大宮、二宮、聖真子者、奉遇伝教大師、出家得法名、所謂、法宿、花台、聖真子也

ST 29, p. 45

Worldly transmissions state that Ōmiya, Ninomiya and Shōshinji encountered Dengyō daishi. In leaving worldly affairs [to become ordained into Buddhism], they received dharma names. They were called Hōsshuku, Kedai and Shōshinji.

Whilst all the three bodhisattva names we see in “Ōmiya no onkoto” are attested from the ninth century, explanations as to why these were chosen only surface in much later material.²¹¹ The *Sange yōryakki* states that the Bodhisattva names of the deities express the title of the Lotus sutra, *Myōhō renge kyō* 妙法蓮華經 (“Lotus sutra of the wonderful law”), with Hōsshuku corresponding to *myōhō* (“wonderful law”) and Kedai to *renge* (“Lotus”), with which they share one character (respectively *hō* 法 and *ke* 花 / 華), and Shōshinji to *kyō* 經 (sutra), this last equivalence having no ostensible character correspondence.²¹² Given the time gap between the appearance of the names and this explanation, it is reasonable to think this a post-hoc rationalisation.

In order to explain the name of Hōsshuku, Sugahara notes that the second star of the big dipper has the name *hōshō* 法星 in the *Suishu* 隋書, the dynastic history of the Sui (completed 636), thereby connecting the name Hōsshuku to the cult of the Big Dipper,

²¹⁰ This was not always the case before the Middle Ages. *Onjōji denki* from 860 has Enchin bestowing the ordination. As quoted in Sugahara 1992, p. 77.

²¹¹ The name Kedai appears early on for Ninomiya, together with Hōsshuku for Ōmiya, in *Sōō Oshō den*. Shōshinji appeared after Enchin 円珍 (814–891).

²¹² Sugahara 1992, p. 80. *Keiranshūyōshū* has the same interpretation in T.76, 2410: 530b12-15.

which, as we will see later, was to become a big part of Tendai esotericism.²¹³ However, I find this difficult to prove. For one, the connection between the Big Dipper and the Sannō deities was not established until before the twelfth century, for the reasons I have outlined in the previous chapter and which I detail below.

Furthermore, as we have seen from the *Sange yōryakki* explanations, medieval sources do not seem to consistently note a connection between the name Hōsshuku and constellations. On my part, I wonder if a stronger precedent for the name is not to be found in scriptural sources. The *Butsumyōkyō* 仏名經 (Sutra of Buddha names, ch. *Foming jing*), which Sugahara himself states was read for the benefit of the deities of Hie at least from the tenth century, features a Buddha named Hōshōjuku 法星宿.²¹⁴ The importance that this sutra must have had at a point for the Hie deities is still visible in *Keiranshūyōshū*, where, in the article called “Concerning the identity of Matsuo and Hie” (“Matsuo Hie ittai no koto” 松尾日吉一體事), we see that the Matsuo deity, identical with the Hie deity, makes the great vow of lecturing on this sutra, as well as the Lotus sutra, each year on the fifth and tenth months.²¹⁵

Lastly, if we look at the *Sōrintōmei*, we can see the juxtaposition of the deity taking the name Hōsshuku with his thinking back to the precedent of Anāthapiṇḍika, who gave to Śākyamuni the land to build the Jetavana monastery. It is not too farfetched to think that the poem is establishing a correspondence between the meaning of Hōsshuku, meaning “dharma residence”, and the function of the deity as a donour, who allows a monastic community to establish itself in the land over which he presides, thereby allowing the foundation of the Enryakuji, a seat from which to diffuse the dharma.

²¹³ Sugahara 1992, p. 18.

²¹⁴ Sugahara 1992, p. 59. *Butsumyōkyō* T0440_14.0174b25.

²¹⁵ 智證大師傳云。仁和二年冬十月。和尚於松尾明神社發願 日。我願每年五月八日十月八日。比叡明神社頭詣。講演法花佛名等大乘經。T2410_76.0529b07-11. The *Chishō daishiden* says that in the second year of the Ninna 仁和 era (886), on the tenth wintry month, he dimmed his light and arose his vow at the shrine of the Matsuo *myōjin*. He said: “I vow to visit the shrine of the Hie *myōjin* each year on the eighth day of the fifth month and the eighth of the tenth month, and lecture on the Māhāyāna scriptures of the Lotus sutra and the sutra of Buddha names.”

A second issue from the *Sōrintōmei* is a broader one linked to the type of *shinbutsu shūgō* we find in the poem, namely whether what we see there, a deity “opening up and revealing” a Buddha, in this case Biru, is, or prefigures, *honji suijaku*.

Let me first clarify the vocabulary used to express this concept.

I take *kaiken* 開顯 as an abbreviation of *kaigon kenjitsu* 開權顯實 (lit. “opening the expedient, revealing the ultimate”), a concept found in Zhiyi’s *Fahua xuanyi* 法華玄義 describing the gradual revelation of the Lotus sutra through skilful means. As for Biru 毘盧, it is one possible transliteration of the name of the Buddha Mahāvairocana, which is more often found in translation as Dainichi 大日. In Tendai, the existence of different versions of Mahāvairocana’s name is given a doctrinal significance. In Zhiyi’s *Fahua wenju* 法華文句 (jp. *Hokke monku*) the various transliterations are put in relation to the three bodies of Dainichi: Birushana 毘盧遮那 is said to refer to the dharma body (*hosshin* 法身), and Rushana 盧遮那 to the enjoyment body (*hōjin* 報身). Dainichi’s response body (*ōjin* 応身), which manifests in the world, is identified with Śākyamuni.²¹⁶ In Esoteric Tendai, therefore, Śākyamuni and Buddha are understood as “two Buddhas of one substance”.²¹⁷

Building on this, Satō states that the passage from *Sōrintōmei* is related to *honji suijaku* elaborations on the deities of Hie, firstly because of the pedagogical frame established by the expression *kaiken*, and secondly because of the pre-existing equivalence between Dainichi and Śākyamuni, who, after the eleventh century will be ubiquitously

²¹⁶ The dharma body is regarded as the eternal indestructible true principle, the Buddha’s original body. The response body is the body manifesting from the Dharma body according to the temperaments and abilities of sentient beings to save them. The reward body is an ideal body possessed by those who have awakened to the true principle based on meritorious practice. “Sanjin 三身” in *Digital dictionary of Buddhism*, accessed on 31/03/2021.

²¹⁷ Sugahara 1992, p. 20.

considered the *honji* of Ōmiya.²¹⁸ This explanation is not too dissimilar from Sugahara's one, where Hōsshuku is understood as acting in the world, paving the way for Dainichi, as the *suijaku* of Śākyamuni. Both scholars, then, interpret the presence of Biru in this paragraph as already having at its background the series of equivalences connecting Hōsshuku to Śākyamuni and Śākyamuni to Dainichi. Neither of these explanations are satisfying in my opinion, because regardless of its background, the text makes a point of having the name of Biru, and not of Śākyamuni, even though it would not have changed anything in the economy of the poem, as both have two syllables. Even if we consider the whole background, neither Satō nor Sugahara can explain why one "piece" of the equivalence was chosen over the other.

One more simple explanation, because the text has no explicit reference to emanations of any kind, and because *kaiken* by itself is not solely the activity performed by a *suijaku*, is that Hōsshuku here is framed simply as a well-versed Buddhist master, spreading Buddhist teachings. This is compatible with textual evidence that I introduce in the next section, where Hōsshuku is framed as a powerful monastic.

One last point to make is that, even if we accept this passage as a form of *honji suijaku*, other discourses on *kami* are also present at the same time. Hōsshuku here is presented as an almsgiver, in the very same way as the white-eared serpent in *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* is said to be a benefactor. In an act characteristic of the *shinjin ridatsu* paradigm, Hōsshuku donates the seat of his power to a Buddhist institution, the Enryakuji, as its presiding deity, "lord of the land", or *jinushi* 地主- a term already employed for the Chinese Sannō deities.

[The cult of the Hie deities at the Enryakuji becomes official](#)

The name Hōsshuku next appears in an official document quoted in Kōjō's 光定 *Denjutsu isshinkaimon* 伝述一心戒文.

²¹⁸ Satō Masato, "Heian shoki Tendaishū no shinbutsu shūgō: Saichō to Ennin wo chūshin ni" 平安初期天台宗の神仏習合思想—最澄と円珍を中心に—, in Yoshihara Hiroto, Yong Wang 吉原浩人・王勇, *Umi wo wataru Tendai bunka* 海を渡る天台文化, Tōkyō, Bensei Shuppan, 2008, pp. 154-155.

二人年分。不寄義真圓澄禪師。寄中堂藥師佛。比叡法宿禪師。在止觀院。人如禪宮師。可傳年分度者。是傳法由。義真大德存生之日。親承聞也。

T2379_.74.0649a22-T2379_.74.0649b02

The two annual ordinands are not [inducted] in front of the dhyana masters Gishin 義真 and Enchō 圓澄, but in front of the central hall Buddha Yakushi and Hōsshuku, the dhyana master of Hie. At the Shikanin the annual ordinands must receive transmissions as masters of the meditation hall.²¹⁹ This transmission was newly heard in the days when the master of great virtue Gishin 義真 (781-833) was alive.

The decision to swear the annual ordinands in front of the *honzon* of the Enryakuji, Yakushi, as well as the Hie deity, has been understood in the context of the succession troubles arising between the disciples Gishin and Enchō after Saichō's death, possibly as an attempt to foster group cohesion through the use of a *super partes* icon.²²⁰

For the purposes of this chapter, the main crux of this article is that the annual ordinands receive a transmission “as masters of the meditation hall” in front of “the dhyana master of Hie, Hōsshuku”. From the point of view of the identity of the *kami*, this is a clarifying passage. The fact that Hōsshuku is indicated as a dhyana master, indicating a high-ranking monastic, reinforces that the deity was at time understood as having received the precepts as a Buddhist monk, with Hōsshuku as his ordination name. We also see that here the deity Ōmiya is only identified as “Hie”, or as the deity of Hie, with no link yet to the name Ōbie.

As for the passage mentioning the “meditation hall” and the institutional role of ordinands, it is a complicated one. Satō and Misaki Ryōshū propose to read this passage as explaining that the ordinands were employed to service the deities, much the same activity as monastics reading sutras for the *kami* in *jingūji*.²²¹ This is an important precedent for what was to become a crucial passage in the introduction of *kami* cults at Buddhist institutions: it was in 859 that Eryō would institute annual ordinands to read for the deities of Kasuga and Kamo, in what is the first attested case if the word *sujaku*. Since the *Denjutsu issinkaimon* testimony is not too far in time

²¹⁹ Ichijō shikanin 一乘止觀院, the Enryakuji.

²²⁰ Satō 2008, p. 164.

²²¹ Satō 2008, p. 164.

from Saichō, it is also possible to read it in light of his project of bringing deity worship at the Enryakuji following the model of Chinese institutions.

An issue we can now think about is then why, in 859, Eryō chose for the *nenbun dosha* to be assigned to the deities of Kamo and Kasuga, seen as there might have been a precedent of annual ordinands becoming ordained in front of the Hie deity. One determining factor must have been the importance of the shrines for the court. Hie, as we have seen from the previous chapter, was not yet part of the centrally funded twenty-two shrines, and in 859 was still very dissimilar from what it was to become in the Middle Ages, with its seven main shrines not yet completed, and perhaps only one deity enshrined. It was the cult of the Hie deities at the Enryakuji which arguably bolstered Hie as an institution. The officialization of this cult is linked to the activities of Enchin 円珍 (814-891), chief priest of the Enryakuji from 868.

Enchin

In order to understand the changes occurred to the worship of the Hie deities in Enchin's time, we must at look at two documents: the *Seikaimon* 制誡文, a memorial document left to his disciples in 888, and the imperial approval of Enchin's request in 887 for the two annual ordinands of the Enryakuji to read sutras for the Hie deities, which appears in *Sandai jitsuroku* 三代実録 (completed 901).

The document on the two annual ordinands is as follows:

応加試年分度者二人事

一人為大比叡明神分大毘廬遮那經業一人為小比叡明神分一字仏頂輪王經業。

右延曆寺座主法眼和尚位円珍表稱。[中略] 当寺法主大比叡小比叡兩所明神。

陰陽不測。造化無為。弘誓垂仏。護国為心。[中略] 円珍伏見。仏法中興莫

過承和之聖代。山神膺慶偏仰当時之鴻慈。伏望。蒙加度者二人為兩神之分。

解地主之結恨。增護国之冥威

By imperial decree, following the inclusion [in our ranks] of the two annual ordinands, one of them is assigned to the Ōbie deity and specialises in the *Mahāvairocana sutra*,

and the other one is assigned to the Obie deity and specialised in the *Ichijibucchōrinnō sutra*. The above is the request of Enchin, abbot of the Enryakuji, director of the monks (*hōgen ōshō* 法眼和尚). [...] Ōbie and Obie are the two bright deities of the two places, sovereigns of the dharma at our temple. They are of *yin* and *yang* unfathomable, both created and unconditioned, [have made a] great Buddha vow of determination to protect the country. [...] Enchin raises the view that the revival of Buddhism is not limited to the sagely reign of the Jōwa 承和 era (834-858), but the mountain deities take responsibility for the joy [that is] bringing about great compassion for the whole of our times. It is our humble wish that by receiving [the permission of] adding [to our ranks] the two ordinands, allocated to the two deities, any grudge of the lords of the land will be resolved, and that it will promote their divine power to protect the state.

As for the *Seikaimon*, a copy considered Enchin's autograph is currently preserved at the Onjōji, in Ōtsu, therefore leaving little doubt as to its redaction.²²² It is formed of three sheets, of which one is headed thus:

大小比叡山王三聖出世本懷開示仏知見利益国土也

The original intention for the three saintly mountain sovereigns of the Ōbie and Obie peaks to appear in the world is to manifest the Buddha's penetrative insight, in order to bring benefits to the territory of the state.

Let us first examine the *Sandai jitsuroku* document. The first observation that we can draw is that here the deities of Hie are two, and that these are called Ōbie and Obie. This is the first time the two names appear together as a couple and in opposition to each other, whereas, as we have seen in older material, Ōbie/Ōmiya was simply called Hie.

Secondly, we can compare Enchin's document on annual ordinands with Eryō's, which we have seen in the first part of the chapter. Not only in Enchin's times there is a change regarding the deities for which the sutras are read, but also regarding the

²²² *Monjo tenseki: seikaimon* 文書典籍制誠文

<http://www.shiga-miidera.or.jp/treasure/document/03.htm> consulted on 22 March 2021.

sutras themselves. In place of the Vimalakīrti and Nirvana sutra, Enchin assigns two Esoteric scriptures, the *Mahāvairocana sutra* and the *Ichijibucchōrinnō sutra*.

Thirdly, we see the beginnings of a conceptualisation of the deities which we will find in medieval sources. In particular, the section of the petition where the deities are described in verses as “of yin and yang unfathomable” is found in both the *Yōtenki* and *Keiranshūyōshū*, suggesting that already in the Middle Ages Enchin’s petition was considered a pivotal moment in the cult of the Hie deities.²²³ As for the origin of this definition, it a loose re-elaboration from the *Yijing*, most likely filtered through Tiantai works. In Zhanran’s commentary on Zhiyi, *Explanation of the Profound Meaning of the Lotus* (ch. *Fahua xuanyi shiqian*, jp. *Hokke gengi shakusen* 法華玄義釋籤), we read:

地持云神謂難測知者。易云陰陽不測謂之神非佛教意。

T1717_.33.0905a24-27

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi-sūtra* says that *shen* is something that is hard to fathom and know. The *Yijing* says that when yin and yang are unfathomable, we call that *shen*. It means the teachings that are not Buddhist.

Finally, a word on the type of *shinbutsu shūgō* found here, where we see a double function of pacification (“any grudge of the lords of the land will be resolved”) and state protection (“it will promote their divine power to protect the state”), once again blurring the confines between the *shinjin ridatsu* and *gohō zenjin* paradigms.

As we turn to the *Seikaimon*, although it is only a brief passage that talks about the Hie deities, we see marked differences in the attitude towards them.

Firstly, the deities called Sannō are here three, not two. They also gain a new attribute, as they are no more addressed only as “mountain sovereigns” but as “three saintly mountain sovereigns”. The use of this adjective and the presence of three deities are crucial to the history of Sannō worship and central in the *Yōtenki*. I explain these in detail in the fifth chapter.²²⁴

²²³ T2410_.76.0530b17.

²²⁴ Egashira Tsutomu argues that the three deities here are not the triad of Ōmiya, Ninomiya and Shōshinji, but a different one formed of Ōmiya, Ninomiya, and a third deity named Sannō. Egashira

Secondly, we see a different function of the deities. Here their role is to “manifest the Buddha’s penetrative insight”. As previously noted by Satō,²²⁵ this is an indirect quote of the Lotus sutra:

諸佛世尊。欲令衆生開佛知見使得清淨故出現於世

T0262_.09.0007a23-25

The many world-honoured Buddhas descend to the world manifest themselves desiring to open the Buddha’s cognition for all living beings, to let them achieve [a state of] undefilement.

This is a crucial passage, where the existence of multiple Buddhas at various times and places, teaching different doctrines, is connected to the need to accord their teachings to the dispositions of sentient beings. We can therefore surmise from this passage that the deities of Hie, to whom the same capacity is attributed, are regarded at the same level of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, that is as beings capable of manifesting in the world to exercise their skilful means and prepare sentient beings for Buddhist teachings. This is therefore a definite step towards the pedagogical function that *kami* hold in *honji suijaku*, which we must remember has its source in the hermeneutical analysis of the Lotus sutra.

To sum up, Enchin’s tenure as an abbot brings about two major changes in the worship of Sannō deities. Firstly, there are now three deities worshipped at Hie, who become also known as “three saintly mountain sovereigns”. This is a decided change from earlier sources, where the term Sannō had been largely synonymous with the Ōmiya, also known as Hie. The name Ōbie for this deity is also added, to form a couple with Obie (this name is attested before Ōbie). Secondly, the cult of the Hie deities at the Enryakuji becomes official, with annual ordinands assigned to lead their worship.

Tsutomu 江頭務, “Hie taisha sannō sanshō no keisei: Saichō, Enchō, Enchin, Ryōgen no Sannōkan no hensen” 日吉大社山王三聖の形成—最澄・円澄・円珍・良源の山王観の変遷. In *Iwakura gakkai kaihō* 岩倉学会会報 28.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20140714221329/http://www.geocities.jp/yamauo1945/sannou3sei.html>. Consulted on 18/10/2021. If Tsutomu is correct, this does not change that the term *sanshō* was thereafter referred to the Sannō triad of Ōmiya, Ninomiya and Shōshinji, but it would be yet another evidence that the Sannō triad was not always fixed.

²²⁵ Satō 2008, p. 167.

Enchin's developments pave the way for the expansion of the Sannō cult in the medieval period.

Medieval period

As we enter the medieval period, we see a proliferation of doctrinal developments, ritual innovations and textual elaborations on the Sannō deities. The first consistent medieval collections which have significant material on the Sannō deities, edited in the later Kamakura period, are the *Yōtenki*, *Sange yōryakki* and *Enryakuji gokoku engi*. The Hie deities also become the frequent object of poems and visual material, chiefly in the form of mandalas.²²⁶

The Insei 院政 era (circa 1086-1188) started seeing *honji* systematically related to the Hie deities, and the *honji suijaku* modality of *shinbutsu shūgō* gradually became the main lens through which the Hie deities were understood throughout the long medieval period. We see the deities featuring in Esoteric rituals for the protection of the state, and becoming the object of mythological collections such as the *Yōtenki* but also of works which attempt to make sense of their identities from a doctrinal standpoint, such as the *Keiranshūyōshū*, the encyclopaedical work authored by the monastic Kōshū.

Throughout this section I shall turn to these elements one by one, analysing texts and the development of ritual practices, accounting for how these generate multiple *honji* and *suijaku* relations or preserve existing roles and views on the deities, and how these various identities are interlinked.

The first dateable source where we see *honji* put in connection with the Hie *kami* is a poem from the *Ryōjin Hishō* 梁塵秘抄, a collection of “modern style poems” (*imayō* 今様) edited under the cloistered rule of Go-shirakawa 後白河 (1127-1192).

²²⁶ On Sannō mandalas see Arichi 2002.

大宮権現は、思えば教主の釈迦ぞかし、一度も此の地を踏む人は、靈山界会
の友とせん、大宮靈鷲山、東の麓は菩提樹下とか、両所二所は釈迦薬師、さ
ては王子は觀世音

Think about it: the great Ōmiya deity is the lord of teachings Śākyamuni. Those who step on this soil even once become friends of the assembly of the [dharma] world of Vulture Peak. Ōmiya is the vulture peak, the Eastern slope is as if one were under the tree of enlightenment. The two saints of the two places are Śākyamuni and Yakushi, and [Hachi]ōji is Kanzeon.²²⁷

This poem is attributed to the Onmyōdō master Kyōzō (*onmyōdō sōzu Kyōzō* 陰陽堂僧都慶増), and became central to the definition of the Hie deities in terms of *honji suijaku* early on: we see its first line quoted in the *Yōtenki*, where at the end of the chapter “Sannō no koto” appears a parable on its composition. It has many characteristics consistent with *honji suijaku* as we have seen it in the overview: first, deities are the immanent manifestation of a transcendental principle, and secondly, this view is presented contiguously with cognate discourses on the relation between immanent reality and transcendent Buddhist teachings. We see this in particular in its treatment of the territory of the Hie shrines, which it describes as Śākyamuni’s Pure land, the “[dharma] world of Vulture Peak”, enacting what Grapard calls a mandalisation of space.

At the level of the identity of the deities named in the poem, we see the appearance of a triad. Whereas Enchin had established for the first time the Sannō triad of Ōmiya, Ninomiya and Shōshinji, here we see in place of the latter Hachiōji, whose shrine had been newly built, possibly around 1088. Although Enchin’s triad is more common, I attribute this second configuration to a different focus of the poem, a spatial one. The deities here represent the three main spaces of the territory of Hie: the western compound (Ōmiya), the eastern compound (Ninomiya), and Mt Hachiōji. In such a

²²⁷ NKBZ, p. 296. The *Yōtenki* has: 大宮権現ハ、思ヘバ教主ノ釈迦ゾカシ、一度モ此地ヲフマム人ハ、靈山界会ノトモトナル、ST 29, p. 94. The end is therefore missing.

view, Shōshinji might not have been included because his shrine is part of the western compound.

As for the *honji* found in the poem, these are common ones, found ubiquitously in narratives such as the ones we find throughout the *Yōtenki* and in visual representations, where Hachiōji is consistently identified with the thousand-armed Kannon (Senju Kannon 千手観音). In the table below I show the most common *honji* for some of the Sannō deities.

<i>Honji</i>	<i>Suijaku</i>
Shaka 釈迦	Ōmiya
Yakushi 薬師	Ninomiya
Amida 阿弥陀	Shōshinji
Senju Kannon 千手観音	Hachiōji
Jūichimen Kannon 十一面観音	Marōdo
Jizō 地藏	Jūzenji
Fugen 普賢	Sannomiya

Table 4 *Honji of the seven upper shrines*

Fudō myōō 不動明王	Hayao
Bishamonten 毘沙門天	Daigyōji
Daiitoku myō 大威徳明王	Ushi no miko
Benzaiten 弁財天	Iwataki
Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪観音	Shōjo

Table 5 *Honji of other shrines, commonly found in mandalas*

The identifications found above are not the only possibilities. For instance, Ōmiya is almost ubiquitously identified with Śākyamuni but also linked to Dainichi through Śākyamuni. From the 1250s, the seven deities of the seven upper shrines are also regarded as earthly manifestations of seven Yakushi Buddhas (*shichibutsu* Yakushi 七仏薬師), central deities of Tendai esoteric (*taimitsu* 台密) rituals.

Some of the identifications in the table are very possibly mandated by visual reasons: such must be the case for Ushi no miko, whose name has the character for “ox” and who is related to the ox-riding wisdom king Daiitoku. There is also little doubt as to why Ōmiya, the main deity of Hie, must be equivalent to the central Buddha of the Tendai *imaginaire*. But I also claim that the existence of concurring identifications was motivated by the multiplicity of contexts in which the Sannō deities appeared: mythological works, esoteric rituals, doctrinal reflections; and by the exigencies and the constraints of these contexts. To test this idea, I shall first examine how from the thirteenth century and onwards new conceptions of deities were related to the practical aspects of Sannō cult, worship and ritual, and then turn to doctrinal and mythological material. I will chiefly focus on Ōmiya and on the group of the seven upper shrines.

Honji suijaku and animal offerings

At the level of worship, looking at how offerings for the deities were performed clarifies how the Sannō cult fits in the main paradigm of *shinbutsu shūgō* for the period. As we have seen above, some of the first deities considered at the same level as Buddhas and bodhisattvas, such as Hachiman, received exclusively vegetarian offerings. We also have recorded cases of shrines, such as Kasuga, which offered meat during some rituals, and no meat during rituals supervised by Buddhist clergy.²²⁸

This was not the case for the Hie deities. In the sixteenth chapter of the *Yōtenki*, entitled “Raihaiko no koto” 礼拝講事 and composed by shrine priests, it is stated the following:

²²⁸ Satō Masato, “The sea and food offerings for the *kami*”, in Rambelli, Fabio (ed.), *The Sea and the sacred in Japan: aspects of maritime religion*, New York, Bloomsbury Academic, 2018, p. 21.

大宮、二宮、聖真子ヲ、伝教大師小比叡ノ楯下ニ奉勸請御テ、御出家授戒ヲ
申行給ヘリ、但魚鳥ヲバ可食候也、仏法護持候ハン料也

ST 29, p. 54

Dengyō daishi invoked the Omiya, Ninomiya and Shoshinji deities [to reside] under the cedar trees of [the] Obie and Ōbie [peaks]. He bestowed on them the precepts to leave the world, but allowed that they should eat fish and fowl in repayment for them protecting the Buddhist teachings.

The presence of this paragraph in this specific chapter demonstrates that offerings are crucial to the identity of the deities, as these are treated in the context of determining how their Buddhist identity relates to the job of shrine priests, and to aspects of their worship such as the garments in which they are to be dressed. As we shall see in chapter four, the latter is a particularly delicate topic in the *Yōtenki* sections written by Hafuribe, where tensions emerge between the clergy at Hie and that of the Enryakuji. For the purpose of this chapter, we can say that, although the offering of animal products was clearly perceived to be in contrast with the Buddhist identity of the deities, it was allowed. This is not specific to the Hie shrines: similarly, the offering of animal produce is attested for instance at the Suwa shrine (*Suwa jinja* 諏訪神社), in Kyūshū.²²⁹ In the case of Hie, I would interpret as a breakage in the *honji suijaku* paradigm, and a clear signal that *kami* worship spaces at Hie were not entirely dominated by monastics, but subject to negotiations. According to Satō, the inclusion or exclusion of animal produce from the offerings could have institutional reasons: while animal offerings remained stable in the Middle Ages, when Hie was relatively independent from the Enryakuji, it changed in the Edo period, when vegetarian foods only came to be offered, possibly as a result of the increased economic dependence of Hie from the Enryakuji after Oda Nobunaga's devastation and the loss of its territories.²³⁰

²²⁹ On Suwa and animal offerings see Grumbach, Lisa, *Sacrifice and salvation in Medieval Japan: hunting and meat in religious practice at Suwa shrine*, PhD thesis, Stanford University, 2005.

²³⁰ Satō 2018, p. 19.

The Sannō deities in Esoteric rituals

At the level of ritual, while already at the end of the Heian period Enryakuji monastics performed rites in the space of the shrines (the first Raihaikō was performed in 1029), from the Kōwa 康和 years (1099-1104) onwards we also see the Sannō deities gradually appear in the ritual program of the Enryakuji, becoming incorporated in Esoteric rituals originally devised for the protection of the state.

As first described in *Asabashō*, together with the *shijōkōhō* and *hokutohō*, which I mentioned in the first chapter, we also see the deities being bestowed offers in the *shichibutsu Yakushi hō* 七仏薬師法, *Ichiji kinrin hō* 一字金輪 and *butsugenhō* 仏眼法.

All these rituals have, or in the case of the *shijōkōhō*, acquired, an astral character, and are strictly linked to Tendai: the *shichibutsu Yakushi hō*, together with the *shijōkōbucchō*, are exclusively *taimitsu* ceremonies which do not exist in Shingon esotericism (*tōmitsu* 東密). As for the *kinrinhō* and *butsugenhō*, the central deities of these ceremonies, *Ichiji kinrin* 一字金輪 and *Butsugen bumo* 仏眼部母 (Buddhalocana), are “emblematic deities” of Tendai Esoteric practice.²³¹ We can thus regard the inclusion of the Sannō deities in these rituals as a consequence of their status as protectors of Tendai, already established since Saichō’s time.²³²

Because these rites saw the mountain sovereigns receiving offerings alongside other deities, they disclose important information on their status in the Buddhist pantheon, as well as clarify the appearance of *honji* such as the seven Yakushi. It is to these questions that I now turn.

Firstly, the position of the Sannō deities. All the rituals above feature offerings to various categories of deities at different altars, depending on their rank. The Hie deities receive offerings not on the principal one, but at a smaller altar for various devas and Yaksas (*Shōten-dan* 諸天壇 and *Yasha-dan* 夜叉壇), that is at the same

²³¹ Dolce, Lucia, “Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School”, in Orzech, Charles, (ed.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden, Brill, 2011, p. 759.

²³² Satō 1984, p. 42.

table as relatively subaltern deities such as the disease-wreaking *gyōyakujin* 疫病神 or the twelve generals of Yakushi (*jūni shinshō* 十二神将).²³³

The meaning of this position is further clarified in the *Monyōki* 門葉記 (1113-1428), a collection of records from the Shōren-in 青蓮院, which reports Jien's 慈円 (1155-1225) transmission on the *butsugenhō* in a section from 1211 entitled "Butsugenhō ichi". Jien describes the two altars from the ceremony. On one receive offerings the central deity of the ritual, together with the deities regarded as *gonja*. On a smaller altar, offerings are performed for the *jissha* deities. It is therefore clear that the Sannō deities must have been regarded as *jissha*, that is, as we as seen, as minor deities without a *honji*.²³⁴ We can therefore infer that, by Jien's times, the *honji suijaku* paradigm was not yet entirely established in every context of Sannō worship. However, as we can see from the same text, this was already changing.

In 1205 Jien built the Daisenbōin 大懺法院 as a ritual site of protection for the nation at the bequest of the retired emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽 (1180-1239). This had a hall dedicated to the *shijōkōhō*, the *shijōkōhō-dō*, where, the *Monyōki* tells us, was installed as a *honzon* an image of the seed syllable of Ichiji Kinrin, flanked with images of Yakushi and his attendants Nikkō 日光, Gekkō 月光 and the twelve generals, Fudō myōō 不動明王 and his two attendants, as well as Bishamonten and Kichijōten 吉祥天. These deities are called "the Buddhas and bodhisattvas who are the original ground of the great bright deities of Hie" (*Hie daimyōjin honji hotoke bosatsu* 日吉大明神本地仏菩薩).²³⁵ By the early thirteenth century, then, the concept of *honji suijaku* was percolating in the space of Esoteric rituals, and beginning to change the position of the deities there. It was also through this kind of rituals that new *honji* for

²³³ For a detailed description see Satō 1984, pp. 34-35.

²³⁴ Satō 1984, p. 43.

²³⁵ Satō 1984, p. 44.

the Sannō deities started to be identified; such is the case for the equivalence of the seven main Sannō deities with the seven Yakushi, to which I now turn.

The first step in validating this identification was the equation of the seven Hie shrines with the seven stars of the Big Dipper, of which the seven Yakushi were considered the *honji*. This equation was certainly not in place during the Kōwa era, when the stars of the Big dipper and Sannō deities appeared first together in the *shijōhōkō*, because we know that at the time the Sannō deities involved were only three, not seven, and the Big Dipper stars were eight.²³⁶ The trigger for the identification was probably the appearance for the first time of seven and not three deities in the *hokutōhō*, in the transmission of which in the *Asabashō* features the expression “princely retinue of the seven Sannō shrines”. Satō argues that this shift verified itself in the 1250s, when the shrines of Hie consistently began to be equated to the seven stars of the Big dipper.²³⁷ This thought around the deities was being developed both within and without a monastic environment, and we see the latter in the following poem from *Shin gosen wakashū* 新後選和歌集, composed by the Hie *shashi* Hafuribe Narishige 成茂 (1178-1254):

あひにあひて日吉の空ぞさやかなる七つの星のてらす光に

A perfect match: in the sky just above Hie, the shining light of seven bright stars.²³⁸

The existence of a thought comparing the seven shrines to seven stars, summed with the presence of at least some of the Sannō deities in astral rituals, by then an established fact, eventually led to the inclusion of all seven, which in turn reinforced the idea that these were adjacent to astral deities. If we add to this the fact that their role within the ritual was technically that of *jissha* but that they were being regarded more and more as *gonja*, that is deities with a *honji*, we have a solid base to contextualise the appearance, in the Kamakura period, of texts which claim that the *honji* of the seven main Sannō deities were the seven Yakushi, or even other *honzon* of Taimitsu rituals.

²³⁶ Satō 1984, pp. 45-46.

²³⁷ Satō 1984, p. 46.

²³⁸ As quoted in Satō 1984, p. 32.

One example of concurrent explanations is a text called *Sannō mitsuki* 山王密記.

Purporting to quote Ryōgen's 良源 (912-985) diary, the *Goyuigō* 御遺告, it states:

The seven constellations are called *yang*, the seven deities are called *yin*. [...] Because Kinrin is the lord of the seven constellations, then the Sannō deities are identical to the seven stars and seven planets of Kinrin. Thus, the original ground of Sannō is Shijōkōbucchō.

Elsewhere it says:

The seven stars of the big dipper are the seven Yakushi buddhas. [...] According to this pattern, the original ground of the Sannō deities can also be the seven Yakushi Buddhas.²³⁹

The association of the seven deities to the seven Yakushi was to become the more productive one. Also purporting to cite the *Goyuigō*, *Sangyō sōō Miwa Sannō* 三業相応三輪山王 has:

The seven constellations are called *yang*, the seven deities are called *yin*. [...] The seven Buddhas of the Shōganin and the seven deities of the Hie shrines are, in order, original ground and manifest traces.²⁴⁰

Having looked at ritual innovations in their interactions with deity identities, we can see that, for one, *honji* could be attributed to deities because of their contiguity in ritual practice, backed up by visual reasons (the shrines happened to be seven, like the stars) and broadly doctrinal ones (the diffusion of the *honji suijaku* model). We can also see very concretely that conceptualisations of the deities rooted in Tendai doctrine were not superimposed to fully formed pre-existing deities, but that the Hie shrines were instituted at the same time, and in interaction with, *kami* worship at the Enryakuji.

²³⁹ This and the above as quoted in Satō 1984, p. 33. The attribution to Ryōgen must be considered spurious on the grounds that the Hie shrines had not yet reached the number of seven during Ryōgen's lifetime.

²⁴⁰ As quoted in Satō 1984, p. 33. Also in *ST ronsetsuhen* 論説編 4, p. 86.

Multiple relations

Doctrinal and scriptural reasons also existed at the background of other *honji suijaku* relations.

Ōmiya's identification with Śākyamuni is extremely consistent in Sannō shintō material, but as we have already started to see Ōmiya was also linked to Mahāvairocana in various ways, for instance by emphasizing the nature of Ōmiya's *honji* Śākyamuni as that of an emanation of Mahāvairocana. In *Yōtenki's* "Sannō no koto" we see:

既ニ尺迦ト大日ト、其名ハカハリテ異ナル様ナレドモ、実ニハ只一仏ニシテ

ST 29, p. 84

Though it looks that Śākyamuni and Dainichi (Mahāvairocanā) are different because they have different names, in truth they are but one Buddha.

While the *Yōtenki* only mentions this once, as a passing reference to Tendai Buddhism, other texts develop it further and endow some *kami* with capabilities of emanation comparable to those of Buddhas, creating hierarchical *honji* and *suijaku* relationships among deities themselves in which these are fused into one entity. This is compatible with Tendai doctrinal works where we find the idea that *kami* are emanations of Dainichi, as a result of whose skilful means are emanated bodies of Buddhas and sentient beings which preach the various teachings. Especially in works such as the *Darijing yishi* 大日經義釈 (jp. *Dainichikyo gishaku*, possibly imported by Ennin 圓仁; 794-864) and Annen's *Bodai shingi shō* 菩提心義抄, we see that Mahāvairocana is called a *honji* to which all beings are identical. This is compatible with Tendai doctrinal works where we find the idea that *kami* are emanations of Dainichi, as a result of whose skilful means are emanated bodies of Buddhas and sentient beings which preach the various teachings. Especially in works such as the commentary on the Mahāvairocana sutra *Darijing yishi* 大日經義釈 (jp. *Dainichikyo gishaku*, possibly imported by Ennin 圓仁; 794-864) and Annen's *Bodai shingi shō* 菩提心義抄, we see that Mahāvairocana is called a *honji* to which all beings are identical.

In *Keiranshūyōshū* we have:

自餘ノ神明ハ以垂迹ヲ爲本ト故ニ。本地ノ沙汰無之。山王權現獨リ爲應迹神明ト。本迹雖殊不思議一ノ山王也。

T2410_.76.0515a18-23

[Ōmiya] has the remaining deities as his provisional manifestation, of which he is the origin. Thus, this is not a matter of *honji*. Sannō *gongen* alone is the bright trace deity who is a response body. Even though we speak of original ground and manifest traces, these are but one, the unfathomable Sannō.

While deities like Ōmiya can emanate various secondary *suijaku*, others have more than one *honji*. Such is the case of Jūzenji, who in the *Yōtenki* is described as an emanation of both Jizō and Miroku 弥勒. The justification is buddhological: both bodhisattvas are successors of Śākyamuni, entrusted to care about sentient beings in the same way 二菩薩ト申同ク尺尊ノ付属ノ御弟子也.²⁴¹ The *Yōtenki* also intriguingly suggests an iconographical relation, stating that “within the same shrine are placed side by side two images of the bodhisattvas in their form as manifest traces” 一字社ノ中ニ二人ノ菩薩ノ垂迹ノ形ヲ並テ御歟.²⁴² We also cannot fail to notice that Jūzenji, whose name literally means “ten dhyana masters”, is already a collective deity in a sense, and so that the possibility for multiple identities is already built in the nature of some *kami*.

Already from this brief overview we can see that there are various possible reasons for the multiple relations between *honji* and their *suijaku*. The last topic I want to explore in this section is how these possibilities relate to one another, by analysing attempts to systematise the various identifications of the Sannō deities that occurred in Medieval texts. As I focus especially on Ōmiya, I shall first recap the various *honji* and *suijaku* relations of which he is at the centre, and selected texts where these are found that I have introduced in the chapter.

²⁴¹ ST 29, p. 92.

²⁴² ST 29, p. 92. Although extant mandalas, as far as I have seen, only depict Jūzenji as Jizō.

1. Base level: Ōmiya is Śākyamuni's manifestation in the world, all the other deities are emanations of different Buddhas and bodhisattvas (*Yōtenki* "Sannō no koto", *Ryōjin hishō*),
2. Secondary *suijaku*: Śākyamuni only emanates Ōmiya who emanates all deities of Japan (*Keiranshūyōshū*)
3. Ōmiya is a direct emanation of Mahāvairocana (*Sōrintōmei*)
4. Ōmiya is an indirect emanation of Mahāvairocana because Mahāvairocana emanates Śākyamuni (*Yōtenki* "Sannō no koto", *Keiranshūyōshū*)
5. The seven Sannō deities are the seven Yakushi (*Keiranshūyōshū*, spurious *Goyuigō* 御遺告)
6. Sannō is Ichijōkōbucchō (spurious *Goyuigō* 御遺告)

We can briefly make sense of these by grouping them together. Some of these relations belie what I would call an "emanation discourse", where one deity emanates multitudes of other ones (2, 3, 4), but others represent a binary relation between a *honji* and its *suijaku* (1, 2, 5).

On the tail end of this one, another division can be identified between individual deities with a clearly defined identity distinct from one another, narrated in origin tales or tales on miraculous appearances and recorded in iconography, and deities of a more "collective" nature, which are addressed as groups and not distinguished from one another: such is the case for the seven Sannō deities when compared to the seven Yakushi.

All these groupings can in turn be superimposed on the "simple" and "complicated" *honji suijaku* frameworks which I have introduced above. These relations are certainly kaleidoscopic when seen from a vantage point comparing many texts and depictions, but within the logic of one text they may also be quite simple: the *Yōtenki* only deals with one or two consistent *honji* for each deity, has no emanation discourse, and has only "individual" deities. These associations are therefore context-dependent: they are found in texts that respond to different concerns and have different genre constraints, determining the identity of the deities responding to different doctrinal and even visual demands. I wonder whether we had better consider these

identifications as modules which can be combined variously or also not combined at all, and that do not have to necessarily presuppose one another to work. I further explore this idea in the next section.

Attempts at systematisation

While all the possibilities for a *kami's honji* and *suijaku* relationships are not necessarily found in the same texts, the Middle Ages saw the appearance of material attempting to account for the whole gamut of relationships. In this section I shall explore two examples that cope with the problem in opposite ways: one by merging all the possibilities together, and one by operating a strict selection.

The first example, *Keiranshūyōshū*, is as we have seen lengthy text, edited by the monastic Kōshū as a compendium of Tendai knowledge on Mt Hiei.²⁴³ Because of its comprehensive nature, it covers various aspects of the Sannō cult. Parts of it relate to the deities' identities as "individuals", presenting their origin and enshrinement stories; such is the case for the "Kami section" (*Shinmeibu* 神明部). We see something different in the "Sannō no onkoto" 山王御事 section of the collection of Esoteric transmissions entitled "Kirokubu" 記録部, namely an attempt to categorise various aspects of the Sannō cult, and in particular the nature of the seven main deities, according to how "users" interfaced with it.

In a truly Tendai fashion, *Keiranshūyōshū* organises the various interpretations of the deities' position in the Buddhist world as levels or stages that need to be understood in a progression, from simple to extremely rarefied, through doctrine and practice. I relate this to two similar hermeneutical models. One is the Tendai interpretation of teaching taxonomy (*panjiao* 判教) dividing the teaching of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni into the five periods and eight teachings, bestowed according to the capacities of the sentient beings in the audience. In a broader sense, this classification, much like the classification of Sannō in *Keiranshūyōshū*, was a way for commentators to deal with the problem of reconciling differences, in this case among different

²⁴³ For an in-depth study of *Keiranshūyōshū* in the context of *honji suijaku* see Park 2016.

Buddhist teachings. The second one is *honji suijaku* itself, where deities are produced in response to the emotional and spiritual limitation of sentient beings.²⁴⁴

Keiranshūyōshū reports two explanatory lists, one with nine levels and one with seven.

I translate the seven-layered one below:

一。山王ニ七重習有之其ノ相如何 第一垂迹ノ山王也。所謂天智天皇ノ御宇ニ。傳教大師山門開闢ノ時。圓宗ノ教法ヲ爲守護影向シ給。以之垂迹山王トスル也。

第二ニ本地山王者。我國爲神國故ニ。應迹ノ神明多之。然レ而今日一代教主釋尊ノ應迹ノ神ハ日吉大宮權現許リ也。「中略」故ニ日本一州ノ神明者皆山王應迹ノ前方便也。故ニ山王祕決云。會三權ノ諸神歸スト一實山王也 矣 此則神明開會ト云祕事也。然則日本一州ノ諸神ハ皆歸本地山王也 云云

第三觀心ノ山王ト者。以圓頓止觀習山王ノ御體ト也。祕決別ニ有之。更ニ可問之。

第四ニ無作ノ山王ト者。無始無終非近非遠實修實證ノ成道ヲ顯ス。十界三千ノ諸

法皆無作本有ノ山王也ト云ヘリ。口傳別ニ有之。

第五三密ノ山王ト者。以妙法蓮華經ノ首題五字爲山王ノ御體ト。此レ則如來ノ三身也。又是行者ノ三密也 云云

第六ニ元初不知ノ山王ト者。記錄ニ云。一陰一陽ノ山王三德祕藏ノ妙理ヨリ出テ不知其ノ元初 云云 凡山王ト者。萬法ノ所歸諸佛本源也。故ニ陽ニモ無形陰ニモ無形。陰陽不測ノ故ニ名元初不知ト也。

²⁴⁴ These two frameworks, both intended essentially as an act of *hōben*, are related to each other in *Yōtenki*'s "Sannō no koto".

第七ニ如影隨影山王ト者。在ハ天ニ名七星ト。在ハ地ニ號七社明神ト。此則行者ノ七覺分是也。尋其本源ヲ。東方七佛藥師閻浮ニ移影名之云七星。七星ノ精氣降テ令生一切衆生ヲ。故以七星ヲ名本命星ト也。今ノ山王則七星ノ精神ナル故。行者ノ色體則チ山王ノ全體也。故ニ如影隨形ノ致守護給也。仍如此名也 云云 祕決云。七星ト者面上ノ七穴也 云云 此則當體山王ノ祕事也。

T2410_.76.0515a12-b13

Pertaining to the Sannō deities, there are seven levels of teachings. To what do these correspond?

The first one is the [aspect] of the Sannō deities as temporary traces. It is said that during the reign of the emperor Tenji, when Dengyō daishi founded the Enryakuji (*sanmon* 山門), [the Sannō deities] manifested themselves to protect the teaching of the perfect school [of Tendai].²⁴⁵ So, we make this up to be the temporary trace aspect of the Sannō deities.

The second is the aspect of Sannō deities [related to their] original ground. Because our country is a country of deities, there are many bright deities who are response bodies [of Buddhas and bodhisattvas]. And yet, now, the response manifestation of the teaching of one generation Śākyamuni is Ōmiya *gongen* of Hie. [...] Therefore, the secret transmission of the Sannō deity says that all the various provisional deities lead back to the one truth of Sannō.²⁴⁶ This is the secret of revealing and uniting the many deities.²⁴⁷ Therefore, the many deities of the whole country of Japan all lead back to the original ground of Sannō.

²⁴⁵ As we have seen, Tenji was emperor much earlier than Saichō's birth. This might be a misunderstanding or a conflation of enshrinement tales where the Sannō deities first appear under Tenji, and are later enshrined by Saichō.

²⁴⁶ *Kami* of (lit.) "three provisionals" vs Sannō of "one real" 三權ノ諸神 一實山王 alludes to the expression *sangon ichijutsu* 三權一實, the Tiantai division of the schools of Buddhism into four. Three of these are termed provisional (lesser vehicle, shared vehicle, and distinct vehicle). The fourth is the real or perfect school, especially as revealed in the Lotus Sutra.

²⁴⁷ *Kaie* 開會, a term based on Zhiyi's interpretation of the *Lotus sutra* according to which there is no difference among the practices of the disciples, self-realisers, and bodhisattvas, which ultimately all lead to Buddhahood.

Third, the aspect of the Sannō deities which comes with the contemplation of the mind. That is, the body of Sannō which is learned through perfect and sudden contemplation. There is a different secret transmission which shall be enquired later.

Fourth is the aspect of the Sannō deities related to their unconditioned nature. This shows the kind of enlightenment which has no beginning and no end, is not near nor far, [but is] true practice and true realisation. All the various dharmas of the trichiliocosm are Sannō, the inherent principle of unconditionality.

Fifth, the aspect of the Sannō deities in relation to the three mysteries. That is, the body of Sannō [inherent] within the five characters of the title of the Sutra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Dharma (jp. *Myōhō renga kyō*, ch. *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經).²⁴⁸ This is naught but the three bodies of the Tathāgata, or else the three secrets of the practitioner.

Sixth, the aspect of the Sannō deities of which we do not know the origin. It says in the records that the Sannō deities, which are [made up] of one *yin* and one *yang*, come from the mysterious principle of the secret repository (sk. *tathāgatagarbha*) of the three virtues, and their origin is unknown. Roughly [it means] that the Sannō deities are the origin of the various Buddhas, to which the myriad dharmas are led back. Thus, it is formless in *yin* and formless in *yang*. Because *yin* and *yang* are hard to fathom, we do not know the origin of its name.

Seventh, the aspect of the Sannō deities that is like a shadow, or a following shadow.²⁴⁹ As in heaven the name [of Sannō] refers to seven stars, so on earth it is the title of seven shrines. These are naught but the seven factors of enlightenment for the practitioner.²⁵⁰ If you enquire about their origin, that which we call seven stars are the shadow of the seven Yakushi of the Eastern direction which move over Jambudvīpa. The vital energy of the seven stars, in descending, gives birth to all sentient beings. This is the reason why we call the seven stars “birth stars”

²⁴⁸ This is probably a reference to interpretations of the bodhisattva names of the Sannō deities as linked to the characters of the Lotus sutra such as we have seen in *Sange yōryakki*.

²⁴⁹ I interpret this as a reference to *yōgō* 影護, the activity of following Buddhas and bodhisattvas like a shadow in order to protect them. In this case the seven Yakushi protect sentient beings.

²⁵⁰ *Shichi kakubun* 七覺分 or seven limbs of enlightenment. A “fairly standard list” according to the DDB includes: discriminating between the true and the false, being unstinting in practice, rejoicing in the truth, attaining pliancy, keeping proper awareness in meditation, concentrating, detaching all thoughts from external things. *Seven factors of enlightenment*, www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=七覺分, consulted on 17 November 2021.

(*honmyōshō* 本命星). Because at this moment the Sannō deities are the spirit of the seven stars, the very [bodily] form of the practitioner is the whole body of Sannō. Thus, they extend their protection like a shadow or a following shadow. So, we use this name. [...] ²⁵¹

We can see here that different aspects of the Sannō deities are calibrated to different needs and spiritual levels, becoming progressively embodied within the practitioner and progressively Esoteric: if we were to situate the *kami* narratives and explanations found in *Yōtenki* within this system, these would only belong to the first, and less advanced, two.

The *Keiranshūyōshū*, in the section presented, explains deities by reaching exclusively to Buddhist doctrine. But we also see attempts to systematise the identities of the Hie deities in rapport to other *kami* across the country, situating them within *kami* genealogies. Such is the case of the *Tenchi jingi shinchin yōki*, redacted the monk Jihen around the same time as the *Keiranshūyōshū*. Jihen's objective is to integrate the Hie deities with the genealogies of the Heian mythological work *Sendai kuji hongī* 先代旧事本紀 (ninth-tenth century), a text transmitted chiefly into what we call Watarai 渡会 or Ise shintō, the theological discourse centred on the Ise deities elaborated by the priests of the outer shrine. ²⁵² Jihen, who had family connections with Watarai Shinto, operated a selection among various identities of the Hie *kami* so that these fit within a family tree based on Ise.

Although this specific genealogical configuration is characteristic of Jihen, attempts to connect Sannō to Amaterasu were characteristic of other texts of this period; in the *Keiranshūyōshū*, for instance, we see that “Amateru Ōmukami and the Hie *gongen* are entities melded into one” 天照太神ト與日吉權現一體ニ習合スル者也, like their *honji* Dainichi and Śākyamuni. ²⁵³ Slightly earlier texts such as the first nucleus of the *Yōtenki*, although they have the equivalence in the sense that Ōmiya is a “separated

²⁵¹ This section is also translated in Park 2016, pp. 86-97. Because I needed to emphasise different aspects of the text, I opted for translating it again.

²⁵² Satō 2014, p. 189.

²⁵³ T2410_.76.0514c23.

body” (bunshin 分身) of Amaterasu, do not elaborate on it, and do not explain it as a central characteristic of the deity. The equivalence only appears in one chapter, entitled “Ōmiya no onkoto”, and it is only mentioned, while much larger space is given to the nature of Ōmiya as equivalent with the Miwa deity, from whose shrine we are told he was imported.

As for Jihen’s genealogy, I report here its salient points, in order to compare them with other genealogies of the Hie deities in the fourth chapter.

1. Ninomiya is Ōmononushi, the *jinushi* of Japan and an earthly *kami*. Because Ōmononushi is the deity of Miwa, this amounts to rejecting the equivalence between Ōmiya and the *kami* of Miwa.
2. Ōmiya is identical with Amaterasu.
3. Shōshinji is Ame no Oshihomimi no mikoto 天忍穗耳尊, a heavenly deity.

When positioning the deities in a *honji suijaku* discourse, Jihen has Ichiji Kinrin, another central deity of Esoteric rituals, as a *honji* for Ōmiya, but also accepts the equivalence of the deities with the seven stars of the Big Dipper.²⁵⁴

There is a difference between these works and the ones preceding them, such as the *Yōtenki*. Park describes the work of compilers such as Kōshū as an operation of re-illumination of mythical narratives, suggesting the existence of a mythical substratum from which a combinatory discourse was elaborated in these later works.²⁵⁵ While I certainly agree, as I prove in the next chapter, that narratives such as those in the *Yōtenki*, together with those found in largely coeval works such as *Sange Yōryakki* and *Enryakuji gokoku engi*, were transmitted as what basically amounts to source works, I also must note that, as proven by the opposite systematisations we have seen above, a consensus on the Sannō deities was never reached, and therefore, if a re-illumination process was conducted, this was only an attempted one. Another difference between the fourteenth century texts and the thirteenth century ones is that the formers were put together by a single editor, and therefore have a certain

²⁵⁴ Satō 2014, p. 189.

²⁵⁵ Park 2016 p. 35.

measure of editorial intent which is absent from collective works such as the *Yōtenki* and, in lesser measure, *Sange yōryakki*.²⁵⁶

I further examine this lack of systematisation in the next and last section of this chapter, where I show the doctrinalisation of elements of the Sannō cult in Sannō shintō medieval texts.

Layers of meaning

Both in this chapter and in the previous one I have described the process of how the seven shrines became associated with the seven stars of the Big Dipper, eventually acquiring new *honji* identities, and how the territory of the shrine was superimposed with doctrinal and scriptural elements and turned into a Buddhist pure land. In this context we also see prominent elements of the shrines, such as their characteristic gabled gates (*torii* 鳥居) being interpreted as manifestations of Tendai doctrinal concepts to justify and reinforce the salvific properties of the shrines.²⁵⁷

In this last section I aim to explore more in depth one case of doctrinalisation relative to textual practice, namely that of the name “Sannō”, achieved through the analysis of its characters in terms of horizontality and verticality. I choose this example because it is prominent in *Yōtenki*’s “Sannō no koto” and is also found in other texts we are now familiar with such as *Keiranshūyōshū*, but also because it has been singled out both in Japanese and Western scholarship as a doctrinal feature of Sannō shintō, and

²⁵⁶ As the latter, though composed of disparate traditions, has one possible editor in the figure of Gigen 義源 (c. 1289-1351).

²⁵⁷ In *Yōtenki*’s “Sannō no koto”, those who walk under the *torii* are said to “form a close bond with the kind of enlightenment which can be obtained in a pure land” ST 29, p. 94. In *Keiranshūyōshū* the *torii*,

numbering three, are associated to Sanskrit syllables *a* 𑀅 *va* 𑀶 and *un* 𑀇, with the action of passing under the *torii* “simultaneously extinguishing all three levels of ignorance,” T2410_76.0524c13. In later works we find this idea developed further: the two *torii* are associated to the matrix and diamond mandalas, and the third is said to “combine” (*sōgō* 総合) the two together. ZGR *Jingi-bu*, 18, p. 102. Recently, the *torii* have been considered a symbol of the unity of Buddhism and Shintō, now interpreted as two separate religions, as shown by promotional material issued by the shrines, such as the following video:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Gemfmyc88g&t=115s>. Accessed on 09/10/2020.

I wish to rethink it in a way that keeps account both of the different textual contexts where it is found and of its possible origins.²⁵⁸

In “Sannō no koto” we see:

山トハタ、ザマニ現当二世ヲ兼テ生ヲ利スル詞也、是ハ猿ノ依所ニカタドル
神号也、王トハヨコザマニ彼此万邦ヲスベテ物ニ益スル儀ナリ、

ST 29, p. 88

The [character for] mountain normally means the vertical [action of] bringing benefits (*ri* 利) to all sentient beings simultaneously in both worlds, the present and the future. This is a divine name based on the place where monkeys dwell.²⁵⁹

The [character for] sovereign means the horizontal [action of] bringing profit (益 *yaku*) to all beings in each and every country.

I quote the *Yōtenki* first not because it is necessarily oldest example of this interpretation of the characters, but because it is the least distant from what I identify as its source, that is the following entry from the Chinese dictionary *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字, compiled by Xu Shen 許慎 in the first century CE.²⁶⁰

王：天下所歸往也。董仲舒曰：「古之造文者，三畫而連其中謂之王。三者，天、地、人也，而參通之者王也。」孔子曰：「一貫三為王。」凡王之屬皆从王。

“Sovereign”: [To them] belongs [everywhere] under the sky. Dong Zhongshu says: “In the ancient construction of the character, we call “sovereign” three lines connected at their centre. [The] three [lines] are the sky, the earth, and humans. That which

²⁵⁸ In the fundamental English-language source on Sannō shintō, Grapard focuses on horizontality and verticality as hermeneutical modes, singling out “linguistic games”, and specifically the interpretation of “Sannō”, as expressing the rationale for *honji suijaku* Grapard 1987. In Japanese, Sugahara notes that the *Yōtenki* is the first instance of this interpretation that is found in other texts. Sugahara 1984, p. 27.

²⁵⁹ “The place where monkeys dwell” i.e., mountains.

²⁶⁰ I claim in the next chapter that “Sannō no koto” was redacted between the second half of the thirteenth and second half of the fourteenth century.

connects is the sovereign.” Confucius says: “One piercing three is “sovereign”.” All the sovereign’s subjects conform with the sovereign.

The etymology in “Sannō no koto”, which does not connect the characters to any specifically Tendai concept, must be understood in the context of the central position that it accords to lexicography and Chinese history, on which I expand in the fifth chapter, but also of its main theme, that is explaining how the Hie shrines bring benefits in this life and the next one.

As for sources connecting Tendai doctrinal concepts with the analysis of the characters for Sannō in terms of three and one horizontal or vertical lines, we have a first example in Ejin’s 惠尋 *Isshin myōkai shō* 一心妙戒鈔 (1268), a central work in the Kurodani branch of the Enryakuji.²⁶¹ Here the three and one lines are linked to *sangon ichijutsu* 三權一實, the subsumption of the three provisional vehicles (*sangon* 三權) to the one truth (*ichijutsu* 一實) of the Lotus teaching, a crucial concept that we have seen applied to the Sannō deities in *Keiranshūyōshu*. In the *Keiranshūyōshu* itself, however, the same analysis is connected to another doctrinal concept, that of *isshin sangon* 一心三觀, “single-minded threefold contemplation”, a meditative technique illustrated in *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (594) in which the meditator can realise simultaneously the three aspects of truth: emptiness, conventional existence, and the Middle:

彼多寶塔中ノ釋迦牟尼垂迹シ於叡山麓ニ成山王權現ト。語座主慶命大僧正ニ
曰。我カ名ヲ號スル山王ト者。以一心三觀爲名字也。山ノ字ハ者以テ横ノ一
點ヲ消豎ノ三點ヲ。王ノ字ハ者以豎ノ一點ヲ消横ノ三點ヲ。是則不縱不横非
一非三ノ一心三觀之義也。

T2410_76.0510b08-13

[From] within the stupa of [the Buddha] Tahō (lit. “Many-jewels, skr. Prabhūtaratna), Śākyamuni manifested his temporary traces, taking the form of Sannō *gongen* at the foothills of Mount Hiei. He told to the abbot director of monks (*daisōjō* 大僧正)

²⁶¹ Satō 2014, p. 202.

Kyōmyō: “As for the name by which I am called, “mountain sovereign”, it comes from [the concept of] *isshin sangan*, “single-minded threefold contemplation”. In the character for “mountain”, three vertical lines are crossed out by one horizontal line. In the character for “sovereign”, three horizontal lines are crossed out by a vertical one. This is nothing but the nature of *isshin sangan*, not horizontal and not vertical, not onefold and not threefold.”

The passage above is presented almost verbatim as a secret transmission in a document called *Ichiryū sōden hōmon kenmon* 一流相伝法門見聞, attributed to Shinga 心賀 (1329-?), a monk of the Eshin lineage, on the opposite side of the Enryakuji succession barricades from the Danna school linked to Kōshū’s Kurodani school and Eijin. In that version, it is translated integrally in Grapard.²⁶²

Counting this last source, we have four texts with three different perspectives on the same character analysis. The ones in Eijin and *Keiranshūyōshu* are contiguous, as they both link the analysis to hermeneutical techniques which reduce three elements (Buddhist doctrines or aspects of reality) to one. The *Yōtenki* is more idiosyncratic and harkens back to Chinese lexicography. How to make sense of them?

I propose that it is easier to think of these not as aspects of one coherent doctrinalisation, but as separate albeit contiguous analyses which must be understood in the context of the text within which they are transmitted. For instance, the central theme of “Sannō no koto” is that the Hie deities are bestowers of worldly and unworldly benefits, and the analysis of the characters addresses this point specifically. Other interpretations are framed as secret transmissions; therefore, we can read in the different interpretations a need to differentiate one lineage from concurring ones.

All these interpretations superimpose doctrines (minimal ones in the case of the *Yōtenki*) to an analysis of the characters of Sannō in terms of horizontality and verticality which at least in part preceded these sources, as the etymology for “sovereign” is based on a first-century dictionary. While the connection is opaque in the latter two sources, it is clear if we look at the *Yōtenki*, which I am tempted to read as preserving a base level on which the other interpretations were built. This would

²⁶² Grapard 1987, pp. 225-226.

provide a supplementary explanation as to why all the Tendai interpretations associate the graphs to different concepts of Tendai doctrine: they are all attempts to re-adapt an etymology which already existed in another context; the etymology itself is not a Tendai innovation but rests on Chinese models.

Doctrinal interpretations about three elements reduced to one could be then superimposed to this lexicographical analysis for two reasons: Firstly, because there already existed in China a developed discourse on horizontality and verticality, both in the reading of characters and divination, and more broadly as markers of space and time. Let us think of the Confucian classics of the five scriptures (Ch. *wujing*; Jpn. *gokyō* 五經), which can be referred to as *jingshu* (Jpn. *Kyōsho* 經書), "books of temporal (literally, vertical) thread," on the opposite side of which exists a class of texts known as *weishu* (Jpn. *isho* 緯書), "books of spatial (literally, horizontal) thread."²⁶³

Secondly, as noted by Grapard, a discourse on horizontality and verticality already existed in Tiantai, and it was used in *Mohezhi guan* to explain the action of techniques such as *isshin sangan*, where "'vertical judgment" entails a "penetration of emptiness from the perspective of the temporary character of all dharmas [and] "horizontal judgment" [...] entails a systematic application of the eight negations of Nagarjuna to all objects of thought."²⁶⁴

From the doctrinalisation of the word "Sannō" we therefore see that different texts elaborate on the same basic material in a manner that is context-dependent; an operation conceptually similar to what we have seen for the *honji* and *suijaku* identities of the deities.

²⁶³ On these in the context of Japanese Buddhism see Abe Ryūichi, *The weaving of mantra: Kūkai and the construction of esoteric Buddhist discourse*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1999, pp. 314-315 and 319-320.

²⁶⁴ Grapard 1987, pp. 220-221.

Chapter conclusion

To sum up, in this chapter I first claimed that the historical development of Sannō shintō harkens back to the foundation of the Enryakuji and is linked to Chinese developments.

From the point of view of the identity of the deities, we see that the Ōmiya deity was the first one to be venerated around Saichō's time, with Ninomiya becoming venerated from Enchin's time, when we see the names of Ōbie and Obie, originally indicating peaks, becoming used for the two deities for the first time (whereas Ōmiya had been known as Hie before that). The third deity of the "classical" Sannō triad, Shōshinji, appears in official documents from 888. These three deities became venerated in Esoteric rituals, and eventually, with the completion of the seven shrines and their widespread equation to the seven stars in the 1250s, all the main seven Sannō deities became part of these rituals.

My second aim was positioning Sannō shintō in the framework of *shinbutsu shūgō* and vice versa.

Most scholarship seems to agree that the "real" *sannō shintō* does not begin until the Middle Ages, and in particular with the *Yōtenki*- the latter being understood as having been edited in the thirteenth or even eleventh century (although, as we shall see in the second chapter, the *Yōtenki* as a whole is not a thirteenth-century work).²⁶⁵

This is because the *Yōtenki* devotes a great deal of its space to discussing and explaining the specific *shinbutsu shūgō* modality of *honji suijaku*, and Sannō shintō is essentially envisioned, in western sources as well as Japanese, as a discourse of "systematic relations" of *kami* vis à vis Buddhas and bodhisattvas.²⁶⁶ The discourses of

²⁶⁵ The *Yōtenki* is seen as emblematic of an early phase of *sannō shintō* in Okada 1979, p. 45, Sugahara Shinkai 1984, p.26, and Anzu 1981, p. 190. Faure 2016 p. 12, on the basis of Kuroda 1996, states that Sannō shintō is largely the product of record-keepers (*kike* 記家) like Kōshū in the Muromachi period, fixing Sannō shintō in the later Middle Ages. I outline the relation of Sannō shintō and *kike* in the next chapter.

²⁶⁶ In the sources above, Okada, Sugahara and Anzu agree that a feature of early Sannō shintō is the equation of Ōmiya with Śākyamuni. In English, Grapard defines Sannō shintō as a combinatory system based on the identity between deities and Buddhas based on *honji suijaku* in Grapard 1987, pp. 212-218.

Nara and Heian Japan, while still *shinbutsu shūgō*, are in this way seen as preparatory to *honji suijaku*, which constitutes the peak of buddha-*kami* interactions. This is not stated as such in Japanese works on Sannō shintō, but it is the implied reason for their decision to make Sannō shintō start in the Middle Ages. This mirrors broader trends that see in medieval *honji suijaku* the culmination of *kami*-Buddhas interactions.

Without denying that it is in connection with *honji suijaku* that we see a proliferation of texts and attempts at systematisation, as well as the institutional “golden age” of the shrines, I would nonetheless adopt a broader chronological view. This by itself is not uncommon: most Japanese sources on Sannō shintō begin by outlining its origins in the ancient times. I however do not see these discourses as part of a pre-Sannō shintō base context, but rather as already Sannō shintō. Since as I have demonstrated that ancient discourses are still present in medieval sources, not dying down after they peak but becoming part of a “repertoire” on the deities present in medieval sources and rituals, a broader view will show these continuities more clearly. This is comparable to how I treat Sannō shintō institutionally, where I consider it as issued from both the Enryakuji monastic environment and the Hie shrine priesthood.

The concept of repertoire brings me to my second conclusion, that is that Sannō shintō never became a coherent system, to the point that we might say that there were multiple ones for different communities of textual, ritual and liturgical production. These, however, had a common language of the same building blocks (equivalences, rituals, doctrinal concepts etc.), in other words a repertoire.

As we have seen from this chapter, no one text, even as broad in span as *Keiranshūyōshū*, speaks for the whole of Sannō shintō. To make sense of it we must consider on one hand its position in the full repertoire, as I hope I have done for the *Yōtenki* in this chapter, and on the other one its internal logic, as is my aim for the second half of this work. In this venture, a study on the *Yōtenki* is central to one of Sannō shintō not so much because it is, as it has been claimed, its earliest testimony, but because it is rich in literary references and mythological tales which are in many cases only briefly referred to in other sources, and which can be used successfully, as I did in this chapter, to shed light on these. The *Yōtenki* also has the advantage of

constituting a small repertoire of its own, as it is a collection of various texts written at different stages. I explore its redaction in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter three: a textual history of the *Yōtenki*

In the second part of the thesis, beginning from this chapter, I focus more in detail on the *Yōtenki*, first on its edition and then on its content, further grounding my analysis of the Hie deities and their identities with textual examples.

In this chapter, I introduce issues arising from textual history. This is where I first grapple with issues of materiality and textual production: namely, what the extant copies of the *Yōtenki* look like and how these were copied and transmitted. This investigation will allow me to show how a repertoire on the deities was gathered and collated together, both at the Hie shrines and at the Enryakuji.

When I say textual history, I mean it first in a philological sense. After a brief survey of previous scholarship, I shall describe the extant manuscripts of the *Yōtenki* in the first two sections of this chapter, and address issues of materiality. I then integrate and challenge previous scholarship by analysing the chapter outline of two manuscript versions of the *Yōtenki*, as well as the chapters' composition dates and possible compilers.

The third section in particular will be focused on the thirty-second section of the *Yōtenki*, entitled “Sannō no koto” 山王事. I shall investigate its composition at length, and argue for a later edition date than previous scholarship, grounding my judgement on observations derived from its content and the edition history that we can glean from manuscript copies.

The discussion on “Sannō no koto” will be preliminary to the fourth and last section of this chapter, which falls within the rubric of textual history in a broader sense. There I further situate the *Yōtenki* in the medieval discourse on the Hie deities by analysing its relation to *kike* 記家, the “record-keeping” monastics at the Enryakuji, who have been indicated as an instrumental lineage in the emergence of Sannō shintō.

Previous scholarship

The *Yōtenki* has two manuscript lineages, which I analyse in the next sections. The first is comprised of long manuscripts with forty-two chapters (forty numbered chapters

and two appendices). These were mostly copied in the Edo period but are based on an extant Muromachi source, copied by the priest Hafuribe Tanenaga 祝部宿祢. The second lineage is constituted of a single manuscript copied in the Kamakura period; this is significantly shorter, as it is only twenty-six chapters long and, most notably, does not have the longest chapter “Sannō no koto”.

The edition with forty-two chapters (henceforth “Tanenaga edition”) is chiefly considered the standard *Yōtenki*, and it is the version reflected in the published transcriptions. These are found in vol. 48 of the *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, (henceforth ZGR) and in the *Shintō taikei, Jinja hen*, vol. 29 (henceforth ST), the latter curated by Sugahara Shinkai.²⁶⁷ The two transcriptions present only minor differences, chiefly in punctuation choices. Additionally, “Sannō no koto” alone has been edited and translated into modern Japanese by Ishida Ichirō.²⁶⁸ The ST edition alone integrates pictures and notes from the earlier, shorter manuscript, and calls this *Shōō go-nen shahon* 正應五年写本 (Manuscript of the fifth year of the Shōō era - 1292; henceforth, *Shōō go-nen* manuscript). While Sugahara states that the copy, which is quite damaged, has philologically insufficient data, it is presented in the volume “as a source of comparison”.²⁶⁹

Indexes such as the *Tendai sō mokuroku* 天台総目録 and the *Kokusho sōmokuroku* 国書総目録 also only list the manuscripts in the Tanenaga lineage. This is because the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript, although possibly mentioned in Tsuji Zennosuke’s *Nihon bukkyoshi* 日本仏教史, was only analysed for the first time by Okada Seishi in 1979.²⁷⁰

Partly because the Tanenaga manuscripts were for a long time the only available ones, secondary literature until 1979 chiefly considered the *Yōtenki* synonymous with “Sannō no koto”, looking to the *Yōtenki* in full as a text whose “central idea is that the

²⁶⁷ ZGR 48, pp. 582-635, ST 29, pp. 39-124.

²⁶⁸ Ishida 1970, pp. 40-105.

²⁶⁹ ST 29, p. 20.

²⁷⁰ Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助, *Nihon bukkyoshi* 日本仏教史, Tōkyō, Iwanami shoten 1960. Okada 1979, pp. 33-55.

deity of the Hie shrine is Śākyamuni, and that he is the origin of various *kami*”,²⁷¹ or as “[...] a typical work of the theory of *honji suijaku* interpreted as *shinbutsu shūgō*”, and the most systematic extant explanation of *honji suijaku*.²⁷² None of these interpretations therefore fully engaged with the sections of the *Yōtenki* preceding and following “Sannō no koto”. A notable exception is Kageyama Haruki, who suggested that the *Yōtenki* must be made up of different accounts, because of the variety of styles as well as the recurring use of the expression *un’un* 云々 (“it is said”).

As for studies engaging with the edition history rather than doctrinal content of the *Yōtenki*, Kubota Osamu 久保田収 was the first to write on *Yōtenki* manuscripts in “Sannō Shintō no shutsugen” 山王神道の出現, prior to the discovery of the *Shōō gonen* manuscript.²⁷³ Five years after the recovery of the manuscript, in 1984, Sugahara Shinkai integrated Okada’s work into an analysis of textual lineages of the *Yōtenki*, therefore publishing for the first time a study which included all its extant manuscripts.²⁷⁴

Okada’s findings also influenced Sannō shintō studies in that it argued that the earliest nucleus of the *Yōtenki* was most probably redacted by people in the Hafuribe family in the form of a memorandum. This allowed for the first time a shift in the consideration of the *Yōtenki* which saw it as a historical source on the medieval Hie shrines, as we have seen from the work of Satō Masato.²⁷⁵

Resting chiefly on Okada and Sugahara’s textual history of the *Yōtenki*, in the sections below I outline, integrate, and partially revisit their approaches. I chiefly focus on three points: firstly, I do a revised survey of manuscripts, which I base on my archival research from November 2018 to August 2019, conducted at the Eizan Bunko in Sakamoto and the National archives of Japan in Tōkyō. Secondly, I re-examine the

²⁷¹ Anzu Motohiko 安津素彦 and Umeda Yoshihiko 梅田義彦, *Shintō jiten* 神道辭典, Hori shoten, 1968.

²⁷² Yoshida 1970, p. 40.

²⁷³ Kubota Osamu 久保田収, “Sannō Shintō no shutsugen” 山王神道の出現, in *Chūsei shintō no kenkyū* 中世神道の研究, Shintōshi gakkai, 1959.

²⁷⁴ Sugahara 1984, pp. 19-35.

²⁷⁵ For instance, in Satō 1985, 1988.

colophons found in the manuscripts and printed versions, and outline issues arising from these. Thirdly, I propose that we rethink Sugahara’s dating of “Sannō no koto”.

Extant manuscripts

I begin this section by examining the manuscripts in the Tanenaga family, and then turn my attention to the *Shōō go-nen* version.

The Tanenaga manuscripts

All the manuscripts in this family begin with a chapter outline. This reports forty numbered chapters followed by two additional ones. Below I present the table of contents found in the ST and ZGR editions. For comparative purposes, I also present the transcriptions of chapter outlines from different manuscripts as an appendix.

1. *Gennin shashi* 現任社司
2. *Ōmiya no koto* (in the chapter heading this is called “Ōmiya no onkoto”) 大宮(御)事
3. *Sannō mikurai no koto* 山王御位階事
4. *Jūzenji no koto* 十禪師事
5. *Hachiōji no miya* 八王子宮
6. *Marōdo no miya no koto* 客人宮事
7. *Shōjo no koto* 聖女事
8. *Iwatakisha no koto* 岩滝社事
9. *Akuōji no koto* 惡王子事
10. *Ebisu saburō dono no koto* 夷三郎殿事
11. *Sannomiya no koto* 三宮事
12. *Nezumi no hokura no koto* 鼠禿倉事²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ *Nezumi no hokura* is a small shrine in the Eastern compound. In the middle ages it was an auxiliary shrine of Hachiōji. Nanami Hiroaki 名波弘彰, “Heike monogatari ni arawareru Hie jinja kankei setsuwa

13. *Mikoshi shidai no koto* 御輿次第事
14. *Hie shussha gyōkō no koto* 日吉出社行幸事
15. *Negi no koto* 祢宜事
16. *Raihaiko no koto, tsuki Sanshō onshukke no koto* 礼拝講事付三聖御出家
17. *Saijitsu gishiki no koto* 祭日儀式事
18. *Mikoshi ideshi onshidai no koto* 御輿出御次第事
19. *Onyoba kinshi no koto* 御輿馬勤仕事
20. *Mikoshi shue no koto* 御輿集会事
21. *Mitobiraki no koto* 御戸開事
22. *Obiesha shōin no koto* 小比叡社正印事
23. *Shashi zasu honin no koto* 社司座主補任事
24. *Shimotsuki matsuri no koto* 霜月祭事
25. *Obiesha sanba no koto* 小比叡社三番事
26. *Mitobiraki no koto* 御戸開事
27. *Mikagura no koto* 御神楽事
28. *Ōmiya engishō no koto* 大宮縁起抄事
29. *Shatō shōgatsu kōshi no koto* 社頭正月行次第事
30. *Yamato Miwa no kami no koto* 大和三輪神事
31. *Hie shashi no koto* 日吉社司事
32. *Sannō no koto* 山王事

no kōsatsu: Chūsei Hie jinja ni okeru miyakomori to Juge sō” 『平家物語』に現れる日吉神社関係説話の考察 中世日吉神社における宮籠りと樹下僧, *Bungei gengo kenkyū* 文藝言語研究, 9, 1984, p. 148 (81).

33. *Ryōsho sanshō no koto* 兩所三聖事
34. *Sōō Ōshōden no koto* 相応和尚伝事
35. *Chishō daishiden no koto* 智証大師伝事
36. *Jūzenji hōden shōshitsu no koto* 十禅師宝殿焼失事
37. *Goin no koto* 護因事
38. *Hie Ōmiya no koto* 日吉大宮事
39. *Sannōki (Mudōji Chishin ajari setsu un'un)* 山王記無動寺智信阿闍梨説云々
40. *Ōmiya no koto* 大宮事
41. *Hiesha sairei kōkan no koto* 日吉祭礼講間事 (not numbered)
42. *Sairei honsetsu no koto* 祭礼本説事 (not numbered)

Before the signature of their respective copiers, where this is present, all manuscripts in this family have the following colophon:

于時延徳二年庚戌五月十八日遂書功畢、

右筆

内蔵頭祝部宿祢胤長生年五十七

ST, pp. 72-73

Copied in the second year of the Entoku 延徳 era (1490), metal dog, fifth month, eighteenth day, by the Chief of the imperial storehouse (*Uchikura no kami* 内蔵頭)

Hafuribe Tanenaga 祝部宿祢, *sukune* 宿祢, in the fifty-seventh year of his life.

