

THE FIVE GREAT SPACE REPOSITORY BODHISATTVAS:
LINEAGE, PROTECTION AND CELESTIAL AUTHORITY
IN NINTH-CENTURY JAPAN

by

Copyright 2010
Hillary Eve Pedersen

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Art History and the
Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Sherry Fowler, PhD, Chairperson

Amy McNair, PhD

Maki Kaneko, PhD

Daniel Stevenson, PhD

Eric Rath, PhD

Date Defended September 3rd, 2010

The Dissertation Committee for Hillary Eve Pedersen certifies
that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

THE FIVE GREAT SPACE REPOSITORY BODHISATTVAS:
LINEAGE, PROTECTION AND CELESTIAL AUTHORITY
IN NINTH-CENTURY JAPAN

Committee:

Sherry Fowler, PhD, Chairperson

Amy McNair, PhD

Maki Kaneko, PhD

Daniel Stevenson, PhD

Eric Rath, PhD

Date approved: September 3rd, 2010

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the protective role of the Five Great Space Repository Bodhisattva (Godai Kokūzō Bosastu) sculptural pentads in Japan during the mid-ninth-century. While existing art historical scholarship regarding these sculptures emphasizes their stylistic features and production methods, the present study seeks to contextualize the images' specific iconographical aspects and ritual functions within the broader multivalent religious environment of early Heian period (794-900) Japan.

Sets of these images, the only three known today, were installed in the Esoteric Buddhist temples of Jingoji 神護寺, Anjōji 安祥寺, and Jōganji 貞觀寺, each in relation to a different imperial or Fujiwara regent family member, and each under the auspices of a different member from the lineage of Kūkai (空海 744-836), the Shingon Buddhist patriarch. These images were placed in conjunction with other groups of Esoteric Buddhist sculptures at the temples to create larger arrangements that associated their patrons with cosmological rule. In addition, the iconography of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad resonates with many features of Chinese-based belief elements, as evidenced in the sculptures' color, directional associations, and relations to celestial bodies, features that also connect these imperially-commissioned sculptures to celestial rule and to national protection. This dissertation not only investigates the relatively understudied area of the incorporation of celestial bodies and other features of Chinese-based belief into the iconography of ninth-century Japanese Buddhist sculpture, but also reveals the way in which the imperial family and the Fujiwara regent family utilized the iconographically complex sculptural arrangement of the Five Great Space Repository Bodhisattvas in order to strengthen their political prestige and the authority of their lineages in early Heian period Kyoto.

This study first traces the iconographical development of single, independent Kokūzō Bosatsu 虚空藏菩薩 (Skt. Ākāśagarbha, Ch. Xukongzang, Kn. Heogongjang Bosal) images to the more uncommon arrangement of five. It then examines the Chinese-based belief elements present in most depictions of the sculptural pentad as well as the significance of the configuration at each of the three temples in which it was installed. This dissertation is thus an in-depth study that reveals specific instances of the fluidity between belief systems of early Heian period Japan, and also an exploration of the ways in which different belief systems informed patrons and producers of Japanese religious and visual culture.

DEDICATION

For my parents, Mark and Judy Pedersen,
with love and gratitude.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people inspired and assisted me throughout the research and writing of this dissertation. I would first like to thank my primary dissertation advisor, Sherry Fowler, for her sincere encouragement and unfailing support. I am also grateful to my dissertation committee members, Amy McNair, Maki Kaneko, Eric Rath and Daniel Stevenson, who all read drafts of this dissertation and offered constructive comments. These professors have helped me become a better scholar and art historian, not only through assisting me with this project, but also by being academic models for me.

I also thank Nedachi Kensuke from Kyoto University, for taking me under his wing for perhaps longer than he expected. With his patient assistance and wealth of knowledge, I was able to access necessary sources and receive valuable advice. I am also grateful to the students of the Aesthetics and Art History department at Kyoto University, particularly Tsutsui Tadahito, Tanaka Ken'ichi, Ryu Seungjun, Kim Eun-ah, Seo Namyoung and others who helped me with small details and larger issues critical to the completion of my dissertation. I am also grateful to the Hanazono University International Research Institute for Zen Research for providing me with space to work and a venue to publish my research. The Italian School for East Asian Studies has also graciously supported my efforts.

Support from several organizations funded my research: the Japanese Monbukagakushō, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Metropolitan Center for Far Eastern Art Studies, and the University of Kansas summer research fellowship. My participation in the Postgraduate Workshop in Japanese Art History in Norwich and London, as well as the Tōhō Gakkai provided me with venues to present my research, receive feedback, and to meet outstanding colleagues.

Several scholars have given me valuable input and assistance, including Cynthea Bogel, Kyungwon Choe, Noelle Giuffrida, Katherine Harper, Lena Kim, as well as Michael Jamentz, Catherine Ludvik and other members of the Kyoto Asian Studies Group. Otsuka Yoshio assisted with translations. The kind staff at Jingoji, Zenpukuji and Kashōji kindly welcomed me into their temples and showed me valuable treasures. The faculty, staff and students at the University of Kansas have made my graduate school experience both academically challenging and personally rewarding.

I am indebted to my loving and supportive family and friends in Seattle and elsewhere. My parents inspired me to explore the world, while Jake, Joie and Keisik kept my spirits lifted and grounded me when I needed it most. I am especially grateful for my husband Taka, for his constant patience, kindness, humor and love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1	
Early Kokūzō Bosatsu texts, images and imperial authority.....	17
Chapter 2	
The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad: iconography and synthesis.....	72
Chapter 3	
The Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.....	114
Chapter 4	
The Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.....	171
Chapter 5	
The Jōganji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.....	215
Conclusion.....	249
Tables and diagrams.....	254
List of Images.....	268
Bibliography.....	273

Introduction

During the mid-ninth century, Kyoto witnessed the installation of Five Great Space Repository Bodhisattva sculptures (Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu 五大虚空蔵菩薩) in three imperial temples. Sets of these images, the only three known today, were installed in the Esoteric Buddhist temples of Jingoji 神護寺 (fig. 1), Anjōji 安祥寺 (fig. 2), and Jōganji 貞観寺, each in relation to a different imperial or Fujiwara regent family member, and each under the auspices of a different member from the lineage of Kūkai (空海 744-836), the Shingon Buddhist patriarch. These images were placed in conjunction with other groups of Esoteric Buddhist sculptures at the temples to create larger arrangements that associated their patrons with cosmological rule. In addition, the iconography of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad resonates with many features of Chinese-based belief elements, as evidenced in the sculptures' color,¹ directional associations, and relations to celestial bodies, features that also connect the imperially commissioned sculptures to celestial rule and to national protection. The present study will explore not only the relatively understudied area of the incorporation of celestial bodies and other features of Chinese-based belief in the iconography of ninth-century Japanese Buddhist sculpture, but also to reveal the way in which the imperial family and powerful regents from the Fujiwara family utilized the iconographically complex sculptural arrangement of the Five Great Space Repository Bodhisattvas in order to strengthen their political prestige and authority in early Heian period (794-900) Kyoto.

¹ The Jingoji images are currently pigmented, and iconographical texts indicate that the Anjōji sculptures were

This study will first trace the iconographical development of single, independent Kokūzō Bosatsu 虚空藏菩薩 (Skt. Ākāśagarbha, Ch. Xukongzang, Kn. Heogongjang Bosal)² images to the more uncommon arrangement of five. It will also examine the Chinese-based belief elements present in most depictions of this configuration, thus contributing to a burgeoning area of scholarship that recognizes the incorporation of such features into the complex religious milieu of this period. These factors helped to make this pentad a vital part of an iconographically powerful configuration that bolstered the ecclesiastical and politico-religious authority of the imperial family. This dissertation will also examine the significance of the sculptural pentad at each of the three temples in which it was installed. Engaging with early Heian period political, religious and art historical contexts, this study will illuminate the powers and functions of this group of deities, emphasizing its sculptural form. This dissertation is thus an in-depth study that reveals specific instances of the fluidity between belief systems of early Heian period Japan, and also an exploration of the ways in which different belief systems informed patrons and producers of Japanese religious and visual culture.

Historical Background

Kokūzō Bosatsu appears in Japanese records as early as the eighth century. The deity was primarily known for its role in the *gumonjihō* 求聞持法 (the memory retention ritual) and the *fuktokuhō* 福德法 (the ritual for merit and virtue). Priests across sectarian lines practiced these rites as a way to gain specific cosmological knowledge and worldly benefits for themselves and their patrons.

² Since this dissertation focuses on Japan, I will use Japanese terminology throughout and give Sanskrit, Chinese and Korean pronunciations whenever appropriate and available.

During the ninth century, Japanese monks returning from Tang dynasty (618-907) China brought Buddhist sūtras and visual materials introducing new teachings and deities into the religious landscape of Japan. These new concepts, often called “Esoteric,” were part of the broader Mahāyana Buddhist tradition that had taken on aspects of Hindu practice and image.³ Many of these new concepts were woven into the existing Buddhist culture and praxis as *mikkyō* 密教, or “secret teachings.” Buddhist clerics applied what they had learned in China and formed two main schools of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan during the ninth century; Kūkai and his disciples developed what later became known as the Shingon 真言⁴ school of Buddhism, while his contemporary Saichō (最澄 767-822) and his lineage formed what was to become the Tendai 天台⁵ school. The usage of the terms Shingon and Tendai to denote separate practices or temples did not occur until the fourteenth century.⁶ However, Sherry Fowler notes that although it is

³ Cynthia Bogel, *With a single glance: Buddhist icon and early mikkyō vision* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 18.

⁴ Kūkai himself did not use the term “Shingon” to denote his brand of teachings, but other clerics and imperial family members did. Ryūichi Abe, *The weaving of mantra: Kūkai and the construction of esoteric Buddhist discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 193.

⁵ Saichō did use this term to describe the school he promoted, as it was based on Lotus sūtra and Chinese Tiantai (Jp. Tendai) teachings. Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 39. It is vital to note that what were known in ninth-century Japan as “secret” or “Esoteric” teachings were defined and categorized differently throughout East Asian regions and thus did not represent identical traditions. In Tang-dynasty China, for example, the nature of certain teachings were considered esoteric not because clerics intentionally kept them hidden, but because not all who studied them understood them. As Martin Lehnert states, “particular teachings appear to be secret or concealed (Ch. *bimifa* 秘密法) due to individual limitations of thaumaturgic perceptiveness and comprehensibility” and that secrecy “refers at best to a weak notion of esoterism inasmuch as the Buddhist community is structured according to the mental...capacities of disciples into outer and more advanced inner circles centered around the realization of complete awakening to reality.” Martin Lehnert, “Myth and secrecy in Tang-period Tantric Buddhism,” in *The culture of secrecy in Japanese religion*, ed. Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 80. Richard McBride illustrates that in the Korean kingdom of Silla (668-935), practices that were labeled Esoteric or Tantric when introduced to Korea were considered to be part of the general Mahāyana (as opposed to Theravada) tradition, because only adherents with “bodhisattva aspirations could appreciate the teachings.” Richard D. McBride II, *Domesticating the dharma: Buddhist cults and the Hwaōm synthesis in Silla Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008), 77.

⁶ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 35.

useful to “question the validity of labeling ninth-century monks as belonging to only one distinctive school,” that there were “certain meaningful alliances.”⁷

Clerics and emperors integrated Esoteric teachings into Japan because many of their fundamental tenets proved useful tools in the legitimization of religious and political power.⁸ Since the incipient stages of Esoteric teachings in India, the tradition was laden with political overtones. A primary deity in the Esoteric pantheon, Mahāvairocana 大日如来 (Jp. Dainichi Nyorai, Ch. Dari Rulai, Kn. Daeil Yeorae), was associated with benevolent, charismatic leadership, manifested in the *cakravartin* (転輪聖王 Jp. *tenrin jōō*, Ch. *zhuanlun shengwang*, Kn. *jeollyun seongwang*) ideal, or a universal king who rules ethically and benevolently over the entire world. In Esoteric Buddhist teachings, this concept associates the political ruler in a given region with Mahāvairocana, the ruler of the cosmos. This concept was subsequently embraced in China and Japan as well and utilized by rulers to legitimize their reigns.⁹ In the case of ninth-century Japanese Esoteric visual imagery, elite clerics and aristocrats utilized visual imagery in

⁷ Sherry Fowler, *Murōji: rearranging art and history at a Japanese Buddhist temple* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 45.

⁸ The role of art in the display of power is covered at length within scholarship on Western art. For example, for issues related to the Italian Medici family and their use of religious sculpture and painting in displays of power, see Sarah Blake McHam, “Donatello’s bronze ‘David’ and ‘Judith’ as metaphors of Medici rule in Florence,” *Art Bulletin*, vol. 83, no. 1 (March 2001): 32-47. McHam lists a concise summary of the extensive literature on Medici utilization of art as power on page 47 n. 97. However, similar roles of East Asian art are grossly under-researched. Two recent studies include Amy McNair, *Donors of Longmen: faith, politics and patronage in medieval Chinese Buddhist sculpture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), and Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, *Hiraizumi: Buddhist art and regional politics in twelfth-century Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998).

⁹ For a basic historical overview of this idea see Patricia Ann Berger, “Preserving the nation: the political uses of tantric art in China,” in *Latter Days of the Law: images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, ed. Marsha Smith Weidner, et al (Lawrence, Honolulu: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 89-92; Peter Harvey, *An introduction to Buddhist ethics: foundations, values, and issues* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 113-17; William K. Mahoney, “Cakravartin,” in *Encyclopedia of religion*, 2nd ed., ed. Lindsay Jones (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005) 3: 1350-52. As Craig J. Reynolds illustrates, the English language has divided “political leadership” and “charismatic authority” into two categories which were actually seen as one unified concept since the formative years of institutional Buddhism. Craig J. Reynolds, “Power,” in *Critical terms for the study of Buddhism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 219. The present discussion emphasizes this interrelationship between authority and charisma.

closed, private rites that reinforced the *cakravartin* ideal; it was not necessarily put on display for public viewing.

In addition, the concept of *abhiṣeka* (灌頂 Jp. *kanjō*, Ch. *guanding*, Kn. *guanjeong* a form of initiation) which originally was a term used to refer to a coronation of a ruler, was later used in Indian Esoteric Buddhist praxis to initiate the adherent and grant him access to his own spiritual domain, represented by *mandalas*.¹⁰ Mandalas are visual depictions of deity realms arranged in hierarchical order. They can be either two- or three-dimensional, and composed of anthropomorphic deities or symbols. They became a central component of Kūkai's Esoteric praxis at Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara and the Shingon'in 真言院 in Kyoto,¹¹ and are also seen at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji in sculptural forms that include the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. The practitioner enters the mandala as the ruler of the domain, as it visually represented the social and political hierarchical structure of the period. Mandalas are structured like palaces, and are often interspersed with weapon-like ritual implements (vajras, swords, axes, ropes, bows and arrows, etc.) that represented the elements of warfare present in Indian society at the time mandalas were developed.¹² One visual form of Kokūzō Bosatsu seen within such mandalas depicts the deity holding a sword, and others with hooks, crowns and jewelry. The benefits of this politically and culturally sensitive mode of mandala practice were recognized in Tang China and Heian period Japan as well.¹³

While some concepts which were emphasized later as “Esoteric” were known in Japan prior to the ninth century, with the huge influx of new material brought by priests during the eighth

¹⁰ Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian esoteric Buddhism: a social history of the Tantric movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 114.

¹¹ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 53-55.

¹² Davidson illustrates how mandalas developed from religious theories but also in Indian Buddhists' reaction to their tumultuous social and political environment during the fourth to sixth centuries. *Ibid.*, 26.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 115.

and ninth centuries, they emerged as a new way of understanding and practicing Buddhism.¹⁴ The emphasis in practice shifted to eidetic visualizations involving mandalas, as well as recitations of *dharani*, or magico-religious formulas. These served to illuminate the adherent's identification with Dainichi Nyorai, legitimizing his/her *cakravartin* nature. In addition to Esoteric Buddhism, however, ninth-century Japanese belief was a complex matrix composed of interlacing elements from Japanese Shinto, Chinese-based Daoism, Confucianism, *yin yang* and five-phases theories and local traditions as well. These were utilized by imperial family members, as well as the powerful Fujiwara regent family, in a variety of contexts including calamity prevention, national protection, and political gain. Such practices incorporated colors, numbers, directions and the study of celestial bodies to determine, for example, the fortuitous or ominous meaning of certain natural phenomena and subsequent courses of action to be taken.

Considering the desolate situation of much of the Japanese population during the ninth century, such rites and practices were necessary. Plagues, famines, droughts, and other widespread calamities ravaged the country.¹⁵ These were seen not as occurrences with biological causes, but as divine punishment. The emperor, as the universal monarch, could conceivably change the course of such occurrences, and thus the identification of him with a Buddhist deity, the invocation of his power, combined with a variety of other apotropaic rites were vital means by which the realm could be protected from sickness and harm.¹⁶ The apotropaic power of temples and images superceeded any financial burden. Conversely, visual imagery bolstered the authoritative reputation of their creators.

¹⁴ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 18-24; Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 46-55.

¹⁵ William Wayne Farris, *Japan to 1600: a social and economic history* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 59-64.

¹⁶ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 330, 334-343.

Scholarship by Michael Como, Lucia Dolce, Allan Grapard, Nagasaka Ichirō, Sonoda Kōyū, Nagaoka Ryūsaku, Nagasaka Ichirō and Mark Teeuwen, as well several recent museum exhibitions and scholarly symposiums shed new light upon the combinatory nature of belief systems in Japan from the sixth century onward.¹⁷ This scholarship emerges in reaction to the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century government-instituted movement known as *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈 (lit. “abolish Buddhism and destroy Śākyamuni”). This nation-wide movement artificially separated Japanese belief and practice into distinct Buddhist and Shinto entities practiced at separate sites and saw the government adoption of Shinto for nationalistic agendas.¹⁸ David Bialock illustrates how Daoist and other Chinese-based practices were also eradicated as part of this movement, as it was considered “heretical, vulgar, rife with superstitions and oddities.”¹⁹ However, this dissertation will recover the vibrant, multivalent fabric of ninth-century Japanese belief which served as the background for the installation of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad in three ninth-century imperial temples.

Paintings and sculptures of Kokūzō Bosatsu took on special significance in light of their relationship to the celestial body Venus, as well as their connection to imperial power and

¹⁷ See Michael Como, *Weaving and binding: immigrant gods and female immortals in ancient Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009); Lucia Dolce, "The worship of celestial bodies in Japan: politics, rituals and icons," *Culture and cosmos: a journal of the history of astrology and cultural astronomy* 10, no. 1, 2 (2006): 3-48; Allan G. Grapard, *The protocol of the gods: a study of the Kasuga cult in Japanese history* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Nagaoka Ryūsaku 長岡龍作, "Jōgyōsō to kōkan shita yamadera no reizō 淨行僧と交感した山寺の霊像," in *Jingoji Yakushi Nyorai no sekai 神護寺 薬師如来の世界, Kokuho to rekishi no tabi 国宝と歴史の旅* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999); Nagasaka Ichirō 長坂一郎, *Shinbutsu shūgōzō no kenkyū: seiritsu to denpa no haikai 神仏習合の研究：成立と伝播の背景* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2004); Sonoda Kōyū 藺田香融, *Heian bukkyō no kenkyū 平安仏教の研究* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1981); Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, ed., *Buddhas and kami in Japan: honji suijaku as a combinatory paradigm* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003). Exhibitions include those held in 2007 at the Nara National Museum entitled *Shinbutsu shūgō: kami to hotoke ga orinasu shinkō to bi 神仏習合：神と仏が織りなす信仰の美* and at Kanazawa Bunkō entitled *Onmyōdō kakeru mikkyō 陰陽道×密教*. The *onmyōdō* symposium held at Columbia University in 2009 also attests to the recent interest in this topic, in both Western and Japanese scholarly circles.

¹⁸ John Breen, "Ideologues, bureaucrats and priests: on 'Shinto' and 'Buddhism' in early Meiji Japan," in *Shinto in history: ways of the kami*, ed. John Breen and Mark Teeuwen (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 230-51.

¹⁹ David Bialock, *Narrative, ritual and royal authority from 'The chronicles of Japan' to 'The tale of Heike'* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 24.

eminent priests. The iconography of the diety is often inconsistent, indicating that priests and/or patrons may have altered visual depictions of Kokūzō Bosatsu in according to their differing methods of Buddhist practice. Although likely known in China, the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration emerged in Japan within Kūkai's lineage. It appears in both sculpted and painted form, but after the ninth century it is not seen again until it appears in twelfth-century painted depictions. It was in the ninth-century context that Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures became a vital component of the visual and religious lexicon that was used to protect the nation as well as strengthen the political and cultural prestige of the imperial family and Fujiwara regents.

Jingoji, a Shingon Buddhist temple located in the northwest mountains of Kyoto, houses the first of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures to be explored in this dissertation (figs. 1a-1h). Emperor Nimmyō 仁明天皇 (r. 833-50) was involved with rites and building commissions here, specifically a pagoda into which Kūkai's disciple Shinzei 真濟 (800-860) placed the pentad. Another disciple in Kūkai's lineage, Eun 惠運 (798-869), purportedly brought a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures from Tang dynasty China and Emperor Montoku 文德天皇 (r. 850-58), son of Nimmyō and Empress Dowager Junshi 順子太皇太后 (from the Fujiwara family, who held this title 854-71) subsequently requested this set be housed in Anjōji in the eastern part of Kyoto. This may be the pentad now housed at Tōji Kanchiin 東寺觀智院 (figs. 2a-2g).²⁰ Fujiwara Yoshimi 藤原良相 (813-67) commissioned the Jōganji set on behalf of his great-nephew, the future Emperor Seiwa 清和天皇 (r. 868-76), son of Montoku and Fujiwara Meishi 藤原明子 (828-900). Although no longer extant, this set was housed at Jōganji in southwest

²⁰ A Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad has been housed here since the fourteenth century. Since this pentad cannot be confirmed as the one that was at Anjōji in the ninth century, I will refer to the Kanchiin pentad and the Anjōji pentad separately.

Kyoto with the aid of Kūkai's disciple Shinga 真雅 (801-879).²¹ The detailed circumstances surrounding the enshrinement of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures in each of these three temples differed, but the images' role in reinforcing the Buddhist authority of the ruling parties, Kūkai's disciples, and the fact that these images were created during a relatively limited time frame illustrates the importance of this configuration as an expression of political power and protection in the mid-ninth century.

Key issues and terms

Several recurring themes present in the ninth-century political and religious environment of Japan appear in this dissertation. First, the location of these three temples outside the capital proper reflects the symbolic and physical isolation of spiritual power in the ninth century. Jingoji and Anjōji were located in the mountains, regarded as sacred realms within both Shinto and Buddhism from at least the ninth century onward. Mountains were untouched areas, seen as the origin of rain and other phenomena vital to agriculture,²² as well as a realm associated with death, in contrast to the mundane world of the human activity centered in the plains.²³ Jōganji was not in a mountainous area, but its location in the outlying lowlands of Fukakusa south of Kyoto had its own significance as a burial ground for past rulers and prominent aristocrats.

These three temples also carried the designations of *jōkakuji* (imperial designated temple), *goganji* 御願寺 (private, imperially requested temple), or both. Temples with *jōkakuji* status

²¹ Diagrams 1, 2 and 3 depict the lineages of the imperial family, Fujiwara clan members, and disciples in the lineages of Kūkai and Saichō related to Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptural pentads in the ninth century.

²² Allan G. Grapard, "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions," *History of Religions* 21, no. 3 (1982): 199-201.

²³ Allan G. Grapard, "Religious practices," in *The Cambridge history of Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall and Donald Shively (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 2: 560. Grapard explains that thaumaturgists dealing with malicious spirits gained knowledge of death in mountain areas. Human corpses were also disposed of in the mountains.

received government funding in exchange for the performance of state-benefitting rituals, some of which expelled malicious forces 攘災神願 (*jōzai shinkan*).²⁴ This contrasts with the eighth-century situation, when such rites were performed at larger, state-sponsored temples within the Nara capital.²⁵ *Goganji* served a more personal, dedicatory purpose. Members of the imperial family, Fujiwara regents, or other private citizens funded them, and requested rites of a more personal nature be carried out at these temples. These facilities were under no obligation to perform rites for national protection here, although, as I will demonstrate, the function of specific rites sometimes overlapped. While retaining close ties to the imperial family and regents, many temples with these non-sectarian designations were placed in mountains and suburban areas around the periphery of Kyoto. The strategic locations of these temples was significant because rites were conducted here that protected the capital from malicious spirits entering the capital from various directions.

A second major theme of this dissertation is the incorporation of Chinese-based belief elements such as *yin yang* theories 陰陽説 (Jp. *onmyōsetsu*), five-phases theories 五行説 (Jp. *gogyōsetsu*) and celestial deities taken from Daoist practices into the belief system of ninth-century Japan. These elements included colors and directional associations that became important iconographical tools for the legitimization of the Buddhist ruler-state paradigm in the ninth-century as seen in the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration.

Third, the relationships between Kūkai's disciples, Emperors, and Fujiwara clan members were the primary catalysts for the installation of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad in the three temples. These relationships hinged on the continuation of lineage (both religious and imperial)

²⁴ Ōe Atsushi 大江篤, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei 日本古代の神と霊* (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2007), 45. Ōe cites Jingoji and Anjōji as examples. Ōe Atsushi 大江篤, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei 日本古代の神と霊*, 47.

²⁵ Daianji 大安寺, Yakushiji 薬師寺, Gangōji 元興寺 and Kōfukuji 興福寺 are examples.

and the legitimization of authority. I will demonstrate that the power of each of these branches was validated by the inclusion of the *sanrinjin* 三輪身 (three wheel bodies) sculptural configuration in the temple complexes of Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji. Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads were one part of this tripartite configuration at these three sites.²⁶ These configurations were based upon the 839 (Jōwa 6) sculptural program which Kūkai designed for the Tōji 東寺 lecture hall prior to his death in 836 (Jōwa 3). The Tōji configuration is comprised of the three wheel bodies, each represented by five deities (five Buddhas, five bodhisattvas, five wisdom kings), as well as other deities. They comprised a *karma mandala*, a term used to refer to the three-dimensional form of a mandala that had great importance within the lineage of Kūkai. His disciples used this design as a template, adapted it to fit the religious milieu of the time as well as the needs of their patrons, and replicated it three times at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji.

Approaches

Scholarship on mid-ninth century Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures has been sporadic and limited to book sections or articles, but provides a good base from which to further pursue the larger, previously unexplored issue of the configuration's iconographical and political significance. Studies on Kokūzō Bosatsu as an individual deity have been the most common and provide insight into the ritual functions and iconographical variations of such sculptures.²⁷ As for specific studies of the known Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures, the Jingoji set has by far been

²⁶ Itō Shirō has also suggested that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were included in a *sanrinjin* depiction, but does not consider the iconographical significance of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and their role in this configuration. Itō Shirō 伊藤史朗, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron 真言密教彫像論," in *Jingoji to Murōji 神護寺と室生寺*, ed. Itō Shirō 伊藤史朗, et al., *Shinpen meihō Nihon no bijutsu 新編 名宝日本の美術* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1992) 8: 32-33, 105.

²⁷ Konno Toshifumi 紺野敏文, *Nihon chōkokushi no shiza 日本彫刻史の視座* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2004); Sano Kenji 佐野賢治, *Kokūzō Bosatsu shinkō no kenkyū 虚空蔵菩薩信仰の研究* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1996); *Kokūzō shinkō 虚空蔵信仰* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1991).

the most researched. Scholarship on these sculptures up until the mid-1970's is characterized by reports of detailed visual examinations of the images, while more recent studies use stylistic and iconographical features to speculate about sources of production.²⁸

In recent years, however, research on the Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and the temple site has greatly increased. The Tokyo Cultural Affairs division published a detailed report on a physical examination of the sculptures housed in Kanchiin, which are purportedly those that were housed at Anjōji in the ninth century.²⁹ Kyoto University published findings of a research project on the Anjōji site which has illuminated many facets of the sculptures' production and history.³⁰ Scholarship on the Jōganji images is the most scant, but the temple has been mentioned within the context of other broader historical studies.³¹ Fujii Keisuke's invaluable scholarship on the topic of Esoteric Buddhist temple architecture and layouts and their historical and religious

²⁸ Maruō Shōsaburō 丸尾彰三郎 et al, *Nihon chōkokushi kiso shiryō shūsei: Heian jidai; jūyō sakuninhen* 日本彫刻史基礎資料集成: 平安時代: 重要作品編 5 vols. (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1973-97), hereafter "NCKSS-jys," 2; Tsuji Shindō 辻晉堂, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō 神護寺五大虚空蔵菩薩像," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 18 (1953): 48-54; Uehara Shōichi 上原昭一, "Jingoji Tahōto Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō 神護寺多宝塔五大虚空蔵菩薩坐像," *Kokka* 848 (Nov. 1962): 505-7. The most recent examination of the sculptures is Sasaki Moritoshi 佐々木守俊, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō no zuzō ni tsuite 神護寺五大虚空蔵菩薩坐像の図像について," *Bijutsushi* 美術史 147 (October 1999): 1-14.

²⁹ Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 東京文化財研究所, ed., *Tōji Kanchiinzō Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō 東寺観智院蔵五大虚空蔵菩薩像*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2003).

³⁰ Dai 14 kenkyūkai "Ōken to monyumento" 第 14 研究会 "王権とモニュメント," ed., *Anjōji no kenkyū I: Kyotoshi Yamashinaku shozai no Heian jidai shoki no sanrinjiin: Kyoto daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka 21-seiki COE puroguramu "Gurōbaruka jidai no tagenteki jinbungaku no kyoten keisei" seika hōkokuzho 安祥寺の研究 I: 京都市山科区所在の平安時代初期の山林寺院: 京都大学大学院文学研究科 21 世紀 COE プログラム 「グローバル化時代の多元的人文学の拠点形成」 成果報告書* (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka 21-seiki COE puroguramu "Gurōbaruka jidai no tagenteki jinbungaku no kyoten keisei," 2004); *Anjōji no kenkyū II: Kyotoshi Yamashinaku shozai no Heian jidai shoki no sanrinjiin: Kyoto daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka 21-seiki COE puroguramu "Gurōbaruka jidai no tagenteki jinbungaku no kyoten keisei" seika hōkokuzho 安祥寺の研究 I: 京都市山科区所在の平安時代初期の山林寺院: 京都大学大学院文学研究科 21 世紀 COE プログラム 「グローバル化時代の多元的人文学の拠点形成」 成果報告書* (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka 21-seiki COE puroguramu "Gurōbaruka jidai no tagenteki jinbungaku no kyoten keisei," 2006). These two reports were consolidated in Uehara Mahito 上原真人, ed., *Kōtaigō no yamadera: Yamashina Anjōji no sōken to kodai sanrin jiin 皇太后の山寺: 山科安祥寺の創建と古代山林寺院* (Kyoto: Yanagihara shuppan, 2007).

³¹ Oyamada Kazuo 小山田和夫, "'Kosōshō hōin daikashōi Shinga denki' to 'Nihon sandai jitsuroku' Shinga sōden ni tsuite 『故僧正法印大和尚位真雅伝記』と『日本三代実録』真雅卒伝について," *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 383 (1978): 14-25; Takei Akio 竹居明男, "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō 嘉祥寺・貞観寺雑考," *Bunkashigaku* 文化史学 39 (1983): 26-45.

contexts includes data on Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji, and I will build upon his scholarship with the individual studies of these temples and their Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures.³² These scholarly works illustrate that these three temples and their images are significant areas of scholarly inquiry, but the studies fall short of exploring the political and religious importance of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu during the mid-ninth century.

The present study differs from previous works on the sculptural pentad because of its focus on the sources which informed the iconography of the pentad, as well as its use within the specific temples in which it was used. I also employ an interdisciplinary approach, encompassing art historical analysis of works within a specific politico-religious context. In order to “recover the specificity of their original contexts,”³³ I focus on a relatively narrow period of Japanese art history for two primary reasons: 1. the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu iconographical sculptural formation only appears within a limited span of time in the ninth century, and 2. this is a time when multiple layers of belief coexist, and thus will offer a rich glimpse into a religiously diverse and dynamic period. As Quitman Phillips states in his study of a twenty-five year span in the history of Japanese painting, “assumptions of continuity in Japanese art history have sometimes masked the subtleties of differences over time.”³⁴ Keeping in mind the accreted history of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and the reinterpretations of the pentad throughout history, the bulk of my discussion focuses on the years between 821 (Kōnin 12) and 875 (Jōgan 17) in order to gain a more nuanced view of this period. However, the paucity of records written in the ninth-century necessitates the incorporation of later referential sources, for example, twelfth-

³² Fujii Keisuke 藤井恵介, *Mikkyō kenchiku kūkanron 密教建築空間論* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1998).

³³ Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, *Images in Asian religions: texts and contexts* (Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 3.

³⁴ Quitman E. Phillips, *The practices of painting in Japan, 1475-1500* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000), xii. Phillips also adapts a similarly narrow time frame, focusing his study on the years 1475-1500.

century iconographical manuals. I rely on later temple records for Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji, and the writings of Kūkai, as well as three disciples in his lineage, Shinzei, Shinga and Eun, in order to determine how these three figures may have interpreted Kūkai's writings related to Kokūzō Bosatsu. I also examine Buddhist doctrinal sources and commentaries to determine how this configuration was viewed throughout the Mahāyana Buddhist tradition in India, China, Korea and Japan, and to track any scriptural changes that indicate a shift from single Kokūzō Bosatsu images to the configuration of five. Stylistic investigations will include surveys of the extant Jingoji and Anjōji images, as well as comparisons with other contemporary Esoteric Buddhist sculptures. Although stylistic comparison of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures has been a productive area of study, especially for scholars based in Japan, the present investigation will more closely examine the political and religious context in which the images were created, following the scholarly models of Sherry Fowler, Mimi Yiengpruksawan, Cynthea Bogel and Donald McCallum.³⁵

Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter One introduces early texts and images of Kokūzō Bosatsu in India, China and Korea. In these regions, the deity most often appears in configurations with other bodhisattvas centered around a main Buddha image. This situates the bodhisattvas in a subordinate position to the Buddha, reflecting the Esoteric Buddhist concept that the cosmos is arranged in a series of hierarchical relationships; this concept was adopted by rulers throughout East Asia and

³⁵ Sherry Fowler and Mimi Yiengpruksawan focus on the histories of specific temple Heian period temple complexes as well as the replication of Buddhist sculptures. See Fowler, *Murōji*, 179-214; Sherry Fowler, "Travels of the Daihōonji Six Kannon sculptures," *Ars Orientalis* 36 (2006); Yiengpruksawan, 647-72; Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, "The Phoenix Hall at Uji and the Symmetries of Replication," *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 4 (Dec., 1995). Cynthea Bogel discusses Esoteric Buddhist visual culture in the milieu of Kūkai, including the *sanrinjin* configuration in *With a single glance*. Donald McCallum explores the Buddhist triad at Zenkōji 善光寺 in Nagano prefecture and its myriad stylistic replications throughout Japan. Donald F. McCallum, *Zenkōji and its icon: a study in medieval Japanese religious art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

manifested in visual form and ritual contexts to display authority and power. In India, China and Korea, Kokūzō Bosatsu is rarely depicted independently.

Tracing the path of Buddhism as it travelled eastward, this chapter examines the means by which the related texts and images of deity entered Japan, focusing on the Buddhist monks and priests that used it in ritual. Priests such as Dōji (道慈 675-756) and Kūkai brought images of the deity in its single form from China and used them in the *gumonjihō* (also known as the Morning Star Meditation). This ritual involves identification of Kokūzō Bosatsu with Venus, or the Morning Star, indicating the deity's close relationship to celestial bodies. Priests such as Kūkai also imported other ritual manuals which venerated Kokūzō Bosatsu as the main deity in the *fukutokuhō* (also called the *kokūzōhō* 虚空藏法). This visualization-based ritual is performed for national protection and authority. This chapter also investigates the religious milieu of Japan prior to the introduction of the pentad, to illustrate its multifaceted character.

Chapter Two examines the emergence of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad in Japan, beginning with its iconography. Features of the images which relate to Chinese-based belief elements will be explored, such as celestial associations, directional placement, and colors. I will also address the existing ninth-century religious milieu into which these images were introduced, as well as the implications which the 839 *sanrinjin* configuration at Tōji and an 821 votive document written by Kūkai had upon the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads. This chapter will also consider the significance of the sculptural medium of the images under discussion, in terms of their function as religious and political symbols compared to painted images used in ritual. Sometime during the lifetime of Kūkai and his disciples, the depiction of the Kokūzō Bosatsu in Japan from a single entity involved in a private ritual conducted in an intimate setting

transformed to a pentad associated with prosperity, virtue and national protection, all of which were dependent upon the ruler.

Chapters Three, Four and Five focus on the ninth-century physical layouts and placement of the images at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji, respectively, examining in as much detail as extant sources allow the main personages associated with the patronage and creation of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu housed in these locations, as well as the images' roles in the expression of political power at these sites. I will introduce the specific and at times disparate circumstances under which the images were housed in these three temples, as they all had distinct qualities. What emerges is the increased involvement of the Fujiwara clan in the installation of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads at these sites, a move which corresponded to their ascendancy to power during the later ninth century.

This dissertation recovers the significance of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures in the mid-ninth century by examining the role of Kūkai's disciples in the promotion of these images, the iconography of the images that reveals a multivalent belief system, and the way in which the sculptures functioned as Esoteric expressions of political power for ruling families. I will take into account the social and political needs of patrons and clergy to bring to light the roles that the images played within their specific contexts. The production of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in Japan during the mid-ninth century was fueled by an intersection of a multivalent belief system, political agendas and familial traditions. This relatively narrow chronological framework offers a rich glimpse into a religiously diverse and dynamic period when multiple layers of belief coexisted.

Chapter One

Early Kokūzō Bosatsu texts, images and imperial authority

In tracing the development of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration in Japan during the ninth century, it is first necessary to investigate the textual and visual contexts in which Kokūzō Bosatsu appeared prior to this point, and to consider how these earlier depictions affected the conception of the pentad configuration. This deity appears in Indian and Chinese texts as early as the fifth century, and in images from the eighth century. Many of these early sources associate the deity with visualization practices and the celestial body Venus. As will be illustrated here, when the deity is depicted in visual form, it is rarely seen as an independent, single image in these regions; rather, it is often depicted as one member of an entourage of bodhisattvas surrounding a main Śākyamuni (the historical Buddha, Jp. Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来), Amitābha (Buddha of infinite light, Jp. Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来), or Mahāvairocana Buddha image. As will be explored below, images depicting Kokūzō Bosatsu with a Mahāvairocana Buddha are especially significant to this discussion in regard to the existing political system and the analogous hierarchical development of Esoteric Buddhism throughout East Asia.

When Kokūzō Bosatsu emerges in Japan during the eighth century, the deity appears in one of two main forms; as an independent image for use in ritual, or as one bodhisattva in a multi-deity mandala configuration. When seen alone, it is commonly as the focal point of the *gumonjihō* (求聞持法 the memory retention ritual) and the *fukutokuhō* (福德法 the ritual of prosperity and virtue). During the eighth and ninth centuries, the worship of celestial bodies was a significant part of the multifaceted religious milieu of Japan. With the help of prominent Buddhist priests who practiced the *gumonjihō*, soon after the Kokūzō Bosatsu entered into the Japanese religious landscape, the deity became a prominent part of politico-religious practice in

Japan through its association with Venus (明星 *myōjō*, also known as the Morning Star). This chapter will examine the broader religious and political contexts in which the deity appeared, noting how these two spheres were inextricably intertwined during this period. Specifically, I will prove that by the mid-ninth century, Kokūzō Bosatsu held an important position as a deity venerated in relation to celestial bodies and authority. Utilizing text and images, both necessary for Esoteric Buddhist practice, this chapter will examine the reception and interpretation of Kokūzō Bosatsu during the eighth century in Japan, setting the stage for the emergence of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads in the ninth century. By this time, Esoteric *mikkyō* teachings had taken root in Japan not only as a religious belief system, but also as a tool of political legitimization.

Ākāśagarbha (Kokūzō Bosatsu) in India, China and Korea

Taken from the Sanskrit terms *akāśa* (space, sky, void) and *garbha* (store, matrix), the name Ākāśagarbha³⁶ (“space repository,” or “void matrix”³⁷) refers to the deity known in Japan as Kokūzō Bosatsu. As with many deities within the Buddhist pantheon, the name of Ākāśagarbha is indicative of its role; in this case, it is the “guardian of the treasury of all wisdom and achievement, his powers extending to the five directions of space; five forms of him are portrayed under different names, and he is also identified with the Morning Star (明星 Jp. *myōjō*, or Venus).”³⁸ The deity is full of the “endless, inexhaustible, unobstructed ether”³⁹ and

³⁶ The deity is also seen with the more uncommon name of Gaganagarbha. See William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms: with Sanskrit and English equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali index* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977), 390.

³⁷ Adrian Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World mandalas in Shingon Buddhism* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1988) 1: 417.

³⁸ Soothill and Hodous, *A dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms*, 390. It is unclear whether or not the five forms mentioned here are those that correspond to the Five Great Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva configuration found in Japan in the ninth century.

represents the element of space, “uncreated and universal, infinite and unhindered, undifferentiated, obstructing nothing and including everything within itself.”⁴⁰ Aside from its association with Kokūzō Bosatsu, Venus has other significance within Buddhism; at the moment of Śākyamuni’s “great awakening,” or enlightenment, the planet Venus appeared in the sky. This planet was subsequently associated with merit and wisdom (福智 *fukuchi*, Skt. *punya-jnanā*).⁴¹ Kokūzō Bosatsu was the manifestation of this concept, and thus became inextricably linked to the celestial body.⁴²

I will first examine the earliest evidence of Kokūzō Bosatsu, found in Chinese translations of Indian sūtras, ritual manuals, and commentaries made by Chinese and Indian priests.⁴³ These texts indicate an early and perhaps tentative association between the deity and a celestial body. Izumi Takeo, in his extensive research on this deity, provides an informative chart noting thirty-three related texts, including the title, translator, year of translation, and the characteristics of Kokūzō Bosatsu described within each text.⁴⁴ Willem de Visser also compiled an abbreviated chart;⁴⁵ I have translated and adapted the data from both scholars in Table I.

The earliest textual evidence for the deity appears in mid-fifth century sūtras translated into Chinese by Indian and Central Asian priests, such as the *Ākāśagarbha sūtra* 虚空藏菩薩經 (Ch. *Xukongzhang pusa jing*, hereafter *Kokūzō bosatsu kyō*) translated by Buddhayaśas between 403-413, the *Mahāvaiṣṭya mahāsamnipāta sūtra* 大方等大集經 (Ch. *Dafangdeng daji jing*,

³⁹ Marinus Willem de Visser, *The Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha (Kokūzō) in China and Japan* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1931), 5.

⁴⁰ Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World mandalas in Shingon Buddhism*, 417.

⁴¹ The accumulation of merit and wisdom are two essential elements necessary for Buddhist enlightenment.

⁴² Mikkyō jiten hensankai 密教辞典編纂会, Mikkyō daijiten saikan iinkai 密教大辞典再刊委員会, and Mikkyō gakkai 密教学会, *Mikkyō daijiten 密教大辞典*, 6 vols. (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1969), hereafter "MD," 5: 2118.

⁴³ Such texts can be problematic, as some are apocryphal, created in Asia at a later date but attributed to earlier Indian authors to lend legitimacy to the text. Many do not have Sanskrit equivalents.

⁴⁴ Izumi Takeo 泉武夫, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō 虚空藏菩薩," *Nihon no bijutsu 日本美術* 380 (January 1998): 19-20.

⁴⁵ de Visser, *The Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha (Kokūzō) in China and Japan*, 17-18.

hereafter *Daihōtō daijū kyō*) chapters on Ākāśagarbha translated by Dharmarakśa II between 414 and 423, and the *Guan xukongzhang pusa jing* 觀虛空藏菩薩經 (hereafter *Kan Kokūzō Bosatsu kyō*) translated by Dharmamitra between 424-441.⁴⁶

Although no images of the solitary deity exist in China, one of the six main eidetic contemplations (visualizations) in China during the fourth and fifth centuries included one focused on Kokūzō Bosatsu. Such contemplations involved a complex process of thoughts that culminated when the adherent “saw” the deity in an elaborate visualization. These practices were the final development in contemplations that emphasize the importance of eidetic meditations over calming ones.⁴⁷ The relatively short *Kan Kokūzō Bosatsu kyō* noted above explains that specific dharani and offerings will bring forth visualizations of Kokūzō Bosatsu as a jewel, and according to the deity’s compassion, sins will be eliminated.⁴⁸ A *dharani*, sometimes defined as “that by which to sustain something,” is a short, yet symbolically potent mantra containing the core meaning of a sūtra or section thereof. While it can serve as a mnemonic device, it also holds power within its very syllables.⁴⁹

Li-ying Kuo’s analysis of the relatively short *Kan Kokūzō Bosatsu kyō* reveals that this eidetic contemplation text was used in confession rites during the sixth through tenth centuries in China. In the procedure outlined in the sūtra, a practitioner performed a ritual repentance while visualizing Kokūzō Bosatsu. If forgiveness for ones’ sins was granted, the devotee would either see the characters for “sin elimination” 除罪 (Ch. *chuzui*, Jp. *jozai*) on his or her arm, or hear a

⁴⁶ See Table 1 for references to these texts.

⁴⁷ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 193.

⁴⁸ Kamata Shigeo et al 鎌田茂雄, *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten* 大藏經全解説大事典 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku shuppan, 1998), 117.

⁴⁹ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 5-6.

distant voice say “sin erasure” 罪滅 (Ch. *zuimie*, Jp. *zaimetsu*) two times.⁵⁰ A Six Dynasties (265-587) commentary on the sūtra, bearing the name of Emperor Wen of Chen,⁵¹ exalts the protective, redeeming, and wealth-inducing powers of the deity. It states that the dharani of Kokūzō Bosatsu has the power to release all beings from the cycle of rebirth and to absolve them of sin.⁵²

The relationship between Kokūzō Bosatsu and the Morning Star, a vital part of the deity’s role, is often noted during this early period. The term for Morning Star (Venus) in Japanese is *myōjō* 明星. Although the modern translation of the same characters in Chinese is “star,” (*mingxing*) rather than Venus specifically, at least during the sixth century it referred to Venus in China.⁵³ These characters often appear in texts describing veneration practices of Kokūzō Bosatsu in Japan and China. For example, in the *Kokūzō Bosatsu kyō*, the practitioner is instructed to “bring the hands together in prayer, face east and light incense. Invite Venus/ the star (明星), the great compassion. This is now the beginning, the light now shines on you and the great compassion of Venus/ the star (明星) protects you. This may be the white Kokūzō Bosatsu.”⁵⁴ The practitioner faces east (where the planet Venus is visible in the night sky), thus forming a connection between Venus and Kokūzō Bosatsu. The association between white and Kokūzō Bosatsu becomes even more pertinent in the iconography of ninth-century Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images.