The original manuscript copied by Tanenaga is most likely still extant, held at the National archives of Japan. It is entitled *Yōtenki*, although it is also stamped on the first page as *Hori-shi bunko-bon* 堀氏文庫本, and bears the seal of the Hie shrine archives. It must have been bound anew at some point in its history, as the characters on the ligature side are not always legible.

All the other manuscripts in the Tanenaga family were copied in the Edo period. One manuscript entitled *Hie sannō jōō ni-nen jūichi-gatsu futsuka ki* 日吉山王貞応二年十一月二日記, with a colophon from the third year of the Kansei 寛政 era (1791), is also kept at the National archives of Japan. The Mukyūkai library (Kannarai bunko), the Ochanomizu library and the Kokugakuin university library all hold one copy each.

The manuscripts called *Sannō Yōtenki* 山王耀天記, *Yōtenki jōō ni-nen ki* 耀天記貞応二年記 and *Sannō no koto Yōtenki* 山王御事 耀天記 are all held at Eizan bunko, respectively among the holdings of the Mudōji (Tenkai-zō), Sōgonin zō and Shigain zō.

Sannō Yōtenki from the Mudōji bears a colophon from the first year of the Tenmei era 天明 (1781). The manuscript at Shiga-in zō, *Yōtenki jōō ni-nen ki*, has a colophon dating to the second year of Manji 万治 (1660), and a place name: the Hōin Shunkō zō 法印 舜興藏 at Kannonji 観音時. The Sōgon-in manuscript, *Sannō no koto Yōtenki*, bears the same colophon as the *Hori-shi bunko-bon* from the National archives, and does not show major differences in content or writing or chapter structure with the former, however it is marked on the archival card as an “Edo period manuscript”.

The final manuscript in the Tanenaga lineage is entitled *Sannō Yōtenki Hie Jōō ki* 山王 耀天記日吉貞応記, and it is also held at Eizan bunko, among the holdings of Bettō daizō. This copy could almost be classified as a standalone, as it does not have either “Sannō no koto” or the Tanenaga colophon. Because, however, it has a chapter outline with the full forty chapters and two appendices, as well as stating its reason for missing the chapter, which I report later, I choose to follow Sugahara and Okada’s example and include it in the Tanenaga lineage.²⁷⁷ The Bettō daizō copy is quite battered, differently from all the other manuscripts in the family which are in good, and sometimes pristine, condition. Because it is also unbound and extensively annotated

²⁷⁷ I report the table of contents for this manuscript as an appendix along with those of *Yōtenki jōō ni-nen ki* and *Sannō no koto Yōtenki*.

in crimson ink, sometimes reporting corrections, I surmise that it might have been copied for personal study.

Although Sugahara identifies the *Sannō Yōtenki Hie Jōō ki* manuscript with the original Hafuribe Tanenaga one,²⁷⁸ perhaps in a misprint, this is most certainly an Edo-period copy. Although the manuscript ends abruptly without a colophon, meaning that the identity of the copier cannot be disclosed, the period of its production is indicated as Edo in the bibliographical note at the archive. It is also the only copy of the *Yōtenki* among the ones I have surveyed where its numerous poems appear in *man'yōgana* 万葉仮名.²⁷⁹

Title	Date	Location
<i>Yōtenki</i> 耀天記	Entoku 延徳 2 (1490)?	National archives of Japan, Tōkyō
<i>Yōtenki jōō ni-nen ki</i> 耀天記 貞応二年記	Edo period on the library notes. Colophon says Entoku 延徳 2 (1490)	Eizan bunko, Sakamoto (Sōgonin zō)
<i>Sannō no koto Yōtenki</i> 山王御事 耀天記	Manji 万治 2 (1660)	Eizan bunko, Sakamoto (Shigain zō)
<i>Sannō Yōtenki</i> 山王耀天記	Tenmei 天明 1 (1781)	Eizan bunko, Sakamoto (Mudōji Tenkai zō)
<i>Hie sannō jōō ni-nen jūichigatsu futsuka no ki</i> 日吉山王貞応二年十一月二日記	Kansei 寛政 3 (1791)	National archives of Japan, Tōkyō

²⁷⁸ Sugahara 1984, pp. 32-33.

²⁷⁹ Together with its possible composition date, this might suggest a link between the copier of this manuscript and *kokugaku* 国学 (nativism), the Edo-period intellectual movement focusing on Japan's literary tradition. The diffusion of nativist studies kindled a new wave of scholarly interest in the *Man'yōshū*, leading to the production of poetry in *man'yōgana*. Teeuwen, Mark, "Poetry, sake, and acrimony. Arakida Hisaoyu and the Kokugaku movement," *Monumenta nipponica*, vol. 52, no. 3, 1997, p. 299.

<i>Sannō Yōtenki Hie Jōō ki</i> 山 王耀天記日吉貞応記	Edo period?	Eizan bunko, Sakamoto (Bettō daizō)
--	-------------	--

Table 6 *Yōtenki* manuscripts consulted for this research

Colophons in the Tanenaga manuscripts

At the end of all the manuscripts in this family, after the two additional unnumbered chapters but before the Hafuribe Tanenaga colophon, is found the following one:

文明三年辛卯六月二日、誂誠運大徳遂書功訖、吾立杣伝灯教運在判

西塔北谷観行院也

ST 29, p. 72

Third year of the Bunmei 文明 era (1472), metal rabbit, sixth month, second day.

Meritorious writing completed by order of Shōun 誠運 (Seiun?) *daitoku*.²⁸⁰ Kyōun 教運, master in the transmission of the lamp at Wagatatsusoma. Stamped.²⁸¹ Northern valley of the Western pagoda, Kangyōin.

This is not the only colophon by Kyōun present in the longer manuscripts of the *Yōtenki*. At the end of the forty numbered chapters, but before the two additional ones, we find the following:

文明十六甲辰七月廿八日教運私加之、卷物衝運法印筆正観院山王事 裏書在之。

ST 29, p. 72

²⁸⁰ This is a tentative translation. I was unable to identify Shōun and Kyōun.

²⁸¹ What I translate as “stamped” is the inscription *zaihan/arihan* 在判, which I take as an indication from the copier, Hafuribe Tanenaga, that there was a stamp in the original manuscript from Kyōun. *Wagatatsusoma* 吾立杣, “the wooded mountain on which I stand”, is an epithet for Mount Hiei. Likely from the poem attributed to Saichō *Anokutara sanmyaku sanbodai no hotoketachi wa ga tatsu soma ni myōga arasetamae* 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提の仏たち我が立つ杣に冥加あらせ給へ Buddhas of supreme perfect enlightenment, bestow your invisible aid on the mountain on which I stand.

In the sixteenth year of the Bunmei era (1484), wood dragon, seventh month, twenty-eight day. Kyōun added these by his own hand. The scroll has a rear-writing (*uragaki* 裏書): “*Shōgan-in Sannō no koto*, copied by the Dharma-seal Shōun”.²⁸²

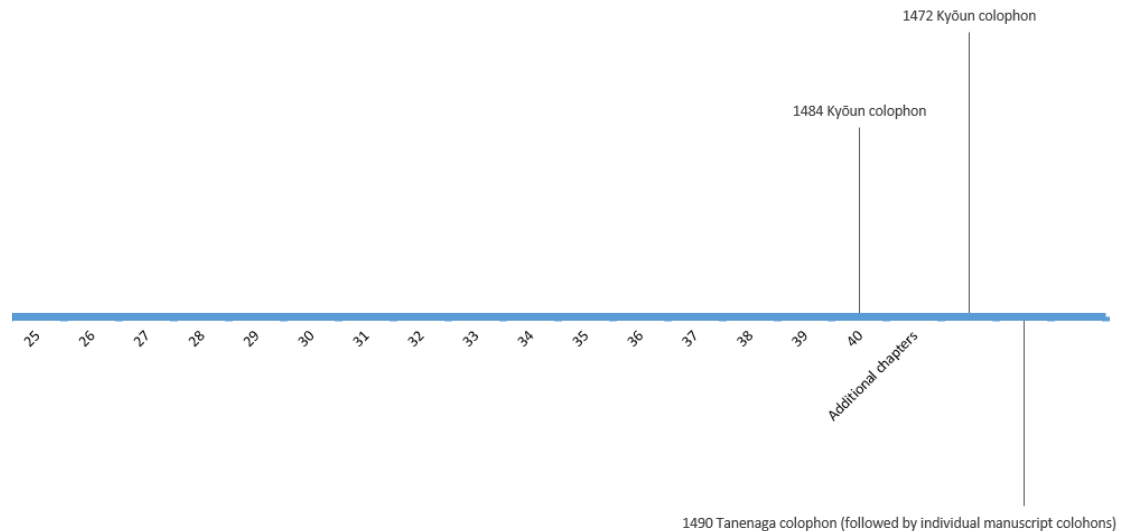


Figure 4 Distribution of colophons in the Tanenaga edition

We have seen that the final colophon states that the *Yōtenki* was copied by Hafuribe Tanenaga in 1490, after a colophon signed by Kyōun in 1472. The latter date is, however, twelve years before 1484, the date from this intermediate colophon, which presumably means that the two additional chapters were added only after Kyōun copied the forty chapters of the 1472 version, but likely before 1490.

The Yōtenki as a “loose” text

We should keep in mind that the extant copies might not be the full extent of all the *Yōtenki* manuscripts ever produced, as different editions have likely gotten lost when the Enryakuji was burned in 1571. However, we can say that, at least for this family, the editing phase of the *Yōtenki* ended with the edition copied by Hafuribe Tanenaga, which was copied thereafter without major rewritings, as shown by the lack of significant differences among the various manuscripts.

One last issue relative to the composition of the *Yōtenki* before 1490 is why is the colophon of the 1472 version, and not the 1484 one, is at the end of the work. I

²⁸² Unclear if this Shōun 衝運 is an alternative spelling of the Shōun 誠運 seen in the other colophon.

surmise that during the editing phase, up until Hafuribe Tanenaga's edition, the *Yōtenki* chapters were only loosely connected to each other, and that these were often treated in a modular fashion, subject to either being omitted and having their order rearranged or to being integrated with each other. Evidence of this modularity from the point of view of content will become apparent in the next section, when I compare the Tanenaga edition to the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript, showing that copiers until Hafuribe Tanenaga did not only regularly add new chapters, but also fused together, moved, or integrated pre-existing ones.

As for this section, we can further investigate this idea of looseness in the composition of the *Yōtenki* through its materiality. Firstly, from the standpoint of book format. All the extant *Yōtenki* manuscripts are bound in the style of *fukuro tōji* 袋綴 (fore-edge fold books). This format permits to rebind the book by cutting out the ties binding the fascicles together, often for restoration, an operation of which we have evidence in the manuscript from (possibly) 1490 at the National archives of Japan.

Secondly, we can look at the idea of looseness from the standpoint of the reception of the *Yōtenki*, or what little we can reconstruct about it. Among the manuscripts postdating the compilation of the Tanenaga edition and the consolidation of a chapter order we can still find some hints that the *Yōtenki* might have been sometimes transmitted as a collection of loosely connected sections, rather than a text with a rigid sequence of chapters.

There is evidence of this in the *Sannō Yōtenki Hie Jōō ki* manuscript, at Eizan bunko, Bettō daizō. As we have seen, this is an idiosyncratic manuscript: although it has the same table of contents of all the other Tanenaga manuscripts, we find notable differences when we compare this summary to the actual content of the manuscript. First, the manuscript is missing chapters thirty-six and thirty-seven, “Jūzenji hōden shōshitsu no koto” and “Goin no koto”. Secondly, between its chapters thirty-two and thirty-three it has an unnumbered chapter called “Mata Ōmiya no koto” 又大宮事, which content-wise is the same as the chapter called “Ōmiya no koto” found as chapter forty in other manuscripts, the position where it should also be found according to the table of contents. Lastly, the *Jōō ki* also abbreviates some of the

chapters; such is the case for chapter thirty-one, “Hie shashi no koto”, of which is only reported the chart that I have shown in chapter one. In the case of “Sannō no koto”, the abbreviation is more flagrant: only the title is present. This is followed by an explanatory note, which is in turn followed by the text of chapter thirty-three, “Ryōsho sanshō no koto”, presented without a title. The explanatory note states the following:

山王事

山王本地垂迹之書、記之、廿五六紙有之、諸記ニ散在之書故と

略之、追而閑梅ハ可写呈之

Sannō no koto

An account of the facts regarding the original ground and manifest traces of the mountain sovereigns, recording these. The twenty-five or six pages where this account is found are scattered in various records. Therefore, I have abridged it. In the supplement, Kanbai 閑梅 copied and offered it.²⁸³

I take this note as evidence that the transmission of the *Yōtenki* did not only involve its copying back-to-back, but that this could also be copied in a more modular fashion, with the possibility to omit chapters. This is partly reflected in the book format chosen for all *Yōtenki* manuscripts, from which fascicles could be plausibly pulled out.

From a broader perspective, the note in this manuscript also alerts us to the historical reception of the *Yōtenki* by posing the question of how the material inside it was selected for study and transmission. The omission of the whole of “Sannō no koto” is significant. First, it completely changes the “feel” of the book: compared to all the other Tanenaga manuscripts, the Bettō daizō one is a significantly slimmer volume. Stylistically, by lacking the lengthy, *setsuwa*-heavy “Sannō no koto”, this manuscript becomes a coherent collection of short notes about the shrines and their origin tales and traditions. This is crucial: as we have seen, the *Yōtenki* as we know it is a medium-length treatise, largely because of the presence of “Sannō no koto”. We have also seen that the *Yōtenki* as a whole has often been identified in scholarship with this one

²⁸³ I thank Prof. Matsumoto Ikuyo from Yokohama city university for her help with transcribing this note.

chapter. The transmission in the Edo period of a copy without “Sannō no koto” therefore challenges the way that we think about the *Yōtenki*, suggesting that its diffusion was not always linked to “Sannō no koto”.

The *Shōō go-nen futsuka no ki* 正應五年二日紀 manuscript

The oldest manuscript of the *Yōtenki* records an earlier version than the Hafuribe Tanenaga manuscripts. It is considered the only extant survivor of a second lineage, and the closest version to an original form of the *Yōtenki*.²⁸⁴ Okada discovered this manuscript in the collection of Murakami Tadayuki 村上忠明 in Sakamoto, where it bears the title *Shōō go-nen futsuka no ki* 正應五年二日紀 “Recorded on the second day eleventh month of the fifth year of the Shōō era”. Below I outline the main characteristics of this manuscript and compare it to those in the Tanenaga lineage, chiefly referring to Okada’s detailed philological notes.²⁸⁵

Appearance of the manuscript

Like all extant copies of the *Yōtenki*, this manuscript is bound in the *fukuro-tōji* style. It bears the title *Sannō engi* 山王縁起, potentially the original title of this work, but the diction “*Yōtenki nari*” 耀天記也 has been added on the first page in another hand. There is a seal, but it is not visible.²⁸⁶

The *Shōō go-nen* manuscript was copied by a monastic named Nōkai 能快. Its colophon states:

正應二年七月廿日於□前□

亥刻馳筆了 右筆能雲 已上

正應五年辰壬正月廿八日於台山西塔北尾

²⁸⁴ Okada 1970, p. 45.

²⁸⁵ Okada 1979.

²⁸⁶ Okada 1979, p. 34.

花王房以永成房大和庄本書写了

僧都能快

生年六十九

夏臈五十七定

In the second year of the Shōō era, on the twentieth day of the seventh month [...]

[this was] swiftly copied at the hour of the boar by the hand of Nōun 能雲.

In the fifth year of the Shōō era, water dragon, on the eighth day of the first month, in the Kitao valley of the Western pagoda of Mount Tendai, at the Kyō-bō 花王房, the bishop Nōkai copied the book from the Eijō-bō 永成房 in the Yamato manor.²⁸⁷

In the sixty-ninth year of his life,

His fifty-seventh summer retreat.²⁸⁸

As we see, the manuscript was copied in 1292 from a 1289 source. This was not the “original” *Yōtenki* but also a copy, as we see from the expression “swiftly copied” 馳筆了”.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ The Yamato manor (Yamato-shō 大和庄) is an area in Sakamoto, in the landholdings of the Mudōji. It is, walking south from the Shigain, the strip of land surrounding the Shidori shrine 倭神社. We do not know where the Eijōbo is, but Okada possibly identifies it with the Kojimabō in Sakamoto, or somewhere in its vicinity. As for the place where Nōkai lived, the Kyōbō in the Western pagoda, we also do not know where it is. There is one Kyōbō in Eastern pagoda now, but it looks like it has no relation with the original Kyōbō. Okada 1979, p. 50.

²⁸⁸ Transcription from Okada 1979, p. 34.

²⁸⁹ Okada 1979, p. 48.

Differences with the Tanenaga manuscripts

The most evident differences between this manuscript and the Tanenaga ones are in the quantity and distribution of chapters.

As pertains the length of the text, the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript is only twenty-eight pages and thirty-two chapters long, against the forty chapters plus two of the Tanenaga version. As we know, one of the missing chapters is “Sannō no koto”. Of the chapters of this shorter version, only the thirty-first one, entitled “Kitsuji no sasu no miko” 木辻ノサスノ御子, is altogether missing from the Tanenaga *Yōtenki*. Its text is however partially preserved in “Sannō no koto”, as demonstrated by Okada who transliterated it and compared it to material from “Sannō no koto”.²⁹⁰ I explore the significance of this incorporation later in the chapter.

The absorption of “Kitsuji no sasu no miko” into “Sannō no koto” determined the shift of the chapter called “Hie shashi no koto” in the Tanenaga manuscripts, but “Hafuribe negi” in the *Shōō go-nen* one, to chapter thirty-one in the Tanenaga manuscripts. The chapter is also integrated with new material in the Tanenaga edition, where this is signalled by a note which reads:

以下至親成本十二行原在第卅二、前今意改移于此

ST 29, p. 63

The following is twelve lines in Chikanari’s book, originally chapter thirty-two. From then to now it has been modified and moved.

The above passage further strengthens the argument that the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript must be fairly similar to the first version of the *Yōtenki*, plausibly what is referred to as “Chikanari’s book”. This name, together with the fact that eleven among the thirty-one chapters of the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript are about the Hafuribe and their traditions,²⁹¹ suggests that the text was probably first redacted by and for Hafuribe. Even in the chapters not explicitly about the Hafuribe, the text often indicates that the

²⁹⁰ Okada 1979, pp. 47-49.

²⁹¹ Sugahara 1984, p.22.

traditions found in these are reported as transmitted by the head priest Narinaka or by his grandson and successor Chikanari.

On the subject of chapter order, the most notable difference between manuscript lineages is that “Gennin Shashi”, which in the Tanenaga manuscripts is the first chapter, is the last one in the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript. This shift strongly suggests that chapters were being shifted around in various recensions of the *Yōtenki*. According to Okada, we should regard the decision to shift “Gennin shashi” in particular to the front of the book as a deliberate one.²⁹² As we have seen in the first chapter, this is a list of shrine attendants serving under the *negi* Chikanari, and it begins with a heading which bears the date of second year of the Jōō 貞応 era (1223). When the chapter is found at the end of the book, like in the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript, it appears clear that the date is not meant to be a colophon, but that it means that “Gennin shashi” refers to a state of things valid for the year 1223. When it is placed at the very beginning of the text, however, as it is found in the Tanenaga manuscripts, the connection between the date and the chapter becomes less explicit, and the heading date might be read as referring to the whole book. In Okada’s words, this was “strategic”, and used to make the whole *Yōtenki*, collated between the thirteenth and the late fifteen centuries, appear like a thirteenth century text.²⁹³ The instrumentality of this date is evident in the titles of manuscripts, many of which refer to themselves as accounts from the second year of the Jōō era.

The argument that the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript is close to an earlier, original nucleus of the *Yōtenki* is further strengthened by Okada’s demonstration that the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript cannot be the abridged version of an already extant long *Yōtenki*, but that the eleven supplementary chapters of the Tanenaga version most certainly did not exist yet. The main indication for this is of course in the colophons scattered throughout the text. Okada however supplements these by looking at Nōkai’s annotations found scattered throughout the text, which indicate when the copier is omitting something. The expression “Copier’s abbreviation” (jp. *shiryaku kore ari* 私

²⁹² Okada 1979, pp. 43-45

²⁹³ Okada 1979, pp. 43-45.

略之) features both in the second chapter, “*Ōmiya no onkoto*”, and in the sixth, “*Marōdo no koto*”, where he states that the omitted portion is found on a separate sheet (jp. *Shiryaku kore ari. Besshi no koto kore ari 私略之別紙事之*).²⁹⁴ If Nōkai had simply omitted the supplementary eleven chapters, we would therefore plausibly know from similar annotations.

A similar argument is to be drawn from comparing the versions of the chapter called “*Mikoshi ideshi onshidai no koto*” in the *Shōō go-nen* and Tanenaga manuscripts. This chapter reports the positions of the palanquins in leaving the shrines for the festival, and two copies of the *Yōtenki*, from the Shiga-in and Mudōji repositories, present notes which contrast the position of the palanquins found in the chapter with the ones that were current at the time of copying. This clearly demonstrates that the state of things in the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript represents an earlier state of things of the Eizan bunko manuscripts,²⁹⁵ while also pointing to the fact that the new recensions must not have been conceived solely as copies, but also as revised editions.

Edition timeline

As seen from the above outline, the Tanenaga manuscripts are undoubtedly more recent than the *Shōō go-nen* ones, with eight chapters and two appendices composed and added later than 1292. In this section I establish a tentative timeline for when these new sections became interpolated, and compare the chapter outline of the Tanenaga manuscripts with that of the *Shōō go-nen* one. A schematic comparison between the outlines is found in the table below.

Tanenaga table of contents	<i>Shōō go-nen</i> chapters
1. <i>Gennin shashi</i>	1. <i>Ōmiya no koto</i>
2. <i>Ōmiya no koto</i>	X
3. <i>Sannō mikurai no koto</i>	X

²⁹⁴ Okada 1979, p. 45.

²⁹⁵ Okada 1979, p. 43.

4. Jūzenji no koto	2. Jūzenji no koto
5. Hachiōji no miya	3. Hachiōji no miya
6. Marōdo no miya no koto	4. Marōdo no miya no koto
7. Shōjo no koto	X
8. Iwatakisha no koto	
9. Akuōji no koto	X
10. Ebisu saburō dono no koto	X
11. Sannomiya no koto	5. Sannomiya no koto
12. Nezumi no hokura no koto	6. Nezumi no hokura no koto
13. Mikoshi shidai no koto	7. Mikoshi shidai (no koto)
14. Hie shussha gyōkō no koto	X
15. Negi no koto	8. Negi no koto tsuki kami no ontoki 付上御時
16. Raihaiko no koto, tsuki Sanshō onshukke no koto	9. Raihaiko no koto, tsuki Sanshō onshukke no koto
X	10. Dai-yon negi Maretō 第四禰宜希遠
17. Saijitsu gishiki no koto	11. Saijitsu gishiki no koto

18. Mikoshi ideshi onshidai no koto	12. Mikoshi ideshi onshidai no koto
19. Onyoba kinshi no koto	13. Onyoba kinshi no koto
20. Mikoshi shue no koto	14. Mikoshi shue no koto
21. Mitobiraki no koto	15. Mitobiraki no koto
22. Obiesha shōin no koto	16. Obiesha shōin no koto
23. Shashi zasu honin no koto	17. Shashi zasu honin no koto
24. Shimotsuki matsuri no koto	18. Shimotsuki matsuri no koto
25. Obiesha sanba no koto	19. Obiesha sanba no koto
26. Mitobiraki no koto	20. Mitobiraki no koto
27. Mikagura no koto	21. Mikagura no koto
28. Ōmiya engishō no koto	22. Ōmiya engishō no koto
29. Shatō shōgatsu kōshi no koto	23. Shatō shōgatsu kōshi no koto
30. Yamato Miwa no kami no koto	24. Yamato Miwa no kami no koto
X	25. Hafuribe negi 祝 部禰宜

31. <i>Hie shashi no koto</i>	X
32. <i>Sannō no koto</i>	26. <i>Ryōsho sanshō no koto</i>
33. <i>Ryōsho sanshō no koto</i>	27. <i>Sōō Ōshōden no koto</i>
34. <i>Sōō Ōshōden no koto</i>	28. <i>Chishō daishiden no koto</i>
35. <i>Chishō daishiden no koto</i>	X
36. <i>Jūzenji hōden shōshitsu no koto</i>	29. <i>Jūzenji hōden shōshitsu no koto</i>
37. <i>Goin no koto</i>	30. <i>Goin no koto</i>
X	31. <i>Kitsuji no sasu no miko</i>
38. <i>Hie Ōmiya no koto</i>	X
39. <i>Sannōki</i>	X
40. <i>Ōmiya no koto</i>	X
41. <i>Hiesha sairei kōkan no koto</i>	X
42. <i>Sairei honsetsu no koto</i>	X

Table 7 Comparison of chapter outlines from the two manuscript families

As we have already seen, some of the entries in the Tanenaga *Yōtenki* are followed by a colophon, which gives us an idea of when these might have been incorporated in the text. This allows me to divide the Tanenaga *Yōtenki* in sections, following the example of Sugahara.²⁹⁶ These are, broadly: an early nucleus of the *Yōtenki*, formed by the chapters already present in the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript and the earliest additions

²⁹⁶ Sugahara 1984.

(chapters one to thirty-seven excluding thirty-two), which I discuss first below, and a more recent section composed of chapters thirty-eight to forty plus the two appendices, which also have colophons. As for chapter thirty-two, “Sannō no koto”, I will regard it as a section on its own and discuss it last, because of the difficulties presented by the wide range of its possible edition dates.

Earliest additions to the Shōō go-nen Yōtenki

“Goin no koto”, the thirty-seventh chapter of the Tanenaga *Yōtenki*, is followed by a colophon from the third year of Shōan 正安 (1301).²⁹⁷ If we trust that the date applies to the full sequence of additions to the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript preceding it, thus not only chapters thirty-three to thirty-seven, but also three, seven to ten, and fourteen, we can surmise that these chapters have all been put together before 1301.



Figure 5 Early edition timeline: The *Yōtenki* in 1301

The interpolation of chapters three, seven to ten, and fourteen merits some discussion as to why, if the 1301 colophon refers to these too, these were not simply added at the end of the *Shōō go-nen* chapters.

I first tackle why the addition of these chapters was warranted. As shown in the table above, the first section of the Tanenaga manuscripts is quite different from the *Shōō go-nen* one. We already know that “Gennin Shashi” was moved from its position as chapter thirty-two to the head of the manuscript. The first section also has six chapters that do not exist in the older manuscript:

1. Chapter three, “Mikurai no koto”
2. Chapter seven, “Shōjo no koto”

²⁹⁷ 正安三年卯月九日、於日嚴院書写畢云々 ST 29, p. 66 “Third year of the Shōan era, fourth month, ninth day. Copied at Nichigon-in”.

3. Chapter eight, “Iwatakisha no koto”
4. Chapter nine, “Akuōji no koto”
5. Chapter ten, “Ebisu Saburō dono no koto”
6. Chapter fourteen, “Hiesha gyōkō no koto”

In the Heian and Kamakura period, the Hie compound saw a regular addition of shrines. While we know that in the 1140s Hie was composed of only seven shrines, throughout the Kamakura period fourteen more shrines were added, forming the system of seven upper, middle and lower shrines which I have outlined in the first chapter.

Except for “Mikurai no koto” and “Hiesha gyōkō no koto”, all the chapters above are connected to the middle and lower seven shrines:

1. Shōjo was the seventh of the middle seven shrines.
2. Akuōji was an auxiliary shrine of the sixth middle shrine
Shita-Hachiōji 下八王子.
3. Ebisu Saburō was an auxiliary shrine of Hayao 早尾, which was the fifth shrine of the middle seven shrines, but also of Ōji no miya 王子宮, the sixth of the middle seven, and of Yamasue 山末, the fourth of the lower seven shrines.

Sugahara suggests that these chapters were interpolated into the *Yōtenki* as the system of middle and lower shrines was consolidated and established. All these chapters, included “Mikurai no koto” and “Hiesha gyōkō no koto”, are therefore to be considered comparatively early additions (i.e., pre-1301).²⁹⁸

I am not entirely convinced by this argument because of its circularity: as we have seen from the first chapter, the best early source about the possible later Kamakura completion of the seven lower and middle shrines is the *Yōtenki* itself, and I could not find precise information on the three groups of seven shrines as a system before the Muromachi period.²⁹⁹ However, the Muromachi limit is for the whole system. It is

²⁹⁸ Sugahara 1984 p. 22, Okada 1979 p. 49.

²⁹⁹ For instance, we see all the shrines in Muromachi the Sannō mandala at Nara national museum, from 1447. “Sannōki”, the *Yōtenki* chapter listing the shrines, was added between 1301 and 1484. *Hiesha Eizan gyōkō ki Gentoku ni-nen* 日吉社叡山行幸記元徳二年 has twenty-one shrines divided in upper, middle and lower shrines, and states that, with its auxiliaries, Hie has eighty shrines. Okami 1978,

reasonable that the shrines were being built at the time one by one, and because of the position of these chapters before the 1301 colophon, there is no reason to think that these were added any later than that date.

Following the interpolation of chapters three, seven to ten and fourteen, the corresponding chapters of the *Shōō go-nen Yōtenki* were shifted further in the chapter outline, as can be seen from the table above. As for the reason for interpolating the chapters, as opposed to placing them after the ones already in the *Shōō go-nen* edition, my guess is that the compilers were aiming for a roughly thematic organisation of chapters, for instance by clustering together all the chapters with origin stories (which became chapters four to twelve in the Tanenaga edition). Although Okada suggests that the material forming the *Shōō go-nen Yōtenki* was collated together “in a free fashion”,³⁰⁰ I suggest that a glimpse of this order can already be seen for chapters which existed in the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript, where chapters twelve to fourteen (eighteen to twenty in the Tanenaga manuscripts) all centre on matters related to palanquins.

This ordering principle is also visible if we take a brief leap in time and look at the full table of contents for the Tanenaga *Yōtenki*, where chapters thirty-three to thirty-five (“Ryōsho sanshō no koto”, “Sōō Ōshōden no koto” and “Chishō daishiden no koto”) are all transmissions from famous Enryakuji monastic masters: “Ryōsho sanshō no koto” and “Sōō Ōshōden no koto” are both framed as transmissions from monk Sōō Ōshō, and Chishō daishi is, of course, Enchin. While this is not by any means a systematic order, I would not completely disregard it either, as it shows glimpses as to how the material to be added into the *Yōtenki* might have been selected and organised according to topics.

p. 338. There is one Kamakura mandala at the Nezu museum (Nezu bijutsukan 根津美術館, in Tōkyō, that has deities of the lower and middle shrines, but these are seventeen, not twenty-one. Nezu bijutsukan-zō hinsen: bukyō bijutsu hen, 根津美術館藏品選仏教美術編, Nezu bijutsukan gakugeibu 根津美術館学芸部, 2001, p. 99.

³⁰⁰ Okada 1979, p. 46.

Later additions

Having introduced some of the chapters found in the later section, I now turn to it. These chapters are similar in length and style to the older nucleus of the *Yōtenki*: Okada suggests that these were added as a supplement to the *Shōō go-nen* version, and that they cite older material.³⁰¹

If we look at the colophons again, we can infer that, by the time that the *Yōtenki* had the current chapters thirty-eight (“Hie Ōmiya”), thirty-nine (“Sannōki”), and forty (“Ōmiya”), which have a colophon for 1484, Kyōun had already added the two additional chapters “Hie sairei no koto” and “Sairei honsetsu no koto”, which have a colophon for 1472.



Figure 6 Edition timeline of the later additions: *The Yōtenki* in 1484

A glance at the chapters from the point of view of content shows how these are related with each other, as well as with the previous nucleus of the *Yōtenki*. Among the chapter of the third section, both “Hie Ōmiya” and “Ōmiya” are retellings of the second chapter of the Tanenaga *Yōtenki* (first one of the *Shōō go-nen* one), entitled “Ōmiya no onkoto”. As first noted by Okada, the former reports the first six lines *verbatim*, while the latter has, slightly paraphrased, the same content: two explanations of how the Ōmiya deity first manifested in Sakamoto.³⁰² Similarly, “Hie Shashi no koto”, which is found as the thirty-first chapter of the Tanenaga manuscripts, is partially a summary of “Ōmiya engishō”, the twenty-eighth chapter in both editions.³⁰³

From this outline of the earlier and later nuclei of the *Yōtenki* follow two consequences. First, there is evidence that the flexible *Yōtenki* that I hypothesised in the first section

³⁰¹ Okada 1979, p. 49.

³⁰² Okada 1979, p. 46.

³⁰³ *Ibidem*.

really did exist. From 1292 to 1484, the content of chapters was flexible, and their order continued to change at least until the Tanenaga version came about. Evidence points to these chapters being arranged partially according to thematic concerns. Secondly, the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript must have been partially conceived of as a framework on which the later chapters of the *Yōtenki* were constructed, by borrowing the information contained there. More examples of this process are found in “Sannō no koto”.

“Sannō no koto”

The most notable addition to the *Yōtenki* in the Tanenaga manuscripts is “Sannō no koto”. As I previously mentioned, this is the odd chapter out in the economy of the work: its length, style and content set it apart from the shorter chapters which precede and follow it.

If we turn back for a moment to the material aspect of the Tanenaga manuscripts, we see the alterity of this chapter highlighted by the different layout choices which are applied to it. Among the manuscripts I have examined, both *Yōtenki jōō ni-nen ki* at Eizan bunko (Sōgon-in zō) and *Horishi bunko-bon* at the National archives have “Sannō no koto” as the only chapter which starts after a blank page, while the normal sequence of the chapters has these set apart only by a heading with the chapter’s name and number, and not spatially differentiated from each other. In *Yōtenki jōō ni-nen ki* this layout is especially dramatic: the page before the beginning, blank, is folded in half with the edges pasted to each other. A fresh brush has been employed to start the chapter, and, after the end, a whole page is left blank at the back before the next chapter. As for the other manuscripts held at Eizan bunko, *Sannō no koto Yōtenki* (Shiga-in zō) has a short spacing after the chapter ends, and *Sannō Yōtenki Hie Jōō ki*, as we have seen, is missing the whole chapter.

Possible edition window

Finding a range of dates for the edition of “Sannō no koto” and its addition to the *Yōtenki* present some difficulties. The first is the long timespan between the *Shōō go-nen Yōtenki*, which does not have “Sannō no koto”, and the first manuscript including it, the Tanenaga copy, copied in 1490 from a 1484 antecedent. “Sannō no koto” must

have been added sometime between the edition of these two manuscripts, but this is hardly revealing, as it is a space of almost two hundred years.

Since “Sannō no koto” is found among the chapters preceding the 1301 colophon, I am tempted to consider it as part of the earlier nucleus of the *Yōtenki*. However, position alone cannot be a certain indicator: as we have seen, chapters were shifted around at different times of edition. I therefore must also rely on other hints to establish if it is at least possible for “Sannō no koto” to have existed before 1301, and below I turn to analysing the chapter more in detail, focusing first on findings from previous studies.

Sugahara’s article on the edition of the *Yōtenki* is the only secondary source where the edition date of “Sannō no koto” is discussed at any length. Sugahara dates the chapter to the late Heian period through an analysis of its content, for reasons linked to the themes and the internal chronology found in the chapter. In the rest of this section, I reject the late Heian edition as too early, and show how Sugahara’s methodology can also be used to argue for a later edition date, therefore making his point moot. I then argue for a later date, basing myself on the development of Sannō shintō as we have seen this in the first two chapters of this thesis and, more concretely, on the edition history of the whole *Yōtenki*, especially resting on Okada’s work.

I am not the only researcher to argue for “Sannō no koto” as a Kamakura work: Okada first stated it in his 1979 article.³⁰⁴ Because however there are no scholarly works which extensively demonstrate a Kamakura composition, thereby convincingly rejecting Sugahara’s arguments, I do so in the rest of this section. This will have the added benefit of introducing more in detail the content of “Sannō no koto”, which I will continue to tackle in the next and final chapters of this thesis. Positing “Sannō no koto” as later than the Heian period, and firmly in the Kamakura period, partially means that it is not an especially early example of a text detailing the workings of *honji suijaku*, but that its content and themes and way of organising these are perfectly exemplary of medieval works on *kami* discussing *kami*, their role in genealogies and origin stories and relation to Buddhist institutions. If “Sannō no koto” ceases being

³⁰⁴ Okada 1979, p. 49.

special in this respect, we stand to gain much more from pushing its edition to a later date: as I show in the next two chapters, its length and scope allow us to clarify medieval shintō discourses that are only briefly treated in other sources, and the temporal contiguity with these only makes their connection stronger, perfectly integrating the *Yōtenki* and Sannō shintō in the landscape of *chūsei shinwa*. Another reason is that, as I show in the next section, a later timeline is better integrated with the most recent timeline of the construction of shrines and the history of Hie, which shows the necessity, before reaching any conclusion on Sannō shintō textual material, of first putting order in the existing scholarship.

Sugahara and “Sannō no koto” as a late Heian text

Sugahara first suggests that “Sannō no koto” was redacted in the Heian period because it displays the thematic and stylistic features of an “early Sannō shintō” text”.³⁰⁵ These are the following:

1. Ōmiya is the *suijaku* of Śākyamuni
2. The characters of *sannō* are re-interpreted from a “doctrinal” point of view.³⁰⁶

Let us turn to the first point. We now know that the identification of Ōmiya with Śākyamuni first appeared at the end of the Heian period, becoming ubiquitous in textual material throughout the Kamakura period and beyond. This occurrence in texts produced over two centuries makes it hard to use this equivalence in dating “Sannō no koto” conclusively.

Another reason why these considerations are unreliable is the coexistence of multiple discourses on the Hie deities, in Sannō shintō in general but also within the *Yōtenki*. As we have seen from the previous chapter, one view on Ōmiya, current since the ninth century, stated that this had become a bodhisattva by the name of Hōsshuku. This identity is referenced in the *Yōtenki* chapter called “Ōmiya no onkoto”, composed sometime between 1223 and 1289. Conversely, there is no mention in this chapter of the identification of Ōmiya with Śākyamuni. However, we would not take this as a

³⁰⁵ Sugahara 1984, p. 26.

³⁰⁶ Sugahara 1984, p. 27.

reason to date the chapter to the ninth century time: the presence or absence of a deity identity over another cannot be a conclusive indicator of the edition time of this kind of material.

A similar objection can be raised against the second point, the etymological analysis of the name Sannō. As we have seen in the previous chapter, this was widely found in Kamakura texts. Although I do claim that the *Yōtenki*, as I mentioned, is probably closer to a “basic” layer of this interpretation, I see no reason why it should also be the oldest source. There is also the fact that most texts where this equivalence is found, such as *Sange sairyakki* and *Keiranshūyōshū*, have a stratified complex composition, and are composed out of sections that might have been pre-existing and that are often not dated. This makes it extremely difficult to place in time the history of these ideas.

Secondly, Sugahara points to four textual passages as instrumental in detecting the composition date of “Sannō no koto”. The first one is the following:

三皇五帝ヨリハジメテ、十四代ノ終リニ、宋ノ世ニ至マデ、文嗜ミ詩ヲ翫バ
ヌ輩ハナシ、

ST 29, p. 79

From the time of the three sovereigns and five emperors, at the end of the fourteen centuries leading up to the Song era, there is none who does not take pleasure in the knowledge of letters and in poetry.

According to Sugahara, the passage above implies that the phrase “*Sō no yo* 宋ノ世”, (the Song era; 960-1279), refers to the present in which the chapter was written.³⁰⁷ This seems likely, and below I shall see how we should interpret it considering the other textual passages.

The second passage singled out by Sugahara is the one where we find Kyōzō’s poem from the *Ryōjin hishō*, which I have translated in chapter two. As I have mentioned, in “Sannō no koto” the poem is introduced with a “backstory.” This tells us that it was written after Kyōzō’s visit to the Ōmiya shrine during his tenure as a bishop (*sōzu* 僧

³⁰⁷ Sugahara 1984, p. 28.

都); because we know that Kyōzō was ordained greater bishop (*daisōzu* 大僧都) in 1107, and died shortly after, Sugahara reckons that this is proof that the chapter might have been redacted early, in the 1120s or 1130s.³⁰⁸

This is very difficult to prove. The authors of “Sannō no koto” might have employed a story set during Kyōzō’s time without being temporarily close to him. More so because Kyōzō’s story, which also appears in other sources such as the collection *Hie Sannō rishōki* 日吉山王利生記 (Kamakura period), is not a historical account, but a *setsuwa* involving divine apparitions and children playing with Kyōzō in the precincts of the shrine. Another reason to doubt an edition in the 1130s is that “Sannō no koto” mentions all the seven upper shrines. As we have seen in the first chapter, as demonstrated by Satō in 1985, it is more likely that the shrines were not completed before 1140, making it impossible to argue for an earlier date for “Sannō no koto”.

The next textual hint examined by Sugahara relates to the establishment of the Hie shrines: because “Sannō no koto” has mentions of all the deities from the upper seven shrines but none of the deities from the middle or lower shrines, these must not have been built yet. According to Sugahara, this means that we must posit an edition date earlier than 1223, because by 1223, when Chikanari was head priest, the establishment of the shrines had already begun.³⁰⁹

This is, however, not final. As I have already stated, the *Yōtenki* as a whole is focused on the seven upper shrines. Furthermore, Sugahara himself states that, if in the first section of the *Yōtenki* we see six additional chapters on the middle and lower shrines (added pre-1301), it is to supplement the fact that there was no such system when the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript was redacted: this was in 1292, seventy years after Chikanari’s tenure as *negi*. There is therefore no strong reason for the absence of the lower and median shrines to mean that “Sannō no koto” was redacted before 1223. Even if the system was being implemented when the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript was redacted, its compilers were clearly still not writing about the middle and lower shrines. The first mention of these, without shrine names, is the chapter “Mikurai no

³⁰⁸ Sugahara 1984 pp. 28-29.

³⁰⁹ Sugahara 1984, p. 29.

koto”, among the ones reasonably interpolated before 1301, and the first mention of the three-tiered system of shrines with names and rankings is the “Sannōki” chapter cited by Sugahara, which is however a late addition from the 1484 nucleus.

Extending this reasoning to “Sannō no koto”, there is no reason to posit its edition for any time before 1223. If we want to make the absence of the middle and lower shrines significant, for the same reasons as Sugahara states, we can safely push back the edition of the chapter to at least as far as the end of the thirteenth century, along with the rest of the early nucleus of the *Yōtenki*.

Revised edition window

So far, I have only rejected Sugahara’s periodization, without proposing a revised one of my own. In order to propose a new edition window in this section, I first focus on Sugahara’s last textual hint, where he identifies a second instance where “Sannō no koto” refers explicitly to the time of its edition. I engage with this passage more in detail as it is central to my argument that Sugahara’s reasonings can be also used to push for a later edition date, and therefore cannot be employed to strongly advocate for a late Heian edition.

The textual passage is as follows:

今ノ大宮権現ノ御ス和光ノ砌モ、仏法流布ノ境ヒ、神明繁昌ノ庭ナリ、釈尊常住ノ靈山ニ界ナル事ヤト侍ベキ、彼モ一乘妙法ヲ説キ給ヘル砌也、[...] 五百八十余年ノ今ニ至テ、和光同塵ノ利不怠、彼ハ在世ノ時ノ世尊ト仰ガレテ住シ給シ究竟常寂ノ境也、是ハ滅度ノ後ニ神明ト現ジ御ス垂迹和光ノ庭也、在世滅後ハカハリタレドモ、利生方便ノ道ハ可有輕重モ、可有淺深モ、カ、レバ実報花王ノ境ニカハラヌハ、今ノ日吉ノ樹下ナリケリ

ST 29, p. 90

The place where the avatar Ōmiya now resides, having dimmed his light, is a space from which to spread the Buddhist teachings, a field in which the bright deities thrive. Might we say that it is the realm of Vulture peak, of the eternally abiding Śākyamuni? That, too, is the space where he preached the wonderful teaching of the one vehicle. [...]

Approximately five hundred and eighty years have passed, and here we are. Having dimmed his light and mingled himself with the dust of the world, he bestows his benefits tirelessly. The place where the World-honoured one dwelled while he was in the world is a realm of unsurpassed eternal peace. After he went into extinction and manifested himself as a bright deity, it became the field where he dimmed his light, manifesting himself as a temporary trace.

The time when he was in the world and the time after his extinction might be different, but the path of skilful means which bring benefits can either be light or heavy, shallow or deep. Therefore, sitting under a tree at Hie in the present is no different from obtaining the true recompense of enlightenment in presence of the Lotus seat.

According to this passage, then, the present time for the writers of the chapter is “five-hundred and eight years” after a wondrous event. Sugahara argues that, by placing in time the wondrous event, we can find the date of the writing of “Sannō no koto”. I however suggest below that there is a strong possibility that this is a symbolic timeframe rather than a realistic one. For the sake of argument, I first elucidate Sugahara’s stance below.

If we admit with Sugahara that we trust the five hundred and eighty years as a reliable indication of time, we must first ascertain the event from which these are to be measured. One likely possibility is that the passage refers to the first enshrinement of the Ōmiya deity, as is shown by the full passage quoted above. While both Sugahara and Ishida argue for this interpretation, Sugahara’s opinion and mine diverge on how to identify the enshrinement date.³¹⁰

Sugahara argues that the five hundred and eighty years must be calculated from when the deity of Ōmiya manifested himself in Japan for the first time, that is under the reign of the emperor Kinmei 欽明 (r. 539-571). This is a common chronology for the first apparition of the deity, as it appears in a widely quoted document (*kanpu* 官符) emitted by the Aichi manor. In *Yōtenki*’s “Ōmiya no onkoto” it is quoted thus:

³¹⁰ Sugahara 1984, p. 28, Ishida 1970, p. 90.

康和五年十二月、愛智庄官符僞、御神者、大八島金刺朝庭、躰三輪明神、大津御宇之時、初天下坐云云、

ST 29, p. 44.

Fifth year of the Kōwa 康和 era (1109), twelfth month. An official order promulgated by the Aichi manor states: “As pertains the august deity, he manifested himself as the bright deity of Miwa at the court of Kanasashi, in the Great Eight-island country. During the reign in Ōtsu, he descended from heaven for the first time”.

Because Ōmiya’s avatar is most commonly Śākyamuni, according to Sugahara the date of Ōmiya’s first manifestation must be identified with that of the importation of Buddhism to Japan. Sugahara employs chronologies found in the *Hōō teisetsu* 法王帝説 (composed between the 8th century and around 1050) and *Gangōji engi* 元興寺縁起 (747, but likely an eleventh or twelfth century forgery) to place the date of the introduction of Buddhism to the seventh year of the Kinmei era, that is to 538, and through this to date “Sannō no koto” to the 1120s.³¹¹ He also offers the alternative date of the thirteenth year of Kinmei (552) which is found in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, thereby dating the chapter to the 1130s.³¹²

This interpretation would support Sugahara’s previous text-based arguments. However, I must note that in the one source that tells us the exact date when Ōmiya first manifested in Yamato, *Yōtenki*’s fortieth chapter “Ōmiya”, we see that this was the first year of the reign of Kinmei, so 509, before Buddhism was imported to Japan.³¹³ Furthermore, if we look at it from the point of view of the internal logic of the text, Sugahara’s interpretation is not the only possible one, as “Sannō no koto” is ambiguous as to the enshrinement of Ōmiya.

As we have seen, the passage above is talking about the manifestation of the deity not broadly in Japan, but specifically at the Hie shrine. In “Sannō no Koto” it is stated that

³¹¹ On the dates for the *Gangōji engi* see Yoshida Kazuhiko, “The credibility of the *Gangōji engi*”, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 42, no. 1, Mar. 2015, p. 89-107.

³¹² Sugahara 1984, p. 28.

³¹³ ST 29, p. 68.

the deity, upon his first manifestation, was enshrined not at Hie, but at the Miwa shrine, and that it only moved on to Hie at a later stage. This is, as we have seen in the above passage from “*Ōmiya no onkoto*”, and as we will see in the next chapter, a widespread explanation for the progressive manifestations of the deity. Based on this, and on the internal logic of “*Sannō no koto*”, it is possible to revisit Sugahara’s edition timeline in two possible ways.

1. An argument for a later date. “*Sannō no Koto*” states that the deity was transferred (or rather transferred itself) from Miwa to Hie when Saichō founded the Enryakuji. The Enryakuji was founded in 788, hence the chapter would have been written in the 1360s. This is not completely impossible, as it would still precede the first extant edition of the *Yōtenki* including “*Sannō no koto*”, which, as we now know, was copied in 1490. However, it is improbable. First, it is a much later date than the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript, and also postdates by almost sixty years the chapters immediately preceding and following it, which are dated to 1301. Although we know that the order of the chapters in the *Yōtenki* does not correspond to a temporal sequence, I would also reject this date on the basis that it does not tie in with the suggestion that the chapter was composed in the Song era.
2. An earlier alternative. “*Sannō no Koto*” also relates the story of the deity being enshrined after meeting the legendary ancestor of the Hafuribe, Kotonomitachi no Ushimaro. We know from the extended version of the story in “*Ōmiya no onkoto*” that this meeting happened during the reign of the emperor Tenji 天智 (r. 661-672), who, in moving the capital to Ōtsu, also moved the deity there. In this passage, “*Sannō no koto*” might be referring to the chronology implied by this version of the story, and not the one where the deity was enshrined by Saichō (the two versions being mutually incompatible). We can therefore date the chapter to around the 1240s. This date would fall within the Song era, and would be much closer to the possible edition of the earliest nucleus of the *Yōtenki* (chapters thirty-one to thirty-seven, pre-1301).

To sum up, Sugahara proposes that “Sannō no koto” might have been composed between the 1120s-1130s and 1223. Considering that we find in the *Yōtenki* Kyōzō’s poem from the *Ryōjin hishō*, and that the latter was composed in the late twelfth century, he additionally suggests that we can safely push the composition to the 1180s.³¹⁴ However, I suggests that if we are to follow Sugahara’s same textual leads in a manner that takes account of the global content of the chapter and its position within the text, the same arguments used by Sugahara can also be used to push the composition date to somewhere closer to the edition of the *Shōō go-nen* manuscripts.

One final issue is that, as shown by the variety of possible dates for Ōmiya’s enshrinement, the chronology we find throughout “Sannō no koto” does not follow a strictly realistic logic, but is also dictated by doctrinal and narrative demands. I expand on issues of chronology in the final chapter of this thesis, but analyse below the given timeframe of “approximately five hundred and eighty years”, arguing that we might be better off treating it as symbolic rather than realistic.

Because the context of the passage where the number appears is that of events following Śākyamuni’s extinction, I suggest we look at the sort of numbers associated with this event. Periods of five hundred years are sometimes used in scriptural chronologies, where these relate to the length of time in which Buddhist teachings will remain in the world after Śākyamuni’s extinction. Although such a timeline is not universal, it is, as demonstrated by Jan Nattier, found in the Lotus sutra.³¹⁵ I was unable to find another source with the same five hundred and eighty years’ timeframe proposed in “Sannō no koto”, however an eighty years’ timeframe for the permanence of Buddhist teachings after extinction is found in the Nirvana sutra.³¹⁶ Closer in time and geographic area to the *Yōtenki*, we find a combination of multiples of five hundred and eighty years in the *Keiranshūyōshū*. This displays the same phrasing of the *Yōtenki*

³¹⁴ Sugahara 1984, p. 28.

³¹⁵ Nattier, Jan, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*, Asian Humanities Press, Berkeley, 1991, pp. 33-37.

³¹⁶ 我涅槃後正法未滅餘八十年。爾時是經闍浮提當廣流布 T0374_12.0421c26-27. “After my extinction, the right teachings will not become extinguished for another eighty years. In this time this sutra will enjoy a great diffusion in Jambudvīpa.”

when indicating the date when the Tripitaka master Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) visited India, this time one thousand, five hundred and eighty after Śākyamuni’s extinction.³¹⁷

Timeframes of five hundred or eighty years and multiples thereof are found in Buddhist sources on events occurring after the Buddha’s extinction. I therefore cannot exclude that these same numbers in “Sannō no koto” are being used loosely, having a more evocative than precise function. Furthermore, taking account of the larger context, the above discussion suggests that the event from which we measure the five hundred and eighty years might be the Buddha’s extinction, making Sugahara’s assumption based on Ōmiya’s enshrinement unverifiable (and making moot my own point about an edition around the 1240s).

Summing this last argument with the ones from the previous section, I conclude that there is no reliable way to date the edition of the chapter through internal leads alone.

The only concrete *terminus post quem* for the edition of the chapter can be found in its relation to “Kitsuji no sasu no Miko”, the chapter found as a standalone thirty-first one in the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript. Okada has successfully demonstrated that “Kitsuji no sasu no Miko”, which contains the origin story of the Hie oracles which I reported in the first chapter, was cannibalised into “Sannō no koto”.³¹⁸ This is something that Sugahara himself accepts,³¹⁹ and it makes it difficult to believe that the chapter existed in the 1120s-1130s in the same form in which we know it, rather pointing to it as a compilation of material from heterogeneous sources melded together at various stages. Because of the inclusion of “Kitsuji no sasu no Miko” in the chapter, this melding together is unlikely to have happened any time before 1289-1292.

My conclusion is that, while we must renounce a definitive edition date, there is enough evidence to reject Sugahara’s arguments for an early edition of “Sannō no koto”, and to accept a later window whereby this was fully developed sometime after

³¹⁷ Compare *Keiranshūyōshū*’s 佛滅後千五百八十餘年 T2410_76.0797b14 with *Yōtenki*’s 五百八十余年.

³¹⁸ Okada 1979, pp. 47-48.

³¹⁹ Sugahara 1984, p. 30.

the *Shōō go-nen* edition, plausibly closer to the edition date of the latter but earlier than 1301, as its position in the text seems to indicate.

Such a date range, which we are compelled to accept for philological reasons, would also be supported by the style and topics treated in the chapter, which show similarities with other later medieval works, not only Tendai texts of stratified composition such as the *Sange yōryakki*, but, crucially, *setsuwa* collections which have a more secure date range. The best example is the *Shasekishū*, composed in the 1280s. This collection is composed, like “Sannō no koto”, in *kanakanjimajiribun*, and in its introduction it explains, similarly to “Sannō no koto”, the workings of *honji suijaku* in Japan. Especially relevant is the presence in both works of a tale on three Chinese figures becoming bodhisattvas, which is not found in other sources.³²⁰ There are differences between the two versions, which I detail in the fifth chapter: most notably, the tale is told in an essential manner in *Shasekishū* as opposed to the detail-rich version of “Sannō no koto”. This is however a significant similarity.

A last argument for situating “Sannō no koto” further down in time is simplicity’s sake. If we are to accept an early composition, we must posit that it was originally composed a full century before the earliest nucleus of the *Yōtenki*, then somehow unearthed and interpolated in the middle of the *Yōtenki* by the fourteenth or even fifteen century, when it was already two or even three hundred years old. Placing “Sannō no koto” later in time, positing a writing after 1292, would make for a tighter composition timeline of the whole Tanenaga edition.

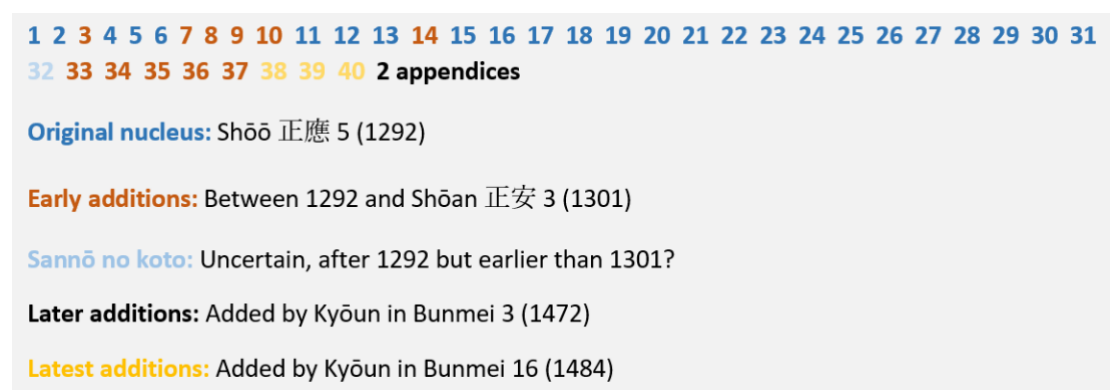


Figure 7 Complete edition timeline

³²⁰ As found in NKBT 85, p.61.

The question that remains is: why was “Sannō no koto” added to the *Yōtenki*, whose other chapters, both preceding and following it, are so different? Okada and Sugahara seem to agree that it was to make the “practical” core text more “doctrinal”, or to relate it more to Sannō shintō.³²¹ This relates to the issues raised in the previous chapter on how modalities of *shinbutsu shūgō* are interrelated, and whether we should consider Sannō shintō as purely a *honji suijaku* system of correspondences. It also relates to the matter, which I first tackled in the first chapter, of the lineages which manipulated discourses on the Hie deities, effectively “owning” them. I will get back to the relation of “Sannō no koto” with the rest of the *Yōtenki* in the conclusions, but I now turn to a final issue that also touches on these topics, that of the authorship of the *Yōtenki*. I focus in particular on its relation to *kike* 記家 (lit. “record lineage”), active at the Enryakuji during its composition, and specialised in the compilation of disparate material with a historiographical focus.

Yōtenki and the kike

Broaching the subject of the *kike* is necessary because two central texts which we have come to associate with Sannō shintō, *Sange yōryakki* and *Keiranshūyōshū*, were edited by monastics involved with the transmission of records, with *Keiranshūyōshū* widely considered as the summa of the compilatory work of *kike*. The *Yōtenki* is also a collection of documentative material, and presents similarities with these two works in the way it talks about *kami*; as we already seen, some of these similarities are the analysis of the characters of Sannō and legends on the enshrinement of the deities. For these reasons, some scholars group in the *Yōtenki* with these works, associating the work of its collation with the activity of *kike*. The most notable of these scholars is Kuroda Toshio, but the attribution is also found in more recent works.³²² In this final section I take the possibility of the relation of *kike* to *Yōtenki* into serious consideration, outlining the relation of *kike* to broader *kami* discourses on Mount Hiei. Although I ultimately reject the identification of the *Yōtenki* with a *kike* text, putting these in

³²¹ Okada 1979, p. 49. Sugahara 1984, p. 32.

³²² Kuroda 1989, pp. 151-154. Park 2016, p. 75.

relation can help us think about the nature of Sannō shintō and its scholarly interpretations, as well as the contemporary reception of the *Yōtenki*.

According to Kuroda, the association between *Yōtenki* and *kike* is grounded on the centrality that explanations of the deity identities in terms of *honji suijaku* have in this work. The development of such explanations was, according to Kuroda, the focus of *kike* activities. Leaving aside for now the matter of how much of the *Yōtenki* is truly focused on explaining *honji suijaku*, I now briefly turn to look at the work of *kike* and their relationship with *kami*, especially those of Hie.

Kike were a monastic lineage at the Enryakuji, whose job was to research, collate and compile documents which were records (*kiroku* 記録) of teachings, chiefly transmitted orally and recorded on strips of paper (*kirigami* 切り紙). The documents studied by *kike* included the study of temples and their sacred grounds, statues and paintings, miraculous manifestations in *kami* form, protection of the state rituals, and meditation practices.³²³

While in textual material associated to *kike* we find the origin of their lineage traced back to Tendai masters such as Saichō, Ennin, Enchin, Annen and Ryōgen, this connection is highly unlikely.³²⁴ According to Jacqueline Stone, the institution of *kike* had a certain sectarian nature, as these were associated with the Danna 檀那 school originating from Kakuun 覚運 (953–1007), but the *super partes* nature of their endeavour, aiming to record all the traditions of all the schools of Mount Hiei, is also often remarked upon in scholarship.³²⁵

The first mentions of *kike* appear in sources from the early fourteenth century, when the monk Enkan 円観 (1281-1356) wrote in his biography that one of the core subjects studied at Enryakuji were “records”.³²⁶ During the medieval period, a scholar monk named Kenshin 顯眞 (1131-1192), the putative editor of the *Sange yōryakki*, was

³²³ Kuroda 1989, pp. 148-149.

³²⁴ Stone 1999, p. 126.

³²⁵ Park 2016, p. 36. Faure 2016, p. 108.

³²⁶ Stone 1999, p. 126.

considered the first to systematise *kike* teachings. This is however doubtful, and the first *kike* of which we know is Gigen 義源 (c.1289-1351), Kōshū's master.³²⁷ As for Kōshū, his *Keiranshūyōshū*, as already stated, is widely considered the *summa* of *kike* knowledge.

As to the concrete nature of this knowledge and its transmission, we find in the *Keiranshūyōshū* that the specialisation in the knowledge of documents was awarded through an initiation ceremony (*kanjō* 灌頂):

第四記録部者。和光同塵利益國土灌頂也。

T2410_.76.0503b22-23

The fourth specialisation [at mount Hiei] is that of records. It is the initiation of benefitting the country by dimming one's light and mingling with the dust of the world.

It is by interpreting this initiation that Kuroda identifies the focus of *kike* in the study of *honji suijaku*. He furthermore identifies the job of *kike* with that of historiographers, who wrote about history as a teleological process of manifestation of Buddhist teachings, to which the salvific work of *kami* was central.³²⁸ More contemporary sources on *kike* do not go as far as identifying the work of *kike* with the study of *honji suijaku*, but interpret the initiation and its title as highlighting the fact that *kike* such as Kōshū might have considered their activity as a form of bodhisattva practice.³²⁹

Even so, there is a certain concordance, especially in English language sources, to identify great part of the work of *kike* with the development of Sannō shintō, and even the combinatory discourse of *honji suijaku*: according to Park, *kike* “were the main contributors for the formulation and development of the Kami-Buddha combinatory discourse by re-illuminating mythic narratives, symbolism, rituals, and architecture related to *kami*—Sannō in particular”.³³⁰ Similarly, in his encyclopaedic volume on Japanese deities, Faure argues that “it is among archivists like him [Kōshū] that the

³²⁷ Satō 2014, p. 193.

³²⁸ Kuroda 1996, p. 150.

³²⁹ Park 2016, p. 42. Stone 1999, p. 124.

³³⁰ Park 2016, p. 35.

so—called Sannō Shintō came into existence”.³³¹ While this is of course true for the specific view on the Sannō deities expressed in *Keiranshūyōshū*, and while it is true that *kike* transmissions formed an important part of medieval conceptions on the Hie deities, an in-depth, broader study of Sannō shintō compels us to scale down their centrality. As we have seen, it is difficult to admit that Sannō shintō sprang out in the fourteenth century, seen as it started its development in the ninth, unless, of course, we equate Sannō shintō with *honji suijaku*, which is problematic. There are also reasons to reject a strict association of *kike* with the *Yōtenki* in particular and Sannō shintō in general that relate more specifically to *kike*, and to the production of knowledge on the Sannō deities as we have seen it concretely in the production of the *Yōtenki*.

First, let us look at colophons where names of monastics are recorded. The names of the *Yōtenki* compilers which appear in colophons are not readily traceable to one lineage. We have however information on their locations, such as the Kangyōin for Kyōun and the Shōgan-in for Shōun, which are overwhelmingly situated in the Western pagoda area. While the compiler of *Keiranshūyōshū* Kōshū had his residence in the Kurodani valley of the Western pagoda, signing himself in different entries as “Kōshū of Kurodani”, I would be hesitant to assume that the *Yōtenki* compilers were therefore also *kike*, as the Kurodani association comes from another lineage to which Kōshū was initiated, the *kaike* 戒家, (“precepts lineage”), based in Kurodani.³³² It is also worth noting that, at any rate, the chapters to which the colophons refer are not concerned with explaining the *minutiae* of *honji suijaku*, but rather with rituals, origin tales, and tales of miraculous events. As stated before, we do not know who incorporated “Sannō no koto”.

Secondly, although we do not know if the monastics involved in the production of the *Yōtenki* were *kike*, this would not make the *Yōtenki* as a whole a *kike* work, as it was also collected by scholar priests in the Hafuribe family. The job of these priests was not merely to provide the “raw material” for monks to elaborate the system of Sannō

³³¹ Faure 2016, p. 12.

³³² Park 2016, pp. 39-39.

shintō, but we have evidence that Hafuribe members superintended the collation of the *Yōtenki* throughout the centuries: the first edition of a longer *Yōtenki* was copied, and perhaps edited, by Hafuribe Tanenaga, a priest who signed himself with his householder's name. Certainly, then, we can argue that the work of gathering and collating records on the Sannō traditions, although chiefly done by *kike*, was not solely their domain. It is worth remembering that the most extended antiquarian and scholarly work on Hie and Sannō shintō, composed at the very end of the medieval period, was *Hiesha shintō himitsuki*, the work of priest Hafuribe Yukimaro.

Finally, and more broadly, the extent of the activity of systematisation of Sannō shintō endeavoured by *kike* is also nebulously defined in literature, and does not hold water once confronted with the reality and variety of textual material on the Sannō deities. As we have seen from the material analysed in the previous chapter, although there certainly is a systematisation of deity identities in *Keiranshūyōshū*, to some level this remains idiosyncratic to this text, as shown by the existence of concurring systematisations in Jihen's *Tenchi jingi banchin yōki*. At the same time, the example of Jihen also tells us that not all would-be systematisers of Sannō shintō were *kike*.

As a general discourse, the equivalence of *kike* with Sannō shintō successfully highlights their role in editing medieval works on the Sannō deities. However, when we look at the details of the Sannō cult in a more global manner, evidence compels us to displace *kike* from their central role, rather accounting for them as one lineage among many which manipulated the identities of the Sannō deities and kept historiographical records on their cult.

Chapter conclusion

As shown in the discussion above, a view of Sannō shintō with *kike* at its centre implies that the former is identified as a *honji suijaku* system, devised by monastics, which arose in the Middle Ages between the late Kamakura and the Muromachi period. I have argued in the previous chapter that this only works as a narrow interpretation of Sannō shintō, and outlined the reasons to adopt a broader framework. At the end of this chapter, I argue that similarly, when scholars such as Kuroda connect the *Yōtenki* with the work of the *kike*, they adopt a narrow view of the text and its production

which equates it solely with “Sannō no koto”, the only chapter that focuses extensively on the workings of *honji suijaku*. In doing so, they ignore the chapters preceding and following it, which include legends on the Hie deities not immediately related to *honji suijaku* and references to other modalities of *shinbutsu shūgō*, as well as information on rituals, festivals, and priestly lineages. The underlying consequence of this is that these things do not have a place in Sannō shintō, which is also implied by Okada and Sugahara when they equate “Sannō no koto” with the content of the *Yōtenki* pertaining to Sannō shintō.

I recognise that the success of the *Yōtenki*'s transmission must be linked to the presence of “Sannō no koto”, seen as its manuscripts are preserved almost entirely in the Tanenaga version. Throughout this thesis it is this later edition on which I choose to focus. I also translate and have a full chapter on “Sannō no koto”, thereby implicitly recognising it as a special chapter. This is however a choice that deserves to be problematised, and in the conclusions of this chapter I therefore ask one last question: what is the “real” *Yōtenki*? Was the first draft, the *Sannō engi* copied in the *Shōō go nen* manuscript, already a prototypical *Yōtenki*, or is the *Yōtenki* only the Tanenaga edition? From this follow the questions of the relation between the various sections of the *Yōtenki*, and of its position among Sannō shintō texts.

Okada suggest that we should consider the *Yōtenki* a sum of two parts, formed by the *Shōō go nen manuscript* and “Sannō no koto”, to which chapters were then added as an integration.³³³

The *Yōtenki* therefore only becomes such after the fourteenth century. Thus formed, it is not focused exclusively on the equivalencies between the Ōmiya deity and Śakyāmuni, and on the action on the world of skilful means extensively described in “Sannō no koto”, but nor is it chiefly about the Hafuribe and their traditions as was its previous incarnation.

I agree that the *Yōtenki* is the sum of these two parts. As to its position in Sannō shintō, this is where I differ from previous scholars. Okada and Ishida considered only the *honji suijaku* discussion in “Sannō no koto”, the domain of Sannō shintō, and not the

³³³ Okada 1979, p. 50.

“more practical” sections.³³⁴ However, much as in the previous chapter I have shown that the identification of Sannō shintō solely with *honji suijaku* causes more problems than it solves, so does the identification of the Sannō shintō content of the *Yōtenki* with “Sannō no koto”, which ignores the relation among the chapters of the *Yōtenki*.

Firstly, this relation is one where the chapters are simultaneously independently transmissible from one another and feeding off each other. Even in the presence of a table of contents, chapters could be transmitted with a certain flexibility, as we have seen from the manuscript from Bettō daizō which omits “Sannō no koto”. At the same time, there is evidence that, as new chapters were added to the *Yōtenki*, pre-existing ones were cannibalised into their structure. This is especially evident in “Sannō no koto”, which came to include the once independent “Kitsuji no sasu no miko”, but as we have seen the case can also be made for other chapters interpolated in 1301.

Secondly, and this is something I explore more in the next chapter, we can look at the relationship of the chapters from the point of view of what they tell about the creation of a mythology on the Hie deities. “Sannō no koto” in particular is full of allusions to various version of the enshrinement of deities, especially Ōmiya. It is therefore not fully understandable without the narratives and discourses preceding and informing it, which tell these stories in a more extended manner. Again, I would relate this to the concept of repertoire. The *Yōtenki* as a whole displays a full gamut of possibilities for the identity of the Hie deities, especially Ōmiya. In “Sannō no koto” we see an effort to integrate these in one teleological narrative on the effects of skilful means. As we have started to see, and as we will see more in the last chapter, this narrative is not a systematised account, but one which employs different mythologies and chronologies in a manner subservient to its main narrative.

One final observation on the relation of the chapters is that although scholars have stated that “Sannō no koto” was incorporated into the text to make it more doctrinal, the fact remains that, plausibly at a later stage than its incorporation, more chapters in the style of the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript were added by monastics. This process rejects a linear view in which a “practical” treatise on the deities, perhaps championed

³³⁴ Okada 1979, p. 50.

by the Hafuribe, was made more philosophical through monastic intervention, and points to a more complex framework where various versions of the deities – some focusing on their nature as *suijaku* and others solely on their enshrinement stories, or their nature as protectors of the Enryakuji or their importance for priestly lineages of the Biwa lake area- fed off each other. This reinforces the necessity for a broader view of Sannō Shinto that takes account of all these identities.

One issue that remains is why “Sannō no koto” is so different in style and length from the rest of the chapters, as should be made evident by the translations which I present as appendices of this thesis: one of one of “Sannō no koto”, and one of “Ōmiya no onkoto”, the latter exemplifying the general style of the *Yōtenki*.

As I said before, one main feature of “Sannō no koto” is that it weaves various origin tales into a thematically (but not chronologically or mythologically) coherent narrative on skilful means and the function of worshipping at the Hie shrines. This is in sharp contrast to other chapters, such as “Ōmiya no onkoto”, which present these various tales paratactically, as alternative versions of the same stories. A possible explanation is that “Sannō no koto” relates to the material preceding it by using this as a source, of which we have seen evidence in its integration of pre-existing standalone chapters. This however does not explain why subsequent compilers of the *Yōtenki* returned to the style of the pre-1301 chapters instead of continuing to expand on this coherent narrative. I must leave this question unsolved for now, hopefully returning to it in my future research.

I will expand on the other sources used in “Sannō no koto” in the final chapter of this thesis, and partially touch upon the subject of the various literary and doctrinal genres with which it interacts. The subject of how a discussion of genre might open more alleys about the origin and authors of the chapter remains however open, and will be a subject for future enquiry.

An often-ignored feature of “Sannō no koto” is the presence in it of a great number of *setsuwa*. We have already seen how these relate it to *Shakekishū*, but other tales found in the *Yōtenki* also find striking parallels in *Shintōshu*, produced in a Tendai

environment.³³⁵ A worthy avenue for future research will be therefore to compare “Sannō no koto” in particular, but the *Yōtenki* more widely, to works produced within the lineage to which the *Shintōshu* is attributed, the so-called Aguiryū 安居流. This lineage, also based in the Western pagoda, was involved in the production of sermons, sometimes on the Hie deities, and its putative founder Chōken 澄憲 (1126-1203) appears as a speaking character delivering one of such sermons in “Ōmiya no onkoto”. Because the *Shasekishū* is also connected to the activity of delivering sermons, broadly belonging to the genre of *shōdō bungaku* 唱道文学 (“preaching literature”), future alleys are certainly open to read “Sannō no koto” as belonging to or as a cognate of this genre, rather than as a doctrinal text in the vein of *Keiranshūyōshū*.

I have already defined Sannō shintō as having to be understood as issuing out of interactions among different communities. Investigating the full extent and composition of the *Yōtenki* gives us a clearer picture of how these interactions were established and how Hafuribe and monastics tag-teamed to create the identity of the deities. We see these interactions exemplified in the extant manuscripts. Although the first extant copy of the *Yōtenki* is overwhelmingly composed of Hafuribe traditions, it was copied by a monastic. Conversely, the edition of the *Yōtenki* with “Sannō no koto” has reached us in the version copied by the householder Hafuribe Tanenaga. All evidence, both from the manuscripts and their content, points to the two nuclei of the *Yōtenki* as inextricably tied up. This relation is consonant with the relationship of the narrow Sannō shintō with its broader paradigm, calling strongly for a re-examination of even more textual material in this broader sense.

³³⁵ As already noted in Hamanaka Osamu 濱中修, *Hie shake denshō to Aguiryū: Yōtenki “Ōmiya engishō no koto” kangae* 日吉社家の伝承と安居院：『耀天記』「大宮縁起抄事」考, *Japanese Literature* 36(8), 45-51, 1987, pp. 45-51.

Chapter four: Deity identities

In this chapter I focus on a situation where we find multiple mythological tales on the origins (*engi* 縁起) and characteristics of the same deity. I investigate the significance of these various versions and variants, as well as the strategies that have been historically employed to explain and normalise this variation.³³⁶ I will explore both cases when these mythologies are found in texts as alternatives, presented in a paratactical fashion, and cases showing attempts to weave some of these mythological possibilities into a coherent narrative.

To investigate these issues, I will be focusing on a group of tales on Ōmiya and Ninomiya, and illustrate how these create a discourse that cuts across the whole history of Hie, which I call a narrative of displacement. In its basic form, this narrative contends that worship at Hie was originally centred on the cult of only one deity, Ninomiya, enshrined there since time immemorial. The cult of this primeval, local deity, who was also the lord of the land (*jīnushi* 地主), was supplanted by the arrival of a deity imported from Yamato, Ōmiya, whose cult relegated Ninomiya to the relative side-lines, turning this deity from its position as the cultic centre at Hie and into the position of second-ranking one.

Versions of this displacement narrative are found in mythological material on the Hie deities redacted and diffused from the Middle Ages until the Meiji period, and are at the background of current understandings of their identities. To make a few examples, in the current official list of the deities enshrined at the Hiyoshi taisha, Ninomiya is identified with the *Kojiki* deity Ōyamakui or Meiteiki no myōjin, the first deity enshrined at Hie for which we have a definite written testimony.³³⁷ The displacement of Ninomiya/Ōyamakui by Ōmiya is also ubiquitously found in overviews on the Hie

³³⁶ As I have explained in the introduction, I use versions and variants to describe progressively different variations on an origin history, calling “versions” stories that are more similar to each other and “variants” the ones that are more different.

³³⁷ *Hiyoshi taisha ni tsuite: Hiyoshi taisha* 日吉大社について: 日吉大社, <http://hiyoshitaisha.jp/about/> consulted on 13/05/2021.

shrines, where it is presented as historical background information on the Sannō deities.³³⁸

In this chapter I seek to problematise this displacement narrative. I claim that this is not necessarily the best way to interpret the historical evidence of the early cult at the Hie shrine, but that the fortune of this idea is linked to the diffusion of mythologies on the Hie deities. Where narratives on the pre-eminence of Ninomiya arose in the medieval period as one possible version on the enshrinement of the first Hie deities, throughout the Edo and Meiji period these came to be reinterpreted and understood as the “scientific”, philologically sound explanation. In other words, they were read as a mythical tale grounded in a historical reality, where Ninomiya, identified with *Kojiki*'s Ōyamakui, represented the oldest, and in many cases pre-Buddhist, cult at Hie.

Throughout the chapter I analyse the basic elements that form the displacement narrative, by presenting a repertoire as wide-ranging as possible of legends on the enshrinement of the two main deities of Hie. I will focus on Ōmiya in the first section, and Ninomiya in the second. These first sections will be chiefly based on chapters of the *Yōtenki*, but I will also include other sources, mainly but not only *Keiranshūyōshū*, as a basis for comparison.

In the third section I will tackle the mythological origins of a rite performed at the *matsuri* for the Hie deities, and its development over time. The mythical origins of the *matsuri* are inseparable from one legend on the enshrinement of Ōmiya, the most diffused one, and the development of the *matsuri* represented a central moment in the cult of the deities both at the Hie shrines and at the Enryakuji. Investigating these

³³⁸ Sugahara analyses the respective rankings of the deities in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* as proof of the displacement of the older deity Ninomiya by the newcomer Ōmiya, which he considers historical fact and a consequence of the plausible origin of the Ōmiya deity in Miwa. Sugahara 1992, p. 12. Breen makes a similar point on the historicity of Ōmiya's importation in Breen 2010, p. 72-73. Kageyama Haruki locates the cult of the violent spirit (*aramitama* 荒魂) of Ōyamakui, which he identifies with Ninomiya, in the oldest archaeological settlement on Mount Hachiōji. Kageyama 1971, pp. 26-29. We also see this in historical works on the history of the Enryakuji. Paul Groner states that Ōyamakui/Ninomiya had been installed since Saichō's times. Groner 2002, pp. 240-241. The displacement narrative, with Ninomiya considered “the only god indigenous to Mt. Hiei”, also appears in the most recent publication on Sannō deities at the date of writing, Park 2020, p. 167.

legends will clarify how enshrinement tales were manipulated by the various lineages around lake Biwa, and the wider reach of some versions over others.