⁵⁰ Li-ying Kuo, *Confession et contrition dans le bouddhisme chinois du Ve au Xe siècle* (Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1994), 137.

⁵¹ This likely refers to Chen Wenti 陳文帝 of the Chen dynasty (557-87), but it is unclear from Kuo’s text.

⁵² Kuo, *Confession et contrition*, 138.

⁵³ I adapt Christine Mollier’s interpretation of the term in her translation of the sixth-century *Foshuo zhoumei jing* 仏説咒媚經. Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism face to face: scripture, ritual, and iconographic exchange in medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008), 76.

⁵⁴ Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, 85 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-35), hereafter “T,” 13: 405.

Several specific sixth-century Chinese references link Kokūzō Bosatsu and the celestial body. In the sixth century, the Chinese Tiantai 天台 monk Zhiyi (智顛 538-97) included Kokūzō Bosatsu in the introductory chapter of his commentary on the *Lotus sūtra* 蓮華經 (Ch. *Fahua jing*, Jp. *Renge kyō*) entitled *Fahua wenju* 法華文句 as one of three Buddhist deities that are manifestations of celestial deities.⁵⁵ Each of the three deities is associated with a particular celestial body. For example, Kokūzō Bosatsu is noted as 明星天子 (Ch. *ming xing tianzi*, Jp. *myōjō tenshi*), or the celestial deity of Venus, an attribute of the deity (as noted in the *Kokūzō Bosatsu kyō*, for example) which is of prime significance to this discussion.⁵⁶ Christine Mollier also notes the connection in her examination of the sixth-century *Xukongzhang pusa wen qifo tuoluoni zhou jing* 虛空藏菩薩問七仏陀羅尼咒經 (Jp. *Kokūzō Bosatsu mon shichibutsu darani jūkyō*).⁵⁷ The association of Kokūzō Bosatsu with this celestial body is present throughout much of the subsequent history of the deity, and is related to expressions of Buddhist political and religious authority, without a specific sectarian identification. Unfortunately, no images from the fifth and sixth centuries exist.

Evidence for Kokūzō Bosatsu becomes even more prevalent during the seventh and eighth centuries in India, China and Korea. Many more texts were translated and catalogued during the Tang dynasty, when Buddhist exchange flourished throughout South, Central, Southeast and East Asia. Text related to Kokūzō Bosatsu which were translated during this period include portions of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* 大日經 (Ch. *Dari jing*, hereafter *Dainichi kyō*) translated by Subhakarasiṃha (善無畏 Jp. Semui, 637-735), his disciple Yixing (一行 Jp. Ichigyō, 683-727),

⁵⁵ It should be noted that this text is a Tang-dynasty edition of Zhiyi's disciple Guanding's (灌頂 561-632) collection of his master's lectures.

⁵⁶ *Fahua wenju* 法華文句, T34: 1718, 24, as noted in Dolce, "The worship of celestial bodies in Japan," 7.

⁵⁷ T1333: 21; Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism face to face*, 62.

and Amoghavajra (Jp. Fukūkongō 不空金剛 705-774), as well as *Astamandalaka sūtra* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經 (Ch. *Bada pusa mantuluo jing*, hereafter *Hachi daibosatsu mandara kyō*), also translated by Amoghavajra. This sutra explains that creating the Eight Great Bodhisattva mandala (which depicts eight bodhisattvas, including Kokūzō Bosatsu, surrounding a central Śākyamuni image) will eliminate all hindrances and grant all wishes.⁵⁸

Another text translated during this period is *Kokūzō bosatsu nōman shogan saishōshin darani gumonjihō* 虛空藏菩薩能滿諸願最勝心陀羅尼求聞持法 (Ch. *Xukongzhang pusa neng man zhuyuan zuisheng xin tuoluoni qiuwenchi fa*, also abbreviated as the *gumonjiki* 求聞持軌), the specific text dealing with the *gumonjihō*, a ritual focused specifically on Kokūzō Bosatsu.⁵⁹ Subhakarasiṃha translated this text into Chinese in 717 (Kaiyuan 5) at the Ximingsi 西明寺 monastery in the Tang dynasty capital of Chang'an.⁶⁰ This text, along with other texts related to the worship of Kokūzō Bosatsu, is included in the *Catalog of the Buddhist Canon of the Kaiyuan Years* (開元積經錄, Ch. *Kaiyuan shijinglu*) catalogued by the priest Zhisheng (智昇 669-740) in 730.⁶¹ The numerous translators involved in these projects illustrate that Kokūzō Bosatsu was well-known during this period of active Buddhist learning and dynamic exchange between Indian, Central Asian and Chinese priests.

Extant visual depictions of Kokūzō Bosatsu in India, China and Korea resonate with themes found in some of these sūtras, although identifying images of Kokūzō Bosatsu based on iconographical features proves difficult. The iconography of the deity in these regions is not

⁵⁸ Kamata Shigeo et al, *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten*, 329.

⁵⁹ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 156-57. Thomas Blenman Hare translates *gumonjihō* as the “rite for seeking a grip on what is heard, the supreme *dharani* for the fulfillment of desires of the bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha.” See Thomas Blenman Hare, "Reading Writing and Cooking: Kūkai's Interpretive Strategies," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 49, no. 2 (May 1990): 254. I have not found a Sanskrit equivalent for the title of this text.

⁶⁰ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 116.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 116-17.

consistent, as the attributes, accompanying deities, and configurations change from place to place and throughout time. In most instances, the deity is seen as one of a pair or of an eight-member configuration of bodhisattvas surrounding a central deity, most often a Buddha but occasionally a larger image of another bodhisattva.⁶² This ubiquitous configuration, known as the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, has been found in India, China, Tibet, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, the Korean peninsula, and Japan.⁶³ It is noted in both the *Hachidai Bosatsu mandara kyō* and the *Dainichi kyō*, where it includes Kokūzō Bosatsu. Yoritomi Motohiro's work on the geographically widespread Eight Great Bodhisattva grouping indicates that it was used in contexts of dharma protection, especially when depicted in three-dimensional form.⁶⁴

Within the context of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, Kokūzō Bosatsu may be green, or the color may not be noted or distinguishable. It may hold a long-stemmed lotus flower with either a sword (either flaming, jeweled, or neither) or jewel emerging from it,⁶⁵ or simply the flower. The jewel, which is normally round, becomes a miniature stupa in the case of some images.⁶⁶ The hand not holding the attribute can perform a mudra (a symbolic hand gesture), or may hold a

⁶² Below I illustrate a possible example of a case where a bodhisattva is in the central position.

⁶³ See Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏, *Mikyōbutsu no kenkyū 密教仏の研究* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), 622. The specific bodhisattvas within this configuration vary depending on which sūtra is consulted, but Ākāśagarbha is often included. The grouping as outlined in the *Dainichi kyō* (T18: 848, translated by Amoghavajra between 746 and 774), for example, includes Ākāśagarbha, Padmapani, Sarvanivaranaśikhambhin, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, Kṣitigarbha, Maitreya, and Vajrapani. See Albert Grünwedel, Agnes C. Gibson, and James Burgess, *Buddhist art in India* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1972), 185-86; Denise Patry Leidy and Robert A. F. Thurman, *Mandala: the architecture of enlightenment* (New York, Boston: Asia Society Galleries: Tibet House; Shambhala, 1997), 26. Although Buddhist texts in Japan as early as the eighth century attest to the deity's popularity as a member of the Eight Great Bodhisattva group, this configuration is not widely seen in visual sources until the Kamakura period (1185-1333). See Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 21. This phenomenon is part of larger surge in Kokūzō Bosatsu image production during this period, as evidenced by the large number of Kokūzō Bosatsu and Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu paintings and sculptures of the deity from these centuries.

⁶⁴ Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏, "Mandara to hachidai bosatsu 曼荼羅と八大菩薩," *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō 日本仏教学会年報* 57 (1991): 251-67.

⁶⁵ For images located in Orissa in eastern India, Donaldson states that the deity "invariably holds a lotus supporting the *cintamāni* jewel in his left hand." Thomas E. Donaldson and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, *Iconography of the Buddhist sculpture of Orissa*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts: Abhinav Publications, 2001) 1: 141. This may be the case in Orissa for images made within a certain time period, but this statement cannot be applied to all Ākāśagarbha images from this location.

⁶⁶ Donaldson indicates that this represents the "Iron Tower" where, according to Buddhist doctrine, esoteric texts were stored by Vajrasattva upon his reception of the teachings from Mahāvairocana. *Ibid.*, 143.

long-stemmed lotus blossom, either with or without a jewel on it. These attributes are held by many bodhisattvas, and are not unique to Kokūzō Bosatsu. In addition, like many other bodhisattvas, Kokūzō Bosatsu is usually adorned in princely garb, complete with jewels, long hair, and a crown. Although the bodhisattva appears in India, China and Korea, the depiction of the deity within these regions differs, obfuscating a consistent form of the deity.

A telling example of the difficulties of iconographical identification is illustrated by studies of Indian Buddhist remains at the site of Ratnagiri in the state of Orissa. Thomas Donaldson, Izumi Takeo, Bak Hyeongguk and Bimal Bandyopadhyay all report on the same ninth-century stone stele depicting eight seated bodhisattvas surrounding a central meditating figure, now located in the Ratnagiri Museum.⁶⁷ Donaldson, Bak and Izumi identify this central figure as Mahāvairocana Buddha, while Bandyopadhyay more tentatively identifies it as Dharmasankhasamādhi Manjuśrī, a rare form of Manjuśrī (文殊菩薩 Jp. Monju Bosatsu, Ch. Wenshu Pusa, Kn. Munsu Bosal).⁶⁸ Located on either side of this main deity is a column of four seated bodhisattvas (eight all together); on the right side of the main deity, second from the top is a seated bodhisattva holding a lotus stem with a sword on top of it. Donaldson, Bak and Izumi identify this as Kokūzō Bosatsu, while Bandyopadhyay, recognizing the sword and lotus blossom attribute, withholds any specific identification of the deity, generically calling it a “bodhisattva.”⁶⁹ If we accept the textually- and visually-based identification of Bak and Donaldson, this iconographical configuration echoes themes in the *Hachidai Bosatsu mandara*

⁶⁷ For an image, see Bimal Bandyopadhyay, *Buddhist Centres of Orissa: Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri, and Udayagiri* (New Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 2004), plate XX.

⁶⁸ Bak Hyeongguk 朴亨國, *Vairōchanabutsu no zuzō gakuteki kenkyū* ヴァイローチャナ仏の図像学的研究 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2001), 124; Bandyopadhyay, *Buddhist Centres of Orissa: Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri, and Udayagiri*, 61-62; Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 22-23.

⁶⁹ Bodhisattvas holding combinations of swords and lotuses are typically identified as Mañjuśrī.

kyō noted above, with a central Mahāvairocana image surrounded by eight bodhisattavas, one of which is Kokūzō Bosatsu.

Another somewhat iconographically ambiguous example from Orissa is located on the south side of a four-sided pagoda from the mid-eighth century at the former Buddhist site Udayagiri.⁷⁰ This stone facade contains a relief sculpture of a seated Buddha performing the *varada* (giving) mudra, with a standing bodhisattva attendant on either side. Ratnasambhava (Jp. Hōshō Nyorai 宝生如来), a Buddha associated with the south, often performs this mudra. The bodhisattva to the Buddha's right holds a sword emerging from a lotus blossom, thus giving Donaldson and Izumi license to deem it an image of Kokūzō Bosatsu. However, the right hand of the deity holds a *chāmara* (fly whisk),⁷¹ which both Donaldson and Izumi fail to account for in their identifications. Bandyopadhyay identifies this deity as Manjuśrī, a bodhisattva who also holds a sword. While I cannot make any definitive conclusions regarding the identification of this image, since Donaldson clearly incorporates textual sources and visual clues to determine the identity of the deities, I am inclined to trust his interpretations over the other two scholars. The above examples illustrate that in India, Kokūzō Bosatsu is often depicted as an attendant to a central Buddha figure, either Mahāvairocana or Ratnasambhava.

Tracing the path of Buddhism as it travelled eastward from India, similar problems emerge when attempting to identify depictions of Kokūzō Bosatsu in China. The Yulin 榆林 cave temples in Anxi, Gansu province contain what may be a Kokūzō Bosatsu image in Cave 25 (fig.

⁷⁰ Donaldson and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, *Iconography of the Buddhist sculpture of Orissa*, vol. 2, fig. 128.

⁷¹ In keeping with the Buddhist precept of inflicting no harm upon living beings, fly whisks were used to deflect insects without harming them. They became symbols of compassion, and subsequently of the bodhisattva of compassion, Avalokiteśvara. In India, images of the Buddha were often flanked by attendants holding *chāmara*. See Louis Frédéric, *Buddhism, Flammarion iconographic guides* (Paris; New York: Flammarion, 1995), 71.

3), dated to the mid-Tang dynasty (780-850).⁷² The east wall contains a large painted mural of what was likely originally an Eight Great Bodhisattva configuration, although only the central Mahāvairocana and four bodhisattvas to the Buddha's right remain. The four bodhisattvas all sit upon lotus pedestals and are identified by inscriptions as the bodhisattvas Kṣitigarbha (地蔵菩薩 Ch. Dizang Pusa, Jp. Jizō Bosatsu), Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara (觀音 Ch. Guanyin, Jp. Kannon) and Ākāśagarbha.⁷³ The deity identified as Kokūzō Bosatsu, painted green, bears a sword in its right hand (as in the Indian image at Ratnagiri), while the left palm is held outward at shoulder height, perhaps in the *varada* (giving) mudra. This may be a visual depiction of part of the *Dainichi kyō* that includes Kokūzō Bosatsu, translated by either Subhakarashimha or his disciple Yixing, or the *Hachidai Bosatsu mandara kyō* translated by Amoghavajra.

Also resonating with themes in these sūtras are an eighth-century Chinese mandala in the form of a sandalwood plaque sculpted in shallow relief, now in the collection of Kaihōji 開法寺 in Kagawa prefecture in Japan,⁷⁴ as well as in an early ninth-century painting from the Mogao 模高 Buddhist cave grottoes now in the British Museum.⁷⁵ In both these works, Kokūzō Bosatsu is depicted as one of the Eight Great Bodhisattva attendants to Amitābha Buddha.⁷⁶

Aside from the Eight Great Bodhisattva configuration, Kokūzō Bosatsu is also depicted in a purportedly Tang-dynasty Garbha (Womb) mandala (fig. 4), a diagram depicting the Esoteric Buddhist cosmos in hierarchical form.⁷⁷ It is carved in shallow, yet rather sharp relief

⁷² Leidy dates this wall painting to the eighth century. Leidy and Thurman, *Mandala: the architecture of enlightenment*, 27.

⁷³ Duan Wenjie 段文傑, *Yulin ku 榆林窟, Dunhuang shi ku yi shu 敦煌石窟藝術* (Nanjing: Jiangsu mei shu chu ban she, 1993) 1: 154.

⁷⁴ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, ed., *Danzō: byakudanbutsu kara Nihon no mokuchōbutsu e 壇像: 白檀仏から日本の木彫仏へ* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1991), 34.

⁷⁵ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," fig. 33.

⁷⁶ Izumi also identifies Kokūzō Bosatsu in an eighth- or ninth-century portable wooden shrine from the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City. *Ibid.*, 23-4.

⁷⁷ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, 45.

upon a sandalwood plaque. Here Kokūzō Bosatsu is located in a register below Mahāvairocana. This work has important associations with the Japanese Buddhist patriarch Kūkai and as such its provenance will be questioned, as will be explained in later sections.

As demonstrated above, a handful of Kokūzō Bosatsu images that were associated with texts circulating during the seventh through ninth centuries existed in China. However, the only conclusion to be made at this point is that the deity appeared as an attendant to Mahāvairocana or Amitābha, along with other attendant bodhisattvas, and was not normally seen in single form. The deity did, however, appear in China with more regularity from the tenth through fourteenth centuries, most frequently as a member of more complex deity configurations.⁷⁸

To conclude this discussion of East Asian Kokūzō Bosatsu images created up until and during the ninth century, we now turn to Korea (where the deity is known as Heogongjang Bosal). One of the only scholarly works dealing with Kokūzō Bosatsu in Korea is by Bak Hyeonggok, who suggests that a mid-eighth century relief sculpture of the deity was included in the multi-deity sculpture program in Seogguram cave at Bulguksa temple in Geongju.⁷⁹ This manufactured granite cave consists of a circular stone chamber with a three-dimensional Buddha image placed in the center, and two registers of shallow relief carvings of bodhisattvas and other Buddhist figures depicted on the surrounding circular wall (fig. 5). The upper register consists of

⁷⁸ This intriguing issue, however, is beyond the scope of this study. Angela Howard identifies an Ākāśagarbha image on a *dharani* pillar in Yunnan province in Angela Falco Howard, "The Dharani Pillar of Kunming, Yunnan: A legacy of Esoteric Buddhism and Burial rites of the Bai People in the kingdom of Dali (937-1253)," *Artibus Asiae* 57, no. 1/2 (1997): 41-43. The deity is situated on the western facade of a complex mandala configuration, holding a moon and sun disk in his hands, and wearing a jeweled crown. Howard suggests that these jewels refer to astral bodies, given that the deity is associated with space. She also notes that Yunnanese Esoteric Buddhism was likely infused with Tibetan and local shamanistic traditions. Aschwin Lippe identifies a member of *The Assembly of Śākyamuni* painted mural from Kuang-shengsi in Shanxi Province as Ākāśagarbha dated to the late thirteenth-early fourteenth centuries. Aschwin Lippe, "Buddha and the holy multitude," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 23, no. 9 (1965): 326. In this depiction the deity holds a white moon diSkt.

⁷⁹ Bak Hyeonggok 朴亨國, "Keishū Sekkutsuan no gannaī zōgun ni kansuru issuron: Yuima, Monju to Hachidai Bosatsu no fukugen o chūshin ni 慶州石窟庵の龕内像群に関する一試論：維摩、文殊と八大菩薩の復原を中心に," *Bukkyō geijutsu 仏教芸術* 239 (1998): 50.

ten niches, eight of which, Bak postulates, originally held one of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas (including Kokūzō Bosatsu) and the other two, the Buddhist figures of Vimalakirti and Samantabhadra.⁸⁰

Extensive repairs of the Seogguram site in 1910 and in the 1960's eradicated Kokūzō Bosatsu from the original iconographical program, and Bak proposes that the restoration team based the repairs on a sūtra different from the one that was originally used. There is no indication of what the iconography of the Kokūzō Bosatsu image looked like, or in which specific niche it was placed. However, its general appearance was likely similar to the eighth-century relief sculptures which remain in the niches today; seated upon a thick-petaled lotus flower, with thin drapery clinging to the fleshy, flexible body and shallowly carved yet elaborate jewelry upon the neck, upper arms and crown. Through a thorough examination of Esoteric Buddhist text transmission into Korea, Bak postulates that the original configuration was likely a combination of one of Subhakarasiṃha's sūtra translations that included Kokūzō Bosatsu as one of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas,⁸¹ and the Vimalakirti theme, a popular iconographical trend of the period. Bak also suggests that the central Buddha image, currently labeled as Śākyamuni, may have originally been an image of Mahāvairocana.⁸² Richard McBride, however, points out that in the eighth century, the main deity may have been *both* Śākyamuni and Mahāvairocana, as the iconography supports interpretations based on both the Lotus sūtra and the *Avatamsaka sūtra* 華嚴經 (Ch. *Huayan jing*, Jp. *Kegon kyō*). Within the *Avatamsaka sūtra*, Śākyamuni becomes Vairocana, and that it is needless to identify the deity as one or the other.⁸³

⁸⁰ Vimalakirti, a rich landowner from India, and the bodhisattva Samantabhadra debated the concept of non-duality in the famous *Vimalakirti sūtra* (T475: 14).

⁸¹ Either the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* or the *Ritual for the procedure of yoga* 尊勝仏頂修瑜伽法儀軌, T19: 379. Ibid., 68.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ McBride II, *Domesticating the dharma*, 128.

Any attempt at matching iconographical programs with texts is fraught with problems, especially considering that belief patterns and corresponding images fluctuate based on any number of political or social factors. Kokūzō Bosatsu does not appear in the *Avatamsaka sūtra*, but I propose that the eighth-century configuration of images here may have been based upon a combination of texts that included Kokūzō Bosatsu in the Eight Great Bodhisattva context, as well an undifferentiated Mahāvairocana and Śākyamuni image as noted in *Avatamsaka sūtra*. The relationship between this bodhisattva and the central Buddha image at the site is an issue in need of further research, but the original image configuration at Seogguram surely fulfilled the religious or political needs of its patrons in the mid-eighth century.⁸⁴

If we accept the identifications of Kokūzō Bosatsu put forth by the above mentioned scholars, a trend emerges. The Eight Great Bodhisattva configuration is the most common for this deity, with the central Buddha identified as either Mahāvairocana, Śākyamuni or Amitābha. When the deity surrounds a Mahāvairocana image, it resonates with themes in the *Dainichi kyō*, while groupings of the bodhisattvas surrounding images of Śākyamuni mirror those depicted in the *Hachidai Bosatsu mandara kyō*. Images with Mahāvairocana became the more common form in Japan during the Heian period. It is this configuration, combined with elements of celestial body-based worship practices, that relate to politico-religious expressions of power in Japan during the eighth and ninth centuries. This is manifested, for example, in *sanrinjin* (three-wheel bodies) configurations that include the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, which will be explored in subsequent chapters.

This examination of texts and possible images throughout the Mahāyana Buddhist world serves to illustrate the variety of iconographies and configurations in which Kokūzō Bosatsu

⁸⁴ The deity is rarely seen in Korean Buddhist imagery until the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392), when it frequently appears in elaborately colored paintings of the Eight Great Bodhisattva configuration. See Kikutake Junichi 菊竹淳一 and Chung Woothak 鄭于澤, *Kōrai jidai no butsuga 高麗時代の仏画* (Seoul: Sigongsa, 2000), 419.

appeared prior to, and perhaps concurrent with, the deity's appearance in Japan. Although it is evident that the deity was known in India, China, and Korea, its iconographical representations changed from region to region, making identification on the basis of physical attributes, as well as clarification of Kokūzō Bosatsu's role in Buddhism of these regions, a difficult task.

Although the iconography of the deity became no more consistent in Japan, there is more data regarding the specific sculptural and pictorial depictions.⁸⁵ As I will examine in subsequent chapters, priests and patrons added another layer of complexity to the deity when they co-opted it for their own religious and political purposes.⁸⁶ Although Buddhist icons did not hold fixed meanings within one region or specific period in history, elements of these continental precedents were retained and adapted into Kokūzō Bosatsu belief in ninth-century Japan. An exploration of early texts, rituals and single images of this enigmatic deity in Japan will serve as the foundation from which to examine the emergence of the pentad configuration in the mid-ninth century.

Eighth-century multivalence

As I demonstrated above, the sixth and seventh centuries were a period of active exchange between Buddhist priests in India, China and Korea. This extended to Japan as well in the eighth and ninth centuries, as Japanese priests travelled to China to study Buddhist teachings, returning laden with sūtras, religious commentaries, iconographical drawings, ritual implements and manuals. Chinese and Indian monks went to Japan to spread Buddhist teachings as well,

⁸⁵ For changes in eighth- and ninth-century iconographical drawings depicting independent Kokūzō Bosatsu images see Konno Toshifumi 紺野敏文, "Kokūzō bosatsu zuzō no henyō to sono zōzō: ken o toru Kokūzōson no seiritsu 虚空蔵菩薩図像の変容とその造像：剣を執る虚空蔵尊の成立," *Bukkyō geijutsu 仏教芸術* 239 (1998): 15-49.