Finally, in the fourth section I will jump forward in time, and look at how the sum of these legends was interpreted in the Edo and Meiji period. I claim that these interpretations, put forward by religious and literary scholars and priests at Hie, became the essential basis for the modern interpretation of the early history of Hie and the first deities enshrined there.

At the background of this chapter is the reconstruction of the development of the Hie cult that I have outlined from a historical perspective in the first and second chapter.

The *Ōmiya engi*

The sum of the enshrinement stories of *Ōmiya* is generally indicated in secondary scholarship as *Ōmiya engi*.³³⁹ I adopt this usage of the term, and throughout the chapter I also extend it to talk about the *engi* of Ninomiya and the *engi* of the matsuri, not using it to indicate one single narrative or work, but broadening it to indicate the sum of the several different versions of the enshrinement among which I parse.

In this section specifically, I investigate the *Ōmiya engi* by following the content and structure of “*Ōmiya no onkoto*”, the second chapter from the Tanenaga version of the *Yōtenki*, already belonging to its core nucleus from the *Shōō go-nen* (1292) manuscript. I focus on “*Ōmiya no onkoto*” because it presents most of the mythical possibilities for the enshrinement of *Ōmiya* which were available from the Middle Ages, in an extensive way and all in one place, in a descriptive rather than prescriptive manner.

I integrate this summary of “*Ōmiya no onkoto*” with other chapters of the *Yōtenki* that have tales on the enshrinement of *Ōmiya*, in particular “*Sannō no koto*”, as well as “*Ōmiya engishō*”, the twenty-eighth chapter of the Tanenaga *Yōtenki* which is also found in the *Shōō go-nen* manuscript, and finally “*Hie shashi no koto*”, partially also

³³⁹ See Yamamoto 1985; Terakawa Machio 寺川真知夫, “Gunsho ruijū-bon *Yōtenki* *Ōmiya engi no kōsatsu*” 群書類従本『耀天記』大宮縁起の考察, in Arai Eizō 新井栄蔵, Watanabe Sadamaro 渡辺貞麿, and Mimura Terunora 三村晃功, *Eizan No Bunka*, Kyōto, Sekai Shisōsha, 1989, pp. 71-89; Satō 1994.

present in the 1292 manuscript, although the sections which I discuss are a later integration. While “*Ōmiya engishō*” and “*Hie shashi no koto*” are useful to this overview because they contain corollaries which expand on one tale found in “*Ōmiya no onkoto*”, I present “*Sannō no koto*” as an example of a source which tries to combine various narratives.

As for more recent *Yōtenki* chapters which are centred on *Ōmiya*, such as the fortieth one in the Tanenaga edition, “*Ōmiya*”, I will be touching upon these only as needed, because, as I have shown in the previous chapter, they are chiefly a re-elaboration of previous chapters. Finally, I also present variants of the *Ōmiya engi* found in other sources, chiefly *Sange yōryakki* and *Zoku kojidan*. The bulk of these texts will also constitute the backbone of my section on the *engi* of *Ninomiya* and on the *matsuri* later in the chapter.

The *Ōmiya engi* in “*Ōmiya no onkoto*”

The basic structure of “*Ōmiya no onkoto*”, of which a full translation can be found as an appendix to this thesis, is the following:

1. The “explanation” (*setsu* 説) of the enshrinement of *Ōmiya* as told by the *negi* Chikanari. This section is in classical Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文). It is headed by excerpts from other sources, which act as its supporting evidence.
2. Narinaka’s explanation. It is in *kanji-kana majiri bun* 漢字仮名交じり文 and presented as sourced from a diary, called the *Kamo nikki* 賀茂日記, apparently found at the house of the former governor (*kami* 守) of Mino, the Buddhist monk Shōmyō 勝命 (1112-?). Shōmyō was the son in law of Narinaka and nephew of the *negi* of Kamo.

Two smaller sections are found after either explanation:

3. At the end of Chikanari’s, we see a brief *mondō* 問答 (lit. “question and answer”) section in *kanbun*, where Chikanari discusses various possibilities for the physical appearance of the *Ōmiya* deity.

4. At the end of Narinaka's, a narrative section in *kana-kanji majiri bun* describes a meeting of monastics from the three areas of the Enryakuji in front of Ninomiya, and records a sermon by the preacher Chōken, where we find a supplementary explanation for the enshrinement of the deity and Narinaka's reaction to it.³⁴⁰

Below I analyse these four sections: I begin from Chikanari's explanation, then analyse the two shorter sections together, and finally turn to Narinaka's explanation.

Chikanari's explanation

Background documents

The first of the supporting sources found before Chikanari's explanation is an edict on the enshrinement of the deity purportedly issued from the Echi manor, in Ōmi, dated for the fifth year of the Kōwa 康和 era (1104). This narrates the enshrinement of Ōmiya in the following, essential manner:

御神者、大八島金刺朝庭、顯三輪明神、大津御宇之時、初天下坐

ST 29, p. 44

It is said that the *kami* manifested himself for the first time in the great eight islands at the court of Kanasashi.³⁴¹ He descended from heaven for the first time during the reign in Ōtsu.

The passage is followed by a clarifying statement:

尋本体、天照太神分身、或日枝トモ、或申日吉トモ、是則垂跡於叡岳之麓、
施威於日下故也

³⁴⁰ As seen in the previous chapter, Chōken is the putative founder of the Agui lineage at the Enryakuji.

³⁴¹ *Ōyashima* 大八島 is a poetical expression synonymous with Japan. Kanasashi 金刺 refers to the palace of the emperor Kinmei 欽明 (r. 539-572?), Shikishima Kanasashi 磯城島金刺. This appears clearly in "Ōmiya", where we see: 人皇第卅代磯城島金刺宮欽明天皇即位元年庚申、大和国城上郡大三輪神天降シテ、第卅九代天智天皇大津宮即位元年、大比叡大明神顯給日吉ト、三輪ト大物主神ハ此国地主也、已上日本紀神祇部、ST 29, p. 86. "[It was] the year, a metal monkey year, of the enthronement of the thirtieth human emperor Kinmei, [who resided] at the palace of Shikishima Kanasashi. The Miwa deity descended in the Shikinokami prefecture, in Yamato. On the enthronement the thirty-ninth human emperor, Tenji, [who resided] at his palace in Ōtsu, Ōbie *daimyōjin* manifested himself at Hie. The Miwa deity Ōmononushi is the lord of the land in this country. The above is from the "Jingibu" section of *Nihon shoki*."

ST 29, p. 44

If you enquire about the essence (*hontai* 本体) [of this deity], he is the divided body (*bunshin* 分身) of Amateru Ōmukami.³⁴² He is also called either Hie 日枝 or Hiyoshi 日吉. This is because, manifesting himself at the foot of Mount Hiei, he bestows his power under the sun.

Finally, immediately below this, we find verses attributed to Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111).

欽明之秋天、三輪月影潔、天智之春候、八柳風音涼

ST 29, p. 44

In the autumn sky of Kinmei, the pure moonlight over Miwa. In the springtime of Tenji, the fresh sound of the breeze in Yatsuyanagi.

Let me pause here for a moment. These three brief sections (the edict, the statement on the essence of Ōmiya, and Masafusa's verses) precede Chikanari's explanation proper. Presented without comment, they act as preliminary evidence supporting it.

Masafusa's verses and the edict share the same content. The locale of Yatsuyanagi 八柳, which appears in the verses only, is the lake harbour between Ōtsu and Sakamoto, also known as Shichihonyanagi 七本柳 or Kokarasaki 小唐崎.

The section on the essence of Ōmiya requires further unpacking. Hie and Hiyoshi are indicated here as alternative names for Ōmiya, and explained with what I interpret as a pun, where the presence of the sun (*hi* 日) character in both variants of the name is associated with the action of the deity exerting his power under the sun (*nikka* 日下).

³⁴² *Bunshin*, also read *bunjin*, or "divided body" indicates the transformation body of a Buddha, but it can also be used to indicate the "splitting" of a deity to be enshrined in different places. The passage is ambiguous. My reading of "Amateru Ōmukami is based on the *furigana* in the Tanenaga manuscript, and I use it throughout for consistency.

Another significant feature of this section is that it frames the earthly manifestation of the deity in terms of him performing a *suijaku* 垂跡 (lit. “[manifesting as a] temporary trace”). This is the only instance where we find the term in this chapter, which has no discussion of Śākyamuni as the *honji* of Ōmiya. Ōmiya here is characterised only as a divided body of Amaterasu. I therefore understand *suijaku* as being used here in a broad sense, to indicate the action of the deity manifesting himself, rather than his manifestation as the avatar of a specific Buddhist entity. This interpretation is coherent with a usage of the term with a broader meaning which was often found in medieval sources.³⁴³ Mention of the activity of the deity as a *suijaku* is also the one instance in which Chikanari’s explanation refers, albeit in a veiled manner, to the existence of any form of *shinbutsu shūgō*. We must pay attention to it, as this absence contrasts sharply with other versions of the same story, such as the one found in “Sannō no koto”, which emphasise the Buddhist role of Ōmiya as protector of Mahāyāna. I examine all these versions below.

Chikanari’s tale

Chikanari’s explanation proper comes after the background documents that I presented above. It narrates the circumstances of the deity’s enshrinement, with a focus on his encounter with the ancestor of the Hafuribe. This story is by far the most common account of the enshrinement of the Ōmiya deity, found in virtually every source on the Sannō deities. It is found in multiple *Yōtenki* chapters (“Hie shashi no koto”, “Ōmiya engishō”, “Sannō no koto”, “Ōmiya”), in *Enryakuji gokoku engi*,³⁴⁴ *Sange yōryakki* and *Hie sannō rishōki*, as well as later sources such as *Hiesha shintō himitsuki*. I have already outlined this tale in the first chapter, where I discussed the history of the Hafuribe lineage. However, because its key elements are crucial for the current chapter, I summarise it below in more detail.

The story begins when the deity, who, as we are told once again, first appeared in Yamato as the Miwa *myōjin*, is being transported to Ōtsu along with the court. On the way to Ōtsu, on the shore of lake Biwa in Karasaki, the future Ōmiya deity meets

³⁴³ Kuroda 1981, p. 14.

³⁴⁴ ZGR 807 *jo* 上, p. 435

Kotonomitachi no Ushimaro, the ancestor of the Hafuribe. Under the deity's bidding, Ushimaro agrees to build a shrine hall in a "favourable place to the northwest", where the deity will manifest a sign.³⁴⁵ This, we are told, is the location of the current Ōmiya hall. At this point in the narration, the tale focusing on Ushimaro is abruptly interrupted by a digression on another human character met by the deity, a fisherman called Tanaka no Tsuneyo, the mythical ancestor of the Ōtsu *jinin* which I have introduced in the first chapter. As this tale is linked to the origins of the *matsuri*, I return to it in more detail in a later section.

When the narrative returns to Ushimaro, we find him at his home in Karasaki, which we are told is built next to a large tree. The deity orders Ushimaro to let him board Ushimaro's boat, and consequently manifests the boat on top of the tree. The episode is very essentially told:

サテ宇志丸之船ニ令乗御テ、宇志丸之家ノ辺ナル大ナル樹ノ梢ニ所令顕給也、
宇志丸見テ此奇異ヲ、始知明神ナリト矣 ³⁴⁶

ST 29, p. 45

So, [the deity] asked to board Ushimaro's boat, and this was caused to appear on the topmost place of the great tree near Ushimaro's house. Ushimaro, having witnessed this miraculous [event], first understood that he was a deity.

My summary presents the events in the sequence in which these are narrated in "Ōmiya no onkoto", with the aim to show that their order in the narrative is at odds with their ostensible logical sequence. Most glaringly, Ushimaro agrees to build the shrine before he knows the deity to be a deity. Tanaka's digression further interrupts the continuity of the narration. There is no in-text indication about the sequence of events in the story, and no transitional prepositions indicating time such as "then" and "before", but the events are presented one after the other as a sequence.³⁴⁷ This

³⁴⁵ ST 29, p. 44.

³⁴⁶ Note that ST has 樹ノ梢所ニ令顕給也 for this passage. The Tanenaga manuscript at the National archives of Japan has however 樹ノ梢ニ所令顕給也, and it appears so in ZGR 48, p. 586.

³⁴⁷ I use the terms "story" and "narrative" in the sense first indicated by Genette, with the story being "[t]he narrative statement [...]. The oral or written discourse that undertakes to tell of an event or a series of events," and the narrative "[t]he *succession* of events, real or fictitious, that are the subjects of this discourse". Italics mine. Genette 1983, pp. 25-26.

might signal a stratified composition of Chikanari's explanation, where Tanaka's story was inserted in a pre-existing narrative on Ushimaro.³⁴⁸ I further discuss this composition in the later section on the *matsuri*.

One clarification is necessary at this point. Although the tale presented above is called "Chikanari's explanation", both in the *Yōtenki* and in my thesis, we had better interpret it as the explanation *championed* by Chikanari, as the text does not present it as Chikanari's invention at all, but instead tells us that this comes from a diary, found in the treasure hall of the Ōmiya shrine when Narinaka, Chikanari's grandfather, was not yet head priest.³⁴⁹ The device of presenting an origin tale as discovered in an old source, also employed elsewhere in "*Ōmiya no onkoto*", is commonly found in medieval Shintō material. According to Satō, we should therefore not necessarily regard the discovery of the diary as a credible historical event, but as an indication that this variant likely first emerged sometime in the twelfth century, when Narinaka, who died in 1190, was still alive.³⁵⁰ As we shall see throughout the chapter, this periodisation is validated when comparing Chikanari's explanation with other variations and variants of the *engi* of Ōmiya.

Variations of Chikanari's tale: "Sannō no koto" and the Zoku kojidan

The Ōmiya *engi* as championed by Chikanari ends here for "*Ōmiya no onkoto*", but variations of the story are preserved in other sources. Below I give one example from the *Yōtenki*, found in the chapter "*Sannō no koto*", as well as one from *Zoku kojidan* where this story is told even more essentially than in "*Ōmiya no onkoto*". These likely show different phases in the formation of the *engi*.

In "*Sannō no koto*" a tale is told which shares all the basic elements of Chikanari's explanation found in "*Ōmiya no onkoto*", but where this is expanded into a long form *setsuwa*, in which Ōmiya appears at Hie specifically to protect Buddhism. This element

³⁴⁸ This has been first claimed in Satō 1994, p. 54.

³⁴⁹ 已上、此日記在大宮御神殿内、成仲宿祢惣官ノ時、初披闕之云々、成仲孫子親成之説也
"The diary containing the above was first opened for inspection when the *negi* Narinaka was *sōkan*, in the hall of the Ōmiya shrine." ST 29, p. 44

³⁵⁰ Satō 1994, p. 45.

is absent from “*Ōmiya no onkoto*”. I report the tale here, highlighting the differences with Chikanari’s explanation.

The tale begins when the deity is being transferred from Miwa to the Ōtsu area. First he meets Tanaka no Tsuneyo in Yatsuyanagi, and commands him to transport him to Karasaki. Once in Karasaki, the soon-to-be Ōmiya deity meets Ushimaro. The latter, who was just a sketched-out character in “*Ōmiya no onkoto*”, has a short backstory in this version: he is a refugee from Hitachi, who, exiled by his foes, has come to live with his brothers in Karasaki. It is here that the deity finds him sitting under a tree, which in this version is specified to be Karasaki’s famous pine tree.

Ushimaro’s meeting with the deity is also told in greater detail in this variation, with the deity telling Ushimaro about his own encounter with another deity, *Zaō gongen* 蔵王権現, who presides over Mount Kinpu in Yamato:

我ハ大乘守護ノ志シ深シテ、サル所ヲ尋行ナリ、夫ニ金峰山ノ蔵王ノ許ニイ
タリキ、蔵王ノ云シ事ハ此処ハ小乗尚シ流布シ侍ルマジキ砌也、早ク他所ヲ
御尋可有云々

ST 29, p. 85

“Making a profound resolution to protect the Great vehicle, I went in search of an apt place.³⁵¹ I went to Kinpusen,³⁵² the residence of Zaō [*gongen*]. What Zaō told me was this: “Were this not a place where the Small vehicle is still being spread! Quick, you must look for another place.”

Ushimaro’s reply, which we find below, is also absent from Chikanari’s explanation, but it deserves attention as it mentions a mysterious five-coloured wave, the likes of which we will see again in our discussion of the *engi* of Ninomiya:

³⁵¹ Note that the text here can be understood to say that the deity is looking for a *saru tokoro* 然る所, lit. “such place”, but we can also take this expression as a pun, where the intended audience can read it as *saru tokoro* 猿所, lit. “monkey place”. The sacred animals of the Hie shrines are monkeys, a topic which “*Sannō no koto*” discusses at length.

³⁵² In Yoshino, in Yamato, a mountain connected to Miwa, from where the Ōmiya deity is said to come.

宇志丸申云、此海ノ面ニ時々五色波流立コト有、其源ヲ自大乘ナンドノ流布
スベキ事バシ侍ルヤラム、御尋候ヘカシ、抑君ハ誰人ヅト々々、山王仰云、
我ハ三輪ノ明神ト云者也、験証ヲ見スベシ、我ニ舟ヲカシ給ヘト云々

ST 29, pp. 85-86

Ushimaro said: "It sometimes happens that a five-coloured wave rises on the surface of this lake. Investigating the source of it, I have wondered whether it was not some sort of sign that I myself should diffuse the Great vehicle [here]. [But] first, let me ask you: who might you be?" And Sannō replied: "I am the one whom they call the bright deity of Miwa. I shall prove it to you. Lend me your boat."

The scene of Ushimaro lending the boat is also further explained. The deity borrows it, cruising rapidly on lake Biwa. When Ushimaro asks to get the boat back, Ōmiya manifests it upon a tree. The result is the same as in Chikanari's version: this is the sign from which Ushimaro knows that he is dealing with a deity.

The story then proceeds exactly like in "Ōmiya no onkoto", although the narrative is re-ordered to fit the logical sequence of the events. After having made his nature clear to Ushimaro, Ōmiya ties a sign to a tree, marking the spot for Ushimaro to build the Ōmiya shrine. Although the basic events are the same, here again we see that the tale is told in vibrant, almost embellished detail: the tree that the deity chooses as a sign is indicated precisely as an elm (*funyu* 粉楡). We are also told that the deity used a *katsura* 桂 branch as a walking aid, which Ushimaro plants and from which springs a large tree.³⁵³

The variation of Chikanari's *engi* found in "Sannō no koto" is also noteworthy because it alludes to legends existing as a corollary to the Ōmiya *engi*. In particular, when stating that Ushimaro was an exile from Hitachi, it refers to a story which we find in another chapter of the *Yōtenki*, "Hie shashi no koto", where we read the full legend of Ushimaro: born in Hitachi, he has a magical *koto* that protects him from his enemies by playing music whenever these are near him. In order to defeat him, one of his

³⁵³ ST 29, p. 86.

enemies marries his daughter and persuades her to cut a chord from the *koto*, thus rendering it useless. Bereft of the protection of his *koto*, Ushimaro flees to Karasaki, from where he starts the Hafuribe line.³⁵⁴

Allusions to the extended version of Ushimaro's tale do not feature consistently in variants of the Ōmiya *engi*, which is why I consider this tale as a corollary, related the main *engi* in a modular fashion: in other words, it can exist on its own or attached to the *engi*; it is not essential to its main narrative and can be omitted, but it can also be used in an embellished version such as we find in "Sannō no koto".

As for why the version of "Sannō no koto" is so detailed when compared to any other instance of the Ōmiya *engi*, we can chalk it up to the different use it makes of these legends. As should be clear from the content we have seen so far, "Ōmiya no onkoto" is best defined as a collection of records, and the same can be said for the other chapter we mentioned, "Hie shashi no koto" as we see it in the Tanenaga edition. On the contrary, "Sannō no koto" is a coherent narrative stringing together various *setsuwa*, whose ostensible aim is to enumerate in a persuasive manner the benefits of worshipping at Hie. As I show throughout the thesis, it tends to lay out its arguments in detail, and it is therefore not surprising that the tale is found here in a longform version. The preponderance of the Buddhist function of Ōmiya, absent in the variation found in "Ōmiya no onkoto", is also coherent with the overall theme of the chapter, which is that of highlighting Hie as a special place with a powerful connection to Buddhism. I have said in the previous chapter that the many *setsuwa* of "Sannō no koto" might connect it to sermon production: the extended tale of Ushimaro further supports this theory, as the motif of a talking *koto* is also found in the *Shintoshū*, a *setsuwa* collection connected to the Agui preaching lineage.³⁵⁵

Whilst I would hesitate to call the narrative of Ōmiya's enshrinement found in "Sannō no koto" a *variant* tale of Chikanari's explanation, as they both share the same key elements, I propose that both these tales are variations of the same narrative, of which Chikanari's explanation in "Ōmiya no onkoto" represents a skeletal, essential version,

³⁵⁴ ST 29, p. 63.

³⁵⁵ Hamanaka 1987.

with “Sannō no koto” riffing on it. An even more skeletal variation of Chikanari’s tale is found in the *setsuwa* collection *Zoku kojidan* 続古事談 (1219). Here we see the explanation on the enshrinement of Ōmiya said to be championed by the *negi* Narinobu 成信 (died 1046), Narinaka’s predecessor:

山王ハ伝教大師ノ靈ト申。僻事也。社司成信カタリケルハ。先祖ミツノ浜々住人ニテアリケルニ。夕暮ニ旅人来テ船ヲカリテ云ク。此浜ニカヨフ人也。コノ船コレニ在ベシトイフ。ツトメテ高キ木ノ上ニ此船アリ。神人ノシワザトシリテ。帰命シテ問タテマツル。則現テ神託ヲノタマハク。此山ノ麓ニスマント思フ。則社ヲツクリテシヅメ奉ル。此ハマノ住人ノ子孫ナガク神人ナリトゾ。

GR 487, p. 665

They say that Sannō is the divine spirit of Dengyō daishi. It is a mistake. This is what the *shashi* Narinobu says: [his] ancestor was a resident of Mitsunohama. One evening a traveller came to him, and it is said that he borrowed his boat. It was such person, in this harbour.

“Give us that boat”, he said. And the next morning the boat was on top of a tall tree. Knowing [this for] the act of a divine person, [the ancestor] paid homage [to the deity] and raised a request, and the deity manifested himself and bestowed an oracle: ³⁵⁶ “I am thinking of moving to the foothills of this mountain. You will appease me by building a shrine”. The descendants of the resident of this harbour have been for a long time [the deity’s] priests.

This version, which is also found attributed to Narinobu in *Yōtenki*’s “Ōmiya engishō”, shares the same basic elements of Chikanari’s one in “Ōmiya no onkoto”. The Hafuribe ancestor meets the deity and lends him his boat only to find it on top of a tree, a sign from which he recognises Ōmiya as a deity and consents to founding his shrine. It also,

³⁵⁶ The term in Japanese is *kimyō* 帰命, lit. “taking refuge (in Buddhism)”, “entrusting [oneself]”. I translate it in a broad sense, however this, taken together with the use of *suijaku* and *bunshin* before, makes a strong case to argue that the vocabulary around deities and their apparitions, as well as the relationships of humans with deities, is a Buddhist one, although depending on the context it might assume a less connotated meaning.

however, presents some crucial differences: Narinobu's tale is not set in Karasaki, but in Mitsunohama, the Biwa Lake harbour in Southern Sakamoto. There is also no sign here of the deity wanting to ensure the spread of Mahāyāna like in "Sannō no koto", but in Narinobu's explanation the shrine must be built to appease the deity.

There are several reasons to think that this version must be older than the one found in the *Yōtenki*: first, *Zoku kojidan* was finished before the *Yōtenki*, and Narinobu represents the views of a generation of priests preceding the *Yōtenki*'s Narinaka and Chikanari. Secondly, there is no compelling reason to contest the attribution to Narinobu of this version, which is also found in the *Yōtenki*. Thirdly, and most importantly, the presence of Mitsunohama in the legend instead of Karasaki is coherent with the historical evidence on the Hafuribe family: as we have seen in the first chapter, both the *Hiesha shintō himitsuki* and "Hie shashi no koto" state that the first residences of the Hafuribe were situated in the southern area of Sakamoto, and not in Karasaki.

The existence of Narinobu's tale therefore suggests a stratified composition of the variant of the Ōmiya *engi* that I have called Chikanari's explanation, with a base layer, represented by Narinobu's version, which was in time modified and extended. As for the reason to move the scene of the encounter with the deity from Mitsunohama to Karasaki, it will be clarified in my discussion of the *matsuri*, a few sections from this one.

Mondō and sermon

I now turn to the second variant of the Ōmiya *engi*, where Saichō, and not Ushimaro, is the main human actor in the enshrinement. This variant is found in "Ōmiya no onkoto" as part of the discussion on the sermon recorded at the end of the chapter. More information on legends of Saichō enshrining the deity as seen by the Hafuribe can also be extracted from the *mondō* section in the middle of the chapter, and because both the discussion of the sermon and the *mondō* are reported in brief sections which are not framed as the "explanation" of a *negi*, I report these together here. Variations on these stories centring on Saichō are also found in a variety of other

texts, such as *Hie sannō rishōki*, *Enryakuji gokoku engi*,³⁵⁷ *Zoku Kojidan* and *Keiranshūyōshū*.

The mondō section

In the *mondō* section, positioned right after Chikanari's explanation, Chikanari is first asked about the aspect of the icon of the deity (*misontai* 御尊体) enshrined in the hall at Hie: is Ōmiya represented in the guise a layperson (*zokugyō* 俗形) or a monastic (*sōgyō* 僧形)? Chikanari's response is that the deity is enshrined in the form of a layperson, a nobleman, as this is the same guise in which he appeared to Ushimaro.³⁵⁸

The second question presumably comes in response to this statement of Chikanari's. A contradiction is perceived between the aspect of the deity as a layperson and legends where he is a monastic. In a passage that I have already quoted in chapter two, the interlocutor asks Chikanari about worldly transmissions where it is said that the three saintly mountain sovereigns are Buddhist monks who received the precepts from Saichō.

Chikanari replies:

大宮宝殿所安置御尊体、已俗形之上、自公家献御装束之時、御服ハ俗服也、
自昔至今、其儀無改云云、又二宮聖真子者法服也以之推之、伝教大師御時有
御出家者、何被献俗服哉ト、常ニ所申也云々

ST p. 45.

For the very reason that the sacred image enshrined at the Ōmiya shrine hall has the form of a layperson, when courtiers offer up sacred garments, these clothes are laypeople's clothes. From the times of old until now, this custom has not changed.

³⁵⁷ ZGR vol. 87 pp. 430-442, 442-459, 459-475.

³⁵⁸ ST 29, p. 45. "Ōmiya", chapter forty of the *Tanenaga Yōtenki*, has: 大宮、俗形、老翁体也 "Ōmiya. [Has the] aspect of a layperson, the physical form of an old man". *Hie sannō rishōki* has the same, ZGR 52, p. 750. Mandalas that have him in his *suijaku* form, such as the previously mentioned one at the Nezu museum, may depict him as a layperson. *Keiranshūyōshū* discusses the appearance of Ōmiya in the guise of an old man in the context of the identity of Miwa *myōjin* with the deity Daikokuten 大黒天, something which is not found in any the other sources seen above. T2410_.76.0636a02-03.

As for Ninomiya and Shōshinji, we can infer they wear monastic robes. It is commonly said that in the times of Dengyō *daishi* one monk might have offered them laypeople's clothes.

I discuss the implications of the *mondō* section later, and for now turn to summarising the final section of “Ōmiya no onkoto”.

The sermon at Ōmiya

Here the scene is set with a monastic called Shunkan 春寛, the bishop of the Hosshōji,³⁵⁹ offering the five great Mahāyāna sutras at the Hie shrines.³⁶⁰ On this occasion, Chōken is said to give a sermon in front of the Ōmiya shrine. The main points of the sermon are as follows.

First, Chōken states that it is “questionable” (*fushin* 不審) to state that, among the deities of the seven shrines, Ninomiya can be considered the lord of the land:

三聖ハ大和国三輪明神也、伝教大師金峰山ニ参詣シテ、叡山ニ仏法弘メ候ハシニ、鎮守ト成給ト申御スニ、我身ハ非能大乘鎮守ニ、三輪明神ニ祈給ヘト詫宣アリ、仍参テ祈給ニ、金輪鍔三ツ現テ、頭上ヲ照給、仍勸請シ具シテ、其光止給所ニ、三処ニ三聖ヲ奉崇給リ、仍三聖ハ同時ニ天降給ヘリ、取分テ地主ト申事不審也

ST 29, p. 46

The three sages are the Miwa *myōjin* of Yamato. When Dengyō *daishi* went on a pilgrimage to Mount Kinpu, he prayed [the deity] to diffuse the Buddhist teachings

³⁵⁹ The Hosshōji 法勝寺 was a temple in Kyōto founded by the retired emperor Shirakawa 後白河 (1053-1129, r. 1127-1192) in 1075. Shunkan 俊寛 (d. 1179) was its appointed bishop. In 1177 he plotted for the overthrow of Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118-1181) and was exiled in Iōshima, in the current prefecture of Kagoshima, where he died. The first character of the name is spelled differently in *Yōtenki*, but the setting of the chapter is contemporary to the times when Shunkan was bishop.

³⁶⁰ Avataṃsaka (jp. *Kegonkyō* 華嚴經), Mahāsaṃnipata (jp. *Daijikyō* 大集經), Mahāprajñāpāramitā (jp. *Daihon hannya kyō* 大品般若經), Lotus (jp. *Hokkekyō* 法華經), and Nirvana (jp. *Nehankyō* 涅槃經) sutras.

on Mount Hiei and become a protector [deity], and received an oracle which said: “I cannot protect Mahāyāna. You must ask the Miwa *myōjin*”.

So, he went and prayed. Three golden rings appeared and shone over his head. Thus, [Saichō] made use [of the three rings] to transfer [the *myōjin*], and in the place where the lights [projected] from these stopped, in three places, we venerate the three sages. Therefore, the three sages descended from heaven at the same time: dividing [them] up and calling [one of them] lord of the land is questionable.

The source for Chōken’s explanation is given as a text called *Sannōin no ki* 山王院ノ記. It is stated that the author of the text is unknown and that the manuscript itself is “unseen”.

The second point of the sermon is whether the shrine of Shimo-Hachiōji 下八王子, one of the seven median shrines, venerates the same deity as Hachiōji from the seven upper shrines. This point serves to shift the perspective of the chapter from the sermon itself to Narinaka’s reaction to it.

First, Narinaka states that the equation of Shimo-Hachiōji with Hachiōji is a “big mistake” (*oonaru higagoto* 大ナル僻事), as Shimo-Hachiōji has a role at the festival outside those of the seven upper shrines, and is therefore a separate shrine. Secondly, and more relevant to the point of this chapter, Narinaka also states that he has never seen the explanation purportedly sourced from the *Sannōin no ki*. Because, however, an oracle states that Ninomiya is enshrined at Hie “since the times of the Buddha Krakucchanda” (*Kuruson butsu no toki yori* 俱楼孫仏ノ時ヨリ), and therefore before all the other deities of Hie, then he must be the *jinushi*. Krakucchanda is the first of the buddhas of the present era, or *bhadrakalpa*, and the fourth of the six Buddhas preceding the enlightenment of Śākyamuni. A *bhadrakalpa* lasts hundreds of millions of years: Narinaka is therefore stating here that Ninomiya has been enshrined at Hie since a very remote past. His explanation finds some subscribers in the monastic community, to which the perspective of the chapter shifts next. A monk in particular, called Shinga 深賀, rises from the assembly to confirm Narinaka’s explanation, stating that in what he calls “the transmissions of the elders” (*kōrōden* 古老伝), it is also said that Obie (that

is Ninomiya) manifested himself in Sakamoto at the times of the Buddha Krakucchanda.

The significance of alternative explanations

Having outlined the content of the shorter sections of “Ōmiya no onkoto”, I briefly reflect on their salient points.

The most notable feature of both the *mondō* section and the sermon is that they present a negotiation over mythological authority between an Hafuribe *negi* and other sources of knowledge on the deities.

In particular, we must pay attention to the grounds on which the two *negi*, Chikanari and Narinaka, reject explanations which present alternatives to the deity identities which they champion. In the *mondō*, Chikanari states that the Ōmiya deity is enshrined as a layperson because that was the guise under which Ushimaro encountered him. When Narinaka rejects monastic mythologies on the deities, the crux of the matter is establishing the *jinushi* deity, the lord of the land, and it appears that what tips the balance towards one deity over another is their seniority.

We can therefore extract some preliminary conclusions from these sections. First, we see that priestly authority is consulted on the deities of Hie and their enshrinement. This is coherent with the role that the Hafuribe seem to occupy in other sources, for instance the *Zoku kojidan*, where we have seen Narinobu consulted on monastic explanations on the deities in a similar way. Particularly significant is that Narinobu in *Zoku kojidan* and Narinaka in the *Yōtenki* even use the same expression, with the explanations with which they do not agree classified as *higagoto*, “mistakes”. On one hand, the usage of the same expression by the Hafuribe *negi* is an indicator that both texts do not present a *verbatim* report of what the head priests might have said, but that the latter are in a way stock characters. On the other hand, however, their similarities also strongly suggest that the function of the Hafuribe in these narratives is to act as a soundboard for explanations of deities. This observation is still preliminary, and future research must look to ground this in historical sources, but there seems to be a hint here that the Hafuribe are constructed by the narrative as one quintessential authority on the mythologies of the Hie deities.

Secondly, when priests and monks are shown not to see eye to eye, the main point of contention is the date and mode of enshrinement of the deities. In the case of Chikanari in particular, his aim seems to be to sponsor a version of the deities' enshrinement that is compatible with the origin tale of the Hafuribe lineage. This is particularly visible when he rejects the appearance of the Ōmiya deity as a monk. This is predicated on the grounds of its incompatibility with the mythical origin of the Hafuribe, where the deity showed himself to Ushimaro as a layperson.

Thirdly, Narinaka's reaction to the sermon is the first time in this chapter where we encounter a version of Ninomiya's enshrinement where he is framed as a primeval deity, enshrined at Hie since the very remote past. I reserve a deeper discussion of this topic a few sections from now, where I focus on the *engi* of Ninomiya, but for now we must note that in "Ōmiya no onkoto" we see clearly that there exist alternative options for Ninomiya's enshrinement, and that in some of these he is not indicated as the most ancient deity at Hie. We see this clearly in the version of the tale where Saichō imports all the three saintly mountain sovereigns together at the same time, and in Chōken's statement that this makes the question of what deity is the lord of the land "questionable" or "uncertain". Taking all this together, we can deduce in first instance that framing Ninomiya as the primeval deity is related to the contentious problem of establishing the *jinushi*, and whether this should be a single deity or if multiple *jinushi* are allowed. Secondly, we also see that at least in the 1280s, when "Ōmiya no onkoto" certainly existed, and perhaps already late in the twelfth century, when Chōken's sermon is set, there already existed not only a discourse on the seniority of Ninomiya, but also alternatives where Ninomiya was not seen as the primeval deity of Hie.

Finally, we can look at the *mondō* and sermon sections from the point of view of what narrative modules they share with the other versions of Ōmiya's enshrinement we have seen so far. In particular, we see that both Chikanari's tale and Chōken's one, where Saichō imports the three mountain sovereigns together, share one crucial element, where one or some of the Hie deities are imported from Miwa.

If we look at the extended version of Chikanari's tale from "Sannō no koto", another central element of the narration is the encounter of Ōmiya with the Kinpusen deity,

and his having to negotiate the place from which he must protect Māhāyana. A similar encounter also exists in the variant of the enshrinement where Saichō imports the deities from Miwa, although here the role of Ōmiya in the negotiations is taken up by Saichō himself. The recurrence of these narrative strands, taken together with the presence of stock phrases such as we have seen for Narinobu and Narinaka, alert us that these tales had a certain level of formularity, and that imagery, events, and even pieces of dialogue thereby present constituted a mythological repertoire on the Hie deities, which formed the basis for these tales.

We see yet another instance of this porosity, this time centred around the issue of a deity's genealogy, in the next section.

Narinaka's explanation

Narinaka's explanation of Ōmiya's identity is entirely different from the previous two variants examined in two main ways.³⁶¹ Firstly, Ōmiya is not transferred to Hie from Miwa, and secondly, the tale does not so much focus on his enshrinement, but on one of his subsequent deeds, and on how this puts Hie in relation to other shrines around Kyōto:

又説云、大宮ト申ハ、即鳴鑼^{メイテキ}ノ明神ト申也、是賀茂社下宮ノ夫神^{ヲフト}ニテ御ス
也、下賀茂ト申ハ、松尾明神ノ御娘^{ムスメ}也

ST 29, p. 45

Another explanation says that [the deity who] we call Ōmiya is none but Meiteki no *myōjin*. He is the husband deity of the lower Kamo shrine. The [deity of the] lower Kamo shrine is the daughter of the Matsuo *myōjin*.

The tale opens with the female deity of the lower Kamo shrine doing the washing on the riverbank near her ancestral home. She sees an arrow floating down, picks it up, and places it on the railings of her sleeping quarters.

³⁶¹ Much as Chikanari's explanation was not Chikanari's own explanation, but the one championed by him, this is not so much Narinaka's own explanation, but the one that was found when he was *negi*.

Soon the maiden becomes pregnant, and on the day when the child is born, the arrow flows up in the air in the *ushitora* 丑寅 direction (northeast, the direction of Hie in relation to Kyōto), with a loud cry. Three years later, the Matsuo deity, her father, grows suspicious. Deciding to find out the identity of his grandson's father, he invites to his house some neighbours and gives the child a *sake* cup, to offer to the person whom he thinks is his father. When the child inevitably cannot find a suitable candidate, he transforms into a dragon and flies up into the sky. The child, the tale tells us, is Wakeikazuchi, the deity of the upper Kamo shrine, and his father is none but Ōmiya, who here is called Meiteki (lit. "humming arrow"), from the miraculous arrow which made the deity of the lower Kamo shrine pregnant.

This tale, we are told, comes from a source called the *Kamo nikki* 賀茂日記, which is to be found with Narinaka's son in law, the governor of the Mino province, known by his ordination name Shōmyō 勝命.³⁶² Shōmyō's credentials as a purveyor of mythologies are bolstered by his family ties: he is also the nephew of the *negi* of the Kamo shrine.

Below I analyse Narinaka's explanation under two points of view. First, I propose a reading of the tale in which its importance is to place Hie into a network of shrines around Kyōto. Secondly, I zoom in on the epithet Meiteki/Narikabura, and start to investigate its significance in the mythologies of the Hie shrines.

Finding Hie's place in shrine networks

The first observation to be drawn from Narinaka's variant of the Ōmiya *engi* is that it mythologically establishes shrine networks through a narration centred on Ōmiya. This operation is not in essence too dissimilar from how the first variants connect Ōmiya's enshrinement at Hie to Yamato institutions such as Miwa, but while in the first instance the connection was established through a legend focused on the importation of the deity from afar, here the network of shrines is a local one.

The tale linking Hie to Kamo is framed in the text as arising out of (and mythologically explaining) the family ties between the Kamo and Hie priesthood. One of these connections is Shōmyō, related to Narinaka by marriage and to the Kamo priests by

³⁶² Shōmyō was born in Tenei 天永 3 (1112) and became a Buddhist monk in Shōan 3 (1173). His poems are included in the *Shinkokinwakashū*. His date of death is unknown, but he was still alive in the third year of the Bunji 文治 era (1187).

birth, but as we have seen in chapter one, there is also proof that these links did exist more anciently, as evidenced by the surviving genealogical sources.

It is therefore credible that the two shrines shared a common pool of stories, as claimed in “*Ōmiya no onkoto*”. The *Kamo nikki* is not extant, and there is always the possibility that it might not be a real book, much like the diary purportedly found in the Ōmiya shrine which we have seen as a source for Chikanari’s explanation. There are however other extant sources, linked to the Kamo shrine, which report variations on the tale found in the *Yōtenki*. We see one such variant in the “Hatashi honkeichō” 秦氏本系帳, a section of the *Honchō gatsuryō* 本朝月令 (possibly completed in the tenth century):

In the beginning there was a Hata woman who came to the Kadono river to wash clothes. At that time an arrow came floating down from upstream. The girl took the arrow and returned home, where she stuck the arrow above the door [of her house]. At this the girl became pregnant without any husband, and she subsequently gave birth to a boy. Her parents thought this strange, and asked her [how this could have happened]. The girl replied that she did not know. They asked her several times, but even after several months she still said she did not know. Her parents said “Even though she had no husband, a child could not have been born without a father. The father must be from among family and relatives or neighbors that frequent our house.” They therefore prepared a feast and invited a great crowd of people. They then ordered the boy to take a cup and offer it to the man that he believed was his father. At this the boy did not indicate anyone in the gathering, but instead he gazed over to the arrow above the door. He was then transformed into a thunder god and he burst through the roof of the building as he flew off into the sky. Therefore the [god of the] Upper Kamo Shrine is called Wake no Ikazuchi no Kami. The [god of the] Lower Kamo Shrine is called Mioya no Kami. The arrow above the door was the Matsunoo daimyōjin. Thus the Hata worship the gods in these three places.³⁶³

The existence of this variation makes it clear that the Hafuribe likely did have access to legends on the Kamo shrines; on the other hand, from the lack of Hie in the tale

³⁶³ Como, Michael, *Weaving and binding: immigrant gods and female immortals in ancient Japan*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2010, p. 5.

from “Hatashi honkeichō” we can surmise that Hie was added later to this tale, which at an earlier stage only involved the two Kamo shrines and Matsuo.

It is worth noting that all these three shrines were part of the court-sponsored group of twenty-two shrines, of which Hie was a relative newcomer, having just been added in 1081, and a member of the lower group, whilst Kamo and Matsuo belonged to the upper one. The presence of Hie in the tale might be therefore related not only to the genealogical links of its priest with the ones at Kamo, but also to its presence in this group of shrines. Doubts remain however on the significance of it, as without related material it is difficult to establish whether the central position afforded to Hie in Narinaka’s narration was aspirational, aiming to find a place for Hie among loftier shrines, or whether it reflects the increased status that Hie was steadily gaining in the late twelfth century, when the tale is said to have been told.

It is also significant that this tale, specifically a variation identical to the one reported in Como, is also found in the *Keiranshūyōshū*, in a section entitled “On the identity of Hie with Kamo” 賀茂日吉一體事. It is used to substantiate the fact that among the Sannō deities Shōshinji is the one who is identical to the deity of the upper Kamo shrine, the small son who reveals himself as the thunder deity Wakeikazuchi. To support this statement, we also find quoted in the *Keiranshūyōshū* a text attributed to Enchin, stating that Shōshinji is a thunder deity:

賀茂日吉一體事 神祇鑿典云。大比叡山王亦名日神。小比叡山王亦名月神。
聖眞子山王亦名雷神云云口決云。日吉聖眞子與賀茂大明神一體也云云是以於
賀茂社者名別雷太神。日吉聖眞子社亦名雷神云云最極祕密也。

T2410_.76.0529a02-07

On the identity with Kamo. The *Jingi kanten* says that the mountain sovereign Ōbie also has the name Nisshin 日神 (lit. “sun deity”), and that the mountain sovereign Obie also has the name Gachijin 月神 (lit. “moon deity). The mountain sovereign Shōshinji also has the name Raijin 雷神 (lit. “thunder deity). A *kuden* says that [the] Hie [deity] Shōshinji is identical with the Kamo *daimyōjin*. It is because of this that

the Kamo deity is called Wakeikazuchi *daijin* 別雷太神. It is an utmost secret that another name for Shōshinji of Hie is Raijin.

In the *Keiranshūyōshu* tale, the father of Wakeikazuchi/Shōshinji is only indicated as the Matsuo deity, and not identified with Ōmiya like in “Ōmiya no onkoto”. However, in a passage just two paragraphs below, the *Keiranshūyōshu* states that the Hie and Matsuo deities are the same.³⁶⁴ Because of the proximity of the sections, I would therefore not rule out that the *Keiranshūyōshu* might want us to read the tale of the Kamo maiden with this equivalence in mind.

In this section I have shown that the story of the Kamo maiden is susceptible to being re-signified: we find it as a tale centred on Ōmiya in “Ōmiya no onkoto”, as part of the *engi* of Shōshinji in *Keiranshūyōshū*, and as an origin tale of Kamo in “Hatashi honkeichō”. I would therefore argue that in the context of the mythology of Hie, more than establishing incontrovertibly the identity of one of its deities, what matters most in this tale seems to be its capacity to establish links among shrines, reflective of familiar and institutional relationships among Hie, Kamo and Matsuo. These links as they are depicted for deities are sometimes familial ones too- Matsuo is the father-in-law of the Ōmiya deity in “Ōmiya no onkoto”-, but in *Keiranshūyōshū* we also see a relation of identity, where Shōshinji is identified with Kamo’s Wakeikazuchi.

Another relation of identity which we must keep in mind is the one between Hie and Matsuo from *Keiranshūyōshū*. The blueprint for this equivalence, as I show later, must be something similar to the section of *Kojiki* which we have seen in the first chapter, and that I quote again here:

Ōyamakui, also known as Yamasue no Ōnushi no kami. Seats at mount Hiei in Ōmi province and at Matsuo in Kadono. He uses a humming arrow (*meiteki* or *narikabura* 鳴鏑).

In both sources we see that the identity is between Matsuo and a deity called Hie, not specified as Ōmiya or Ninomiya. This Hie deity also has an epithet, *meiteki*, which we

³⁶⁴ T2410_.76.0529b04-07.

see referred to Ōmiya in Narinaka's explanation in "Ōmiya no onkoto". It is to this epithet that I now turn.

Meiteki no myōjin, Ninomiya, and naming the kami

This section focuses on the epithet *meiteki*, and seeks to investigate its usage. I show that the epithet could initially be referred to either Ōmiya or Ninomiya, but that in the *Yōtenki* we begin to see a shift towards its exclusive usage for Ninomiya, a process which we can also follow by looking to other Sannō shintō books. I argue that this is one crucial step towards the establishment of the displacement narrative, where Ninomiya is identified with Ōyamakui, the *Kojiki* deity to which the epithet Narikabura is affixed.

Although this subsection is still related to mythical explanations centred on the identity of Ōmiya, this is then where I start shifting my attention to Ninomiya, to whom the next section of the chapter is entirely dedicated.

Meiteki in "Sannō no koto"

Aside from the *Kojiki*, "Ōmiya no koto" and *Keiranshūyōshū*, we find the epithet *meiteki* referred to one of the Hie deities in "Sannō no koto", where it is however Ninomiya, and not Ōmiya, who holds the humming arrow:

サレバ朝敵ノ追討ヲモ、王家ノ守護ヲモ、山王ノ昔ヨサ御カヲ入給ヘリ、二
宮ヲ鳴鏑ノ明神ト申ス事モ思被合処也

ST 29, p. 89

So, the Sannō deities have for a long time devoted great efforts to attacking the enemies of the court and protecting the imperial household. We must also take into account that Ninomiya is called "the great bright deity who has the humming arrow (*narikabura/meiteki no myōjin* 鳴鏑ノ明神)".

Why is Meiteki Ninomiya and not Ōmiya? We have said that that Narinaka's explanation in "Ōmiya no onkoto" represents an early stage in the formation of the Ōmiya *engi*, correspondent with the late twelfth century, whilst "Sannō no koto" is by all probabilities a more recent stage. We can therefore hypothesise a process of

reconfiguration that led the epithet Meiteki to indicate Ninomiya instead of Ōmiya in “Sannō no koto”.

Satō suggests that the two deities might have become confused. By implying that the epithet Meiteki was always referred to Ninomiya, he suggests that it was mistakenly used for Ōmiya in “Ōmiya no onkoto”.³⁶⁵ I would exclude this reading, because, as I will argue later, “Ōmiya no onkoto” is not the only case when the epithet is referred to Ōmiya. I relate the shifting of the epithet to the structure of “Sannō no koto”, and to its different narrative requirements *vis-à-vis* “Ōmiya no onkoto”.

In “Sannō no koto”, as we have seen, origin stories of the Sannō shrines are presented as a coherent narrative, as opposed to “Ōmiya no onkoto” which merely lists these paratactically. This means that the authors of “Sannō no koto” were compelled by its very structure to operate a selection among the different possible variants of the deities’ enshrinement. In the case of Ōmiya, the variant adopted is Chikanari’s one, which sees only one deity imported from Miwa when the capital is transferred to Ōtsu, and which records his meeting with the Hafuribe ancestor Ushimaro. This encounter would be impossible if Ōmiya were identified with the more local deity Meiteki; the choice of *engi*, then, means that the epithet Meiteki becomes unsuitable for Ōmiya. This is however not abandoned, but recovered by the authors of “Sannō no koto” by referring it to Ninomiya.

We can now think about why the epithet was shifted to another one of the Sannō deities, instead of omitted from the narrative. Why was it important that one Sannō deity be Meiteki? As we have seen from Narinaka’s explanation and from its consonance with the *Kojiki* passage, the identification of one Hie deity as Meiteki is one way through which Hie comes to be related to the Matsuo shrine. As we have seen, this was a relation with deep historical links, and it makes sense that authors of mythologies on the Sannō deities strove to maintain it. A sign of this importance is that the equivalence of one Hie deity with Meiteki in the context of his identification with Matsuo appears not only in *Kojiki* and *Yōtenki*, but also in several texts on the Sannō deities, such as the *Keiranshūyōshū*, and, as we shall see below, the *Enryakuji*

³⁶⁵ Satō 1994, p. 41.

gokoku engi. It is also crucial to note that this is the name with which one Hie deity appears not only in the *Kojiki*, but also in other *kami* genealogies such as the *Sendai kuji hongu*, which are frequently quoted in Sannō shintō texts to lend credibility to their interpretation of deity identities: they cannot just dispense with it.

What kind of deity is Meiteki?

I turn to the use of genealogies in Sannō shintō texts at the end of this section. Before that, I will reflect on the characteristics of the deity known as Meiteki, that is to say, on the characteristics which a deity assumes as a consequence of being bestowed the epithet of Meiteki.

I have argued that in “Ōmiya no onkoto”, the *Kojiki* and *Keiranshūyōshū* the central characteristic of the deity called Meiteki is its relation to Matsuo, and in the case of “Ōmiya no onkoto”, also that with Kamo. By transferring the epithet to Ninomiya, “Sannō no koto” adds other characteristics to Meiteki which will become fundamental to our current understanding of Ōyamakui/Meiteki. First, but this is more idiosyncratic to this chapter, it changes the significance of the arrow, which from a divine sign becomes a symbol of military prowess and of the protective function of the deity. Secondly, and crucially, it attaches the epithet of Meiteki to a deity, Ninomiya, which was already understood as a primeval one and the *jinushi*, said to be enshrined at Hie since the times of the Buddha Krakucchanda, as we see stated in “Ōmiya no onkoto” and reiterated in “Sannō no koto”.

This is a crucial passage. In the current “official” discourse, the equivalence of Ninomiya and Ōyamakui is conceived of as a bundle of information: Ninomiya is Ōyamakui, who has the epithet Meiteki derived from the *Kojiki*; he is also a primeval deity, whose seniority is stated by ancient and medieval sources on the Sannō deities, and confirmed by the historical record represented by the *Kojiki*, the earliest source on any Sannō deity. The current understanding is therefore the following: Meiteki appears in the *Kojiki*, which is the oldest source where one of the Sannō deities appears. Because medieval sources tell us that Ninomiya is the most ancient deity, then Meiteki from the *Kojiki* must be Ninomiya.

This reconstruction can however be questioned by looking in depth at material related to both Ōmiya and Ninomiya.

Firstly, as we have already seen in the first and second chapter, historical evidence suggests that we better identify the Sannō deity first known as Hie, the name by which he appears in the *Kojiki*, with Ōmiya rather than Ninomiya.³⁶⁶ Secondly, by analysing various mythologies in this chapter, we can also begin to take apart that bundle which is the identity of Ōyamakui as it is currently conceived. Specifically, if we look at the entirety of the *Yōtenki*, we see the epithet of Meiteki functioning as a module, where the arrow held by the deity can be referred to Ōmiya and the tale of the girl washing clothes at the river, or to Ninomiya and his military prowess. The epithet of Meiteki in the *Yōtenki* also does not always refer to an ancient, primeval deity: in Narinaka's tale, Ninomiya is the oldest deity enshrined at Hie, but Ōmiya is the deity called Meiteki, who, like in the *Kojiki*, is related to Matsunoo. It is only in "Sanno no koto" that we see that Ninomiya is called Meiteki *and also* identified as a primeval deity. Although he is not here explicitly identified as the deity Ōyamakui found in *kami* genealogies, we can think that the identity is implied by the choice of the epithet Narikabura.

The name Ōyamakui in Sannō shintō texts

Related to my last point, I finally turn to the matter of the presence of the Hie deities in genealogies, and where we find those referenced in Sannō shintō texts. In particular, having tackled the matter of the epithet Narikabura, I now turn more specifically to the name Ōyamakui. While this does not appear anywhere in the *Yōtenki*, two sources where we see this name are the *Keiranshūyōshū* and *Enryakuji gokoku engi*.

In *Keiranshūyōshū*, immediately after the tale of the girl washing clothes on the river, we find the following entry:

日吉松尾一體事 大山咋神亦名山木大主ノ神。松尾ノ神也。此神者座淡海國

日枝山亦座山城國葛野邑。共用鳴鏑神也一。

³⁶⁶ For instance in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 (completed 901), where the two deities are indicated with the names of Hie and Obie, with Hie being incontrovertibly Ōmiya, or the *Denjutsu isshinkaimon* section I quoted in chapter one, where we see the expression "Hie, the dhyana master Hōsshuku" 比叡法宿禪師.

Concerning the identity of Hie and Matsuo. Ōyamakui, or Yamasue Ōnushi no kami, is the deity of Matsuo. This deity has his seat in the Ōmi province on Mount Hiei, or in Kadono, in the Yamashiro province. Also known as the deity who holds the humming arrow (*meiteki no kami*).

The content of this passage is the same as the *Kojiki* entry, with the deity called simply “Hie”. I argue however that *Keiranshūyōshū* gives us contextual hints to infer which of the deities of Hie was “Hie” which lets us identify it with Ōmiya.

The article on the equivalence of Hie and Matsuo is positioned right underneath the one with the girl washing clothes at the Kadono river, in which the deity impregnating her is identified with Matsuo. We are therefore entitled to read the equivalence as underlying the tale that comes before it. The deity impregnating the girl is therefore “Hie”. This is where I take a leap. In the version of the same story in “Ōmiya no onkoto”, although Matsuo is not identified with Hie, we have Ōmiya as the deity who impregnates the Hata (there Kamo) girl. Although it is still not clear how the *Yōtenki* and *Keiranshūyōshū* relate to each other, I would argue that we can take the contiguous passages where *Keiranshūyōshū* identifies Hie with Matsuo and recounts the tale of the Hata girl, read these against the version of the tale in “Ōmiya no onkoto”, and finally put these things together with the fact that, in ancient material, the deity known as Hie had likely been Ōmiya. Altogether this gives us solid ground for questioning that the deity indicated as Ōyamakui in this section of the *Keiranshūyōshū* is Ninomiya.

The situation is different in the *Enryakuji gokoku engi*. This is the only medieval reference that I could find where Ninomiya is explicitly identified as a deity called Ōyamakui:

二宮為大山咋神事二宮御事先代旧事本紀云。大山上咋神者。坐淡海国比叡山。

亦坐葛野郡松尾島。相伝云。淡海国比叡山云々。^{ナミノタソハウハクニ}波母国日本国異名也。

^{ナミノタソハナルヤマ}波母山。比叡山元名也。賀茂。日吉。松尾一体也。

Concerning the fact that Ninomiya is Ōyamakui no *kami*. Concerning Ninomiya.

The *Sendai kuji hongi* says that Ōyama-no-ue-kui-no kami sits at Mount Hiei in Awaumi country. He also sits at Matsuo in Kadono. A transmission says: What we call Mount Hiei, Nami-no-tasowa-uwa-kuni, is another name for Japan. Nami-no-tasowa-naru-yama is the original name of Mount Hiei. Kamo, Hie, Matsuo, are but one body.

In this case, Ninomiya is identified with Ōyamakui based on the *Sendai kuji hongi* 先代旧事本紀 (ninth-tenth century), the same genealogy which we have seen employed in the genealogical works of Jihen in chapter two. The *Enryakuji gokoku engi* lacks the epithet Meiteki, which is found in the *Sendai kuji hongi*, but retains what we can say amounted to the central characteristic of the Meiteki deity in the Middle Ages, that is the network it established among the Kamo, Hie and Matsuo shrines, which we have seen in all sources where the epithet is present, except for “Sannō no koto”.³⁶⁷

One last thing that we should take into consideration is the relation of the epithet with the role of *jinushi*. While in Keiranshūyōshū we find that the Matsuo/Hie/Meiteki deity is the *jinushi*, Narinaka’s explanation in “Ōmiya no onkoto” identifies Ōmiya with Meiteki, but has Ninomiya as the *jinushi*, which suggests at least a modicum of flexibility in their identification together.

In this section we have started to see that the modern idea that Ninomiya is at the same time the *jinushi*, the oldest deity, and also Ōyamakui/Meiteki is not embedded by necessity in the ancient sources such as *Kojiki*, nor in the medieval tales which likely reflect an early mythological stage, such as we find in “Ōmiya no onkoto”. These characteristics for a time functioned as modules, that could be integrated all together in discussions of the deity’s identity or not. The most important characteristic of the deity called Meiteki was that this epithet linked the deity to the mythologies of the Matsuo and Kamo shrines.

³⁶⁷ “Next was Ohoyamaguhī. This deity resides on Mt Hie in Closer Ahumi. He is also the deity of the sounding arrowhead [*meiteki*] used in Matuo in the district of Katuno”. Translation from Bentley, John R, *The authenticity of Sendai Kuji Hongi: a new examination of texts, with a translation and commentary*, Leiden, Brill, 2006, p. 194.

Looking at “Sannō no koto”, we have also started to see how the conflation of the epithet Meiteki with the idea of an old, primeval deity may be the product of various reasons: textual demands in this case, and eventually, ideas on what kind of deity the *jinushi*, or lord of the land, should be. The origin story of Ninomiya further clarifies these issues.

Ninomiya

Ninomiya’s *engi* has two variants: one according to which Ninomiya was installed at Hie by Saichō, and one where he is a primeval deity, installed at Hie since the very remote past.

Ninomiya and his enshrinement story occupy no dedicated chapter in the *Yōtenki*, but are to be found scattered in chapters also focused on other deities and topics. Several reasons have been proposed for this. Okada suggests that Ōmiya was simply more important for the Juge branch of the Hafuribe, whose traditions are collected in the *Yōtenki*.³⁶⁸ Other possibilities are that the enshrinement tales of Ōmiya and Ninomiya became confused together, as suggested by Satō,³⁶⁹ or that the *Yōtenki* chapter containing traditions on Ninomiya became lost, as proposed by Terakawa.³⁷⁰ Whatever the case, the exception to the general lack of extensive information on Ninomiya in the *Yōtenki* is “Sannō no koto”, where we find an expansive treatment of the *engi* of this deity.

The *engi* of Ninomiya in “Sannō no koto”

We already know that “Sannō no koto” owns it that Ninomiya has presided over Hie since the times of Krakucchanda, much like Narinaka’s explanation in “Ōmiya no onkoto”. The rest of the *engi* of Ninomiya is as follows:

夫ハ天竺ノ南海群ト云所ノ海ノ面ニ、一切衆生悉有仏性ト唱ヘケル波ノ立ケルニ乗テ、トゞマラン所ニハ定テ仏法弘マランズラン、ソコニヲチツカント思食テ、ユラサレアリカセ給ケル程ニ、小比叡ノ楳ノホラニトゞマラセ給ニ

³⁶⁸ Okada Seishi 岡田精司, “Hiyoshi taisha” 日吉大社, in *Kokushi daijiten* 国史大辞典.

³⁶⁹ Satō 1994, p. 41.

³⁷⁰ Terakawa 1981, p. 73.

ケリ、其後ニ天照大神ノアマノイハトヲヒラキテ、鉾ヲモテサグラセ給ケル
ニ、アシノ葉ノサハリテ有ケルヲ、是ハ何ニヅト尋サセ給ケルニ、上件ノ事
ヲバ申サセ給ケル、次ニ我ハ日本国ノ地主ニテ侍也ト申サセ給タリケルトカ
ヤ、其小比叡ノ椶ノ本ニテ、劫ヲ経テ後ニ大宮権現ノ当時御ス所ニイタリテ
御シケルガ、大宮ノ天下テ御シケル日、夫ヲバサリテ今御ス御宝殿ノ地ニ遷
ラセ給ヒケル也、サホドニ久シキ神ニテ、地主明神ノ御ケレバ、山王院ノ大
師ノ、山王ノ御為ニ度者度縁ノ事也ヲ申給ラムトテ、奏状ニハ、両所明神陰陽ハ
カラズ造化ノシワザナシト書給ヘル也、ツラタタニ宮ノカヤウニ久ク是ニ住
ミ給ヘル事モ、尺迦如来ノ娑婆穢惡ノ有様ヲ御覽ズルニ、像法転時ノ衆生ハ、
悪業煩惱ノ病ヤメガタクシテ、イカゞ流転生死ノツゞガヲバイヤスベキトテ、
薬師如来同クハ我施サムズル除化ノハカリゴトニ伴テ、我社ヲシメテ侍ラム
所ニ御サセテ、和光ノ砌ニ望マントモガラハ、其次ニ御殿ノ辺ニマウデムズ
ルニ、内外無辺ノ病ヲヤメサセ給ヘト申サセ給テ、先立マイラセテ此叡岳ノ
辺ニハスヘタテマツラセ給ケル也

ST 29, pp. 86-87

In India, in the South Sea prefecture,³⁷¹ a wave rose on the surface of the sea which boomed: “All sentient beings have Buddha-nature”. Ninomiya thought: “I will ride this wave, and surely I will settle down and diffuse the Buddha’s teachings from the place where I stop.” He made his advance on the rocking [waves] until he reached the cedar-tree cave on the lesser Hie peak.

It was after this that Amateru Ōmukami opened the door of the rock-cave of heaven. Holding a spear, she searched around and touched a reed grass [with the tip of the spear]. “What is this?” She asked. [Ninomiya] told her the [story told] above, and after, it is said that he said: “I am the protector deity of Japan”.

The Ninomiya deity, having spent aeons in the place under the cedar trees in Lesser Hie, moved to the place where now abides Ōmiya *gongen*, but on the day when

³⁷¹ Nanhai (jp. Nankai 南海) is however also a district in Guangdong 廣東 Province, facing the South China sea and Southeast Asia.

Ōmiya *gongen* descended from the heavens, Ninomiya left it and moved in the current location of his treasure hall.

Because [Ninomiya] is such an ancient deity, and because he is the protector deity of the land, the great master of the Sannō-in (Enchin) decided to assign two yearly ordinands to the Sannō deities. In his petition to the emperor, he wrote: “The deities of the two places are of *yin* and *yang* unfathomable, [their] creation is unconditioned”.³⁷²

For such a long time, Ninomiya has lived here.

The Tathāgata Śakyamūni looked at the state of the filthy Sahā world (jp. *saba* 娑婆), and he thought that it would be difficult to stop the bad karma and afflictions of the sentient beings of the time of the semblance dharma.³⁷³ Thinking it necessary to heal [the disease] of their continuous rebirths, he said: “Tathāgata Yakushi. In the same way as I do, participate to my stratagems for removing [afflictions] and teach [Buddhism]. Come to the place where I will manifest my shrine. The crowds will wish to witness the place where I have dimmed my light, and after that, to make a pilgrimage around its shrine buildings, and so you will heal their infinite diseases, both of the body and of the mind [lit. “internal and external”].” So Yakushi went first, and took his dwelling in the area of Mt. Hiei [...].

Ninomiya, Ōmiya, and the motif of divine waves

Leaving the treatment of *honji suijaku* in “Sannō no koto” to the next chapter, the first key element from this tale that I wish to analyse is the wave. This beckons Ninomiya to go to Japan by intoning “[a]ll sentient beings have Buddha-nature”, a phrase which is found throughout the *Daihatsu nehanyō* 大般涅槃經 (*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* T0374). I argue that this wave is a cognate of the one which we have seen in the *engi* of Ōmiya, where the appearance of a five-coloured wave on the Biwa Lake was a

³⁷² Here the text paraphrases in Japanese the excerpt from *Sandai jitsuroku* presented in chapter two.

³⁷³ One of the three periods of time after the passing away of the Buddha. These are the periods of the correct dharma (shōho 正法), semblance dharma (zōhō 像法) and degenerate dharma (mappō 末法). The teachings are studied and practiced, but it is harder to reach Buddhahood. With this mention of the semblance dharma, “Sannō no koto” deftly places the action in the remote past, as the present of the narration is in the era of the degenerate dharma.

harbinger of the presence of the deity. The analysis of this motif will allow me to detail the relation between the origin stories of the two deities.

When I say that the waves found in these *engi* are a motif, it is because these are a recurring element which can be found in mythological material, not only on the Hie shrines but more broadly of the Biwa Lake area. I present some instances of sacred waves below, and propose how they might relate to the waves found in the *engi* of Ōmiya and Ninomiya.

The first texts with a secure edition date where we find mention of miraculous waves in relation to the Hie deities are poems, two of which I present below.

The first one was composed by Jien 慈円 (1125-1255), and appears in the collection *Shugyokushū* 珠玉集 (1191):

しがのうらに五の色の浪たててあまくだりけるいにしへの跡

In the Shiga Bay, a five-coloured wave arose: venerable traces, descending from the sky.³⁷⁴

Although this poem does not mention explicitly one deity, it is possible to interpret it as a reference to the *engi* of Ōmiya where Ushimaro sees a five-coloured wave. The connection with the Ōmiya *engi* is even clearer in the following poem from *Shinsen-zai wakashū* 新千載和歌集 (completed 1359), where the locale of Karasaki, where the deity meets Ushimaro, is mentioned:

よる波の五の色はみどりなる松にぞのこる志賀のからさき

Rushing waves at night. [Among their] five colours, green lingers in the pine tree of Karasaki in Shiga.³⁷⁵

Another poem, dated to 1178, was composed by Shun'e 俊恵 (1113-?).

ささ波やねがひをみつの浜にしも跡をたれます七のおほん神

³⁷⁴ Original quote in Hirata 2002, p. 108.

³⁷⁵ Original quote in Hirata 2002, p. 108.

Making rippling waves, and a vow in Mitsunohama: the seven august deities,
manifesting their traces.³⁷⁶

This poem has no mention of Karasaki; the “landing site” of the deities is still indicated as Mitsunohama, like in Narinobu’s tale from *Zoku kojidan*, suggesting that the tale of Ushimaro in Karasaki was still not the prevalent variation of the *engi*; this is coherent with its proposed dating to the end of the twelfth century.

As for the significance of the poem for the topic of this section, we see the expression “rippling waves”, which translate the word *sasanami*. This is a *makurakotoba* for the Shiga and sometimes Ōtsu areas which could be found already in *Man’yōshū*. The literature scholar Hirata Hideo suggests that, because it was frequently used to indicate as a divine sign in poems such as the one from Shun’e, it gradually came to be interpreted specifically as a wave signifying a divine presence. This is attested by the existence of an alternative spelling for it, *sasanami* 神波 (lit. “divine wave”).³⁷⁷

This is where we see an application of this term specifically to mythologies of the Biwa Lake. Hirata notes that the spelling as “divine wave” is found in the *Man’yōshū* commentary *Shirinsayōshō* 詞林采葉抄 (1366), where a miraculous meeting in Shiga is accompanied by a wave chanting the five *pāramitās* (jp. *go haramitsu* 五波羅密).³⁷⁸

Although this text has no direct correlation with the enshrinement of Ōmiya, it touches on the origins of a religious institution of Shiga, and it is therefore worth looking at it. Below I report a version of the tale preceding the *Shirinsayōshō*, found in the *setsuwa* collection *Sanbōe* 三宝絵 (984):

Emperor Tenji wanted to build a temple. At the time, the capital was at the palace of Ōtsu in the province of Ōmi. One night he offered prayers for guidance in choosing a site for the temple, and later he had a dream in which a monk appeared and said, "In the northwest quarter there is an auspicious place. Go out immediately, and you will

³⁷⁶ As quoted in Hirata 2002, p. 112.

³⁷⁷ Hirata 2002, p. 110.

³⁷⁸ Hirata 2002, p. 110. The five *pāramitās* are almsgiving (*dāna*), commandment-keeping (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), zeal (*vīrya*) and meditation (*dhyana*). Translations from Muller, Charles, “Five perfections”, *Digital dictionary of Buddhism*.

see it." He got up and went out to look. A ray of light was shining down out of the sky upon the spot.

The next morning he sent a courier to investigate, and when the courier returned, he reported, "A small monastery stands on the spot where the light was shining. One lay devotee lives there, circumambulating and praying. I questioned him, but he would not answer me. He looks very strange; he does not look like a man of this world." The emperor was impressed and very pleased. He went to the monastery himself. The lay devotee came out to welcome him. The emperor questioned him, and he replied: "Long ago this was the secret grotto of sagely spirits, and now a great treasure lies buried here at Nagarayama in Sasanami," and then he disappeared. The construction of the temple was completed in the first month of the following year.³⁷⁹

We see here again the word *sasanami*, in this case used as the name of a locale, relates to a place where a divine presence makes itself manifest with miraculous events. We can also note that the story of the hermit, which Hirata suggests might be a deity, shares elements with the enshrinement story of Ninomiya, such as the cave-dwelling, and with the wider *engi* of Hie, such as the light shining upon a sacred spot in the northwest direction and the presence of the emperor Tenji.³⁸⁰

Through the word *sasanami* and its relation to the Shiga area and to divine appearances, we can therefore establish a connection between the waves harbinger of the presence of Ōmiya and those seen by Ninomiya, both participating of a common imagery of the legends of the Shiga Lake area. The connection might seem flimsy at first, as the waves in the *engi* of Ninomiya are talking waves and the ones found in the *engi* of Ōmiya are coloured ones, however there are texts that bridge this distinction. In *Sange yōryakki*, in the section "Ōbie myōjin suijaku no koto" 大比叡明神垂迹事, under the title "Ōbie myōjin suijaku engibun" 大比叡明神垂迹縁起文, we see that Ushimaro not only sees a five-coloured wave, but also hears a voice from above, promising that all living beings shall become enlightened Buddhas.³⁸¹

³⁷⁹ Translation from Kamens, Edward, *The three jewels: a study and translation of Minamoto Tamenori's Sanbōe*, Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1988, p. 282.

³⁸⁰ Hirata 2002, p. 110.

³⁸¹ Original quoted in Satō 1994, p. 49.

Finally, the motif of waves might relate Hie to *kami* discourses not only of the Biwa Lake, but of a wider geographical area. This is a more speculative and less direct connection, but there is a tale in *Nihon shoki* which presents similarities with the *engi* of Ninomiya, where the deity Ōnamuchi, the Miwa deity, meets a spirit from beyond the sea which bids him transfer himself to his current seat:

Upon this, a divine radiance illuminated the sea, and all of a sudden there was something that floated towards him and said: “Were I not here, how could you subdue this land? It is because I am here that you have been enabled to accomplish this mighty undertaking.” Then Onamochi no Kami inquired, saying: “Then who are you?” It replied and said: “I am your guardian spirit [sakimitama], the wondrous spirit [kushimitama].” Then said Onamochi no kami: “True, I know therefore that you are my guardian spirit, the wondrous spirit. Where do you now wish to dwell?” The spirit answered and said: “I wish to dwell on Mount Mimoro, in the province of Yamato.” Accordingly he built a shrine in that place and made the spirit go and dwell there. This is the god of Ōmiwa [Ōmiwa no kami].³⁸²

We have seen of course that among the Sannō deities it is Ōmiya, and not Ninomiya, which is more often identified with the Miwa deity, but we have also seen in “Ōmiya no onkoto” that Ninomiya can also be an emanation of the deity of Miwa, in legends where the three Sannō deities are imported together by Saichō. An identification between Ninomiya and the deity of Miwa, Ōmononushi, is also present in Jihen’s *Tenchi jingi shinchin yōki*, based on the *Sendai kuji hongu*. Moreover *Nihon shoki* was surely accessible to the authors of the *Yōtenki* as it is quoted in “Sannō no koto”. Investigating this connection will necessitate further research.

Another important point raised by the motif of waves is that their five colours are connected, in variations on this tale, to doctrinal Buddhist concepts such as the five pāramitās or the five colours of the Lotus sutra, showing the same variability in how doctrinal concepts are applied to aspects of the Sannō cult that we have seen from the etymology of the word Sannō. I refrain for now from examining this doctrinal aspect in detail, as it is out of the scope of this chapter, but leave that avenue open for future research.

³⁸² Translation in Andreeva 2017, p. 45.

The mythologies of Ōmiya and Ninomiya share several common elements; the wave imagery of this subsection is one, but we have also seen that they initially alternated in being attributed both the epithet Meiteki and the role of *jinushi*. In this subsection I have shown that variants of the enshrinement tales of both deities share so many common elements that it is difficult to make normative statements about their early role, but that the full breadth of their possible origin stories must be taken into account. One more avenue of research for the future, which has proved in this section to be a fruitful one, will be to also investigate how these identities are linked to the broader mythological repertoire of the Shiga area and beyond.

Ninomiya before the creation of the cosmos

Looking at the Ninomiya *engi* from “Sannō no koto”, we can also argue that another characteristic of Ninomiya is his relative indefiniteness: in contrast to Ōmiya, of which we read extensively, and whom we see manifesting himself and talking to humans, Ninomiya does not meet any human agents, and barely delivers oracles. One thing however that stands out in his legend is his role as the lord of the land, the *jinushi*, framed as an expression of Ninomiya’s seniority. In this section I begin to investigate how the idea of this seniority was developed, forming the conceptual and mythological basis for the narrative of Ninomiya’s displacement.

Ninomiya is framed as a very ancient deity in several medieval sources. Narinaka’s explanation found in “Ōmiya no onkoto” and “Sannō no koto” both tell us that he was enshrined in the remote past. Starting from Ōe no Masafusa’s *Fusō meigetsushū* 扶桑明月集, and then in *Sange yōryakki* and *Keiranshūyōshū*, we also see another way of stating Ninomiya’s ancientness, where we see him identified with Kuni no Tokotachi no Mikoto 国常立尊. In the *Nihon shoki*, Kuni no tokotachi is the deity who came to exist at the moment of creation of the world:

Hence it is said that when the world began to be created, the soil of which lands were composed floated about in a manner which might be compared to the floating of a fish sporting on the surface of the water.

At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was in form like a reed-shoot. Now this became transformed into a God, and was called Kunitoko-tachi no Mikoto.³⁸³

As for Ninomiya, in *Keiranshūyōshū* we find:

小比叡明神俗形僧形天地開闢之昔。天神第一ノ皇子國常立尊。高峰五色花開
大 天地開闢ノ初天降。故ニ立地主權現法號花是菩薩

T2410_.76.0526b06-09³⁸⁴

The great bright deity Obie has the form of a layperson and the form of a monk. He is Kuni no Tokotachi, the first prince of the heavenly deities in the ancient past when heaven and earth opened. In the high peaks a five-coloured flower bloomed, and when heaven and earth opened, he descended from the heavens first. *For this reason*, he is the avatar deity who is lord of the land, and his ordination name is that of Bodhisattva of the flower, Kedai 花是.³⁸⁵

Functionally, this identification has the same value as stating that Ninomiya had been enshrined at Hie in the times of Krakucchanda, in the sense that it positions him in the far-away past, so far back in time to precede even the existence of Japan itself. The two ways of stating Ninomiya's seniority either by stating his enshrinement at the time of Krakucchanda or his identity with Kuni no Tokotachi are bridged in the *engi* of Ninomiya from "Sannō no koto", where we see Amaterasu fumbling with a spear among some reeds to reveal Ninomiya, who introduces himself to her as "the *jinushi* of Japan".³⁸⁶ I read this scene as also set at the creation of Japan, and connect it to

³⁸³ Trans. from Aston, W. G., *Nihongi: chronicles of Japan from the earliest times to A.D. 697*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1956, pp. 2-3.

³⁸⁴ The printed version of the Taishō edition is as reported, however the digital edition has the possible misprint 故ス.

³⁸⁵ Italics mine. The descent of the deity is accompanied in *Keiranshūyōshū* by the vision of a five-coloured lotus flower, with "the five colours of the Lotus sutra", which we can relate to the five colours of the wave seen by Ushimaro. Ninomiya's ordination name is Kedai 花台, "flower platform", Kedai 花是 must be an alternative spelling.

³⁸⁶ Furthering the idea that the legends of the Hie deities should be studied in the context of the wider legendary cycles of the Biwa Lake area, the very same story can be found in the Edo-period *Ibuki dōji emaki* 伊吹童子絵巻 currently at the British Museum, translated in English in Kimbrough, R. Keller, and Shirane Haruo, *Monsters, animals, and other worlds: a collection of short medieval Japanese tales*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2018.

another group of legends on its formation which circulated in the Middle Ages, such as we find in the *setsuwa* collection *Shasekishū*, but also referenced in *Keiranshūyōshū*, where Amaterasu is pictured as the deity presiding over the creation of Japan:

In antiquity, when this country did not yet exist, the deity of the Great Shrine [the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu], guided by a seal of the Great Sun Buddha inscribed on the ocean floor, thrust down her august spear. Brine from the spear coagulated like drops of dew [...].³⁸⁷

Through reference to these mythologies, then, texts on the Hie deities employ different strategies to position the first descent of Ninomiya before the beginning of time.