⁸⁶ The fluidity of Buddhist images' meaning depending on social, religious and cultural circumstances is a topic explored by recent scholars. For a study on Murōji and its changing religious associations, see Fowler, *Murōji*. For different permutations of Yakushi Buddha in Heian Japan, see Yui Suzuki, "The Medicine Master: Yakushi Buddha Icons and Devotional Practice in Heian Japan" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2005).

indicating a widespread trans-cultural exchange across Asia. By the time texts and images of Kokūzō Bosatsu reached Japan in the eighth century, the imperial family and administrators had already embraced Buddhism as part of their politico-religious system of government and authority.

From 710-784, the present-day city of Nara was the locus of this Buddhist-based Japanese state system with the emperor at the center. For much of the eighth century, this city, with its myriad temples and large population of priests, served as the geographical base from which Japanese clerics began their journeys westward in search of Buddhist teachings and materials. Six conservative schools of Buddhism, most of them rooted in Chinese intellectual and philosophical methodologies, were centered in Nara during this period; the Hossō 法相, Sanron 三論, Kegon 華嚴, Ritsu 律, Kusha 俱舍, and Jōjitsu 成実 schools. As Abe has indicated, however, these six schools were not sectarian groups; rather, they were “state-certified study groups” organized at specific temples in Nara.⁸⁷ Eighth-century Japanese Buddhism can thus be characterized by a variety of Buddhist methodologies, as well as a fluidity of belief and practice among priests associated with these different schools.

This fluidity extended beyond the Buddhist realm, as elements from other belief systems were also present in the Japanese religious landscape of the eighth century. Astronomy, astrology, calendrical calculation and star veneration were evident in India and China from the third century onwards, and made their way into Japan as early as the seventh century.⁸⁸ Chinese

⁸⁷ For more on the “Six Schools” of Nara Buddhism see Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 34-36. See also Michael R. Cunningham, John M. Rosenfield, and Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, *Buddhist treasures from Nara* (Cleveland; New York: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998), 9-11.

⁸⁸ Teeuwen and Rambelli, *Buddhas and kami in Japan*, 24. The imperial family, as well as the powerful Fujiwara regent family, used these practices in a variety of contexts including calamity prevention, national protection, and political gain.

belief up until and including the Tang dynasty included a varied array of elements which had important effects in Japan.

In China, celestial divinities were arranged into a complex system of divination and worship based on the hierarchical movements of the cosmos, natural phenomena, and their effect on the human realm. Changes in the appearance of the seven luminaries (the five planets of Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and the sun and moon) were one facet of this system.⁸⁹ The planets could bring fortuitous or unfortunate results to those who worshipped them.⁹⁰ Venus, of special significance to this dissertation, was known as Taibai 太白 (Great White) because of its prominent whitish-silver appearance in the sky. This feature likened it to glinting metal, which further associated the celestial body with military objects and themes. The appearance of Venus was thus generally considered a malevolent sign, in contrast to the benevolent qualities that Venus has within Western astrology.⁹¹ Appearance of the planet meant imminent military action, either on the part of one's enemies or one's self. Venus had a special significance among warriors, as is illustrated in a Tang dynasty poem:

Leaning on their swords, watching Grand White,
Washing their weapons as they approach Sea Gate.⁹²

I will illustrate below another context in which Venus was used that relates to a ritual incorporating Kokūzō Bosatsu.

In addition to celestial body worship, other facets of the complex divination and belief system that Japan adopted from China are *yinyang* (陰陽 Jp. *onmyō*, light and umbral) and

⁸⁹ Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the void: T'ang approaches to the stars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 211-19.

⁹⁰ Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism face to face*, 121.

⁹¹ Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, eds., *Taoism and the arts of China* (Chicago, Berkeley: Art Institute of Chicago, University of California Press, 2000), 137; Schafer, *Pacing the void*, 214.

⁹² Liu Changqing 劉長卿 (act. mid-eighth century), "Lu tzu Tan yang." Translated and reproduced in Schafer, *Pacing the void*, 215.

wuxing (五行 Jp. *gogyō*, the five phases of water, fire, wood, metal and earth). These terms refer to a system of “correlative cosmology”⁹³ based on relationships between numbers, directions, seasons, colors and specific natural elements. Diagram 6, adopted from Aihe Wang, gives a summary of the relationships between the five phases.⁹⁴ Each of the five planets also corresponded to one of the five elements: Mercury/water, Venus/metal, Mars/fire, Jupiter/wood, and Saturn/earth.⁹⁵ Within Diagram 6, I would like to draw attention to the position (west) and color (white) of Venus, which has later significance to depictions of Kokūzō Bosatsu and the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads in Japan.

These five phases are bound in a cycle of creation and destruction.⁹⁶ For example, fire melts metal, but wood generates fire; metal destroys wood (chopping with a metal axe) but water feeds wood. Although the exact origin of the *yin yang wuxing* system is unclear, evidence indicates that it was utilized in China as early as the later Warring States period and during the first subsequent empires (221 B.C.E.-220 C.E.).⁹⁷ This correlative cosmology was used in legitimization of authority during these and subsequent centuries; each reign was represented by an element, and the succession of reigns was likened to the destruction of the previous reign’s element in the natural cycle.⁹⁸ Relationships between and movements of celestial bodies mimicked the structure of government in the earthly realm; thus, changes in heavenly bodies

⁹³ This term is used by modern scholars of Daoist and *yinyang wuxing* systems. See Aihe Wang, "Yinyang wuxing," in *Encyclopedia of religion*, ed. Jones, 14: 9887. The same system is discussed in a myriad of scholarly works in English, Chinese and Japanese, including Hayashi On 林温, "Myōken bosatsu to hoshi mandara 妙見菩薩と星曼荼羅," *Nihon no Bijutsu* 377 (October 1997): 23.

⁹⁴ Wang, "Yinyang wuxing," 9890, Table 2.

⁹⁵ Schafer, *Pacing the void*, 212.

⁹⁶ For a concise explanation of the five phases relationships and its history in early China, see Robert Sharf, *Coming to terms with Chinese Buddhism: a reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 77-82.

⁹⁷ Bialock, *Narrative*, 41; Little and Eichman, eds., *Taoism and the arts of China*, 140.

⁹⁸ Bialock, *Narrative*, 41; Howard Weschler, *Offerings of jade and silk: ritual and symbol in the legitimation of the Tang dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 14.

accorded with seasonal changes, rise and fall of dynasties, and success or defeat in war.⁹⁹ It was also an indispensable cosmological device used to predict such phenomena as lucky or unlucky days, governmental actions, personal affairs, or health diagnoses.

Daoism, another complex school of thought and practice, incorporates elements of the *yin yang wuxing* system to explain the cosmos. It also utilizes a complex pantheon of deities arranged into a hierarchical bureaucracy that became the basis of a sophisticated school of thought and practice among elites of Chinese society. These deities are said to personify celestial bodies, as the movements of the heavens are believed to affect the human realm. In China, Buddhist and Daoist clerics widely copied each others' texts during the Tang dynasty, revealing intriguing theological crossover in terms of deity identification.¹⁰⁰

While there is a dearth of scholarship regarding the relationship between these phenomena and Indian and Chinese authority, the worship of celestial bodies in Buddhist contexts as an important element in the legitimization of authority in Japan is a more recent area of inquiry. The incorporation of *onmyōsetsu* (陰陽説 *yin yang* theories) and *gogyōsetsu* (五行説 five-phases theories) into religious practice is seen as early as the sixth century in Japan, and became a vital part of the legitimization of authority from the eighth century onwards.¹⁰¹ Elements of this

⁹⁹ Sharf, *Coming to terms with Chinese Buddhism*, 78.

¹⁰⁰ The exchange between Daoist and Buddhist concepts in early China is a burgeoning area of scholarship. For two recent studies on this issue see Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism face to face*; Michel Strickmann and Bernard Faure, *Chinese magical medicine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002). The Daoist scriptural canon is silent on any connection to Kokūzō Bosatsu or a similar deity. *Taibai jing* (太白經, Scripture on the Planet Venus), a Tany-dynasty text within the canon, discusses the transmission of instructions for a rite that produces the Gold-elixir, a practice that is part of Daoist inner alchemy (Ch. *neidan* 內丹). For a summary of the procedure see Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist canon: a historical companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) 2: 796. For the original text see *Daozang* 道藏, 36 vols. (Beijing: Wen wu chu ban she; Shanghai: Shanghai shu dian; Tianjian: Tianjian gu ji chu ban she, 1988), hereafter "DZ," 19: 934, 337-40. The only other evidence I have found regarding the performance of East Asian Daoist rites centered on Venus were recorded during the late fourteenth century in Korea. Even though the state adopted Confucianism as the official state doctrine during the Jeoson dynasty (1392-1910) this period, Daoist rites were still occasionally conducted for state protection. Jung Jae-seo, "Daoism in Korea," trans. James Miller, in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn, 798, 813.

¹⁰¹ Bialock, *Narrative*, 48-64.

system of belief took on different characteristics when it reached Japan and was organized into the divination system known as *onmyōdō* (陰陽道 the way of *yin* and *yang*). As Edward Kamens succinctly states, *onmyōdō* was an

“art of advising individuals and governments in the planning of all manner of activities and projects according to the movements of the sun and moon (representing *yang* and *yin*, respectively) and the stars, and the predicting of auspicious and inauspicious conditions as determined by the shifting relationships of the five [phases] and the sexagenary cycle...”¹⁰²

Although five-phases theories may have been more culturally significant in China than Japan,¹⁰³ by the ninth century, Japanese Esoteric Buddhist clerics (such as Kūkai) and *yin yang* diviners nevertheless incorporated these elements into their practices, which were then used for the benefit and safety of the imperial family and regents.¹⁰⁴ Yoshino Hiroko even states that many of the practices that fall under the current appellation of Shinto in Japan are based in such *yin yang* and five-phases theories.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Author’s brackets. Edward Kamens, "Onmyōdō," in *Encyclopedia of religion*, ed. Jones, 10: 6827. For a concise explanation of the sexagenary cycle calculation method using these techniques, see Strickmann and Faure, *Chinese magical medicine*, 70.

¹⁰³ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 174-75.

¹⁰⁴ The same five-phases correlative relationship system is seen in the Five elements/ Womb mandala section in *Gojū kanshō* 2, edited by Kōzen (興然 1849-1924?), reproduced in Shingonshū zensho kankōkai 真言宗全書刊行会 ed., *Shingonshū zensho 真言宗全書*, 44 vols. (Kōyachō: Shingonshū zensho kankōkai, 1933-39), hereafter "SZ," 29: 46.

¹⁰⁵ Yoshino Hiroko 吉野裕子, "Onmyōdō gogyō ni yoru Nihon minzoku no kōzōkuteki ha'aku 陰陽道五行により日本民族の皇族的把握," *Minzokugaku kenkyū 民族学研究* 45, no. 2 (1980): 135. This is evidenced by one of the annual events currently held at Hiraoka Hachiman shrine near Jingoji. During the Hoshi matsuri 星祭 (star festival) held at the shrine on *setsubun* (節分 the Japanese holiday indicating the beginning of spring, February third by the modern Gregorian calendar), visitors bring old talismans to the shrine. The priest offers these to the deity of the shrine, Hachiman, and burns them together with *hitogata* 人形 (sometimes known as ‘scapegoat effigies’), small slips of paper cut into human shapes. Visitors write their name and age (according to the Chinese lunar calendar calculations) on these paper shapes, breath on them once, then add them to the pile of burning talismans. According to the head of the shrine, this act serves to eradicate bad luck accumulated during that year of the person’s life. Since each person was born under the sign of a certain Chinese zodiac sign and celestial body, it is called the “Star Festival.” This not only shows Chinese *yin yang* and astrological influence, but also brings to mind the veneration

Evidence of these Chinese-based belief elements appear in eighth-century Japanese rituals focused on the emperor as an incarnation of the North Star, as well as scriptures translated by Indian Esoteric priests during the Tang dynasty which show references to celestial bodies.¹⁰⁶ Ninth-century rituals conducted at the Shingon'in 真言院, a ritual chapel within the Japanese Imperial Palace, incorporated the deities which controlled fire, wind, and other natural forces, showing elements from indigenous Chinese belief systems.¹⁰⁷

As Masuo Shin'ichi writes, "through the mediation of esoteric Buddhism, elements of Daoist belief and practice therefore made their way into Japan, where they in turn merged with popular yin-yang divination, another Daoist-inspired activity."¹⁰⁸ This qualification of *yin yang* divination as "another Daoist-inspired activity" should warrant caution, as the relationship between and origin of these two belief elements is an extremely complex issue hotly debated by scholars. However, Masuo's clear explanation of how they were synthesized with Japanese Esoteric Buddhist practices is a welcome contribution to scholarship on this issue.¹⁰⁹

Ninth-century Japanese clerics, rulers and diviners carefully selected only those elements from imported belief systems which they deemed the most appropriate or beneficial, resulting in a system quite different from that which was used on the continent. For example, the bureaucratic pantheon of Daoist deities prominent in Chinese traditions was not adopted in Japanese aristocratic circles, but the worship of stars, such as Venus and the North Star, was. In addition, the Official Bureau of Divination (*onmyōryō* 陰陽寮) established in the seventh

of the Morning Star 明星 that appears during the *gumonjihō*. Data regarding the history of this practice, during the ninth century or otherwise, is yet to be found.

¹⁰⁶ Dolce, "The worship of celestial bodies in Japan: politics, rituals and icons," 9-12.

¹⁰⁷ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 262.

¹⁰⁸ Masuo Shin'ichirō, "Daoism in Japan," in *Daoism handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000), 825.

¹⁰⁹ Also see the informative essays by Lucia Dolce, Lilla Russell-Smith, Matsumoto Ikuyo and Tsuda Tetsuei in Lucia Dolce, ed., *The worship of stars in Japanese religious practice*, vol. 10, nos. 1 and 2, *Culture and cosmos: a journal of the history of astrology and cultural astronomy* (2006).

century in Japan in order to systematize these practices as they were utilized by the imperial household grouped diviners, astrologists and calendar experts within the *onmyōryō*, while they were separate branches in China.¹¹⁰ Within this environment of multifaceted belief and divination, fluidity existed between systems of practice and was evident within visual characteristics of Buddhist images and practice.

The inclusion of celestial bodies was not limited to specific diviners within the *onmyōryō*, however; they were incorporated into the Buddhist lexicon as well. The Indian Esoteric masters Amoghavajra and Subhakarasiṃha were involved in calendar computation and translation of Indian astrological texts into Chinese.¹¹¹ Amoghavajra's translation of *Sukuyō kyō* 宿曜經 (*Sūtra on the way of lodgings and planetoids*), a text describing star-related divination methods and rituals, was brought to Japan by Kūkai.¹¹² This text describes the twenty-eight lunar abodes, the seven luminaries, etc. which were used in divination practices in China and Japan. Kūkai, Enchin and Ennin used these practices in choosing auspicious days to perform rituals.¹¹³ This text also deals with star worship, such as rituals venerating the North Star and Myōken Bosatsu 妙見菩薩 (Skt. Sudarśana) that were conducted by Japanese imperial diviners.¹¹⁴ These

¹¹⁰ Felicia G. Bock, "Classical learning and Taoist practices in early Japan with a translation of books XVI and XX of the *Engi shiki*," *Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University Occasional paper no. 17* (1985): 9.

¹¹¹ Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis and Silk Road Project Inc., *Along the Silk Road* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2002), 82.

¹¹² The full name of this text is *Monju shiri bosatsu kyū shosenshosetsu kikyō jijitsu zen'aku sukuyōkyō* 文殊師利菩薩及諸仙所說吉凶時日善惡宿曜經 and appears in Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku* 請來目錄 (*Catalogue of imported items*), hereafter *Catalogue*, reproduced in Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjō 密教文化研究所, ed., *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集, 7 vols. (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1978), hereafter "KZ," 1: 80. *Sukuyō giki* 宿曜儀軌 (T21: 1304), the ritual manual for the *Sukuyō kyō* translated by Yixing in the Tang dynasty, contains directions for astrological divination, and was also brought to Japan by monks involved in Esoteric Buddhist studies in China. It notes several Buddhist deities (including Kokūzō Bosatsu), planets, and ritual explanations. For more on the history and transmission of this text through India, China and Japan, see Yano Michio 矢野道雄, *Hoshi uranai no bunka kōryūshi* 星占いの文化交流史 (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 2004), 128-48.

¹¹³ Sano Kenji 佐野賢治, "Nihon seishin shinkōshi gairon: Myōken, Kokūzō shinkō o chūshin ni shite 日本星神信仰史概論：妙見、虚空蔵信仰を中心にして," in *Hoshi no shinkō: Myōken, Kokūzō 星の信仰・妙見、虚空蔵*, ed. Sano Kenji 佐野賢治 (Tokyo: Tansuisha, 1994), 16.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

interwoven elements formed a significant part of the eighth and ninth-century Japanese belief system.

Jinenchishū, gumonjihō and celestial bodies in eighth-century Japan

The adoption of Chinese-based thought systems is quite evident in the religious milieu of eighth-century Japan. For example, *jinenchishū* 自然智宗, or the “school of natural wisdom” that first coalesced during the eighth century shows aspects of Daoist thought. This informal “school” involved meditative training for monks (both state-sponsored and independent) at mountain retreats, and promoted *jinENCHI*, or “wisdom that arises from oneself.”¹¹⁵ In the same way, Daoist thought promoted seclusion from society and the acquisition of knowledge and immortality within mountain settings. These mountainous locations were regarded as intermediary locations between the human and heavenly realms, a notion resonant with Daoist concepts of mountains as realms of the immortals.¹¹⁶

It is significant that *jinENCHISHŪ* practices were not limited to monks of a certain school or temple. As Sonoda Kōyū describes, in the eighth and ninth centuries, temples such as Hisozanji 比蘇山寺 in the mountainous Yoshino area of present-day Nara prefecture was a major locus of both short- and long-term *jinENCHISHŪ* practice, hosting monks from state-sponsored temples such as Gangōji 元興寺 (later associated with the Hossō school) and Daianji 大安寺 (associated with

¹¹⁵ This translation is taken from William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in medieval Japan, Studies in East Asian Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 10-11. For Japanese scholarship on mountain ascetic practices in the eighth century, see Sonoda Kōyū, *Heian bukkyō no kenkyū*, 27-52.

¹¹⁶ In his examination of Daoist elements in early Japanese history, Senda Minoru recounts that during the late fifth and early sixth centuries, a separate palace was constructed for the Japanese emperor in the mountainous region of Yoshino, as it was seen as an area where immortals resided. Senda Minoru 千田稔, "Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku dōkyō 日本における中国の道教," in *Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku dentō bunka 日本における中国伝道文化*, ed. Sai Ki 蔡毅 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2002), 59.

the Sanron school).¹¹⁷ Fukisenji 福貴山寺 was also a center of *gumonjihō* practice.¹¹⁸ Michael Como points out that several major temples in the Nara plains, such as Kōfukuji and Daianji, established mountain temples in Yoshino that worked in tandem with the parent facility.¹¹⁹ Monks associated with *jinenchishū* practices were often thought to have mystical powers, and those practicing in official capacities used these powers for the state. Through these ascetic practices, adherents absorbed the raw energy emanating from the dangerous forces of nature, and in doing so, gained spiritual and magical powers from which the lay community could benefit.¹²⁰

Due to the paucity of primary sources it is difficult to ascertain the breadth and depth of *jinenchishū* activities; however, it is clear that one of the practices that several of these priests were involved in was the *gumonjihō* 求聞持法, or the “memory retention ritual.” This physically and mentally demanding ritual procedure focuses on eidetic contemplations of Kokūzō Bosatsu, and offers the earliest evidence of the deity in Japan. The instructional text for this ritual, the *Kokūzō bosatsu nōman shogan saishōshin darani gumonjihō* noted earlier in this chapter, was brought to Japan by the priest Dōji (道慈 d. 744) upon his return from China in 718. At some point during his Buddhist study in Chang’an, he received it from the Indian monk Subhakarasiṃha (also in Chang’an, translating texts from Sanskrit to Chinese).¹²¹ In addition to Dōji, several other monks within the Nara region practiced the *gumonjihō*. Dōji taught it to his

¹¹⁷ There is evidence that priests such as Shinei (神叡, d. 737, associated with Gangōji, but active in Hossō, Kegon, and Sanron studies), Dōji (道慈 675-744, affiliated with Daianji and the Sanron school), Dōsen (道璿 from Tang dynasty China, 702-60), Gomyō (護命, 750-834, affiliated with the Hossō school), and Dōshō (道昌, 798-875, affiliated with the Sanron school) were involved in *jinenchishū* activities in addition to their duties at the various Nara temples with which they were associated. Sonoda Kōyū, *Heian bukkyō no kenkyū*, 31-46.

¹¹⁸ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, ed., *Komikkyō: Nihon mikkyō no taidō 古密教: 日本密教の胎動* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2005), 163.

¹¹⁹ Como, *Weaving and binding*, 68. Daianji housed a copy of *Kan Kokūzō Bosatsu hei kyo 觀虛空藏菩薩并經*, a text used in Kokūzō visualizations. Sano Kenji, *Kokūzō Bosatsu shinkō no kenkyū*, 54. Daianji is the temple where Dōji resided, the monk who was one of the early *gumonjihō* practitioners.

¹²⁰ Here I incorporate Reynolds’ theory of ascetic practices as described in his chapter. See Reynolds, “Power,” 225.

¹²¹ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 151.

disciple Zengi (善義 729-812), while monks such as Gonsō (勤操 758-827) and Gomyō (護命 750-834) were also known as masters of this meditation.¹²² The 1399 (Ōei 6) *Sangoku Buppō dentsū engi* 三国仏法伝通縁起 (*Record of the transmission of Buddhist law to the three nations*) adds Kūkai to this lineage.¹²³ His individual experience of this ritual will be discussed below. It is thus evident that the *gumonjihō* was performed with relative frequency in Japan as early as the eighth century, and that it was practiced by high-ranking Nara-area priests affiliated with a variety of Buddhist scholarly traditions.¹²⁴ In addition, as Michael Como points out, many *gumonjihō* practitioners such as Gonsō and Gomyō were members of the Hata 秦 lineage, an immigrant kinship group from the Korean kingdom of Silla instrumental in integrating local deities into the fabric of the imperial household's belief system.¹²⁵ Elements of Korean belief systems thus may have been a part of this ritual.

In the first step of the *gumonjihō*, the text instructs the practitioner to create the image used in the procedure:

Draw a full, white moon on silk or on a clean board. Inside the moon draw an image of Kokūzō Bosatsu. The deity should be painted gold and seated in half-lotus position upon a lotus throne. The face should appear peaceful and joyful. There are five Buddhas in the crown, seated in full-lotus position. The deity holds a white lotus in the left hand. It may also be red. A jewel, lapis-colored with yellow light emerging from it, is on top of the lotus. The right hand performs the *yōgan-in* [giving] mudra. The five fingers face downwards with the palm facing outwards. This completes the image.¹²⁶

¹²² Ibid; Sonoda Kōyū, *Heian bukkyō no kenkyū*, 42-43. Sonoda proposes that the lineage for the transmission of this ritual went from Dōji to Zengi, Zengi to Gonsō, and from Gonsō to Kūkai. However, the only text that discusses the transmission of the *gumonjihō* to Kūkai, the *Sangō shiiki* discussed below, does not name any specific teacher, using only the label *shamon* 沙門 (Skt. *sramana*, ascetic practitioner). See the preface of this text in KZ3: 324.

¹²³ Reproduced in Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Komikkyō*, 110, 89.

¹²⁴ No records exist of actual occurrences of this ritual in either India or China.

¹²⁵ Como, *Weaving and binding*, 18-19.

¹²⁶ T20: 1145. Author's brackets. A summary in modern Japanese is feature in Sonoda Kōyū, *Heian bukkyō no kenkyū*, 38-40.

The practitioner then finds a secluded, peaceful place, on top of a mountain (in a hut), and hangs the image on the wall facing west. As is standard with most Esoteric Buddhist rituals, a mandala (or altar) is constructed, in this case out of fragrant wood, and placed in front of the image. On top of the altar, the practitioner offers incense, candles, flowers, food and drink in front of the Kokūzō Bosatsu image. The deity is welcomed into the ritual space by a series of mantras and mudras, but is not yet seen by the practitioner. In order for Kokūzō Bosatsu to appear, the practitioner must recite the dharani of Kokūzō Bosatsu one million times over a period of one hundred days. When the deity does appear, the practitioner visualizes the characters that make up the dharani of Kokūzō Bosatsu emerging from the deity, flowing into the practitioner's head, out of the mouth, and back into the feet of the deity, in a circular path. After this pinnacle of the ritual, the practitioner regulates his/her breathing, sends the deity on its way, and the procedure ends.¹²⁷

This ritual formula is standard in Esoteric practice: preparation of the ritual altar, invitation of the deity into the ritual space through mudras (symbolic hand gestures), recitation of mantras, dharani, and eidetic contemplations (visualizations), identification with the deity, and finally the sending away of the divinity. Such a process emphasizes images of divinities in what Cynthea Bogel calls the “logic of similarity.” Within this system, painted or sculpted images are not representations, but part of a holistic whole in which the speech, movements, images and practitioner are all part of a “transformatory grid for the liberating and creative energy of Dharmakāya Buddha, and thus can be understood as the substance of that energy.”¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Yamasaki Taikō, *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism* (Boston; New York: Shambhala Publications, 1996), 185-88

¹²⁸ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 6.

As in other Shingon rites in the lineage of Kūkai, dharani play a key role in the *gumonjihō*. As Ryūichi Abe reveals in his examination of Kūkai's *Heart Sūtra* commentary, to Kūkai, dharani were the "climax in which the scriptural text culminates."¹²⁹ The physical "recitation of the dharani, then, allows practitioners to participate immediately in the bodhisattva's act of leading living beings to enlightenment."¹³⁰ Dharani also provide "the critical moment...in which the scriptural text and the reader's somaticity integrate themselves into a ritual action."¹³¹

The *gumonjihō* is traditionally known as a ritual that is "intended to bring about 'union' with the deity of the Morning Star, Kokūzō Bosatsu" and as such is sometimes referred to as the "Morning Star Meditation."¹³² However, the phrase denoting the celestial body (明星 *myōjō*) is not noted in the ritual text noted above. An optional portion of the ritual involves offering heated milk during a lunar eclipse after the main procedure has ended, but this involves the moon rather than a star or other planet.¹³³

It is perhaps futile to trace the precise origins of the Venus/Kokūzō Bosatsu connection, but we are well-served to recall that it first appears in Zhiyi's sixth-century preface to the *Lotus Sūtra* (which exists in the form of a Tang dynasty edition), illustrating that the celestial body and Buddhist deity were related prior to or, or at least around the time of the introduction of Kokūzō Bosatsu to Japan. While some scholars assert that the connection between Venus and Kokūzō

¹²⁹ Ryūichi Abe, "Scholasticism, exegesis, and ritual practice: on renovation in the history of Buddhist writing in the early Heian period," in *Heian Japan, centers and peripheries*, ed. Mikael S. Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 204.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 205.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 205-6.

¹³² Yamasaki Taikō, *Shingon*, 182; Ruppert, *Jewel in the ashes*, 353, 420 n. 47. In this latter reference, Ruppert states that Kokūzō Bosatsu is associated with the north star, but to my knowledge the deity has only been associated with Venus, or the Morning Star, while Myōken Bosatsu is associated with the north star.

¹³³ Thomas Blenman Hare writes about the absence of the actual buttermilk in the ritual as it is performed today. However, he bases his assumption on Yamasaki Taiko's book. The book says that in Japan, "milk was uncommon", and that during colder months it would likely freeze, "necessitating a change in this part of the ritual." *Ibid.*, 183. Yamazaki gives no citation for this information, and even if milk was uncommon, it is not implausible that it was available for specialized rituals like this. Basing his argument solely on Yamazaki's statement, Hare assumes that it is Kūkai who interprets the milk out of the ritual. Hare, "Reading Writing and Cooking," 5.

Bosatsu has a long history within Japanese tradition but is not noted in sūtras,¹³⁴ this mode of thinking denies the deity's pan-Asian connections. This “long history” can be viewed as part of the rhetoric that posits Japan as the origin of all aspects of Japanese culture, when in fact Japan adopted and adapted cultural aspects from a variety of Asian regions.

After the *gumonjihō* ritual text, the connection between Kokūzō Bosatsu and Venus next appears in Kūkai's 797 (Enryaku 10) *Sangō shiiki* 三教指帰 (“Demonstrating the goals of the three teachings”), a “quasi-autobiographical fiction and Buddhist apologetic” that he supposedly wrote at age twenty-four.¹³⁵ In the preface to the text he describes his experience of the *gumonjihō*:

Then I met a Buddhist priest 沙門, who instructed me in the meditative practice of Kokūzō known as *gumonjihō*. The *gumonjihō* scripture says: “If one recites this mantra properly one million times, one will memorize the lines as well as the meanings of all the scriptures.” Trusting the sincere words of the Buddha, I engaged in recitation, constantly and diligently, as if rubbing one branch against another in the hope of producing a spark. At one point, I scaled the cliff of Mt. Tairyū in Awa; at another, I meditated intently at the cape of Muroto in Tosa. Valleys echoed sonorously, the Morning Star brightened.¹³⁶

Here Kūkai not only points out the significance of the ritual (“one will memorize the lines as well as the meanings of all the scriptures”), but he also states that the celestial body appeared after his meditation practice, although a cause-and-effect relationship is not explicit.¹³⁷ Kūkai's

¹³⁴ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 68.

¹³⁵ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 74. The original text is reproduced in KZ3: 324.

¹³⁶ Author's underline. Translated and reproduced in Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 74. An alternate translation of this passage appears in Yoshito S. Hakeda, *Kūkai: major works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 102.

¹³⁷ This episode is also noted in the *Goyuigō* 御遺告, reproduced in KZ2: 824. It elaborates that during this experience, that *myōjō* entered Kūkai's mouth. Although this text is traditionally described as Kūkai's final testimonial as recorded by one of his disciples in 835, current scholarly consensus states that it was written in the tenth century. See Brian Douglas Ruppert, *Jewel in the ashes: Buddha relics and power in early medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 105-06.

interest in the connection between celestial bodies and the human realm is further noted in this text, where he states, “the sun, moon, and the stars appear when the sky is clear. A man writes when he is moved.”¹³⁸ This passage illustrates that Kūkai recognized a parallel between revelations of the human realm and the celestial.

Kūkai’s mystical experience related to Kokūzō and Venus also appears in *Kūkai sōzuden* 空海僧都伝 (*Biography of the priest Kūkai*):

When Kūkai was practicing atop the peak of Mt. Tairyū in Awa,¹³⁹ the great sword of Kokūzō came flying towards him. [In doing so,] the bodhisattva showed his spiritual response. On another occasion, when Kūkai engaged in visualization [practices] at the cape of Muroto in Tosa,¹⁴⁰ the Morning Star entered his mouth and showed the wondrous power of the Buddha.¹⁴¹

Here is another account of Kūkai’s experience with Kokūzō Bosatsu, but again there is no causal relationship between the deity and the Morning Star. Nevertheless, the interrelationship between Kokūzō and the celestial body remains part of the deity’s iconography throughout subsequent centuries. Although this text is traditionally attributed to Kūkai’s disciple Shinzei, both Abe and Hakeda note its somewhat spurious authorship. It is agreed, however, that the text was written after 857, illustrating that even if the episode was falsified, the experience of Kūkai involving

¹³⁸ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 169.

¹³⁹ Modern-day Tokushima prefecture on the island of Shikoku. Kūkai was raised in Shikoku.

¹⁴⁰ Modern-day Kōchi prefecture, also in Shikoku.

¹⁴¹ Reproduced in Sohō Sen’yōkai 祖風宣揚会, ed., *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* 3rd ed., 6 vols., *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1967), *shukan* 首卷:1. An alternate translation appears in Hakeda, *Kūkai: major works*, 15-16. The recitation of mantras or dharani was seen as analogous to the presence of a deity, explaining why the Morning Star “entered [Kūkai’s] mouth.”

Kokūzō Bosatsu and Venus was well-circulated among authors of Buddhist texts in the ninth century.¹⁴²

However, Kūkai's was not the only *gumonjihō* experience during which Venus appeared. As Sonoda indicates, the experience of Dōshō (道昌 798-875) also shows the association between the *gumonjihō* and the celestial body. The narrative states that on the last night of his *gumonjihō* practice in 829 (Tenchō 6) at Katsunoidera 葛井寺 (the former name of the present Hōrinji 法輪寺) in the Saga area of Kyoto, mountains in the west obscured the moon. Since the moon was not longer visible, Dōshō instead venerated Venus, which was visible in the eastern sky. He made an offering of water, the light of the star became brighter, and Myōjō Tenshi 明星天子 appeared (fig. 6 shows a thirteenth-century Japanese representation of Myōjō Tenshi riding a dragon). Kokūzō Bosatsu then appeared on the sleeve of Dōshō's garment as if it had been sewn there. Using this image as a template, Dōshō then made a sculpture of Kokūzō Bosatsu, and put this sleeve inside of it. He and Kūkai offered this image to the temple. The secret image currently housed in the main hall of Saga Hōrinji in Kyoto is purportedly this very image.¹⁴³ The area around Hōrinji is still considered to be a sacred center of Kokūzō Bosatsu veneration, and the temple houses a secret image of the deity.

The experiences of Kūkai and Dōshō illustrate that Kokūzō Bosatsu and Venus were interrelated in Japan from at least the late eighth through the mid-ninth century. Recalling the importance of Venus within the five planets mentioned above, it is evident that in the context of the *gumonjihō* in Japan, Venus had lost its malevolent, militaristic guise prevalent within Tang

¹⁴² Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 471, n. 12; Hakeda, *Kūkai: major works*, 15-16.

¹⁴³ This episode is reproduced in Hase Hōshū 長谷宝秀, ed., *Kōbō Daishi deshi den 弘法大師弟子伝*, Reprint ed., 10 vols., *Kōbō Daishi zenshū 弘法大師全集* (Tokyo: Pitaka, 1977) 10: 44. As noted in Sonoda Kōyū, *Heian bukkyō no kenkyū*, 45.

dynasty cosmology.¹⁴⁴ Rather, it became associated with a ritual that supported clerical practice in a practical and useful manner (strengthening the memory). As noted above, Venus is not mentioned in the ritual text, but since the period of Kūkai and Dōshō onward, the relationship between the celestial body and Kokūzō Bosatsu mentioned in Zhiyi’s *Fahua wenju* became inextricably linked in the *gumonjihō* ritual in Japan. I suggest that practitioners of the *gumonjihō*, such as Kūkai and Dōshō (as well as disciples in Kūkai’s lineage, as we will see below), were part of a clerical circle that chose to emphasize the relationship between the two in order to lend another layer of cosmological authority to this deity.

Although this ritual was practiced among Nara period priests as an aid to strengthening their memories and equipping them to deal with the large amount of textual study required of Buddhist clergy members, the state also benefitted from it. As Sonoda Kōyū illustrates, during the early centuries of Buddhism in Japan, the memorization and recitation of sūtras was synonymous with their interpretation; this ability gave monks power in the eyes of the aristocracy, who often did not have access or the ability to read the texts.¹⁴⁵ Kūkai’s passage from *Sango shiiki* above supports this point, where he states that through practice of the *gumonjihō*, the adherent would memorize the lines as well as the “meanings of all the scriptures.” Thus, although the private, intimate practice of the *gumonjihō* would seem on the surface to only benefit its practitioner, the power that the individual gained through such practice was also used in official religious contexts. It was in the context of *jinenchishū* that monks performed rituals such as the *gumonjihō* on behalf of their imperial sponsors and by extension,

¹⁴⁴ I suggest, however, the possibility that the sighting of the deity in Japan within the *gumonjihō* context may have also been related to divination and portends, although the meaning of such sightings is unclear.

¹⁴⁵ Sonoda Kōyū, *Heian bukkyō no kenkyū*, 49-50.

the state.¹⁴⁶ The sponsors gained a type of spiritual capital. I will add that having the ability to summon the deity of a celestial body, Myōjō Tenshi (as recorded in the case of Dōshō), gave additional power to the practitioner. Considering that during the late eighth and early ninth centuries, Japan was ravaged by “epidemics, dispersed agriculture and an increasingly unbalanced social pyramid,”¹⁴⁷ these rites were vital to the rehabilitation of the nation.

The relationship between Kokūzō Bosatsu, Venus, and authority is but one example of celestial body worship within Japanese contexts from the seventh through ninth centuries. As Hirohata Sukeo illustrates through his analysis of seventh-century poetry and the pseudo-historical *Kojiki* 古事記 written in the eighth century, the emperor was venerated as a manifestation of the north star 北辰 (*hokushin*).¹⁴⁸ Rituals dedicated to Myōken Bosatsu, the north star and the seven stars of Ursa Major (commonly known as the big dipper, Jp. 北斗七星 *hokuto shichisei*) were related to worship of the imperial line as early as the eighth century.¹⁴⁹ Images of Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪観音 (Skt. Cintāmanicakra Avalokiteśvara) were also involved in rites dedicated to the stars of Ursa Major, especially as performed by Shingon practitioners in the ninth century.¹⁵⁰ Interpretation of celestial movements and celestial offerings, including those to Venus, appear in sources from the ninth century onward, and were a vital part

¹⁴⁶ The practice of the *gumonjihō* for national protection purposes was part of *chingo kokka* 鎮護国家 activities, a term referring to the ideological protection of the imperial lineage, its supporting houses, and geographical territories through ritual practices. For the religious and philosophical meanings of *chingo kokka* in the Heian period see Grapard, "Religious practices," 528-46. This issue will be explored further in subsequent chapters.

¹⁴⁷ Farris, *Japan to 1600*, x, 53.

¹⁴⁸ Hirohata Sukeo 広畑輔雄, "Nihon kodai ni okeru hokushin sūhai ni tsuite 日本古代における北辰崇拝について," in *Hoshi no shinkō: Myōken to Kokūzō 星の信仰：妙見と虚空蔵*, ed. Sano Kenji 佐野賢治 (Tokyo: Keisuisha, 1994), 93-105.

¹⁴⁹ Tsuda Tetsuei, "Images of stars and their significance in Japanese esoteric art of the Heian period," in *Culture and cosmos: a journal of the history of astrology and cultural astronomy*, ed. Lucia Dolce (Bristol: Culture and Cosmos, 2006), 149. See also Hayashi On, "Myōken bosatsu to hoshi mandara," 47-56.

¹⁵⁰ Cynthia Bogel, "Canonizing Kannon: The Ninth-Century Esoteric Buddhist Altar at Kanshinji," *Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (Mar 2002): 53-54; Tsuda Tetsuei, "Images of stars and their significance in Japanese esoteric art of the Heian period," 151. Rites involving Nyoirin Kannon were associated more with long life than with authority, but were still carried out in imperially-related temples such as Kanshinji. It was a site for star worship, en route to the Esoteric center of Kongōbuji on Mount Kōya. Bogel, "Canonizing Kannon," 43.

of the imperial and aristocratic belief system.¹⁵¹ In this context, it is clear that the role of Kokūzō Bosatsu and other deities related to celestial bodies were major elements in the system of national protection of ninth-century Japan.

The *fukutokuhō*: ritual for merit and virtue

Another ritual involving Kokūzō Bosatsu is the *fukutokuhō* 福德法, the ritual for merit (or blessings) and virtue, also called the *Kokūzōhō* 虚空藏法. The procedure for this ritual is found in the first fascicle of the *Daikokūzō Bosatsu nenjūhō* 大虚空藏菩薩念誦法, translated by Amoghavajra and brought to Japan by Kūkai upon his return from China.¹⁵² In this context, Kokūzō Bosatsu is associated with the *nyoi hōjū* 如意宝珠, or wish-fulfilling jewel.¹⁵³ Such jewels were seen simultaneously as representing the ruler and relics of the Buddha, thus bestowing great power upon whoever possessed them.¹⁵⁴

This procedure came about in the early Heian period, as Izumi maintains, in order to provide a ritual that focused more directly on protection of the realm under the emperor's control than on individual benefit, as the *gumonjihō*.¹⁵⁵ As indicated above, however, the *gumonjihō* was also performed for the benefit of the nation, although in a more subtle and indirect way. The direct aim of the *fukutokuhō*, was to invoke the deity to bestow merit upon the general population. This was necessary especially during the ninth century for several reasons. During this period, inclement weather and poor sanitation caused plagues and famines which ravaged large segments

¹⁵¹ Hayami Tasuku 速水侑, *Heian kizoku shakai to bukkyō 平安貴族社会と仏教* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975), 53-55.

¹⁵² T20: 1146. As noted in Kūkai's *Catalogue*, KZ 1: 77-78.

¹⁵³ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 42-3.

¹⁵⁴ Ruppert, *Jewel in the ashes*, 145-47. For the significance of the *nyoi hōjū* at Mt. Murō see Fowler, *Murōji*, 21, 23, 25-27.

¹⁵⁵ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 39.

of the population.¹⁵⁶ The cause of these malicious phenomena may have been seen as the degeneration of faith and morality, as well as the presence of vengeful spirits.¹⁵⁷ Invoking the power of a deity, like Kokūzō Bosatsu, to bestow virtue upon people might serve to bring the nation back to a state of prosperity, both moral and financial.

The short ritual manual for this rite states that it is practiced for the elimination of sins and to increase the merit and virtue (福德 *fukutoku*) of those lacking. The standard Esoteric ritual procedure follows, with construction of a mandala altar in a secluded area. An image of Kokūzō Bosatsu is placed in the west, facing east. A series of mudras and mantras are performed and the adherent visualizes all Buddhas; to the right of the Buddhas is Kannon Bosatsu (觀音菩薩 Skt. Avalokiteśvara, Ch. Guanyin) and other associated deities; to the left are Kongōshū (金剛手 Skt. Varapāni, Ch. Jīngāngshǒu) and related deities. Kokūzō Bosatsu is visualized next, and after offerings of scented water are made, all deities are visualized as one. The *katsuma* 羯磨 (Skt. *karma*, referring to action) mudra is then performed, which consists of the adherent grasping a crystal jewel-shaped implement in the hand and placing it at certain key parts on the body.¹⁵⁸ The procedure closes with the sending-off of the deity.

The text does not include any description of the image to be used in the ritual. Izumi states that this is because the procedure calls for a visualization of the deity. He also illustrates that in several records of this rite dating from the tenth century onward, the images of Kokūzō Bosatsu that were visualized during the procedure held a jewel in the left hand, while the right hand held

¹⁵⁶ William Wayne Farris, "Famine, Climate and Farming in Japan, 670-1100," in *Heian Japan, centers and peripheries*, ed. Mikael S. Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 294, 296.

¹⁵⁷ Farris, *Japan to 1600*, 62.

¹⁵⁸ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsu," 42-43.

a sword or performed a mudra.¹⁵⁹ The ritual text does indeed state that an image of Kokūzō Bosatsu be placed in the west of the practice area, facing east, but it is unclear whether this referred to a physical painting or sculpture, or a mental visualization. An unidentified “later text” states that in the absence of descriptions of the image to be used, the image to be used in the *fukutokuhō* is perhaps the same as that used in the *gumonjihō*.¹⁶⁰

One of the sources related to Kokūzō Bosatsu visualization which Izumi mentions is of great interest to this dissertation. *Yōson dōjō kan* 要尊道場觀, a compilation of visualizations rites collected by the priest Jun’yū (淳祐 890-953) from Ishiyamadera 石山寺 in Shiga prefecture, includes a detailed visualization for Kokūzō Bosatsu:

Visualize above the ground the water of eight virtues. In the water is a jeweled mountain. Atop the mountain is a jeweled pavilion. An eight-lion throne is in the pavilion, and a full moon disk is on the throne. One seven-jewel lotus flower is atop the diSk. Atop the flower is [a Sanskrit syllable], the transformative form of which is the jewel. The transformative form of the jewel is Kokūzō Bosatsu. The skin is gold and it wears a five-Buddha crown. The right hand performs the *seigan-in*, the left holds a jewel.¹⁶¹

The jewel referred to at the end of this passage is likely a wish-fulfilling jewel, a symbol of spiritual authority and political power.

The account of this visualization as recorded by Jun’yū continues with the recitation of another mantra and performance of a mudra, and then the *Nōman shogan Kokūzō Bosatsu saishō darani* 能滿諸願虛空藏菩薩最勝陀羅尼 is recited. This dharani is similar to that recited in the

¹⁵⁹ Either the *seigan-in* (施願印 wish-granting) or *yōgan-in* (與願印 giving) mudra. Ibid., 43.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ T78: 2468.

gumonjihō. Next, surprisingly, the Godai Kokūzō mantra is spoken;¹⁶² in the text, the mantra is indicated by the five seed (Siddham) syllables (Jp. *shūji* 種字, Skt. *bija*) for each of the Godai Kokūzō.¹⁶³ This shows a direct relationship between the concepts of single versus pentad configurations of the deity; the mantra of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu is necessary to invoke the power of the single deity. Another mantra is recited, and then the procedure ends.

With the inclusion of the Godai Kokūzō mantra and the same dharani as the *gumonjihō*, this account illustrates the association of all these elements at least by the mid-tenth century. It also states that a lion throne is the vehicle for the Kokūzō Bosatsu visualization, an element which is important to the animal-related iconography of the Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, to be discussed in Chapter Four.

Sources are silent regarding specific ninth-century *fukutokuhō* performances or requests for the ritual by the imperial family. Nevertheless, both the *fukutokuhō* and Kokūzō Bosatsu were a part of the performative and symbolic power lexicon that protected the state through invoking the deity to bestow merit and knowledge upon its inhabitants. As noted above, these were necessary elements for attainment of Buddhahood, and in a time of rampant famines and plagues, such virtues served to increase the morality of the people and stop whatever unexplainable powers that caused the disasters. The images used (or visualized) during these rituals thus also hold prime significance within the social, religious and art historical milieu of ninth-century Japan and beyond.

¹⁶² It should be noted here that both dharani and mantras (Jp. *shingon* 真言) are spoken syllables that have inherent power. Dharani, however, are typically longer than mantras, and specific mantras are often associated with a particular deity. Ruppert, *Jewel in the ashes*, 372.

¹⁶³ Siddham syllables, often called “seed syllables,” represent a visual and aural dimension of Esoteric practice. Each deity will often have one specific syllable associated with it.

Early Kokūzō Bosatsu images

I have illustrated above the difficulty of securely identifying certain images as Kokūzō Bosatsu in various Asian contexts, based on the somewhat inconsistent iconography of this deity. I will now examine Japanese images of the deity, but will be conscious of the fluid character of eighth through ninth-century religious praxis that may account for conflicting iconography of the images. It is ideal to narrow the focus of this discussion to images dated up until the middle of the ninth century to gain perspective on how the deity was viewed in the religious landscape of Japan around the time that the three known Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads were housed at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji. However, due to the paucity of images and texts dated to this early period, I will also examine iconographical drawings of Kokūzō Bosatsu from the eleventh and twelfth centuries in order to get a sense of different forms of the deity. The use of later data, as long as it appears to be free of self-serving agendas on part of the authors, is often beneficial for the study of earlier trends in religious visual imagery.¹⁶⁴

Tanabe Saburōsuke and Konno Toshifumi have created a typology for Kokūzō Bosatsu images, dividing them into four categories: those created for the *gumonjihō*; those created for the *fukutokuhō*; those created for the *Kan Kokūzō Bosatsu e*; and miscellaneous forms found in Esoteric mandalas and iconographical manuals.¹⁶⁵ While such an approach can help to generally categorize information about the deity, basing function solely on iconographical features can obscure other forms of the deity that may also have held importance at their time of production, as well as discount the possible fluidity that existed in terms of images' functions and iconography. In addition, as Izumi indicates, many images of Kokūzō Bosatsu were created

¹⁶⁴ This method is also utilized by Suzuki, "The medicine master," 5.