But why should Ninomiya exist in a remote past? On one hand, framing Ninomiya in this way might serve the purpose of establishing his seniority *vis-à-vis* Amaterasu, therefore building up Hie as the foremost shrine in Japan. Similar conceptual operations are found in other medieval works on deities, for instance the *engi* of the Miwa shrine, where Amaterasu is present at the instalment of the Miwa deity in the Age of the gods. Andreeva argues that:

By implanting Amaterasu in this part of the narrative, the Engi creates a new set of ideas about the priority of the Miwa deity in the realm of kami, making it clear that this deity is much older than Amaterasu.³⁸⁸

We can connect this attitude to statements found in “Sannō no koto”, where it is repeatedly stated that:

山王ハ日本無双ノ靈社、天下第一ノ名神、諸神ノ中ニハ根本、万社ノ間ニハ
起因ナリ

ST 29, p. 83

Sannō is an eminent deity, foremost under heaven. Amidst the many deities, he is the fountainhead; among the ten-thousand shrines, he is the origin.

³⁸⁷ Trans. in Morrell 1985, pp. 72-73. *Keiranshūyōshū* has: 天照太神魔王ノ神 璽ヲ得テ吾國ニ來下シ。神道ノ本源ト成玉フ。T2410_.76.0667a10-11

³⁸⁸ Andreeva 2010, p. 261.

Such a depiction is also, I argue, the result of a participation in broader cultural discourses centring on the role of deities in cosmogonical events.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth century we see the edition of texts about *kami* where divine figures such as Kuni no Tokotachi featured prominently, such as the *Nakatomi harae kunge* 中臣祓訓解, (end of Heian period?-thirteenth century), *Reikiki* 靈氣記 (fourteenth century), and later, the *Nihon shoki sanso* 日本書紀纂疏 (1455-1475) by Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一条兼良 (1402-1481). As argued by Fabio Rambelli, these texts, mostly centring on the deities enshrined at Ise, developed discourses on the role of *kami* in the birth of the universe in reaction to the relative lack of concern with cosmogony in Buddhist philosophy, but also as a response to the conceptual challenges posed by Buddhist discourses, prominently the one about *hongaku* 本覺 (lit. “original enlightenment”).³⁸⁹

“Original enlightenment” is, in very simplified terms, the name we give to sets of doctrines developed to argue that sentient beings already possess enlightenment as their own nature: in this vision, enlightenment consists in the realization of one's innate, already-enlightened nature, and is therefore accessible in the phenomenal world.

In Japan, discourses were developed which specifically identified original enlightenment with a primordial condition “defined either in terms of absolute being (*hosshō* 法性, *dharmatā*) or, in certain cases, of fundamental ignorance”.³⁹⁰ This was the notion with which the texts seen above grappled, and which they explained by reaching out to traditions integrated with Buddhism, such as Vedic cosmology, Daoism, Confucianism, and *kami* genealogies. The authors of these texts ultimately identified this original uncorrupted state with the stage preceding the creation of the universe. In other words, they took an epistemological notion (the fundamental ignorance identical with the state of original enlightenment), and gave it ontological status, by

³⁸⁹ Rambelli, Fabio, “Before the first Buddha: medieval Japanese cosmogony and the quest for the primeval Kami”, *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 64 no. 2, 2009, pp. 235–271.

³⁹⁰ Rambelli 2009, p. 236.

locating it in the stage directly preceding cosmogonical events.³⁹¹ It was in this vision that deities such as Kuni no Tokotachi gained prominence, becoming prominent figured in the medieval pantheon as the *kami* presiding over this ideal cosmic state.

The texts examined by Rambelli chiefly focus on the deities of Ise, and I am not suggesting that these discourses were also fully developed in Sannō shintō: as already noted by Rambelli, while discourses on the primordial nature of the Sannō deities existed, these were never developed to the extent we see for the Ise deities.³⁹² We cannot however deny that the specific primordial nature of Ninomiya as Kuni no Tokotachi might have been posited *in response* to these discourses.

Firstly, because all the texts seen above are coeval, for a broad definition of coeval, with key texts of Sannō shintō: certainly *Keiranshūyōshū*, which also grapples with the issue of original enlightenment, and very possibly “Sannō no koto”, if we posit its late edition.³⁹³ On the other hand, we do not find Ninomiya as a primeval deity in earlier works such as *Zoku kojidan*, where Narinobu only says that the Sannō triad was enshrined “before the times of the *daishi* [Saichō]”. In second instance, we must also not forget that discourses centring on Sannō and Ise were not watertight chambers, but had numerous intersections: a blatant one is to be found in the fourteenth-century figure of Jihen, who straddled both Sannō and Watarai lineages and devised genealogical systems of *kami* integrating the Hie deities with Ise lineages.³⁹⁴

Thus, while we cannot entirely explain away the discourses on Ninomiya as a primeval deity by reaching out to these overarching, “national” discourses, these clarify at least why there was an intellectual push to identify one of the Sannō deities as a primordial one, and specifically as Kuni no Tokotachi. We can also demonstrate that Ninomiya’s ancientness was not an idea that always existed at Hie, as there exist both texts such as *Zoku kojidan* where we see that *all the three* main Sannō deities were ancient (although only more ancient than Saichō), as well as alternative mythological explanations where Ninomiya was not a primeval deity, but was imported from Miwa

³⁹¹ Rambelli 2009, p. 240.

³⁹² Rambelli 2009, p. 247.

³⁹³ For *Keiranshūyōshū* and original enlightenment see Park 2016.

³⁹⁴ On Jihen and cosmogonical discourses of the type seen here, see Rambelli 2009, p. 155.

together with Ōmiya, such as we see in “Ōmiya no onkoto”. The latter certainly existed at the end of the Heian period as we also find it in *Zoku kojidan*, as a mythical alternative that Narinobu rejects.

As for why among the Sannō deities Ninomiya was the one who became increasingly identified as the primeval deity, there might be more “local” reasons, related to the mythological relations among the Hie deities.

Ninomiya cedes his place to Ōmiya

Before I turn to the *matsuri* and the local entanglements of the Hie deities, I must explore one last facet of the relationship between Ōmiya and Ninomiya.

We have seen how Ninomiya was gradually established as the first and primeval deity of Hie. On the other hand, in all the tales, historical documents, and ritual and doctrinal discourses that we have seen so far, Ōmiya remains firmly the main deity. I argue that this was possibly a conceptual problem in mythologies on the Sannō deities, and that this tension was resolved mythologically, through narratives where Ninomiya is seen ceding his place to Ōmiya. This culminates in a shift from narratives where we see both Ōmiya and Ninomiya, and sometimes Shōshinji, presented collectively as the *jinushi*, to one where Ninomiya is increasingly identified as the *jinushi* in an exclusive manner, a role which is tied to his seniority.

If we look at the earliest documents concerning Ōmiya and Ninomiya, we see that these two deities are generally seen to hold the role of *jinushi* together: such is the case for Enchin’s 887 petition to the emperor. Later, in Ryōgen’s biographies *Jie daisōshō den* 慈惠大僧正伝 (third year of the Tengen 天元 era, 980), after the establishment of Shōshinji, we also see the triad constituted by Ōmiya, Ninomiya and Shōshinji identified as “the three saintly lords of the land” (*jinushi sanshō* 地主三聖).³⁹⁵ Later still, in “Ōmiya no onkoto”, we see Chōken’s statement that “the three sages descended from heaven at the same time: dividing [them] up and calling [one

³⁹⁵ GR 60, p. 557.

of them] lord of the land is questionable”. Until then, therefore, Ninomiya was not always necessarily the *jinushi*.

At the end of the Ninomiya *engi* in “Sannō no koto”, we find the following:

今ハ本地ノ一代教主ノ尺迦如来ニテ御スニヨコドラレテ、大宮ヲ日吉ト申ト
世ノ人ノ思ヘル也、公家ニモ今ハサト知シ食テ侍也、実ニハ二宮ヲ日吉トハ
申也

ST 29, pp. 87-88

Nowadays, people of the world think that Ōmiya is called Hie 日吉, a misunderstanding [based on] his original ground, the teacher of a lifetime, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni. Even the aristocracy, now, thinks in this sort of way. But in truth, it is Ninomiya whom we call Hie.

It is difficult to take this statement at face value because of the wealth of material where the deity called Hie is incontrovertibly Ōmiya. This includes the *Yōtenki* itself, where in “Ōmiya no onkoto” we still see the name Hie given as an alternative for Ōmiya.³⁹⁶ Looking at this paragraph from another angle, however, we can make two observations. Firstly, that this is found at the end of a discussion on Ninomiya centring on his character as an old deity and one who is the *jinushi*; secondly, that the central reason why “people of the world” mistakenly think that Ōmiya is Hie is because his *honji* is Śākyamuni, the most important Buddha, therefore implying that Ōmiya, the central deity of the Sannō pantheon, should be the one synonymous with the name of the shrine. Taking all the evidence together, this passage speaks of an unease with the fact that Ōmiya was the more important deity although Ninomiya was the primeval deity and the *jinushi*. In my reading of this passage, the name of “Hie” comes with the conceptual load of it also being the *jinushi*, the role which we find attributed to Hie and Matsuo in the passage of *Keiranshūyōshū* examined above. This contradiction is

³⁹⁶ 尋本体、天照太神分身、或日枝トモ、或申日吉トモ ST 29, p. 44. “[If you] enquire on his original essence, it is the divided body of Amateru Ōmukami. Also [called] Hie 日枝 or Hie 日吉.” The suggestion found in “Sannō no koto” that the name Hie is commonly used for Ōmiya further clarifies the identity of the deity called Hie in the *Keiranshūyōshū* section on the Hata girl washing at the river. Although sanno no koto condemns this usage, it is also witness to the fact that it was a common one.

solved, I argue, by having narratives where Ninomiya, the old deity, cedes his place to Ōmiya on his arrival, which highlights their substantially equal status.

We have already seen this in the Ninomiya *engi* from “Sannō no koto”, where it is said that Ninomiya, originally enshrined in the same place as Ōmiya, had moved to his current place once Ōmiya had descended from the sky. A similar explanation is given in *Keiranshūyōshū*, where Ninomiya’s relinquishing his position in favour of Ōmiya is given a Buddhological explanation: Ninomiya’s avatar Yakushi is identified with the Buddha Prabhutaratna (jp. Tahō 多寶佛, lit. “Many jewels”), and Ninomiya leaving his seat for Ōmiya is likened to Prabhutaratna leaving half of his seat to Śākyamuni in the Lotus sutra.³⁹⁷ In all these narratives, Ninomiya retains the role of *jinushi*, but cedes his place as most important deity to Ōmiya.

We have now come to the point where we have seen both a mythological discourse in which Ninomiya is seen to exist before time, and one where he relinquishes his place to Ōmiya. Reconstructions of the early cult at Hie in secondary scholarship seem to accept this mythological discourse as the re-elaboration of a historical fact. Sugahara, for instance, reads the higher court rank bestowed on Ōmiya in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* a proof of the displacement of the older deity Ninomiya by the newcomer Ōmiya, an imperial deity and thus more powerful than the local deity Ninomiya.³⁹⁸ By reading passages where Ninomiya cedes his place to Ōmiya, I argue instead that these mark the passage from a situation where Ōmiya and Ninomiya could both be seen to alternate in the role of the *jinushi*, to one where Ninomiya was increasingly seen as the *jinushi* because of his identity as a primeval deity. This contrasts with the position of Ōmiya as the principal deity, and therefore must be explained mythologically.

Another contradiction borne out of the consolidation of Ninomiya as *jinushi* is that, although Ninomiya is gradually framed as the indigenous deity, if we look at mythologies it appears that the deity who is more concerned with the locale of the Biwa Lake is really Ōmiya. If we return to the *engi* of Ōmiya, we can now explore from

³⁹⁷ “Prabhutaratna, who came from the Ratnavisuddhā world in the east, is none other than Yakushi.” 多寶佛者。自東方寶淨世界來。即藥師如來也。T2410_.76.0517a15-16. Ninomiya cedes his place to Ōmiya in T2410_.76.0517a21-27.

³⁹⁸ Sugahara 1992, p. 12.

the point of view of the local involvements of this deity, and especially his role in the Sannō festival.

The Sannō-sai and the origins of the *awazu no goku*

In this section I explore the mythical origins of a particular section of the *matsuri*, an offering of millet called *awazu no goku* 粟津御供. These were first investigated and put in connection with the development of the *matsuri* in articles by Satō Masato and Yamamoto Hiroko.³⁹⁹

I focus not so much on the offering itself and its ritual significance, but on the lineages that it involves and the territory where it takes place. I link the development of the *engi* of this ritual, and its insertion in the *engi* of Ōmiya, to the historical development of the *matsuri*, and to the expansion of the territory of the Hie shrines and the Enryakuji seen in chapter one. I show how the version of the *engi* of Ōmiya containing origins of the *awazu no goku* became the most diffused one, in a case study of why some versions of *engi* were selected and diffused at the expense of others. I argue that the diffusion of this version had repercussions on the global mythologies of the Hie deities, and hastened the process of framing Ninomiya as a primeval deity.

The basic structure of the Sannō-sai

The festival dedicated to the Hie deities (Sannō-sai) is still celebrated today. The Sannō-sai underwent changes throughout the centuries, some of which are outlined in this section, achieving its current form after the Edo period. I report its basic structure and salient events below, to have as a background as we explore the formation of the *matsuri*. Although the names of the deities have been changed in the Meiji period, I use the premodern ones here for consistency.

The first day of the festival, the day of the ox (*ushi no hi* 牛の日) of the fourth month, sees the celebration of the rite known as *ushi no jingi* 牛の神祇, when the palanquins of Hachiōji and Sannomiya, placed near their respective shrines on the top of Mount Hachiōji the previous month, are brought down to the feet of the mountain. From

³⁹⁹ Satō 1994, Yamamoto 1989.

there, the palanquins are transported to the *haiden* of the Ninomiya shrine, where the palanquins of the Ninomiya and Jūzenji shrines are already placed, and offerings are performed.

On the day after the *ushi no hi*, the festival currently has a rite called “shaking of the palanquins” (*mikoshiburi* 神輿振), where the four palanquins that had been at the centre of the festivities of the *ushi no hi* are moved from the Ninomiya *haiden* and placed on seesaw-like structures. There they are rocked back and forth by shrine patrons (*ujiko* 氏子) from Sakamoto, and dances and music are also performed. As demonstrated by John Breen, this is a twentieth century innovation.⁴⁰⁰

On the following day of the monkey (*saru no hi* 猿の日), we see the performance of a solemn public rite. The four shrines of Ninomiya, Sannomiya, Hachiōji and Jūzenji are placed in the *haiden* of the Ōmiya shrine, where they join the palanquins of the upper shrines of the Western compound, Ōmiya, Shōshinji and Marōdo. During the day of the monkey the Hie shrines once received offerings from the court; offerings are currently performed by political and intellectual figures of the Biwa Lake area. Because the *saru no hi* festivities are the ones that retain, albeit in a modified form, rituals that already existed in the premodern period, I report these in more detail.

The first section of the day as celebrated today is led by the by the Tendai abbot, who descends from Mt Hiei with a delegation from the Enryakuji, to perform offerings and recite the *Heart sutra* (Jp. *Hannya shingyō* 般若心) in front of the Ōmiya shrine. This ceremony is followed by the *ōsakaki*, the ritual linked to the Ōtsu *jinin* that I have outlined in the first chapter, where a great *sakaki* branch is brought from the Tenson shrine in Ōtsu to the Ōmiya shrine.

After solemn offerings have been conducted, the palanquins of the seven Sannō shrines are moved from the *haiden* of Ōmiya to the Karasaki shrine, an auxiliary shrine of Hie; it is there that the *awazu no goku* is performed. In the current form of the *matsuri*, the palanquins are transported on foot to the lake harbour in the southern

⁴⁰⁰ Breen 2020, p. 108.

part of Sakamoto, and from there hoisted onto a boat to cruise the Biwa Lake. On the Ōtsu side of the lake, a boat bearing the offerings departs from a locale called Awazu, and meets up with the boat with the *mikoshi* over the lake, off the coast of Karasaki.⁴⁰¹ The shrine priests then perform the *awazu no gokū* on the lake.

This offering is a central moment of the festival even now, singled out by the informative material on the festival as an event evoking the past splendour of the shrines.⁴⁰² The rite, however, hardly remained unchanged throughout the centuries. Firstly, the offerings were not always prepared in Awazu, but were at first prepared in Ōtsu, as we shall see clearly from my discussion of the *engi*. Secondly, there is also strong evidence that the palanquins were initially transported on foot, and not by boat, all the way to Karasaki: if we look at the document from the first year of the Eihō 永保 era (1081) that we have seen on chapter one, we see that “the people of the port of Ōtsu (Ōtsunohama 大津浜) have been employed to carry the palanquins [on foot] (*mikoshi furuitatematsuru* 御輿奉振) to Karasaki”.⁴⁰³ The palanquins were therefore transported on foot until the first recorded introduction of boats to carry them. This was either in the Bun’ei 文永 years (1264-1275), when a flood blocked the road from Kokarasaki to Karasaki and a council of shrine priests decided to have the palanquins moved via boats, or in the first year of the Enbun 延文 era (1356), when, also because of a flood, the festival was held with the *mikoshi* transported on boats per order of the *negi* Yukiara 行新.⁴⁰⁴ Satō has also suggested that the *awazu no goku* might not have

⁴⁰¹ The name of Awazu is recorded from the Nara period, but the tradition of preparing the *awazu no goku* in Awazu is only recorded from 1455; before that, the offering was prepared in Ōtsu. from the Edo period onwards, a folk etymology was established through which the name of the locale became linked to the preparation of the *awazu no goku*. Shimosaka argues that the name of Awazu really comes from an offering of cooked millet (*awazu*) made to the emperor Tenmu, whose legend is recorded in Taiheiki. Shimosaka 2014, pp. 182-184.

p. 184: People from Awazu first recorded that they made the preparation for the Karasaki offer is a text from 1455.

⁴⁰² The brochure found on the Hiyoshi taisha website describes it as “splendid: just like seeing a historical emaki” (*rekishi emaki wo miru no yō ni kagayakadesu* 歴史絵巻を見るかのように華やかです). <http://hiyoshitaisha.jp/event/sannou/> (consulted on 21/06/2021).

⁴⁰³ Original text quoted in Shimosaka 2014, p. 176

⁴⁰⁴ Satō 1994, p. 41.

been originally performed on a boat at all, but only after dismounting on the grounds of the Karasaki shrine, until 1688, when we have the first concrete evidence of the rite itself being performed on a boat in the *Hie Sannō sairei shinki* 日吉山王祭礼新記.⁴⁰⁵

Although the rite has changed through the centuries, its basic elements have remained constant enough: a boat cruise and the offering of food are also the main elements of the *engi* of the *awazu no goku*, which is found nestled within the *Ōmiya engi*.

The tale of Tanaka no Tsuneyo

Let us look back at “*Ōmiya no onkoto*”. Here we see that the deity has an encounter with a fisherman called Tanaka no Tsuneyo 田中恒世, the ancestor of the *Ōtsu jinin*. Below I report once more the relevant passage, which we have already seen in chapter one:

When they transferred the deity from Yamato to the port of Karasaki in the bay of Shiga, Tanaka no Tsuneyo, from the western port of Ōtsu, transported the deity on his boat to deliver him to Karasaki, Kotonomitachi no Ushimaro’s home. There, Tanaka no Tsuneyo prepared a meal of millet. That instant, the deity said: “[Starting] from you, I make you my servants. Each year, when I depart from the shrine, you must make this offer.” From this first offering of millet until this day, nothing has changed. The *Ōtsu jinin* are none other than the descendants of that Tsuneyo.

The positioning of this section in the chapter is curious, as it is nestled between two sections centred on Ushimaro; that is to say that in the structure of “*Ōmiya no onkoto*” we first find the episode where the deity bids Ushimaro to build his shrine, followed by the section on Tanaka quoted above, and finally the episode of Ushimaro finding his boat on the tree. The temporal sequence of these events in “*Ōmiya no onkoto*” is unclear, with no in-text indication of whether these are sequential. As noted by Satō, the three scenes have a “disorganised feeling” (*miseirina kan ga aru* 未整理な感がある).⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ In the *Hie onsai shūgen* 日吉御祭祝言 (medieval, unknown), we see that the *mikoshi* were disembarked for the offering, and that in front of them were held food offerings and horse racing. Satō 1994, pp. 56-57.

⁴⁰⁶ Satō 1994, p. 51.

We find a version where the temporal sequence of events is made explicit in “Sanno no koto”, where it is specified that Ōmiya first meets Tanaka *and then* bids him to take him to Karasaki, where Ushimaro is to be found.⁴⁰⁷ The same organisation can also be found in *Sange yōryakki*, in “Ōbie myōjin suijaku engibun”. While the “Sannō no koto” version is very similar to the “Ōmiya no onkoto” one, only more “organised”, in the *Sange yōryakki* version we see that Ōmiya meets not one, but two people: Tanaka no Tsuneyo but also another man called Hama no Harumitsu 天晴光. Both are indicated as fishermen, and both are said to be equal, in that they are the ancestors of equal lineages of priests. These are the two lineages in which the Ōtsu *jinin*, we are told, are divided. In the *Sange yōryakki* variation, Tanaka and Harumitsu perform the offering together on the boat (although in *Yōtenki* the offering is performed on the ground after Tanaka has dismounted), taking the millet from a small box and placing it over a strawberry leaf. After this, Ushimaro sees the five-coloured wave that accompanies the apparition of the deity.⁴⁰⁸

The reason I have reported the *engi* as it appears in *Sange yōryakki* is at a first level to show the temporal sequence of the events of the *engi*. In second instance, this version also allows me to make a comparison among three variations of the *engi*, the *Sange yōryakki* and the two *Yōtenki* ones, and to try and establish their composition date in relation to each other.

The oldest version of the *engi* is purportedly the one reported in *Sange yōryakki*, which is attributed to the *negi* Yasukuni and dated to the second year of the Kōhō 康保 era (965). This dating is however easily put into question: as we have seen in the first chapter, it is not clear whether the Ōtsu *jinin* themselves had formed before the end of the eleventh century, and, as shown by Yamamoto Hiroko, the presence of two lineages in the *engi* also alerts us to a later composition than the version in “Ōmiya no onkoto”, where we only see one ancestor for the Ōtsu *jinin*.⁴⁰⁹ As suggested by Satō, we can therefore consider the version of *Sange yōryakki* as a later, systematised version of the “disorganised” variation found in “Ōmiya no onkoto”. This is for all the

⁴⁰⁷ ST 29, p. 85.

⁴⁰⁸ Original text quoted in Satō 1994, p. 41.

⁴⁰⁹ Satō 1994, p. 49.

reasons stated above, but also because of its more Buddhist “flavour”, as it reports the episode of the five-coloured wave, as well as a vow of the deity to protect Mahāyāna. According to Satō, this means that the tale had a heavy intervention from the *kike* at the Enryakuji.⁴¹⁰

Considering that the composition history of “Sannō no koto”, as well as the presence of Buddhist elements, we can say that the oldest stage of the *engi* of the *awazu no goku* is likely represented by “Ōmiya no onkoto”. Its lack of chronological order in reporting the tale of Ushimaro suggests an early stage in the development of the version of the Ōmiya *engi* including Tanaka. We can therefore argue that the three versions of the *engi* show the introduction of a new lineage in the organisation of the festival, as well as its subsequent split in two groups.

One last element of Tanaka’s tale to which we must pay attention is its geography. The central places that appear in it are the western port of Ōtsu, from which Tanaka comes, and Karasaki, where Ushimaro lives and where the offering is performed. Karasaki in particular had a key role in establishing the territorial reach of the Enryakuji.

The importance of Karasaki

In order to understand the role of Karasaki in the *engi* of Ōmiya, we must take a step back and quickly go over its history.

Karasaki was a place of religious importance in its own right since at least the times of the *Man’yōshū*, where it is employed as an *utamakura* 歌枕 for a holy place, and where it appears as the seat of Tenji’s court at Ōtsu:

ささなみの志賀の幸崎幸くあれど大宮人の船待ちかねつ

楽浪乃思賀乃幸崎雖幸有大宮人之船麻知兼津

With its rolling waves (*sasanami*), in Shiga Karasaki carries on unchanged; but one cannot expect to see the courtiers’ boats again.

⁴¹⁰ Satō 1994, p. 51.

In the Heian period, Karasaki also became a holy place in the imperial system, receiving visits from the emperors Kanmu 桓武 (735-806) and Saga 嵯峨 (786-842), and becoming renowned as one of the places for the *shichirai no harae* 七瀬祓 (or *nanase no harae*, lit. “purification of the seven brooks), a monthly symbolic cleansing of the body of the emperor carried on by *onmyōji* in spots located near water.⁴¹¹

In Ryōgen’s time, Karasaki became subsumed under the umbrella of the Enryakuji through its becoming a subsidiary shrine of Hie, and was soon followed by the whole area of the Western shore of the Biwa Lake. This is when a permanent shrine at Karasaki was likely built for the first time, as it is documented that Ryōgen commissioned the building of a shrine hall there, and documents slightly earlier than 976, such as the 970 *Kagerō nikki* 蜻蛉日記, do not seem to mention signs of a shrine.⁴¹² Finally, Karasaki became for the first time a site where rites for the Sannō-sai were officiated in the eleventh century, as we see from the earliest mention of it in one 1012 entry from *Shōyūki* 小右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957-1046).

Once Karasaki entered the power system of the Enryakuji/Hie shrines, we see it occupying a central position in the rivalry between the Onjōji and Enryakuji. While during Ryōgen’s tenure as an abbot there were already conflicts between the Ennin and Enchin factions of Tendai, the Enchin faction had not yet made the Onjōji its base. However, in the following centuries, we see an open strife, episodes of which I have outlined in the first chapter. In particular, we have seen the episode when, following a stabbing incident involving the Ōtsu *jinin* and the failure of the Enryakuji establishment to issue a judgement on the matter, the *jinin* aligned themselves with the opposing Tendai lineage of the Onjōji and forcibly removed the rituals of the Sannō-sai to a shrine within its precincts. We have also seen that, as a result of this strife, the territory of the port of Ōtsu became divided between Onjōji and Enryakuji,

⁴¹¹ Different sets of seven places exist in different sources. See Lomi, Benedetta, “Dharanis, talismans, and straw-dolls: ritual choreographies and healing strategies of the Rokujikyōhō in Medieval Japan”, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 41(2), p. 277.

⁴¹² Satō 1994, pp. 63-65.

with the Onjōji having control of the west part of the harbour and the Enryakuji the east harbour and the area of Awazu.

Not only does this event show that the Ōtsu *jinin* were liable to change sides, but that the Enryakuji faction now also needed to consolidate its power on the territories closer to the Onjōji, where it was more liable to be contested, and to which Karasaki belonged.⁴¹³ We can therefore look at the central role of the Ōtsu *jinin* in the festival and in the narratives on the enshrinement of the Ōmiya deity in the context of the strife between the Enryakuji and Onjōji, and argue that their role in the *engi* cements from the religious point of view their affiliation to the Enryakuji side. A further indication of this is that the ancestor of the Hafuribe himself is placed in Karasaki, something that we see in “Ōmiya no onkoto” and all the subsequent versions of the Ōmiya *engi* (in “Sannō no koto”, “Ōmiya”, *Enryakuji gokoku engi* and *Sange yōryakki*). This was an innovation: as we have seen, in the older stage of his tale represented by *Zoku kojidan*, and as we still see in Shun’e’s poem, Ushimaro was a native of Sakamoto.⁴¹⁴

From the story of the origin tale of the *awazu no goku*, we have come to link this rite to the conflicts between the Onjōji and the Enryakuji having the Ōtsu *jinin* at their centre, as well as the strategic importance of locales in the Western part of Ōtsu such as Karasaki. Starting from “Ōmiya no onkoto”, the *engi* of the *awazu no goku* becomes an increasingly integrated part of one variant of the *engi* of Ōmiya, that is the one where the deity is transported to Hie during the reign of the emperor Tenji. We can infer that the reason why we are more likely to find this variant in medieval sources, as opposed to the one where Saichō imports the deities or the one where the Hie deity is connected with Kamo and Matsuo only found in “Ōmiya no onkoto”, is to be also found in the strategic importance of the territories where it is set, as well as its existence as an origin story for priestly lineages of the Biwa Lake area.

⁴¹³ Satō 1994 pp. 59-62.

⁴¹⁴ According to Satō, the fortieth chapter of the *Yōtenki*, “Ōmiya” suggests an even stronger connection between Ōmiya and the Western area of Ōtsu by having the deity first manifest in Yotanosaki 与多崎, also written as Yotanosaki 与大崎 in *Hiesha shintō himitsuki*. The name could have to do with Yota no Ōkimi (Ōtomo Yota) 大友与多, the legendary patron of the foundation of the Onjōji as we see in different sources among which the *Onjōji denki*. Satō 1994, p. 57.

The displacement narrative in early modern and modern sources

In the chapter so far, I have outlined mythologies centred on Ōmiya and Ninomiya as these emerged from medieval sources, and described how all the elements of the displacement narrative originated, often independently, and slotted into place together gradually.

One first element is that Ninomiya was the first deity to be enshrined at Hie. One way of demonstrating this primacy in medieval mythological tales was to identify Ninomiya as a primeval deity by either stating his enshrinement at the time of ancient Buddhas or by placing his first manifestation at the time of the creation of Japan, in this case identifying him with the deity Kuni no Tokotachi. The latter identification persisted throughout the Middle Ages, as we see it in Yukimaro's antiquarian works published in the late sixteenth century. Another way to demonstrate the primacy of Ninomiya, prevailing in the contemporary discourse on the Hie deities, is to identify Ninomiya with Ōyamakui, the deity found enshrined at Hie in *Kojiki*, the earliest source on the Hie deities.

In this section I explain how the latter came to be the prevailing identification, by looking at how scholarly and priestly works from the Edo period onwards fed off each other to establish it as the philologically correct interpretation of the identity of Ninomiya. Far from being the only possible identity of Ninomiya in the Middle Ages, this was also never unanimously agreed upon by modern scholars. Throughout the nineteenth century, as well as in contemporary scholarship, there has also been a small scholarly camp arguing for the identification of Ōyamakui with Ōmiya rather than Ninomiya.

The early nineteenth century: Motoori Norinaga and the rediscovery of the *Kojiki*

The *kokugaku* scholar Ban Nobutomo 伴信友 (1773-1846) published the tract *Semi no Ogawa* 瀬見小河 in 1822. In it, Nobutomo rejected Buddhist discourses on the Hie deities as untrustworthy, but on the basis of documentary evidence from the "Jinmyōchō" section of *Engishiki* and the *Rinji-sai shiki* 臨時祭式, he was able to argue

that the one deity presiding over the *myōjin taisha* 名神大社 for the Ōmi province, Hie, which is indicated as having one seat (*ichiza* 一座), must have been Ōmiya.⁴¹⁵ The first receiver of imperial tributes at the Hie shrines under the name of Hie was therefore Ōmiya; Ninomiya, whom he identifies as Kamo no wakeikazuchi, was installed later. According to Nobutomo, Ōbie and Obie, the names by which the two deities were first called at the Enryakuji, were both deities of Mount Hiei.⁴¹⁶ This latter argument resonates with Yoshida's conclusion that I have delineated and supported in the second chapter, for which the names of Ōbie and Obie initially referred to two peaks of Mount Hiei, and only became used in reference to the deities after Enchin's time.

Nobutomo's outline of the early worship at Hie is therefore very similar to the one I have outlined in the first two chapters of the thesis. A central difference is his identification of Ninomiya with Kamo no wakeikazuchi, which he based on *Sange yōryakki*; as we have seen from the first two chapters, Ninomiya's origins are nebulous, and his cult might have been started at the Enryakuji. But in general, the evidence presented by Nobutomo is solid. However, this reconstruction of the early cult at Hie was not the one enthusiastically embraced by the priesthood at Hie.

1822, the year of publication of *Semi no ogawa*, also saw the posthumous publication of Motoori Norinaga's *Kojikiden* 古事記伝, his monumental commentarial work on the *Kojiki*. At a national level, this brought the *Kojiki* to the fore as the most authoritative genealogy on *kami* lineages, displacing alternative genealogies such as those in the *Nihon shoki* and *Sendai kuji hongji*, which had been the main reference frame for identifying deities thus far. The publication of the *Kojikiden* also had its ripples at the local level. Norinaga wrote on the deities of Hie:

⁴¹⁵ As summarised in Ikeda Yohei 池田 陽平, "Ōhie no kami to Ohie no kami" 大比叡神と小比叡神, *Nihon shūkyō bunka-shi kenkyū* 日本宗教文化史研究, Nihon shūkyō bunka-shi gakkai 日本宗教文化史学会, 2010-11, p. 75.

⁴¹⁶ Ikeda 2010, pp. 75-76.

It is a real travesty (*itaku higakoto* いたくひがこと) to refer to the *kami* of the Ninomiya Shrine—otherwise known as Kobie—as Kunitokotachi no mikoto. Sources of a later age, such as the *Kuji kongen* 公事根源, record that the *kami* of Mt. Hiei is one with the *kami* of Matsuo Shrine 松尾の社, and [other] ancient records demonstrate this to be fact.⁴¹⁷

The new-found attention for the *Kojiki* and the identification of Ninomiya with Ōyamakui spurred the publication of a booklet called *Ōyamakui shinden* 大山咋神傳 (1835) by the Hafuribe priest Shōgenji Kiyo.⁴¹⁸ In it, he identified Ōyamakui with Ninomiya by referring to a wide array of genealogical and mythological sources, first among them the *Kojiki*, but also the *Yamashiro kuni fudōki*. He linked the latter to the *Kojiki* through the presence in both sources of the epithet Meiteki, therefore turning on its head the medieval connection of Ōmiya with the Kamo and Matsuo deities, and placing Ninomiya at the centre of this shrine network.

On the camp favourable to the displacement narrative, then, the early nineteenth century coincided with a national rediscovery of the *Kojiki*. This proved a fruitful terrain for the Hie priests, at the same time involved in disputes with the Enryakuji, to reclaim a fresh identity for the Hie deities, as the identification of Ninomiya with Ōyamakui was absent, or at least marginal, in Buddhist discourses.

The second half of the nineteenth century and the *Hiesha negi kudenshō*

In the second half of the nineteenth century, we see scholars put forward arguments not only for Ninomiya's seniority, but for his former status as the main deity of Hie. Maeda Natsukage 前田夏蔭 (1793—1864) wrote *Hie Sannō-ben* 日吉山王弁 in 1851. He accepted that Ninomiya was Ōyamakui and that Ōmiya was imported from Miwa, and theorised that Ninomiya must have originally been the main shrine (*kansha* 官社)

⁴¹⁷ Translation in Breen 2020, p. 102.

⁴¹⁸ The original text is held at Eizan bunko, Bettō daizō.

as well as the *jinushi*. Work conducted by Kurita Hiroshi 栗田寛 (1835-1899), which we also see later in this section, further reinforced Maeda's theory.⁴¹⁹

The strongest base for the displacement narrative was also to be produced in those years, with the discovery of an ancient text called *Hiesha negi kudenshō* 日吉社禰宜口伝抄. The *Kudenshō*, dated to the second year of the Eishō 永承 era (1047), became at the time of its discovery the most ancient extant source on the deity of Hie. Signed by Kamo no Agatanushi Motochika 賀茂県主元親, and with a colophon for the seventeenth year of the Tenshō 天正 era (1589), it is included in volume of *Shintō taiki* collecting material related to Hie.

The *Kudenshō*, regarded as trustworthy until relatively recently, has been proven as a fabrication by historian Satō Masato, who conclusively showed how it was collated from material found in extant premodern Sannō shintō sources, as well as documents produced in the nineteenth century.⁴²⁰ In particular, because of the similarity of the *Kudenshō* with works edited during the Bakumatsu period, and especially in the Kōka 弘化 (1844-1848) and Kaei 嘉永 (1848-1854) years, its editor is now identified in all probability with Juge Shigekuni, the same Hafuribe priest who destroyed most of the Buddhist objects enshrined at Hie in 1868. He is now believed to have composed the *Kudenshō* in the 1860s or 1870s on the basis of works of Shōgenji Kiyo, the other priest who had a pivotal role in the *haibutsu kishaku* movement at the shrines.⁴²¹

Before the publication of Satō's article, and for more than a century after its purported discovery, the *Kudenshō* was a central part of scholarship on the Sannō deities and on facets of their cult, primarily the *matsuri*, on account of it being the oldest document on the Hie deities, and one redacted by priests. In particular, the *Kudenshō* confirmed the original primacy of Ninomiya, and provided a solid, historical basis for new identifications between shrines and deities which were proposed in the Meiji period. One was that of Ninomiya with Ōyamakui, but we also see Hachiōji being given the

⁴¹⁹ As summarised in Ikeda 2010, p. 88.

⁴²⁰ Satō 1989, pp. 1-49.

⁴²¹ Satō 1989, p. 26.

alternative name Ushio, not found elsewhere in ancient and medieval sources, the latter being the name given to the shrine after the Meiji reforms, and under which the shrine is currently known. In *Kudenshō* we also see discourses on the deities which confirm their relationships as these were imagined anew after the events of the Meiji era. In a portion likely lifted from a nineteenth century source,⁴²² the old seat of the cult of Ninomiya is identified with a “golden rock” on mount Hachiōji (*kogane no oiwa* 金大巖), which we only see in medieval texts as the first “landing spot” of Hachiōji and Sannomiya, and not of Ninomiya, for which it was the “cedar cave”.⁴²³ Consequently, Hachiōji is identified in the *Kudenshō* with Ninomiya, as his *aramitama* 荒魂 (violent spirit), an identification which we not see in earlier sources but which influences current understanding of the Hie cult, among which interpretations of the *matsuri*. While it is out of the scope of this chapter to analyse the implications of this identification, the matter is treated extensively in Breen.⁴²⁴

The *Kudenshō* became widely regarded as the prime example of a late Heian text which already affirmed that Ōmiya was imported from Miwa, and that Ninomiya was the oldest deity, Ōyamakui, and the *jinushi*. This discovery, and the renewed attention to Ninomiya that it brought on, had not only academic, but also institutional consequences.

In 1869, the Ninomiya shrine, now officially recognised as enshrining Ōyamakui, was renamed Hongū (“main shrine”), and Ōmiya took the name Ōmiwa 大神, a name reflective of his identification with the deity of the Miwa shrine.

Breen argues that this was the first move in a process of demotion of Ōmiya in favour of Ninomiya, and puts it in the context of the renaming process undergone by all the shrines of Hie before 1874.⁴²⁵ This demotion became further actualised that year, when Nishikawa Yoshisuke 西川吉輔 (1816–1880) was appointed as head priest.

⁴²² Satō 1989, p. 33.

⁴²³ For instance in Hachiōji and Sannomiya’s origin tales in *Keiranshūyōshū*, T2410_.76.0526b14-17 and T2410_.76.0526b21-25.

⁴²⁴ Breen 2020.

⁴²⁵ Breen 2020, pp. 104-105.

Under his guidance, all the shrines of Hie were made into subsidiary shrines (*sessha* 摂社) of Ninomiya, with the erstwhile Ōmiya acquiring the status of a “village shrine” (*gōsha* 郷社).⁴²⁶ In addition, the buildings of Ōmiya and Ninomiya became switched, so that Ninomiya, now the main deity, could be re-enshrined in the larger building which had once belonged to Ōmiya.⁴²⁷

This switch was only in place for less than a century, and in 1942 the two deities were reinstated to their respective shrines. Already in 1928 they had been re-styled as Nishi hongū (Western main shrine) and Higashi hongū (Eastern main shrine), the names by which they are known today, indicating a substantial parity of rank between them.⁴²⁸ The Meiji developments, however, left an indelible mark on both the institutional profile of Hie and the scholarly debate on its early days, and the displacement narrative, now literally enshrined in the institutional framework of Hie, continued to also be the framework for scholarly works on its early history for more than a hundred years.

Consequent to the changes brought on by the *shinbutsu bunri* movement, Hie became able to enjoy an unprecedented level of institutional independence from the Enryakuji, and that this disenfranchisement coincided with a reinterpretation of its mythology in order to reconstruct its ancient history in a way that scaled back the significance of Buddhist institutions. The purported discovery of the *Kudenshō*, a text said to have been redacted and transmitted by priests, is to be seen in this context, and read as an attempt from priests of the new-fangled Shintō religion to claim on the Hie deities an exclusive authority, which they had until very recently shared with monastics. A necessary clarification is that, although the *intent* of these discourses was ostensibly to create a priestly lineage of mythologies on the Hie deities, works such as the *Ōyamakui shinden* or the *Kudenshō* are better seen as a re-branding of pre-existing discourses. The displacement narrative in particular, as I have demonstrated

⁴²⁶ Breen 2020, p. 105.

⁴²⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴²⁸ *Ibidem*.

throughout the chapter, is not a “Shintō” idea on who the deities are, but it is made up of discourses that were diffused in monastic milieus.

Scholarship from the Meiji period to today

One of the first scholarly works to have the *Hiesha negi kudenshō* as a source was *Hiyoshi jinja kōshō* 日吉神社考證, published in 1874 by Kurita. While Kurita did not regard the *Kudenshō* as the one most authoritative source on the early history of Hie, and also employed sources such as the *Sange yōryakki*, the *Kudenshō* gradually affirmed itself as crucial source in the work of later historians. Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助 (1877-1955) in particular brought the *Kudenshō* to the fore of scholarship in his *Honji suijaku setsu no kigen ni tsuite* 本地垂迹説の起原について (1908), by stating that this “by far surpasses the other books, being older and a truly trustworthy book.”⁴²⁹ The situation of scholars at the centre of academia lending credibility to the *Kudenshō* continued after the war, when one of the most influential scholars on Hie, the Sakamoto native Kageyama Haruki, had the *Kudenshō* as a primary source on which he based his reconstruction of the ancient cult at Hie, according to which this was constructed on the remnants of an ancient fertility one.⁴³⁰

The other camp, producing scholarship which doubted the displacement narrative, continued to exist, but in a decidedly minoritarian position. Before the war, Tajima Tokune 田島德音 was the notable scholar to argue the identity of Ōyamakui with Ōmiya rather than Ninomiya.

More substantial was the group of scholars who, while not putting in question the displacement of Ninomiya, started to doubt the attribution of the *Kudenshō*. An early example is that of Fukui Kōjun 福井康順 (1898-1991), who in “Dengyō daishi izen no Hieizan” 伝教大師以前の比叡山 (1938), stated that it was difficult to find it believable as an end of Heian text.⁴³¹ In more recent times, Okada Seishi has put in

⁴²⁹ As quoted in Ikeda 2010, p. 82.

⁴³⁰ Kageyama 1971, pp. 27-28.

⁴³¹ A position summarised in Ikeda 2010, p. 82.

question the trustworthiness of the *Kudenshō*, albeit not questioning that Ōmiya was enshrined at the time of Tenji.⁴³² Nomoto Kakujō has both argued that the *Kudenshō* might be a fake and that the idea that Ōmiya came from Miwa has no historical root, though also not questioning the identity of Ōyamakui with Ninomiya.⁴³³

As we know, it was Satō who first presented substantial proof of the *Kudenshō* as a Meiji forgery. Whilst Satō himself, in his works published in the eighties and early nineties, does not put in question the identity of Ninomiya with Ōyamakui and his primacy, nor Ōmiya's identity with the Miwa deity, we can read the disproof of the *Kudenshō* as a pivotal moment of scholarship, where the displacement narrative also began to become doubted. Satō's most recent works give credence to the idea that Ōmiya might have been the first deity enshrined at Hie, and so do the works of Yoshida which I have examined in the second chapter.⁴³⁴ In 2010, by publishing an article examining previous scholarship on Ōmiya and Ninomiya, the Shintō scholar Ikeda made the strongest and most recent argument for this possibility.⁴³⁵

Chapter conclusion

Having reached the end of the chapter, I suggest that the diffusion of what I called the displacement narrative had two phases.

Firstly, in the Middle Ages, its various “modules” started to affirm themselves as the most diffused explanations for Ōmiya and Ninomiya's identities. Narratives centred on the importation of Ōmiya became the most diffused explanation for his identity, despite the existence of alternatives where he was a more local deity.

At this point in time, the most diffused variants of the tale of Ōmiya where he was framed as an imported deity were two: one which saw him transferred from Miwa to the Hie shrines by Saichō alongside the two other “saintly mountain sovereigns”, and another one where he was transferred on his own during the reign of the emperor

⁴³² Okada Seishi, “Hie jinja to Tenji-chō Ōtsu-miya” 日吉神社と天智朝大津宮—その祭神と祭祀氏族, in Shōei Mishina, and Ken'ichi Yokota (eds.), *Nihon Shoki Kenkyū* 日本書紀研究, Tōkyō, Haniwa Shobō, 2002.

⁴³³ Nomoto 1994.

⁴³⁴ Satō 2014, p. 180. Yoshida 2009.

⁴³⁵ Ikeda 2010.

Tenji. In the first variant all the three main deities of Hie are imported deities, and all three are indicated at the *jinushi*. The second variant connects the importation of Ōmiya with the origins of the Hafuribe, as well as, from the eleventh century onwards, those of a central ritual of the Sannō-sai. Through the latter variant, the tale of Ōmiya being imported from Miwa on his own also became connected with the mythical origins of yet another priestly lineage connected to Hie, the Ōtsu *jinin*, as well as with places of crucial strategic importance for the Hie/Enryakuji complex such as Karasaki. I have argued that the diffusion of the narrative of Ōmiya being imported by boat during Tenji's reign must be due at least in part to the fact that it constituted a mythological basis for the power of the Enryakuji, as well as to its strict connection with the self-definition of priestly lineages which lived and operated in the area.

When we see Ōmiya is imported under Tenji, Ninomiya, where he appears, is often singled out as the *jinushi*. Versions of the *engi* positing all the three saintly sovereigns as the *jinushi*, although they do exist, were less diffused. If we take this together with the situation of medieval genealogical texts such as Jihen's *Tenchi jingi shinchin yōki*, which I have introduced in chapter two, and which chose one deity only as the *jinushi*, we can imagine that there was a preference for organising the Hie deities in systems that did not have multiple *jinushi*. We have also seen that both Ōmiya and Ninomiya were initially often indicated as the *jinushi* together or alternatively, but that Ninomiya came to be identified as the *jinushi* more often (and certainly in works such as the *Tenchi jingi shinchin yōki*) as consequence of his identification with the primeval deity of Hie. Finally, the idea of a primeval deity likely became diffused at Hie at a time where a nationwide discourse existed on the role of *kami* in cosmogonies.

A new phase began with the late Edo and Meiji readings of these premodern legends. As we have seen in the first two chapters, Ōmiya was the central deity of the "Buddhist" system of worship of the Hie deities: he was identified with Śākyamuni, the central Buddha of the Tendai pantheon, and Esoteric interpretations of the Sannō deities also had Ōmiya at their centre. When the time came to create an independently Shintō identity for the shrines, mythologies centred on Ninomiya became a place where to create this identity afresh. On one hand, because Ninomiya was less "marked": as we have seen, in the Middle Ages Ninomiya was a vaguer deity than Ōmiya, with less

detailed an origin tale, and was less central in the Buddhist cult of the Hie deities. On the other hand, these new discourses were also implanted on an already existing framework according to which Ninomiya was the original and local deity of the Hie shrines. This framework became re-elaborated and turned into one where a local deity became displaced by an imported one strictly connected with Buddhism. These institutional innovations coincided with new developments in the study of the Hie deities and the texts where these were found. Already in the Edo period, the rediscovery of the *Kojiki* spurred a new wave of research on the identity of the first Hie deity, Ōyamakui, which was identified as Ninomiya, both in apologetic texts such as the *Ōyamakui shinden* and in forgeries purporting to be medieval works such as the *Hiesha negi kudenshō*.

Throughout this chapter I have examined a wealth of narratives on the enshrinement of Ōmiya and Ninomiya, with the primary aim of verifying how narratives on Ninomiya as the primeval (and once principal) deity at Hie became diffused. I linked this discussion to issues such as the medieval dissemination of mythologies and the negotiation of deity identities among the lineages who claimed a relationship with them. My analysis identifies the displacement narrative as a place where modern scholarship and medieval sources interface, and raises the issue of how mythical material is employed in historical reconstructions of the early history of Hie, informing current understandings of *kami* cults.

Chapter five: “Sannō no koto” and its relation to the continent

In this chapter I turn from the microcosm of lake Biwa to the bigger picture of the relations with the Asian continent, and more narrowly between Japan and China, that the *Yōtenki* establishes in “Sannō no koto”. These are articulated through narratives on the relations among divine entities, on time and space, and through reflections on language, which I present in this chapter in order. The three sections forming this chapter are each a case study on how a medieval narrative emplaces Japan in the Buddhist world atlas, but also show how the long narrative of “Sannō no koto” continuously reaches out to continental, and especially Chinese, discourses, not exclusively doctrinal but historical, hagiographical, and even lexicographical ones, showing concretely the variety of textual material that was available to its authors.

In the first section of the chapter, I tackle the narrative on the origins of *honji suijaku* present in “Sannō no koto”. I claim that *honji suijaku* is presented here as a transnational phenomenon by reaching to scriptural sources created in China, possibly received through the mediation of Tendai sources, but also to hagiographical narratives, especially centring on Laozi 老子, which harken back to Daoist apologetics. I examine *honji suijaku* as depicted in “Sannō no koto” as arising out of a relation between Japan and China, or better yet, from Japan looking at China.

If in the first section of the chapter I show how *honji suijaku* is employed to project Japan in the Buddhist world atlas, in the second section I explore the consequences of this emplacement on the narrative of “Sannō no koto”, by turning to issues of spatiality and chronology. I claim that the map of “Sannō no koto” is a patchwork of real and imaginary spaces, whose timelines do not quite work in the same way. I investigate how these are woven together in the same narrative, collapsing onto each other in the space of Japan.

In the third section, I show concretely how my focus on the relationship of “Sannō no koto” especially with China allows me to share a fresh perspective on one aspect of the Sannō cult. This is its extended reflection on language, and specifically on the etymologies of Chinese characters which indicate elements of the Sannō cult, most

notably the one for the word *kami*. This is an aspect that has received some attention in Western scholarship (although none in Japan), and I link it for the first time to Chinese lexicography, integrating former studies with an essential piece of the puzzle that has heretofore been missed. In doing so, I demonstrate the necessity of reading “Sannō no koto”, which I argue was conceived of as one coherent narrative, in its entirety.

Throughout the chapter I use different methodologies. While the first section chiefly focuses on doctrinal sources in order to retrieve the discourses underlying the text’s analysis of *honji suijaku*, in the second one I explore time and space in a narrative by using the text itself as a reading key, analysing the clues left by its writers as to the conceptions of time and space with which they were operating. Finally, in the last section I analyse the lexicographical reflections of “Sannō no koto” under the rubric of etymological aetiology, first introduced by Rolf Baumgarten in the context of Irish hagiography.⁴³⁶ I integrate this approach with scholarship on Chinese lexicography, and especially on the *Shuowen jiezi*, which I have already identified in the second chapter as the indirect antecedent of the analysis of the characters for Sannō.

I envision this chapter as the counterpart to chapter two. Whereas in chapter two I showed broadly that ways to understand the *kami* at Hie were influenced by continental ideas, here I seek to show concretely how these understandings are articulated in a textual source. At the end of the chapter, I will have shown that references to Chinese culture were a crucial rhetorical instrument for the authors of “Sannō no koto”, which establish China as the precedent and testing ground for the appearance of Buddhism in Japan and at Hie. I also show how the role of these sources has been overlooked in the production of *kami* discourses in general, and how a study on the *Yōtenki* provides clarifying clues as to the transmission and trajectory of more widely studied texts of medieval Japan. While these texts present these narratives very briefly, so that their relationship to Chinese sources is obscured, the *Yōtenki* repeatedly and self-consciously claims it, thereby clarifying the range of textual material from which discourses on *kami* were constructed. Ultimately, this section

⁴³⁶ Baumgarten, Rolf, “Creative Medieval Etymology and Irish Hagiography (Lasair, Columba, Senán),” *Ériu*, vol. 54, 2004, pp. 49–78.

makes an argument for investigating medieval *kami* discourses, and Sannō shintō in particular, by reaching outside the framework within which they have been so far investigated, such as their relation to Buddhist doctrinal concepts such as original enlightenment.

Honji suijaku and the tale of the three sages

In the second chapter I have talked about *honji suijaku* as a pedagogical activity, with the action of performing *suijaku* allowing a *honji* to enact their salvific plan at a local level. This function of *honji suijaku* is one that we find in “Sannō no koto”, which narrates the intervention by Buddhas and bodhisattvas in a “small country” (jp. *shōkoku* 小国), a term that it uses in a technical sense, to indicate a place whose inhabitants do not have the intellectual and emotional capacity for Buddhist salvation. In “Sannō no koto”, we see Buddhas and bodhisattvas transforming themselves into local deities or emanating them, and leading people to salvation through “stratagems” (jp. *hakarigoto* はかりごと). In this section I claim that this view of *honji suijaku* is posited by “Sannō no koto” as the continuation of a discourse on Daoist/Buddhist interactions which first arose in China, re-elaborated within the epistemological frame of Tiantai Buddhism.

Honji suijaku as a pedagogical project in “Sannō no koto”

“Sannō no koto” is a narrative whose first half contains an extensive explanation of the “rules” of *honji suijaku*, with the latter part being an explanation of how these rules apply to the Hie shrines. As we have seen, the main three Hie deities are known as *sanshō*, “three sages”. The first half of “Sannō no koto” also centres on three sages, however these are three Chinese personalities. The chapter argues as follows.

Firstly, it introduces Zhiyi’s taxonomy of Buddhist teachings, which he divided in “phases” of five periods and eight teachings (jp. *goji hakkyō* 五時八教) during which Buddhism was taught gradually, according to the needs and mental dispositions of its target audience. I treat the significance of this schema and explain it more extensively in the next section, but for now we can read it as signalling a thematic core of the chapter, arguably a pedagogical statement: when teaching something, it is best to do

so easily at first, and to increase the level of difficulty once the audience grasps the base concepts.



Figure 5 The five periods

The theme is expanded when the focus shifts to the “small country” of China.⁴³⁷ China is described as an abode of “sentient beings who are prideful, selfish, filled with desire; lazy.”⁴³⁸ In a country so unsuited for receiving the Buddhist teachings, Śakyamuni bids three sages to appear: these are the bodhisattvas Kāśyapa (jp. Kashō, ch. Jiashe 迦葉), Kōjō (Ch. Guangjing 光淨) and Gekkō (Ch. Yueguang 月光), manifesting themselves under the guise of three local personalities, Laozi, Confucius, and Yan Hui.

心性極テ薄スケソバ、出世ノ機ニモ不能、大法ヲ左右ナク弘メツル者ナラバ、
 憍恣厭怠ノ衆生ノミ多テ、信ゼズシテ中々アシカリヌベケレバ、汝ダチ彼
 処ニ先テ生ヲ受テ、凡類ニ同シテ世間世俗ノ礼儀礼節ヲ授ケ、因果ノ理リ善
 悪ノ道ヲ教テ、機ヲ熟セサセ根ヲ調ヘヲハリナバ、我ガ教法ヲ流布センモ、
 イトソムカジト覚ル也、利益衆生ノ道然シテ信ゼサスベシ、

ST 29, p. 75

[...] Because the nature of their minds is especially shallow, they do not even have the predisposition to leave the world [to become monks].⁴³⁹ If only there were someone who could easily spread the Buddhist word! But many are only the sentient beings who are prideful, selfish, filled with desire; lazy. They would not have faith, and this would lead to terrible [results]. So, at first, you should be born in that country. Becoming the same as common people, bestow the teachings of correct etiquette

⁴³⁷ ST 29, p. 75.

⁴³⁸ ST 29, p. 75.

⁴³⁹ *Ki* 機 indicated the karmic predispositions of the audience, affecting their capabilities to understand Buddhist doctrines.

and comportment, and teach the law of good and evil instead of that of cause and effect. When the groundwork to ripen their predisposition is done, I will spread the Buddhist teaching, and I think they will not turn a blind eye. Then they shall be made to believe the teaching that benefits living beings.

Śākyamuni therefore sends the three sages to China to fulfil a didactic project: by learning first Confucian ethics, ancestor rites and seasonal rites, Chinese people will become psychologically ready to accept Buddhist ethics and scripture. The appearance of the three sages in China is an exercise in skilful means whose consequence is to completely rewrite Chinese history, overlaying it with a project to diffuse Buddhism that spanned many centuries. Laozi, Confucius and Yan Hui, but especially Laozi, are pictured as undergoing continuous rebirths, taking the form of ministers and generals to influence various Chinese sovereigns. Throughout this historical section the focus occasionally shifts from China, where the main action happens, to Japan, which we see mainly in its diplomatic interactions with China. I further detail this historical overview in the next section.

After the overview on the lives of the three sages, the focus moves to Japan for good. The three sages are recalled to their pure lands, and the operation replicated in Japan, where Buddhism is imported from Korea during the reign of emperor Kinmei. The Chinese experience with *honji suijaku* is therefore envisioned in this sense as preparatory for a Japanese one. After this, “Sannō no koto” shifts its focus to the origins of various Hie deities and shrines, referring throughout to an array of Chinese tales and lexicographical sources.

The three sages in the *Qingjing faxing jing* and Tiantai sources

We now come to the crux of this section, and in a lesser measure, of this chapter. Why is it that an extensive recourse to a narrative set in China is needed to explain something that happens to deities in Japan? To answer this question during the chapter, I first investigate the story of the three Chinese sages. This is well-attested, with different versions featuring either two or three sages, some of which can be found in the table below.

	CONFUCIUS	YAN HUI	LAOZI
<i>Qingjing faxing jing</i>	Māṇava (Sumedha), 儒童菩薩	Bodhisattva Guang-jing 光淨菩薩	Kāśyapa
<i>id.</i> (other version)	Bodhisattva Guang-jing 光淨菩薩	Candraprabha, 月光菩薩	Kāśyapa
<i>Kongji suowen jing</i>	Māṇava (Sumedha), 儒童菩薩	Bodhisattva Guang-jing 光淨菩薩	Kāśyapa
Anon. (trsl. nr. 1, quoted ca. 470 AD)	Kumāra Guang-jing 光淨童子	—	Kāśyapa

Figure 6 Table from Zürcher 2008, p. 314

In general, the story of the three sages arose as part of the arsenal of Buddhist apologetics transmitted in China since the around fifth century in the context of a conflict with local cults, chiefly Daoism, and it has been shown to draw in turn from a Daoist apologetic tradition which had Buddha as a “foil” for Laozi.⁴⁴⁰ It is present in a variety of apocryphal sutras, such as the *Kongji suowen Jing* 空寂所問經, but its best-known source is the *Sutra on the pure practice of the Dharma*, or *Qingjing faxing jing* (jp. *Shōjōhōgyōkyō* 清淨法行經). This sutra is the source for the story given in “Sannō no koto”. While the *Qingjing faxing jing* was long thought lost, one of its various editions has resurfaced in Japan; a future avenue for research will be to see whether the version of the story found in the *Yōtenki* matches the one from the extant copy.⁴⁴¹ It is very possible that the *Qingjing faxing jing* reached the authors of “Sannō no koto” through the mediation of Tendai texts. I quote some possible sources below, where we see various groupings of sages, either presented as dyad or triads, alerting us to the variability of *Qingjing faxing jing* versions.

⁴⁴⁰ Zürcher, Erik, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1959, pp. 288-330, and Mollier, Christine, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

⁴⁴¹ A printed edition of the manuscript is found in Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 and Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典 (eds.), *Chūgoku senjutsu kyōten* 中国撰述經典, Tōkyō, Daitō shuppansha, 1994. See also Ochiai Toshinori, Makita Tairyō, Antonino Forte, and Silvio Vita, *The manuscripts of Nanatsu-dera: a recently discovered treasure-house in downtown Nagoya*, Kyoto, Italian School of East Asian Studies, 1991.

Let us first look at Zhiyi's *Wéimójiāng xuánshū* (jp. *Yūimakyō gensō* 維摩經玄疏):

法身菩薩住諸三昧。生人天中爲天人師。造論作諸經書。如金光明經云。五神通人作神仙之論。諸梵天王說出欲論。釋提桓因種種善論亦是初番悉檀之方便也。故造立天地經云。寶應聲聞菩薩示號伏羲。以上皇之道來化此國。又清淨法行經說。摩訶迦葉應生振旦示名老子。設無爲之教外以治國。修神仙之術內以治身。彼經又云。光淨童子名曰仲尼。爲赴機緣亦遊此土。文行誠信定禮。刪詩垂裕後昆。種種諸教此即世界悉檀也。

T1777_.38.0523a9-23

The bodhisattvas who have attained the realisation of the dharmakaya abide in a state of *samadhi*, are born among humans and gods, become heavenly masters, compose treatises, and write many scriptural works. Like is said in the *Golden light sutra*, the people who have attained the five supernormal abilities write treatises about transcendents. Brahmas expound the doctrine of abandoning the world of desire, and Śakra Devānām-Indra doctrines of the various kinds of wholesome behaviour. These are the skilful teachings of the first of the [four] *siddhāntas*.⁴⁴² The *Zaoli tiandi jing* 造立天地經 says: “The bodhisattva Baoying shengwen is called Fuxi. By way of being reborn an emperor, he converted this country.”⁴⁴³ Then, in the *Qingjing faxing jin* it is explained: “Mahākāśyāpa was born in China, appearing as someone by the name of Laozi”. On the outside he established the teaching of non-action to govern the kingdom, and on the inside, he cultivated the arts for spiritual transcendence to dominate the body. In the same sutra it is also said: “The Bodhisattva Guangjing is called Confucius.” He came to this land to teach according to individual predispositions. [He taught] Letters, conduct, fidelity and trustworthiness, fixed the rites, culled the poems. He left behind riches for the

⁴⁴² *Siddhānta* of worldly accomplishment (Ch. *si shitan*, Jp. *shi shitsuduan* 世界悉檀). It indicates the preaching in accordance with the conventional understanding of the world.

⁴⁴³ The *Zaoli tiandi jing* is a Chinese sutra. The identification of Fuxi, the legendary inventor of the eight trigrams, with the Bodhisattva Baoying sheng[wen] is also found in another Chinese sutra called *Xumi siyu jing* 須彌四域經. According to Zürcher, this bodhisattva name is “a free and elsewhere not attested rendering of Avalokiteśvara (in which the Sanskrit name is read as *Avalokitasvara, “surveysound”, as is usually done in Chinese translations, and in which the first member of the compound is given the fancy rendering *ying*, “to respond”, and the second member is translated by *sheng* “voice, sound” instead of by *yin*, “sound”).” Zürcher 2008, p. 318.

following generations. The various teachings are nothing but the *siddhānta* of worldly accomplishment.

The activity of the Chinese sages in this source is the same as the *Yōtenki*, namely one where non-Buddhist teachings are a foil for Buddhism, and one where they participate to the teaching of Buddhism in stages. Zhiyi, however, has a dyad of sages instead of a triad.

A triad is present in Guanding's 灌頂 (561–632) *Da banniepan jing shu* (jp. *Daihan Nehangyō sho* 大般涅槃經疏), which however has a different set than the *Yōtenki*, expression of a different recension of the *Qingjing faxing jing* as shown by the table above.

是佛方便之說。如清淨法行經云。迦葉爲老子。儒童爲願回。光淨爲孔子。

T1767_.38.0109c15-16

This is the explanation of the skilful means of Buddhas. As it says in the *Qingjing faxing jin*: Kaśyāpa is Laozi. Māṇava is Yan Hui. Guangjing is Confucius.

It is in Zhanran's 湛然 (711-782) *Zhiguan fuxing zhuan hongjue* 止觀輔行傳弘決 that we see the same three sages as in the *Yōtenki*:

清淨法行經云。月光菩薩彼稱顏回。光淨菩薩彼稱仲尼。迦葉菩薩彼稱老子。

天竺指此震旦爲彼。准諸目錄皆推此經以爲疑僞。

T1912_.46.0343c17-20

It says in the *Qingjing faxing jin*: the bodhisattva Yueguang is called Yan Hui. The bodhisattva Guangjing is called Confucius. The bodhisattva Kaśyāpa is called Laozi. In India they were known as that [Yueguang, Guangjing and Kaśyāpa], while in China they became these [Laozi, Confucius and Yan Hui]. This sutra is deemed an apocryphon in multiple catalogues.

This passage is directly quoted in “Sannō no koto”, where it is used as evidence supporting the story of the three sages reported there.⁴⁴⁴ Although Zhanran's passage

⁴⁴⁴ ST 29, p. 79.

affirms that the *Qingjing faxing jing* is a spurious sutra, the *Yōtenki* treats the quote elastically by cutting out the coda.⁴⁴⁵

Zhanran must not be the only source for the authors of “Sannō no koto”. Its length and scope show that they must have had access to different sources, and the extensive biography of the successive reincarnations of Laozi that we find in the chapter has a precedent in Chinese mythical cycles on the Buddhist reincarnations of Laozi. I tackle these in the next section.

Time and space in “Sannō no koto”

This section focuses on the intersections of space and time found in “Sannō no koto”. I show on one hand how the arrival of Buddhism in a given place destabilises a (narrative) timeline, but on the other hand also how Buddhism cleans up after itself, by recurring to the discursive strategy of *hōben* 方便.

As I have already stated, the respective vertical and horizontal natures of time and space found in the etymology of Sannō harken back to a Chinese and Tiantai discourse on horizontality and verticality employed more broadly as markers of space and time. Although this discourse is developed further in works such as *Keiranshūyōshu*, where the characters are interpreted in a more specifically doctrinal manner, its formulation found in “Sannō no koto” suggests that there is a connection between space and time that was at the back of the mind of whoever composed “Sannō no koto”, where it is addressed self-consciously. An immediate, visual example is its analysis of the characters for the word Sannō that we have seen in the second chapter, which I briefly quote again:

The [character for] mountain normally means the vertical [action of] bringing benefits (*ri* 利) to all sentient beings simultaneously in both worlds, the present and the future. This is a divine name based on the place where monkeys dwell.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁵ ST 29, p. 79.

⁴⁴⁶ Original text in ST 29, p. 88.

The [character for] sovereign means the horizontal [action of] bringing profit (益 *yaku*) to all beings in each and every country.

Another way in which time is addressed in the chapter is through the presence of chronologies of Buddhist teachings, which I introduce below.

“Sannō no koto”, the five periods, and India

“Sannō no koto” next recounts the diffusion of Buddhism in India when Śākyamuni was still alive. The space of India is depicted in an extremely rarefied manner, so much so that this is not a real place, but rather an imaginary one, equated in the narrative with the time and space where Buddha preached. While this is not particularly idiosyncratic in medieval material, it is significant in comparison with the more detailed way in which China is treated in the chapter.

The section on the spread of Buddha’s teachings in India is at the beginning of the chapter, immediately after an introductory section presenting a brief overview on the age of the gods in Japan. This is where we find the central proposition of “Sannō no koto”:

書ニ曰、聖人ノ精氣是ヲ神トイフ云々、然ルヲ神ト申ス真実ハ山王ノ御事也、

ST p. 73

They say in books that the spirits of sages are what we call deities. However, the truth about what we call deities are the facts concerning the mountain sovereigns.

The text proceeds to tell us that deities all arrived in Japan before the historical arrival of Buddhism, and that they were sent there by Śākyamuni:

世ノ中ノ人日本国ハ神国トナリケレバナドヲモヒナラハシテ侍ハ、尺迦如来ノ御本意ヲ不ガ知故也、

ST p. 73

The people within the world thought that Japan had become a country of deities, because they still did not know the original intention of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni.

Śākyamuni's original intention is to diffuse Buddhism, and to do so "gradually" (jp. *yōyō* ヤウ々々), an expression that is often found in the chapter. This graduality is key to understanding the role of time in "Sannō no koto", and it is first explained, as I mentioned above, by reaching out to the Tiantai taxonomy of the five periods.

In practice, what we see in the chapter is a summary of Śākyamuni's life after his enlightenment, where we witness him delivering different teachings by adapting these to the mental faculties and the reactions of his audiences. These periods are in a fixed sequence, and correspond to the preaching of various sutras: the Avataṃsaka (jp. *Kegonji* 華嚴時) period corresponds to the teaching of the *Avataṃsaka sutra* (ch. *Huayanjing*, jp. *Kegonkyō* 華嚴經), the Deer park period (jp. *Rokuonji* 鹿苑時) corresponds to the preaching of the four Āgamas (ch. *Ahan*, jp. *Agon* 阿含時), the Expedient or Vaipulya period (jp. *Hōtōji* 方等時) corresponds to the preaching of sutras such as the *Vimalakīrti sutra* (ch. *Weimojing*, jp. *Yuimakyō* 維摩經), the *Sutra of the golden light* (ch. *Jin guangmin jing*, jp. *Kongōmyōkyō* 金光明經), and the *Śrīmālā sutra* (ch. *Shengman jing*, jp. *Shōmangyō* 勝鬘經). The Prajñā period (jp. *Hannyaji* 般若時) corresponds to the preaching of the *prajñāpāramitā* sutras, and the Lotus and Nirvāna period (jp. *Hōkke-nehaji* 法華涅槃時) corresponds to the preaching of the Lotus and *Mahāparinirvāṇa sutra* (ch. *Niepan jing*, jp. *Nehangyō* 涅槃經). The five periods follow a procession from easier to harder to comprehend, with the notable exception of the Avataṃsaka period. In Tendai accounts of the Avataṃsaka period, we see Buddha in the guise of Vairocana, preaching the difficult principle of sudden enlightenment contained in the Avataṃsaka sutra to an audience of Bodhisattvas. The following periods are a progression of teachings directed to those who lacked the predisposition to attend to the Avataṃsaka teaching, with the Lotus and Nirvāna period representing the culmination of the teachings.

The categorisation found in “Sannō no koto” is found in numerous Tiantai sources from Zhiyi onwards, but one of these where the five periods are narrated in a similar concise manner is the outline of Tiantai teachings *Cheontae sagyo ui* 天台四教儀 (jp. *Tendai shikyōgi*), by the Korean monk Chegwan 諦觀 (?-970). Both texts employ the same formulaic expressions to refer to the periods of teachings, which in turn draw from the Tiantai tradition. For instance, the spread of the Kegon teachings is likened to the sun coming out from the mountains, drawing from Zhiyi,⁴⁴⁷ and the Lotus teachings are called “the ghee of the final precepts” (goban daigo 後番醍醐) with their preaching referred to as the “assembly of the Forest of Śāla trees of the final harvest”.⁴⁴⁸

By means of the five periods we are therefore told that the advance of Buddhism in a given country has a progression. We can say that this is the first time in “Sannō no koto” where we encounter time, since a progression implies time. Of course, from a doctrinal perspective there is no real progression: all Buddhist teachings are really one, and their apparent difference is Śākyamuni’s expedient. But for people outside enlightenment, the five periods have *the appearance* of a progression.

If I discuss all this in the context of how “Sannō no koto” establishes a relation between Japan and India it is because this is a section where places in India are repeatedly

⁴⁴⁷ “Sannō no koto” has: 仏日始テ出テ、菩薩ノ高山ヲカバヤカシ、ST 29, p. 74. “The sun of the Buddha came out first, and made it so that the tall mountains of the Bodhisattvas could shine.” The *Cheontae sagyo ui* has 此經中云、譬如日出先照高山 T1931_.46.0774c29 “The sutra says that [the teachings of the Buddha are] like the sun shining first on the tall mountains.” The precedent for this usage of the metaphor is to be found in Zhiyi, specifically in the *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi* (jp. *Myōhō rengekyō gengi* 妙法蓮華經玄義), has: 華嚴爲化菩薩。如日照高山名爲頓教。T1716_.33.0801a18-19 “The Avataṃsaka [teaching] is the teaching for Bodhisattvas. It is like the sun shining on the tall mountains. It is called the teaching of sudden enlightenment.”

⁴⁴⁸ “Sannō no koto” has: 後番醍醐ノ機ヲ調テ。鶴林拈拾ノ莖ト名テ ST 29, p. 74. “We call this the assembly of the forest of Śāla trees of the final harvest.” The *Cheontae sagyo ui* has: 次說大涅槃者。有二義。一爲未熟者、更說四教具談佛性。令具眞常、入大涅槃。故名拈拾教 T1931_.46.0775c09-11 “Next he preaches the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, regarding which there are two implications. The first is for those whose faculties are immature, wherein he again explains the Four Teachings [of the Tripiṭaka, Shared, Distinct, and Perfect] along with a discussion of the Buddha-nature. He allows them to embody the true eternal, entering great nirvāṇa. Therefore it is called the teaching that cleans up after the harvest 拈拾教.” Muller, Charles (trans.), *Outline of the Tiantai Fourfold Teachings*, 2012, <http://www.acmuller.net/kor-bud/sagyoui.html>.

mentioned, in the context of the life and teachings of the Buddha. We have “the site of the attainment of extinction of afflictions” (jp. *jakumetsu dōjō* 寂滅道場), the deer park (jp. *Rokuyaon* 鹿野苑), Vulture peak (jp. *ryōjusen* 靈鷲山).⁴⁴⁹

These places and the events taking place there are systematically superimposed to events taking place in Japan. For instance, we are told about the five thousand prideful *bhikṣu* who fled the Lotus assembly. This event is told in parallel with an episode of Saichō’s life, where, on his return to Japan from China, he is faced with scepticism towards the bodhisattva precepts, a sign of the unsuitability of the mental conditions of his audience derived from their past karma (*kien* 機縁):

南都ニシテ声聞ノ小戒ヲ受伝タリケルモノドモ、其道ニアツマリテ、此事信
ゼラレヌト云テ、座ヲ引テ還ニケリ、

ST 29, p. 74

In the southern capital, he gathered onto this road those who had been transmitted the lesser precepts of the *śrāvaka*. Those who said that they could not believe this relinquished their seats and left.

The progression of Buddhist teachings in India is therefore replicated in Japan with an effect similar to a magic lantern, where another layer is superimposed to the world as it is normally experienced; in other words, what Grapard calls a “sacralisation of space”.⁴⁵⁰ This superimposition of India to Japan acts as a background for the second part of “Sannō no koto”, where we find that the Hie shrines themselves are equated with Vulture peak, and their effect likened to experiencing the life of the Buddha. This is not a discourse particularly new or exclusive to the Hie shrines, as many other shrines in Japan were equated to Pure lands, with their *engi* purporting a similar connection to India, but we must note how this is yet another way in which “Sannō no

⁴⁴⁹ The locations where these places are in India are not specified in the text.

⁴⁵⁰ Grapard 1982, pp. 195–221.

koto” is thematically coherent, with a clever layout of sections continually referring to each other.⁴⁵¹

This first section is also where we see how Śākyamuni himself grapples with the limited timespan of his apparent life on earth, as well as with geographical constraints. The central problem is that Śākyamuni is the teacher of one lifetime (*ichidai kyōshū* 一代教主). We are told in “Sannō no koto” that he appears in India, and during his lifetime he manages to diffuse the dharma everywhere there, but he cannot make it to other countries before he is due to perform *parinirvāṇa*. In this discussion we are constantly reminded of time, with mentions of various spans of years: eighty years, the full lifetime of the Buddha; then forty years, the time he spends teaching before the Lotus; finally, the eight years he spent preaching the Lotus.

It is these time constraints that set into motion the mechanism of *honji suijaku*, a direct result of the Buddha’s skill in means. One word that appears more than once in the chapter is “stratagems”, *hakarigoto* 謀: Śākyamuni in “Sannō no koto” is depicted as constantly plotting, and we see the results of his plotting when the action moves to China.

“Sannō no koto” and China

Laozi’s reincarnations	At whose service?
Goumang 勾荒	[Fu]xi 伏羲
Feng Hou 風后	Huangdi 黄帝
Four brothers Xi Zhong, Xi Shu, He Zhong and He Shu	Emperor Yao 堯帝

⁴⁵¹ For instance, the Kasuga shrine was identified with Pure Lands such as Yakushi’s Jōruri 淨瑠璃 and Śākyamuni’s Vulture Peak, but also Tuṣita (Jp. Tosotsuten 兜率天), Miroku’s Pure Land. Mount Mikasa was identified with the Pure Land of Kannon, Potalaka.

義仲義叔和仲和叔	
Lu Wang 呂望	King Wen of Zhou 周ノ文王
Minister Xiao He 蕭何大臣	Han Gaozu 漢ノ高祖
Fan Li 范蠡	King of Yue Goujian 越王勾踐
Heshang Gong 河ノ上公	Han Wudi 漢ノ武帝
Dongfang Shuo 東方朔	Han Wudi

This is when we first encounter that three sages that I have introduced in the previous section, Laozi, Confucius, and Yan Hui, or rather Kāśyapa, Kōjō and Gekkō.

Table 8 The nine changes of Laozi (*Rōshi no kokonohen* 老子ノ九變)

We have seen that the tale of the three sages is narrated in “Sannō no koto” extensively. Concretely, what we read is a summary of the action of these masters throughout the whole of Chinese ancient history, where they continually reincarnate themselves into ministers and semi-legendary figures in order to influence the highest echelons of China. While Confucius and Yuan Hui are admittedly side-lined early on, we are able to follow nine incarnations of Laozi in a very detailed manner, focusing on the reigns of mythical emperors who had incarnations of Laozi as their teacher.

The previous lives of Laozi are, again, an idea that has a tradition in China, initially borne out of Daoist apologetics, and, although I was unable to find a text that has the same sequence of reincarnations as the *Yōtenki*, which are found in the table above, the previous lives of Laozi are the focus of a literature genre. Among the texts of this kind that are closer in time to the *Yōtenki* is the *Youlong zhuan* 猶龍傳, composed in the Northern Song era between 1086 and 1100, and which has sections on Laozi’s role as a teacher of mythical rulers, which we also find treated extensively in “Sannō no koto”, narrated in the form of a chronicle. Many biographies of Laozi were being composed in the Song era, and another one that is arranged in the form of annals of

rulers who had Laozi as teacher is the *Taishang laojun nianpu yaolue* 太上老君, compiled by Xie Shouhao 謝守灝 (1134–1212).⁴⁵²

The work of Laozi and his reincarnations culminates at the time of Han Mingdi 漢明帝 (27-75 CE), who in the seventh year of the Yongping 永平 era (66 CE) received a prophetic dream from Śākyamuni, immediately sending sages to India to retrieve sutras and invite the Indian monastics Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 (Dharmaratna) and Moteng 摩騰 (Mātanga), a chain of events leading to the foundation of the first Chinese monastery, the Baimasi 白馬寺 in Luoyang.