¹⁶⁵ Tanabe Saburōsuke 田辺三郎助 and Konno Toshifumi 紺野敏文, *Bosatsu 菩薩*, vol. 2, *Nihon no butszō dai hyakka 日本の仏像大百科* (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1990), 177-79.

during the eighth century, a time when iconographical forms had not yet been standardized.¹⁶⁶

The following discussion will illustrate the degree to which the iconography of Kokūzō Bosatsu images differed, making the identification of a certain image type with a specific ritual difficult.

Another problem with such categorization of Kokūzō Bosatsu images by their ritual function lies in the fundamental ritual text for the *gumonjihō*, the *Kokūzō Bosatsu nōman shogan saishōshin darani gumonjihō*. This text states that the deity should be drawn (書 Jp. *kaku*, Ch. *hua*), and does not indicate whether or not a sculpture could be used in the ritual. Sano Kenji states that most Kokūzō Bosatsu drawings and votive plaques 掛け仏 (*kakebotoke*) were for use in the *gumonjihō*, and sculpted images were used in the *fukutokuhō*.¹⁶⁷ However, I will demonstrate that both the medium and the iconography of early Kokūzō Bosatsu images varied, but not necessarily according to their function. Many small, sculpted images of Kokūzō Bosatsu datable to the eighth and ninth centuries and associated with mountain religious practices suggest that sculpted images were indeed used for such rituals. I propose that sculptures and possibly paintings were used in both rituals, indicating the important role these images had in the politico-religious legitimization of imperial power.

The Gakuanji Kokūzō Bosatsu and Dōji

The earliest relatively securely identified sculpture of Kokūzō Bosatsu is currently housed at Gakuanji 額安寺 in the mountainous city of Yamatokoriyama 大和郡山 in Nara prefecture (fig. 7). It carries an inscription dated to 1282 (Kōan 5) on the base, stating it was used by Dōji in his

¹⁶⁶ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 32.

¹⁶⁷ Sano Kenji, *Kokūzō Bosatsu shinkō no kenkyū*, 18.

practice of the *gumonjihō*.¹⁶⁸ While this inscription alone is not sufficient to confirm the connection between Dōji and the image, other textual evidence supports the relationship between the sculpture and the priest. Gakuanji is known as the temple of the Nukata 額田 clan, of which Dōji was a member.¹⁶⁹ In addition, this temple is located in the mountains of Nara prefecture, making it an appropriately isolated location for *gumonjihō* practice. Izumi states that the image is typically dated to after Dōji's death in 744, and other scholars agree that it was created prior to the Heian period (794-1185) and was used in the *gumonjihō*.¹⁷⁰ It is possible that even if the sculpture was not used by Dōji himself, his disciples or clan members may have donated it to him at a site where the eminent priest had conducted the ritual.

However, iconographical features of the Gakuanji Kokūzō Bosatsu sculpture raise questions as to its function. It is a small image, measuring 51.5 cm in height, and sits upon a lotus base with one leg pendant. It is an early example of the *mokushin kanshitsu* (木心乾漆, wood-core dry lacquer) technique, with the lacquer layer considerably thicker than in later sculptures.¹⁷¹ The image is painted, but records indicate that this pigment is a more recent restoration.¹⁷² The left hand is held down, palm facing upward with the fingers slightly curled in, possibly in the wish-

¹⁶⁸ As noted earlier in this chapter, Dōji brought the *gumonjihō* text to Japan in 718. An image and summary in modern Japanese of the 1282 inscription can be found in Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 30. It states that the image was used in the *gumonjihō* by Dōji, who brought the ritual to Japan, and that the Buddhist sculptor Zenshun 善春 (act. mid-thirteenth century) and the Buddhist painter Myōchō 明澄 (act. mid-thirteenth century) repaired the crown and the mandorla and repainted the image. The Saidaiji priest Eison (叡尊 1201-90) then performed the eye-opening ceremony, effectively re-consecrating the image (the eye-opening ceremony is the final step in Buddhist image consecration). Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Komikkyō*, 162.

¹⁶⁹ Inoue Kaoru 井上薫, *Nihon kodai no seiji to shūkyō 日本古代の政治と宗教* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1961), 233. *Zoku Nihongi 続日本記* in Kokushi taikai henshūkai 国史大系編修会, ed., 66 vols., *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai 新訂増補国史大系* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964-67), hereafter "KT," 2, 179.

¹⁷⁰ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 32; Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Komikkyō*, 162.

¹⁷¹ Honma Toshio 本間紀男, "X sen ni yoru Nōmanji Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō oyobi Gakuanji Kōkuzō Bosatsu hankazō no kenkyū X線による能満寺虚空蔵菩薩坐像及び額安寺虚空蔵菩薩半跏像の研究," *Tokyo geijutsu daigaku bijutsu gakubu kiyō 東京芸術大学美術学部紀要* 15 (1980): 68.

¹⁷² Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Komikkyō*, 162.

bestowing mudra, although it may have originally held something.¹⁷³ The right arm is bent up at the elbow, the fingers lightly grasping the long stem of a small lotus bud with large leaves (a modern reproduction).¹⁷⁴ This iconography differs from that noted in the ritual manual for the *gumonjihō*, which states that the right hand performs the mudra while the left holds the lotus. Iconographical manuals such as *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 compiled in the late Heian period by the Shingon priest Shinkaku (心覺, 1117-1181?), and *Shoson zuzō* 諸尊図像 compiled around 1129 by Shingon clerics, contain simply rendered drawings of Kokūzō Bosatsu labeled “*gumonjihō*,” that do match the iconography of the *gumonjihō* ritual manual (figs. 12 and 13, respectively). These drawings depict the deity seated in full lotus position holding a jewel-topped lotus stem in the left hand while the right hand performs the *yōgan-in*. Izumi and other scholars excuse this discrepancy because the image is still significantly similar to that indicated in the text.¹⁷⁵ There is cogency to Izumi’s theory; I would add that Buddhist sculptors may have confused the image’s right with the viewer’s right when referring to the ritual manual. However, the pendant leg is not indicated in the ritual manual, nor is there any way of determining what attributes the image originally held. Despite the inscription stating the Gakuanji image was used for the *gumonjihō*, it is perhaps premature to assume the function of the image based on its present iconography.

While the Gakuanji sculpture is the earliest relatively securely identified Kokūzō Bosatsu image extant in Japan, Dōji is also reported to have brought back an iconographical drawing of Kokūzō Bosatsu, a Kamakura period (1185-1333) copy of which is now housed at Daigoji 醍醐寺, a Shingon temple in the Yamashina-area of Kyoto (fig. 8). Written above the deity is an

¹⁷³ Within this dissertation, all references to the right or left of an image indicate the deity’s standpoint, rather than the viewer’s.

¹⁷⁴ The eleventh-century Kokūzō Bosatsu sculpture housed at Konshōji 金勝寺 in Shiga prefecture has this same iconography. Rittō rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan 栗東歴史民族博物館, *Konshōji: Rōben setsuwa to nijūgo betsuin* 金勝寺：良弁説話と二十五別院 (Rittō chō: Benridō, 1995), 48.

¹⁷⁵ Izumi Takeo, “Kokūzō Bosatsuzō,” 32; Tanabe Saburōsuke and Konno Toshifumi, *Bosatsu*, 177, 80.

inscription stating, “picture of the main image for the *gumonjihō*” 求聞持法根本圖像, and also that Dōji handed it down to his disciples Zengi and Gonsō. Excluding Kūkai, this is the same lineage noted in the 1399 *Sangoku Buppō dentsū engi* mentioned earlier.

The deity in the drawing is seated in full lotus position with both legs folded, and holds the right hand down in the *yōgan-in* while the other grasps a long-stemmed lotus topped by a flaming jewel. While this image fits the iconography described in the *gumonjihō* ritual text exactly (and was likely the model for the twelfth-thirteenth century Kokūzō Bosatsu painting on silk, now housed in the Tokyo National Museum¹⁷⁶), this type of image had probably not developed by Dōji’s time.¹⁷⁷ *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔, an iconographic manual compiled by the Shingon priest Kakuzen (覺禪 b. 1143)¹⁷⁸ contains a similar image with fluttering drapery and jeweled embellishments, which is also labeled “*gumonjihō*,” indicating that this form of Kokūzō Bosatsu was likely widely accepted by this point.¹⁷⁹ While the transmission of the ritual from Dōji to Zengi, to Gonsō (upon whom Kūkai performed *abhisekha* in 816),¹⁸⁰ and then to Kūkai is entirely plausible, the lineage noted on this image may have been added at a later date to legitimize the drawing within the Shingon tradition. In addition, the discrepancy between the iconography of this drawing and the Gakuanji sculpture also raises questions the question of why two early images of Kokūzō Bosatsu so central to Dōji’s *gumonjihō* practice have such different iconography, such as the hands and the position of the legs.

¹⁷⁶ For an image see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Komikkyō*, fig. 29.

¹⁷⁷ Izumi Takeo, “Kokūzō Bosatsuzō.” I would also add that the early date attached to the original of this drawing is spurious, as there are striking similarities between it and later paintings from the Kamakura (1185-1333) period and later, while no Nara or early Heian period images like this exist.

¹⁷⁸ Kakuzen was a priest of the Ono branch of Shingon, and created this iconographical compilation independent from those compiled by the contemporary Hirosawa branch. Hirano Kunio 平野邦雄 and Seno Seisaburō 瀬野精一郎, eds., *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten* 日本古代中世人名事典 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2006), 205.

¹⁷⁹ TZ5: 78.

¹⁸⁰ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 230.

The inscription below the image also includes the phrase *nosuji no gotoku* 野筋の如く (lit. “similar to a field”), a somewhat cryptic reference to the stem attached to the bottom of Kokūzō’s lotus pedestal. This stem physically and conceptually connects the deity to the landscape depicted below, and implies that Kokūzō Bosatsu is clearly visible atop mountains. This is depicted in the Tokyo National Museum painting.¹⁸¹ I would add, however, that the implications of the stem linking the deity with the landscape are greater; Kokūzō Bosatsu was a major deity within *jinchishū* traditions, and had a significant connection to mountains, as evidenced in the mountainous practice spaces of the *gumonjihō*. The perception of mountains as liminal realms between heaven and earth, with significant energy sources that served as the loci of magical phenomena, reached a peak during the Nara and early Heian periods. Kokūzō Bosatsu embodied such concepts, and with its celestial associations with Venus, proved to be an appropriate deity of veneration in mountain practices during these centuries.

Furthermore, the ninth century was a period in which celestial diviners were increasingly called upon by the government to interpret celestial phenomena. In addition to the spiritual power and increased memorizational skills gained through the *gumonjihō*, through observation of Venus throughout the duration of the practice, priests probably also became aware of the planet’s movements or changes. They may have been called upon by celestial diviners of the *onmyōryō* to share knowledge of such changes so that its effects on government affairs could be interpreted. It is possible that the Gakuanji sculpture was used within this very milieu.

¹⁸¹ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Komikkyō*, 164.

The Nōmanji Kokūzō Bosatsu

The seated Kokūzō Bosatsu sculpture currently housed at Nōmanji 能満寺 in Fukushima prefecture (figs. 9a, 9b) shows another iconographical form of Kokūzō Bosatsu.¹⁸² Records indicate that during the eighth century, it was housed at Tōdaiji 東大寺, a major center of Nara period Buddhism, although the sculpture's function there is not known.¹⁸³ It is a relatively small image, measuring 62.5 cm tall, made with a wooden core (likely one of the earliest uses of *kaya*, or Japanese nutmeg, Lat. *Torreya nuijera*) and covered with a mixture of sawdust and lacquer (*kokuso urushi* 木屎漆).¹⁸⁴ The bodhisattva is seated in full lotus position, with the left arm hanging at the side but bent up at the elbow, palm facing upward. The right arm is held in almost the identical position, but the hand is sideways and makes an open fist, as if grasping something. The image is normally displayed at the temple holding a sword in this hand (fig. 9b).¹⁸⁵

Homma Toshio's analysis of x-rays taken of the Nōmanji image indicate that the hands are later replacements, so the original position of the hands as well as their contents remains unclear.¹⁸⁶ The lack of records describing the original iconography of this sculpture raise the question as to whether or not it was originally made as a Kokūzō Bosatsu. I believe that this

¹⁸² The image has been at Nōmanji since 1945. Honma Toshio, "X sen ni yoru Nōmanji Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō oyobi Gakuanji Kōkuzō Bosatsu hankazō no kenkyū X," 34; Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai bukkyō bijutsu 1 (Hokkaidō-Tōhoku)* 国宝重要文化財仏教美術1 (北海道・東北) (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1972), 215.

¹⁸³ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Komikkyō*, 162.

¹⁸⁴ *Kokuso urushi* 木屎漆 is a mixture of sawdust and lacquer. It is often used for modeling sculptural details such as hair and ornaments, as well as for repairs. Waei taishō Nihon bijutsu yōgo jiten henshūinkai 和英対照日本美術用語辞典編集委員会, ed., *Nihon bijutsu yōgo jiten 日本美術用語辞典* (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 1990), 214.

¹⁸⁵ Morse switched the identification of this Kokūzō Bosatsu image with an image of Monju housed at Yakushiji in his article, Samuel Crowell Morse, "Japanese sculpture in transition: an eighth-century example from the Tōdaiji Sculpture Workshop," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 13, no. 1 (1987): 65. This is a testament to the inconsistent, confusing nature of Kokūzō Bosatsu's iconography. The Kokūzō Bosatsu is correctly identified in Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, ed., *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai bukkyō bijutsu 1 (Hokkaidō-Tōhoku)* 国宝重要文化財仏教美術1 (北海道・東北), 94. The Monju sculpture is correctly identified in Hasegawa Makoto 長谷川誠, "Monju zazō 文殊座像," in *Nara rokudaiji taikan* 奈良六大寺大観, ed. Nara rokudaiji taikan kankōkai 奈良六大寺大観刊行会, vol. 6, *Yakushiji* 薬師寺 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), 70-71.

¹⁸⁶ Honma Toshio, "X sen ni yoru Nōmanji Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō oyobi Gakuanji Kōkuzō Bosatsu hankazō no kenkyū," 49.

issue can be applied to many unidentified bodhisattvas as well, since the iconographical features of Kokūzō Bosatsu (sword and jewel) are easily changed and are shared by other Buddhist deities. However, if this Nōmanji image did hold a sword in the right hand and a jewel in the left, the iconography would match that of Kokūzō Bosatsu in the *Taizōkyū zuyō* 胎藏旧図様, the iconographical manual that the Tendai patriarch Enchin (円珍 814-891, who was also Kūkai's nephew) brought to Japan from China in 858 (Ten'an 2) (fig.10).¹⁸⁷ This iconographical manual post-dates the Nōmanji image, however, so it is clear that this form of Kokūzō Bosatsu did not originate from this iconographical compilation.¹⁸⁸

Yatadera Kokūzō Bosatsu

Another Kokūzō Bosatsu image with iconography similar to that of the Nōmanji image is a seated sculpture housed at Kitasōbō 北僧坊, a subtemple of Yatadera 矢田寺 in the mountains Yamatokoriyama of Nara, a few kilometers away from Gakuanji (fig. 11).¹⁸⁹ With the exception of the hands and gently fluttering drapery garlands, this 86.3 cm-tall image is made from a single block of lightweight paulownia wood. Dated to the ninth century by features such as the *honpa shiki* 翻波式 (alternating wave) pattern in the drapery folds, the fleshy figure sits with one leg pendant upon a lotus base, the open left palm resting on the left knee of the pendant leg, the right

¹⁸⁷ Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzōbu* 大正新修大藏經図像部, 12 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-35), hereafter "TZ," 2: 520.

¹⁸⁸ The Nōmanji image is the oldest image with this iconography. Scholars such as Tanabe Saburōsuke believe that this Kokūzō Bosatsu image, along with stylistically and technically similar sculptures of Monju Bosatsu (which is the exact height of the Nōmanji Kokūzō image) from Yakushiji, Miroku Bosatsu from Hōryūji and one other unidentified bodhisattva now at the Art Institute of Chicago comprised a four-figure group. Morse citing Tanabe Saburōsuke in Kurada Bunsaku 倉田文作 et al, ed., *Zaigai Nihon no shihō* 在外日本の至宝, vol. 8, *Chōkoku* 彫刻 (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1980), 162. Other scholars pair the Nōmanji image only with the Monju from Yakushiji, and point out the significance of these two images' usage within ritual and visual culture of eighth-century Buddhist traditions based in Nara. Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, ed., *Komikkyō*, 162. The specific function of such groupings is a topic that will be left for future research.

¹⁸⁹ This temple is also known as Yatasan Kongōsanji 矢田山金剛山寺.

forearm bent up at the elbow while the empty fingers grasp a missing object. The legs of this small image are in the same position of those of the Gakuanji image above, with its half lotus position with left leg pendant. However, the left hand resting on the knee with the palm facing upwards and the right arm bent up at the elbow holding an object are features which resonate with the Nōmanji image. Izumi concludes that because of the fist-like position of the hand, that the image likely held a sword.¹⁹⁰ However, Iwata Shigeki states that if a jewel were held in the open left hand and sword in the right (actual attributes are now lost), the iconography would match that of the Kokūzō Bosatsu depiction in the *Taizōkyū zuyō*,¹⁹¹ as with the Nōmanji image above. He also rightly states, however, that although the iconography does not exactly match that indicated in the *gumonjihō* ritual manual, considering that many temples in the mountainous areas of Kyoto were sites for *gumonjihō* practice and that the specific iconography of images used in these rituals varied slightly, it is possible that this image was used in the *gumonjihō* ritual.¹⁹²

The above discussion of Kokūzō Bosatsu images and the rites in which the deity was involved demonstrates that sculptures of this deity may have been used by practitioners for purposes of furthering legitimization and protection of the state, in both the contexts of the *gumonjihō* and the *fukutokuhō*.¹⁹³ Kūkai was one such practitioner who had close associations

¹⁹⁰ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 3.

¹⁹¹ Iwata Shigeki 岩田茂樹, "Yatadera no butsumō 矢田寺の仏像," in *Yatadera no butsumō 矢田寺の仏像*, ed. Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館 (Nara: Bukkyō bijutsu kyōkai, 2001), 5; Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 44; Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Komikkyō*, 163.

¹⁹² Iwata Shigeki, "Yatadera no butsumō," 5-6.

¹⁹³ Other independent Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures dated to the Heian period include the seated sculpture at Shōinji 勝因寺 in Mie prefecture and the standing sculpture at Kōonji 孝恩寺 in Osaka prefecture. The Shōinji and Kōonji images can be found in *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai taizen 国宝重要文化財大全*, ed. Mainichi Shinbunsha 毎日新聞社 and Daini Tosho Henshūbu 第二図書編集部, vol. 3, *Chōkoku 彫刻* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1997). See figs. 1194 and 1200, respectively. Further research is necessary to discern the precise ritual function of these lesser-studied images, as their current condition and lack of documentary support does not allow for an adequate assessment to be made at this point.

with Kokūzō Bosatsu and had a significant impact upon the incorporation of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads into the lexicon of mid-ninth century religious imagery.

Kūkai and his associations to Kokūzō Bosatsu

In order to understand the subsequent development of Kokūzō Bosatsu images in the eighth and ninth centuries, including images of the Five Great Kokūzō Bosatsu that are the focus of this dissertation, it is necessary to examine more closely the activities and writings of the Esoteric Buddhist patriarch Kūkai. Kūkai's disciples were central figures in the installation of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images in Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji, and it is necessary to investigate the ways in which Kūkai was associated with the deity.

I have discussed Kūkai's experience of the *gumonjihō* above. Despite the appearance of the *gumonjihō* texts and practice by a variety of priests throughout the eighth century, the ritual is still largely associated with this patriarch and his early participation in Buddhist ritual in the late eighth century, and has been touted as the ritual that set him on the path to study Esoteric Buddhism.¹⁹⁴ However, Ryūichi Abe states that since the young Kūkai did not perceive the *gumonjihō* necessarily as an Esoteric ritual, it did not have a significant impact on his later advocacy of Esoteric teachings.¹⁹⁵ While I agree that his experience with this ritual was not part of Esoteric Buddhist religious and visual culture early in his life (such a formalized, cohesive body of belief and practice was not demarcated), he did incorporate the deity and its celestial associations into his later lexicon of Esoteric Buddhism in the mid-ninth century.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Hakeda, *Kūkai: major works*, 22.

¹⁹⁵ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 75, 95.

¹⁹⁶ The labeling of the *gumonjihō* as part of Esoteric practice likely comes from clerics in later decades retroactively attributing dharani and mantra (a vital part of the *gumonjihō*) to what was known later as a distinct "Esoteric tradition."

The *gumonjihō* was part of Kūkai's early Buddhist experience, but his later religious activities also included Kokūzō Bosatsu. In addition to Buddhism, Kūkai also studied Daoist and Confucian classics, but later became disillusioned by them during his Confucian-based education at the official State College (大学 *Daigaku*), a Nara-based institution that trained elite aristocratic students for government service.¹⁹⁷ He eventually turned his attention to Mahāyana teachings instead, and joined the Nara Buddhist clergy.¹⁹⁸

As he progressed in clerical rank, however, in order to deepen his understanding of some early Esoteric texts and teachings that had entered Japan, specifically their ritual elements, he resolved to study in China.¹⁹⁹ In 804 (Enryaku 23), he was eventually granted permission to travel to China and to study at the Qinglongsi 青龍寺 monastery in the capital city of Chang'an. This temple was an important hub of Esoteric Buddhist study for Japanese clerics, a temple to which many Esoteric patriarchs, including Kūkai, traced their lineage.²⁰⁰ He spent eighteen months under the tutelage of the Chinese Esoteric master Huiguo (Jp. Eka, 惠果 746-805), and collected texts, images, and ritual manuals to take back to Japan in 806 (Daitō 1). Among these items were two texts related to Kokūzō Bosatsu: *Daikokūzō Bosatsu nenjuhō*,²⁰¹ mentioned earlier in relation to the *fukutokuhō*, and *Daijūdai Kokūzō Bosatsu shomonkyō* 大集大虚空藏菩薩所問經,²⁰² both of which are found in his *Catalogue*, submitted to the court in 806 upon his return to Japan.²⁰³ While the Indian and even Chinese provenance of these texts is debatable, the

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 22.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 73.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 105-11.

²⁰⁰ Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, "The Mizong Hall of Qinglongsi: Space, Ritual, and Classicism in Tang Architecture," *Archives of Asian Art* 44 (1991): 28.

²⁰¹ T20: 1146. This text describes the procedure for the *fukutokuhō*. Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 41.

²⁰² T13: 404.

²⁰³ See *Catalogue*, KZ1: 76-77.

fact that they appear in Kūkai's inventory is central to this discussion. They indicate the continuity of his interest in Kokūzō Bosatsu, both before and after his sojourn to China.