The seventh year of Yongping is the first time in “Sannō no koto” where we see the mention of a specific year. I take it as a signal that “Sannō no koto” has switched to a different version of time, and potentially to a different genre altogether, as the style of narration changes between the section focused on India and the one focused on China. While the former is essentially a condensed and easily digestible doctrinal explanation, in the latter we see key events told in a quasi-historiographical way, by which I mean that the key events of the lives of Laozi are ones commonly mentioned in chronicles: battles, stratagems, his work at court.

This section also establishes a timeline which integrates the events of the life of the Buddha with those of Chinese history.

サテハ我大師尺尊ノ出世ハ、此国ノ周ノ世ノ御四代ノ照王ノ御時ニ当リタリケリ、御入滅ハ第五ノ穆王四十三年ニゾ当リタルトゾ、「中略」仏法漢土ニ伝ハル事、御入滅ヨリ以来タ、永平十年ニ至マデ、一千一十六年ヲゾ経ニケル、

ST 29, p. 77

⁴⁵² For summaries and a brief overview of these works see Schipper, Kristofer and Verellen Franciscus, *The Taoist canon: a historical companion to the Daozang*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2004, pp. 871-875.

As for the appearance in the world of our great master Śākyamuni, it corresponds to the time of the fourth king of the Zhou dynasty of this country, king Zhao. His entrance into *nirvāṇa* corresponds to the forty-third year of the reign of the fifth king Mu.”⁴⁵³ [...] we subscribe to this one explanation. The transmission of Buddhism to the land of the Han happened in a span of a thousand and sixteen years, from after the entrance into *nirvāṇa* until the tenth year of the Yongping era.

This chronology, connecting key dates in the life of the Buddha with the kings Zhao and Mu, is not exclusive to the *Yōtenki*, but again reaches out to the “genre” of Chinese Buddhist apologetics. Although we do not know exactly the source employed in “Sannō no koto”, there are various Chinese sources which bracket the life of the Buddha between these two emperors. For instance, in Daoxuan’s *Xu gaosengzhuān* (jp. *Zoku kōsōden* 續高僧傳, 650?), we find these in the context of a debate between Buddhist and Daoist specialists held at court, where the spokesman of the Buddhists says that the Buddha was born in the twenty-fourth year of king Zhao (958 BC acc. to the chronology of the *Zhushu jinian*) and had entered *nirvāṇa* on the fifteenth day of the fifty-second year of king Mu (878 BC), a statement that the text tells us is based on the apocrypha *Zhoushu yiji* 周書異記 and the *Han faben neizhuan* 漢法本內傳.⁴⁵⁴

Another theme of the section is the overt *vis à vis* covert introduction of Buddhism. We are told that the reason why we do not know that Buddhism was already present in China at the time of Mu is because, although he went to India and participated to the preaching of the Lotus, he kept it a secret:

サレドモ権化ノ人ナレバ、アヘテ人ニハシラレタマハズ、其妙法薩達摩トイ
フ梵語ノ題名ヲ聞伝テ還給テ叡慮ノ底ニ納テ、人ニハ語り給ハズシテ、太子
ニ位ヲ譲リ給ケル時、是ヲ授ケテ、次第ニシテ我様ニ後王ニ伝ヘ授ケ給ヘト
ゾアリケル、

ST 29, p. 77

⁴⁵³ The date more generally found is the fifty-third, not forty-third year.

⁴⁵⁴ Zürcher 2007, pp. 273-274.

He guarded the sacred syllables of the name of the wonderful law (*myōhō sadatsuma* 妙法薩達摩) deep in his heart, and did not tell a soul until when he had to bequeath his rank to the prince, and then he transmitted it. “One after the other, pass this teaching onto the kings after you.”

In the paragraph immediately following the one above, “Sannō no koto” also tells us when Buddhism arrived in Japan:

サテ日本国ニ取テハ、仏ノ出世ハ人ノ世ノイマダハジマラザリケル当初、神代第七ノ彦波瀲武鸕鷀草葺不合尊ノ天下治給シ八十三万六千七百一十二年ノ終リ方ニヅ当リタリケル、始テ漢土ニ伝テヨリ以来ハ、四百八十六年トイフ年ナリ、其年、天国押開広庭ノ天王ノ大和国ノ金刺宮ニヲハシマシケル時、冬十月ノ比ニ、百濟国ノ明王ノ金銅ノ尺迦像并ニ経論ドモマイラセタリケルニゾ始テ伝ハリタル、

ST 29, p. 77-78.

Now, to Japan. The descent to earth of the Buddha corresponds to a time when the age of humans had not started yet, at the end of the eight million, thirty-six thousand seven hundred and twelve years of the reign of Hiko Nagisatake Ugayafukiawasezu no Mikoto, of the seventh generation of *kami*. Four hundred eighty-six years after it had been transmitted to China for the first time, at the time when the emperor Amekuni-oshi-hiraki-hiro-niwa resided at the Kanasashi palace, in winter, the tenth month (552), the king Seong of Kudara sent to the court a gold and copper statue of Śākyamuni along with sutras and commentaries.

Here we see that there is an integration of the first timeline we have encountered with the second one. While in the first section the apparent division in periods is imploded (because it is just a *hōben*, and all teachings are really the same from the point of view of enlightenment), here we have an orderly chronological succession, and an attempt to make it coherent across the three countries. Thematically, though, the two sections, on India and China, were always coherent: China is still a world where *hōben* is enacted, and we are reminded in the text that the way the Buddha’s stratagems work in China is the same, a progression from shallow to deep teachings, which in the case of China

is also presented with the ancillary motive of covert *vis à vis* overt arrival of Buddhism. The “shapes” of the timelines, however, are different. The first, Indian timeline is not linear, but circular, as we see it clearly repeating itself with the arrival of Buddhism in Japan, particularly in the episode of Saichō and the prideful monastics. The second one is linear, because it moves towards an end, and the latter is the arrival of Buddhism (covert in China, overt in Japan).

One last issue to tackle is how the relation between China and Japan is articulated. We have seen that in the case of the relation of India and Japan, a “sacralisation of space” is emplaced. But when it comes to slotting Japan together with China, we are faced with a different situation, a narrative of exchanges where we see Japanese figures visiting China or envoys being sent to Korea to retrieve Chinese knowledge. This narrative is organised with an eye to the genre of the section on Chinese history: it is dynastic, listing emperors and the key events occurring during their reign.

The first eminent Japanese that we see is Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (695-775), who, we are told, brings back from China the icons of the “three sages”, Laozi, Confucius and Yan Hui. If this were a more linear narrative, one might think that this would be the story how Buddhism is introduced to Japan, as the three sages are the (covert) originators of Buddhism in China. But the narrative is not entirely linear, and as we have seen Buddhism was already in Japan. On one hand, it had arrived covertly: we have been told that Japan was a land of gods since time immemorable, and, as we know from the previous chapter, Yakushi was living in hiding on Mount Hiei since the times of Kuruson. On the other hand, it was already there overtly: Buddhism had officially arrived in Japan under the emperor Kinmei, in 552, almost two hundred years before Kibi.

But if Buddhism was already in Japan, albeit covertly, earlier even than it came to China, why must “Sannō no koto” also tell us about the three sages and the history of China?

In the “India” section, the exercise of skilful means takes the form of Buddhist teachings being bestowed as a progression. We see no *honji suijaku* because Buddha is alive. In China, with the appearance of avatar after avatar, we see for the first time

something similar to *honji suijaku*. The text also tells us that what happened in China is basically the same as *honji suijaku*, with the difference that Chinese people were unaware of its mechanisms while Japanese people are.⁴⁵⁵ When we finally get to Japan, we see that its relation to India is explained through a sacralisation of space, and its relation to China by a narrative of political exchanges. Finally, in Japan there were also deities from time immemorable, doing essentially the same work as the three sages, but from earlier still.

The time of Japan

Japan is therefore at the receiving end of three ways of importing Buddhism: three different stratagems. First, Japan receives Buddhist teachings in stages like India, according to the mental and karmic predispositions of their audience. We see this with the parallel between the life of Buddha and Saichō. Japan also receives the teachings in stages in the sense that it receives Daoism and Confucianism via Makibi, the Chinese cultural discourses which belie Buddhism. Finally, we also find that it had Buddhism all along, in the form of *kami* who are the avatars of Buddhas and bodhisattvas residing there since time immemorable. At the same time, Japan is not only a receptor, but we are also shown it in an active position: Japanese people visit China through embassies. Something similar happens in China: king Mu travels to India to hear the Lotus being preached, king Zhou sends for monks from India.

Where the sections focused on India and China have respectively a circular and linear timeline, which are expressed through the recursion to different literary genres, Japan mashes these two timelines and genres together. The way in which the narrative of “Sannō no koto” becomes coherent is because all the sections introduced above make the same thematic point about *hōben* and its effectiveness, the one in India by reaching out to Tiantai pedagogy and the one to China with the gradual introduction of teachings through successive incarnations. In this view, Japan and Hie are especially suited to Buddhism because Japan is the recipient of different stratagems for the diffusion of the dharma, chief among these *honji suijaku*, which is framed in the text

⁴⁵⁵ 震旦ニハカヤウニシテ神明現ジ給ケレドモ、人更ニハカ々々シウモ、本地ハ何ノ仏菩薩ト云事不知ケリ、ST 29, p. 80.

as a type of *hōben*. One might think that this overkill is necessary because Japan is particularly bad, because of *mappō*, but as we have already seen, there is little talk of it, except for a passing remark that “even among small countries, Japan is a small country”.⁴⁵⁶

I have started this section with the analysis of the characters for the word Sannō. In chapter two, I have shown how works on the Sannō deities other than the *Yōtenki* present the same analysis of the characters in terms of horizontality and verticality, but doctrinalise these in light of discourses that already existed in Tiantai. For instance, the characters of Sannō can be interpreted as an expression of the concept of the meditative technique of *isshin sangan* 一心三觀, which in *Mohezhiguan* 摩訶止觀 is seen as a combination of “‘vertical judgment’ entail[ing] a penetration of emptiness from the perspective of the temporary character of all dharmas [and] ‘horizontal judgment’; [...] entail[ing] a systematic application of the eight negations of Nagarjuna to all objects of thought.”⁴⁵⁷ Another concept we find in relation to the characters of Sannō is that of *sangon ichijutsu* 三權一實, the subsumption of the three provisional vehicles (*sangon* 三權) to the one truth (*ichijutsu* 一實) of the Lotus teaching.⁴⁵⁸ While we do not see this doctrinalisation in the *Yōtenki*, in the chapter we nevertheless see a conceptual operation which is reminiscent of these techniques, where multiple elements are subsumed into one. There, the three ways in which the dharma arrives, the space and time of India and China, and three different ways of receiving Buddhism are resolved in Japan, where these become harmonised. In a word, discussion of Hie and Japan in “Sannō no koto” does not only highlight the thematic unity with the sections preceding it, but we also see spatial unity: Japan is one place.

In the next section I present more cases where the analysis of characters is central to the arguments of “Sannō no koto”, and argue for yet another way in which it reaches out to Chinese culture.

⁴⁵⁶ 実ニ日本国ハ小国ニアリテモ小国ナレバ、出世成道ノ地ニモカナフマジ、ST 29, p. 81. Because Japan, even among the small countries, is a small country, it is also certainly not a place where one can fulfil [the objective of] leaving the world and [obtaining] enlightenment.

⁴⁵⁷ Grapard 1987, pp. 220-221.

⁴⁵⁸ Satō 2014, p. 202.

“Sannō no koto” and etymological aetiology

In this section I analyse how “Sannō no koto” constructs a discourse about Chinese characters and their relationship to reality. In particular, I explore its analysis of the graphic construction of various Chinese characters, such as *kami* 神, *sakaki* 榊 and *miko* 御子, among others. I connect the mode of analysis employed for these characters to Chinese lexicographical practices, and place it in the broader context of what I call the chapter’s aetiological focus. I refer to the type of character analysis employed in “Sannō no koto” as a form of etymology broadly intended, as etymology is the study of the origins of words, and these character analyses are, as we shall see, intended to show the reason why a character is written in a certain way. In order to highlight the connection between etymology and aetiology, I employ the concept of “etymological aetiology”, which first appeared in an article on Irish hagiography by Rolf Baumgarten.⁴⁵⁹

A necessary disclaimer is that in this section I do not concern myself with whether the ones that we find in “Sannō no koto” or its precedents are the actual, linguistically sound etymologies of the words in question, but only on their significance in the discourse on the Sannō deities. The discourse on Chinese characters is the only aspect of “Sannō no koto” which has been somewhat investigated in western scholarship, first by Grapard in 1987 and then, even more briefly, in 2002 by Susan Blakeley Klein.⁴⁶⁰ In the last part of the section I address this existing scholarship, by arguing for the necessity of a close reading of “Sannō no koto” as a whole.

Before beginning the section in earnest, I turn to clarify what are aetiologies, and where we can find these in “Sannō no koto”.

In very simplified terms, an aetiological tale, from the Greek *aitia* (αἰτία), “causes”, is a tale about the origins of a phenomenon, explaining how past events justify a present order of things. If we employ this definition, there are many etiological tales in “Sannō

⁴⁵⁹ Baumgarten 2004.

⁴⁶⁰ Grapard 1987, Klein 2002.

no koto". We can say that the two most extensive ones are the *engi* of Ōmiya and Ninomiya, as these are the foundational tales of the shrines and their ritual customs.

The genre of *engi* finds a connection with aetiology in another, etymological sense. Whilst the term *engi* is often made to derive from the term for "dependent co-origination" (Sk. *pratītyasamūtpāda*, jp. *innen shōki* 因縁生起), which can be abbreviated as *engi*, an alternative etymology, which has been explored by Abe Ryūichi, correlates it instead with the Buddhist term *nidāna* (*nidana* 尼陀那).⁴⁶¹

Commonly translated as *engi* or *innen* 因縁, *nidāna* can refer to stories that aim at revealing the original cause of sermons delivered by the Buddha, Vinaya rules he established, and strange and miraculous events caused or witnessed by him.⁴⁶² In this sense, they are closely linked to two other narrative categories in scriptural discourse, *jātaka* (jp. *honjō* 本生), stories of the Buddha's previous lives, and *itivr̥ttaka* (jp. *honji* 本事), stories of the former lives of the Buddha's disciples.⁴⁶³ This alternative etymology sheds light on the nature of *engi* as tales concerning mythical origins, but also lets me argue that "Sannō no koto" slots seamlessly into this category, not only because it includes the origin story of a religious institution, namely Hie, but also for its arguable didactic intent and for the presence in it of various lives of the Buddha and his disciples, which we have partially seen in the sections above.

Aetiological tales in "Sannō no koto" are not strictly limited to the main shrines at Hie, but seek to cover all the aspects of the cult there. If we turn again to the tale of Ōmiya, we see that nested within it are other, shorter narratives on the origin of things. The most obvious example is the origin of the *awazu no goku*, which I have explored in detail in chapter four, but others are of a linguistic, or rather graphological, nature.

⁴⁶¹ Abe Ryūichi, "Revisiting the Dragon Princess: her role in Medieval *engi* stories and their implications in reading the Lotus sutra," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2015, pp. 28-29.

⁴⁶² Abe 2015, p. 29.

⁴⁶³ Abe 2015, p. 29.

Etymologies in the *engi* of Ōmiya: the characters *yashiro* and *hafuru*

When the Ōmiya deity shows Ushimaro an eligible place to build a shrine, we are told that this episode is embedded in the construction of the character meaning “shrine”, *yashiro* 社.

社ト云文字ヲカネテ、地ニ示スト作レルヲ顯ハサントナリケリ、

ST 29, p. 86

Originally, the character for “shrine” (*yashiro* 社) came about to show that it was made up [of the characters for] “showing to the grounds” (*tsuchi ni shimesu* 土に示す).

This analysis of the character for *yashiro* therefore links inextricably the word for shrine with the *engi* of Ōmiya, and in particular with the episode of his enshrinement. The same logic underlies another such etymology found immediately after, this time for the character for “officiating [as a priest]”, *hafuru* 祝, which is the first character of the name Hafuribe 祝部. This is said to be made up of two graphs meaning “showing to the elder brother” (jp. *ani ni shimesu* 兄ニ示メス), because, as we have seen, Ushimaro lived with his brothers, and the deity manifested specifically to him, the eldest.⁴⁶⁴

The *engi* of Ōmiya found in “Sannō no koto” is therefore structured like a Russian doll, wherein, nested within the main aetiological tale, can be found other ones. The ostensible aim of these etymologies is to further strengthen one central idea of the chapter, that is that Sannō is “the origin of the many deities” (jp. *morogami no moto* 諸神ノ本), and Hie the quintessential shrine. This is explained extensively towards the end of “Sannō no koto”, also by recurring to a reflection of language, albeit one of a different kind:

⁴⁶⁴ ST 29, p. 86.

或又ハカナキ見女士ナンドノ参詣スルトシテモ、社ノ名ヲバ申サズシテ、御社ニマウデセム、御社へ参ラント申スモ、諸神ノ本ニテ御スガイハスル事也、諸ノ社へマイル人ノ、イツカハ御社マウデスルトハ申ス、賀茂八幡稻荷住吉へ参ル人ハ皆社ノ名ヲ申ス、賀茂へ参ラム、八幡へ参ラム、稻荷へマイルラム、住吉へマウデ、トコソ申メレ、夫ニ日吉ノ社ニイタリテハ、御社詣デトモ申、御社へマイルラムト申ハ、社ノ本ニテ御ガ故也、人はヲカファイヘトハ教ヘザレドモ、可然テイハル、ハ神ノ本社ノ元起ニテ御スガ故也、ヨロヅノ花ヲバ名ヲヨビテ是ヲイフニ、桜ハ花ノ本ナレバ、花トヲサヘテ云フニ桜トハ知ヌ、花見ノ御幸、花見ノ行幸トハ、桜ヲ御覧ズルヲ申ス様ニ、山王へ詣ルニ御社ト申ハ、諸神ノ根本元首ニテ御ス故也、

ST 29, p. 89

Or also, for instance, when helpless children and noble women visit [our] shrine, they do not say the name of shrine, but say: "I shall make a pilgrimage to the shrine (*onsha* 御社)". This speaks volumes of the fact that [Hie] is the origin of the many deities. Those who visit various shrines say which shrines they will visit. Those who visit Kamo, Hachiman, Inari, Sumiyoshi, all say the name of the shrines. They say, "I shall visit Kamo," or: "I shall visit Hachiman;" "I shall visit Inari;" "I shall make a pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi." But upon going to the Hie shrine, they call it "a pilgrimage to the shrine," or they also say: "I shall make a visit to the shrine." This is because it is the origin of shrines. It is not that someone instructs people that this is what they have to say. They say it like that merely because [Hie] is the origin of deities, the cornerstone of shrines.

Even though we call the myriad flowers by their name, the *sakura* flower is the first among them. So, even if we only say "flower", we know it for a *sakura*. When we say: "imperial visits to see the flowers (*hanami no gokō* 花見ノ御幸)," or "imperial outings to see the flowers (*hanami no gyōkō* 花見ノ行幸)", what we mean is that the emperor is going to see the *sakura*. Much in the same way, when we visit Sannō,

we say “the shrine”, because [the Sannō deities] are at the root and at the head of the many deities.⁴⁶⁵

From these passages we glean another component of the discourse on language of “Sannō no koto”, that is eponymy. Hie is the reason why we call shrine shrines (*yashiro*). This is shown in the construction of the character, which alludes to the *engi* of Hie, but also revealed by the instinctive usage of the word in the idiolect of women and children. Seen globally, this resonates with what Baumgarten calls aetiological etymology, a name which “usually correlates name-bearer and naming source in a homologous or compatible context through a suggestive semantic nexus. [...] The correlation is usually (quasi-)homomorphous or (quasi-)homophonous.”⁴⁶⁶ In this section, as shown by the examples above, I am concerned with the homomorphous more than the homophonous. I present more examples below.

Etymologies of composite words

Two other etymologies appearing in “Sannō no koto” are more well-known, as they appear in Grapard’s 1987 article.⁴⁶⁷ These are the name of the deity Shōshinji 聖真子 and the term *miko* 御子, which appear in succession in the same portion of the text.

Both etymologies centre on the character *ko* 子, meaning child. They rest on the statement that the deities of Hie all “manifested themselves with Ōmiya and Ninomiya as their father and mother, joined in a harmonious union of *yin* and *yang*” 大宮二宮ノ陰陽和合ノ父母ト顕ハレ給[ウ].⁴⁶⁸ The text proceeds to tell us that it is therefore “logical” (*ri nari* 理也) that Shōshinji, their first child, should manifest this in his name.

As for *miko*, the relation is less explicit, and the etymology merits being reported in full.

⁴⁶⁵ We can compare this eponymic usage with Jien’s poem in *Shūgyokushū* 拾玉集: *Yo no naka ni / yama tefu yama wa / ookaredo / yama towa Hie no / miyama wozo* “Though in this world there are mountains in abundance, the Mountain is the sacred mountain of Hiei,” KT. vol.3, Kadokawa shoten, 1985, p.671. English translation in Arichi 2002, p. 24.

⁴⁶⁶ Baumgarten 2004, p. 50.

⁴⁶⁷ Grapard 1987, p. 218.

⁴⁶⁸ ST 29, p. 88.

是モ両所大明神ヲ父母トシテ、御子トイハムトノ給ケルヤラム、イカニモ様
ノ侍ル事ナンメリ、大宮大明神ノ本地ハ尺迦如来ニテ、今此三界皆是我有、
其中衆生悉是吾子ト仰ラレタレバ、垂迹ノ神ト顕ハレ給日、ツカフヤツラム
フゲキ
巫覡ドモヲバ、御子ト専ラ申スベキ也、

ST 29, p. 88.

Having the great bright deities of the two places [i.e. Ōmiya and Ninomiya] as their father and mother, it is exceedingly meaningful that *miko* are called “honoured children”. The original ground of the great bright deity Ōmiya is the Tathāgata Śākyamuni. He said: “Now, I have the three worlds all to myself. All the living beings there are my children.”⁴⁶⁹ Therefore, from the day when he manifested his temporary trace as a deity, the oracles at his service are to be called *miko*, [which means] “honoured children”.

We must note that the etymology for *miko* is predicated on similar grounds as the eponymy of Hie, “the shrine”: although oracles are called *miko* at other shrines also, the quintessential *miko* are the ones at Hie, as is inherent in their name which connects them to Śākyamuni, the *honji* of Ōmiya.

Although these two examples are also, broadly speaking, etymologies, they are different from the first ones I have introduced, those for *yashiro* and *hafuru*, in that they do not focus on analysing the components of one character, but on the characters composing a word. An analysis which has the same mechanism as *yashiro* and *hafuru* is that of the character for *kami* 神, the first to appear in “Sannō no koto”. The fact that these etymologies work in the same way is pointed out in the text, which after

⁴⁶⁹ This is presented as a quote from the Lotus sutra in Zhiyi’s *Weimojing wenshou* 維摩經文疏 (佛国品) and in Keiranshūyōshū 溪嵐拾葉集 T2410_.76.0751c06-07, where it is referred not to the Sannō deities, but to Amaterasu. The original passage from the sutra is slightly different, made up of the following verses: 今此三界 皆是我有 其中衆生 悉是吾子 而今此處 多諸患難 T0262_.09.0014c26-27.

the etymology for *hafuru* and *yashiro* states that “it is the same as the character for deity” 是其神ノ文字ノ如シ.⁴⁷⁰

Sacred monkeys and the character for *kami*

We now come to the central etymology find in Sannō no koto, the analysis of the character *kami*:⁴⁷¹

神ト申文字ヲバ、サルニシメストツクル也、ナルト申文字ニハ日ヨシノサル
ヲ用井、シメスト申ス文字ニハ示現ノ示ヲ用ルナルベシ、其示文字ヲ篇ニシ
テ神ノ字ヲ作タレバ、神ノ文字ヲバ申ニ示ト申也、

ST 29, p. 81

The character for deity (*kami* 神) is constructed from “manifesting in monkeys”. The character for “monkey” (*saru* 申) takes up the meaning of the monkeys of Hiyoshi (sic.). The character for “showing” (*shimesu* 示) certainly means the “showing” part of the word for “manifestation”, *jigen* 示現. By placing the character for “showing” to the side, we make the character for “deity”. Thus, the character for “deity” means “manifesting in monkeys”.

Underlying this etymology is the special connection of the Sannō deities, but especially Ōmiya, with monkeys. This is explained in detail in as follows.

Firstly, there is again the matter of eponymy. Śākyamuni, the most important Buddha of the Tendai *imaginaire*, is Sannō, which in this case means Ōmiya; therefore, the Sannō deities are the quintessential *kami*, just like the Hie shrines are the quintessential shrines and their *miko* are the quintessential *miko*. All the *kami* of Japan are called *kami* because of Sannō, with whom the character originated. This relation

⁴⁷⁰ ST 29, p. 86.

⁴⁷¹ Throughout I use the current spelling of the word, but the etymologies presented are clearer if one keeps in mind the older form of the character, 神禮.

is further strengthened in the text with a paraphrased quote from the "Great Meaning of the Five Agents":

神ト者、申ナリ、清盧ノ気ナリ、擁滞スツトコロ無シ、故ニ申ツト云ト侍ル
ハ、

ST 29, p. 82

Deities (*shin* 神) are the branch of the monkey (*shin* 申). They are pure and uncorrupted *qi*. There is no place where it is restricted. Thus, it is called "monkey".

472

Secondly, the Hie shrines are said to have a karmic relationship with monkeys: their *matsuri* is held each year on the day of the monkey, and the fourth month, when their main *matsuri* is held, is connected to the heavenly general Tensō 伝送, who "descends from heaven" on the fourth month, and corresponds to the calendrical branch of the monkey.⁴⁷³ The connection of monkeys to the element of metal in relation to the divinatory systems of *sukuyōdō* 宿曜道 and *onymōdō* 陰陽道 is also mentioned.⁴⁷⁴ Through metal, monkeys are connected to the bodies of Buddhas.

⁴⁷² ST 29, p. 82. *Wuxing dayi* 五行大義, "The Great Meaning of the Five Agents", is a philosophical treatise written by the Sui period 隋 (581-618) by Xiao Wenxiu 蕭文休. The first section is concerned with definitions and methodical discussions, while the rest of the book disputes the theory of the Five Agents and their influence on all aspects of the universe, from the human character and virtues to the musical pitchpipes, the eight winds, the organs in the human body, astronomy, geography, medicine, zoology, and many more aspects of life and religion. The text is preserved in a Japanese print from 1699.

⁴⁷³ ST 29, p. 82. The "moon generals" 月將 correspond to the months of the year in *onmyōdō*. The same name is used for Yakushi's retinue of twelve "divine generals", who are Indian deities made to correspond to twelve calendrical branches. There are different lists of names of these generals. The name Tensō 伝送 certainly exists in a Tendai environment connected to the diffusion of Sannō shintō, and appears as a variant for one of the names of the general corresponding to the monkey, Andara 安陀羅, in the *Kuin bukkaku shō* 九院佛閣抄, a collation of oral transmissions (*kuden* 口伝) related to the *Sange yōryakki* 山家要略記, edited or collated in 1324 or 1383 (therefore during the collation of the *Yōtenki*). Tsutsumi Shigeo 堤重男, "Yakushi jūni shinsō no ikkōsatsu" 薬師十二神將の一考察, in *Mikkyō kenkyū* 密教研究 67, 1938, p. 233.

⁴⁷⁴ ST 29, pp. 82-83.

又金ハ万物ノ中ニ其体堅固ニシテ、百年千年ヲフレドモクチズ損ゼヌモノナ
リ、水ノ底ニテ千万劫ヲ送レドモクチスル事モナシ、已ニ常住不滅ノ仏身ニ
カハル事無シ、

ST 29, pp. 82-83

Metal, among all the ten thousand things, has a solid form. Even if a hundred or a thousand years pass, it is something which cannot be corrupted or damaged. Underwater, even if a thousand, nay, ten thousand aeons pass, it does not become corrupted. It is not different in anything from the ever abiding and indestructible body of a Buddha.

Thirdly, tales on monkeys are employed to further reiterate the importance of monkeys for Buddhism in general. In rapid succession we see tales of monkeys listening to the preaching of the Lotus sutra and becoming pratyekabuddhas, favouring the enlightenment of others, building stupas; the famous tale of a monkey offering alms to Śākyamuni is presented, and so is the lesser known one of a monkey offering a potato to Kōbō *daishi* 弘法大師 (Kūkai 空海, 774-835).⁴⁷⁵ It is out of the scope of this chapter to recount all these tales. I refer to the full translation in the appendix to appreciate the sheer scope of the narrative on monkeys, but this brief summary should be sufficient to show just how strongly “Sannō no koto” lays out its arguments, where exhaustive reasonings and lists of material are presented to argue these on all sides.

I have stated before that *engi* of Ōmiya in “Sannō no koto” is structured like a Russian doll, with other aetiological discourses nestled within it. This is also a characteristic of this section, where from the etymology of *kami* is derived that for the character of *sakaki*, the tree used in the Ōsakaki ceremony performed at the *matsuri*:

⁴⁷⁵ ST 29, p. 83.

此神明ノ仕者ノ猿猴木ニヨリテ住ガ故ニ、木ノ字ニ神ヲシタガヘテ、榊ト云
字ニ造レリ、サテハヤニ神事ノトコロニハ榊ヲ立テ、祭ノ日モ榊ヲ用ル也、
山王ノ実ノ神ニテ御スコト、

ST 29, pp. 83-84

Because monkeys derive their dwellings from trees, the character for the *sakaki* tree (*sakaki* 榊) is constructed by adding the character for “deity” (*shin* 神) to the one for “tree” (*moku* 木). Thus, *sakaki* trees stand in places where deities are worshipped, and on the festival day *sakaki* [branches] are employed.

From cases such as the ones presented throughout this section, it is clear that aetiological etymology was a crucial way to explain the supremacy of the Sannō deities and their shrines, and to frame these as the quintessential ones through eponymy. Although we do see etymologies which analyse a composite word by dividing it into the single characters composing it, most frequently these etymologies are derived from the analysis of single characters into their semantic components. In the second part of this section, I examine these from the perspective of their continental antecedents.

“Sannō no koto” and Chinese etymological practices

We do not have to go far to find an indication as to the Chinese origin of these etymologies. “Sannō no koto” itself gives us a clue:

尺迦如来ノ現ジ給ハムズルニ、吉事ヲモ悪事ヲモサルニスガヲ示シ給ハンズ
レバ其由ヲ文字ニ作り顕サントテ、蒼頡大臣将来カミテ、山王ノ御事ヲ造
タル文字也、

ST 29, p. 81

When the Tathāgata Śākyamuni manifested himself, he showed good things and evil things in the shape a monkey, and for this reason the minister Cangjie 蒼頡, wanting to show this in the way the character is constructed, foreseeing the future, made the character with the facts regarding the Sannō deities built [into it].

The inventor of the character for “deity” is therefore “a man called Minister Cangjie, a transformation body of the Buddha Śākyamuni.”⁴⁷⁶

While the association of Cangjie with Śākyamuni is uncommon, and I was only able to find it in “Sannō no koto”, Cangjie as the legendary inventor of Chinese characters is extremely well-attested from the third century BCE.⁴⁷⁷ The story must have been well-known to the authors of “Sannō no koto”, as they do not report it in full, but only allude to it. In brief, Cangjie invents characters for the first time, by looking at the signs left on the ground by birds and animals. In some versions of the story, such as the one reported in *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (139 BCE), this also produces phenomena such as heaven raining down millet and ghosts wailing at night.⁴⁷⁸

The name of Cangjie was associated to lexicographical works: towards 213 BCE Li Si (c. 280-208 BCE), the minister of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, wrote the textbook entitled *Cangjie pian* 倉頡篇 (*Cangjie primer*), in order to propagate the latter’s policy of unifying writing.⁴⁷⁹ Although the *Cangjie pian* is now lost, the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (121 CE) is another lexicographical source of importance. It is here that the division of characters according to radicals was first introduced, with the same analysis of characters according to their components that we see in the *Yōtenki*. In the second chapter I have argued that the entry for the word “king” found in *Shuowen jiezi* is possibly linked to the analysis of the same character in “Sannō no koto”, but the similarities do not end here. In its postface, the *Shuowen* establishes a chronology for the invention of writing:

In ancient times when Pao Xi [= Fuxi] ruled over the world, looking up, he contemplated the images in the sky, and looking down, he observed the laws on the earth. He observed the markings on birds and beasts and their adaptation to their environment. Close to him, he was inspired by his own person; at a distance, he was

⁴⁷⁶ ST 29, p. 81.

⁴⁷⁷ Bottéro, Françoise, “Cang Jie and the Invention of Writing: Reflections on the Elaboration of a Legend”, In Christorph Anderl and Halver Boyesen (ed.), *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture*, Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing, 2006, p. 136.

⁴⁷⁸ For an account of early version of the legend see Bottéro 2006.

⁴⁷⁹ Bottéro 2006, p. 138.

inspired by all creatures. Then, he first created the Eight Trigrams of The Changes to transmit the aspects of the Laws (of the Universe). Later, [...] Cang Jie, the scribe of the Yellow Emperor, observing the traces left by the feet and paws of birds and beasts, understood that they could be differentiated by their distinctive principles.⁴⁸⁰

The same chronology can be found in “Sannō no koto”, where we see:

昔隣屋ニ遊ブ竜、八卦ノ面ヲ合テ、四方八遊ノ吉凶ヲタレシ時、書籍始テ顕
ハレ、軒轅国ヲ治メ給シ古へ、漢天ニカケルガンノ数行ノツラ、ムスビテ六
合九垓ノ隅ヲ度ケルヲ見テ、文筆ヤウヤク出来テヨリ以来タ、

ST 29, p. 78.

A long time ago, when a dragon flying in the vicinity [of Fuxi] bestowed the shape of the eight trigrams,⁴⁸¹ teaching the good and evil fortune of the four quarters and eight directions, it manifested the written word for the first time.⁴⁸²

In the old days when Xuan Yuan ruled the country,⁴⁸³ he saw lines of wild geese flying through the Chinese sky,⁴⁸⁴ forming patterns which spanned every corner of the world, across the six points of the compass on hearth (ch. *liuhe*, jp. *rokugō* 六合) and the nine levels of heaven (ch. *jiugai*, jp. *kyūgai* 九垓).⁴⁸⁵

In “Sanno no koto” we also see a concern on whether the shape of Chinese characters reflects the original intention of Cangjie:

彼臣下ノ黄帝ノ勅ヲウケ給テ、文字ハ造出タリケルトカヤ、其後ヲヒタタニ
賢人才人アヒツギテ、文字ハ造出タリト聞エ侍レバ、黄帝ノ御時ニツクリタ
リケルヤラム難知ケレトモ、神ト申文字ヲバ、サルニシメストツクル也

⁴⁸⁰ Translation from Bottéro 2006, p. 149.

⁴⁸¹ Reference to the legends where Fuxi invents the eight trigrams, sometimes after having seen these as patterns on the back of a dragon.

⁴⁸² The *Yōtenki* has 四方八遊 which seems to be a hapax. Probably a corruption of 四方八面, “four quarters and eight directions”.

⁴⁸³ Fuxi is called Xuan Yuan because he was born on a hill called Xuan Yuan according to the third-century historian Huangfu Mi 皇甫谧 (215–282).

⁴⁸⁴ In Japanese literature this is the portion of sky where the milky way is visible, but I interpret it as a pun as the action happens in China.

⁴⁸⁵ The zenith, nadir, and the four directions.

ST 29, p. 81.

Could it be that the servant, Cangjie, invented characters when under the bidding of the Yellow Emperor? After him, a succession of noble men and men of genius have been said to have invented characters, so that it is difficult to say whether those might have truly been invented at the time of the yellow emperor. Nevertheless, the character for deity is made up of [parts which mean] “manifesting in monkeys”.

The same degenerative narrative is found in Chinese sources, among which the postface to *Shuowen jiezi*.⁴⁸⁶ I argue that these in-text references to Chinese attitudes on Chinese characters can be used to locate the antecedents of the etymological practices that we see in the *Yōtenki* in this type of sources.

The splicing of characters that we see in the *Yōtenki* is therefore not a new invention, but, as we have started to see, it had a long history in China where it was seen in dictionaries and employed with what we might term a “scholarly” function, that is to retrieve the original meaning of the word which anchors it to reality: we have already seen in the second chapter the treatment of the character for “king” in the *Shuowen jiezi*.⁴⁸⁷

The same kind of analysis was also employed for what we have termed etymological aetiologies. In Wang Chong’s 王充 (27-97) *Lunheng* 論衡, we see the case of the character Ji 姬, assigned to the legendary heroine Jiang Yuan to indicate the clan she formed which would later become the Zhou dynasty. When Wang Chong notes that the character does not reflect the legendary events around Jiang Yuan, he turns to questioning the legends rather than the characters, because characters are meant to be a faithful representation of reality:

⁴⁸⁶ Galambos, Imre, “The myth of the Qin unification of writing in Han sources,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 57, no. 2, 2004, pp. 199-200. A case for a reading of the *Shuowen* postface from the point of view of authorial intention is put forward in O'Neill, Timothy, “Xu Shen's scholarly agenda: a new interpretation of the postface of the *Shuowen Jiezi*,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 133, no. 3, 2013, pp. 413-440.

I thank Dr Christopher Foster from SOAS for alerting me to the similarities mentioned here and recommending that I read the article.

⁴⁸⁷ I use the term “scholarly” as used in Führer, Bernhard, “Seers and Jesters: Predicting the Future and Punning by Graph Analysis,” *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 25, 2006, p. 48.

When Cang Jie invented writing, he related it to events. Jiang Yuan walked on the giant's footprints. 'Footprint' refers to 'basis', the clan name therefore ought to be '其' with '土' below [that is *ji* 基]. But the character with the 'woman' component and *yi* '臣' [*ji* 姬] is neither the character *ji* 'basis' nor *ji* 'footprint'; since it does not correspond with the original event, I suspect it is not the reality.⁴⁸⁸

This usage alerts us to the fact that language was thought to have a deep connection with reality, as it could be used to verify a mythological situation: again, etymology and aetiology are connected. The same connection exists in “Sanno no koto”, where we have seen characters connected to specific events in the *engi* of Ōmiya and Ninomiya. The correspondence of characters to reality is further articulated in the following passage, which states that ways in which characters are related to what they represent can be either a similarity of form (whereby characters pictorially represent their referent) or one of meaning:

サレバ日ハ円欠ナケレバ、文字ニモ^{マロ}円造ニハツクルナリ、其外ノ文字、何モ皆或ハ義ニヨリ、或ハ様ニヨリテ造也、夫ニアハセテ、山王現ニモ人ノタメニハ善悪吉凶ヲ示シ給ハンニハ、サルノ姿ヲ現シテ、垂迹方便トシタテマツル也、

ST 29, p. 82

The sun is round, without gaps. Therefore, in the character, too, is built in this roundness. As for the other characters, they are constructed some of them according to meaning, some of them according to form.

If we return to Chinese lexicographical practices, a more creative, or “intuitional” approach is seen in the analysis of graphs into components that we see in glyphomancy (ch. *cezi* 測字), a prognostic technique which was already developed by the Song period, where the diviner asks the client to spontaneously write or select one Chinese character, which they then analyse according to their graphic structure,

⁴⁸⁸ Trans. in Bottéro 2006, p. 145.

phonetic or semantic value.⁴⁸⁹ According to Führer, the same approach is at play where the splicing of characters is used as a literary device, in which case this technique is mainly referred to as *xizi* 析字, and found in manuals on rhetoric (*xiucixue* 修辞学).⁴⁹⁰ One early example of the rhetorical and literary usages of character splicing reading of the character *wu* 武 for “military” or “martial” as a compound of “stop” 止 and “spear” 武, found for the first time in the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, which is also referred in popular manuals on glyptomancy as the first example of character manipulation, and informed later lexicographic endeavours such as the *Shuowen jiezi*.⁴⁹¹

Another example of widely quoted character splicing for rhetorical purposes is the etymology for the character of “private” (*si* 私) found in *Han feizi* 韓非子, where we see:

In ancient times, when Cang Jie invented writing, he signified that which turns around itself by (the character) *si* 私 'selfish, personal', and turning one's back against 'selfishness', he designated with (the character) *gong* 公 'public'. Cang Jie must have known about the opposition between 'selfishness' and 'public'.⁴⁹²

Exactly like the *Yōtenki* with its etymology of *kami*, the *Han feizi* calls upon Cangjie as the ultimate authority in terms of characters, who shaped these to conform to reality.

So far, the use of etymologies in the *Yōtenki* fits perfectly with all the Chinese usages examined above: it underlies the same chronology of how Chinese characters were invented, it is connected with aetiologies through the underlying assumption that

⁴⁸⁹ Schmiel, Anne, “Written in Stone? Creative Strategies for Struggling with Fate in Chinese Character Divination (*cezi* 測字)”, *International Journal of Divination and Prognostication* 1.1, 2019, p. 81. I use the definition of “intuitional” from Führer 2006, p. 48.

⁴⁹⁰ Führer 2006, p. 48.

⁴⁹¹ 武: 夫文止戈為武. For interpretation as a rhetorical device see Führer 2006, p. 49. For use in glyptomancy manuals see Schmiel 2019, p. 79. For relationship of earlier interpretations of characters with lexicographical source *Shuowen jiezi* see Bottéro, Françoise, “Revisiting the *wén* 文 and the *zì* 字: the great Chinese character hoax”, in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, 74, 2002, p. 15.

⁴⁹² Trans. in Bottéro 2006, p. 137.

characters confirm reality, and it has a rhetorical function because it was used in a persuasive manner to demonstrate an argument, namely that the Sannō shrines are foremost in Japan. With this background, we can therefore easily argue that the etymologies found in “Sannō no koto” are very likely an elaboration drawn from Chinese examples. This connection is especially evident if we look at Chinese precedents for the analysis of the character *kami*, where the same splicing found in “Sannō no koto” is already attested. In *Shuowen jiezi* we see:

神：天神，引出萬物者也。从示、申。

Shen 神: heavenly deities. From these come out the ten thousand beings. From *shi*

示 and *shen* 申.

Character analysis in “Sannō no koto” in previous studies

Having reached the end of the section, I wish to briefly reflect on the differences between my analysis of the etymologies from “Sannō no koto” and those found in previous studies, as these are its one feature which has received any attention in Western scholarship.

Grapard wrote what is to this day the only article featuring translations from “Sannō no koto” in 1987.⁴⁹³ This serves as the background for a chapter found in Klein 2002, which analyses the etymologies of “Sannō no koto”, presented in Grapard’s translation, under the rubric of allegoresis, linking these to similar ones found in poetic commentaries.⁴⁹⁴

Neither of these works is entirely focused on “Sannō no koto”, but both use it as an example to construct their arguments. The interpretation given to the etymologies in both is one where, interpreted as a form of paronomasia, or punning, these are linked to ritual and magical uses of language. In the case of Grapard, the etymologies of the *Yōtenki*, are used to reveal a deep connection between different levels of reality, linguistic and metaphysical. Tiantai doctrinal concepts such as *isshin sangan*, which I

⁴⁹³ Grapard 1987.

⁴⁹⁴ Klein 2002, pp. 140-145. In Klein’s book, an allegoresis is the allegorical interpretation of a text which is not intended as an allegory, Klein 2002, pp. 19-20.

have already explored in the second chapter, underlie the relation of characters, especially those for Sannō, to reality.⁴⁹⁵ In the case of Klein, the philosophy of language underlying these “language games” is a nondual relation between characters and the things they signify which is partially based on the idea of the magical efficacy of words (*kotodama* 言靈).⁴⁹⁶

Neither Grapard nor Klein relate the etymologies in any way to Chinese lexicography, although Klein does identify similarities between glyphomantic practices and the semiotic operation carried on by the authors of the *Yōtenki* in dividing characters into their components.⁴⁹⁷ The drawback is that she only takes into account Japanese glyphomantic practices, and even that only in *setsuwa* narrating the activity of the poet Ōe no Masahira 大江匡衡 (952-1012), neglecting to contextualise these as a well-established continental practice.⁴⁹⁸ While I agree that etymologies that we find in the *Yōtenki* use the same techniques of character splicing as glyphomantic practices, I hope to have shown that this is because these have the same origin in lexicographical practices.

While both the interpretations of Klein and Grapard rely on interpreting the etymologies of “Sannō no koto” as stemming from a commitment to a metaphysical connection between the written word and reality, I argue that in severing the connections to China they miss an important piece of the puzzle of what the authors of the *Yōtenki* intended to do with words. I argue that the source of their metaphysical commitment is not to be found primarily in Tendai doctrine, but that it came already embedded in the continental material to which “Sannō no koto” refers by mentioning Cangjie. We see this commitment in ancient Chinese texts providing explanations of characters, where, in the words of Françoise Bottéro, “the author uses the graphic structure of a character to represent a key notion in the discursive reasoning to support or confirm a reality or a fact. [...] In these texts there is the idea of a close

⁴⁹⁵ Grapard 1987, pp. 220-226.

⁴⁹⁶ Klein 2002, p. 135.

⁴⁹⁷ Klein 2002, pp. 138-139.

⁴⁹⁸ Klein states that she has had “not [...] much luck in finding this kind of analysis [puns on words] in the scholarship on Chinese Taoist divination”. Klein 2002, p. 137.

relationship between the meaning of the graphic components (the parts) and the meaning of the characters (the whole), but there is also the idea of a profound correspondence between written signs and reality”.⁴⁹⁹

At the same time, the metaphysical commitment to the realism of graphs that does exist in the *Yōtenki* does not necessarily mean that its authors saw the etymologies as “real”, in the sense that these were philologically sound. There is also a not negligible playfulness to the way these are employed, already noted by Grapard, and we can interpret these also in light of a more creative, or “intuitional” approach to graphs.⁵⁰⁰ In other words, the etymological aetiologies of the *Yōtenki* are best also seen as a literary or rhetorical device, in that they are included into the text to underscore its overall point about the superiority Hie shrines by giving it a “philological” soundness. This is also where the concept of etymological aetiology can be fruitfully used to explain their usage, alerting us to the necessity of reading “Sannō no koto” as a whole: retrieving the function and precedents for these etymologies would be impossible without knowing their position in the whole context of the text, especially its references to the origins of Chinese graphs.

Chapter conclusion

I end the chapter with some observations on what “Sannō no koto” does with references to continental, especially Chinese, discourses, and why this is relevant.

In the first section I have followed a narrative on *honji suijaku* that refers to Chinese narratives on the pedagogy of Buddhist doctrine. This was framed in the text as a model for interactions of Buddhism with local entities, indicating that *honji suijaku* was not always conceived of as a technology of salvation tailored exclusively for Japan. In that context, framing *honji suijaku* within the religious history of China was central to “Sannō no koto” for different reasons. First, the Song period, when *Sannō no koto* was redacted, saw an abundance of textual and cultural exchanges between China and Japan. This might be alluded to in-text, where cultural exchanges between China and

⁴⁹⁹ Françoise Bottéro, “Revisiting the wén 文 and the zì 字: the great Chinese characters hoax”, *Bulletin of the museum of far eastern antiquities*, 74, 2002, p. 16.

⁵⁰⁰ Grapard 1987, p. 218.

Japan are narrated. The story of the three sages was also already present in Tiantai sources, making it readily available for the monastic authors of “Sannō no koto”.

Another way in which “Sannō no koto” is an important source to understand how *honji suijaku* was conceptualised in medieval Japan in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, which we also see in the next sections, is that it narrates extensively events that are only alluded to in more well-studied works on *kami*, thereby providing useful hints as to what their continental models might have been, as well as on the transmission of knowledge on *honji suijaku*, suggesting the presence of an underlying common discourse.

For instance, we can look at the *Shasekishū*, which as we have seen was contemporary to the *Yōtenki*, and which has been more widely edited and translated.

The august forms of the Traces Manifest by the Original Ground may vary, but their purpose is assuredly the same. In order to propagate Buddhism in China, the three bodhisattvas Manava, Kasyapa and Dipamkara appearing as Confucius, Lao-tzu and Yen Hui (*sic.*) first softened the people's hearts by means of non-Buddhist teachings. later, when Buddhism was propagated, everyone believed in it.⁵⁰¹

This is all the *Shasekishū* has to say on the Chinese three sages. While this suggests that the story was present in the medieval repertoire on *honji suijaku*, it is also true that, amongst the sources I investigated, the *Yōtenki* is the only one to present a longform explanation, allowing for a fuller context of the reception of Chinese discourses in Japan and their central role in the study of Japanese deities.

In the second section of this chapter I have explored conceptions of space and time in relation to Sannō no koto, and analysed how Japan is presented as the place where these discourses become harmonised. Again, discourses on Japan as the harmoniser of India and China are widespread in medieval Japan, where these are even found in poetry manuals.⁵⁰² Much of what we see in “Sannō no koto”, as we have seen,

⁵⁰¹ Mujū Ichien, trans. Robert E. Morrell, *Sand and pebbles (Shasekishū): the tales of Mujū Ichien, a voice for pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1985, p. 75.

⁵⁰² For instance, the Muromachi-period *Waka chikenshū* has: “In India there are the words (kotoba) of dhāraṇī. In China [dhāraṇī] Among these [six], the style of Japanese poetry has been continuously practiced in our country since the ancient age of the gods even unto this degenerate age . . . Japanese poetry, combining diction (kotoba) and sentiment (kokoro), is “greatly harmonizing” 大和 and so it is

resonates with contemporaneous material on *kami*, or more broadly on the relation of Japan with the continent. Its significance lies therefore not necessarily in its originality, but in its clarifying the source works underlying medieval discourses on *kami*, and in its casting a light on the networks of knowledge that inhabited the medieval mythological repertoire. One future avenue for research is to clarify why, among several sources, the *Yōtenki* is the only one to reach out to Chinese discourses in such painstaking detail. For now, I wonder whether this is not connected to the availability of Chinese textual material to its authors, and whether this material was always filtered through Tiantai sources or also accessed directly.

The situation is slightly different for the analysis of Chinese graphs found in the *Yōtenki*, as the way in which it treats these is quite idiosyncratic in the context of the major Sannō shintō texts: for instance, there is nothing comparable in *Keiranshūyōshū*. While this has an analysis of the graphs of Sannō which, as we have seen, is also commonly found in other Sannō shintō sources, nowhere else in the works I have analysed do we see references to Cangjie and the origins of language, which in the *Yōtenki* are used to validate this type of etymologies.

If we cast a wider net, we see that in broader medieval discourses on *kami* there was certainly an interest in the origins of language: in the fourteenth-century Ryōbu shintō work *Bikisho* 鼻歸書, we see:

This person [i.e. Brahma], in order to convert and save us [and] instruct [us in] the teachings of Buddha, descended from heaven, and, being alone [in this world], thought of a (?) friend (*tomo omoi*). In response to his thought, a son-of-deva (*tenshi*, Sk. *devaputra*) descended [in his turn]. This [person] is called Harama. [Among] these three persons, King Brahma created the *brāhmī* script of Southern India (*Nantenbonji*), the deva Viṣṇu (Bichūten) created the Western barbarian script (*Komonji*) used in the Western Barbarian Country (*Kokoku*), and Harama created the Chinese script of China, looking at the traces left by birds on the seashore. It is also said that these three persons are [the same as] the three brothers in the *Rishukyo*.⁵⁰³

called “greatly harmonizing poetry” (Yamato uta, 大和歌). Susan Blakeley Klein, “*Honji suijaku* in literary allegoresis,” in Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003, pp. 185-186.

⁵⁰³ Trans. in Iyanaga 2003, p. 161.

This comes from Chinese sources such as *Wuyi wude dacheng silun xuanyi* (jp. *Mue mutoku daijō shiron gengi* 無依無得大乘四論玄義記), a partially lost work of Huijun 慧均 (sixth century), which according to Iyanaga was received in Japan through the mediation of Annen:

Seeking [the origin of] the Fourteen Sounds [i.e. the fourteen vowels of Sanskrit], [we find that] they were originally part of the Dharma of the buddhas of the past. They were used both for conversion to the path [of salvation] and in the profane world, even though the true intention of the buddhas was to employ them for [salvation] beyond the profane world, not for vain secular disputations [between different] schools. After the buddhas [of the past] disappeared, the Brahmā devas met [and decided that] it was necessary to send three brothers down to the Realm of Desire, [to teach human beings] the scripts of Brahmā, of Kha[*roṣṭhī*] and the zhuan (fan jia zhuan shu), which run [respectively] to the left, to the right, and down-ward. The two former [scripts] are used in India and [contribute to] the conversion [of human beings]; the form of the characters is the same as brāhmī characters, the only difference being that one goes to the right, while the other goes to the left. The youngest brother was Cangjie; he later descended to the land of Han at the time of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi). He flew down to the seashore, and, looking at the traces left by birds, he created the script called *zhuan*.⁵⁰⁴

Both texts mention Cangjie and the origin of written language, however that is where the similarities with the *Yōtenki* stop. “Sannō no koto” has no mention of Brahma or the origin of Indian writing systems, but focuses instead solely on Chinese characters. It is also the only text among those examined which presents Cangjie as a hypostasis of Śākyamuni. This suggests that the discourse on the origin of characters found in the *Yōtenki*, though perhaps stemming from a similar interest in language, had a different source; perhaps a Tiantai one, but this remains to be inquired in further research.

On one hand, then, the analysis of “Sannō no koto” is useful to see the variety of continental discourses which formed a basis for ones on *kami*, the networks of knowledge of which its authors participated, and the way in which they used the sources that might have been available to them. On one other hand, it lets us

⁵⁰⁴ Translated in Iyanaga 2003, pp. 170-171.

understand better works like *Keiranshūyōshū*, which have features in common with it, such as is the etymology for the word “Sannō”, but do not motivate them, thus obscuring their relation to continental antecedents. One last question is whether we can explain away the importance of “Sannō no koto” only by its recursion to Chinese sources. I propose that we cannot, and in the last section on lexicography I propose that its use of etymology, history and hagiography must be understood also in terms of the chapter’s interest with aetiology, which brings it back and harnesses it to Japan and to Hie.

Conclusion

The Sannō deities were central to the medieval religious landscape, and yet they remain some of the most severely understudied *kami*. Their mythologies remain virtually absent from most overviews of medieval mythology, and the few previous studies of Sannō shintō are in great part focused on developments at the Enryakuji and the relation of Hie deities to Buddhist doctrine. In my thesis I have shown that we must also pay attention to the activities of priestly lineages, and demonstrated that mythologies are a crucial space where the identities of the deities were negotiated. Throughout the thesis we have seen the two poles of narrative and institutional history feeding off each other: I have shown that the institutional context can explain the way that narratives are constructed, but also that a fresh outlook on institutional developments, such as the enshrinement order of deities, can be achieved from comparing various narratives.

Through the thesis I have argued against Sannō shintō as a system devised by scholar monks (*kike*), and instead de-centred its production, seeing it as arising out of a negotiation among different lineages. Crucially, I found a place in Sannō shintō for the Hafuribe, the main hereditary lineage at the Hie shrines. I showed how they employed mythological discourses to stake their position in the Biwa Lake area and to negotiate their relation to the Enryakuji. Not only did the Hafuribe manipulate mythological discourses and were seen as authorities on these, but they also participated in the edition of textual material, an action that can also be seen as one of record-keeping.

As a result of my research, the Sannō deities are re-framed as entities in flux, at the same time firmly emplaced in the Biwa Lake area and reaching out over the ocean, to India and China. The thesis uncovers the transitional nature of Sannō shintō, where the fluid identities of deities allow for changes and adjustments depending on the needs of multiple human and divine actors. The complicated identities of the deities are also reconfigured in the thesis as ones which were chosen within a repertoire. The study of mythological narratives also reveals processes of epistemological engagement with deities.

The chapters of the thesis follow a movement of narrowing down and broadening. On one hand I focus very strictly on the territory of the Hie shrines and their lineages, but on the other hand I zoom out of this frame to see the impact that nation-wide discourses on *kami* and the reception of Chinese culture had on Sannō shintō. Focusing on the latter, I show the impact on Sannō shintō of discourses on the relation of local entities with Buddhism, on the

consequences of Buddha's enlightenment on world history, and on the "metaphysical commitment" to the realism of language (largely framed as a lexicon). These concerns, at the same time local and cosmopolitan, are already embedded in the *Yōtenki*, whose traditions are strictly involved with the Biwa Lake area and the locale of Sakamoto, while also showing an urbane concern with broader discourses. Therefore, the structure of my thesis follows that of my principal primary source.

At the beginning of the first chapter I asked myself: if Sannō shintō is a monastic discourse, then why are there priests everywhere in primary sources? I set off by introducing categories of "shrine personnel", focusing chiefly on the lineage history of the Hafuribe. I also argued for the importance of other priestly lineages of the Biwa Lake area, most notably the so-called Ōtsu *jinin*, and lastly presented an overview of sources, especially literary, representing "shrine personnel" overlooked in historical documents. I laid out the argument that it is impossible to separate the identities of the Hie deities from these lineages, an idea that I developed further in the rest of the thesis. I established a timeline for the construction of the Hie shrines which would become useful as a background of the other chapters, for instance to place mythologies, often undated, in time.

In chapter two I reflected on how the manifold identities of deities are created in different loci, both ritual and literary, and to an extent subjected to the genre constraints of the materials where these are found. I illustrated examples of medieval sources which tried to integrate these various aspects in different manners, either by putting *kami* discourses in relation to Tendai doctrinal sources or by reaching out to *kami* genealogies. I demonstrated that there is not a unified Sannō shintō doctrine, but that this is composed of a multiplicity of discourses. I proposed the loose organisational principle of a repertoire to address this multiplicity. I concluded that Sannō shintō never became a coherent system, to the point that we might say that there were multiple ones for different communities of textual, ritual, and liturgical production. These communities, however, shared a common language of the same building blocks (equivalences, rituals, doctrinal concepts etc.): in other words, a repertoire.

In chapter three, I traced the edition history of my main source, the *Yōtenki*. The first part of this chapter consisted in an overview of the writing, editing and transmission process of the various chapters composing the *Yōtenki*. In the latter half of the chapter, I used the redaction history of the *Yōtenki* to re-examine the relation of Sannō shintō to *kike*, the "record-keeping" monastics at the Enryakuji, who have been indicated as the central lineage in its emergence. By showing that the *Yōtenki* was a compilation of records composed by priests and monks

alike, whose first complete copy exists in the hand of a priest signing himself with his householder's name, I argued that record keeping was also, at some level, a priestly activity, further sustaining my argument that the Enryakuji was not the only centre where Sannō shintō discourses were developed and diffused.

In chapter four, I investigated the creation of deity identities. Throughout the chapter I put forward a minoritarian position according to which the Ōmiya deity was the first one enshrined at Hie. I contrasted this with the mainstream reconstruction of the beginnings of the cult at Hie. This sees an old local deity enshrined at Ninomiya pushed to a secondary role by the arrival of an "imported" deity from the Miwa shrine, Ōmiya, in the seventh century. The discussion of what I call the displacement narrative is my chief contribution to the specialised academic debate on the Hie shrines and Sannō shintō, as it proposes a new enshrinement order for its main deities. However, it also has broader implications. In particular, by outlining the mythologies on the Hie deities, I show that their production was not confined to the Enryakuji/Hie shrines. That these mythologies also interacted with ones of other shrines through the familiar and institutional links of their priestly lineages, but also reached out to broader discourses on the nature of deities and their role in cosmogony. The chapter also puts forward a methodology to tackle complicated mythological accounts. By seeing these as modular, I showed how these modules were incorporated together to form narratives whose diffusion was steered by the concerns, in this case institutional, of the human actors participating in their cult.

After the minute analysis of myth in the fourth chapter, which tied me firmly to the Biwa Lake area, the fifth chapter allowed me a far broader reach. I investigated how the longest chapter of the *Yōtenki*, "Sannō no koto", narratively establishes a relation to the wider Buddhist world, and especially to China. I claimed that the purpose of this was to emplace Japan and Hie in the Buddhist world atlas, but also surmised that it was connected to the availability of sources of the authors of the chapter. I showed that the *Yōtenki* is an untapped resource for understanding for instance the kind of Chinese sources available in medieval Japan, showing in a clear manner how these were employed and modified to build discourses on *kami*. I argued that the repertoire of Sannō shintō clearly outlined in the *Yōtenki* was to an extent shared with textual material produced elsewhere, but that it is present in the *Yōtenki* in a long-form version which is absent from other textual material. I have argued that the *Yōtenki* can help us clarify the sources of medieval mythology, and that it should be considered a central resource in the study of *chūsei shinwa*.

Ultimately, my thesis brings to the fore a forgotten text which enhances our understanding not only of Sannō shintō, but on the role of hereditary shrine lineages and the impact of Chinese culture on *kami* discourses. This study of an understudied discourse, offering translations of heretofore untranslated material, can be a contribute to the study of medieval mythologies more broadly. On one hand, the work laid out in the thesis clarifies the role of priestly lineages in the Middle Ages and, in a certain measure, beyond. For better and for worse, throughout their history the Hafuribe found themselves at the cutting edge of Shintō in its various iterations. They represent a key lineage not only in the history of the Hie shrines, but to understand the role of hereditary Shintō priesthood in Japanese religion, from the transmission of combinatory discourses to the formation of the modern idea of Shintō. On the other hand, the thesis clearly shows the continental bases for some discourses recurrently found in sources on *kami*, clearly illustrating how continental models affected the conceptualisation of *honji suijaku*.

My thesis fills the gap represented by the lack of a monograph-length study of Sannō shintō that takes account of its development *both* at the Enryakuji *and* at the Hie shrines. This necessary background work will be useful for scholars intending to tackle aspects of Sannō shintō in their research, and represents, for me, a first step in a larger study of the textual material connected to Sannō shintō. I argue that, in order to make broader arguments on the relation of the Sannō in relation to other shrines or medieval culture, we must first know who the Sannō deities are, when they were enshrined, but also when people thought these had been enshrined (the two things overlap but are not the same). We must know what were the main lineages involved in their worship, and how they were entangled with the cult of the deities. We must understand the production of textual material, and the way in which these texts are related to each other through quotes.

I envision my thesis as the first step of a larger study on Sannō shintō, in particular of its textual heritage. Almost all texts connected to Sannō shintō, some of which we have seen throughout the thesis, are as stratified and complex as the *Yōtenki*; their edition processes and the relations among these texts need to be studied carefully. Another future goal is to look at mythological discourses developed at other shrines, testing how the methodology developed for the study of Sannō shintō, as well as an enhanced understanding of the Sannō shintō repertoire, can help in the study of those mythologies, therefore integrating the study of Sannō shintō even further within that of medieval mythology.

Appendix A: “Ōmiya no onkoto”, annotated translation

兩説在之。康和五年十二月。愛智庄官符僞。御神者。大八島金刺朝庭。顯三輪明神。大津御宇之時。初天下坐云云。⁵⁰⁵

There are two explanations.

It is said that the *kami* manifested himself for the first time in the great eight islands at the court of Kanasashi.⁵⁰⁶ He descended from heaven for the first time during the reign in Ōtsu.

尋本体。天照太神分身。或月枝トモ。或申日吉トモ。是則垂跡於叡岳之麓。施威於日下故也。

If you enquire about the essence (*hontai* 本体) [of this deity], he is the divided body (*bunshin* 分身) of Amateru Ōmukami.⁵⁰⁷ He is also called either Hie 日枝 or Hiyoshi 日吉. This is because, manifesting himself at the foot of Mount Hiei, he bestows his power under the sun (hi 日).

彼明句云權中納言匡房宜命勅也。欽明之秋天空イ。三輪月影潔。天智之春候。八柳風音涼云云。欽明天皇御宇大和国垂跡。天智天皇御時此所渡御。

The celebrated verses say- [note:] it is an imperial decree issued from the Gon-chūnagon Masafusa 權中納言匡房.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁵ The Japanese texts throughout follows the transcription and punctuation of the ZGR edition. I integrate the text, where this changes, with the edition found in ST.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ōyashima* 大八島 is a poetical expression synonymous with Japan. Kanasashi 金刺 refers to the palace of the emperor Kinmei 欽明 (r. 539-572?), Shikishima Kanasashi 磯城島金刺. This appears clearly in “Ōmiya”, where we see: 人皇第卅代磯城島金刺宮欽明天皇即位元年庚申、大和国城上郡大三輪神天降シテ、第卅九代天智天皇大津宮即位元年、大比叡大明神顯給日吉ト、三輪ト大物主神ハ此国地主也、已上日本紀神祇部、ST 29, p. 86. “[It was] the year, a metal monkey year, of the enthronement of the thirtieth human emperor Kinmei, [who resided] at the palace of Shikishima Kanasashi. The Miwa deity descended in the Shikinokami prefecture, in Yamato. On the enthronement the thirty-ninth human emperor, Tenji, [who resided] at his palace in Ōtsu, Ōbie *daimyōjin* manifested himself at Hie. The Miwa deity Ōmononushi is the lord of the land in this country. The above is from the “Jingibu” section of *Nihon shoki*.”

⁵⁰⁷ *Bunshin*, also read *bunjūin*, or “divided body” indicates the transformation body of a Buddha, but it can also be used to indicate the “splitting” of a deity to be enshrined in different places. The passage is ambiguous. My reading of “Amateru Ōmukami is based on the *furigana* in the Tanenaga manuscript, and I use it throughout for consistency.

⁵⁰⁸ Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111).

“The autumn skies of Kinmei: the reflection of the moon at Miwa, pure. The springtime of Tenji: the sound of the wind at Yatsuyanagi, peaceful.”

During the reign of the emperor Kinmei, he manifested his traces (*suijaku* 垂跡) in the country of Yamato. In the times of emperor Tenji he crossed over to this place.

先琴御館宇志丸之住处唐崎。渡御。宇志丸ニ被仰云。汝為我氏人ト。可令社務。於我宝殿者。自此西北ニ可ト勝地。結草之所ヲ以テ為其驗。建立シテ宝殿ヲ。可致礼奠ヲ云々。仍宇志丸即随神勅ニ。指西北方ヲ尋之処。有粉楡之所。仍以件処為注ト。奉造宝殿処所奉崇也。

First, he crossed over to Karasaki, the dwelling place of Kotonomitachi no Ushimaro 琴御館宇志丸. He said to Ushimaro: “You shall serve in the shrine as my clansman. As for my shrine hall, divine a favourable place north-west of here. I shall show it to you by tying grass to the spot. Build a shrine hall and install me there.” Ushimaro instantly obeyed the deity’s command. He looked for the indicated spot to the north-west, where an elm tree (*funyu* 粉楡) stood, and judging that this was the commanded place, he build a shrine hall there.

則是今大宮宝殿是也。昔宇志丸者。山末社是也。今社司等者。彼末葉也云々。

That is none other than the current Ōmiya shrine hall. As for that Ushimaro of old, the Yamasue shrine 山末社 is [dedicated to] him. The current shrine attendants (*shashi* 社司) are his descendants.

自大和国。志賀浦唐崎浜へ渡御之時ハ。大津西浦田中恒世船ニ奉載。唐崎琴御館宇志丸之住处へ。奉送付畢。於其処。田中恒世奉備粟御飯之刻。被仰云。於汝等者。為我神人。毎年出御之時。必可奉供御云々。初依粟御料献。于今無改也。大津神人者。即彼恒世末胤也。其後恒世之船ハ。罷歸畢。

When they transferred the deity from Yamato to the port of Karasaki in Shiga bay, Tanaka no Tsuneyo 田中恒世, from the western port of Ōtsu, transported the deity on his boat to deliver him to Karasaki, Kotonomitachi no Ushimaro’s home. There, Tanaka no Tsuneyo prepared a meal of millet. That instant, the deity said: “[Starting] from you, I make your lot my servants. Each year, when I depart from the shrine, you must make this offer.” From this first offering of millet until this day, nothing has changed. The Ōtsu *jinin* are none other than the descendants of that Tsuneyo. After, Tsuneyo’s boat stopped and returned.

サテ宇志丸之船ニ令乗御テ。宇志丸之家ノ辺ナル大ナル樹ノ梢ニ所令顯給也。宇志丸見テ此奇異ヲ。始知明神ナリト矣。

So, [the deity] asked to board Ushimaro's boat, and this was caused to appear on the topmost place of the great tree neat Ushimaro's house. Ushimaro, having witnessed this miraculous [event], first understood that he was a deity.

已上。此日記在大宮御神殿内。成仲宿祢惣官ノ時。初披閱之云々。成仲孫子親成之説也。重々子細奥注之。可見也。親成モ祢宜ニ成畢。

The diary where the above is found inside the shrine hall of Ōmiya. When the *sukune* 宿祢 Narinaka 成仲 was *sōkan* 惣官, it was opened for the first time.⁵⁰⁹ It is the explanation of Narinaka's grandchild Chikanari. Further details must be seen in the end notes. Chikanari, too, became *negi* 祢宜.

尋云。宝殿安置之時。御尊体者。誰人所造耶。又俗形歟。僧形歟。

親成答云。大宮権現唐崎大樹上顯現之時。宇志丸拝見之。即形像ヲ不違奉造。所奉安置者。俗形御体也。

Question: "When it was installed in the shrine hall (*hōden* 宝殿), in what human [form] was the icon made? Was it in the form of a layperson? Or was it in the form of a monk?"

Chikanari's answer: "The image was made as not to differ from when Ushimaro saw the Ōmiya *gongen* manifesting himself on top of the great tree at Karasaki. It was enshrined in the form of a layperson."

又尋云。世間相伝云。大宮二宮聖真子者。奉遇伝教大師。出家得法名。所謂。法宿。花台。聖真子也。如何。

答云。大宮宝殿所安置御尊体。已俗形之上。自公家献御装束之時。御服ハ俗服也。自昔至今。其儀無改云云。又二宮聖真子者法服也以之推之。伝教大師御時有御出家者。何被献俗服哉ト。常ニ所申也云々。

Question: "Worldly transmissions state that Ōmiya, Ninomiya and Shōshinji encountered Dengyō daishi. In leaving worldly affairs [to become ordained into Buddhism], they received

⁵⁰⁹ I wonder if *sukune* 宿祢 should not be *negi* 祢宜.

dharma names. They were called Hōsshuku 法宿, Kedai 花台 and Shōshinji 聖真子. What about this?”

Answer: “For the very reason that the sacred image enshrined at the Ōmiya shrine hall has the form of a layperson, when courtiers offer up sacred garments, these clothes are laypeople’s clothes. From the times of old until now, this custom has not changed. As for Ninomiya and Shōshinji, we can infer they wear monastic robes. It is commonly said that in the times of Dengyō *daishi* one monk might have offered them laypeople’s clothes.”

尋云。西塔覺什僧都説法之時。大宮権現者。三輪明神ト者。此説如何。

答云。事甚幽玄。実難知。然而大旨ハ。三輪明神歟ト覺也。其故ハ。自大和国。来茲賀浦事ハ決定也。其旨見大宮日記。其上御歌ト申テ。御祭^{マツリ}ノ時。於宝殿前。社司詠歌云。

Question: “The monk Kakushi 覺仕 of the Western pagoda said during a sermon (*seppō* 説法) that Ōmiya *gongen* is the Miwa *myōjin*. What [do you make of] this explanation?”

Answer: “This is extremely profound knowledge. Truly difficult to grasp. But it is roughly so. We think he is the Miwa *myōjin*. For this reason, it is well known that from he came to the bay of Shiga from the country of Yamato. You can read this in the diary of Ōmiya.⁵¹⁰ The above is also stated in a song. During the *matsuri*, the shrine priests (*shashi* 社司) sing [this] song in front of the shrine hall:

ヤマトハ、ウミニニシヨリカゼフカバイヅレノウラニミフ子ヨスラムト候。

If in Yamato blows a west wind over the sea, where is the harbour upon which we can moor our august boat?

被思合候。仍故成仲宿祢者。是等ノ事共ヲ思合ルニ。三輪明神ヨト覺也ト談シキト云々。件御歌ヲバ。社司ノ中ニモ互ニ秘之。当時三十余人社司中ニモ。一兩人ゾ知テ候ラム。

已上親成説也云々。

This is what is thought. Whether the *sukune* Narinaka thought about all these things and thought that it was the Miwa *myōjin* is said to be a matter of discussion.

⁵¹⁰ Probably the diary from a couple of lines earlier.

The above song is secret even among the shrine priests. Even among the current thirty shrine priest, there are only two people who know it.”

The above is Chikanari’s explanation.

又説云。大宮ト申ハ。即鳴鏑^{メイテキ}ノ明神ト申也。是賀茂社下宮ノ夫神ヲフトニテ御ス也。下賀茂ト申ハ。松尾明神ノ御娘ムスメ也。大井河ノ末ニ。松尾ノ前ノ流出テ。川ノ^{ハタ}辺ニテ物ヲ洗ラヒ給ニ。鏑矢^{カブラヤ}ノ流レ下ルヲ取給テ。松尾ノ家ニ帰テ。寢所^{カキ}ノ垣ニサシ置キ給ヨリ。懷妊シテ産子ヲ給之刻ミ。其鏑矢鳴テ。丑寅ノ方へ虚ニ飛登テ。鳴リ渡リ畢ヌ。

Another explanation says that [the deity who] we call Ōmiya is none but Meiteki no *myōjin*. He is the husband deity of the lower Kamo shrine.

The [deity of the] lower Kamo shrine is the daughter of the Matsuo *myōjin*. [Once], she was doing her laundry on the riverbanks at the end of the Ōigawa 大井河, where it runs in front of Matsuo, when she picked up an arrow floating down the water.⁵¹¹ She went back to her home in Matsuo, and stuck the arrow on the railings in her bedchamber. She fell pregnant and bore a child, and this made a sound like a humming arrow, and flew into the air to the north-east (*ushitora* 丑寅), his sounds echoing far and wide.

其後松尾明神アヤシミ給テ。其御子三歳ニ成給フ時。在地ノ人々ヲ請居テ。三歳ノ子ヲ座中ニ懷出テ。酒器ヲ取出テ。我父ト思食サム人ニ指給ベシ。父無シテ妊ミ給事無シ。又在地ノ人離テハ。女子ハ誰ヲカ夫トスベキト宣給ニ。此三歳ノ小兒。誰々ニモ酒器ヲ不差シテ。竜ト成テ空へ飛ビ登リ給ヌ。^{ワケイカツチ}仍別雷ノ明神ト申。是上ノ賀茂ノ社也。下ノ宮ニハ大祖ノ明神ト申。

After this, Matsuo *myōjin* had some suspects. When the child turned three, they invited some neighbourhood people, and, let the three-years-old child into the gathering. Picking up a sake cup, [he thought]: “I must indicate the person whom I think is my father. It is not like one can be born without a father.”⁵¹² When the neighbourhood people went away, the girl asked:

⁵¹¹ I surmise it is significant that the reading provided for the “riverbanks” 辺 is *hata*, as the tale is one of the Hata family repertoire, as shown in chapter four.

⁵¹² The passage is very essentially told here, but we find a more clear explanation of what is going on in the variation of this tale from *Keiranshūyōshū*, where however the father of the child is Matsuo: 父母以謂。雖然無夫而無生子之理也。我家=往來近親眷屬隣里孤黨之中=其夫應有。因茲辨備大饗招集諸人。令彼兒執盃。祖父母命云。父ト思人可獻之。T2410_.76.0529a13-17 Her parents said:

“Whom should I take as a husband?” But the three years old child offered the cup to absolutely no one. He transformed itself into a dragon and flew away into the sky, and now we call him Wakeikazuchi no *myōjin* 別雷明神. He is the *kami* of the upper Kamo shrine. The lower shrine is known as the parent *myōjin*.

是松尾ノ一女。其夫^{ヲフト}明ノ神ト申ハ。大宮権現。即鳴鏑明神ト号ス。其箭ハ。大宮ノ勝地ニ落付畢ヌ。当時モ賀茂ノ下ノ宮ニ。宝殿ヲ並ベ造テ。日ノ御供モ只同定ニテ。社務モ同様ニテ。不出テ入ラ奉造候也。世挙テ夫妻ノ御社ト申伝タリ。

The husband *myōjin* of this Matsuo woman is Ōmiya *gongen*. For this he is called Meiteki *myōjin*. The arrow [of the tale] fell into the territory of Ōmiya. Even today, the lower Kamo shrine is aligned to the shrine hall. The daily offerings are also the same. The shrine duties are also [performed] in the same way. It was built with no issues. Everywhere these [two] are said to be husband and wife shrines.

此次第ハ。成仲祢宜。聳ノ美濃守入道勝命ガ許ニ有ル賀茂ノ日記ニ見此旨。成仲ハ申候也云々。伴勝命者。賀茂ノ泉ノ祢宜ノ甥シフト也。仍賀茂事有由緒。能々知之云々。凡モ日吉社ニモ。自昔無日記。大宮権現ノ御事ハ。賀茂日記ニ見タル事多シトゾ申ケル云々。

The *negi* Narinaka read about these events in the diary of Kamo (*Kamo no nikki* 賀茂ノ日記), which is at the residence of his son-in-law, the *kami* of Mino who was ordained as Shōmyō 勝命. He then narrated these on. The above-mentioned Shōmyō is the nephew of the *negi* of Kamo. He is thus well acquainted with the facts relating to Kamo. In the past we did not have our own diary, but there are many things about the Ōmiya *gongen* which can be read in the Kamo diary. At the Hie shrines we did not have our own diary from back then, but it is said that much lore regarding the Ōmiya *gongen* can be seen in the Kamo diary.

又法勝寺執行春寛僧都。日吉ニ宮殿ニテ。五部大乘經供養。導師澄憲法印說法之時。七社中ニ二宮ヲ地主権現ト申事ハ不審候。修学ニ名懸御サン見聞大衆可檢思食ス。全不見事也。

“Although she has no husband, it does not mean that the child was born from nowhere. The father must be among our retinue that lives in the area, or the single men of the neighbourhood.” They prepared a big banquet and invited a crowd of [these] people, bidding the toddler to pick up a cup. Then the parents bid him: “You must offer this to the person that you think is your father.”

The *shūgyō* 執行 of the Hōsshōji, Shunkan 春寬, made an offering of the five chief Mahāyāna sūtras in the hall of Ninomiya of Hie.⁵¹³ There was a sermon with the dharma-repository Chōken (Chōken hōin 澄憲法印) as an officiant. At that time [he said that] it was questionable whether, among the seven shrines, we should Ninomiya the *jinushi gongen* 地主権現.

三聖ハ大和国三輪明神也。伝教大師金峰山ニ参詣シテ。叡山ニ仏法弘メ候ハシニ。鎮守ト成給ト申御スニ。我身ハ非能大乘鎮守ニ。三輪明神ニ祈給ヘト詫宣アリ。仍参テ祈給ニ。金輪鑲三ツ現テ。頭上ヲ照給。仍勸請シ具シテ。其光止給所ニ。三処ニ三聖ヲ奉崇給リ。仍三聖ハ同時ニ天降給ヘリ。取分テ地主ト申事不審也。

The three sages are the Miwa *myōjin* of Yamato. When Dengyō *daishi* went on a pilgrimage to Mount Kinpu, he prayed [the deity] to diffuse the Buddhist teachings on Mount Hiei and become a protector [deity], and received an oracle which said: “I cannot protect Mahāyāna. You must ask the Miwa *myōjin*”. So, he went and prayed. Three golden rings appeared and shone over his head. Thus, [Saichō] made use [of the three rings] to transfer [the *myōjin*], and in the place where the lights [projected] from these stopped, in three places, we venerate the three sages. Therefore, the three sages descended from heaven at the same time: dividing [them] up and calling [one of them] lord of the land is questionable.

此ハ山王院ノ記ト申ナル文ノ抄出ニ如此申タリ。件ノ文ノ本書不見。抄出ニ要事等ヲ注内ニ如此。又誰人ノ作筆トモ不知之。本文ヲ尋テ各可披閱之由。説法ニ候キ云々。

This was said to be the same as an excerpt of the text called the Record of the Sannōin (*Sannōin no ki* 山王院ノ記). We have not seen the above book, but the gist of the excerpt is the same as in the notes. We also do not know who the author is. For this reason, we must investigate each of these [claims] on the actual book. It is said that this was in the sermon.

又下八王子ト申ハ。上ノ八王子ヲ奉崇タリト申事也ト。説法ニ候シカバ。成仲ニ此旨尋候シニ。其ハ大ナル僻事也。御祭ノ時。七社ノ外ニ。御馬ニテ下八王子ハ昔ヨ

⁵¹³ *Shūgyō* 執行 is a position similar to *zasu*. The five sūtras are the Kegongyō 華嚴經 (sskr. Avataṃsaka sūtra), the Daishūkyō 大集經 (sskr. Mahāsaṃnipata sūtra), the Daihanyaharamittakyō 小品般若經 (sskr. Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra), the Hōkekyō 法華經 (sskr. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra), and the Nehangyō 涅槃經 (sskr. Nirvāṇa sūtra). The Hōsshōji 法勝寺 was a temple in Kyōto. Shunkan 俊寬 (d. 1179) was its appointed bishop. The characters used in the *Yōtenki* are different from how these are found, for instance, in the *Heike monogatari*, but both the date range and the position correspond. It is recounted that he plotted a coup against Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118-1181) in 1177 and was exiled soon after, therefore this account must be placed before that date.

リ候也。何ニモ々々別ノ御社也云々。伴山王院ノ記ノ説不知之。慥ニ三輪明神ト申事不知候也云々。サテ二宮ノ地主ト申事ハ。俱楼孫仏ノ時ヨリ。此麓ニ垂跡シテ。ト此地居タルゾト。御詫宣事旧ク候也。地主ニテ有ゾト号給ヘル故也トゾ申候云々。

As for the one called Hachiōji 八王子, he was venerated as Kami no Hachiōji 上ノ八王子. Thus was [said] in the sermon, but when this was pointed out as an enquiry to Narinaka, he said that this was a big mistake. During the matsuri, other than the seven [upper] shrines, Shita Hachiōji is placed on a horse since a long time. It is a completely different shrine. [Narinaka] said that he did not know the explanation of the aforementioned Record of the Sannōin, and in truth, he did not know the matter of Miwa *myōjin*. As for Ninomiya being the *jinushi*, [he said that] there is an oracle which says that [Ninomiya] manifested his traces at these foothills since the times of the Buddha Kuruson 俱楼孫 (skr. Krakucchanda), and came to dwell in this place. He must be called the *jinushi* because of this.

或説ニハ。澄憲説法時。三塔碩徳列座。其中東塔東谷阿ミダ坊深賀法橋。不堪不審。以門弟信聴大徳為使。以上件説詞。相尋惣官成仲之処。上件趣ヲバ答申云々。古老伝云。俱楼尊仏時ヨリ小比叡坂本垂跡云々。

As for the other explanation, during Chōken's sermon sat as an audience [monks] from the three pagodas. In their midst was the bridge of the law (*hōkyō* 法橋) Shinga 深賀, from the Amida-bō 阿ミダ坊 in the Eastern pagoda. [He said it was] unsupported and questionable. Therefore, helped by a disciple, sent by the *daitoku* Shintoku 信聴, went to seek the *sōkan* Narinaka at his place about the explanation stated above. It is said that they asked about the meaning of what stated above. The transmissions of the elders say that Obie manifested his traces in Sakamoto from the times of Kuruson.

Appendix B: “Sannō no koto,” annotated translation

書ニ曰。聖人ノ精氣是ヲ神トイフ云々。然ルヲ神ト申ス真実ハ山王ノ御事也。アマ
タノ故共アリ。昔ヨリ此日本国ヲ天神七代地神五代シロシメシテ後ニ。天照太神伊^{アマテルオホムカミ}
勢国ニアトタレ給テ内宮ヲバ皇。大神宮ト申。外宮ヲバ^{トヨウケ}豊受光ヲ並テ。遠ハ百王ヲ
マボリ。寛ハ万民ヲ助テ其後ハヤウ々々賀茂。春日。松尾。住吉ヲ奉テ始。四方ノ
神ダチ々国々所々ヲトテ。王城ヲマボリ。民宅ヲハグ、ミ給ヘルヲ。世ノ中ノ人日
本国ハ神国トナリケレバナドヲモヒナラハシテ侍ハ。尺迦如来ノ御本意ヲ不ガ知故
也。⁵¹⁴

They say in books that the spirits of sages are what we call deities.⁵¹⁵ However, the truth about what we call deities are the facts concerning the mountain sovereigns.

There are many reasons for this. Since the times of old, this country Japan was ruled by the seven generations of heavenly deities and five generations of earthly deities. After this, Amateru Ōmukami (sic.) manifested herself in the country of Ise. The inner shrine is called Kōtai *jingū*, and the outer Toyouke. Shining their light, from afar they protect the hundred kings, and truly, they assist the ten thousand people. After this, gradually, Kamo, Kasuga, Matsuo and Sumiyoshi appeared for the first time. The *kami* of the four directions chose places in the country, protecting the imperial palace, brooding over people’s homes. The people of the world thought that Japan had become a country of deities, because they still did not know the original intention of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni.

尺迦如来自本大慈大悲深シテ。三界ハ皆有也ト思食ス故ニ。然モ一代ノ教主ニテヲ
ハシマセバ。其^{ハカラヒ}計ナラズシテハ。何レノ仏菩薩聖主トテモ。日本国ノ中ニ地ヲト

⁵¹⁴ The Japanese texts throughout follows the transcription and punctuation of the ZGR edition. I integrate the text, where this changes, with the edition found in ST.

⁵¹⁵ It seems that “Sannō no koto” is referring to the Confucian scholar Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200). The same attribution is in Zhili 知禮 (960-1028). In his work *Jingguangmingwen juji* 金光明文句記 (1023) it says 鄭玄云。聖人之精氣謂之神。 T1786_.39.0149a05 “Zheng Zuan said that the spirits of sages are called shen.” Closer in time to the *Yōtenki*, the same sentence is also found in the *Jodo sanbukyō ongishū* 浄土三部経音義集, by Shinzui 信瑞 (d. 1279), where we have 鄭玄曰。聖人精氣謂之神。 T2207_.57.0411a02 “Zheng Zuan said that the spirits of sages are called shen.”

テ。利益衆生ノ願ヲ遂ゲ給ム事。ユメ々々不可在之。マシテ光ヲ塵ニ同テ社壇ヲトシテ瑞籬ヲ顕ス程ノ大事ナレバ。神ダチモ皆尺迦如来ノ善巧方便ヨリヲコレル事ナルベシ。

The Tathāgata Śākyamuni had from the origin great depths of kindness and compassion. He thought that all three worlds were his responsibility, although he was a teacher for one life [only]. Had this not been his plan, no matter how many Buddhas and sage kings chose a place within Japan and made a solemn vow to benefit all living beings, they could in no way accomplish this. Much more so the great event of deities making their light equal to the dust of the world and, choosing the location of a shrine, manifesting themselves in its precincts. *Kami*, too, must all be something arisen from the expedient means of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni.

能々是ヲ案ズかニ。尺迦ノ我ハ日本国ノ中ニ日吉山王ト神ニ現シテ。衆世ノ現世後生ヲモタスケ。又ハ円宗ノ仏法ト云最上ノ大教ヲモマボラムト思ニ。マヅヲノ々々ヲ先立テ。神ト現テヲハシマセ。サテ後ニ日本国ヲ神明繫昌ノ地トナシテ神ヲバ信ズベシトシラセ。畏ルベキコトナリト思ヒナラハセテ。我彼国ニ光ヲ和。神ト現シテ衆生ヲ利益センズルナリト。往古如来法身ノ大士ダチニ仰ラレ合テ。神ト現テ叡山ノフモトニ山王トイハ、レテヲハシマス下覚也。其故ハ。尺迦如来往昔無辺劫ノ自初シテ。難行苦行シテ遂ニ得究竟ノ菩提ヲ給ヘル事ハ。是忍界ノ群類ヲ導キ。界内ノ凡族ヲ救ハンガ為也。

If you think about this well, Śākyamuni thought: "I will manifest myself in the middle of Japan as the deity called Hie Sannō and bring salvation to living beings for this life and the next. Furthermore, I intend to transmit the teaching of the one vehicle, and to protect the highest and greatest teaching. Thus, firstly come numerous, and manifest yourself as many deities, and then afterwards, when Japan has become a land prosper and bustling with deities, I will make it so that people believe in [deities], and I will make it so that people think of them as things that should be feared and admired. I will spread my light in that country, and become able to bring benefit to all sentient beings." Thus, counselling himself with the dharma bodies of the past great-being Buddhas, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni manifested himself at the footsteps of mount Hiei as the deity called Sannō.

Therefore, the reason why the Tathāgata Śākyamuni, starting ancient unlimited cosmic eras ago, reached the ultimate nirvana through difficult and painful practices, is that he decided to save the mundane people, guiding the many beings of this world of endurance.

其方便ニハ。浅ヲ先ニシ深ヲ後ニシ給ヘルハ。寂滅道場ニテ成正覺。菩提樹下ニテ得仏果ヲ給テ。法花唯一ノ本意ヲ遂ントシ給シニモ。漸ク次第浅深ニシテ。花嚴頓大ノ化儀ヲコソ先マウケ給ケレ。仏日始テ出テ。菩薩ノ高山ヲカマヤカシ。甘露アラタニ降シヲバ。皆頓大ノ機根ヲウルホシ給ケル。

In expedient means, first come the shallow, then the profound. In the site of the attainment of extinction of afflictions is attained the correct awakening, and under the bodhi tree is obtained the fruition of Buddhahood. Even in the solemn inimitable vow of the Lotus, which Śākyamuni made, there is a gradual progression, from shallow to deep; and earlier still is the great sudden transformative teaching method of the Kegonkyō (skr. *Avataṃsaka sūtra*).⁵¹⁶ The sun of the Buddha came out for the first time, and made it so that the tall mountains of the Bodhisattvas could shine.⁵¹⁷ This sweet dew, freshly falling, is what makes moist the roots of the predisposition for the great sudden [awakening] for all.

⁵¹⁶ The Avataṃsaka (jp. Kegonji 華嚴時) period corresponds to the teaching of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (ch. *Huayanjing*, jp. *Kegonkyō* 華嚴經), the Deer park period (jp. Rokuonji 鹿苑時) corresponds to the preaching of the four Āgamas (ch. *Ahan*, jp. *Agon* 阿含時), the Expedient or Vaipulya period (jp. Hōtōji 方等時) corresponds to the preaching of sutras such as the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* (ch. *Weimojing*, jp. *Yuimakyō* 維摩經), the *Sūtra of the golden light* (ch. *Jin guangmin jing*, jp. Kongōmyōkyō 金光明經), and the *Śrīmālā sūtra* (ch. *Shengman jing*, jp. Shōmangyō 勝鬘經). The Prajñā period (jp. *Hannyaji* 般若時) corresponds to the preaching of the *prajñāpāramitā* sutras, and the Lotus and Nirvāna period (jp. Hōkke-nehaji 法華涅槃時) corresponds to the preaching of the Lotus and *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* (ch. *Niepan jing*, jp. *Nehangyō* 涅槃經).

⁵¹⁷ This metaphor is used to describe the Kegon phase of teachings in the *Cheontae sagyo ui* 天台四教儀, where it is said it is a reference to a sutra 此經中云、譬如日出先照高山 T1931_.46.0774c29 “The sutra says that (the teachings of the Buddha are) like the sun shining first on the tall mountains. Zhiyi’s *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi* 妙法蓮華經玄義 has: 南北地通用三種教相。一頓二漸三不定。華嚴爲化菩薩。如日照高山名爲頓教。 T1716_.33.0801a18-19, in the same sense in which is used in “Sannō no koto”.

阿含經ハ鹿野苑ニ趣テ。狗隣等ノ五人ノ比丘ノ為ニ三藏ノ教文ヲ教ヘ。四諦ノ法輪ヲ宣ベ給キ。鹿苑ノ後ハ説時不定。処々ニシテ。四教ノ機ニ向テ。四教ノ法ヲ説給ニ。日ノ次第ニ平地ヲ照スニ譬タリ。

The Āgama say that [Śākyamuni] came out in the deer park, and he taught five monks from the deer park the teachings and texts of the three baskets, and he told them of the dharma-wheel of the four noble truths.

After the deer park, there was no set time for sermons. From place to place, according to the system of the four teachings, he taught the dharmas of the four teachings.⁵¹⁸ We can compare this to the sun illuminating the surface of the earth in stages.

一仏ノ土ヲトメ給フニ。浄土穢土令不同事反化ノ者ノ其身ハ一ナレトモサマ々々ニ現ズルニ。トコ々々ナル貌如シ在之。方等ノ後ハ。四処十六会ノ中ニシテ。卅ケ年ノ間般若ノ法ヲ説テ。三種ノ機ノ為ニ諸部般若ヲ宣ベ給キ。其後ニハ一円ノ機ヲ集テ。一乘ノ法ヲ説給フ。是即如来出世ノ本意。衆生成仏ノウルハシキ道ニテ待ル也。

When a Buddha comes to live in a [certain] land, it is not the same whether this is a pure or defiled land. A being that undergoes multiple transformations, even though his body is one, he manifests himself in many different ways, and this is the same as if he had many different aspects. After the expedient [period], for thirty years he preached the dharma of the Prajñā in the four great locations and sixteen assemblies.⁵¹⁹ He expounded various Prajñā [teachings] for three kinds of predisposition [of his audience]. Then, he assembled those with predisposition for understanding the perfect teachings and expounded the teaching of the great vehicle. This is exactly the vow of the Tathāgata when he came out into the world. To lead all sentient beings towards the wonderful path of becoming Buddhas.

⁵¹⁸ Four methods of the Buddha's teaching, as understood in Tiantai are the Sudden teaching (jp. *tongyō*, ch. *dunjiao* 頓教), exemplified by the Avatamsaka sutra; the Gradual teaching (jp. *zengyō*, ch. *jianjiao* 漸教) of the the Āgamas 阿含, Vaipulya 方等, and Prajñāpāramitā 般若 sutras; the Esoteric teaching (jp. *himitsukyō*, ch. *mimijiao* 祕密教), only understood by certain members of the assembly. Finally, the Indeterminate teaching (jp. *fujōkyō*, ch. *budingjiao* 不定教).

⁵¹⁹ Vaipulya is translated as *hōdō* 方等, lit. "well-balanced". The four places are: Śākyamuni's birthplace at Lumbini; Magadha, the place of his enlightenment; the Deer Park at Vārāṇasī, where he preached his first sermon, and Hiraṇyavatī in Kuśinagara, where he entered nirvana. Translations from Muller, Charles, "Four places", *Digital dictionary of Buddhism*.

是ハ四十余年ノ間ニ根機ヲ一円ニ調テ。八ケ年ノ中ニ施化ヲ十方ニ設ケ給ヘリ。此法花ヲ未説給前ヲバ。爾前ト申テ。諸部ノ説教悉ク一乗円実ノ方便也。是ヲ尺尊化度ノ方便ニハ。浅ヨリ深ニ至ル様ニテ侍ル。サテハヤ雖示種々道。其实為仏乗トハ説侍也。仏乗トハ今ノ法花一乗也。皆成仏道ノ説ナル故ニ。三乗。五乗。七方便。九法界。悉ク一仏乗也ト開会シテ。百界。千如。三千世界。〔十脱歟〕万億土。併得道得果セヌモノナカリケリ。

He spent the remaining span of forty years attuning the various predisposition to the One Perfect teaching. In the span of eight years, he spread the transformative teachings in the ten directions.⁵²⁰ The [times] before, when the Lotus teaching had not been preached, are called the “before teachings” (*nizen* 爾前). The explanations of the earlier schools were all in truth a provisional teaching of the one perfect vehicle.

This is in the expedient means which Śākyamuni uses to convert and lead to salvation, which exist in a procession from shallow to deep. Thus, despite appearing like many paths, all these are really explanations of the Buddha-vehicle. The Buddha-vehicle is the one vehicle of the Lotus, which we have now expounded. It is a doctrine which leads everyone to the realisation of Buddhahood. Therefore, the three vehicles, five vehicles, the seven preparatory [stages], the world of the nine dharmas; all these together are but the same one Buddha-vehicle.⁵²¹

⁵²⁰ The Lotus sutra has: 十方佛土中唯有一乘法。無二亦無三。T 262.9.8a17–18. “In all the buddha-lands of the ten directions there is only the teaching of the One Vehicle—there are neither two, nor three”.

⁵²¹ The five vehicles are the vehicle of humans (*ninjō* 人乘), that is the rebirth as a human earned through the observance of the five precepts. The vehicle of deities (*tenjō* 天乘), that is the rebirth as a deity earned through by the ten forms of good action. The *śrāvaka* vehicle (*shōmonjō* 聲聞乘), that is the rebirth as a *śrāvaka* earned through adhering to the four noble truths. The vehicle of *pratyekabuddhas* (*engakujō* 緣覺乘), that is the rebirth as a *pratyekabuddha* through the contemplation of twelvefold dependent arising. Finally, the bodhisattva vehicle (*bosatsujō* 菩薩乘), the rebirth among the buddhas and bodhisattvas earned through the practice of the six pāramitās. The seven preparatory stages (七方便位) are the aforementioned rebirth paths, plus the levels of *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha* in the Tripiṭaka teaching (*zōkyō* 藏教), the levels of *śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha* and bodhisattva in the first-stage Mahayana teachings (*tsūgyō* 通教), and the levels of *śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha* and bodhisattva in the one-vehicle, or distinct, teaching (*bekkyō* 別教).

The thousand thusnesses, the trichiliocosm, the hundred trillion [Buddha] lands. Altogether, among these there is not one place where one cannot attain the fruition of the path.

其善巧ニモ猶ヲ漏レテイマダサトラヌ輩ノ有ケレバ。鷲峰開會ノ後ニ。後番醍醐ノ機ヲ調テ。鶴林拈拾ノ薙ト名テ。

Even with these expedient means, because there were some of his companions who were still tainted and not yet enlightened, after the assembly of Vulture Peak he adjusted their predisposition to the ghee of the final precepts.⁵²² We call this the assembly of the forest of Śāla trees of the final harvest.⁵²³

仏性円常ノ宗ヲ説テ。一切衆生悉有仏性ノ理ヲ授ケ。如来常住無有反易ノ意ヲ宣給ヘリ。是ヲバー乗妙法ニ等ク醍醐味トコソ申ケレ。尺尊化度ノ方便ハ。加様ニシテ浅ヲ先テヤウ々々深ニ至ル也。利益衆生ノ本意ナレバ。左右ナク甚深ノ法ヲモトキ。左右無ク隱本垂迹シテ神ト現ジ給ヌルモノナラバ。衆生ノ根性万品ナル中ニ⁵²⁴。

⁵²² The five flavours, or stages of making ghee, are fresh milk, cream, curdled milk, butter, and ghee. These are used in Tiantai to illustrate the five periods: fresh milk corresponds to the Avatamsaka teaching, for *śrāvakas* and pratyekabuddhas. The coagulated cream corresponds to the teaching of the Āgamas. Curdled milk corresponds to the Vaipulyas. Butter corresponds to the Prajñā teachings. Finally, ghee corresponds to the Lotus and Nirvāṇa sutras.

In the tenth-century outline of Tiantai teachings, Chegwan's 諦觀 (?-970) *Cheontae sagyo ui* 天台四教儀 (jp. *Tendai shikyōgi*), we find a similar concise treatment of the five periods and eight teachings. Relevant to the passage translate above is: 次至法華、聞三周說法、得記作佛。如轉熟酥成醍醐。此約最鈍根具經五味。其次者、或經一二三四、其上達根性。味味得入法界實相。何必須待法華開會。上來已錄五味、五時、化儀四教。大綱如此。自下明化法四教。T1931_.46.0775a02-04 "Next, during the Lotus assembly, they heard the three rounds in the explanation of the dharma and obtained the guarantee of future attainment of Buddhahood. This is likened to the conversion of butter into ghee. This is carried out from the perspective of those of the dullest faculties and passes through all of the five flavors. After this, there are some who pass through the first, second, third, and fourth flavors, who have the most highly developed religious faculties, who realize the true aspect of the dharma-realm in each flavor. Why should it be necessary for them to wait for the revelation and merging of the vehicles that comes with the Lotus assembly?", Muller Charles (trans.), *Outline of the Tiantai Fourfold Teachings*, 2012, <http://www.acmuller.net/kor-bud/sagyoui.html>.

⁵²³ 次説大涅槃者。有二義。一爲未熟者、更説四教具談佛性。令具眞常、入大涅槃。故名拈拾教。T1931_.46.0775c09-11 "Next he preaches the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, regarding which there are two implications. The first is for those whose faculties are immature, wherein he again explains the Four Teachings [of the Tripiṭaka, Shared, Distinct, and Perfect] along with a discussion of the Buddha-nature. He allows them to embody the true eternal, entering great nirvāṇa. Therefore it is called the teaching that cleans up after the harvest 拈拾教." Muller Charles (trans.), *Outline of the Tiantai Fourfold Teachings*, 2012, <http://www.acmuller.net/kor-bud/sagyoui.html>.

⁵²⁴ 衆生根性萬品也。(T2374_.74.0493a18-19) From 宗要柏原案立 by Jōjun 貞舜 (1344-1422).

ウケヒカヌモノガチニシテ。中々々アシカリヌヘキ事ナレバ。浅ヲ先立テ漸ク深ヲ後ニシ給ヘリ。

Explaining the complete and eternal Buddha-nature teaching, he bestows the principle that all sentient beings possess the Buddha nature. The Tathāgata teaches that he is eternally abiding, and that this does not change. This is exactly what we call the “flavour of ghee”, which is equal to the wonderful teaching of the one vehicle. The skilful teachings of Śākyamuni, which convert and lead to enlightenment, thus begin from shallow, gradually reaching the deep ones. Because he has the original intention of benefitting sentient beings, he can easily expound the most profound Buddhist law, but also, easily, hide his real nature and become a temporary trace. When he becomes a deity amidst the many different personal inclinations of all sentient beings, he proceeds gradually towards the deep beginning from the shallow, because there are some sentient beings that are very ignorant, and some of them are really just plain bad.

昔五千人ノ上慢ナル比丘有キ。法花經ノ座ヲフサ捨テ、立サルヲバ。仏モ不及カシテコソヲハシマシケレ。又伝教大師入唐シテ。菩薩ノ大戒ヲ伝テ。帰朝ノ後ニ比叡山ニカヘリ登テ。根本中堂ニテ菩薩ノ別解脱戒下云フ仏果菩薩ニ。ユガミマガラヌ道有リトテ宣説シ給ケルヲバ。南都ニシテ声聞ノ小戒ヲ受伝タリケルモノドモ。其道ニアツマリテ。此事信ゼラレヌト云テ。座ヲ引テ還ニケリ。

Once there were five thousand *bhikṣu* who were proud of their spiritual attainments.⁵²⁵ Refusing to take the seat of the Lotus sutra, they rose, and in no way even the Buddha was able to reach them.

Then, Dengyō *daishi* went to China, and brought with himself the bodhisattva precepts. After returning to the court (*kichō* 帰朝), he returned to Mt Hiei. In the main hall, he bestowed the rules of comportment and explained how to be enlightened and straighten wrongs, in order to become Bodhisattvas who have attained the fruit of Buddhahood. In the southern capital, he gathered onto this road those who had been transmitted the lesser precepts of the *śrāvaka*. Those who said that they could not believe these [teachings] relinquished their seats and left.

⁵²⁵ This is an episode from the Lotus sutra.

声聞戒レテモ。菩薩ノ大戒ニイマスコシヲヨバヌ処ハアレドモ。機縁ノカナハヌ者ノ、アリケレバ。信ゼヌモ謂タル事也。

Although there are still some places which keep to the *śrāvaka* precepts, and which have not yet been reached by the great bodhisattva great precepts, there are also some people who are not in a suitable mental predisposition,⁵²⁶ and also people who say they do not believe.

又仏ノ四十余年ノ間。能々調給ヘル機ノ中ダニモ。五千人マデノ上慢ナル執深キ輩出キタリテ。如来ノ説教ニ疑ヲナシテ。又声聞戒ニ執深キモノ、迂廻ノ道ニ心ヲカケテ。機縁ノカナハズシテ。仏果菩薩ノ直道ナリケリレモ信ゼヌモイハレタル事也。

Furthermore, in the more than forty years of Buddha[’s enlightenment], even among those who had the ability to understand, five thousand prideful *bhikṣu* fled the assembly out of great attachment, because they had doubts about the preaching of the Tathāgata. Thus, those with a deep attachment to the *śrāvaka* precepts are pouring their hearts onto a road which is just a detour. There were also those who, because [the Lotus teaching] did not suit their mental predispositions, could not believe it. They could not get on the straight path of becoming bodhisattvas who can accomplish the fruition of Buddhahood.

サレバ出世真諦ノ法門ヲバ。能々機ヲ調テ弘ムベキナリ。カ、リケレバ尺尊ハ浅ヲ先ニシ深ヲ後ニシ給ル也。サテ尺尊ハ。中天竺ニ出給ヘドモ五天竺同ク法雨ニウルヲヒニキ。夫ニ震旦国ニハ出給ハザリシカバ。未度ノ衆生申ニヲヨバヌホドノ事也。

Thus, the teaching of the ultimate truth should be diffused according to abilities and predisposition. For this reason, the Buddha Śākyamuni taught the shallow first and the deep later. Thus, although he had come out in the middle regions of India, Śākyamuni made moist with the rain of the Buddhist law all the five regions of India equally. But then, because he did not appear in China, he evidently could not reach the unenlightened sentient beings there.

教法世ニ流布スル事無クバ。争カ化度ノ便リヲ可得クトテ。能々化度利生ノ器量ヲハカラヒテ。迦葉。光淨。月光。三人ノ大士ニ仰付ケ給ケル。善巧ノ御詞コソ目出

⁵²⁶ Because of their past karma

ク覺侍レ。是ヨリ東ニ一ノ小国アリ。震旦国トナヅク。彼国ノ衆生ハ。根機淺シテ設化ノハカリ事ニ不可叶。

Because the teaching was not being circulated into the world, [Śākyamuni] wondered how he could make it so that the teachings which lead to salvation could be obtained. Thus, he measured [the living beings'] capacity for [receiving] salvation and benefits, and gave an order to the three great beings Kāśyapa 迦葉, Kōjō 光淨 and Gekkō 月光.⁵²⁷ His skilful words are something of which to rejoice: “East from here lies a small country. It is called “China”. The sentient beings of that country have shallow predisposition, such that I cannot, even with stratagems, establish the teaching.

心性極テ薄スケソバ。出世ノ機ニモ不能。大法ヲ左右ナク弘メツル者ナラバ。憍恣馱怠ノ衆生ノミ多テ。信ゼズシテ中々々アシカリヌベケレバ。汝ダチ彼処ニ先テ生ヲ受テ。凡類ニ同シテ世間世俗ノ礼儀礼節ヲ授ケ。因果ノ理リ善惡ノ道ヲ教テ。機

⁵²⁷ *Weimojing xuanshou* 維摩經玄疏, by Zhiyi, has: 問曰。諸論天人所有經書依何而造。答曰。法身菩薩住諸三昧。生人天中爲天人師。造論作諸經書。如金光明經云。五神通人作神仙之論。諸梵天王說出欲論。釋提桓因種種善論亦是初番悉檀之方便也。故造立天地經云。寶應聲聞菩薩示號伏犧。以上皇之道來化此國。又清淨法行經說。摩訶迦葉應生振旦示名老子。設無爲之教外以治國。修神仙之術內以治身。彼經又云。光淨童子名曰仲尼。爲赴機緣亦遊此土。文行誠信定禮。刪詩垂裕後昆。種種諸教此即世界悉檀也。官人以德。賞延于世。即爲人悉檀也。叛而伐之。刑故無小。即是對治悉檀。政在清靜。道合天心。人王無上。即是世間第一義悉檀。問曰。世間何得有第一義。T1777_.38.0523a9-23. But it does not have Gekkō.

The Commentary on the Nirvana Sutra *Da banniepan jing shu* 大般涅槃經疏, by Zhiyi's disciple Guanding 灌頂 (561-623) has: 是佛方便之說。如清淨法行經云。迦葉爲老子。儒童爲願回。光淨爲孔子。若如前解佛則認歸。若如後解方便施與。若開一切文字。皆佛正法。則非認非與云云。T1767_.38.0109c15-18. But here it still does not have Gekkō, it has instead the bodhisattva Manava (jp. Judō bosatsu, ch. Rutong Pusa 儒童).

Zhiguan faxing zhuan hongjue 止觀輔行傳弘決, a commentary on *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 by Zhanran 湛然 (711-782) has: 我遣三聖等者。亦云震旦具如前說。清淨法行經云。清淨法行經云。月光菩薩彼稱顏回。光淨菩薩彼稱仲尼。迦葉菩薩彼稱老子。天竺指此震旦爲彼。准諸目錄皆推此經以爲疑僞 T1912_.46.0343c18-21. “It says in the *Qingjing faxing jin*: the bodhisattva Yueguang is called Yan Hui. The bodhisattva Guangjing is called Confucius. The bodhisattva Kaśyāpa is called Laozi. In India they were known as that [Yueguang, Guangjing and Kaśyāpa], while in China they became these [Laozi, Confucius and Yan Hui]. This sutra is deemed an apocryphon in multiple catalogues.”

ヲ熟セサセ根ヲ調ヘヲハリナバ。我ガ教法ヲ流布センモ。イトソムカジト覺ル也。
利益衆生ノ道然シテ信ゼサスベシ。

Because the nature of their minds is especially shallow, they do not even have the predisposition to leave the world [to become monks]. If only there were someone who could easily spread the Buddhist word! But many are only the sentient beings who are prideful, selfish, filled with desire; lazy. They would not have faith, and this would lead to terrible [results]. So, at first, you should be born in that country. Becoming the same as common people, bestow the teachings of correct etiquette and comportment, and teach the law of good and evil instead of that of cause and effect. When the groundwork to ripen their predisposition is done, I will spread the Buddhist teaching, and I think they will not turn a blind eye. Then they shall be made to believe the teaching that benefits living beings.”

震旦既ニ如此。十方モ亦然ナリト宣ベ給ケルニ。三人菩薩各尺尊ノ教勅ニ随テ。我モ々々ト調機ノ思ヲハゲミテ。即震旦国ニ生ヲ受ケ給キ。迦葉菩薩ハ周ノ宣王。ノ御時。魯国ニ生テ老子トイハレ給キ。月光菩薩ハ顔回ト云賢才ノ人ニ生テ。魯国ニ化ヲ施シ。光浄菩薩ハ孔子ト生テ。周ノ靈王ノ御時。顔氏ヲ母トシ^{シクリヤウテ} 叔梁父ト憑テ。尼丘山ノ内ニシテ生ジ給リ。漸ニ十六歳ニ成リ給シ時キ。父ノ墓ニ行テ四季ノ政ヲ始メ給ケルヨリシテ。世ノ人ハ皆只人ニヲハセズト知ニケリ。其中ニ老子ハ智芸ノ長者トシテ。殊ニ被尊重給フ事。三人中ニ第一也。

“In China, then, it shall be like this; and in the ten directions, it shall also be like this.”

Thus he ordered. The three bodhisattvas obeyed the command of Śākyamuni: “We too will apply ourselves to predispose people’s predisposition”. And thus, they were reborn in China. The bodhisattva Kāśyapa, during the era of king Xuan of Zhou 宣王 (828-782 BCE), was born in the state of Lu and called Laozi 老子. The bodhisattva Gekkō was born as a man of great knowledge called Yan Hui 顔回, and he delivered teachings in the country of Lu. The bodhisattva Kōjō was born as Confucius 孔子 during the reign of the King Ling of Zhou 周ノ靈王 (545 BCE). He chose his mother from the Yan 顔 clan, and entrusted Kong He 叔梁 to be his father. He lived in the depths of Mount Ni. Gradually, at the time when he reached the

age of sixteen, he went to the grave of his father and started the rites of the four seasons. The people of the world knew that these were not ordinary people. Among them, Laozi was by far superior in knowledge and histrionic skills (*gei* 芸). He was especially respected, and among the three he was the foremost.

引導衆生ノ方便タレニモ々々マサリ給ヘリ。凡モ尺尊出世ノ前後ニ多ク本土ニシテ教勅ヲ受テ。九度マデニ賢人ト生テ。多ノ王臣ヲ輔佐シ給ケリ。老子ノ九変トハ是ナリ。義皇ト申ケル御門御時ニハ。勾荒ト云人ニ生テ。天下ノ政ヲ意ニ任セ。黄帝ノ御時ニハ。風后ノ大臣ト被云。

His expedient means in guiding sentient beings excelled by far anyone else's. Before and after Śākyamuni's appearance in the world, he received instructions in many pure lands. Nine times he was born as a wise and virtuous man, saving princes and ministers. These are the nine changes of Laozi.

At the time of the emperor [Fu]xi, he was born as a man called Goumang 勾荒,⁵²⁸ who ruled the reign under the heaven at his will. At the time of the yellow emperor Huangdi, he was called the minister Lord of the Winds, Feng Hou 風后.⁵²⁹

堯帝ノ時ハ。義仲義叔和仲和叔ノ四嶽ト反シ。周ノ文王ノ時ハ呂望ト化キ。漢ノ高祖ノ時ハ。蕭何大臣ト被云テ。項羽ト天下ヲ争テ八ケ年マデ乱逆ノシヅマラザリシニモ。千里ノ謀ヲ廻テ四十万騎ノ軍ヲ退ケ。越王勾踐ノ時ニハ。范蠡ト云人ニ生テ。吳王夫差サトタ、カヒテ。会稽山ニカクレケル。ソノカミ数年ノタバカリカシコクシテ。会稽ノ恥ヲカクトキニキヨメテ。強里ノホマレヲ万代ニウシナヒキ。

⁵²⁸ Goumang (jp. Kōbō) is the deity of wood (even though it is not written like in the *Yōtenki*, 勾荒, but 勾芒. Ng, Wai-ming, *Imagining China in Tokugawa Japan: legends, classics, and historical terms*, Albany: State University of New York, 2019, p. 112.

⁵²⁹ Feng Hou 風后, the "Lord of the Winds", was according to legend a minister of the Yellow Emperor 黃帝. The book *Yishi* 釋史 calls Feng Hou his counsellor-in-chief (xiang 相).

At the time of the emperor Yao, he changed into [the rulers of] the four mountains Xi Zhong, Xi Shu, He Zhong and He Shu.⁵³⁰ At the time of the king Wen of Zhou, he changed into Lu Wang.⁵³¹ At the time of Han Gaozu, he was called Minister Xiao He.⁵³² Even during the battle with Xiang Yu for the [lands] under the heaven, which did not stop for eight years, he spun the plan of the thousand *li*, driving away forty thousand horse carriages. During the time of the King of Yue Goujian, he was born as a man named Fan Li. [The king] battled against the king of Wu Fu Chai, and retreated on mount Kuaiji. The following few years, he thought wise plans and washed away the shame of [their exile on] Mount Kuaiji.⁵³³

齊ノ時ニハ。范蠡ヲ改テタウシュシヨ陶朱ト被云テ。七珍万宝ヲ国ノ中ニ充滿シテ。苟キモノ共ニ与キ。漢ノ武帝ノ御時ニハ。河ノ上公トイハレテ。群民小人ヲイサメ給キ。同武帝ノ時。又ヤガテ東方朔ト反テ。才学ヲ顯シ芸術ヲ施シテ。何事ニモ明カニ有ケレバ。御門是ヲホメ給トテハ。

At the time of the Qi, Fan Li was called anew Tao Zhu. He made the country rich of the seven treasures and ten thousand jewels, and distributed these to people of any rank.

At the time of Wudi of the Han, he was called Heshang Gong.⁵³⁴ He was close to the common people and those of low status. Soon after, he changed into Dongfang Shuo.⁵³⁵ Displaying the utmost learning, he established the arts. As he was bright on every subject, the king praised him thus:

⁵³⁰ These are four mythical brothers who are ordered to the four directions in the *Yaodian* 堯典 chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書. Allan Sarah, *The shape of the turtle: myth, art, and cosmos in early China*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1991, pp. 86-87.

⁵³¹ One of the titles of Qi Taigong 齊太公 the founder of the first dynasty of the state of Qi 齊 during the Zhou period 周 (11th cent.-221 BCE), who helped overthrow King Zhou of Shang.

⁵³² Han Gaozu 漢高祖 (r. 206-195 BCE), personal name Liu Bang 劉邦, courtesy name Ji 季, was the founder of the Former Han dynasty 前漢 (206 BC-8 CE).

⁵³³ As an advisor to King Goujian (r. 495- 465), Fan Li spent some time in Wu 吳 as a hostage from the defeated kingdom of Yue. After he returned to Yue, he advised King Goujian in strengthening his kingdom and to build up a new army. He thus contributed to the final victory of Yue over Wu in the battle of Lize 笠澤 in 478 BCE.

⁵³⁴ Heshang Gong is the reputed author of one of the earliest commentaries on the *Daodejing* 道德經, dated to the latter part of the Han dynasty. He allegedly lived in the 1st century CE.

⁵³⁵ Dongfang Shuo (154-92 BCE) was a scholar-official, author, and court jester to Emperor Wu. In Chinese mythology, Dongfang is considered a Daoist transcendent associated to Venus.

ウレシキカナヤ。上仙西王母東方朔ニ三偷ノ罪ヲコナヒ下シテ。下界ニ^{ハイゴウ}配偶セサセテ。⁵³⁶不審ヲアキラムか楊州ノ鏡ナリ。朕ガ朦昧ヲミガイツル崑山ノ玉カナトゾアリケル。サレバ迦葉ハ大師ノ勅ニ随テ。度々サマ々々ノ身ヲ現シテ。諸ノ凡族ヲタスケ。王臣ヲイサメ給ケルナリ。昔モ今モ指南トスル五千言ノヲシヘモ。玄元聖祖ノ詞ナリ。

“How truly lucky it is, that the immortal Queen Mother of the West should punish Dongfang Shuo’s crime of stealing the three peaches by banishing him to earth!⁵³⁷ In clarifying my uncertainties, you are a mirror from Yangzhou; in polishing my dim and darkened [mind], you are a jewel from Mount Kunlun.”⁵³⁸

Therefore Kāśyapa, in accordance with the command of the great master, manifested various bodies many times, saved many common people and was a servant of the sovereign. Both in the past and now, the five-thousand-word teachings which teach people were the words of Xuanyuan shengzu.⁵³⁹

震旦ニハ。此孔子老子顔回三人ノ影ヲアガメテ一人三公ヨリ始テ。家々処々ニ皆恭敬渴仰シテ。ヨリヨリニ尺^{シヤクテン}奠ヲイタシテ。礼儀ヲネガウトゾ承ハリ伝タル。ツイニサテ漢ノ代ニ至テ。^{ブンヲウ}文翁ト申ケル儒士漢王ニ奏シテ。ハジメテ大学寮ヲタテ、孔子老子ノ教文ト。諸家ノ記書ト律令ト禁術トノ四宗ヲゾナラハシケル。日本国ニハ。高野ノ^{ヒメ}姫ノ天王ノ御時ニ。宝亀二年ノ比^{オンカクシ}御学士ニテ真吉備ノ朝臣ト申ケル大臣ノ。右衛門ノ督ナリケル時ニ。入唐シテ前後十四年之間。様々ノ才学芸術ヲ施テ。日本国ノ高名ヲ顕シ。異国ノ称歎ヲ蒙テ。内外ノ典籍ヲ伝テ

In China, commencing from the emperor and the three lords, everywhere and in every household, all revered and worshipped images of these three people, Confucius, Laozi and

⁵³⁶ A variant spelling for 配偶, it is found the same in all manuscripts I have examined.

⁵³⁷ This is a reference to a story in which Dongfang Shuo steals three peaches that grant immortality in the garden of the Queen Mother of the West. It first appeared in *Bowuzhi* 博物志 by Zhang Hua (232-300).

⁵³⁸ Mirrors for Yangzhou and jewels from Mt Kunlun are examples of very precious mirrors and jewels.

⁵³⁹ The five-thousand words teachings are an allusion to the *Daodejing*. Xuanyuan shengzu is another name for Laozi.

Yan Hui.⁵⁴⁰ Gradually, they begun to hold festivities [in their honour], and even to offer rites. Finally, in the Han period, Confucius served the Han emperor under the name of Wen Weng. He built the first school, teaching the four disciplines of the books of Laozi and Confucius, the treaties of various philosophers, law and maths.⁵⁴¹

In Japan, at the time of the imperial princess of Takano, in the second year of the Hōki 宝龜 era (770-781, second year is 771), among the scholars of the Eastern palace was a minister called Makibi no *ason* 真吉備朝臣.⁵⁴² When he was Captain of the Right Division of Outer Palace Guards (*Uemon no kami* 右衛門ノ督), he went to China for nearly fourteen years. He established various branches of knowledge and crafts, and manifested the proud name of Japan. He received the praise of different countries and transmitted texts both Buddhist and non-Buddhist.

已ニ歸朝セラレケルニ。此三人ノ影ヲ写取テアリケル中ニ。顔回ノ影ヲトリワスレテ歸朝セラレタリケルニ。ヲトラジト思テ。半面ハ破タリケルガ。万里ノ波ヲ凌デトビ来タリケルコソ。誠ニ菩薩大士ノシルシトハ覺ヘ侍レ。

Once he was bid to return to the court, he copied the images of these three people, but in doing so he returned to the court having neglected to bring back Yan Hui. [Yan Hui], thinking that he would not be inferior, even if half [of the image] was torn, crossed the sea of ten thousand *li* and went flying [to Japan]. Truly, we think that this is the sign of a bodhisattva *mahāsattva*.

吉備大臣ヤガテ其時ニ官奏ヲヘテ。官庫ニ収サメ給ニキ。今ノ世マデモ。進士。秀才。成業。^{ケンシヤク} 献策ノ輩ノ。穀倉院。勸学院。大学寮ノ試ニアツマリテ。年年ノ尺蠱ヲリ々々ノ宴席ニ作文ヲ營ミ。寮試ニアヅカル。即此等ノ起ナリ。

⁵⁴⁰ The three lords are the highest-ranking officials in Chinese government.

⁵⁴¹ A reference to the first Chinese public school, known as *Wenweng shishi* 文翁石室, a project attributed to Wen Weng.

⁵⁴² The empress Shōtoku 称徳 (718-770, r. 765-770, previously under the name Kōken 孝謙 r. 749-758). Shōtoku was not alive in the second year of the Hōki era. Makibi no *ason* 真吉備朝臣 (court official Makibi) is an alternative spelling for Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (695-775).

The minister Kibi before long sent a report to the court and stored [the images] in the imperial repository. Even now, those who pass the exams for the degree of *jinshi* 進士 and *shusai* 秀才, who were companions in submitting the [exam] proposal, gather from the Kokusoin or Kangakuin on the occasion of the Imperial University exams, offering performances of literary compositions for the annual Confucian rites (*sekiten* 尺奠) and occasional banquets. These are linked to the exam because both arose together.⁵⁴³

一仏ノ方便也ケレバ。三聖各金言ヲアヤマタズシテ。可度ノ機縁ヲ調へ給ケルホトニ。後ノ漢ノ光武ノ御子ニ。明帝ト申テ。諱号ヲバ^{シヤウ}莊ト申ケル御門ノ御時ニ。永平七年ノコロヲヒ。五更暁錦ノ帳ノ中ニシテ。御夢ニ丈六ノ金色ナル人西方ヨリ来テ。我国ニ住セントス下御ランジケルニ。天竺ノ仏法ハ我国震旦ニ可ト伝ハル鑑ミ給フ。

Because of the expedient means of one Buddha, three sages did not fail the golden words [of the Buddha], preparing the individual predispositions [of sentient beings]. It was the time of the son of the following Han prince, Guangwu 光武, called Ming and with the name of Zhou.

In the seventh year of the Yongping 永平 era (66), during the fifth vigil of the night at dawn, from among the curtains he saw in a dream, coming from the West, a person of one *jō* and six *shaku*. He saw [that and thought]: “He must want to reside in our country! This is an omen that India’s Buddhism must be transmitted to this country.”

即王遵トイヒケル智臣。蔡情ト聞ヘシ儒者ドモヲ宗トシテ。十八人ノ賢人ヲ撰テ。仏法ト云ナル物求テ来トテ。西域へ遣ケルニ。大月支国ニ至ル時キ。中天竺ノ聖人摩騰迦。竹法蘭トイヒケル二人ノ聖人ニ逢ニケリ。

Thus, he ordered a noble of great wisdom called Wang Zun 王遵, together with the Confucian scholars Cai (Yin) 蔡愔 and Qin (Jing) 情 to select eighteen sages and go to seek the thing called Buddhism. Dispatched to the West, they reached the country of Da Yuezhi 大月氏.

⁵⁴³ *Jinshi* and *shusai* were the entry levels for public posts. Kibi no Makibi is historically tied to the *sekiten*, which he reformed, Kornicki, Peter F., and James McMullen, *Religion in Japan: arrows to heaven and earth*, New York, Cambridge university press, 1996, pp. 51-53.

They met two sagely men from middle India called Moteng Jia 摩騰迦 (Mātāṅga) and Zhu Falan 竹法蘭 (Dharmaratna).⁵⁴⁴

書籍教法ヲ白馬ニ負テ具タリケレバ。王遵。蔡情見之。是ハ御門ノ御夢ニ御覽ジケル仏教ナンメリト思テ。事ノ由来ヲ二人ノ聖人ニ語タリケルニ。二聖又仏教ノ起ヲ答ルニ。弥信ヲ発テ。即二人ノ聖人ヲイザナヒ具テ。震旦国へ還リ来ヌ。

Because they carried on white horses the full extent of the Buddhist canon, Wang Zun, Cai Yin and Qing Jing, seeing this, thought: “This must be the Buddhism which the sovereign has seen in his dream!” They explained the reason of the thing (their coming to India) to the two sagely men. After, the two sagely men answered questions on the beginning of Buddhism, and little by little awakened their faith. At once, [Wang Zun and Cai Yin] invited the two sagely men, and [together] they made their return to China.

漢ノ王殊ニ悦給テ。ヤガテ精舎ヲ立テ。白馬寺ト名テ。其教法ヲ崇ラレニケリトキコユル。白馬寺是也。是寺ニシテ且ツ經典ヲ訳シ置ケリ。四十二章經トゾ申伝タル。同十二年二月十一日。此寺ニテ齋会ヲ行テ。仏ノ出世ノ間ノ事。入滅ノ時分ヲ問給ニ。摩竹二人シテ。各在世八十年ノ間ノ事ヲ覚成給テ。利生方便ノイミジクヲハシマシ、事ヨリシテ。滅ヲ唱へ給シニ至ルマデ。細ニ分明ニ答申ケレバ。

The Han king rejoiced greatly, and soon enough he erected a monastery (*shōja* 精舎, a *vihāra*,) and called it Baimasi 白馬寺, the Monastery of the white horses. There it is venerated the teaching of the Buddhist law. This came to be Baimasi. It was in this temple, too, that the Buddhist scriptures were translated [into Chinese] and stored, and that the Sūtra in Forty-two Sections (Ch. *Sishierzhang jing*, Jp. *Shijūnishō kyō* 四十二章經) was transmitted.⁵⁴⁵ In the twelfth year of the same era, in the tenth day of the second month, in this temple were performed vegetarian offers for the monks (*sai-e* 齋会).

⁵⁴⁴ Jia Yemoteng 迦葉摩騰.

⁵⁴⁵ In order to introduce Buddhism to China, basic Buddhist teachings were excerpted from various sūtras and compiled as the forty-two entries in this text. Although it was originally considered to be the first sutra to be translated into Chinese, later research indicates that it was probably produced in China during the Jin dynasty 晉代. There are various editions and commentaries.

[The emperor] posed questions about the matter of Buddha's appearance in the world and the time of his entrance into *nirvāṇa*. The two men, Zhu Falan and Moteng, briefly and clearly gave many answers on the eighty years' time that the Buddha spent on earth and on his achievement of enlightenment, beginning from his skilful use of stratagems in order to bring benefits to sentient beings, and ending with his final sermon upon his demise.

サテハ我大師尺尊ノ出世ハ。此国ノ周ノ世ノ御四代ノ照王ノ御時ニ当リタリケリ。御入滅ハ第五ノ穆王四十三年ニゾ当リタルトゾ。沙汰評定ドモハ有ケル。經論ノ説区ニ。諸家日記異ナレドモ。是ハ一ノ説ニ任テ侍ナリ。仏法漢土ニ伝ハル事。御入滅ヨリ以来タ。永平十年ニ至マデ。一千一十六年ヲゾ經ニケル。其間穆王ニ一日ニ千里ヲカケル八疋ノ御馬ニメシテ。靈山ニ馳参テ説法花ノ砌ニテ。聴衆ニ列テ内証ノ益ニ預給ケリ。

“Regarding the appearance in the world of our great master Śākyamuni, it corresponds to the time of the fourth king of the Zhou dynasty of this country, king Zhao. (Śākyamuni's) entrance into *nirvāṇa* corresponds to the forty-third year of the reign of the fifth king Mu.”⁵⁴⁶ There are debates on whether [this is] right or wrong. The explanations in the sutras are different, and the written records of various schools differ; however, we subscribe to this one explanation. The transmission of Buddhism to China happened in a span of a thousand and sixteen years, from after the entrance into *nirvāṇa* until the tenth year of the Yongping era.⁵⁴⁷ Meanwhile, king Mu mounted his eight horses, which could run a thousand *li* in one day, and galloped to

⁵⁴⁶ It must be a mistake that is only in Yōtenki, as the traditional date is 53 years. Possible they are using Fei Changfang's *Rekidai sanbōki* 歷代三寶記.

當穆王二十四年癸未之歲。穆王聞西方有化人出。便即西入至竟不還。以此爲驗。四十九年在世。滅度已來至今齊世武平七年丙申。凡一千四百六十五年。後漢明帝永平十年。T2034_.49.0104c26-29

Keiranshuyoshu has the story of King Mu going to Vulture peak to receive the dharma. 周穆王乘八疋馬ニ。詣天竺靈山ニ之時ニ。觀音品ノ説時也。T2410_.76.0840c26-27

⁵⁴⁷ These are not “real” dates in the sense that they do not correspond with what we now think the dates are. Instead, they have Yongping 10 as 67 (it would be 69 now), and 43/53 year of King Mu (modern dating according to Mathieu: 956-918 B.C.; traditional dating according to Mathews: 1001-946 B.C.) as 949 BCE. This follows the Japanese chronology that we find in *Sangyōgishō* 三經義疏, where the final age of the Dharma is calculated from 552, the thirteenth year of emperor Kinmei's reign. Marra, Michael, *The aesthetics of discontent: politics and reclusion in medieval Japanese literature*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1991, p. 73. According to this, the date of 552 is also the date of the introduction of Buddhism into Japan.

Vulture peak just in time for the preaching of the Lotus sutra. Sitting among the audience, he obtained the benefits of inner realisation before [everyone else in China].

サレドモ権化ノ人ナレバ。アヘテ人ニハシラレタマハズ。其妙法薩達摩トイフ梵語ノ題名ヲ聞伝テ還給テ叡慮ノ底ニ納テ。人ニハ語り給ハズシテ。太子ニ位ヲ譲リ給ケル時。是ヲ授ケテ。次第ニシテ我様ニ後王ニ伝ヘ授ケ給ヘトゾアリケル。サテ日本国ニ取テハ。仏ノ出世ハ人ノ世ノイマダハジマラザリケル当初。神代第七ノヒコナギサタケウクサフキアハセズノミコト彦波瀲武鸕鷀草葺不合尊ノ天下治給シ八十三万六千七百一十二年ノ終リ方ニツダリケル。

However, he did not reveal to anyone that there were people who were transformation bodies. He guarded the sacred syllables of the name of the wonderful law (*myōhō sadatsuma* 妙法薩達摩) deep in his heart, and did not tell a soul until when he had to bequeath his rank to the prince, and then he transmitted it. “One after the other, pass this teaching onto the kings after you.”

Now, to Japan. The descent to earth of the Buddha corresponds to a time when the age of humans had not started yet, at the end of the eight million, thirty-six thousand seven hundred and twelve years of the reign of Hiko Nagisatake Ugayafukiawasezu no Mikoto's, of the seventh generation of *kami*.

始テ漢土ニ伝テヨリ以来ハ。四百八十六年トイフ年ナリ。其年。天国押開広庭ノ天王ノ大和国ノカナサシ金刺宮ニヲハシマシケル時。冬十月ノ比ニ。百濟国ノ明王ノ金銅ノ尺迦像并ニ經論ドモマイラセタリケルニゾ始テ伝ハリタル。月光。光淨。迦葉。三人ノ国々ニ化ヲ施テ。代々ノ君臣ノ礼法ヲタシ。父子主伴ノ忠儀ヲ教テ。孝行謝徳ノアルベキ次第アリサマヲサダメラレケレバ。

Four hundred eight six years after it had been transmitted to China for the first time (553), at the time when the emperor Ame-kuni-oshi-hiraki-hiro-niwa resided at the Kanasashi palace, in winter, the tenth month, king Seong of Kudara (Paekche) sent to the court a gold and copper statue of Śākyamuni along with sutras and commentaries.

Gekkō, Kōjō and Kāśyapa, all three became transformation bodies throughout the country. In all eras, they rectified the conduct of princes and ministers, teaching the principle of filial piety for which fathers are superior and children subordinate, establishing the correct procedures to express gratitude for the sovereign's benefit.

其善巧ニシタガハズ。権化ノ方便ニナビカヌ輩ハナカリケサ。大方万民至要ノハカリゴト賢シテ。四海ノ内悉クヲダヤカナリ。終ニ五行ヲ立テ五典ヲヒロムルモ。皆是五戒ヲカタドル也。又礼楽ヲト、ノヘテ風俗ヲシラシムルモ。并是禪定ヲツカサドレル故也。加之先王ノ至徳要道ヲ万姓ニ行フモ。深キ心ハ是妙恵ニナゾラヘテ。世間俗諦ノ恒沙ノ法門ハ。出世真諦ノ万行ノ善因也ト知ラセントナリ。止観六引之金光明經ニ。一切世間。所有善論。皆因此經。若深識世法。即是仏法トモ説キ。同之大經ニ。一切世間外道經。是仏説非外道説ト侍ハ此意也。

There was nothing that was not in accord with their skilfulness, or untouched by the wave of the ability of these transformation bodies to convert sentient beings. [They devised] the most noble stratagems for the ten thousand human beings, and all the lands within the four seas became peaceful. Finally, they established the five phases of the elements (*gogyō* 五行), and opened up [the way to] the five cardinal moral codes (*goten* 五典).⁵⁴⁸ All of these are but shapes taken by the five precepts [of Buddhism].⁵⁴⁹ Then, establishing music and rites, they made sure [that people] knew the customs, and this was really so that they could master meditative concentration.⁵⁵⁰

These ancient kings practised, for the sake of the ten thousand clans, the incomparably virtuous way to enlightenment. A mind profoundly invested in the truth is comparable to profound knowledge; [provisional] gateways to Buddhist teachings are present in the conventional truth of this world as numerous as grains of sand in the Ganges; these allow the good effects of the ten thousand practices of the ultimate truth that transcends this world to be known. The *Kongōmyōkō* explains- note: quoted from the sixth book of the *Makashikan*:

⁵⁴⁸ The five phases of early Chinese cosmology: wood 木, fire 火, earth 土, metal 金, and water 水.

⁵⁴⁹ Not killing 不殺生; not stealing 不偷盜; no debauchery 不邪淫; 不妄語 no false speech; 不飲酒 no consumption of alcohol.

⁵⁵⁰ From the *Mohe zheguan*: 佛説。非外道説。光明云。一切世間所有善論。皆因此經。若深識世法即是佛法。T1911_.46.0077b01-02 (The only other text quoting this sentence that I could find is *Kaimokushō* 開目抄 by Nichiren, 1272).

“Each and every good doctrine of this world are all originated from this sutra. If known profoundly, the worldly phenomena, even those, are but the Buddhist law”. When the *Daihan nehangyō* says: “All the worldly non-Buddhist scriptures explain Buddhism; they are not non-Buddhist”, it has the same meaning.

浄名疏ニモ。此等ノ意ヲ釈給トテ。如来初成道ヲハリテ。イマダ法輪ヲ転ゼザルニ。即提謂長者ガ為ニ五戒ヲ説玉フニ。其本習ヲタスケテ。五行六甲陰陽ヲ弁フレバ。其ヲ信伏シテ。長者初果ヲ得ト尺給リ。誠ニフカクオボユレバ。世法モ即仏法ニテ。ハカナキ世ノコトハザニ至ルマデ。第一義ニカヘラヌ事サラニナシ。何事ニ付テモ。皆是真如一実ノ道ニテゾアリケル。サレバ外典ヲモ委覚レバ内典也。

The commentaries to the *Yuimakyō* (skr. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa sutra*), too, expound these meanings: “The Tathāgata reached enlightenment first. The wheel of the dharma had not been turned yet, but the Buddha expounded the five precepts for the householder Trapaṣa. Because householders could distinguish the five elements, six hours and yin and yang, and they believed in those, by supplementing their customs which already existed, he explained them how to attain enlightenment.”

Truly, if you think deeply, worldly teachings are Buddhist teachings. All the way down to insignificant proverbs, there is nothing which does not go back to the ultimate truth. Whatever exists, all of it, exists within the one and only enlightenment of thusness. That is to say that, if you think deeply, the non-Buddhist teachings are the same as Buddhist teachings.

是ヲ学テ五行五典ヲキハメツレバ。五戒十善ハ自然ニ身ニ備テ。遂ニ禅定智度ノ源ニ至テ。ヤスラカニ仏果菩薩ノウルハシキ道ニハ入也。サレバ因果ヲ知り礼儀ヲワキマフルナカダチ。人ノ為ニハ先ヅ是大切ノ事也。是ニヨリテ。尺尊ハ化度ノ方便ニテ。三人ノ大士ニ仰付テ先ヅ其宗ヲ弘給也。大方ハ伏羲ノ流ニノゾミ給也。

昔隣屋ニ遊ブ竜。八卦ノ面ヲ合テ。四方八遊ノ吉凶ヲタレシ時。書籍始テ顕ハレ。軒轅国ヲ治メ給シ古へ。漢天ニカケルガンノ数行ノツラ。ムスビテ六合九垓ノ隅ヲ度ケルヲ見テ。文筆ヤウヤク出来テヨリ以来タ。詩書礼楽ノ道キホヒ起リ。好文嗜学。ノワザヒロク盛也。

Learning this, if you know well the five phases and five cardinal moral codes, you naturally endow your body with the five precepts and ten kinds of wholesome behaviour, and easily access the wondrous path to the enlightenment of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. So, to know the appropriate rituals is a mediation towards knowing the law of causation. For [common] people, at first, this is a precious thing. Thus, Śākyamuni ordered the three sages to first diffuse those doctrines as skilful means leading to salvation. On the whole, these were passed onto the lineage of Fuxi.

A long time ago, when a dragon flying in his vicinity bestowed [on Fuxi] the shape of the eight trigrams,⁵⁵¹ teaching (him) the good and evil fortune of the four quarters and eight directions, it manifested the written word for the first time.⁵⁵²

In the old days when Xuan Yuan ruled the country,⁵⁵³ he saw lines of wild geese flying through the Chinese sky,⁵⁵⁴ forming patterns which spanned every corner of the world, across the six points of the compass on hearth (ch. *liuhe*, jp. *rokugō* 六合) and the nine levels of heaven (ch. *jiugai*, jp. *kyūgai* 九垓).⁵⁵⁵

Gradually, since the written word got out in the world, so gained power the disciplines of odes and documents, rites and music. The arts of pleasant and erudite writings flourished.

自夫後ハ弥イカナル^{ヨロコビ} 賀^{ヨロコビ} サカヘノ所ニモ。詩ヲアゲ賦ヲトバシテ。心鳥ノ心ヲ願シ。
何ナル憂ヘ歎キノ砌ニモ。文ヲハキ筆ヲハセテ。意馬ノ思ヲノブルナリ。

イカナル賢王聖主ノ朝政ノ隙ニモ必是ヲ翫ビ。何ノ賢人謀將ノ^{ユフタマモノ} 暮賜ノマギレニモ
殊ニ是ヲ賞テ。花ノ春葉ノ秋。五言七言ノナサケヲ施シ。月ノ夜台ノ朝。四韻六韻
ホマレヲトゞムル事ハ。三皇五帝ヨリハジメテ。十四代ノ終リニ。宋ノ世ニ至マデ。
文嗜ミ詩ヲ翫バヌ輩ハナシ。

⁵⁵¹ Reference to the legends where Fuxi invents the eight trigrams, sometimes after having seen these as patterns on the back of a dragon.

⁵⁵² The *Yōtenki* has 四方八遊 which seems to be a hapax. Probably a corruption of 四方八面, “four quarters and eight directions”.

⁵⁵³ Fuxi is called Xuan Yuan because he was born on a hill called Xuan Yuan.

⁵⁵⁴ In Japanese literature this is the portion of sky where the milky way is visible, but I interpret it as a pun because the action happens in China.

⁵⁵⁵ The zenith, nadir, and the four directions.

サレバ神智博。覧ノ人。思々ノ集ヲ作り。賢才広学ノヤカラ。心々々ノ事ヲ集テ。
其撰漸ニ積テ。百家九流ニモアマリ。

其文数々ヒロマリテ。千帙万卷ニモナリヌラム。魏呉蜀。ノ三朝ニモ習ヒ伝ハリ。
高麗新羅百済ノ三国ニモ学ビ受タリ。

After this, in occasions of great joy and celebration people more and more composed verses to make poems, their hearts leaping like birds. In occasions of unparalleled grief, too, they let the brush run freely with intellects as fast as horses, and became able to relate their thoughts.⁵⁵⁶

All noble sovereigns and saintly masters also diverted themselves with this in the midst of their courtly offices. Many aristocrats and soldiers especially praised this [habit], even in the turmoil of [their job, which required] receiving the court's commands. The flowers of Spring and the red leaves of Autumn: they expressed their feelings of sympathy for these by composing verses of five or seven characters. For the moon in the evening, and the tall sun in the morning, verses of four or six feet. The praises [of these poets], started from the time of the three sovereigns and five emperors, and at the end of fourteen centuries up until our era of the Song,⁵⁵⁷ there is no one who does not take pleasure in the knowledge of letters and in poetry.

Thus, the people of divine wisdom and great mastery of the arts redacted collections of their own thoughts, and those with great virtue and wide learning composed collections of their own feelings. The [works] edited by them accumulated gradually, and, surpassing even the [writings of the] one hundred schools of thought,⁵⁵⁸ became thousands of boxes [containing]

⁵⁵⁶ Ishida 1979, p. 59, mentions that there is a proverb which says: 心猿意馬 “heart of a bird and mind of a horse”, meaning feelings that are as noisy as birds, and thoughts as difficult to bridle as horses. Ishida surmises that, since monkeys are the Hie deities, and are entities to be venerated (instead of used as the epitome of all that is loud), they changed these into birds.

⁵⁵⁷ Three kings and five princes: three kings are Fuxi, Shennong and the Yellow Emperor, or Fuxi, Nuwa and Shennong according to Sima Qian. The five emperors are Shaohao 少昊, Zhuanxu 顓頊 Emperor Ku 嚳, Emperor Yao 堯. Emperor Shun 舜, or in the tradition of the historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-86 BCE) they are the Yellow Emperor 黃帝, Zhuanxu 顓頊, Emperor Ku 嚳, Emperor Yao 堯 and Emperor Shun 舜.

⁵⁵⁸ The one-hundred schools of thought are all the philosophies and schools that flourished from the 6th century to 221 B.C. during the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period of ancient China. In the text it also says nine schools. These are: Confucianism, legalism, Daoism, mohism, school of yin-yang, logicians, diplomacy, agriculturalism, syncretism, minor-talks, according to the Hanshu. Sima Qian only has the first five.

scrolls in the ten thousands. These were also taught at the threecourts of Wei, Wu and Han, and their teachings were even imparted in the three kingdoms of Baekje, Silla and Goguryeo.

我朝日本国ニハ。十六葉聖主応神天皇ハ八幡大菩薩ト顕ハレ給ヘリ。其御門天ノ下ヲ知シ食ケル時。百濟国ヨリ仁王ト聞ケル太子ノ。大和国ノ輕島ノ宮ニマイリテ。五經ノ儒士ヲタテマツリ。諸物ノ師ヲタテマツリアゲテ。

In our own country of Japan, the sixteenth emperor, the sagely master Ōjin 応神, manifested himself as the great bodhisattva Hachiman.⁵⁵⁹ When this emperor ruled the country, from Kudara came a master called Wani, to visit the court of Akiranomiya in Yamato.⁵⁶⁰ Ōjin invited Confucian scholars of the five classics, and masters of various arts.

後ニ十七代ノ御門ニテ。平野大明神ヲ大鷦鷯^{オホササギ}ノ天王ト申テ。ツノ国難波津ノ都ニ御シ時。同ク百濟国ヨリ和爾ノ吉師ト云ケル賢人ニ付テ。魯国ノ論語并千字文ヲマイラセタリシ時ヨリ文道広ク起テ。当代マデモテアソビテ。高卑モ黑白ヲワミヘ。麦ヲシレルナリ。

After, during the reign of the seventeenth emperor, Hirano *myōjin* was called Ōosazagi no tennō 大鷦鷯ノ天王.⁵⁶¹ He established his capital at the port of Naniwa, in Tsuno country. In the same manner [as the previous emperor], a sage man from Kudara called Wani Kishi [visited him], and brought with himself from the state of Lu the Analects (*Rongo* 論語) and the Thousand Characters Classic (*Senjimon* 千字文).⁵⁶² From then, the path lied open for the spread of the literary arts, and those of high and low birth alike became able to distinguish evil from good, the beans from the barley.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁹ *Enryakuji Gokoku engi* has: 聖真子御事一書云。陰陽二神中出故云聖真子。已上。扶桑明月集云。聖真子人皇第十六代輕島明宮応神天皇即位元年鎮西豊前国宇佐郡八幡大菩薩顕御。第四十代天武天皇元年壬申近江国滋賀郡垂迹。今聖真子。已上。ZGR 807, p. 436.

⁵⁶⁰ Ōjin's court.

⁵⁶¹ Emperor Nintoku 仁徳 (257-399, r. 313-399), the sixteenth legendary emperor of Japan.

⁵⁶² "Kishi" means "master".

⁵⁶³ It is a saying, for instance in *Sanke bunsō* 菅家文章 (circa 900).

是ヨリサキニ。又第十代ノ崇神天皇ノ御時。百濟国ヨリ孔子ノ五經ヲバマイラセタ
リケルトモ申ケリ。是等ノ起ハ。源ヲ尋レバ。尺教流布スベカリケル瑞相也。震旦
漢土ニモ日本吾朝ニモ。一仏三菩薩ノ善巧ナリケル外典ヒロマラサリセバ。争カハ
礼儀礼節ノ道ヲ知テ。主伴貴賤ノシナヲモ弁ヘ。仏神冥衆ノ道ヲモタマシクシテ。
貴ヲ敬ビ高ヲ恐ル、理ヲ知ラム。サレバ尺尊ノ一大法ヲ弘メントテ。先テ外典ヲヒ
ロメテ。後ニ小乗經ヲ流布セサセテ。遂ニ大法ヲバ弘メテ。イハユル震旦ヲバ化度
シ給シナリ。

Before even this, at the time of the tenth emperor Sujin 崇神, it is said that the five Confucian classics had been brought from Kudara.⁵⁶⁴ If we look at the source of this occurrence, we must look at it as an auspicious sign of the spread of the teaching of Śākyamuni. In China as in Japan, are spread the non-Buddhist teachings, the skilful means of one Buddha and three bodhisattvas. Because of this, everyone knows the teachings of correct etiquette and comportment, and can distinguish between what is principal and secondary, noble and base. This way, worshipping correctly Buddhas and *kami*, and the heavenly hosts, they might learn the principle of fearing what is lofty.

Thus, when setting out to spread the one great teaching of Śākyamuni, first are spread the non-Buddhist teachings. Then, it is permitted to spread the two scriptures of the lesser vehicle, and in the end the great teaching is spread. And these are the teachings that converted China.

妙樂大師ト申ハ。天台宗ノ大人師。円実頓悟ノ宗匠也。清浄法行經ノ中ニ。尺尊ノ我遣三聖。化彼震旦ト仰ラレタル文ヲ尺給ニハ。迦葉菩薩。彼称老子。光浄菩薩(孝明童子)。彼称仲尼。月光菩薩(月明童子)彼称顔回ト侍トカヤ。仏ノ御使ニテ。円頓教法ヲ宣給ヘル人ナレバ。釈迦如来ノ善巧ノアリサマヲ。能能伺ヒ得給ヘル上ニ。ヨモ又僻事ハシ給ハジト覚侍也。

The master called Miaole 妙樂 (Zhanran 湛然 711–782) is a great patriarch of Tendai. He started the school of the perfect and sudden awakening. He explained the phrase of the

⁵⁶⁴ The traditional dates are 148-30 BCE, r. 97-30 BCE.

Shōjōhōgyōkyō 清淨法行經 (where Śākyamuni says): “I will send out three saints to [teach the] converting teaching in China” in this way: “The bodhisattva Kāśyapa: his name is Laozi. The bodhisattva Kōjō: his name is Confucius. The bodhisattva Gekkō: his name is Yan Hui”.⁵⁶⁵ Because, as helpers of the Buddha, they diffuse the teaching of perfect enlightenment, the circumstance of Buddha’s expedient means is received responding to individual capabilities; therefore, there is nothing which is mistaken at all.

サレバ尺迦如来ノ御本意ハ。甚大ノ法ヲ弘ントテハ。先浅近ノ法ヲ先立テ是ヲ遣シ。三聖ノ伴徒ヲ遣ハシテ。其化導ノ方便トシ給也。誠ニ善惡ノ道ヲモワカズ。因果ノ理リヲモ弁ヘズ。礼節礼法ヲモシラザラムモノ、前ニテハ。深く高キ止事無キ大法ノ。覺リガタクアリガタカリヌベキ事ヲノミ説ツマケタランヲ弘ムレバ。人ノ用モシ信シスベクバコソアラメ。イハユル五千ノ上慢ノ一乘ノ法ヲキカジトヲモヒ。大乘戒ノ起ヲ声聞戒ノトモガラノウケ玉ハラジト思テ。座ヲ立テノガレシ様ニゾ侍ラン。サテハヤニ三聖ヲモ遣ハシ。外典ノ浅ヲバ先テ、弘給ケルナリ。

Thus, the original vow of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni is simply to diffuse the great teaching. First, he sends out the shallow teachings. He sends out his companions the three saints, and these are the expedient means leading to enlightenment. Truly, if one does not know the good from evil, they also cannot discern the principles of causation, nor the correct comportment and etiquette in front of the things which we do not know. If we carry on explaining the enlightenment of the deep and lofty unparalleled great teaching as something that is hard to reach, people will grasp it with difficulty, and not believe it. The so-called five thousand prideful ones decided that they would not want to listen to the teaching of the one vehicle. [In Japan], the *śrāvaka* decided not to obey the precepts of the Great vehicle. Leaving their seats, how much they have missed! Thus, with the help of the three sages, first became diffused the shallow non-Buddhist teachings.

各本師ノ土へ還給事。寿限サダマラズ。顔回ハ廿九マデ世ニヲハシ孔子ハ九十二ニシテ隱給ニキ。老子ハ腹ノ中ニテ七十マデヲ経テ。賢王ノ理世ヲ待テ生シトテ。ヒ

⁵⁶⁵ This is misquoted from Zhanran’s text that I translated in an earlier note; perhaps wilfully so, as there is no mention here that the sutra might be spurious.

ゲカミ白ナルマデ生給ハズシテ。遂ニ周ノ宣王ノ御世ニ生テ。一期ノ化縁尽シカバ。六十余年ヲ経テ。青牛ニ乗テ西ニニ向テ飛去ニキ。或ハニ百余年世ニヲハシキトモ申ケリ。

Now, to the matter of the return of each [of the three sages] to the land of the original master (Śākyamuni). Their lives did not have an established length. Yan Hui lived in the world until twenty-nine, and Confucius left it at ninety-two. Laozi was in his mother's womb until he was seventy, having decided to only be born when a sage sovereign was in power. He was not born until his beard and hair were all white, and in the end he was born during the era of king Xuan of Zhou 宣王. When he extinguished the karma of teaching sentient beings for his lifetime as Laozi- approximately sixty years had passed [since his apparition]-, he rode out on his blue ox and flew away to the West.⁵⁶⁶

サテ尺尊ノ化導ノ方便サマ々ナル中ニ。神ト現ゼント思食ケル事ハ。又加耶城ノ成道ノ後ニ。四十余年ノ間ニ始テ思食立玉ヘリケルヤラン。我滅度後。於末法中。現大明神。広度衆生ト仰ラレタル事モ有リ。

Then, there is the matter that, among the many expedient means leading to enlightenment of the Buddha Śākyamuni, he decided that he should manifest as a deity- something which he thought approximately forty years after his enlightenment in [Bodh]gaya.⁵⁶⁷ He said: “After my extinction, during the age of decline of the law, I will manifest as a great deity for the benefit of sentient beings.”⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁶ This is a story which was born to explain why Buddhism, coming to China, had such a good reception/seemed familiar to Chinese people. Laozi goes to the West and teaches the Dao, which is then re-elaborated into Buddhism. This legend evolves into the writings of Daoist apologetics, which state that Buddhism was a simplified version of Daoism employed to convert Indian “barbarians”. Mollier, Christine, *Buddhism and Taoism face to face: scripture, ritual, and iconographic exchange in Medieval China*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2008, p. 8.

⁵⁶⁷ It must be forty years because the Lotus sutra states that it was preached forty years after enlightenment. Although, as we shall see, here they are supposedly quoting the Hikekyō 悲華經 (*Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka sūtra*), they might be conflating the two.

⁵⁶⁸ This is a spurious quotation from the Hikekyō that enjoyed great diffusion in textual material on kami. See Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周, *Shinbutsu shūgō to Hikekyō* 神仏習合と悲華經, *Indobutsugaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 17, 1961, pp. 16-21.

或復示現。設大祠祀。於中不惱。諸有情類ト有ル処モアリ。是ハ何ニマレ一期八十年ノ化縁ヤミヌルモノナラバ。後ニハ必神ト現シテ。衆生ヲ利益セント思食ケルナシメリ。彼孔子。老子。顔回。三人ノ一期ノ後ニハ。神トナリテヲハシマシケルハ。ハヤウニ尺尊ノ御本意ヲ知テ。隱本垂迹シテハ和光同塵ノ神明トハ現ジ給ヒケルナリ。震旦ニハカヤウニシテ神明現ジ給ケレドモ。人更ニハカ々々シウモ。本地ハ何ノ仏菩薩ト云事不知ケリ。

There is another place [in the scriptures] where he says: "Or, I will manifest myself again and institute a great shrine in which all species of living beings do not suffer".⁵⁶⁹ This [means] that the Buddha thought: "Once my period of eighty years of teaching is over, I will certainly transform in a deity and bring benefit to sentient beings". At the end of the period of those three men, Confucius, Laozi and Yan Hui, [Buddhas and bodhisattvas], becoming deities, manifested themselves, and soon, knowing the original intention of Śākyamuni, they hid their real nature (*hon* 本) and became temporary traces (*suijaku* 垂迹), manifesting themselves as great bright deities who had mingled with the dust of the world.

Even though deities had manifested themselves in this manner, [Chinese] people did not know for certain which Buddha or bodhisattva was their original nature.