Another item associated with Kokūzō Bosatsu that Kūkai recorded in his *Catalogue* is the Taizō 胎藏 (Womb) mandala, which later became known in Japan as the Taizōkai 胎藏界 (Womb world) mandala.²⁰⁴ This mandala was used in Esoteric Buddhist initiations (Skt. *abhiṣekha*, Jp. *kanjō* 灌頂) in Japan. Kūkai likely paired this mandala and the Kongōkai 金剛界 (Diamond world) mandala together of his own accord for use in *abhiṣekha*, as there is no evidence for the pairing of the two in Chinese versions of this ritual.²⁰⁵ The earliest examples of this mandala in Japan are the mid-ninth century Takao 高雄 (sanji 山寺) mandala (also called the Jingoji mandala), copied for installation in the initiation hall (Jp. *kanjōdō* 灌頂堂) of Jingoji between 829 and 833,²⁰⁶ a copy known as the Saiin 西院 mandala housed at Tōji, dated to the

²⁰⁴ Kūkai's *Catalogue* does not call it the "Taizōkai (Womb world) mandala," but rather lists three forms of the Taizō (Womb) mandala: *Daibirushana daihi taizō daimandara* 大毘盧遮那大悲胎藏大曼荼羅, *Daihi taizōhō mandara* 大悲胎藏法曼荼羅, and *Daihi taizō sanmaya ryaku mandara* 大悲胎藏三昧耶略曼荼羅 as well as two forms of the Kongōkai (Diamond world) mandala. KZ 1: 94. For the development in terminology from Taizō to Taizōkai mandala, see Ishida Hisatoyo 石田尚豊, *Ryōkai mandara no chie* 兩界曼荼羅の智慧 (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 1979), 44; Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas: representations of sacred geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 36-37. According to Ishida, the Esoteric Buddhist patriarchs Subhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi (Jpn. Kongōchi 金剛智 671-732), and Amoghavajra utilized simplified "womb matrix" and "diamond matrix" mandalas in their practices. However, during the period of their successor Huiguo, the mandalas were quickly adjusted and synthesized into the "Womb world" and "Diamond world" mandalas, which is their present form. It is this form that Kūkai brought back with him from China. However, the present author is skeptical of Ishida's statement that the two mandalas were paired together in Chinese Buddhist praxis since there is scant evidence supporting this claim. The Japanese pictorial representations that Kūkai is associated with became what is known as the *genzu mandara* 現図曼荼羅 (contemporaneous illustration) tradition, the basis for the mandalas housed at Jingoji and Tōji. Bogel, *With a single glance*, 73, 371 n. 53.

²⁰⁵ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 233.

²⁰⁶ Reproduced in ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas*, figs. 58, 58, 60; Tokyo kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo 東京国立文化財研究所, *Takao mandara: bijutsu kenkyū hōkoku* 高雄曼荼羅: 美術研究所報告 (Tokyo: Tokyo kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, 1967), figs. 1, 10. This extant version, now housed at Jingoji, is a purportedly a copy of an 821 reproduction of the Taizōkai and Kongōkai mandalas that Kūkai brought to Japan. See Cynthia Bogel, "Situating Objects: a Sino-Japanese catalogue of imported items, 800 C.E. to the present," in *What's the use of art?: Asian visual and material culture in context*, ed. Jan Mrázek and Morgan Pitelka (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 163.

second half of the ninth century (fig. 14a),²⁰⁷ and a carved wooden plaque depicting the Womb and Diamond world mandalas dated to the Tang dynasty housed in the Japanese temple of Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺, Kūkai’s temple in Wakayama prefecture (fig. 4).²⁰⁸ Within the basic arrangement of this cosmic diagram, Esoteric deities are arranged in a hierarchal grid, with Dainichi Nyorai in the center and lesser deities organized in groups, or “halls” radiating outward from this center.²⁰⁹

The different sections of the Womb world mandala represent the structure of the Buddhist world, which is constructed like a three-dimensional, four-sided pyramid. The central Dainichi Nyorai is the highest point in the pyramid, with each outward register representing descending levels. Moving downward from the top, the front of the pyramid illustrates the Hall of the mantra holders (Jp. *jimyō* 持明 Skt. *vidyādhāra*) which consists of the bodhisattva Hannyaharamitta 般若波羅密多 (Skt. *Prajñāpāramitā*) in the center, with two kings of light (Skt. *vidyārāja*, hereafter *myōō* 明王) on either side.²¹⁰ Below this section is the Hall of Kokūzō (fig. 14b).

Kokūzō Bosatsu is in the center of this rectangular “hall,” the largest in a grouping of nineteen deities. The deity holds a sword in the right hand, and a long-stemmed lotus in the left hand. The deities within the Hall of Kokūzō embody “aspects of voidness,” and as Kokūzō Bosatsu is known as the space repository bodhisattva, the deity presides over all others in this

²⁰⁷ Reproduced in *Nihon no bi o meguru 日本之美をめぐる*, ed. Shimamoto Shūji 島本修二, ed., vol. 39, *Kūkai to mandara uchū 空海と曼荼羅宇宙* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2003), 21-24; ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas*, plates 6, 8.

²⁰⁸ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, 44. The “kai” suffix here is the addition of the Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, not the present author.

²⁰⁹ For a detailed explanation of the structure of this mandala see ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas*, 59-66. Although she calls the five Buddhas in the center of the Womb world mandala’s central lotus flower the Gochi Nyorai (Five Wisdom Buddhas), these deities are actually seen in the Perfected Body Assembly of the Kongōkai mandala. ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas*, 59. A discussion of the Gochi Nyorai follows below.

²¹⁰ ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas*, 62-64. Within Buddhist thought, light is often a reference to wisdom; hence, *vidyārāja* are also known as “wisdom kings.”

hall.²¹¹ The Womb world mandala iconography of Kokūzō Bosatsu illustrated in the iconographical manuals *Kakuzenshō* and *Besson zakki* (fig. 12) depicts the deity seated in full lotus position, the right hand grasping a flaming sword, the left hand holding a long-stemmed lotus flower with a flaming jewel on top. This form is seen in the ninth-century Saiin mandala as well (fig. 14b). The sword attribute also resonates with some of the aforementioned Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures, which may have held swords.

The adjacent placement of the three halls (those depicting the Buddhas, *myōō* and Kokūzō Bosatsu) within this mandala shows the close relationship between these three categories of deities. I believe that the visual grouping of these three deity categories (Buddha, bodhisattva, and *myōō*) in the mandala informed the *sanrinjin* configuration at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji during the min-ninth century. This ecclesiastically powerful tripartite arrangement was dedicated to protection of the state and the emperor, and is the focus of subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

Apart from these sections, the mandala also has imagery depicting celestial deities. One of the outermost sections contains imagery from the Western astrological zodiac such as Pisces (represented by two fish), Aquarius (represented by a water vase), Capricorn (represented by a sea monster), as well as Ragō (Skt. Rahu, one of the two lunar nodes involved in solar and lunar eclipses) depicted only by a large face framed by two hands.²¹² This reference to Western zodiac symbols indicates that imagery from a variety of belief systems were incorporated into the religious milieu of ninth-century Japan via China.²¹³

²¹¹ Ibid., 65.

²¹² Shimamoto Shūji, ed., *Kūkai to mandara uchū*, 20.

²¹³ Western zodiac motifs are seen in Chinese imagery from the end of the sixth century and became well-known during the Tang dynasty. Little and Eichman, eds., *Taoism and the arts of China*, 137. These images may have been incorporated simply as part of the mandala's visual imagery, and their inclusion does not necessarily indicate that Western zodiac calculation systems were in use in these regions.

The Womb mandala listed in Kūkai's *Catalogue* is one he purportedly copied from an original Chinese version while abroad. However, no Chinese versions of this mandala dated prior to Kūkai's time exist in China. The earliest versions that do exist are in Japan, including the three mentioned above (the paintings housed at Tōji Saiin and Jingoji, and the relief plaque housed at Kongōbuji). The paucity of these mandala within China may be due to the extensive ninth-century Buddhist persecutions that occurred there, among them the 845 Huicheng persecution.²¹⁴ However, the multiple versions housed in Japan that are related to Kūkai and the lack of images within China raise questions about the basis for the mandala's iconographical configuration.²¹⁵ As seen above, there are examples of Indian, Chinese and Korean imagery depicting Kokūzō Bosatsu and Mahāvairocana together in simpler configurations. According to Ishida Hisatoyo, the Womb world and Diamond world mandalas (known in Japan as the Ryōbu mandara 两部曼荼羅, or the mandalas of the two worlds), were standardized sometime between the time of Huiguo and Kūkai.²¹⁶ While I can make no conclusion regarding the iconographical origins of the Womb world mandalas in Japan (specifically those in the *genzu mandara* tradition associated with Kūkai), the fact that Kokūzō Bosatsu imagery is depicted in such a central location within a complex iconographical arrangement and in close proximity to the main Buddha and *myōō* in ninth-century depictions of the mandala is significant in light of my later discussion of the *sanrinjin* (three wheel bodies) configuration.

Apart from these relatively early encounters with Kokūzō Bosatsu, there are also connections to the deity in Kūkai's later writings. In his *Hizō hōyaku* 秘藏宝鑰 written in 830,

²¹⁴ Shatzman Steinhardt, "The Mizong Hall of Qinglongsi," 28.

²¹⁵ For more on Kūkai and his role in the reception of Esoteric Buddhist teachings and visual culture in Japan, see Bogel, "Situating Objects," 142-76.

²¹⁶ See the Introduction in Ishida Hisatoyo, *Ryōkai mandara no chie*, 43-44.

Kūkai alludes to the writings of the Chinese Tiantai master Zhiyi.²¹⁷ As noted above, *Fahua wenju* notes the connection between bodhisattvas and celestial bodies, among them specifically Kokūzō Bosatsu and Venus. While it is unclear whether or not Kūkai read this particular passage of Zhiyi's, it nevertheless presents the possibility, and at the very least indicates Kūkai's familiarity with the Chinese priest's works. Kūkai clearly had a broad knowledge base from studying a variety of religious traditions, and he incorporated aspects of them into his own thought. Thomas Blenman Hare's examination of Kūkai's sūtra interpretation strategies reveals how Kūkai "co-opted" strategies and elements from other religious traditions in order to make sense of what he admits to be complex epistemological problems.²¹⁸ This assessment is exemplified in the way Kūkai emphasized the relationship between Kokūzō Bosatsu and Venus (previously only seen in the Tiantai master Zhiyi's writings) in his *gumonjihō* experience, and will also be considered when examining the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads in subsequent chapters.

The images and texts illustrating Kūkai's relationship to Kokūzō Bosatsu thus play an important role in revealing how the deity was disseminated within the ninth-century Japanese Buddhist environment. Dōji first brought evidence of Kokūzō Bosatsu into Japan, but the deity took on a more prominent role after Kūkai returned from China and began incorporating his version of Esoteric concepts into the existing Japanese religious milieu. The inclusion of the deity in a relatively prominent place in the Womb world mandala indicates that the deity was considered a major part of the visual culture that came in with Kūkai, and one that his disciples and later patrons incorporated into politically significant sculptural configurations.

²¹⁷ Reproduced in *Butten kōza* 仏典講座, ed. Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教, vol. 32, *Hizō hōyaku/Hannya shingyō hikken* 秘藏宝鑰・般若心經秘鍵 (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan kabushiki gaisha, 1977), 277-78. Translated in Hakeda, *Kūkai: major works*, 210.

²¹⁸ Hare, "Reading Writing and Cooking," 253-73.

Conclusion

This chapter has proposed iconographical, ritual, and historical features of Kokūzō Bosatsu that may give certain clues to the development of the pentad configuration that emerges in the ninth century. As I have illustrated with early examples of Kokūzō Bosatsu images in India and China, the deity was most often depicted in these regions as one of a group or pair of bodhisattvas surrounding or flanking a central Buddha, either Śākyamuni, Mahāvairocana or Amitābha. This pre-established relationship with Mahāvairocana in texts and images was a precursor to the later grouping of these deities in Japanese Womb world mandalas and their expression of authority and power.

In Japan, Kokūzō Bosatsu the deity was venerated as an independent deity within the context of both the *gumonjihō* and the *fukutokuhō*. The *gumonjihō* was conducted with the intention of improving one's memory, as long-term repetition of the sole mantra of Kokūzō Bosatsu necessitated concentration and the limiting of extraneous information in a practitioner's mind. Such focused, meditative practice helped with mental clarity and concentration, aiding priests further in daily chanting and religious study. Gaining such specialized, legitimate knowledge, then, imbued them a type of power that was recognized by the imperial family as being beneficial for the politico-religious protection of the state. The association with Venus, while not seen in the ritual manual, was a vital part of the procedure, as Kūkai's and Dōshō's accounts prove. Incorporating part of the hierarchical celestial world into the Esoteric Buddhist ritual not only served as a concrete, visible reference point for the practitioner, but it gave the practitioner and perhaps his/her supporters a closer association with the celestial realm and thus another layer of cosmological authority. Kokūzō Bosatsu images used in the *gumonjihō* thus

served as a way of communicating the power of celestial and Buddhist deities to the earthly realm.

Performances of the *fukutokuhō* had another, although not dissimilar, goal in mind; to bestow merit and virtue upon the emperor's entire realm. Considering the dire situation of many of the inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago during the ninth-century brought on by rampant plagues and famines, such a ritual was a vital part of efforts to bring the nation back to a self-sustaining, thriving state. Although it is unclear if physical images of Kokūzō Bosatsu, visualizations of the deity, or both were utilized in this ritual, the deity within this context served to support the success of the realm and to improve the standing of the emperor who ruled over it. Although the iconography of images utilized in these rituals is not consistent, Kokūzō Bosatsu images nevertheless played a significant role in the politico-religious legitimization of the imperial family. The multivalent religious environment of eighth-century Japan provided a varied lexicon from which ruling parties and religious clerics could choose elements that reinforced their religious and political authority.

Later in the mid-ninth century, Kokūzō Bosatsu appears in the Womb world mandala, where he occupies a prominent place in close proximity to the images of Mahāvairocana and the *myōō*. It is these three types of deities (Buddhas, *myōō*, and Kokūzō Bosatsu) that become the vehicles for an expression of ecclesiastical and political authority in the ninth century. This was accomplished, as we will see in the following chapters, through the efforts of Kūkai's disciples to emphasize Kokūzō Bosatsu's celestial associations, adding yet another layer of cosmic authority to the deity. The deity was then replicated five times to correspond with Buddha and *myōō* pentads that resulted in a powerful ecclesiastical symbol that protected the nation, symbolized by the emperor, at three separate temples. As will be shown in following chapters,

the most significant change in the Japanese perception of Kokūzō Bosatsu occurred with the way in which Kūkai and his disciples interpreted this deity and its relationship to stars and politico-religious power in the mid-ninth century.

Chapter Two

The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad: iconography and synthesis

One central purpose behind the creation of Buddhist visual media and is to generate merit. The concept of repetition of such media is “a fundamental expression in Buddhist piety, whether through chanting, ritual, or image making.”²¹⁹ Through the replication and repetition of images, not only does the power of the deity increase in multiples, but the merit for the patron does as well. The present chapter will examine the emergence of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in ninth-century Japan, a configuration that consists of five different guises of Kokūzō Bosatsu. Such replications, especially in pentad form, are common in Esoteric Buddhist visuality, which increased greatly in the ninth century when Japanese Buddhist priests returned to Japan from Tang dynasty China with a plethora of Esoteric materials.

Both sculptures and at least one set of paintings of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad were produced during the ninth century, but only sculptures remain. Sculptures of this configuration were housed at three Kyoto-area temples (Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji) during a thirty-year span in the Heian period under the auspices of Kūkai’s disciples. Those from Jingoji (figs. 1a-1h) and possibly Anjōji (purportedly those now housed in Kanchiin, figs. 2a-2g) still exist, and thus will be our departure point for the examination of this iconographical formation. Later in the dissertation, an exploration of the specific historical circumstances that precipitated their creation will be discussed. As Wu Hung states, it is necessary to “pay attention to the function of...works, and to the cultural tradition and the social context in which they were [made].”²²⁰ Following this line of thought, this chapter will explore the treatment of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration in sūtras, ritual manuals and clerical records to reveal not only possible contexts in

²¹⁹ Fowler, "Travels of the Daihōonji Six Kannon sculptures," 185.

²²⁰ Wu Hung, “Buddhist elements in early Chinese art (2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.),” *Artibus Asiae* 47 (1986): 264.

which the pentad functioned, but also sources that may have informed its iconography. This chapter provides tools which aid in the interpretation of each of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad sculptures and their historical contexts in the ninth century. Much of the extant evidence related to the emergence of these deities in Japan is associated with Kūkai and his disciples, making them key figures in the development and dissemination of the three known Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptural pentads.

One major challenge present in investigating the early years of this iconographical configuration in Japan is the relative paucity of ninth-century sources. While I utilize ninth-century sources whenever available, I also employ later Heian period sources in order to present possible ways in which the iconography and functions may have been informed. I will keep in mind, however, how these later sources may affect our understanding of the images in the ninth century context, as well as the ever-present potential for discrepancies between seemingly corresponding texts and images.

Review of past scholarship

Scholarship in either Japanese or Western languages dealing with the function and contextual history of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration is scant. This may be in part due to the complexity and inconsistency of the deities' iconography, the repeated repairs and restorations of the extant images, as well as scarcity of primary sources.

In most scholarship, the role of the pentad appears briefly within larger studies on Kokūzō Bosatsu.²²¹ The configuration is often treated either as an innovation by, or importation of, Kūkai. Izumi maintains that “since Kūkai first transmitted this tradition, during the early Heian

²²¹ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 49-53; Sano Kenji, *Kokūzō Bosatsu shinkō no kenkyū*, 18, 25, 66.

period this configuration was housed in many temples throughout Japan.”²²² While Kūkai’s early involvement with the deity is clear, I believe his disciples were more involved than he was in the promotion of the pentad within the Esoteric Buddhist milieu of Japan.

In Chapter One I described the placement of Kokūzō Bosatsu in close proximity to Mahāvairocana and the *myōō* within the Womb world mandala. Kokūzō Bosatsu is also related to the Diamond world mandala (*Kongōkai mandara* 金剛界曼荼羅), often paired with the Womb world mandala. The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are typically described as emanations of the Five Wisdom Buddhas (Jp. Gochi Nyorai 五智如来) found in the center of the Perfected Body Assembly of the Diamond world mandala (fig. 14c).²²³ These Buddhas each represent different aspects of enlightenment²²⁴ and will be explored further in the dissertation. Another facet of the Godai Kokūzō often discussed in scholarship is the deities’ role in disaster prevention and increase of benefits in the *Godai Kokūzōhō* 五大虚空蔵法, a ritual used for increasing benefits, preventing calamities, and ensuring prosperity.²²⁵ Their prominent role in early Heian Esoteric Buddhist temples is often emphasized in scholarship, but never clearly explained.

Other studies focus on the iconography or production of one particular pentad. Sasaki Moritoshi’s thorough, although somewhat convoluted article on the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu only deals with one specific iconographical element of the pentad, the original position of one of the deity’s hands (the central Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu). Yet, his investigation offers a wealth of primary sources, and was the first in-depth scholarly work on the pentad since the

²²² Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 49.

²²³ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 252; ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas*, 40-41.

²²⁴ Amy Livingston, "Goal of the transformed mind: Enlightenment symbolized, the Five Jina Buddhas," in John Huntington and Dina Bangdel, eds., *The circle of bliss: Buddhist meditational art* (Columbus and Los Angeles: Columbus Museum of Art and Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2003), 90-91. I am grateful to Prof. Katherine Harper for this reference.

²²⁵ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 48-50; Kongōbuji, and Kōyasan Reihōkan, eds. *Kōyasan no bosatsuzō*, 75.

1970's.²²⁶ Itō Shiro's brief account is primarily historical, focusing on documents related to the placement of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures within the temple plans of Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji.²²⁷ Okada Ken, Nedachi Kensuke and several other scholars have recently given much-needed scholarly attention to the Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.²²⁸ The Jōganji pentad has never been the main focus of any scholarly publication. While invaluable works of academic importance, these works fall short of discussing the broader functions of the pentad formation at these temples, parallels between sets of Godai Kokūzō images, the specificity of the context in which each pentad was installed in its temple, or the pentad's connections to single Kokūzō Bosatsu images and their strong associations with celestial bodies. Building upon these scholars' works, this and subsequent chapters will examine the iconography of the pentad and recover the specific circumstances under which each set was installed, demonstrating that the religious and political function of the images was inextricably linked.

Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in pan-Asian contexts

While the single form of Kokūzō Bosatsu is seen in India, China and Korea, reliable evidence of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in these regions is virtually non-existent. There is no linguistic equivalent for the Five Great Space Repository Bodhisattva grouping in any language. Only a handful of texts, purportedly of Indian origin and translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, deal with

²²⁶ Sasaki Moritoshi, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu," 1-14.

²²⁷ Itō Shirō 伊藤史朗, *Heian jidai chōkoku no kenkyū 平安時代彫刻の研究* (Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku shuppansha, 2000), 37-43; "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 120-22, 124-31.

²²⁸ Nedachi Kensuke 根立研介, "Anjōji no bukyō chōkoku o meguru shomondai: sōkenki chōzō no kokusaisei to shinkisei no mondai o chūshin ni shite 安祥寺の仏教彫刻をめぐる諸問題：創建期彫像の国際性と新奇性の問題を中心にして," in *Kōtaigō no yamadera: Yamashina Anjōji no sōken to kodai sanrin jiin 皇太后の山寺：山科安祥寺の創建と古代山林寺院*, ed. Uehara Mahito 上原真人 (Kyoto: Yanagihara shuppan, 2007), 267-92; Okada Ken 岡田健, "Tōji Kanchiinzō Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō 東寺観智院蔵五大虚空蔵菩薩像," in *Tōji Kanchiinzō Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō 東寺観智院蔵五大虚空蔵菩薩像*, ed. Tokyo bunkazai kenkyūjo 東京文化財研究所 (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2003) 2: 61-77.

the configuration, but their Indian or even Chinese provenance cannot be confirmed at this point. The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad from Anjōji is purportedly from Tang dynasty China, but the somewhat spurious Japanese documentary evidence regarding this set, multiple restorations and somewhat unusual iconography makes these sculptures somewhat enigmatic. I will deal with this issue in subsequent chapters, but will begin the present examination of the general pentad configuration by discussing its iconography.

Naming and placement of the icons today

This examination of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in Japan begins with an introduction of the ninth-century sculptures of this pentad. These images represent five different manifestations of Kokūzō Bosatsu, each with individual names. The concept of deity replication is common throughout the Buddhist world, especially in Japan.²²⁹ The specific names of each individual deity within the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad vary according to which text is consulted, but the two extant ninth-century sculptural pentads currently employ the names Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu 金剛虚空蔵菩薩 (Vajra-wielding Kokūzō Bosatsu); Gōyō Kokūzō Bosatsu 業用虚空蔵菩薩 (Karmic Functions Kokūzō Bosatsu); Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu 法界虚空蔵菩薩 (Dharma Realm Kokūzō Bosatsu); Renge Kokūzō Bosatsu 蓮華虚空蔵菩薩 (Lotus Flower Kokūzō Bosatsu); and Hōkō Kokūzō Bosatsu 宝光虚空蔵菩薩 (Jewel Light Kokūzō Bosatsu).