夫日本国本ヨリ神国ト成テ。国々里々ニ。鎮守明神イカキヲナラベ鳥居ヲ顯シテヲハシマス事。延喜式ニ定メ被載数三千一百廿二所トゾ承ル。一万三千七百余座トモ申ス。夫ハ慥ノ説イマダ不承及。神々皆是本地ハ。往古ノ如来法身ノ大士也。夫ニ日吉大宮権現ヲ。尺迦如来ノ垂迹ト申侍ル事ハ。昔大乘院座主慶命。云。本地ヲ示給ヘト祈精シ給ケル時ニ。権現託宣シテ言ク。コヽニシテ無量歳群生ヲ利ストアリケルヲ。法花經提婆品ニ。釈迦如来ノ利他ノ行願ノイミジキ事ヲ。智積菩薩ノホメ給ヘルニ。我見尺迦如来。於無量劫。難行苦行。積功累徳。求菩薩道。未曾止息。觀三千大千世界。乃至無有如芥子許。非菩薩捨身命処トホムル所ニ思合ルニ。誠ニ尺迦如来ノ慈悲ノ様ナル仏弁ハヲハシヤサズ。

⁵⁶⁹ 或復示現設大祠祀。於中不惱諸有情類。T0220_07.0362b04-05. 大般若波羅蜜多經。

Japan was a land of deities ever since its inception. In many villages across the country, protector bright deities lined up shrine precincts and made *torii* appear. The number of shrines prescribed in the *Engishiki* 延喜式 is three thousand one hundred and twenty-two,⁵⁷⁰ and it is also said that the deities enshrined there are around thirteen thousand seven hundred. However, there still is not a certain explanation. The original grounds of all these deities are bodhisattvas which are dharma bodies of Buddhas of the past.

Now to the fact that we call *Ōmiya gongen* the temporary trace of the Tathāgata Śākyamūni. Long ago, the abbot Kyōmyō 慶命 of the Daijōin 大乘院 made a prayer (to the deity), that he would reveal his *honji*.⁵⁷¹ The *gongen* issued an oracle, saying: “Manifesting here, I fulfil my incommensurable vow to bring to enlightenment all sentient beings”. In the Lotus sutra, in the Devadatta chapter, Wisdom-accumulated (sskr. Jñānākara, jp. Chishaku 智積), [heard] the Tathāgata Śākyamuni uttering this admirable vow, and lauded him thus: “I see that the Tathāgata Śākyamuni, for innumerable aeons, with difficult and painful practices piled up merit and accumulated virtues to follow the bodhisattva path, never stopping. I see that in the whole trichiliocosm, there is not a single place, [even] as small as a mustard seed, where this bodhisattva failed to sacrifice body and life for the sake of living beings. Only after he had done that was he able to attain enlightenment.”⁵⁷² If you think about it, truly there is no Buddha or bodhisattva which rivals Śākyamuni’s compassion.

無量無辺劫ノ間。仏果ヲモトメテ。億々万劫ノ行末マデモ。衆生ノ利益セント思食ハ。難有事也。夫彼御詫宣ノ御詞ニ。法花ノ文ヲ思ヒ合セテ。大宮権現ハ。本地ハ尺迦如来ニテ御ス也ケリト知タテマツリ給テ。披露セラレテ後ハ。本地ノ高キ事ヲ仰テ。垂迹ノ弥ヨ止事無ヲ知タテマツルナリ。

Through innumerable limitless aeons, he sought the fruition of Buddhahood. At the end of millions of aeons of austerities, he deeply thought to bring benefit to sentient beings; this is something to be thankful for. Thinking together the words of the oracle with phrases of the Lotus sutra, when we talk of *Ōmiya gongen*, we know that its original ground is the tathagata

⁵⁷⁰ The number referenced in *Engishiki* is one hundred and thirty-two.

⁵⁷¹ Kyōmyō 慶命 965 – 1038. Became *zasu* in 1026 (Manju 万寿 5). Was a resident of Daijō-bō in the Mudōji area of the Enryakuji.

⁵⁷² In the Lotus sutra the sentence is not in response to Śākyamuni, but to Manjusri who is just returning from preaching at the bottom of the sea.

Śākyamuni. After this was revealed, we revere the loftiness of the original ground, and come to know the noble nature of the manifest trace.

サテ尺迦如来。我滅度後。於末法中。現大明神。広度衆生ト仰ラレケルハ。山王トイフ神ニ現ゼントスルナサトイフ金言ナリ。汝勿啼泣。於焰浮提。或復還生。現大明神。トナグサメ給ケルハ。日本国ノ中ニハ。比叡山ト云山ノフモトニ。遂ニアトヲタレテ。衆生ヲ利益センズルナリト仰ラレタル実語ナリ。

The Tathāgata Śākyamuni said: “After my entrance into parinirvana, during the era of the decadence of the law, I will manifest myself as a great deity and save sentient beings far and wide”.⁵⁷³ His august words said he would manifest as a deity called Sannō. “Do not cry. I will return to Jambudvīpa and be reborn into the world and manifest myself as a great deity”;⁵⁷⁴ thus he consoled (sentient beings). “In the centre of Japan, at the foothills of a mountain called Mount Hiei, at last I will make my traces manifest, and bring benefit to sentient beings”. These are the true words he uttered.

実ニ日本国ハ小国ニアリテモ小国ナレバ、出世成道ノ地ニモカナフマジ、小根薄善ノ人ノミ、浅近鈍昧ノ族バカリ集マレル所ナレバ、説法教化ノ器ニモアタハズ、タダ様ヲ替テ神ト現シテ、不浄ヲ戒メ不信ヲ懲シ、懈怠ヲタ、リ精進ヲス、メテ、信不信ニ付テ賞罰ヲ正シクシテ、現世後生ノ願ヲ満ント思食シケル也、

Because Japan, even among the small countries, is a small country, it is also certainly not a place where one can attain [the predisposition for] leaving the world and [obtaining] enlightenment. Because it is a place that only gathers people of lesser faculties and thin virtue, shallow, dull and stupid, [these] are unable to [develop] faculties [for understanding] the explanations of the transformative teaching of Buddha.

So, Śākyamuni thought: “By changing into a deity and manifesting myself, I caution against impurity and correct the lack of faith. Waging war (*tatari* タ、リ) against indolence, I carry on

⁵⁷³ This is a spurious quote, quoted as from the *Hikekyō* in *Enryakuji gokoku engi* 延暦寺護国縁起 ZGR 27, p. 437 and *Hie hongji* 日吉本記 ZGR 2, 708. Also see Misaki 1961, p. 17.

⁵⁷⁴ Sato 1987, p. 37. It is also said that this is from the *Nehangyō*, not the *Hikekyō*. The ambiguity and how phrases that are supposedly from these sutras are used interchangeably is explored in Misaki 1961.

in my effort, bestowing rewards and punishments depending on the presence of faith or lack thereof, to bring to completion in this time the vow of my previous life”.

委ク思ヘバ。尺尊ノ善巧身ニシミテ哀ニ思ボユ。山王ノ冥眷意ニ染ミテカタジケナキ事也。先尺迦如来一定ノ大宮権現ニテ御ス上ニ。山王真実ノ神明ノ根本ニテ御スト云事ハ。方々アラハナル事也。

If you think accurately, you feel deep in your body the skilful means of the venerable Śākyamuni, and feel wonder at those. The Sannō deities are invisibly taking care [of us]: how profoundly indebted (we are)!

Firstly, it is a certain fact that the Tathāgata Śākyamuni manifests himself in the guise of Ōmiya *gongen*. Furthermore, Sannō is the first among the true luminous deities. This is something widely known by many.

昔ノ黄帝ハ。如来出世ノ先ニ。震旦ニ世ヲ治給ミ御事也。其臣下ニテ蒼頡大臣ト聞シ人ハ。尺迦仏ノ化現ニテ侍也。諸神モイマダ現ジ給ハザリシ其前ニ。彼臣下ノ黄帝ノ勅ヲウケ給テ。文字ハ造出タリケルトカヤ。其後ヲヒ々々ニ賢人才人アヒツギテ。文字ハ造出タリト聞エ侍レバ。黄帝ノ御時ニツクリタリケルヤラム難知ケレトモ。神ト申文字ヲバ。サルニシメストツクル也。ナルト申文字ニハ日ヨシノサルヲ用井。シメスト申ス文字ニハ示現ノ示ヲ用ルナルベシ。其示文字ヲ篇ニシテ神ノ字ヲ作タレバ。神ノ文字ヲバ申ニ示ト申也。

The Yellow Emperor ruled China in the past, before the Tathāgata had manifested himself in the world. At the service of this king was a man called Minister Cangjie 蒼頡, a transformation body of the Buddha Śākyamuni. The many deities had not manifested themselves yet.

Could it be that the servant, Cangjie, invented characters when under the bidding of the Yellow Emperor? After him, a succession of noble men and men of genius have been said to have invented characters, so that it is difficult to say whether those might have truly been invented at the time of the yellow emperor. Nevertheless, the character for deity (*kami* 神) is constructed from “manifesting in monkeys”. The character for “monkey” (*saru* 申) takes up the meaning of the monkeys of Hiyoshi (sic.). The character for “showing” (*shimesu* 示)

certainly means the “showing” part of the word for “manifestation”, *jigen* 示現. By placing the character for “showing” to the side, we make the character for “deity”. Thus, the character for “deity” means “manifesting in monkeys”.

サレバ神ト申ス文字ハ。山王ト申サンズル神ニ。尺迦如来ノ現ジ給ハムズルニ。吉事ヲモ悪事ヲモサルニスガヲ示シ給ハンズレバ其由ヲ文字ニ作り顕サントテ。蒼頡大臣将来カゞミテ。山王ノ御事ヲ造タル文字也。又五行大義ト申文ノ中ニ。神ト者。申ナリ。清廬ノ気ナリ。擁滞スツトコロ無シ。故ニ申ツト云ト侍ルハ。偏ニ山王ノ御事ニ非ズヤ。大方文ニハ実事ヲ作り。文字ニハ義理ヲ造顕也。

That being the case, the character for “deity” is the deity called Sannō. When the Tathāgata Śākyamuni manifested himself, he showed good things and evil things by changing his shape into a monkey, and for this reason Cangjie, wanting to show this in the way the character is constructed, seeing the future, made the character [to fit] the facts regarding the *sannō* deities.

In the *Gogyō daigi* 五行大義 (ch. *Wuxing dayi*),⁵⁷⁵ it is written: “Deities (*shin* 神) are the branch of the monkey (*shin* 申). They are pure and uncorrupted *qi*. There is no place where it is restricted. Thus, it is called “monkey.” Certainly, it must be the Sannō deities. Overall, these texts tell the truth. This logic shows in the construction of the character.

サレバ日ハ円欠ナケレバ。文字ニモ円造ニハツクルナリ。其外ノ文字。何モ皆或ハ義ニヨリ。或ハ様ニヨリテ造也。夫ニアハセテ。山王現ニモ人ノタメニハ善悪吉凶ヲ示シ給ハンニハ。サルノ姿タヲ現シテ。垂迹方便トシタテマツル也。

The sun is round, without gaps. Therefore, in the character, too, is built in this roundness. As for the other characters, they are constructed some of them according to meaning, some of them according to form. Accordingly, the Sannō deity manifested itself in the form of a

⁵⁷⁵ “The Great Meaning of the Five Agents.” A philosophical treatise written by the Sui period 隋 (581-618) by name Xiao Wenxiu 蕭文休. It explains the theory of the Five Agents and their influence on all aspects of the universe, from the human character and body, to astronomy, geography, medicine, zoology. It was finished in 617 and is still extant as a Japanese print from 1699.

monkey to show people good and evil, fortune and misfortune. He is a provisional trace, which is [a form of] skilful means.

サテハヤニ天下リ給ヘル月モ。月将ノ中ニハ。伝送ノ申トイハル、四月ニアマクダリ。日ノ中ニハ。又中ノ申ノ日シモ。迹ヲ垂始給ナリ。サレバ山王ノ縁日ニハ。申ノ日ヲシ給ヘル事ハ。源是仏ノ御意ヨリ起テ。神慮マデニ思食カタメタル事ハ。申ヲ化度ノタヨリトセントナリケリ。依之四月霜月両度ノ御祭モ。申ノ日スル也ケリ。

Now, to the moon's descent from the sky. Among the heavenly generals, Tensō 伝送 is the one corresponding to the monkey, and descends from heaven on the fourth month.⁵⁷⁶ He manifested his traces for the first time on the day of the monkey of that month.

Thus, the day of the monkey is the day with a karmic connection (*ennichi* 縁日) to the Sannō deities. Originally arising from the intention of the Buddha, it was fulfilled in the will of the deity. [So] the monkey is said to be a messenger of the teachings of the Buddha which convert [people]. Thus, both the festivals in the fourth and eleventh month are held on the day of the monkey.

山王ノ神慮ヨリ出タル御計ノ上ニ。文字ニ作りカナヘラレテ。山王垂迹セシメ給テ後。イクホドモ経ズノイツクヨリトモシラズシテ。猿出来テ山王ノ社ノ頭ニハ侍ケルゾト申伝タル。山林ノホカハイツクニモアレカシ。比良ノ高根。アタゴノフカキホラナリトモアランハタヨリナルベシ。

⁵⁷⁶ These are the twelve generals of the calendrical branches, “moon generals” 月将 that correspond to the months of the year. The same name is used for Yakushi's retinue of twelve “divine generals” who are Indian deities, and are made to correspond to twelve calendrical branches. First depicted in *Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing* (jp. *Yakushi rurikō nyorai hongan kōtoku kyō* 薬師琉璃光如来本願功德經). There are different lists of names of these generals. The name Tensō 伝送 exists in a Tendai environment connected to the diffusion of *sannō* shintō. It appears as a variant for one of the names of the general corresponding to the monkey, Andara 安陀羅, in the *Kuin bukkaku shō* 九院佛閣抄, a collation of oral transmissions (*kuden* 口伝) related to the *Sange yōryakki* 山家要略記, edited or collated in 1324 or 1383 (so after the collation of the *Yōtenki*). Tsutsumi 1938, p. 233. The fourth month is also when the *matsuri* was held for the deities of Hie. But judging from what comes after, it does seem like they are referring to the *onmyōdō* ones, not mediated through Buddhism, as they never refer to Yakushi.

This was the plan stemmed from the will of the Sannō deity, also built in the construction of the character [of “deity”].

It is said that, a long time after the Sannō deity decided to manifest, some monkeys came out from nobody knows where, and established themselves in the precinct of the Sannō shrine. You know how they dwell in mountain forests elsewhere, too- on the tall peaks of Mt Hira and the deep valley of Atago.⁵⁷⁷ There live, without a doubt, messengers of the gods.

又社頭ヲスミカトスベクバ。山王ヨリサキニ迹ヲタレ給ヘル神多ク社アマタ御ス。其ニ日吉ノ山王ノ社ノ頭ニハタラカズシテ侍ベルハ。本地ハ尺尊ノ御本意ヲシリ。垂迹ハ山王ノ神慮ニモカナヒ。又セメテモ神ノ文字ヲ申ニ示トツクリケル。権化ノ深キ心ニ叶ハンガタメナリ。サレバ神ト申文字ハ。アラガフ処ナク。山王ト申ス神ニ尺尊現給ベシトテ造ケル也。文字ニモカナヒ。五行ノ大義ニモカナヒテ。現存ノサルムラガリ侍モ。能々アラタナルシルシナリ。山王実ノ神ニテモヲハシマサヌモノナラバ。現ノサルハ社頭ニアルベカラズ。

But if it is the case that [the monkeys] decided to live in the precincts of the shrine, there were many shrines of many deities which had manifested their traces before the Sannō deity. But they have not moved from the precincts of the Sannō shrine at Hie. This stems from the original intention of the deity’s original ground, Śākyamuni, and is fulfilled by the will of the deity which is his manifest trace, Sannō. Moreover, the character for “deity” means “manifesting in monkeys”, and this conforms to the deep-held wishes of [Śākyamuni’s] transformation body (*gonge* 権化; Cangjie). Thus, there are no grounds for opposition: the character for deity is composed [in such a way to mean] that Śākyamuni manifests himself as the deity called Sannō. This is fulfilled in the characters, and it is fulfilled in the *Gogyō daigi*. The current gatherings of monkeys are without fail a miraculous symbol. Were the Sannō deity not a true deity, the monkeys would without a doubt not abide in the precincts of the shrine.

⁵⁷⁷ *Hira no takane* ひらのたかね is an expression from *waka*. *Takane* is a *makurakotoba* for Mt. Hira. For instance in *Shinkokinwakashū*, poem no. 656. *Sazanami ya shira no Karasaki kaze saete Hira no takane ni arare furu nari*, “On Cape Kara in Shiga at Sazanami rippling waves are raised by the cold winds- on high peaks of Hira hail beats down”. Rodd, Laurel Rasplica, *Shinkokinshū: New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2015, p. 271.

諸神ノ本実トノ神ニテヲハシマスガ故ニ。サルハ社頭ニセメテモ。コノ社ノ中ニハ
タラカズシテ我ハアルナリト知レントテ。召ヲカセ給ヘルナリ。但山王畜類ノ形ニ
示給ベクハ。畜類コソ世ニハ多カレド。必シモ猿ニハ示給ト云難ノ侍ルヲ。委ク思
ヘバサマ々々ナル故アルベシ。

Because [the Sannō deity] is the first among the many deities, he made known: “[As long as] the monkeys do not move from within the shrine, from the entire precincts of the shrine, I will be there,” and made them reside there.

So, the Sannō deity manifests himself in the form of an animal. But if we are talking about animals, there are many of these in the world; one might be suspicious of the fact that, despite this, Sannō specifically showed himself as a monkey. But if you think about it deeply, there certainly are many different reasons.

先ヅ猿ハコト獸ニハ似ズ。五行中ニハ金神也。此故ニ宿曜道ニハ十二運ニアヒカナ
ヒ。陰陽道ニハ十二直ニシタガヘリ。ウラヲスルニモ。月ノ神トイハルルハ。伝送
ノ申ナルガ故ニ。精氣ヲ備タル故ナリ。

Firstly, monkeys are not at all like [other] animals. Within the five phases of matter, they are the spirit of metal (*konjin* 金神). For this reason, in the astrological system of Sukuyōdō 宿曜道 they correspond to the twelfth destiny, and in Onmyōdō 陰陽道, to the twelfth position.⁵⁷⁸ Even when doing *uranai* divination, because what is called the deity of the moon is the monkey representing Tensō 伝送, he regulates vitality; and that is [another] reason.

又金ハ万物ノ中ニ其体堅固ニシテ。百年千年ヲフレドモクチズ損ゼヌモノナリ。水
ノ底ニテ千万劫ヲ送レドモクチスル事モナシ。已ニ常住不滅ノ仏身ニカハル事無シ。

Metal, among all the ten thousand things, has the [most] solid form. Even if a hundred or a thousand years pass, it is something which cannot be corrupted or damaged. Underwater,

⁵⁷⁸ Onmyōdō is the practice of divination based on Chinese courtly practice, while Sukuyōdō is an astrological branch of Esoteric Buddhism, brought from China by Buddhist monks, and based on the *Suyao jing* 宿曜經 (J. Sukuyō-kyō). It presented the theory of zodiac of Hellenistic origin and the idea of twenty-eight Lunar Mansions 二十八宿 originating from India. Kibi no Makibi, who is mentioned in an earlier section of “Sannō no koto”, is connected to Sukuyōdō.

even if a thousand, nay, ten thousand aeons pass, it does not become corrupted. It is not different in anything from the ever abiding and indestructible body of a Buddha.

仏ノ御寿ニハ三身万徳ノ如来。常住不反ノ色身。是ヲモテイミジキ事トス。過去無数却ヨリ。未来無数劫ヲフルトモ永ツキズシテ。金剛不壊ノ御身ニテ御マスニトリテモ尺迦如来ハ五百塵劫ノ古ヨリシテ。仏ニ成テ御セドモ。眞実ノ御寿ハ宛然トシテ。不生不滅無来無去ノ仏ナレバ。金剛ノ常住ナルニ譬之タテマツルナリ。

During the life of the Buddha, the Tathāgata, endowed with the three bodies and myriad virtues, obtained an eternally abiding and immutable physical body- a wonderful thing. Through innumerable past aeons and innumerable future aeons, without ever being consumed, he resides in a body as indestructible as a diamond. Śākyamuni, for five hundred [former existences], throughout past aeons as great in number as all the atoms in the universe, became a Buddha. Yet, if we are to find a comparison for his real [span of] life, because he is a Buddha that does not arise nor cease, nor comes nor goes, we compare him to the eternity of the diamond (*kongō* 金剛, where the first character is the one for “metal”).

夫ニ常住金剛ノ仏身ヲ隠シテ。神ト現ジテ迹ヲ垂レ給ハンニハ。常住ノモノナレバ。五行ノ中ニ金神ニカタドレバ。猿ニノトリテ善悪ヲモ示シ。吉凶ヲモ顯ス事無クバ。何ニカハ□〔示歟〕給ベキ。

Concealing his diamond-eternal Buddha body, he leaves his traces by manifesting as a deity. Because he is eternal, he corresponds to the spirit of metal among the five phases of matter. Because he corresponds to metal, he shows the discrimination between good and evil, fortune and misfortune; if he could not show these things, what would he show?

サレバ殊ニ常住ノ金神ニカタドリタル猿ノスガタニ示給テ。隱本垂迹ヲ給也。又サルヲ十二神ノ中ニ金神ト申モ。常住不壊ノ尺迦如来ノ神ト現シテ。其姿ヲサルニノトリ給ハンズレバトテ。尺迦出世ノ其前ヨリシテ。権化ノ人々一心ニテ。金神トハ申ソメケルナンメリ。

Especially, manifesting in the shape of a monkey made up of the eternal spirit of metal, he hides his original nature and manifests [temporary] traces. Among the twelve deities,

monkeys are also called Konjin. The eternal Tathāgata Śākyamuni, endowed with the myriad virtues, manifests himself as a deity. Because it is said that he decided to change his form into a monkey before he descended into the world Śākyamuni, the various people constituting his avatars, with a single mind, are for the first time called Konjin.

此等ヲ得意合スルニ。山王ハ日本無双ノ靈社。天下第一ノ名神。諸神ノ中ニハ根本。万社ノ間ニハ起因ナリ。惣テモ余ノ畜類ハサルコトヤハ侍ル。人近クヨリタルモノナリ。サレバニヤ雲鷲山ニアリケル猿ハ。五百ノ一類。併隣〔マ、〕ノ菩提ヲ得。罽賓国ノ仏図寺ニ侍ケル五百ノ猿ハ。石ノ塔ヲタテ、天上ニ生。魯菩薩山ノ五百ノ猿ハ。縁覚ノヲコナヒケル法ヲミツタヘテ。仙人ニ教テ道果ヲエサセキ。

Thinking altogether, the Sannō shrine is a miraculous shrine which has no parallel in Japan. Sannō is an eminent deity, foremost under heaven.⁵⁷⁹ Amidst the many deities, he is the fountainhead; among the ten-thousand shrines, he is the origin.

How is it that, among all other beasts, he is a monkey? Monkeys are close to humans. Moreover, the monkeys who were present at Vulture Peak, all five hundred of them, achieved the enlightenment of pratyekabuddhas.⁵⁸⁰ In the country of Keihin (Kashmir), in the temple of Buto, lived five hundred monkeys. They built a stūpa with rocks, and were reborn in the deva heaven.⁵⁸¹ The five-hundred monkeys of Mount Urumanda saw and transmitted the doctrine

⁵⁷⁹ *Myōjin* 名神 ("eminent *kami*"), which was used in ancient works like *Engishiki* to refer to *kami* of particularly noteworthy power. Under the influence of the homophonic *myōjin* 明神 ("shining deity") found in Chinese and Buddhist texts, the latter character combination came to be applied to indigenous *kami* as well.

⁵⁸⁰ A note on the version in modern Japanese, in Ishida 1970, p. 73, says that the character is not readable and perhaps an error in copying. The manuscript version called *Hie Sannō Jōō ninen jūichigatsu futsuka nikki* 日吉山王貞応二年十一月二日記 (third year of the Kansei 寛政 era, 1791), has *rinyū*, 麟喻, which is an alternative for *rinyū* 麟喻, where the first character has a deer radical instead of a horse one, and which therefore must stand for pratyeka-buddhas (who are solitary as rhinoceros). In the English translation of this passage, based on the ZGR version, Grapard translates that the monkeys "realised the mind of awakening", bypassing the term.

I am not sure why the text would specify that they achieve the enlightenment of pratyekabuddhas. Possibly because they are animals and pratyeka-buddha is defined by an animal metaphor? Or because they are animals and cannot attain too-high levels of Buddhahood.

Why five-hundred monkeys? I cannot find anything in the Lotus sutra, but there are various jataka tales which originally have groups of five-hundred monkeys, and which are quoted later in the narrative. Another option is that they want to evoke the five hundred bhikkus at the beginning. The number five-hundred is common in Buddhist texts to refer to a large gathering.

⁵⁸¹ This story is in the *Fajupiyu jing* 法句譬喻經, closely connected to the Dharmapāda of which it includes a translation and explanatory verses. The monkeys see the monks bringing offerings and

of pratyekabuddhas.⁵⁸² They taught it to the mountain hermits, making them attain enlightenment.

或ハ仏ノ御鉢ニ身ヲ入テ。仏果ヲ得タル猿モアリキ。或ハ止観ノ中一卷在之ニハ。五百ノ猿ヲアゲテ調達ニスカサレタリシ新学ノ菩薩アリ。主領ノ一ノ猿ハ是達多也ト云ル事モアリ。或ハ道人ノ前ニシテ。経行ノ声ヲ聞シ猿ハタバチニ天上ノ報ヲ受ケ。或ハ没魯羅山ニ侍リケル大毘盧遮那成仏経ヲ開テ。読誦シテ侍ケルヲ。樵夫出来シテ夫ヲ取テ。帝王ニ奉リケル後ヨリコソ。密教モ弘マル事ハ侍ケレ。カ、リケル時ニ。目連尊者ハ曼陀池ト申ケル池ノ辺ニテ。猿ノ声ヲ聞テ定ヨリ出ケルナリ。

Or else, the monkey who exerted itself [to fill up] Buddha's alms bowl is another monkey who achieved enlightenment.⁵⁸³ In the first volume of the *Mohezhiquan* 摩訶止観, there is also a tale with a novice Bodhisattva who has been fooled by Devadatta, where the chief monkey is Devadatta. Or else, a monkey immediately attained the karmic retribution of a birth in the deva heaven when it was in front of a Buddhist monk practicing and heard him reciting sutras while walking. Or else, on mount Borora,⁵⁸⁴ some monkeys opened (a copy of) the *Sutra of the Enlightenment of Mahāvairocana* (jp. *Daibirushana jōbutsukyō*, ch. *Dà Pílúzhēnà chéngfó jīng* 大毘盧遮那成仏経) and were chanting it, when a woodcutter chanced upon them and took

circumambulating a stupa, and they imitate them by building a stupa themselves. A while later there is a flood and the monkeys are killed, but they are reborn in the deva heaven. 山中作佛圖寺。五百羅漢常止其中。旦夕燒香繞塔禮拜。時彼山中有五百獼猴。見諸道人供養塔寺。即便相將至深澗邊。負輦泥石效作佛圖。豎木立刹幣幡繫頭。旦夕禮拜亦如道人。時山水瀑漲 五百獼猴一時漂沒。魂神即生第二忉利天上。七寶殿舍衣食自然。各自念言從何所來得生天上。即以天眼自見本形。獼猴之身效諸道人戲作塔寺。雖身漂沒神得生天 T0211_04.0590b13-20.

⁵⁸² I could find no other iteration of *Robotasen* 魯菩陁山, the toponym used in the *Yōtenki*. The narrative referenced is set on Mount Urumanda (jp. *Urumandasen* 優留曼荼山), hence my translation. Here they refer to the story in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya* where one of the monkeys learns to meditate from pratyekabuddhas who live on the same mountain, and teaches the techniques to some ṛṣi who also live nearby. Translated in Strong, John S., *The legend and cult of Upagupta: Sanskrit Buddhism in North India and Southeast Asia*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton UP, 1991, pp. 44-45.

⁵⁸³ Another tale involving monkeys. Also present in various Chinese sources, among which Xuanzang. A honey gives Buddha a bowl of honey; Buddha refuses the bowl repeatedly, asking the monkey to clean it from insects, and then from the sticky honey. Finally, he accepts. The monkey, delirious with joy, dances until falling off a cliff (or, according to other versions, impaling itself on a stick). It is then reborn as a monk or in the deva heaven.

⁵⁸⁴ Might be an idiosyncratic form of Harora 鉢露羅 (ch. Boluluo), which indicates Baltistan or the Gilgit region.

the sutra to offer it to the emperor, and after this very occurrence started the diffusion of esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō* 密教). At that time, Maudgalyāyana, near a pond called Mandabutsu 曼陀鉢池 heard a monkey's scream and came out of his meditative concentration.

日本国ニハ。高雄ト云所ニ侍ケル猿ハ。イモヲホリテ弘法大師ニ奉供養キナンド申伝タリ。サレバ申ハ余ノ獸ニモニズ。人近ヅキフルマイヲスル者ナレバ。山王モ同クハトテ猿ニノリ給ルニヤ侍ラム。此神明ノ仕者ノ猿猴木ニヨリテ住ガ故ニ。木ノ字ニ神ヲシタガヘテ。榊ト云字ニ造レリ。サテハヤニ神事ノトコロニハ榊ヲ立テ。祭ノ日モ榊ヲ用ル也。山王ノ実ノ神ニテ御スコト。是ニテモ顯ハナルベシ。

In Japan, in the place called Takao there lived a monkey who dug up a sweet potato and offered it to Kōbō daishi.⁵⁸⁵ There are [many] stories such as these.

So, monkeys do not resemble other animals. Because they display behaviours similar to humans, the Sannō deity, thinking in the same way, decided that he would have them as his messenger. Because monkeys derive their dwellings from trees, the character for the *sakaki* tree (*sakaki* 榊) is constructed by adding the character for “deity” (*shin* 神) to the one for “tree” (*moku* 木). Thus, *sakaki* trees stand in places where deities are worshipped, and on the festival day *sakaki* [branches] are employed.

The Sannō deity is a true deity, something which also shows here.

山王ニテ御サンカギリハ。ヨモノ神々モ靈威イチジルク。山王ヲノヅカラ光ヲヤメサセ給コトアラバ。何レノ神々モ家光ノ理土ニ還リ給ハンズラン。サナカランホドハ。猿ハ社頭ニタチサルベカヲズ。家光ノ都ヘカヘラセ給事アラバ。猿ハ一モアルマジキ也。

As long as the Sannō deity is there, the other deities will also display their mighty power. If the Sannō deity were to extinguish his own light, all the other deities would make their return

⁵⁸⁵ I was not able to find other references to this tale, but it is another instance where a tale about founders of Japanese institutions is made to echo the life of the Buddha, as I am interpreting this as a parallel to the tale of the monkey offering a cup to Buddha told a few lines above it.

to the pure land where the dharma-body preaches.⁵⁸⁶ As long as this does not happen, the monkeys will not leave the precincts of the shrines. Were the *kami* made to return to the capital of pure lands, monkeys would also not be there anymore.

サレバ昔大宮権現ノ石遠下申ケル社司ヲ召テ仰ラレケルハ。或ハ叡岳ノ仏法ヲ守リ。又ハ化度利生ノ機縁ヲト、ノヘント思ヒツレドモ。利生ノ本願ニ背ク者ノガチニテ。一度ノ方便ニモカナフマジケル処ナレバ。王城ノ北ニ石影ト云所ニ遷居給ト思ニ。イデ立ベシト仰ラレタリケルヲ。石遠カナシミヲタレテ。ヒトサカマドヒアリキテ。毎ニ人此由ヲ歎キ聞セテ。

So, a long time ago, Ōmiya *gongen* summoned the shrine attendant (*shashi* 社司) Iwatō 石遠 and talked to him thus:⁵⁸⁷ “I protect the Buddhist law on Mount Hiei, and make ready the predisposition [of Japanese people] to the teachings that lead to salvation, but there are many people who are against my original vow of leading sentient beings to salvation. As this is a place where I cannot bring to fulfilment even one action of skilful means, I shall move to another place, called Iwakage, to the north of the capital, and I shall leave this place.”⁵⁸⁸ So said the deity, and Iwatō, in deep sadness, was confused for a time, and wanted to let everyone know the sadness of such news.

早ク山上ニ登テ谷々ニ回リテ。三千人ノ衆徒ニ触タリケル事ノ有ケル時ニハ。社頭ノ草木モ枝ウチウナダレテ。ニハカニモミヂシホミテ。カレタル気色ニナリタリケルニ。サバカリモノサハガシキ猿共ノ一所ニ集テ。スコシモハタラカズシテ。モノ思タル気色ウチシテ。ウチウナダレテアリケレバ見聞人皆悲歎セヌモノナカリケリ。

⁵⁸⁶ *Rido* 理土 is the underlying (dharma body) of the Buddha. *Kakō* 家光 is more complicated. Both Ishida 1970, p. 73 and ST p. 84 assume that *kakō* 家光 should be *jakkō* 寂光 (“silent illumination”). *Hie Sannō Jōō ninen jūichigatsu futsuka nikki* (1791), transcribes it as *shūkō* 宗光 (“the light of the lineage”), which still does not fit very well in the context. I have translated it as a “pure land” because that is what the context seems to imply.

⁵⁸⁷ Iwatō 石遠 is a member of the Hafuribe family, and appears in lineage charts in the *Yōtenki*.

⁵⁸⁸ The fifteenth chapter, “Negi no koto”, says to Iwatō: 神勅云。王城北石影ト云所ニ可辺御也。 Meaning that it was the name of a place. But to me this is further proof that the Hafuribe *Yōtenki* was being cannibalised into “Sannō no koto”.

其事ナンドヲ承リ伝ルニモ。ウベハヤニ申ニ示トハ神ノ文字ヲバ作りタルニコソト
ヲボヘ侍リ。

He swiftly climbed up the mountain, and went around from valley to valley to proclaim [such news] to the three thousand monks [of the Enryakuji]. When this passed, the grass and trees around the shrine all hung their branches [in sorrow], and immediately the maples wilted. It had come to a grave situation, to such a degree that even the boisterous monkeys had congregated to one place, and would not move a jot. In such painful circumstances, because [the monkeys] were bowing their heads in sorrow, among the people who saw and heard this there was none who was not grieving. Stories such as these are passed on. It is for reasons such as these that it is thought that the character for “deity” is constructed of [elements] which mean “manifesting in monkeys”.

此等ヲ思ヒツゞクレバ。恐クハ深ケレトモ。ヨモノ神々ヲバ只是山王ノ迹ヲ垂ント
テ。先立テ、日本国ニハスエタテマツリテ。和光同塵セサセ給ト云事ハ。アラハナ
ル事也。彼三聖ヲ先立テ。震旦ヲ化度シニ遣シ、ガ如シ。委ク尋レバ。一仏ノ方便
ヲ示テ。所設教迹也。既ニ尺迦ト大日ト。其名ハカハリテ異ナル様ナレドモ。実ニ
ハ只一仏ニシテ。一切ノ仏菩薩ハ皆其遍応法界ノ儀ニテ出給ナレバ。尺迦如来ノ隱
本垂迹ノ神ト顕給ハン日。一切神ノ其ノ和光同塵ノ枝葉ニテ御サン事ハ無疑事也。
又大方モ全ノ神々ハサル事ヤハ御ス。是大乗ニ取テモ。如来出世ノ本意ニテ説終ル
一乗ノ教法ノ定性無性ヨリ始テ。非情草木ニ至マデ。仏ニ可ト成イヘルヲ。

If you continue to think about all these things, although it is a deep [knowledge], when the Sannō deity decided to manifest his traces, the various deities had preceded him and installed themselves in Japan, and dimmed their light to become one with the dust of the world. So it is said, and this is clear. It is the same thing as those three sages, which [Śākyamuni] first employed in China to bestow the transformative teaching. If you inquire deeply, the one Buddha, showing [his] skilful means, prepares various places [to the Buddhist teachings] by bestowing temporary teachings. Though it looks that Śākyamuni and Dainichi 大日 (Mahāvairocanā) are different because they have different names, in truth they are but one Buddha. Because all Buddhas and bodhisattvas manifest themselves according to the needs of all places in the experiential realm, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni will hide his original nature

and manifests himself as deities which are his manifest traces.⁵⁸⁹ So, all deities are but branches and leaves of the one who has dimmed his light and become one with the dust of the world. There is no doubt about this.

In general, it is the same thing for all the deities. According to the teaching of the Great Vehicle, when the Tathāgata made his original vow of coming out into the world, he finished his sermon thus: “The one teaching (jp. *ichijō* 一乘, sskr. *ekayāna*) will infallibly turn [all] into Buddhas, from the sentient beings who have or not have the Buddha nature to insentient beings [such as] grass and trees.

守給ヘル思合レバ。唐土山王ト申ケル神ノ御マシケルハ。ハヤニ今ノ山王ニテ御ケル也。

昔智者大師ノ仏滝ト云所ニ御ケル時ニ。其傍ニ栗ノ有園侍ケル。其ニムラザル出来テ。栗ヲ取散木枝ヲ損ジナドシケルヲ。大師ノ門人ニテ普明禪師ト申ケル人ノ弟子ドモ。其猿ヲ追散テサマ々々ニ詈打ナムドシテ。国清寺へ還リタリケルニ。禪師其弟子ノ小僧共ヲ勘当シテ。汝等ハ我ニモシラセズシテ。檀越ヲアヤマツ事アリ。速ニ悔謝スベシト言ノ玉フニ。御弟子ドモアキレテ。返テ不覚由ヲ申テ。

Thinking it together with the fact that he protects us, the deities called *shanwang* 山王 in China now reside in the deities [of Hie], which we call Sannō.

Once, the Great master Zhizhe (jp. Chija or Chisha *daishi* 智者大師, Zhiyi) was in a place called Folong 仏滝.⁵⁹⁰ Nearby there was a garden in which grew chestnut trees. There came out a troop of monkeys, scattering about chestnuts and breaking the branches of the trees.

Among the followers of the master, the disciples of the meditation master called Puming (jp. Fumyō *zenshi* 普明禪師 d. 454–456), chased away the monkeys with loud shouts and banging.

Once they went back to the Guoqing temple 国清寺,⁵⁹¹ the meditation master reprimanded his disciples, the novice monks: “You lot, unbeknownst even to me, did wrong to our donors

⁵⁸⁹ Jp. Hōkkai 法界, the human world, which responds to the law of cause and effect.

⁵⁹⁰ On Mount Tiantai.

⁵⁹¹ Also on Mount Tiantai.

(*danotsu* 檀越, the monkeys). Quick, you must perform acts of repentance!”, he said. His disciples were astonished. They replied that he made no sense.

我住房ニ還テ後。案之猶ヲボヘズアリケレバ。根源ヲ示給ヘト申ケルニ。禪師ノ言ノ玉ヒケルハ。仏滝ニテアラキ詞ヲハヒテ。山王ヲ嗔詈シタテマツル事アリケルヲ。昨日ノ夕方ニ臨ミテ来現シテ。我ニ向テ其由ヲ示給テ。小僧共ニ速ニ香ヲ焼キ花ヲ散テ。各懺謝セサセヨトテ還給ニキト仰ラレケレバ。御弟子ドモ香ヲ焼花散テ。嗔罵打捶ノ咎ヲ懺悔シタリト聞ヘ侍レバ。山王ハ天台円頓ノ教籍ヲ守給ハントテ。智者大師ノ御時ヨリ現給テ。唐土ニ御ケリ。

But after going back to their dormitory, they still could not make sense of that complaint, and so they said [to the master]: “Please show us the sense”. And the meditation master said: “It is that at Folang, with reckless words, you shouted in anger against the mountain sovereign (jp. *sannō*, ch. *shanwang* 山王). Yesterday night, [the deity] manifested itself: “Quickly make the novice monks burn incense and scatter flowers, and make them do many repentances (jp. *sange* 懺謝),” so he told me, and returned [whence he had come from].”

The disciples burned incense and scattered flowers. Hearing them perform repentance for having abused, insulted, and hit [the monkeys] with a cane, the mountain sovereign decided that he would protect the volumes [containing the] teaching of the Tiantai perfect teaching. Having manifested himself for the first time at the times of the Great master Zhizhe, it is known that he was in China.

夫カ仏法既ニ東漸シテ。日本国ノ比叡山ニ弘マラントスル程ニ計ラヒテ。唐土ヲバフリ捨テ。此朝ヘハ渡給テ。欽明天皇ノ御時ニ。大和国ノ三輪ト云所ニ天下リテ。伝教大師ノ円宗ノ仏法弘マラン時ヲ。ヤスクマチ給ケルホドニ。時既ニ至ニケレバ。叡岳ノフモトニ渡給ケル也。

When [Sannō] transferred the Buddhist teaching eastward, he made a plan: he wanted to diffuse Buddhism on Mount Hiei, in Japan. He forsook China and crossed the sea over to our country. At the times of the emperor Kinmei 欽明, he descended from heaven in the place called Miwa, in Yamato. When Dengyō *daishi* determined to diffuse the Buddhist teaching of

the perfect school [of Tendai], the deity, who had until then waited patiently, crossed over to the foothills of Mount Hiei because the time had come.

イツクニモ同ジ光ヲ和ゲテ照スハワシノ山ノハノ月。

“Each and every place shine with the same light: the full moon at the foot of Vulture peak, made quiet.”

是ハカタワライタキ事ニテ侍レドモ。セメテ二世ノ結縁ヲアツクセンガ為ニ。愚詠ヲモテ神徳ヲホメ奉ル也。

However shamefully inadequate, we praise the divine virtues composing foolish poetry, to make deep the karmic link between our two worlds.

サテ大宮権現先ヅ大津与多崎^{ヨタサキ}ノ八柳ノモトニヲチツキ給フニ。其時海上ニ一人ノ老翁アリ。田中ノ恒世トナノル。其時俗ニテイミジキ貴人ノ体ニテ。恒世ヲ向テ仰ケル事ハ。我ヲ舟ニテ唐崎へ送リテムヤト云々。恒世タゞ人ニミエサセ給ハヌニヨリテ。帰敬ノ余ニ。舟ニテ唐崎へ送付タテマツル。

The Ōmiya *gongen* originally alighted at the [spot of the] eight *yanagi* trees (Yatsuyanagi 八柳), in Yotasaki, in Ōtsu. At that moment, one old man was sailing. His name was Tanaka no Tsuneyo 田中ノ恒世. The deity, with the body of a layman, a splendid courtier, spoke thus to Tsuneyo: “Bring me to Karasaki on your boat”. Tsuneyo, thinking that he did not look at all like a common person, paid him many respects and brought him to Karasaki on his boat.

夫ニ唐崎ニ常陸国ヨリ琴御館牛丸ト云者。敵ニセメラレテ兄弟並一類引具テ。松下ニ群居セリケルガモトヘヲハシマシタリケルニ。宇志丸恒世ニ云合テ。粟ノ御料ヲマイラセタリケルニ。恒世ヲバ子々孫々ニ至ルマデニ召シツカフベキ御約束有ケリ。サテ宇志丸ニ仰ラレケル事ハ。我ハ大乘守護ノ志シ深シテ。サル所ヲ尋行ナリ。夫ニ金峰山ノ蔵王ノ許ニイタリキ。蔵王ノ云シ事ハ此処ハ小乗尚シ流布シ侍ルマジキ砌也。早く他所ヲ御尋可有云々。

In Karasaki there lived a man from Hitachi called Kotonomitachi no Ushimaro 琴御館牛丸. Persecuted by his foes, he sat together with his brothers, who he had taken as companions, under a pine tree. Ushimaro and Tsuneyo spoke among themselves. Tsuneyo made an offer of cooked millet [to the deity], which became a promise that son after son, grandson after grandson, [his descendants] would be in the service of the deity. The request [that the deity made] to Ushimaro was: “Making a profound resolution to protect the Great vehicle, I went in search of such a place [from where I could do so]. I went to Kinpusen, the residence of Zaō 蔵王 [gongen].⁵⁹² Zaō’s response was: “Were this not a place where the Small vehicle is still being spread! Quick, you must look for another place.”

サテ此辺ニテ尋ント思也ト云々。宇志丸申云。此海ノ面ニ時々五色波流立コト有。其源ヲ自大乘ナンドノ流布スベキ事バシ侍ルヤラム。御尋候ヘカシ。抑君ハ誰人ヅト々々。山王仰云。我ハ三輪ノ明神ト云者也。検証ヲ見スベシ。我ニ舟ヲカシ給ヘト云々。

“And so, I came to these shores to find it,” said [the Sannō deity]. Ushimaro said: “It sometimes happens that a five-coloured wave rises on the surface of this lake. Investigating the source of it, I have wondered whether it was not some sort of sign that I myself should diffuse the Great vehicle [here]. [But] first, I ask you: who might you be?” And Sannō replied: “I am the one whom they call the bright deity of Miwa. I shall prove it to you. Lend me your boat.”

即宇志丸舟ヲ奉ル。山王御舟ニメシテ。程ナク還御ケル。宇志丸申云。其舟ヒキアゲテヲカセ給ヘト云々。山王其舟ヲ只一人シテ松ノ上ニ引上テ置給フ。其ヲ見テ宇志丸ヲドロキテ実トノ神明一定ノ化人ト奉知。其時山王其舟ヲ又一人シテヲロシテ。本ノ如ク浜ニヲカセ給テ。

And so, Ushimaro offered up his boat. Sannō took sail on the boat, but in no time he returned. “I beg you, give the boat back,” said Ushimaro, and Sannō, all by himself, lifted the boat on top of a pine tree. Seeing this, Ushimaro, astonished, knew that that was a true bright deity. Then Sannō, again all on his own, took down the boat and returned it to its original place in the harbour.

⁵⁹² In Yoshino, in Yamato, a mountain connected to Miwa, from where the Ōmiya deity is said to come from. See Andreeva 2010, p. 269.

出サセ給トテ。宇志丸ニ仰云。汝ガ本姓ノ鴨^{カモノアガタヌシ} 県主ヲバ改テ。祝部ト可云。サテ子々孫々ニ至マデメシツカフベシ。永氏人トシテ蒸掌ノ役ヲツカサドルベシ。我大乘ノ可流布処ヲ尋テ可至ル。早ク我跡ヲ尋テ来テ。神殿ヲ可立ツ。西北ニ向ベキ也。其道ニ草ヲ結テシルシトスベシ。大乘ノ弘ヤルベキ処アラバ。夫ニ粉楡ヲ結テシルシトセント思フ。神殿ヲバ其地ニ可立ツ。其所ニ留リ住テハ。一年ニ一度必是ニ来テ。粟ノ御料ノ恩ヲムクユベシトテ。忽然トシテ見ヘ給ハズ。

When the deity was about to leave, he told Ushimaro: “You shall change your original family name, Kamo no Agatanushi, into Hafuribe.⁵⁹³ Your sons and grandsons shall be my servants. Forever, as people of my family, they shall administer the office of preparing my food offerings. I shall go to seek a place from where to diffuse the Great Vehicle. Quick, follow in my footsteps to build a worship hall (*shinden* 神殿). It must face northwest.⁵⁹⁴ On the road, I shall tie some grass to make a sign. If there is a place from which I can diffuse the Great vehicle, I will make a sign by binding it to an elm tree, and you shall build the shrine hall there, where I will stop and reside. Once a year, without fail, I will come here to be honoured with an offer of cooked millet.”⁵⁹⁵ And all of a sudden, the deity disappeared.

サテ唐崎ヨリシテ五色ノ波ヲ尋テ登リ給事ハ。^{ミツカハ}三川ノホトリナリ。今大宮御ス処ニ粉楡ヲヒキヨセテ結テヲカレタリ。宇志丸其ヲ尋テ。集マリテ神ノ御約束ノ如ク。形ノ様ナル御宝殿ヲ作りテアガメタテマツレリ。

Then, riding the five-coloured wave from Karasaki, the deity alighted in the vicinity of Mitsukawa 三川. In the place where now is Ōmiya, [the deity] pulled [a branch from] an elm tree and bound it in place. Ushimaro gathered [a team], followed those signs, and built and offered up a treasure hall such as he had promised the deity.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹³ It is coherent with what they say in Ōmiya no onkoto, where the Hafuribe claim to descend from the same family of the Kamo priests (the word Kamo in the surname), however when they tell this story there, there is no mention of Ushimaro having a previous surname, he is only called Hafuribe.

⁵⁹⁴ Where the Enryakuji is.

⁵⁹⁵ The *awadu no gokū* offer performed by the Ōtsu jinin, the descendants of Tanaka no Tsuneyo, which is still part of the *matsuri*.

⁵⁹⁶ Compare the deity holding a branch in another account of his transferral to the Hie shrine: “Following this oracle, Saichō paid homage to this [Miwa] Deity. Receiving the prayer, the Great Deity appeared in the form of Daikoku Tenjin, holding a branch of *sugi* [cryptomeria] in his hand, and proclaimed, “Daishi,

其御前ニ。ツカセ給タリケル御杖ノ。桂ノ木ニテ有ケルヲ立テヲカセ給タリケルニ。ナムダ禁シ難ク覺テ。其ヲハタラカサズシテヲキタリケレバ。ヲイツキテ大ナル木ニ成テ。中比マデ有ケルトカヤ。粉楡ヲ結テ地ノシルシトシ給ヘルハ。社ト云文字ヲカネテ。地ニ示スト作レルヲ蹟ハサントナリケリ。是其神ノ文字ノ如シ。

In front of that sacred place was the branch that deity had used as a walking stick, placed standing in a *katsura* tree.⁵⁹⁷ Barely holding back tears, careful of not moving it, Ushimaro planted it. The branch became a big tree, surpassing (the original *katsura* tree).⁵⁹⁸ The deity bound the elm tree to signal the place [to Ushimaro]. Originally, the character for “shrine” (*yashiro* 社) came about to show that it was made up [of the characters for] “showing to the grounds” (*tsuchi ni shimesu* 土に示す). It is the same as the character for “deity”.⁵⁹⁹

又古老ノ人ノ申伝タル如クナラバ。宇志丸ハ兄弟共ニ有ケレドモ。殊ニ兄ノ宇志丸ニ示シテ。垂迹ノ様ヲシラレテ召仕給ヘバ。始テ祝ニナリニキ。サテハヤニ祝トイフ文字ヲ兄ニ示メストハ書タル也。是モ神ノ文字ノ如シ。是等付テ山王諸神ノ本ト申事ハイハレタル事也。

Furthermore, as was told and transmitted by the ancient, even though Ushimaro was with his brothers, the deity only showed himself to him, who was the oldest of the bunch. The deity deigned to made known the form of his temporary trace, and Ushimaro became his first priest (*hafuri* 祝). For this reason, the character for “being a priest” (*hafuru* 祝) is written like “showing to the eldest brother”. This, too, is the same as the character for “deity”. Connecting all this information, it is said that Sannō is the origin of the many deities.

I will go with you.”, “The Karmic Origins of the Great Bright *Miwa* Deity” (*Miwa daimyōjin engi*), translated in Andreeva 2010, p. 28.

⁵⁹⁷ The passage in itself is enigmatic, and the deity could have plausibly transferred himself into the branch. However, the use of the branch as a walking stick appears likely in light of other sources on Ōmiya when this is described as an *okina* 翁, an old man, such as the chapter “Ōmiya” of the *Yōtenki*.

⁵⁹⁸ Ishida and Okamoto 1970 p. 80 has: *ohitsukite* 生ひつきて, but bot ST 73 p. 86 and ZGR 48 p. 617 have *oitsukite* おいつきて.

⁵⁹⁹ The same logic of “deity” applies. Deity means “showing to the monkeys” because it is made up of the characters *shin* 申 (monkey) and *shirushi* 示. *Yashiro* 社 is composed of the same radical *shirushi* 示 and *tsuchi* 土 (place).

サデウルハシク神殿作ラル、事ハナシ。無動寺建立ノ大師相応和尚ノ御時也。夫ハ先ヅ二宮ノ御宝殿ヲ作ラセ給タリケルヲウラヤミテ。我ニモ作テ給ヘト御示現ノ有ケレバ。イソヒデ造テ奉ラセ給ケル也。

But no splendid shrine had been built yet. Then came the time of the Great master Soō Ōshō, who built the Mudōji.⁶⁰⁰ The deity was envious that a treasure hall was being built for Ninomiya first. He manifested himself and said: “Build one for me too!”, and because of this they quickly built a shrine hall for him.

又二宮ヲバ古老ノ人ノ伝ニハ。鳩楼孫仏ノ時ヨリ。小比叡ノ椶ノ本サフカセノ岳ニ跡ヲ垂テ御シケルトゾ申伝タル。夫ハ天竺ノ南海群ト云所ノ海ノ面ニ。一切衆生悉有仏性ト唱ヘケル波ノ立ケルニ乗テ。トマラン所ニハ定テ仏法弘マランズラン。ソコニヲチツカント思食テ。

In India, in the South Sea prefecture, a wave rose on the surface of the sea which boomed: “All sentient beings have Buddha-nature”.⁶⁰¹ Ninomiya thought: “I will ride this wave, and surely I will settle down and diffuse the Buddha’s teachings from the place where I stop.”

ユラサレアリカセ給ケル程ニ。小比叡ノ椶ノホラニトマラセ給ニケリ。其後ニ天照大神ノアマノイハトヲヒラキテ。鉾ヲモテサグラセ給ケルニ。アシノ葉ノサハリテ有ケルヲ。是ハ何ニヅト尋サセ給ケルニ。上件ノ事ヲバ申サセ給ケル。次ニ我ハ日本国ノ地主ニテ侍也ト申サセ給タリケルトカヤ。其小比叡ノ椶ノ本ニテ。劫ヲ経テ後ニ大宮権現ノ当時御ス所ニイタリテ御シケルガ。大宮ノ天下テ御シケル日。夫ヲバサリテ今御ス御宝殿ノ地ニ遷ラセ給ヒケル也。

⁶⁰⁰ Soō Kashō 相応和尚, or Ōshō (831-998), a Tendai monk who performed ascetic practices on Mount Hiei and other mountains, born in Asai County, near Lake Biwa. He built a small hermitage on one of the southern ridges of Mount Hiei, and that was the beginning of the Mudōji. Soō is credited with beginning the practice of *kaihōgyō*, an ascetic practice consisting of walking around a thirty-kilometre route around Mount Hiei and its environs, offering prayers at the various halls, shrines, and other holy sites along the way. See Rhodes, Robert F., “The ‘Kaihōgyō’ Practice of Mt. Hiei,” in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2/3, 1987, pp. 185–202.

⁶⁰¹ Nanhai (jp. Nankai 南海) is however also a district in Guangdong 廣東 Province, facing the South China sea and Southeast Asia.

He made his advance on the rocking [waves] until he reached the cedar-tree cave on the lesser Hie peak.

It was after this that Amateru Ōmukami opened the door of the rock-cave of heaven. Holding a spear, she searched around and touched a reed grass [with the tip of the spear]. “What is this?” She asked. [Ninomiya] told her the [story told] above, and after, it is said that he said: “I am the protector deity of Japan”.

The Ninomiya deity, having spent aeons in the place under the cedar trees in Lesser Hie, moved to the place where now abides Ōmiya *gongen*, but on the day when Ōmiya *gongen* descended from the heavens, Ninomiya left it and moved in the current location of his treasure hall.

サホドニ久シキ神ニテ。地主明神ノ御ケレバ。山王院ノ大師ノ。山王ノ御為ニ度者^度縁ノ事也ヲ申給ラムトテ。奏状ニハ。両所明神陰陽ハカラズ造化ノシワザナシト書給ヘル也。ツラ々々ニ宮ノカヤウニ久ク是ニ住ミ給ヘル事モ。尺迦如来ノ娑婆穢悪ノ有様ヲ御覽ズルニ。像法転時ノ衆生ハ。悪業煩惱ノ病ヤメガタクシテ。イカゞ流転生死ノツゞガヲバイヤスベキトテ薬師如来同クハ我施サムズル除化ノハカリゴトニ伴テ。我社ヲシメテ侍ラム所ニ御サセテ。和光ノ砌ニ望マントモガラハ。其次ニ御殿ノ辺ニマウデムズルニ。内外無辺ノ病ヲヤメサセ給ヘト申サセ給テ。先立マイラセテ此叡岳ノ辺ニハスヘタテマツラセ給ケル也。

Because [Ninomiya] is such an ancient deity, and because he is the protector deity of the land, the great master of the Sannō-in (Enchin 円珍 814-891) decided to assign two yearly ordinands to the Sannō deities. In his petition to the emperor, he wrote: “The deities of the two places are of *yin* and *yang* unfathomable, [their] creation is unconditioned”.⁶⁰²

For such a long time, Ninomiya has lived here.

The Tathāgata Śākyamūni looked at the state of the filthy Sahā world (jp. *saba* 娑婆). He thought that it would be difficult to stop the bad karma and afflictions of the sentient beings

⁶⁰² Here the text paraphrases in Japanese the excerpt from *Sandai jitsuroku* presented in chapter two.

of the time of the semblance dharma.⁶⁰³ Thinking it necessary to heal [the disease] of their continuous rebirths, he said: “Tathāgata Yakushi. In the same way as I do, participate to my stratagems for removing [afflictions] and teach [Buddhism]. Come to the place where I will manifest my shrine. The crowds will wish to witness the place where I have dimmed my light, and after that, to make a pilgrimage around its shrine buildings, and so you will heal their infinite diseases, both of the body and of the mind [lit. “internal and external”].” So Yakushi went first, and took his dwelling in the area of Mt Hiei.

サテ大行事ト申使者ハ。其形ヲ猿ニシメサセテ召シ仕ヒ給ケル也。是モ神ノ文字ヲ申ニ示ト作タルニ。首尾ヲカナヘムガ為也。此地主大明神ハ薬師如来ノ垂跡也。因位ノ始ニハサルニテ御シケル時。密ヲモテ大通仏ニ供養シテ。其功力ニ依テ。次ノ生ニ彼仏ノ御所ニ生テ。菩提心ヲ発テ無上道ヲバ得玉ヘル也。其故ニ今ノ神ト現シテモ。因位ノ昔ヲ躡シテ猿ノ形ヲ示給也。大宮ヲバ大比叡ノ山王ト申。二宮ヲバ小比叡山王ト申モ。共ニ神ノ字ノ造ニカナヒ給ヘル大明神也。

The attendant called Daigyōji 大行事 helps [people] in the guise of a monkey.⁶⁰⁴ This is completely coherent with the fact that the character for deity is made up of [the characters which mean] “manifesting in monkeys.”

The protector deity of the land (*jinushi daimyōjin* 地主大明神) is the provisional trace of the Tathāgata Yakushi. At the beginning of the practices which would lead to his enlightenment,⁶⁰⁵ when he was a monkey, he made offers in secret to the Buddha Daitsūchishō 大通智勝(sskr. Mahābhijñā-jñānābhībhū, abbreviated as Daitsūbutsu 大通仏).⁶⁰⁶ Through the merit [of this action], in the next life he was born in the world of that Buddha (Daitsūchishō). He awoke the

⁶⁰³ One of the three periods of time after the passing away of the Buddha. These are the periods of the correct dharma (shōho 正法), semblance dharma (zōhō 像法) and degenerate dharma (mappō 末法). The teachings are studied and practiced, but it is harder to reach Buddhahood.

⁶⁰⁴ Daigyōji is one of the deities of the Middle seven shrines. His name is also reported as Saruta *daijin* 猿田大神 and he is identified with the deity Sarutahiko in *Keiranshūyōshū* T2410_76.0529c17. He is depicted in the shape of a monkey in mandalas that represent his *kami* form (*suijaku mandara*). In *honji mandara* he is generally represented as Bishamonten.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ini* 因位, literally “causal stage” is the period of practices before the enlightenment.

⁶⁰⁶ A Buddha of the past, which appears in the Chapter of the Parable of the Conjured City of the Lotus sutra. Burton translates it as Great Universal Wisdom Excellence.

mind of enlightenment (*bodaishin* 菩提心) and achieved the unsurpassed enlightenment.⁶⁰⁷

For this reason, even when he now manifests as a deity, he shows the form of a monkey, under which he appeared in his life before enlightenment.

We call Ōmiya the great mountain sovereign of Ōbie, and Ninomiya the great mountain sovereign of Obie. Both are great bright deities who bring to accomplishment the construction of the character for “deity”.

サテ山王ヲ日吉トモ申。比叡申事ハ。吉ノ字ニハエノ訓ノ侍トカヤ。依之伝教大師始テ比叡ト書改メ給ル也。今是ヲ案ズルニ。山王ノ守護シ玉ヘル山ナレバ。神ノ名ニヨリテヒエトカクベキ也斤。

But we also call the Sannō deities “Hie” 日吉 or “Hie” 比叡. The character for “auspicious” (*kichii* 吉) can be read “e”. For this reason, Dengyō *daishi* was the first one to write it “Hie” 比叡. Think of it like this: if it is the mountain which is protected by the Sannō deities, then we must write it “Hie” (*Hie* ヒエ), from the name of the deities.

大師始テ山ノ上ニ天台宗ヲ建立シテ。円教ノ菩薩大戒ヲ弘給シ時。日吉ト申ハ地主大明神ヲ申ケルナンメリ。今ハ本地ノ一代教主ノ尺迦如来ニテ御スニヨコドラレテ。大宮ヲ日吉ト申ト世ノ人ノ思ヘル也。公家ニモ今ハサト知シ食テ侍也。実ニハ二宮ヲ日吉トハ申也。

[Dengyō] *daishi* for the first time established the Tendai school on the mountain. When he diffused the bodhisattva precepts of the perfect teaching, the one called Hie was the protector deity of the land. Nowadays, people of the world think that Ōmiya is called Hie, a misunderstanding [based on] his original ground, the teacher of a lifetime, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni. Even the aristocracy, now, thinks in this sort of way. But in truth, it is Ninomiya whom we call Hie.

⁶⁰⁷ *Bodaishin* 菩提心. The awakened mind; the mind that perceives the real behind the seeming, believes in moral consequences, and that all have the Buddha-nature, and aims at Buddhahood. DDB.

凡利生ノ深キ事御名ニテアラハナル者也。其日吉トハ。権謀化度ノ善巧ノ内ニ。和光ノ慈悲ヲタ、ムデ日吉ト申ス。次ニハ山王トハ。本地自在ノ行願ノ内ニ。垂迹ノ応用ヲカサ子テ山王ト名ク。又山王トハ。山トハタ、ザマニ現当二世ヲ兼テ生ヲ利スル詞也。是ハ猿ノ依所ニカタドル神号也。王トハヨコザマニ彼此万邦ヲスベテ物ニ益スル儀ナリ。是ハ神ノ靈称ヲ顯ス故ヘナルベシ。

The depth of Hie Sannō's benefit for ordinary people is expressed by its name. [Let us analyse] "Hie": what we call Hie means folding within the compassion of [deities], dimming their light within the provisional skilful expedients leading to salvation. Then, Sannō: the response of the manifest traces everywhere, summed into the autonomous practices and vows of the original ground, is what we call Sannō.

Let us get to (the word) Sannō. The [character for] mountain normally means the vertical [action of] bringing benefits (利 り) to all sentient beings simultaneously in both worlds, the present and the future. This is a divine name based on the place where monkeys dwell.

The [character for] sovereign means the horizontal [action of] bringing profit (益 yaku) to all beings in each and every country. This is because it shows the miraculous name of the deity.

此両所大明神ヲ陰陽ノ父母トシテ。阿弥陀如来後ニ隱本垂迹シテ。神ト成テ御セバ聖真子トハ申也。聖人ノ精氣ニテ御ス。大宮二宮ノアマクダリテ。大宮ハ皆成仏道ノ機ヲ調へ。二宮ハ悪業煩惱ノ病ヲヤメ給ニ。我ハサラムトモガラヲ導キテ。九品ノ淨刹へ迎へントテ。彼陰陽二神ノ中ヨリ出給へバ。聖真子トイハレ給ハ理也。其外ニ八王子。三宮。十禪師。客人ヨリ始テ。自余ノ王子諸神ト申モ。大宮二宮ノ陰陽和合ノ父母ト顯ハレ給レバ。五行ノ子ト成テ和光同塵ノ化ヲタスケ給モ理ナルベシ。

With these great bright deities of the two places (Ōmiya and Ninomiya) as his *yin* and *yang* father and mother, the Tathāgata Amida, hiding his original nature, manifested his temporary traces. When he became a deity, he called himself Shōshinji 聖真子. He is the spirit of a sage.

“Ōmiya and Ninomiya descended from the heavens, Ōmiya to prepare the individual dispositions so that all could become Buddhas, and Ninomiya to heal the diseases of bad

karma and afflictions. As for me, I will lead this populace and welcome them to the nine levels of my pure territory,”⁶⁰⁸ said Shōshinji. Because he came out of the two *yin* and *yang* deities, it is only logical that his name should be “saintly true child” (*shōshinji* 聖真子).

Other than these deities, the remaining princely deities, starting from Hachiōji 八王子, Sannomiya 三宮, Jūzenji 十禪師 and Marōto 客人,⁶⁰⁹ manifested themselves with Ōmiya and Ninomiya as their parents joined in a harmonious union of *yin* and *yang*. They thus became the children of the five elements (*gogyō* 五行), and it is also logical that they should assist in converting [Japan] by dimming their light and becoming one with the dust of the world.

フゲキ
巫覡ヲ御子ト申モ。尺迦薬師ノ二仏。陰陽ハ二神ト現テ。平等ノ慈悲ヲ施シ給ヲタ
ノミテツカフマツル者ナレバ。申スニモ侍ラム。サヤラント覚へ侍ル事ハ。昔山ニ
具房僧都実因ト申ケル無止事智者ノ御ケルガ。木辻ト云処ニ有ケル女ニ教テ。終ニ
ハ山王ニツカヘタテマツリテ世ヲワタルベシ。サテ施入ナハ「アツサヨツラ」ト云
事ヲシハジメテ。ヌシニムカハズトモ。夫ガ思ハム事ヲウラナフトイフ事ヲ人ニシ
ラセヨ。夫ヲセムヲリハ弓ノツルヲウツモノナラバ。其ヲトニツキテ浄土ヨリ来テ。
弓ノ絃ヨリツタイテ。ヲノレガ口ニ入テ。人ノ問ント思ハン事ヲイハセム トノ給ヒ
テ。隠レ給ニケル後ニ。アツサイフ事ヲシハジメテ有ケレバ。約束ノヤウニミルガ
如ク。何事モ明カニイハレケルナリ。日本国ノ中ニイマ、デモシツタヘテ。アツサ
ヨツラトイフ事ハシ侍也。

The fact that we call diviners (*fugeki* ^{フゲキ}巫覡) *miko* 御子 (honoured children), too, is because they intercede with the two Buddhas, Śakyamūni and Yakushi, who manifest themselves as *yin* and *yang* deities, to exercise their compassion without partiality.

This is the reason why we think thus. Once, on the mountain (of Hiei), there was a man of unsurpassable knowledge, the assistant director of monks of the Gūbō residence Jitsuin 実因

⁶⁰⁸ A reference to Sukhāvātī, Amida’s pure land, which has nine levels.

⁶⁰⁹ The rest of the seven main shrines of Hie.

(Jitsuin the Gū[soku]bō sōzū 具房僧都).⁶¹⁰ He instructed a woman who was in a place called Kitsuji 木辻 in this manner: “In the end, you shall spend your life being a helper for the Sannō deities. So, when receiving alms, you shall henceforth do what we call “*azusa yotsura* アツサ ヨツラ”, the oracle with a catalpa bow. Let it be known that, even without your patrons in front of you, you will divine what they might be thinking. From doing this, by plucking the string of the bow, invoked by this sound, I will descend from the Pure Land, and along the string of the bow I will enter your mouth, and I will make you able to answer the questions people ask and tell what they think.”

After he had disappeared, the woman started to do what we call the “*azusa*”, and exactly as promised she became able to foretell clearly about all manner of things. The technique for these oracles is still transmitted in Japan to this day, and the “*azusa yotsura*” is performed.⁶¹¹

是モ両所大明神ヲ父母トシテ。御子トイハムトノ給ケルヤラム。イカニモ様ノ侍ル事ナンメリ。大宮大明神ノ本地ハ尺迦如来ニテ。今此三界皆是我有。其中衆生悉是吾子ト仰ラレタレバ。垂迹ノ神ト顕ハレ給日。ツカフヤツラム^{フゲキ}巫覡。ドモヲバ。御子ト専ラ申スベキ也。木辻ノ御子ヨリ前ニハ。神ニ仕ル者ヲバ只カムナギト申テ。御子トハ申ザリケリ。

This also tells us that, having the great bright deities of the two places as their father and mother, the *miko* might be called “honoured children” for this reason. It is exceedingly meaningful. The original ground of the great bright deity Ōmiya is the Tathāgata Śākyamuni. He said: “Now, I have the three worlds all to myself. All the living beings there are my children.”⁶¹² Therefore, from the day when he manifested his temporary trace as a deity, the oracles at

⁶¹⁰ Jitsuin 実因 (945-1000) was an Enryakuji monk. He resided in the Gūsoku residence (Gūsokubō 具足房), in the Western pagoda area.

⁶¹¹ This tale has the flavour of a *setsuwa*. Jitsuin features in the *setsuwa* collection *Konjaku monogatari-shū* 今昔物語集 (late Heian period), where he thwarts an effort at robbing him, and, as in this story, passes though Kitsuji (although the place has no narrative role). Translated in English in “The Might of Assistant High Priest Jitsu-in of Hieizan”, in Jones 1959, pp. 57-59.

⁶¹² This is presented as a quote from the Lotus sutra in Zhiyi’s *Weimojing wenshou* 維摩經文疏 (佛国品) and in *Keiranshūyōshū* T2410_.76.0751c06-07, where it is referred not to the Sannō deities, but to Amaterasu. The original passage from the sutra is slightly different, made up of the following verses: 今此三界 皆是我有 其中衆生 悉是吾子 而今此處 多諸患難 T0262_.09.0014c26-27.

his service are to be called *miko*, [which means] “honoured children”. Before the *miko* from Kitsuji, we called the people who attended the deities simply “*kamunagi*” (カムナギ, “those who appease the deities”). We started calling them *miko* from the time of the assistant director of monks of the Gūbō residence.

夫ニ具房ノ時ニ始テ御子トイハムト有ケレバ。本地ノ悲願ヲ思ハヘテ。悉是吾子ノ御悲願ヲ忘レズノ給ケルナンメリ。是等ニ付テモ。山王一切ノ神ノ本ニテ御ストハミルベキ也。

Thinking on the compassionate vow of the original ground [Śākyamuni, who said:] “All are my children”, [the Sannō deities] make sure that it is not forgotten. It follows then that we must see [Śākyamuni] as the first among all Sannō deities.

或又ハカナキ見女士ナンドノ参詣スルトテモ。社ノ名ヲバ申サズシテ。御社ニマウデセム。御社へ参ラント申スモ。諸神ノ本ニテ御スガイハスル事也。諸ノ社へマイル人ノ。イツカハ御社マウデスルトハ申ス。賀茂八幡稻荷住吉へ参ル人ハ皆社ノ名ヲ申ス。賀茂へ参ラム。八幡へ参ラム。稻荷へマイルラム。住吉へマウデ、トコソ申メレ。夫ニ日吉ノ社ニイタリテハ。御社詣デトモ申。御社へマイルラムト申ハ。社ノ本ニテ御ガ故也。

Or also, for instance, when helpless children and noble women visit [our] shrine, they do not say the name of shrine, but say: “I shall make a pilgrimage to the shrine”. This speaks volumes of the fact that [Hie] is the origin of the many deities. Those who visit various shrines say which shrines they will visit. Those who visit Kamo, Hachiman, Inari, Sumiyoshi, all say the name of the shrines. They say, “I shall visit Kamo,” or: “I shall visit Hachiman;” “I shall visit Inari;” “I shall make a pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi.” But upon going to the Hie shrine, they call it “A pilgrimage to the shrine,” or also say: “I shall make a visit to the shrine.” This is because it is the origin of shrines.

人は是ヲカフイヘトハ教ヘザレドモ。可然テイハル、ハ神ノ本社ノ元起ニテ御スガ故也。ヨロヅノ花ヲバ名ヲヨビテ是ヲイフニ。桜ハ花ノ本ナレバ。花トヲサヘテ云フ

ニ桜トハ知ヌ。花見ノ御幸。花見ノ行幸トハ。桜ヲ御覽ズルヲ申ス様ニ。山王へ詣ルニ御社ト申ハ。諸神ノ根本元首ニテ御ス故也。

It is not that someone instructs people that this is what they have to say. They say it like that merely because [Hie] is the origin of deities, the cornerstone of shrines.

Even though we call the myriad flowers by their name, the *sakura* flower is the first among these. So, even if we only say “flower”, we know it for a *sakura*. When we say: “imperial visits to see the flowers (*hanami no gokō* 花見ノ御幸),” or “imperial outings to see the flowers (*hanami no gyōkō* 花見ノ行幸),” what we mean is that the emperor is going to see the *sakura*. Much in the same way, when we visit Sannō we say “the shrine”, because [the Sannō deities] are at the root and at the head of the various deities.⁶¹³

又陰陽和合ノ議ヨク々々カナヘルガ故ニ。日吉トモ申スナメリ。大方ハ三如来ノ垂迹ノ権化ヲ猿ノ身ニ示シ。四菩薩ノ和光ノ靈応ヲ猿ノ形ニ現ジ給フ。是ハ遊化自在ノ徳行ニ同クシテ。慈悲誓願ノ冥助ヲ施ガタメナリ。ワザトモ王城ノ鬼門ノ方ニシモ迹ヲタレテ。スベテハ王家ノ泰平ナラム事ヲ誓ヒ。僻事ニハ朝家ノ競ヒ起ラムヲフセガント思食ス

Then, we also call it Hie because in it the harmonious union of *yin* and *yang* is perfectly fulfilled.

In large part, the avatars of the manifest traces of the three Buddhas (Śākyamuni, Yakushi and Amida, that is Ōmiya, Ninomiya and Shōshinji) make themselves known through the body of a monkey. The spirits of the four bodhisattvas (Hachiōji, Sannomiya, Jūzenji, Marōdo), manifest themselves in the in the form of a monkey.⁶¹⁴ This is because they have mastered the power of preaching everywhere as a result of their virtuous behaviour,⁶¹⁵ and so they

⁶¹³ We can compare it with Jien’s poem in Shugyokushu: *Yo no naka ni / yama tefu yama wa/ ookaredo/ yama towa Hie no/ miyama wozo* “Though in this world there are mountains in abundance, the Mountain is the sacred mountain of Hiei,” KT. vol.3, Kadokawa shoten, 1985, p.671. English translation in Arichi 2002, p. 24.

⁶¹⁴ Literally the “response spirits”, *ryōō* 靈応. It is not done in a rigorous way throughout the chapter, but in this instance the authors make a difference between how Buddhas manifest in the world (in which case the word used is *suijaku*, “manifest trace”, and the being thus generated is an avatar, or *gonge* 権化), and how bodhisattvas manifest themselves (in which case they “dim their light”, *wakō* 和光, and manifest themselves as “response spirits”).

⁶¹⁵ The “power of preaching everywhere” is how I translate *yuke jizai* 遊化自在. I translate like this because *jizai*, translated as “mastery”, is often used in expressions which enumerate the various

bestow in secret their divine protection arising from their vow of compassion. Especially, they manifest their traces in the *kimon* 鬼門 direction of the imperial residence.⁶¹⁶ All the Sannō deities vow to keep the peace for the imperial house, and make sure to protect the imperial household so that strife does not arise out of mistaken views.

是ニヨリテ昔ヨリ今ニ至マテ。謀叛ハ虎ノトモガラノイデキ。王莽蚩尤ノタグヒノキタルヲフセキ給ヘル事ハ。日吉山王御カヲツクシ給ヘリ。サレバ住吉ノ大明神ヲ副將軍トシテ。康平ノ宮軍ノ中ニハ。山王ヲ大將軍トタノミテ。我ハ副將軍ニテ有キ。山王ハアケクレ一乗ノ法樂ニアキテ。勢力我ニ勝レ給ヘリト詫宣シ給ヘル也。サレバ朝敵ノ追討ヲモ。王家ノ守護ヲモ。山王ノ昔ヨサ御カヲ入給ヘリ。二宮ヲ鳴鏑ノ明神ト申ス事モ思被合処也。

For this reason, from the past until now, rebels have been affiliated to tigers. The Hie mountain sovereigns dedicate their strength to keep the likes of Wang Mang 王莽 and Chiyō 蚩尤 from coming.⁶¹⁷ For this reason, the great bright deity of Sumiyoshi issued an oracle as lieutenant general, which says: “In the army [of deities] of the Kōhei 康平 era (1058-1065), I requested the Sannō deity as my great general, while I was his lieutenant. Without fail, Sannō paved the way for the joyful study of the one-vehicle teachings. His strength [in this undertaking] surpassed mine”. So, the Sannō deities have for a long time devoted great effort to attacking the enemies of the court and protecting the imperial household. We must also consider that Ninomiya is called “the great bright deity who has the humming arrow (*narikabura no myōjin* 鳴鏑ノ明神)”.

“autonomies” possessed by bodhisattvas. I have found only one precedent for *yuke jizai* in *Zuisheng wen pusa shizhu chugou duanjie jing* 最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經 (Qing dynasty), which has: 現身相好光明神足。權慧方便遊化自在。T0309_10.1021b27-28.

⁶¹⁶ Literally “demon gate”. Also called the *ushitora* 丑寅 direction, northeast, the direction of the Enryakuji from the capital.

⁶¹⁷ Wang Mang 王莽 (45 BCE-23 CE) founded the Xin dynasty by seizing the imperial throne from the Liu. He is known as Shehuangdi (the “Usurper Emperor”), because his reign and that of his successor interrupted the Liu family’s succession of China’s Han dynasty. As a result, the Han is typically divided into the Xi (Western) and Dong (Eastern) Han periods. Chiyō 蚩尤 is an enemy of the Yellow Emperor in Chinese mythology.

誠ニ日本国ハ無止事処也。山王天下リ給テ。王家ヲモ守リ民宅ヲモハグ、ミ給。又殊ニハ叡岳ノ麓ニシモキザシテ跡ヲタレ給フ。靈山ニテ昔説レタリシー乗ノ法ヲ。重テ此処ニ弘給テ。カリソメニモ詣リ。白地ニモ志シヲハコブ人ニ。一円ノ根機ヲ調ヘサセ給ヘル。一円ノ機ト申ハ。ヨキヲモワロキヲモ一ニマロカシテ。タゞチニ仏道ニ可入縁ヲ熟セサスルヲ申也。

Truly, Japan is a land without equals. Sannō, descending from the sky, protects the imperial household and nurtures the common folk. Especially at the foothills of Mt Hiei he manifests his traces. He disseminates here once again the sermon of the one vehicle (the Lotus sutra) he once delivered on Vulture peak. Those who come here even once, making even a coarse offer, develop the spiritual ability to understand the perfect teaching. The “spiritual ability to understand the perfect teaching” means that, be them good or bad people, all at once they are allowed to develop the karma which makes them enter the path to Buddhahood.

終ニ無上菩提ノ道ニ至ラシメトハゲミ給ヘル。慈悲ノ御志シ御セハ。実ニ哀ナル事也。一乗妙法ハ実ニ最上ノ法也。諸仏一大事ノ因縁ヲハゲマシテ。是ヲバ説給キ。御目ヲモハナタジトテ流布ノ叡岳ヲ守リ給ヘル。申セバ忍界群類ヲハグ、ミテ。皆成仏道ノ者ト成ンガ為也。

In the end, [Sannō] strives to place [people] on the path of perfect enlightenment.⁶¹⁸ The resolution of compassion he made is truly moving. The wonderful teaching of the one vehicle truly is the ultimate teaching. The various Buddhas all strive to create the causes and conditions for this one great enterprise. This they preach, and, without ever averting their gaze, protect Mt Hiei where the teachings are diffused. You can say that they nurture all kinds of beings in this world where we must suffer much, so that all can attain Buddhahood.

誠ヲハコビテツカフマツレバ。現世後生ノ願ハ。イツレモ々々カナハヌ事不可有。大方ハカ、ル神明ニ奉結ビ。悪趣ノ門ヲ遂ニトゲンズル事ハ。人界ノ生ヲ受タル思出。日本国ニ生ジタルシルシナリ。尺迦如来ハ大宮権現ト顯テ。日吉ノ神殿ノ中ニ

⁶¹⁸ The highest of the five stages of enlightenment: *hosshin bodai* 發心菩提; *fukushin bodai* 伏心菩提; *meishin bodai* 明心菩提; *shuttō bodai* 出到菩提; *mujō bodai* 無上菩提.

ハタラカズシテヲハシマセバ。天竺ノ靈山ニ何レカ異ナラン。天竺ノ靈山モ王舎城ノ良ニ侍リ。十方三世ノ仏菩薩聖衆集テ。大聖世尊ノ説法ヲ証明シ給シ処也。

If you worship Sannō and truly put your heart into it, there is not any place, in this life or the next, where his vow cannot come true. In general, the fact that, by tying your fate to deities such as these, you avoid rebirth in one of the evil realms- a reminder that you were born in the world of humans-, is a consequence of having been born in Japan.

The Tathāgata Śākyamuni, manifesting himself as his avatar Ōmiya, resides without ever moving within his shrine hall at Hie. And so, this differs in nothing from Vulture peak in India, which is also at the north-east of Ōsha-jō 王舎城 (Rājagṛha).⁶¹⁹ It is the place where the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, and all the saintly beings of the trichilocosm gathered together to witness the sermon of the great holy honoured one.

今ノ大宮権現ノ御ス和光ノ砌モ。仏法流布ノ境ヒ。神明繁昌ノ庭ナリ。釈尊常住ノ靈山ニ界ナル事ヤト侍ベキ。彼モ一乗妙法ヲ説キ給ヘル砌也。八ケ年ノ間ニ本迹二門ノ奥蔵悉ク顕ジ了ヌ。是モ一乗教ヲ守リ給ヘル所也。

The place [elected for] dimming his light, where Ōmiya *gongen* now resides, is a space from which to spread Buddhism, a field for deities to flourish. Must we say that it is part of the realm of Vulture peak, of the eternally abiding Śākyamuni?⁶²⁰ That, too, is the space where he preached the wonderful teaching of the one vehicle. There, in the space of eight years, he showed the highest repository of original and trace teachings (*honshaku nimon* 本迹二門) in its entirety.⁶²¹ That, too, is a place whence he protects the one-vehicle teaching.

⁶¹⁹ The site of the preaching of several important sutras.. It was surrounded by five hills, one of which was Vulture Peak.

⁶²⁰ Both transcription in ZGR and ST have “界ナル” “is the kingdom/field of”, hence I have decided to preserve it, even though it presents difficulties in translating. It is worth noting that, in contrast, Ishida 1970, p. 90, both transcribes it and translates it as “異なる”, “be different”.

⁶²¹ *Honshaku nimon* 本迹二門 indicates the twofold division of the *Lotus sutra*, and consequently of Buddhist teachings, according to Tendai. Namely, the expression *shakumon* (“trace teachings”) indicates the first half of the *Lotus Sutra*, in which Śākyamuni appears as a newly enlightened being, still acting under the constraints of a limited human lifespan. The expression *honmon* (“original teachings”) refers to the latter fourteen chapters of the *Lotus sutra*, where it is revealed that Buddha is an eternally-abiding being, who attained enlightenment many aeons before the preaching of the sutra. This section thus points to the possibility for enlightenment inherent in all living things.

五百八十余年ノ今ニ至テ。和光同塵ノ利不怠。彼ハ在世ノ時ノ世尊ト仰ガレテ住シ給シ究竟常寂ノ境也。是ハ滅度ノ後ニ神明ト現ジ御ス垂迹和光ノ庭也。在世滅後ハカハリタレドモ。利生方便ノ道ハ可有輕重モ。可有淺深モ。カ、レバ実報花王ノ境ニカハラヌハ。今ノ日吉ノ樹下ナリケリ。

Approximately five hundred and eighty years have passed, and here we are. The one who has dimmed his light and mingled himself with the dust of the world never tires to bestow benefits. The place where the World-honoured one (*seson* 世尊) dwelled while he was alive is now a place of unsurpassed eternal peace. After he went into extinction, he manifested himself as a bright deity within the boundaries where he dims his light, manifesting himself as a temporary trace. Even though the time when he was alive and the time after his extinction are different, in terms of the paths of skilful means which bring benefits it is but [a difference] of light and heavy, shallow and deep. So, [sitting] under a tree at Hie is no different from obtaining the true recompense [of enlightenment] in presence of the Lotus seat.⁶²²

尺尊成道ノ砌ハ菩提寸〔樹歟〕下ニテ有。日吉ノ寸〔樹歟〕下ハ衆生成仏ノ可得道機縁ヲ調ル所ナレバ。菩提寸〔樹歟〕下ニ等シメテ。樹下トスゾロニイハレシメケルモ。不思議ノ事ニ非ヤ。カヤウニ尺尊ノ本ヲ隠シテ迹ヲ垂給ヘル砌ナレバ。往古ノ如来法身ノ大士タチ。各其行化ニトモナヒテ。大神小神ト示シ。眷属使者ト成テ。昔靈山説法花ノ庭ニ。諸菩薩聖衆ノ列テ。發起影向当機結縁ノトモガラト成給シニ不異。

When Śākyamuni attained enlightenment, it was under a tree. Under the tree of Hie (*juge* 樹下) is where sentient beings develop the predispositions that put them on the right path to become Buddhas.⁶²³ And is it not a wonder that we call both the same (“under the tree”)? So, because [here] is the place where Śākyamuni hides his original nature and manifests his temporary traces, Buddhas of old and bodhisattvas who have attained the realisation of

⁶²² This sentence is comparable to the already quoted poem in *Ryōjin hishō*, as well as the following section of *Keiranshūyōshū*: 社頭ノ樹下即是菩提ノ樹下ト習也 T2410_.76.0525b01 “We learn this: (being) under a tree at Hie is the same as being under the tree of enlightenment.”

⁶²³ *Juge* is a place in Sakamoto, an epithet for Hie and the name of one of the two divisions of the Hafuribe family.

dharma-bodies, manifest themselves each according to how they carry out their teaching, either as either big or small deities, or as members of a retinue or envoys. This is not different from the past, when many bodhisattvas and sagely beings gathered on Vulture peak to hear the sermon of the Lotus sutra, becoming the fellows who stirred the Buddha (to preaching the sermon, *hakki* 發起), those who were responsive to him (*keikō* 影向), those who reflected on the teaching (*tōki* 当機) and those who earned a karmic link thanks to their being there (*kechien* 結縁).⁶²⁴

我モ々々ト応化和光ノ方便ノ上ニ。利物ノ善巧ヲ回シ給ル事。我モ人モタノモシク御ス御メグミ也。実ニ樹下ニ望テ拜ミ奉レバ。仏ト仏ト本ヲ隠シテ迹ヲ垂レ給ヘル砌。神ト神ト光ヲ和テ塵ニ同シ給ヘル境ナリ。王舎城ノ昔ノアトヲフマズトモ。耆闍崛ノ古ノ道ニムカハズトモ。今法宿大権現ノ和光垂迹ノ砌ヲコソ。説法花ノ所。重閣講堂ノ道場トハ申スベカリケレ。

Not only we indeed enjoy the [results of the] skilful means of the response bodies dimming their light; we also benefit of the skilful means bringing benefit to all sentient beings, and that is a blessing upon which we can rely. In fact, when you pray, making a wish, under the tree [at Hie], that is the boundary within which very many Buddhas hide their original nature and manifest their temporary traces, and where very many deities dim their light and become one with the dust of the world. We might not even once follow in the ancient footsteps in Rājagṛha, or gaze upon the ancient path at Vulture peak (Gṛdhrakūṭa, jp. Gishakutsu 耆闍崛). Yet, we can call the place where now reside the manifest traces and the dimmed light of the Great manifestation Hōsshuku a two-storied hall, such as the one where Śākyamuni resided when he preached the Lotus.

社又社イラカヲ並テ軒ヲツマケ。禿倉又ホコラム子ヲソバタテ、トボソヲツラ子タリ。神殿ヨリ神殿ニ向ヘリ。アユムゴトニ生死ノケハシキ道ヲヘダテ。社壇ヨリ社壇ニ詣ヅレバ。行ゴトニ菩提ノウルハシキ衢ニチカツク。金鼓常ニ鳴テハ。祈願ノ詞冥ノ聞キニトホリ。銀幣鎮ニ捧テハ。祝言ノ音ヘ神ノ耳ヲナドロカス。参レル人

⁶²⁴ From Zhiyi's description of the four assemblies (*shishū* 四衆) of the Lotus sutra in his commentary.

ハ神ノイツクシミヲ肝ニ染メテ。家ニ還ラント思フ心永クワスレ。望メル輩ハ社ノ
メグミヲ心ニシメテ。身ニ萌セルネガヒ弥ヨタノモシ。紅葉ノ地ニハ石ヲ枕トスル
類ヒ。栢城ノ風ニアタリテ無明ノ眠ヲサマシ。青苔ノ庭ニハタモトヲシクヤカラ。
叢祠ノ露ニヌレテ有執ノ夢ヲナドロカス。巫覡鼓鈴タヅサハルミヤヅカエ。尼女ノ
金玉ヲタムクル神ミ事。皆是三途ノ塵ヲハラフ計事。同ク又五障ノ垢ヲキヨメルナ
カダチナリ。

Shrine after shrine, their eaves succeed each other, tiles all in a line; small shrine after small shrine, roofs slanting, form a row of hinged doors. In the act of going from shrine hall to shrine hall, one distances oneself from the steep road of rebirth. If praying at one shrine platform and then the next, in the act of performing [prayers], one becomes nearer the lovely path of enlightenment. By striking the gong with regular beats, we submit our prayers to the attention [of the deities]. One might be quietly offering coins, but to the ears of deities it is a mighty prayer. The affection of the deities is deeply set into the minds of those who visit the shrines, so that, even if they had a mind to go home, they soon forget that.

Those who visit the shrine hold steadfast in their hearts the blessings of the deities, and in their bodies more and more germinates the effect of the prayer. [They are] like one who makes their pillow on a rock below the autumn leaves, awakened from the sleep of ignorance by the wind [coming] from the shrine buildings.⁶²⁵ Or in a garden of green moss one spreads their sleeves [to sleep], and dampened by the dew from the shrines, awakens from their dreams of attachment.

Shrine attendants beat their drums and strike their bells, attending to the shrines. Nuns offer up gold and jewels to deities to worship the deities. This is a device which purifies all of them from the dirt of the three destinies of being reborn as hell-denzens, hungry ghosts, or animals, as well as a stratagem to cleanse them from the impurity of the five obstructions [specific to women].⁶²⁶

⁶²⁵ Ishida 1970, p. 93, states that *hakujō* 栢城 is “normally a cemetery”, but in this case indicates a shrine.

⁶²⁶ The five special hindrances for women, impeding them to be born as a god in the Brahma heaven, a god in the Indra heaven, a Mara king, a wheel-turning king, and a buddha.

凡其松檜ノ月ノ前ニヤドル者ハ。皆先世ノ宿因ヲタゞサムガ為ニ。タ、リニアヅカル輩。瑞籬ノ花ノ下ニスメル者ハ。併テ当生ノ機縁ヲムスバムガタメニ。イマシメヲカル、タグヒナリ。縁有ヲモ導キ縁無ヲモ導ト思食ス悲願ハ。四弘六度ノ誠ヲ垂迹ノ色ニ顯シ。罪ヲモ救ヒ罪無ヲモ救ント思食ス慈悲ハ。化物利生ノ志ヲ和光ノ粧ニ示リ。

Those who take shelter at the shrines in the moonlight, among pines and cypresses, rectify the causes accumulated from previous lives. Those who were hit by the punishment (*tatari*) of the deities, as well as those who take refuge under the cherry blossoms in the shrine precincts, link their karmic predispositions [to a good rebirth] in this life, putting themselves in the hands of the precepts. [Śākyamuni's] compassionate vow is guiding people who are good fated as well as those who are ill fated. The truth of the four great vows of bodhisattvas and of the six perfections appears in the form of a temporary trace.⁶²⁷ Through the compassion [of Śākyamuni], who rescues those who have erred as well as those who have not erred, the resolution to bring benefit to all sentient beings manifests itself in the guise of [a deity, which is the result of a Buddha] having dimmed his light.

依之殊ニ一山雪ヲ^{アツムル}簇^{アツムル} 禅徒。鑽仰ノ窓ニ得脱ノ化縁ヲ待。四明ニ螢ヲ拾フ法侶。稽古ノ床ニ開悟ノ機根ヲ調フ。然則論談決疑。転経誦咒。或ハ本覚ノ光ヲ増シ。或ハ真如ノ色ヲ副。此乳酪醍醐ノ最上ノ法味ニホコリテ。七社権現ヲ始メ奉テ。王子眷属ノ神々ニ至マデ。各内証ノ徳ヲ増シ。外用ノカヲ得テ。利生ノ悲願ヲコタラス。未来際ノ行末マヂモ。化度ノ和光モクモル事不可有。

Therefore, especially on the mountain, the meditation masters gather [like] snow at the windows of wisdom, waiting for the activity of Buddhas to make them attain enlightenment. The disciples on Siming 四明, swarming like fireflies, study the practices in the works of ancient masters to prepare their faculties to obtain enlightenment.⁶²⁸ And so, while discussing the doctrine, dispelling doubts, reciting sutras and mastering mantras, on one hand they

⁶²⁷ The four great vows of bodhisattvas are: to save all living beings without limit; to put an end to all afflictions and delusions however numerous; to study and learn all methods and means without end; to become perfect in the supreme Buddha-law. The six perfections are: giving, morality, maintaining moral rectitude; patience under insult, effort, meditation, wisdom.

⁶²⁸ Siming is a Tiantai centre in China, here possibly a double of Mt Hiei.

increase the light of their original enlightenment, and on the other make rich the true form of things.

Taking pride in the highest flavour, the clarified butter of the Lotus teaching, beginning from the avatar-deities of the seven shrines, down to princely deities and divine retinues, each increases the virtue of inner realisation. [The deities] receive the strength to act visibly in the world to save sentient beings, never tiring in their vow to benefit sentient beings, and to the very limits of the future nothing will ever cloud [their resolution to] dimming their light to save sentient beings.

本ヨリ日吉ノ社頭ハ不毀ノ靈山常住ノ界域ナレバ。劫石ハ縦ヒスラグトモ。垂迹権化ノ霜露キユル事ナク。慈尊ノ出結ハン三会ノ暁マデ。御社メグミナルベシ。況ヤ十禪師ト申ハ。慈悲廣大ノ神ニテ御セバ。仰ゲバ弥ヨ々々イツクシミ深シ。信スレバ旁メグミ広シ。七社ノ利益ノ我一人トホドコシ。一切衆生ヲ我一人トカナシミ給ヘリ。依之光ヲ和ゲ給事ヒトシナナラズ。或ハ甫処ノ弥勒ト示テ。如意宝殿ノ恵日ヲ出シテ。光ヲ末代ノ空ニカバヤカシ。或ハ付属ノ地藏ト現シテ。迦羅陁山ノ覺月ヲヲヒテ。影ヲ濁世ノ水ニウカベ給フ。地藏ニテモ弥勒ニテモ。利生ハカリゴトハ不可疑。現世ニテモ後生ニテモ。化物ノアハレミハタノミアル御イツクシミナリ。

From the beginning, the shrine heads of Hie are Vulture peak, impossible to slander, that eternal abode. Thus, as in the example comparing the length of an aeon with a rock brushed by an immortal,⁶²⁹ the apparition of deities as manifest traces [is like] frost that does not thaw. Until the accomplishment of the third assembly, where Jison 慈尊 (Maitreya) shall appear, the blessings of the Hie shrine shall be there. Especially the one we call Jūzenji 十禪師 is a deity of immense mercy (*jihī* 慈悲). The more you look up [to him], the more his affection deepens, and if you believe in him, his blessings expand in turn.

“I alone bestow the blessings of the seven shrines! I alone cherish all sentient beings!” Because of this [resolution], the [ways] in which he dims his light are not of one kind only. On one hand,

⁶²⁹ A metaphor that illustrates the length of an aeon, or kalpa. As explained in Zhiyi’s *Dazhidulun*, it is the time it would take for an immortal to completely wear down a stone of 4000 *li* 里 by brushing it with a cloth once every hundred years.

he is a manifestation of the next Buddha Miroku 弥勒 (Maitreya), [making] the sun of his wisdom rise out of a wish-fulfilling treasure hall,⁶³⁰ shining his light through the sky (*ku* 空) of the latter age. On the other hand, he is an apparition of the one to whom [sentient beings] are entrusted, Jizō 地藏, who, [standing] against the moon of enlightenment on Mt *Garada* 迦羅陁 (Kharādīya), projects his shade on the waters of the defiled age.⁶³¹ Whether Jizō or Miroku, one cannot fault the strategic [nature] of the benefits he bestows on sentient beings. In this life or the next, his compassion towards sentient beings is a kind of fondness we can rely on.

トモニ尺尊ノ付属ニ預テ。我今弟子 弥勒トモアツラヘ。吾今慇懃付属汝トモユヅラレ給ヘリ。二所ノ本地トモニ一代教主ノ甫処ナレバ。一字社ノ中ニ二人ノ菩薩ノ垂迹ノ形ヲ並テ御歟。不知只一仏二菩薩ノ調機調熟ノ為ニ。時ノ宜ニ随テ二菩薩ノ垂迹ノ有ト示給ニテモ侍ラム。二菩薩ト申同ク尺尊ノ付属ノ御弟子也。本師ノ尺尊マノアタリ大宮権現トテ社ヲ並テ。ワヅカニ一町二町ガ中ニ御セバ。其御目ノ前ニシテ利生ノ願ヲワスレ給者ナラバ。三摩ノ付属カヒナキ事ニナリヌベシ。

Śākyamuni entrusted both [these Bodhisattvas]. He ordered: “I entrust Miroku with my disciples,” and assigned [to Jizō the following] task: “I now entrust all [sentient beings] to you.”⁶³² Because the two original grounds [of Jūzenji] are successor Buddhas of the teacher of one generation, within the same shrine there are, placed side by side, two images of the bodhisattvas in their form as manifest traces. Moreover, the one Buddha and two bodhisattvas, in order to prepare the mental faculties of sentient beings and make them ripen,⁶³³ may manifest themselves in the temporary trace of a [different] bodhisattva depending on what is suitable for that time. The two bodhisattvas are the disciples entrusted

⁶³⁰ *Enichi* 惠日 is a common expression to talk about the wisdom of Buddhas, compared to the sun.

⁶³¹ A reference to the setting of the *Jizō jūrin kyō* 地藏十輪經 (ch. *Dizang shilun jing*, sskr. *Daśa-cakra-kṣitigarbha sūtra*), “Sutra of the ten chakras of Kṣitigarbha”. Note that this is an idiosyncratic transcription of the toponym, which generally reads *Garada* 伽羅陀.

⁶³² A quote from the thirteenth chapter of the *Jizō bosatsu hongan kyō* (ch. *Dizang pusa benyuan jing* 地藏菩薩本願經). The full quote says: 現在未來天人衆。吾今慇懃付属汝 T0412_13.0789b20 “Now and in the future, I respectfully entrust you these heavenly beings and humans.” I am unable to find a similar quote for Miroku.

⁶³³ *Jōjuku* 調熟 (“ripening”), one of the “three stages of advantage”, a Tendai doctrine of spiritual advancement. The other two phases are “planting” and “liberation”.

by Śākyamuni in the same way. Under the gaze of original teacher Śākyamuni, in the guise of his avatar Ōmiya, the shrines line up. Being only one or two streets apart from each other, if it happened that under Śākyamuni's surveillance one [of them] forgot the vow of bringing benefit [to sentient beings], Śākyamuni's act of entrusting them [with helping sentient beings] would fail entirely.

ヨモアヤマチ給ハントタノモシクコソ侍レ。若目ヲモタガヘ給フ事アラバ。尺迦大師ノ本願ノ遺言モ。本意ナク可成ヌ事ナレバ。ヨモ如来ノ金言ヲバタガヘ給ハジト可憑事也。二聖ノ慈悲アサカラザムナレバ。如来ノ教勅ニ反改アナカシコ々々ナスコトナクシテ。未来永々ノ末マデモ。十禪師ノ利生ハツクル事御マスナト覚ヘ侍リ。又和光同塵ノ御本意ハ。八相成道ノ機縁ヲ調ントハゲミ給ナレバ。枯槁ノ衆生併テ叢祠ノ露ニ潤ハヌ者不可有。

Surely, without ever erring, they lend their help. If they made a mistake, even in a little thing, even the noble words of the original vow of the original teacher Śākyamuni could not be realised. So, they assist sentient beings making sure that there are no diversions from the precious word of the Tathāgata. The compassion of the two bodhisattvas is not faint; without disobeying the commands of Śākyamuni, without ever changing, until the very distant future they determine that they shall never cease bestowing benefits as Jūzenji.

The intention of dimming his light and becoming one with the dust of the world is, among the eight junctures in Śākyamuni's life, the encouragement to prepare people's individual predispositions.⁶³⁴ Among the parched sentient beings, there is none that is not moistened by the dew of the shrines.⁶³⁵

然レバ出離解脱ノ芽莖ハ。山王三聖ノイラカノ多ヨリキザシ。成仏得道ノ根元ハ。権現七社ノイガキノ内ニテ定マリヌベキ事也。サレバ一度モマイリ。白地ニモ歩ヲ運ビテ。慈悲利生ノ本願ヲアフガセ給ハン人ハ。高モ賤モ彼和光ノ砌ニテ。九品往生ノ機根ヲ調ト思食シ。此垂迹ノ庭ニテ一子平等ノ慈悲ヲ臨マムトハゲミ給ベシ。

⁶³⁴ Descent from Tuṣita heaven, entry into his mother's womb, birth from his mother's side in Lumbinī, leaving home to engage in religious training, subduing demons, overcoming afflictions, attaining enlightenment after six years of struggle, turning the wheel of the law, entering nirvana.

⁶³⁵ A reference to the parable of the rain in the Lotus sutra, but also in reference to a passage above where the "dew of the shrines" was said to lead sentient beings to salvation.

And so, the sprouts of salvation and extinction germinate well from the tiled roof of the shrines of the three sagely mountain sovereigns. The root of obtaining the salvation of Buddhahood is already well-established within the precincts of the seven divine shrines.⁶³⁶ And thus, by going there even once, by stepping there even for a moment, one can receive the compassionate benefit of Śākyamuni's original vow. Be them lofty or lowly, in the place where [Amida] dimmed his light (Shōshinji's shrine), they develop the predispositions to be reborn in the nine levels of his pure land. In the space where [Ōmiya and Ninomiya] manifest their temporary traces, they face a compassion without discrimination, [as if they were these Buddhas'] only children.

サテ権現垂迹ノ発巧ニコタヘテ。終焉ノ正念ニ住シ。和光同塵ノ級引ニ依テ。必九品ノ蓮台ニ生給ヒ御マサバ。山王七社一称一礼ヲイタサントモガラヲ引導シ給ヘ。又妄念ノ余執ニヒカレテ。自ラ生死郷ニトママリ給トモ。権現和光ノ眷属ト成テ。イカニモシテ三界ノ籠焚ヲ出トハゲミ給ベシ。

So, those who respond to the skilful means of the Buddhas manifesting themselves as temporary traces, and who abide in a right state of mind in the moment of their death, will be raised to be reborn into the nine levels of Amida's pure land with the help of the Buddhas who have become deities. Let [there] those who have made even one prayer, even one offer to the seven Sannō shrines, be guided there! Then, those who are still taken with their attachment to deluded thoughts, even though they linger in the village of birth and death, becoming the retinue of the emanations who have dimmed their light, in some way must make efforts to escape the burning prison of the three worlds.⁶³⁷

和光同塵ノ御本意ハ。衆生ヲ拔テ生死ノ泥ヨリ出サントハゲミ給事ナレバ。一称一礼更ニ空カルベカラズ。決定出離生死ノ縁トナルベキ昔ノ値遇結縁アリシ輩ハ。今

⁶³⁶ They mean the Upper seven shrines, which they have introduced before.

⁶³⁷ 所云自在者。謂於一切不自在事也。一切衆生之類。由未究竟清淨法界故。皆爲業煩惱之所焚籠。繫屬生死。不能得自在之力。今如來於彼生死大海之中。以種種法門宣示如來深密之法要。爲一大事因緣故。種種方便而成就之。皆令到於一切智地。即是於一切法中得自在義也。以證如是法。於是法自在。以自在故。即能無礙演說曲成衆機也。T1796_39.0729b12-19. A similarly flavoured phrase in The *Da Piluzhena chengfo jing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏, by Yixing 一行 (683–727).

生ノ利生モ弥ヨイチジルク。今生ノ結縁バカリニテ前世ノ渴仰帰依ナカリケレドモ。無縁ノ慈悲已ニ捨給ハザリケレバ。信心ノ厚薄ニ依テ。利生ニ浅深ハアリケル也。

The original vow of those who dimmed their light and mingled with the dust of the world is to make efforts in order to throw a line to all sentient beings, pulling them out of the mud of rebirth. And so, even one prayer, even one offer, is never an empty [gesture]. The fate of those who certainly will be free from rebirth has been settled in the past, when they earned it by forming a link [with Śākyamuni]. Their benefits in this life are very many. There are those who have tied their fate [to Śākyamuni] only in this life, even though in their previous life they lacked the chance of believing and taking refuge in the Buddha [directly]. So, he has not already abandoned the compassion towards those who lack a [karmic] connection to him. For every deep or shallow form of devotion, there are deep or shallow benefits.

凡ハ衆生ハ三界率土ヨリ生ジ来ル。山王ハ此一処ニ御セバ。先世ノ結縁有ル者ハイト有ガタシ。無縁ノ慈悲ノ殊ニフカク御セバ。当時ノ利生ハ有ケル也。其中ニモ又^{ナカ}未来ノ化度。当生ノ拔濟。当時ノツカフマツリ。様々ニヨルベキ事ナルベシ。日々夜々時々剋々ノ勤シテ。或信敬随喜讚歎帰依ノフルマイニ。現世ノ利生モ見ヘ。当生ノ化物ツヒニ隠レナカルベシト思テ。謹厚ニ仕ヘマツラン事究竟ノ事也。

In general, living beings come to life from anywhere in the three worlds, but the Sannō deities are only in this one place. People who have already established a connection [to Śākyamuni] are thus quite rare. Because [Sannō's] compassion towards those who do not have a connection is especially deep, they are able to obtain benefits even now. Among these, their chance to obtain future salvation and being rescued in the present life necessarily depends much on their current veneration [of the deities]. One sees benefits in the present world by making efforts every day and every night, every hour and every period,⁶³⁸ with a conduct towards the deities which is of praise and reverence, joyful response, admiration and refuge-taking. The most important thing is to venerate the deities, thinking that their activity to convert all beings never hides, even in this world.

⁶³⁸ *Koku* 剋, also 刻. The period of time corresponding to Chinese astrology, indicating approximately two hours.

御侘宣ニ響々ト打ツゞミノヒゞキ四智三身ノ耳ヲソバダテ。颯々ト振ルスゞノヲト六道四生ノ眠ヲサマス。論談決釈了因ノ惠業ナルノミニ非ズ。管絃歌舞納メテ遠縁トスト侍ルハ。トテモカクテモ可仕様ヲ示シ給ヘル也。

The oracle says: “The echo of the booming drumbeats reaches the ears of the three bodies of Buddha and the four kinds of purified awareness.⁶³⁹ The sound of bells shaking in the wind arouses from their sleep beings from all four kinds of birth in the six paths of rebirth.⁶⁴⁰ Discussing and interpreting scriptures- this knowledge alone does not allow one to understand enlightenment. Offering [the music of] wind and string instruments, song and dance, procures one enlightenment in the long run.” Like this, [the deity] showed the devotion acts that must be performed.

実ニ竜笛鳳琴^{レウリヤウ}寥亮ノヒゞキヲセバ。四智三身ノ耳ヲ宮商ノ韻ニソバダテ。呉娃趙必〔女歟〕綺羅ノ袖ヲヒルガヘセバ。六道四生ノ子ブリヲ娑婆^{サバ}ノサマス。皆是神慮ノ御許〔計歟〕ナルベシ。絵馬画巫。ハサセル神ノ御要ニモナルベカラズ。^{キヌカサ}繖紙ノヒナサマデ権現ノ御為ニ宝殿ニテ御用ヤハ有ベキ。サレドモ志シトテ是ヲ得給ヌレバ。哀愍納受ノ功用ニ依テ。真如実相ノ重物ト成ケル也。

Truly, the clear resonance (*ryōryō no hibiki* 寥亮ノヒゞキ) of the dragon-flute (*ryūteki* 竜笛) and mouth organ (*hōkin* 鳳琴) reach high, to the ears of [Buddha’s] four kinds of purified awareness and three bodies, through the tones of *gong* and *shang*.⁶⁴¹ The beauties of Wu and the women of Zhao wave the sleeves of their beautiful dresses, and the four kinds of beings of the six paths of rebirth awaken from their sleep in the defiled world. Such a thing must have been painstakingly planned by the deities. Making votive offers of painted horses and shrine maidens is not a strict necessity for the deities. Silk umbrellas and paper dolls, too- is it so necessary [to place these] within the shrine hall for the deities? But the deities receive these

⁶³⁹ In the *Dazhidulun*: (1) the knowledge of one particular road to enlightenment 道慧, (2). the knowledge of each of the innumerable roads to enlightenment, (3) the knowledge that all phenomena are empty of inherent characteristics 一切智, (4) the knowledge that phenomena are empty and yet remain distinct from one another 一切種智. DDB.

⁶⁴⁰ The four kinds of birth (jp. *shishō* 四生) are oviparous, viviparous, born from moisture (insects) and metamorphic (hell denizens and celestial beings).

⁶⁴¹ The first two notes of the Chinese pentatonic scale, here signifying the whole scale.

as a token of goodwill. So, through to the activity of the deities, who receive these with compassion, the offerings become objects which make one realise the true aspect of thusness (*shinnyō jissō* 真如実相).

アヤシノシヅノヲシヅノメガ。一粒一撮ノヨ子ヲ宝殿ニマキチラシ。アサマシキ下主下郎ノ。半紙半銭ノ志ヲ社壇ニタムケタテマツルヲモ。解脱生死ノハカリゴト、。遂ニ証大菩提ノモト井ニナリカヘサセ給ハ。タノモシキ御イツクシミ。或ヒガザマユガミザマニヨム経卷。或ハ不信不法ニスルミヤヅカヘナレドモ。只スルヲノミウレシウヨロコバシキ事ト思食トリテ。浄土菩提ノ近キ縁ト納メ給フ事ハ。ヨク々々タノモシキ事ニ非ズヤ。サレバ馮ヲカケ奉ラム輩ハ。現世後生ノ願何モ々々カナヘヌベシ。志ヲロソカニ恭敬モ子ムゴロナラザルハ。廣大ノ慈悲ニモルベキ先相也。信心モ深く渴仰モイタレル輩ノ。現世後生ノメグミニモレタルハ未承及。

Humble men and women of lowly birth scatter in the treasure hall even one grain or one pinch of rice; wretched people, servants of low rank, offer on the altars the most modest of alms.⁶⁴² These are all stratagems to liberate them from death and rebirth, to finally restore them to their original [path] of attaining perfect enlightenment (*shōdai bodai* 證大菩提). We can rely on this benevolence.

Whether one's reading of scriptures is riddled with mistakes and jumbled up; whether, lacking faith or ignorant of the Buddhist teachings, one worships at a shrine, even only by doing as little as that, [the deities] think it delightful and pleasing. They receive these [actions] as the link which makes [people] achieve the enlightenment leading to a Pure land. Is this not something we can truly rely on?

So, those who pray for assistance will invariably see all their wishes fulfilled in this or the next life. If, neglecting their kindness, one should not modestly revere them, it is a sign that the immense mercy of the deities is being squandered. But if one has a deep faith, and one's adoration can reach [the deities], it is unheard of that they have squandered their benefits for the current and next life.

⁶⁴² Literally half a sheet (of paper), half a coin (*hanshi hansen* 半紙半銭), a variant of the expression *isshin hansen* 一紙半銭, indicating an offer to the deities of small value.

彼社司ハ宇志丸最前二大社ノ祝ニ任シテ。其子孫イマダ、ヘズ。正権三人ノ権ニ員ズ多ク列ナリテ。氏人其数有レドモ。皆是先世ノ契リ深ク。今生又縁ヲ厚シテ。一定化度ニアヅカルベキ者ナンメリ。サレバ日吉ノ神官ト成ケル者ハ。父母ニヲクレタレドモ。五十ケ日ヲスギヌレバ。重服ヲモイマセ給ハズ。即召仕ハセ給事ヲ思ヒ合レバ。仏神ノ産穢ヲモ死穢ヲモ殊ニイマセ給事ハ。生死ヲイトヘトイマシメ給フガ故也。

That shrine attendant Ushimaro was the earliest servant (*hafuri* 祝) of the great shrine. His descendants still [serve the shrine] to this day, with no interruptions. Among the three people who have the lawful right, the one who has the right has many [to his attendance] And there are many of the same family. However, all of them made a deep pact in the previous life, still a thick bond in this one, that they shall be the ones to take care, without fail, of Buddha's teachings which lead to salvation.

So, those who become priests (*kannushi* 神官) at Hie, even when they should be saddened by [the loss] of their parents, even when fifty days have passed, they do not wear their mourning clothes, and never eschew their service for the deities. If you think about it, Buddhas and deities especially detest the impurities of birth and death. This is because their command is to avoid birth and death [in the cycle of rebirths].

夫ニ山王ノ社司ニ成ヌル輩ハ。垂迹和光ノタシカナル器トキザマレテ。清浄潔界ノ神殿ニモ詣ハ。法性ノ無漏ノ御体ニモ近カツキタテマツルモノナレバ。今生永ク輪廻ノスミカヲハナレエテ。又二度トモ生死ノ果ヲ受マジキ者ナレバ。何ヲカハイマセ給ベキトテ。イマセ給ハヌナンメリ。神慮難知中ニ。是ハ一定ト覚ヘ侍ル也。夫ハ社司トシモ有マジ。山王ニ近付ツカマツラム人ハ。宮主宮籠ニイタルマデ。独モノコラズ決定生死ヲハナルベキ者ト知ルベキナリ。

And so, those who become shrine attendants for the Sannō deities have been shaped into instruments for their manifest traces which have dimmed their light. By entering the pure undefiled precincts of the shrines, they become nearer the untainted body of dharma-nature. So, in this life, they forever abandon their dwellings in the cycle [of birth and death]. Because

they are people who might not obtain once more the fate of rebirth [in this world] of birth and death, [the deities] said: “What is there to hate?”

The will of the deities is hard to understand, but we can think of this as a certainty. Let us not think that this is only for the shrine attendants. Among the people who come near to the *sannō* deities, down to shrine guardians (*miya nushi* 宮主) and shrine hermits (*miya komori* 宮籠),⁶⁴³ no one is left behind. We must know them for certain as people who shall leave (the cycle of) birth and death.

昔東塔ノ北谷ニ寿円阿闍梨ト申ケル人有ケリ。十禪師ノ御宝殿ノ前ニテ。百ケ日ノ祈精ヲイタシテ。巡次往生ノ本願成就セサセテタベト申ケルニ。百日満ヌル夜ノ示現ニ。汝ヲバ次ノ生ニ宮主ニ成テ能能召仕テ。其次ノ生ニコソ。浄土ノ往生ヲバ遂ニサセムズレト仰ラレタリケルヲ。ウラミヲナシテ山ニ登テ。明近ノアツマリタル所ニテ。此示現ノ様ヲ語ケルニ。明近ノ各イハレケル事ハ。御坊其示現先無止事也。

Once, in the north valley of the eastern pagoda, there was a man called the *ācārya* (*ajari* 阿闍梨) Shūen. He prayed in front of the shrine hall of Jūzenji for a hundred days, saying: “I beg to obtain the fulfilment of my vow, to be born in a Pure Land in my next cycle of rebirth”. On the final evening of the one hundred days, the deity manifested himself, and said: “In your next life you shall be a shrine guardian, and serve me well. I shall allow you to be reborn in a Pure land in the life immediately after that.” Disgruntled, Shūen hiked back to Mount Hiei, and, in the place where learned monks used to congregate, recounted the gist of this godly manifestation. What all the learned monks said was this: “Venerable monk. First, this manifestation is an unparalleled honour.

其故ハ流伝生死ノ果報ハ転ズル事ハ難キ事ナレバ。是ヲイトハジトテ種々ノ善業ヲ企ツレドモ。欲心カナヒガタケレバ。悪趣ノ生ニヒキカヘラル、外ニ。一生中ノ作業皆空シキ事ノミニシテ。決定出離ノ道ニイタリガタキ事ナルニヨテ。智者上人後世道心者ハ世ニヲホカレドモ。俄ニ邪道ニ趣テ多年所修ノ行業イタヅラニナス事ノ

⁶⁴³ Breen translates it as “shrine monks”. It does not indicate officially ordained monks, but “vagrants” who dedicated themselves to various kinds of religious activities at the shrines. Breen 2010, pp. 79-81.

ミコソ多カルニ。決定出離解脱ノウツハモノニ成ヲホセテ。終ニ浄土菩提ノ道へ送り遣サント示シ給ヘル事ハ。返々モカタジケナキ示現也。

The reason being that it is hard to turn on its head our fate of birth and death, which is the [karmic] consequence inherited from our past actions. Even if, thinking we can escape this fate, we undertake many different good actions, because it is so hard to fulfil the desires of our heart, we risk going back to the evil paths of rebirth.⁶⁴⁴ What is more, by constantly seeing the complete futility of the efforts of one's lifetime, it is even harder to reach the state of mind where it is possible to securely free oneself from rebirth. Sages and lofty people, and those who have made vows for enlightenment in their next lives, are many. Still, many are also the times when these obtain rebirth into evil births, utterly wasting their good practices of many years. So, you should be immensely grateful that [Jūzenji] manifested himself, making you the recipient of certain liberation and deliverance from rebirth, and finally sending you on the path to achieve enlightenment in a pure land.

所詮清浄ノ御宝前ニフレハフト。法性無漏ノ御体ニ近ヅキタテマツルガ。往生浄土ノ慥ナル因ト成ニ有ケレトゾ。ノ、シリアヒタリケル。サレバ常ニ社頭ニ詣デ、御殿ヲマボラへ見アゲ奉ラム輩ハ。今生ノ栄花重職ヲバ其因トシテ。巡次生ノ花王ノ仏果ハウタガヒナキ事也。彼目シ井耳ツブレタルモノハ。先世ニ見仏聞法ノ縁無キガ故ニ。聞タキ音ヲモ不聞。見タキ色ヲモ見シテ〔不見歟〕果報ヲ得ヲシコトバモリナル者ハ。宿生ニ転経誦咒ノ因カケタリシ故ニ。思フ事ヲノベズ。云タキ事ヲイハヌ人身ヲ受タリ。或ハ手ヲレ足ナヘタル者モアリ。或ハ鼻カケロユガミタル者モアリ。カヤウナルカタワウトバモハ。皆是大乗誹謗ノ罪ニヨリテ。サモ尋常ハカ々々シキ人ノ辺メグリニハ。ヨセモシチカヅクマジキ者也。

By coming close to the pure (*shōjō* 清浄) shrine halls, you become nearer the [dharma] body of the untainted Buddha nature, and this becomes the certain cause of a rebirth in a pure land." Thus did the learned monks reason.

⁶⁴⁴ Of hell denizens (jp. *jigoku* 地獄), hungry ghost (jp. *gaki* 餓鬼) or animals (jp. *chikushō* 畜生).

Always, those who look up to the protection of the shrines when visiting their precincts [obtain] prosperity and high offices in this life. Resulting from these, in their next cycle of life they will undoubtedly obtain Buddhahood on the Lotus seat.

Those who are blind or deaf, because in their previous lives they have not obtained the fate of seeing the Buddha or hearing his teachings, now cannot even hear the sounds they want to hear, or see the forms that they want to see. Such is the retribution they obtained from their past lives. Those who are mute or who stammer, in their past life failed to reap the results of reading the scriptures or reciting *dharani*. Because of this, they have received such a body that they cannot declare what they are thinking, cannot say what they want to say. Or else, there are those who have broken hands or are weak in the legs, or those who had their nose fall off or those who have a crooked mouth. People with such bodily conditions have all obtained these through their [past] wrongdoing, of slandering the great vehicle. So, ordinarily, these are people who are not let near lofty people, even if they approach them.

マシテ申サンヤ。弥生死ノ遠キ道ニハ向トモ。永ク菩提ノウルハシキサカヒニハ入ガタキ者也。夫ヲ強ニタ、リヨセテ。アケノ玉ガキノ内ニ召シスエ。慈悲ノヒロマヘニイマシメヲカセ給事ハ。山王ノ我御為ニハ指ル法樂莊嚴ノウツハモノトモナルベカラズ。又威光増益ノハカリ事ニテモ有マジケレドモ。セメテモ清浄潔界ノ地ヲモフマセテ。真如実相ノ神〔社歟〕壇ニ近カツキヨセテ。悪業煩惱ノ厚ク深キ垢ヲハラヒステサセテ。浄土菩提ノ近キ縁ト成サムトテ。カタジケナクモムツビチカツカセ給ヘル方便也。

I will say more. Because these people are constantly confronted with the far-reaching path of rebirth, it is difficult for them to forever enter the wondrous boundaries of Buddhahood.

Against them the deities wage their wrath, and summon them within the scarlet fences [of the Hie shrines], placing them in the presence of their mercy for retribution. These might not be the means [through which they become] recipients of the joy and splendour that the Sannō deities indicate for us, and might also not be the stratagems which increase one's benefits or power. However, all of those who step into the pure precincts, coming nearer the shrine platforms [which contain] the true aspect of thusness, are allowed to purify and discharge the impurity of the afflictions brought by from past actions. So, they form a close bond with the

kind of enlightenment which can be obtained in a pure land, and these are skilful means which let us go nearer [the deities'] kindness, something to be thankful for.

和光同塵結縁事二度。其事既已畢。今度不詣我宝前。何知生死尽不尽。是ハ一社ノ御詫宣也。陰陽堂僧都慶増。大宮ニ詣デ、。法施ヲタテマツラレケルニ。其間小童部共ノ多集テヒ、クメト云事ヲシテ。物サハガシカリケレバ。僧都三業シヅマラズメ。門楼ノ外ヘ追出サセテ。法施思フサマニマイラセテ。帰山シテ臥シ給タリケル夜ノ夢ニ。示現シテ見ヘ給ケル。

“This is the second time that I [offer the chance to] obtain a karmic link [with salvation] by dimming my light and becoming one with the dust of the world. The first time is already over. If you do not come to prostrate yourself in front of my shrine hall this time, I do not know whether you shall be able to escape your fate of life and death [in the future].” This is the oracle of one of the shrines.

The *onmyōdō* master Kyōzō 慶増 visited Ōmiya, and made an offer of reciting sutras.⁶⁴⁵ While he was doing that, many small children gathered there, playing a game of tag (jp. *hihikume* 比比丘女).⁶⁴⁶ They were being very noisy, and the master could not achieve the quiet [necessary to perform the] three activities of word, thought and deed (jp. *sangyō* 三業). So, he chased them out of the two-storied shrine gates.⁶⁴⁷

When he had offered sutras to his heart's content, he made his return to Mt Hiei. That night, when he went to sleep, he dreamed the deity manifesting himself to him:

我実ニ小童部ノ遊戯ヲ愛セントニ非ズ。和光同塵ノ結縁ノ為ニサセシ事ヲバ。何ニサマタゲ侍ルゾト有ケレバ。神慮ヲバ我ハ計リシラズシテ。次ノ日今ヤウヲ作テマ

⁶⁴⁵ Kyōzō is listed in the *Nichūreki* 二中歴 (Kamakura period) as a master of Sukuyōdō 宿曜道, not *onmyōdō*.

⁶⁴⁶ A children's game where a child is a demon. The other children form a queue behind another one, who protects them from the demon when he comes to take the last one of the queue. The child who is seized becomes the demon. Also indicates a story about Jizō where, when souls are just being seized by demons in hell, Jizō comes to their rescue and fights off the demons. The origins of the game are attributed to Genshin.

⁶⁴⁷ They use the word *monrō* 門楼, “gate with a watchtower”, but I think they are meaning *rōmon* 楼門, “two-storied gate.”

イリテ懺謝シテ。小童部共ヲヨビアツメテ。其中ニマジハリテ。ヒ、クメヲシテ後ニ。其今様ヲウタヒ給ケルモ。思へバ神慮ニカナハムガタメナリケリ。其歌ニハ大宮権現ハ。思へバ教主ノ釈迦ゾカシ。一度モ此地ヲフマム人ハ。靈山界会ノトモトナル云々トゾ有ケル。

“In all fairness, it is not as if I love the games of children. However, it is something that I allow to honour the karmic link [arisen out of] dimming my light and becoming one with the dust of the world. Why would you disturb this?”

Kyōzō, thinking that the will of deities is completely inscrutable, the following day composed an *imayō* song and made acts of repentance (jp. *zansha* 懺謝). He called the children to gather there, and played *hihikume* in their midst. Then, he sang his *imayō*. If you think about it, this was also something that fulfilled the will of the deity. The song says:

大宮権現ハ。思へバ教主ノ釈迦ゾカシ。一度モ此地ヲフマム人ハ。靈山界会ノトモトナル

Think about it: the great Ōmiya deity is the lord of teachings Śākyamuni. Those who step on this soil even once become friends of the assembly of the world of Vulture Peak.⁶⁴⁸

一度参詣ノ人タニモ菩薩ノ宝所ニ趣クナレバ。マシテ朝夕ニ神殿ニフレバ。常ニアユミヲバコビテ。神徳ノイチジルキヲ仰ガン輩ハ。二世ノ子ガヒヲミテザラムハ不可有。然レバ神慮ノ底ヲウカゞヒテ。ヒトスヂニツカフマツリテ。現世後世ヲタスケラレマイラセントハハゲムベキ也。

If those who go to the Hie shrine to worship only once soon hasten towards the jewelled land of enlightenment, even more, by coming near to the shrine halls day and night, one is already well advanced on the path. Those who look up to the staggering spiritual virtue of the deities will certainly see fulfilled the wishes of their present and future lives. And so, calling upon the

⁶⁴⁸ This is a poem from the collection called *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄, where it is also attributed to Kyōzō. It is here, however, missing the end, which says: 大宮靈鷲山、東の麓は菩提樹下とか、両所二所は釈迦薬師、さては王子は観世音, “Ōmiya is the vulture peak, the Eastern slope is like being under the tree of enlightenment; the two saints of the two places are Śākyamuni and Yakushi; Hachiōji is Kanzeon”.

depths of the deities' will, earnestly serving them, we must strive to receive the mercy of being saved in this or the next life.

Appendix C: Table of contents of the *Yōtenki jōō ni-nen ki* 耀天

記貞応二年記

貞應二年十一月日

一現任社司	二大宮事
三山王 御位	四禪師事
五八王子宮事	六客人宮事
七聖女事	八岩瀧社事
九惡王子事	十夷三郎殿事
十一三宮事	十二鼠禿倉事
十三御輿次第事	十四日吉社行幸事
十五祢宜事	十六礼拝誦事 付三聖御出家事
十七祭日儀式事	十八お輿出御次第事
十九御輿馬勤仕事	二十御輿集會事
廿一御戸開事	廿二小比叡社止印事
廿三社司座主補任事	廿四霜月祭事
廿五小比叡社三番事	廿六御戸開事
廿七御神樂事	廿八大宮縁起抄事

廿九社頭正月行次第事 三十大和三輪神事

卅一日吉社司事 卅二山王事

卅三兩所三聖所 卅四相應和尚傳事

卅五智證大師傳事 卅六十禪師宝殿燒失事

卅七護因事 卅八日吉大宮事

卅九山王記 無動寺智信阿闍梨說云云 四十大宮事

奥^ニ日吉祭礼誦問事并祭礼本說事教運私加之云云

Appendix D: Table of contents of the *Sannō Yōtenki Hie Jōō ki* 山

王耀天記日吉貞応記

日吉社應応記 耀天記 云 目録旧出欠可刪去

人皇八十五代後堀河茂仁御宇應応二年十一月日

一現任社司之事	二大宮之事
三山王御位階のこと	四十禪師のこと
五八王子宮之吏	六客人宮のこと
七聖女吏	八岩瀧社のこと
九悪王子のこと	十夷三郎殿のこと
十一三宮之吏	十二鼠禿倉事
十三御輿次第のこと	十四日吉社行幸之吏
十五祢宜のこと	十六礼拝誦吏 付三聖御出家事
十七祭日儀式之吏	十八御輿出御次第のこと
十九御輿馬勤仕之事	二十御輿集會之吏
廿一御戸開事	廿二小比叡社止印のこと
廿三社司座主補任吏	廿四霜月祭之事
廿五小比叡社三番のこと	廿六御戸開のこと
廿七御神樂之	廿八大宮縁起抄のこと
廿九社頭正月行次第のこと	三十大和三輪神のこと

卅一日吉社司のこと

卅二相應和尚傳のこと

卅三御正躰礼拝講のこと

卅二山王之変

卅三兩所三聖所のこと

卅五智證大師傳之事

卅六十禪師宝殿焼失事

卅七護因事

卅八日吉大宮事

卅九山王記 無動寺智信阿闍梨説云云 四十大宮事

奥^ニ日吉祭礼誦問事并祭礼本説事教運私加之云云

Bibliography

Premodern sources

Cheontae sagyo ui (jp. *Tendai shikyōgi* 天台四教儀), Chegwan, T1931, vol. 46

Da banniepan jing shu (jp. *Dainehangyōsho* 大般涅槃經疏), Guanding, T1767 vol. 38

Enryakuji gokoku engi 延曆寺護国縁起, GR 27, 2

Fahua xuanyi shiqian (jp. *Hokke gengi shakusen* 法華玄義釋籤), Zhiyi, T1717, vol. 33

Gaoseng Faxian zhuan (jp. *Kōsō hokkenden*, 高僧法顯傳), Faxian, T2085, vol. 51

Guoqing bailu 國清百錄, T1934, vol. 10

Hiesha shintō himitsuki 日吉社神道秘密記, Hafuribe Yukimaro, ST Jinja-hen 神社編 vol. 29,

Hie 日吉

Jōdo sanbukyō ongishū 淨土三部經音義集, T2207, vol 57

Keiranshūyōshū 溪嵐拾葉集, T2410, vol. 76

Lotus sutra, (jp. *Myōhō renga kyō* 妙法蓮華經), T0262, vol. 9

Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi 妙法蓮華經玄義, Zhiyi, T1716, 33

Sange yōryakki 山家要略記, ST, *Ronsetsu hen* 論說編 4, *Tendai shintō* 天台神道, ge 下

Seikaimon 文書典籍制誡文, <http://www.shiga-miidera.or.jp/treasure/document/03.htm>

Yōtenki 耀天記, ZGR 48, ST Jinja-hen 神社編 vol. 29, Hie 日吉

Zhiguan fuxing zhuan hongjue (jp. *Shikan bukyōden guketso*) 止觀輔行傳弘決, Zhanran,

T1912, vol. 46

Zoku kojidan 続古事談, ZGR 27, *zatsubu* 雜部

Secondary scholarship

ABE Ryūichi, "Revisiting the Dragon Princess: her role in Medieval *engi* stories and their implications in reading the Lotus sutra," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2015, pp. 27-70

ABE Ryūichi, *The weaving of mantra: Kūkai and the construction of esoteric Buddhist discourse*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1999

ABELS, R., "The historiography of a construct: 'feudalism' and the medieval historian," *History Compass*, 7/3, 2009, pp. 1008–1031

ADOLPHSON, Mikael S., "From classical to medieval? Ōchō kokka, kenmon taisei, and the Heian court," in Friday, Karl F., *Routledge Handbook of Premodern Japanese History*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2017, pp. 99-116

ADOLPHSON, Mikael S., *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2000

ALLAN, Sarah, *The shape of the turtle: myth, art, and cosmos in early China*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1991

ANDREEVA, Anna, "The Karmic Origins of the Great Bright Miwa Deity: A Transformation of the Sacred Mountain in Premodern Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 65, no. 2, 2010, pp. 245–296

ANDREEVA, Anna, *Assembling shinto: Buddhist approaches to kami worship in medieval Japan*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Asia Center, 2017

ANZU Motohiko 安津素彦 and Umeda Yoshihiko 梅田義彦, *Shintō jiten* 神道辭典, Hori shoten, 1968

ANZU Motohiko, "Tendai shintō oboegaki: Yōtenki wo chūshin to shite" 天台神道覚書『耀天記』を中心として, *Kokugakuin zasshi* 国学院雑誌 vol. 82, no. 11, Tōkyō, 1981, pp. 190-217

ARICHI Meri, "Seven stars of heaven and seven shrines on earth: the Big Dipper and the Hie shrine in the medieval period", *Culture and cosmos* vol. 10 no. 1 and 2, 2006, pp. 194-216

ARICHI Meri, *Hie-sannō mandara: the iconography of kami and sacred landscape in medieval Japan*, SOAS, 2002, PhD thesis

- ASTON, W. G., *Nihongi: chronicles of Japan from the earliest times to A.D. 697*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1956
- BARRETT, T.H., "China and the Redundancy of the Medieval", *The Medieval History Journal*, 1998; 1 (1), pp. 73-89
- BAUMGARTEN, Rolf, "Creative Medieval Etymology and Irish Hagiography (Lasair, Columba, Senán)," *Ériu*, vol. 54, 2004, pp. 49–78
- BENTLEY, John R, *The authenticity of Sendai Kuji Hongi: a new examination of texts, with a translation and commentary*, Leiden, Brill, 2006
- BLAIR, Heather, and Kawasaki Tsuyoshi 川崎剛志 (eds.), *Engi: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins*, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* vol. 42 no. 1, 2015
- BOTTÉRO, Françoise, "Cang Jie and the Invention of Writing: Reflections on the Elaboration of a Legend", In Christorph Anderl and Halver Boyesen (ed.), *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture*, Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing, 2006, pp. 135-155
- BOTTÉRO, Françoise, "Revisiting the wén 文 and the zì 字: the great Chinese character hoax", in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, 74, 2002, pp. 135-155
- BREEN, John, "Sannō Matsuri: Fabricating Festivals in Modern Japan", *Journal of Religion in Japan* 9, 1-3, 2020, pp. 78-117
- BREEN, John, and Mark Teeuwen, *A new history of Shinto*, Chichester; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010
- COMO, Michael, *Weaving and binding: immigrant gods and female immortals in ancient Japan*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2010
- DEAL, William E., and Brian Ruppert, *A cultural history of Japanese Buddhism*, Malden, MA, Wiley-Blackwell, 2015
- DOLCE, Lucia, "Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School", in Orzech, Charles, (ed.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden, Brill, 2011, pp. 774-768
- DOLCE, Lucia, and Mitsuhashi Tadashi (eds.), "*Shinbutsu Shūgō*" saikō 「神仏習合」再考, Tōkyō, Bensei Shuppan, 2013

EGASHIRA Tsutomu 江頭務, "Hie taisha sannō sanshō no keisei: Saichō, Enchō, Enchin, Ryōgen no Sannōkan no hensen" 日吉大社山王三聖の形成—最澄・円澄・円珍・良源の山王観の変遷, *Iwakura gakkai kaihō* 岩倉学会会報 28

FAURE, Bernard, "Jūzenji, ou l'enfance du divin," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 29, *Mythologies japonaises/Japanese Mythologies*, 2020, pp. 265-288

FAURE, Bernard, "Protectors and predators", *Gods of medieval Japan* vol. 2, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2016

FAURE, Bernard, "The fluid pantheon", *Gods of medieval Japan* vol. 1, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2016

FAURE, Bernard, *Gods of Medieval Japan*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2016

FINNEGAN, Ruth H., *Oral traditions and the verbal arts: a guide to research practices*, London, Routledge, 1992

FRIDAY, Karl F., "The Futile Paradigm: In Quest of Feudalism in Early Medieval Japan," *History Compass* 8, 2010, pp. 179-196

FRIDAY, Karl F., *Japan emerging: premodern history to 1850*, Westview Press, 2012

FRIDAY, Karl F., *Routledge Handbook of Premodern Japanese History*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2017

FÜHRER, Bernhard, "Seers and Jesters: Predicting the Future and Punning by Graph Analysis", *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 25, 2006, pp. 47-68

FUJII Sadakazu 藤井貞和, "Otogizōshi ni okeru monogatari no mondai: chūsei shinwa to katari to" 御伽草子に於ける物語の問題中世神話と語りと, *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 国文学解釈と鑑賞, vol. 39, no. 1, 1974, pp. 174-184

FUJIWARA no Teika, *Meigetsuki* 明月記, Kobundo, 1911

GALAMBOS, Imre, "The myth of the Qin unification of writing in Han sources," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 57, no. 2, 2004, pp. 181-203

GAY, Suzanne Marie, *The Moneylenders of Late Medieval Kyoto*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001

- GENETTE, Gérard, trans. Jane E. Lewin, and Jonathan Culler, *Narrative discourse: an essay in method*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1983
- GRAPARD, Allan G, *The protocol of the Gods: a study of the Kasuga cult in Japanese history*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992
- GRAPARD, Allan G., “Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions,” *History of Religions*, vol. 21, no. 3, 1982, pp. 195–221
- GRAPARD, Allan G., “Institution, ritual, and ideology: the twenty-two shrine-temple multiplexes of Heian Japan,” *History of religions* vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 246-269
- GRAPARD, Allan, “Linguistic Cubism: A Singularity of Pluralism in the Sannō Cult,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2/3, 1987, pp. 211-234
- GRONER, Paul, *Ryōgen and mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the tenth Century*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002
- GRONER, Paul, *Saichō: the establishment of the Japanese Tendai school*, Honolulu, Univ. of Hawai'i Press 2002
- GRUMBACH, Lisa, *Sacrifice and salvation in Medieval Japan: hunting and meat in religious practice at Suwa shrine*, PhD thesis, Stanford University, 2005
- HALL, John Whitney, “Terms and Concepts in Japanese Medieval History: An Inquiry into the Problems of Translation,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1983, pp. 1–32
- HAYAMI Tasuku 速水侑, “Shinbutsu shūgō no tenkai” 神仏習合の展開, *Higashi ajia ni okeru Nihon kodaishi kōza* 東アジア世界における日本古代史講座, 1986
- HERMANS, Erik, *A companion to the global Early Middle Ages*, 2020
- HIDAS, Gergely, *A Buddhist ritual manual on agriculture*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter, 2019
- HIRATA Hideo 平田英夫, “Seinaru nami no denshō: chūsei jingika no sasanami wo megutte” 聖なる波の伝承中世神祇歌のささなみをめぐって, in Hirata Hideo, *Wakateki Sōzōryoku to Hyōgen No Shatei: Saigyō No Sakka Katsudō* 和歌的想像力と表現の射程西行の作歌活動, Shintensha kenkyū sōsho, 2002, pp. 107-115

IKEDA Yohei 池田 陽平, “Ōhie no kami to Ohie no kami” 大比叡神と小比叡神, *Nihon shūkyō bunka-shi kenkyū* 日本宗教文化史研究, Nihon shūkyō bunka-shi gakkai 日本宗教文化史学会, 2010-11, pp. 74-85

ISHIDA Ichirō 石田一良, *Shintō Shisōshū* 神道思想集, Tōkyō, Chikuma Shobō, 1970

IWAHASHI Koyata 岩橋小弥太, “Hafuribe” 祝部, in *Shintōshi sōsetsu* 神道史叢説, Yoshikawa kōbunkan, Tōkyō, 1971

JONES, Susan W., *Ages ago: thirty-seven tales from the Konjaku Monogatari Collection*, Harvard, Harvard University Press, 1959

KAGEYAMA Haruki 景山春樹, *Shintaizan* 神体山, Tōkyō, Gakuseisha, 1971

KAMENS, Edward, *The three jewels: a study and translation of Minamoto Tamenori's Sanbōe*, Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1988

KEIRSTEAD, Tom, “Medieval Japan: taking the Middle Ages outside Europe”, *History Compass* 2, AS 110, 1–14, 2004, pp. 1-14

KIM Sujung, *Shinra Myōjin and Buddhist Networks of the East Asian "Mediterranean"*, Honolulu, Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i Press, 2020

KIMBROUGH, R. Keller, and Shirane Haruo, *Monsters, animals, and other worlds: a collection of short medieval Japanese tales*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2018

KLEIN, Susan Blakeley, “Honji suijaku in literary allegoresis,” in Teeuwen, Mark, and Fabio Rambelli, *Buddhas and kami in Japan: honji suijaku as a combinatory paradigm*, London; New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, pp. 177-204

KLEIN, Susan Blakeley, *Allegories of desire: esoteric literary commentaries of Medieval Japan*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2002

KORNICKI, Peter F., and James McMullen, *Religion in Japan: arrows to heaven and earth*, New York, Cambridge university press, 1996

KUBOTA Tetsumasa 窪田 哲正, “Kaike to kike no kōshō” 戒家と記家の交渉, *PHILOSOPHIA* 通号 70, 1982, pp. 231-246

KURODA Ryūji 黒田龍二, “Yukashita sanrō, yukashita saigi” 床下参籠・床下祭儀, in Yamaori Tetsuo, and Miyamoto Kesao, *Saigi to jujutsu* 祭儀と呪術, Tōkyō, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1994, pp. 72-94

KURODA Toshio, “Historical Consciousness and *Hon-jaku* Philosophy in the Medieval Period on Mt. Hiei”, in Tanabe, George Joji, and Tanabe, Willa Jane, *The Lotus Sutra in Japanese Culture*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989, pp. 143-159

KURODA Toshio, “Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1981, pp. 1-21

LOMI, Benedetta, “Dharanis, talismans, and straw-dolls: ritual choreographies and healing strategies of the Rokujikyōhō in Medieval Japan”, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 41(2), pp. 255-304

MACÉ, François and Allan Rocher (eds.), *Mythologies japonaises/Japanese Mythologies, Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* vol. 29, 2020

MAKITA Tairyō 牧田諦亮, and Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典 (eds.), *Chūgoku senjutsu kyōten* 中国撰述経典, Tōkyō, Daitō shuppansha, 1994

MARRA, Michael, *The aesthetics of discontent: politics and reclusion in medieval Japanese literature*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1991

MATSUMOTO Kōichi, Shintō mandara no kosumorojī: miya mandara no shōchōsuru sekaikan ni tsuite, *Nihon no bukkyō* 3, 1995

MATSUNAGA, Alicia, *The Buddhist philosophy of assimilation: the historical development of the honji-suijaku theory*, Tokyo, Rutland, Vermont: Sophia University; C.E. Tuttle Co., 1969

MCCULLOUGH, Helen Craig, *The Tale of the Heike*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1988

MISAKI Ryōshū 三崎良周, *Shinbutsu shūgō to Hikekyō* 神仏習合と悲華經, *Indobutsugaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 17, 1961, pp. 16-21

MOLLIER, Christine, *Buddhism and Taoism face to face: scripture, ritual, and iconographic exchange in Medieval China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008

MORRELL, Robert E., *Sand and pebbles (Shasekishū): the tales of Mujū Ichien, a voice for pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1985

MULLER, Charles (trans.), *Outline of the Tiantai Fourfold Teachings*, 2012, <http://www.acmuller.net/kor-bud/sagyoui.html>.

MURAYAMA Shūichi 村山修一, *Hieizanshi: tatakai to inori no seiki* 比叡山史闘いと祈りの聖域, Tokyo bijutsu, 1994

MURAYAMA Shūichi 村山修一, *Shinbutsu Shūgō Shichō* 神仏習合思潮, Kyōto, Heirakuji Shoten, 1964

NANAMI Hiroaki 名波弘彰, “Heike monogatari ni arawareru Hie jinja kankei setsuwa no kōsatsu: Chūsei Hie jinja ni okeru miyakomori to Juge sō” 『平家物語』に現れる日吉神社関係説話の考察 中世日吉神社における宮籠りと樹下僧, *Bungei gengo kenkyū* 文藝言語研究, 9, 1984, pp. 69-113

NATTIER, Jan, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*, Asian Humanities Press, Berkeley, 1991

Nezu bijutsukan gakugeibu 根津美術館学芸部, *Nezu bijutsukan-zō hinsen: bukkō bijutsu hen*, 根津美術館蔵品選仏教美術編, , 2001

NG, Wai-ming, *Imagining China in Tokugawa Japan: legends, classics, and historical terms*, Albany: State University of New York, 2019

NOMOTO Kakujō 野本覚成, “Dengyō daishi no Hiei-shin shinkō” 伝教大師の比叡神信仰, in Okada Shigekiyo 岡田重精 (ed.), *Nihon shūkyō e no shikaku* 日本宗教への視角, Tōhō Shuppan, Ōsaka, 1994, pp. 147-176

O'NEILL, Timothy, “Xu Shen's scholarly agenda: a new interpretation of the postface of the *Shuowen Jiezi*,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 133, no. 3, 2013, pp. 413-440

OCHIAI Toshinori, Makita Tairyō, Antonino Forte, and Silvio Vita, *The manuscripts of Nanatsudera: a recently discovered treasure-house in downtown Nagoya*, Kyoto, Italian School of East Asian Studies, 1991

OKADA Seishi 岡田精司, “Yōtenki no ikkōsatsu: “Sannō engi” Shōō shahon no shutsugen wo megutte” 耀天記の一考察--「山王縁起」正応写本の出現をめぐって, in *Kokushigaku* 国史学 108, 1979, pp. 33-55

OKADA Seishi, “Hie jinja to Tenji-chō Ōtsu-miya” 日吉神社と天智朝大津宮—その祭神と祭祀氏族, in Shōei Mishina, and Ken’ichi Yokota (eds.), *Nihon Shoki Kenkyū* 日本書紀研究, Tōkyō, Haniwa Shobō, 2002

OKADA Seishi, “Hiyoshi taisha” 日吉大社, in *Kokushi daijiten* 国史大辞, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979

OKAMI Masao (ed.) 岡見正雄, *Muromachigokoro: chūsei bungaku shiryōshū* 室町ごろ中世文学資料集, Kadokawa shoten, 1978

ŌKUBO Ryōshun 大久保良峻, “Hongaku shisō to kami”, in Itō Satoshi 伊藤聡, *Chūsei shinwa to jingi: shintō sekai* 中世神話と神祇・神道世界, Tōkyō, Chikurinsha, 2011, pp. 66-79

ŌYAMA Kōjun 大山公淳, *Shinbutsu Kōshōshi* 神仏交渉史, Ōsaka, Tōhō Shuppan, 1989

PARK Yeon Joo, “The making of an esoteric deity: Sannō discourse in the *Keiran shūyōshū*,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 47/1, 2020, pp. 161-176

PARK Yeon Joo, *Shaking dance in the stormy valley: Tendai discourse on kami-buddha relations in fourteenth century mount Hiei*, University of Illinois at Urbana-champaign, 2016, Phd thesis

PORATH, Or, *The flower of Dharma nature: sexual consecration and amalgamation in Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, UC Santa Barbara, doctoral dissertation, 2019

RAMBELLI, Fabio, “Before the first Buddha: medieval Japanese cosmogony and the quest for the primeval Kami”, *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 64 no. 2, 2009, pp. 235–271

RAMBELLI, Fabio, “Re-positioning the Gods: “Medieval Shintō” and the Origins of Non-Buddhist Discourses on the Kami”, in Faure Bernard, Michael Como and Iyanaga Nobumi (ed.), *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 16, *Rethinking Medieval Shintō*, 2006, pp. 305-325

RHODES, Robert F., “The ‘Kaihōgyō’ Practice of Mt. Hiei,” in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2/3, 1987, pp. 185–202

SAGAI Tatsuru 嵯峨井建, *Hiyoshi Taisha to Sannō Gongen* 日吉大社と山王権現, Kyōto, Ninbunshoin, 1992

SATŌ Masato 佐藤真人, “Sannō shintō Keiseishi no ippan: sannō shichisha, hokuto shichisei dōtai setsu no seiritsu wo megutte” 山王神道形成史の一斑・山王七社・北斗七星動態説の成立をめぐって, *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究 266, 59, 03, 1984, pp. 29-52

SATŌ Masato, “Futatabi sannō shichisha no seiritsu ni tsuite” 再び山王七社の成立について, *Ōkurayama ronshū* 大倉山論集 23, 1988, pp. 161-178

SATŌ Masato, “Gūjisei jinja no saikai ni tsuite” 宮寺制神社の齋戒について, *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究 303.68.4, 1995, pp. 191-192

SATŌ Masato, “Heian shoki Tendaishū no shinbutsu shūgō: Saichō to Ennin wo chūshin ni” 平安初期天台宗の神仏習合思想—最澄と円珍を中心に—, in Yoshihara Hiroto, Yong Wang 吉原浩人・王勇, *Umi wo wataru Tendai bunka* 海を渡る天台文化, Tōkyō, Bensei Shuppan, 2008, pp. 151-171

SATŌ Masato, “Hiesha negi kudenshō no seiritsu” 「日吉社禰宜口伝抄」の成立, *Okurayama ronshū* 大倉山論集 25, 1989, pp. 1-49

SATŌ Masato, “Kinsei shake no Yoshida Shintō juyō: Hie shashi no jirei wo megutte” 近世社家の吉田神道受容-日吉社司の事例をめぐって, *Ōkurayama Ronshū* 33, 1993, pp. 107-151

SATŌ Masato, “Sannō shichisha no seiritsu ni tsuite” 山王七社の成立について, *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究 58, 263, 4, 1985, pp. 242-243

SATŌ Masato, “Sannō shintō no kyōri” 山王神道の教理, *Kokubungaku kaiyaku to kanshō* 国文学解釈と鑑賞, vol. 52, 1987, pp. 32-38

SATŌ Masato, “Sannō shintō no sekai” 山王神道の世界, *Tendai gakutanjin* 天台学探尋 2014, pp. 179-209

SATŌ Masato, "Shinbutsu shūgō no shoyōsō" 神仏習合の諸様相, *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū* 東洋学術研究 124 (1990), pp. 111-121

SATŌ Masato, "The sea and food offerings for the *kami*", in Rambelli, Fabio (ed.), *The Sea and the sacred in Japan: aspects of maritime religion*, New York, Bloomsbury Academic, 2018, pp. 15-22

SATŌ Masato, *Heian jidai zenki in okeru shinbutsu yūri no seidōka to kyūtei butsuji* 平安時代前期における神仏隔離の制度化と宮廷仏事, in Dolce, Lucia, and Mitsuhashi Tadashi (eds.), "*Shinbutsu Shūgō*" saikō 「神仏習合」再考, Tōkyō, Bensei Shuppan, 2013, pp. 62-87

SCHEID, Bernhard, "Shōmu Tennō and the Deity from Kyushu: Hachiman's Initial Rise to Prominence," *Japan Review* no. 27, 2014, pp. 31-51

SCHIPPER, Kristofer and Verellen Franciscus, *The Taoist canon: a historical companion to the Daozang*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2004

SCHMIEDL, Anne, "Written in Stone? Creative Strategies for Struggling with Fate in Chinese Character Divination (cezi 測字)," *International Journal of Divination and Prognostication* 1.1, 2019, pp. 75-99

SHIMOSAKA Mamoru 下坂守, *Chūsei Jiin Shakai to Minshū: Shuto to Bashaku, Jinin, Kawaramono* 中世寺院社会と民衆：衆徒と馬借・神人・河原者, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2014

Shintei zōho kokushi taikai 新訂増補国史大系 vol. 1

STONE, Jacqueline Ilyse, *Original enlightenment and the transformation of medieval japanese buddhism*, Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999

SUEKI Fumihiko 末本文美士, *Chūsei No Kami to Hotoke* 中世の神と仏, Tōkyō, Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2003

SUGAHARA Shinkai 菅原信海, *Sannō Shintō no kenkyū* 山王神道の研究, Tōkyō, Shunjūsha, 1992

SUGAHARA Shinkai, "Sannō shichisha no keisei" 山王七社の形成, *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 4, 1987, pp. 1-19

SUGAHARA Shinkai, trans. Bernard Scheid, "The distinctive features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1/2, 1996, pp. 61-84

SUZUKI Masanobu, *Clans and genealogy in ancient Japan: legends of ancestor worship*, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017

TAMURA Enchō 田村圓澄, "Jingūji to shinzen dokyō to mononoke" 神宮寺と神前読経と物の怪, *Nihon bukkyōshi* 日本仏教史 2, 1983

TAYLOR, Charles, *A secular age*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007

TEEUWEN, Mark, "Poetry, sake, and acrimony. Arakida Hisaoyu and the Kokugaku movement," *Monumenta nipponica*, vol. 52, no. 3, 1997, pp. 195-325

TEEUWEN, Mark, and Fabio Rambelli, *Buddhas and kami in Japan: honji suijaku as a combinatorial paradigm*, London; New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003

TERAKAWA Machio 寺川真知夫, "Gunsho ruijū-bon *Yōtenki* Ōmiya engi no kōsatsu" 群書類従本『耀天記』大宮縁起の考察, in Arai Eizō 新井栄蔵, Watanabe Sadamaro 渡辺貞麿, and Mimura Terunora 三村晃功, *Eizan No Bunka*, Kyōto, Sekai Shisōsha, 1989, pp. 71-89

TSUJI Zennosuke 辻善之助, "Honji suijaku no kigen ni tsuite" 本地垂迹説の起源について, in *Nihon bukkyōshi* 日本仏教史 10, 1955

TSUJI Zennosuke 辻善之助, *Nihon bukkyōshi* 日本仏教史, Tōkyō, Iwanami shoten 1960

TSUTSUMI Shigeo 堤重男, "Yakushi jūni shinsō no ikkōsatsu" 薬師十二神將の一考察, in *Mikkyō kenkyū* 密教研究 67, 1938, p. 232-236

TYLER, Susanne, "Honji suijaku faith", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2/3, pp. 227-250

YAMAMOTO Hiroko 山本ひろこ, *Monogatari no toposu to kōtsū* 物語のトポスと交通, in Hyōdoō Hiromi 兵藤裕巳, et al. (ed.), *Monogatari, Sabetsu, Tennōsei* 物語 差別 天皇制, Tōkyō, Gogatsusha, 1985, pp. 236-301

YAMAMOTO Hiroko 山本ひろ子, *Henjōfu: chūsei shinbutsu shūgō no sekai* 変成譜中世神仏習合の世界, Tōkyō, Kōdansha, 2018

YOSHIDA Kazuhiko 吉田一彦, “Saichō no shinbutsu shūgo to Chūgoku bukkyō 最澄の神仏習合と中国仏教”, *Nihon bukkyō sōgō kenkyū* 日本仏教総合研究 7, 2009, pp. 11-29

YOSHIDA Kazuhiko 吉田一彦, “Tado jingūji to shinbutsu shūgō” 多度神宮寺と神仏習合, in Umemura Takashi 梅村喬, *Isewan to Kodai No Tōkai* 伊勢湾と古代の東海, Tōkyō, Meicho Shuppan, 1996, pp. 217-251

YOSHIDA Kazuhiko 吉田一彦, *Shinbutsu yūgō no Higashiajiashi* 神仏融合の東アジア史, Nagoya, Nagoya daigaku shuppankai, 2021

YOSHIDA Kazuhiko, “Saichō no shinbutsu shūgo to Chūgoku bukkyō” 最澄の神仏習合と中国仏教, *Nihon bukkyō sōgō kenkyū* 日本仏教総合研究, 2009

YOSHIDA Kazuhiko, “The credibility of the Gangōji engi”, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 42, no. 1, Mar. 2015, p. 89-107

YOSHIHARA Hiroto 吉原 浩人, “Tendai Sannō no Ōjin shin kō: Retsusen den kara Kumano gongen gosuijaku engi e no kakehashi” 「天台山の王子信（晋）」考『列仙伝』から『熊野権現御垂跡縁起』への架橋, *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 12, 1995, pp. 79-111

ZÜRCHER, Erik, *The Buddhist conquest of China: the spread and adaptation of Buddhism in early medieval China*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1959