²²⁹ Other examples of Buddhist deities that appear in repeated forms include the twelfth-century Six Kannon at Daihōonji, see Fowler, "Travels of the Daihōonji Six Kannon sculptures," 185-200. For other manifestations of Kannon, see Sherry Fowler, "Between six and thirty-three: manifestations of Kannon in Japan," in *Kannon: divine compassion: early Buddhist art from Japan*, ed. Katharina Epprecht, Museum Rietberg, and Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan (Zürich: Museum Rietberg Zürich, 2007), 59-79. For the twelfth-century Six Jizō and Nine Amida sculptures at Chūsonji, see Yiengpruksawan, *Hiraizumi*, 53, 55, 138. The Seven Yakushi Nyorai are discussed in Suzuki, "The medicine master," 191-236. The ninth-century sculptural pentads housed in the Tōji lecture hall will be discussed later in the chapter.

The current visual forms and iconography of the two sets of extant ninth-century Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures differ markedly from each other. The images at Jingoji each sit upon lotus pedestals, are each painted a different color, and hold a different attribute in each hand.²³⁰ Entering the pagoda in which they are housed, the viewer encounters the images placed in a row against the rear wall of the structure (figs. 1a-1c). Diagram 4 shows the relative position of the images, as well as their names, attributes, and skin colors.

The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu from Anjōji, on the other hand, each sit upon a lotus pedestal that is then perched upon the back of a different animal (figs. 2a-2g). The pigment has almost completely flaked off, exposing the rich, dark surface of the lacquered wood underneath. Like the Jingoji images, the sculptures are currently arranged in single row as well, this time against the rear wall of the Kanchiin *hondō* 本堂 (main hall). Diagram 5 shows the current positions and attributes of the images, as well as the vehicle on which each deity rides. I will introduce iconographical drawings which suggest that neither the Jingoji nor the Anjōji pentad was arranged in a row as they presently are, rather, they were placed in a mandala-based configuration with one deity at the center and the others placed around it in cardinal directions.

While the names of the deities in both sets are the same, there are obvious discrepancies with regard to the iconography of these two Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads. However, differences such as the skin color of the images or even the animal vehicles are features that may have been altered over the life of the sculptures. While reconstructing the ninth-century appearance of the deities is difficult, I will introduce possible ways in which their iconography was informed. This introduction to the present appearance of the images serves to problematize the somewhat enigmatic iconography of these images and to present questions such as why

²³⁰ The current attributes held by the images are later replacements. NCKSS-jys 2: 13.

single images of Kokūzō Bosatsu were quintupled into five guises of the deity, each with its own separate iconographical features such as colors and/or animal vehicles. To deal with these issues, I will introduce early texts to reveal possible sources that informed the pentad's iconography in the ninth century.

The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and Gochi Nyorai configurations

Buddhist iconographical features, such as mudras, attributes, vehicles and attributes, are often shared between deities. Iconographical features of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are no exception. This section will explore sources that informed the iconography of the pentad, and will reveal parallels with another iconographical grouping, the Gochi Nyorai, or Five Wisdom Buddhas from which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are said to emanate.

Yugikyō

One of the earliest texts related to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in Japan is *Kongō burōkaku issai yuga yugikyō* (金剛峯桜閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 *The scripture of all the yogas and yogis of the vajra peak pavilion*, hereafter, *Yugikyō*).²³¹ The translation of *Yugikyō* from Sanskrit into Chinese is traditionally attributed to either Vajrabodhi or Amoghavajra, both prominent Indian Esoteric Buddhist patriarchs in the Shingon Buddhist lineage. *Yugikyō* now is considered one of the five sūtras comprising the Shingon Buddhist canon, but is also utilized in the Japanese Tendai 天台

²³¹ T18: 867. Sasaki Moritoshi, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu," 1. The English translation of this sūtra's title is from Pol Vanden Broucke, "The Twelve-armed deity Daishō Kongō and his scriptural sources," in *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, ed. Richard Karl Payne (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006), 148. I have translated portions of this text with the assistance of Otsuka Yoshio, Michael Jamentz and Nedachi Kensuke.

and Tachikawa 立川 schools.²³² However, most scholars recognize this text as an apocryphon, likely of Chinese or Japanese, rather than of Indian origin.²³³

The earliest concrete evidence of this sūtra's existence in East Asia is found in the inventory section of Kūkai's *Catalogue*, the record of Chinese Buddhist texts, objects and visual media that Kūkai brought with him from Tang dynasty China and discussed in Chapter One.²³⁴ However, as Pol Vanden Broucke points out, *Yugikyō* is not seen in any Chinese catalogues until the late thirteenth century.²³⁵ The absence of this text in either early Indian or Chinese catalogues suggests that it may be of Japanese origin, but was given a pedigree of a central Asian translator within the Shingon lineage (in this case, Vajrabodhi or Amoghavajra) in order to validate its authenticity as a major Esoteric Buddhist text. Thus, although the origin of this text will remain unresolved, due to its circulation in Japan in the ninth century, *Yugikyō* will nevertheless serve as a possible source for the examining the history of the pentad configuration in Japan.

Within the Japanese Shingon tradition, *Yugikyō* explains the concept of non-duality of the two sections (兩部不二 *ryōbu funi*), namely the Womb world and Diamond world. According to this text, the Womb world, symbolized by the lotus, represents “the enlightened universe from the viewpoint of compassion,” while the Diamond world, symbolized by the vajra, or diamond-hard wisdom, represents “the realm of knowledge in which illusions and passions are crushed.”²³⁶ Within this context, *Yugikyō* goes on to explain that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration resulted from the division of a single Kokūzō Bosatsu into five, and that the five

²³² Vanden Broucke, "The Twelve-armed deity Daishō Kongō and his scriptural sources," 149.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 150.

²³⁴ *Catalogue*, KZ1: 82.

²³⁵ Vanden Broucke, "The Twelve-armed deity Daishō Kongō and his scriptural sources," 150.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

Kokūzō Bosatsu represent the five wisdoms of the Gochi Nyorai of the Diamond world mandala²³⁷ to be explored below.

The reference to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in *Yugikyō* reads like a ritual procedure, with a series of mudras and mantras, ending with “the five-syllable mantra of the accomplished, good merit, hook-wielding Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu.” The sūtra gives instructions for creation of the main image to be venerated in the procedure:

Within a circle, draw images of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, all the same size. Draw a circle, and divide it into five parts. Draw a white Kokūzō inside this. The left hand holds a hook, the right hand holds a jewel. In front of this draw a yellow Kokūzō. The left hand holds a hook, the right hand holds a jeweled vajra. Draw a blue Kokūzō Bosatsu to the right. The left hand holds a hook, the right a tripartite jewel that emanates light. To the rear, draw a red Kokūzō. As above, the left hand holds a hook, the right hand holds a large red lotus. Draw a black/purple Kokūzō to the left. As above, the left hand holds a hook, the right hands holds a jeweled *katsuma*. These are the Godai Kokūzō which request the good merit ritual. When you draw these figures, do so on blue or gold silk. These bodhisattvas wear clothing and have a crown and adorning jewelry. Their garments are colored [the same color as their skin]. They [sit in] full lotus position. Draw these images and put them in front of an altar. The direction does not matter. Recite the five-syllable mantra ten million times, and you will attain favorable merit and success. Always perform the *goma*.²³⁸ You will quickly attain enlightenment in accordance with this explanation.

This passage instructs the practitioner how to create a two-dimensional mandala of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. Diagram 7 shows a schematic depiction of this description. The text uses the term *kaku* 畫 meaning to draw or paint, and specifies that blue and/or gold silk (青色或金色絹

²³⁷ Mikkyō jiten hensankai 密教辞典編纂会, *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辞典 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1983), 616; Nakamura Hajime 中村元, *Iwanami Bukkyō jiten* 岩波仏教辞典 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 277. According to these sources, each of the Five Kokūzō Bosatsu corresponds to one of the five wisdoms.

²³⁸ *Goma* 護摩 (Skt. *homa*) is an Esoteric Buddhist ritual during which wooden tablets or grains are burnt in offering to a deity.

上畫之) be used to create the mandala. This suggests that two-dimensional representations of the pentad in mandala form were created as early as the early ninth century, when *Yugikyō* was purportedly brought to Japan. However, I suggest that the placement of the deities in the “front, back, right and left” positions as noted in the ritual manual could also apply to sculptures arranged in a three-dimensional setting. Many of the earliest extant Buddhist iconographical compendiums have similar descriptions, and are likely based upon *Yugikyō*. *Besson zakki*,²³⁹ *Zuzōshō* 図像抄²⁴⁰ and *Mandara shū* 曼荼羅集²⁴¹ are three such examples. The depiction of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in *Yugikyō* illustrates what I believe to be the most pervasive form of the pentad in ninth-century Japan, with each deity possessing a name related to an aspect of the Buddhist teachings, its own color, and directional association. However, I do not suggest that this single source was the foundation upon which ninth-century sculptural pentad iconography was based. Rather, I accept this text as part of a system of sources that give clues as to what elements comprised the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu iconography. The following discussion will reveal sources that may have informed these iconographical features.

Kongōchōkyō and “families”

Aside from *Yugikyō*, another primary sūtra in the Shingon tradition entitled *Kongōchō issai nyorai shinjitsu shōdaijō genshō daikyōōkyō* 金剛頂一切如来真实撰大乘現証大教王經 (Ch. *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshi shedasheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing*, hereafter *Kongōchōkyō*)²⁴² contains intriguing parallels with both the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration and the Gochi Nyorai. This three-fascicle sutra was translated by Amoghavajra and appears in

²³⁹ TZ3: 313-15.

²⁴⁰ TZ3: 15.

²⁴¹ TZ5: 717.

²⁴² T18: 865.

Kūkai's *Catalogue*.²⁴³ In addition to Kūkai, later Shingon and Tendai patriarchs imported this text from China as well.²⁴⁴

The sūtra describes the construction of the Diamond world mandala, as well as rites which involve the mandala, such as disciple initiations.²⁴⁵ The text also classifies Buddhist divinities into five “families:” Buddha, vajra, ratna (jewel), padma (lotus) and karma (action).²⁴⁶ These classifications are common within Esoteric teachings, and apply to deities within the Diamond world mandala, such as the Gochi Nyorai. The Buddhas within this configuration, at least according to Kūkai, are Dainichi 大日 (Skt. Mahāvairocana), Ashuku 阿闍 (Skt. Aksobya); Hōshō 宝生 (Skt. Ratnasambhava); Amida 阿弥陀 (Skt. Amitabha); and Fukūjōju 不空成就 (Skt. Amoghasiddhi).²⁴⁷ As noted above, the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are said to emanate from these five Buddhas.

These “families” apply to the names of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu (as noted in *Yugikyō*, and the sculptures at Jingoji and Anjōji) as well as the Gochi Nyorai:

Buddha family: Hōkai (dharma realm) Kokūzō and Dainichi Nyorai

Vajra family: Kongō (vajra) Kokūzō and Ashuku Nyorai

Jewel family: Hōkō (jewel light) Kokūzō and Hōshō Nyorai

²⁴³ *Catalogue*, KZ1:72. Vajrabodhi translated another version entitled *Kongōchō yuga chū ryakujutsu nenjūkyō* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念通經 (Ch. *Jingangding yuqie zhong luechu niansong jing*), abbreviated as *Shukkyō* 出經 and appearing in four fascicles (T18: 866). *Catalogue*, KZ1: 85. Orzech notes that both versions are truncated translations of the Sanskrit original. Charles D. Orzech, "Mandalas on the Move: Reflections from Chinese Esoteric Buddhism circa 800 C.E.," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 19, no. 2 (Winter 1996): 211. The sūtra was also translated during the Northern Song by Dānapāla 施護 as *Yiqie rulai zhenshi shedasheng xianzheng sanmei jiaowangjing* 一切如來真實攝大乘現證三昧教王經 (3 fasc.). Charles Muller, "Sūtra for Recitation Abridged from the Vajraśekhara Yoga," *Digital dictionary of Buddhism* (hereafter DDB), <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/> (accessed July, 2009). This translation illustrates interest in the text beyond the Tang dynasty.

²⁴⁴ MD2: 705-06.

²⁴⁵ Kamata Shigeo et al, *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten*, 255.

²⁴⁶ Lokesh Chandra and David L. Snellgrove, *Sarva-Tathāgata-tattva-sāgraha: facsimile reproduction of a tenth century Sanskrit manuscript from Nepal* (New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1981), 11; Hakeda, *Kūkai: major works*, 143; Orzech, "Mandalas on the move," 224; Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and transcendent wisdom: the Scripture for humane kings in the creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 225-26.

²⁴⁷ Hakeda, *Kūkai: major works*, 83-84.

Lotus family: Renge (lotus) Kokūzō and Amida Nyorai
Karma family: Gōyō (karmic actions) Kokūzō and Fukūjōju Nyorai

This shows correspondences between both deity pentads, supporting the theory that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are indeed manifestations of the Gochi Nyorai. Within most iconographical depictions of the pentad, Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu is placed in the center indicating its prominence within the group. It is not clear if there is a hierarchical relationship between the other deities. It is possible that at some point after the incorporation of Kokūzō Bosatsu into Buddhist pantheon, the deity was replicated into five separate forms that corresponded to the five “family” schema outlined here, essentially creating a new iconographic configuration which corresponded with the Gochi Nyorai. It is not clear whether this was done in China, Japan, or elsewhere. Since *Kongōchō* is included in the inventories of several priests that travelled to Tang dynasty China, it is evident that it was circulating among Japanese Esoteric Buddhist circles in the ninth century. The five-family categorization of the Diamond world mandala is thus a source which likely informed the iconography of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures.

Colors, elements and directional associations

The colors of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are one of the most visually striking features of the pentad. If these five deities did indeed emanate from the Gochi Nyorai, is there a similar color scheme in effect among these Buddhas? There are at least two versions of the Gochi Nyorai; the version depicted in the *Kongōchō*, and another version, described in the single-fascicle translation of *Butchō sonshō shin hajigoku tengoshō shūtsu sangai himitsu sanjin bukka sanshu shiji shingon giki* (仏頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界秘密三身仏果三種悉地真言儀軌, Ch. *Foding zunsheng xin podiyu zhuanyezhang chu sanjie bimi sanshen fोगuo sanzong xidi zhenyan*

*yigui*²⁴⁸ hereafter *Hajigoku ki*) attributed to Subhakarashimha. Scholars agree, however, that this text is an apocrypha created during the last decades of the Tang dynasty.²⁴⁹ The Gochi Nyorai depicted in *Kongōchōkyō* does not attribute colors to the Buddhas, but *Hajigoku ki* does. Each of these Buddha in this text presides over a certain cardinal direction, and is associated with a color and one of the five “families,” as depicted in Diagram 8. However, the directions and color associations do not correspond with those of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu depictions. For example, if each of the bodhisattvas is paired with its respective Buddha based on the “family” categorization, there are discrepancies between the directions and colors. Despite this discrepancy, which can be explained by the relative frequency with which Japanese priests used and altered texts and rituals to suit their needs, this text shows a striking resonance with the color iconography of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.

The “correlative cosmology” system known in Japan as *gogyō* 五行 also shares parallels with the iconography of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration outlined in *Yugikyō*, as well as the two extant Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads. The color of each deity corresponds with one of the five colors (blue/green, white, yellow, red and black/purple) in the five-phases theories described in Chapter One and Diagram 6. These five colors are also ubiquitous within the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist tradition, seen in the *Hajigoku ki* Gochi Nyorai iconography. Manabe Shunshō gives additional examples of how the five colors are employed in Esoteric Buddhist ritual situations; for example, five-colored ropes are used to delineate sacred altar space, five-

²⁴⁸ T18: 906.

²⁴⁹ Kamata Shigeo et al, *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten*, 270. The dharani for this ritual is also generally agreed to be an apocrypha produced by Subhakarashimha, rather than from an India source. BKD9: 321-22. This dharani (T18: 907) includes elements of five-phases theories, and may have been used in conjunction with *onmyōshi* divination techniques that brought about protection of the nation and rain. BDK9: 322.

color flags and flowers are used to decorate the ritual altar, etc.²⁵⁰ These colors are easily seen at Japanese temples today, in the form of flags which are hung from the eaves of certain buildings, regardless of school. These colors are also seen in the *gobyō* 五瓶, or arrangement schemes of the five vases used during Shingon initiation rituals. Among the many configurations, the vases of the southeast Diamond world (Kongōkai tatsumi byō 金剛界辰巳瓶) depicted in Diagram 9 correspond with the directional and color associations of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu I will explore below.²⁵¹ Such examples are seen in ritual manuals from the Heian period, as well as modern-day Shingon Buddhist practice.

Kūkai's writings give clues as to the possible significance of these colors within his own Estoteric thought. His *Shōji jitsusōgi* 声字実相義, likely written sometime during the last decade of his life,²⁵² lists three groups of colors, described as *kenjiki* 顯色, *gyōshiki* 形色, and *hyōshiki* 表色. The first type, *kenjiki* ("unhidden colors"), is mentioned in the *Dainichi kyō* and includes the "five colors" 五色 (*goshiki*) which correspond to the "five great (elements)" 五大 (*godai*): earth/yellow, water/white, fire/red, wind/black, void/blue.²⁵³ These colors correspond with the colors of the *Yugikyō* images, but the elements are different than those of the Chinese-based five phases theory. This is likely because Kūkai established his own Esoteric Buddhist version of the elements. Although there is no evidence demonstrating that Kūkai planned the iconography of the Jingoji and Anjōji images, the colors noted in his writings nevertheless may have informed

²⁵⁰ Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, Kanaoka Shūyū 金岡秀友, and Manabe Shunshō 真鍋俊照, *Mikkyō zuten* 密教図典 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房, 1980), 94.

²⁵¹ MD2: 630. The characters 辰 (tiger) and 巳 (snake) refer to two cardinal directions, based on Chinese directional appellations.

²⁵² MD3: 1154.

²⁵³ Katsumata Shunkyō, ed., *Kōbō Daishi chosaku zenshū* 弘法大師著作全集 6th ed., 3 vols. (Tokyo: Sankibō busshōrin, 1968-1973), hereafter "KDCZ," 1: 68-69. A translation of this text is found in Hakeda, *Kūkai: major works*, 234-46.

the skin pigments of the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures. His disciples likely utilized his writings when indicating which iconographical features the images should have.

Directional association is another important feature of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. Both this pentad, as well as the Gochi Nyorai, feature one central deity surrounded by the other four. In addition to *Yūgikyō*, iconographical manuals from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries depict the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu with Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu placed in the center, and the others placed in cardinal or intercardinal directions around it (figs. 22, 30, 31, 32).

The importance of directional associations is seen as early as the third century B.C.E. in China, when directional protection was a major part of Chinese topomancy.²⁵⁴ This is a technique of placing major landmarks with regard to the protective aspects of natural geographical features and was imported to Japan at least by the seventh century.²⁵⁵ Directional association is also a feature of five-phases theories, as depicted in Diagram 6. The seventh- or eighth-century Takamatsu 高松 tomb in Nara prefecture, which depicts certain animals and colors and their directional associations, illustrates an early example of this usage in Japan. A black *genbu* (玄武 Ch. *xuanwu*, dark warrior) is painted on the north wall, a blue dragon on the east wall, a red phoenix on the south wall, and a white tiger on the west wall.²⁵⁶ These animals are known as the Shijin (四神 Ch. Sishou), or the guardians of the four directions, and represents one scheme of correlational relationships between directions, colors, and animals.

²⁵⁴ I borrow the term “topomancy” from Ellen Van Goethem, *Nagaoka: Japan's forgotten capital* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 73-74.

²⁵⁵ Senda Minoru, "Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku dōkyō," 60.

²⁵⁶ Chihō shiryō sentā 地方資料センター, ed., *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai 日本歴史地名大系*, 49 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979), hereafter "NRT," 30: 289. An excellent reproduction of the tomb, complete with the four directional animals and star charts on the ceiling was installed at the *Taoism art* exhibit held at the Mitsui memorial museum in Tokyo in the summer of 2009. The use of the term *dōkyō* 道教 (Taoism) in this exhibition title is one such example of the overuse of the term for Chinese-based belief elements which are applied to certain aspects of Japanese religion. Osaka shiritsu bijutsukan 大阪市立美術館, *Dōkyō no bijutsu 道教の美術* (Osaka: Osaka shiritsu bijutsukan, 2009). See the discussion in Chapter One regarding the term's usage in scholarship.

Comparing the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu iconography as depicted in sources such as iconographical drawings and *Yugikuyō* (Diagram 7) with the five phases in China (Diagram 6) however, reveals an inconsistency between the association of colors and directions. In the Chinese version, yellow, representing earth, is in the center of the five-phases scheme. However, Japanese sources related to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu depict the white Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu in the center. The creators of the Godai Kokūzō sculpture iconography likely based the configuration partly upon the Gochi Nyorai noted in *Hajigoku ki*, which includes Dainichi Nyorai, associated with white, in the center, as well as within the “family” associations seen in the *Kongōchō kyō*.

Since the colors and directional associations of the Godai Kokūzō show affinities with the five-phases scheme, I propose that the configuration incorporated these elements as well, although they were melded with the Buddhist iconographical lexicon. The discrepancy between the two exists because Japanese Shingon priests in Kūkai’s lineage intentionally adjusted the iconography for their own purposes. Placing the white-pigmented image (Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu) in the center, rather than the yellow-pigmented image (Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu) gives prominence to the white-pigmented image. Within Chinese cosmology, white is associated with Venus, and Kokūzō Bosatsu had a close relationship with Venus, as seen in the *gumonjihō* practice described in Chapter One. Venus was also the star that Śākyamuni saw upon enlightenment, as noted in Chapter One. I suggest that this also applies to the Gochi Nyorai pentad configuration noted in Subhakarasiṃha’s “translation” of *Hajigoku ki*, which situates Dainichi Nyorai, associated with white, in the center. I believe this may provide clues as to why an iconographical discrepancy exists between the five correlative elements as seen in Chinese

traditions and the mandala-like placement of the Jingoji and Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads.

The alteration of imported belief elements is seen throughout Esoteric visual and textual culture. For example, another version of correlative cosmology (perhaps adapted from the Chinese-based systems) also existed in Japan. It is often made manifest in the ubiquitous *gorintō* 五輪塔, or five-element pagoda, comprised of different shapes corresponding to one of the elements.²⁵⁷ In his attempt to explicate his theory of attaining Buddhahood in one's own body, Kūkai synthesized the version of the Six Great Elements which he believed in: earth, fire, water, wind, space, and consciousness.²⁵⁸ It is possible that the first five elements of Kūkai's system correspond to one of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu:

Hōkai (law realm) Kokūzō=air/white

Kongō (vajra) Kokūzō=earth/yellow

Hōkō (jewel light) Kokūzō=water/blue or green

Renge (lotus) Kokūzō=fire/red

Gōyō (karmic actions) Kokūzō=space/black or purple

The sixth element, consciousness, may have been represented by the pagoda in which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads were housed (as in the case of Jingoji, for example). Mori Masahide proposes that reliquary stūpas, the precursor to pagodas in East Asia, were meant to symbolize not the deceased Buddha, but a Buddha that was alive and vibrant, as the teachings should be.²⁵⁹ Considering the Jingoji pagoda as a symbol of the living Buddha may not be applicable for Esoteric schools, which emphasize a cosmic nature of Buddha rather than an earthly one.

²⁵⁷ Richard Bowring, *The religious traditions of Japan: 500-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 236-37.

²⁵⁸ Hakeda, *Kūkai: major works*, 89, 93.

²⁵⁹ Mori Masahide 森雅秀, *Mandara no jiten マンダラの事典* (Tokyo: Shinjūsha, 2008), 8-9.

However, within these schools, the teachings are conscious wisdom, wisdom that is represented by the diamond-hard wisdom of the Diamond world mandala. Mori also points out the structural similarities between pagodas and mandalas, specifically their architectural features and concentric designs. From the above analysis, it is clear that Kūkai's disciples used sources which their master considered legitimate, such as *Kongōchō*, as well as elements which were significant within the local episteme at that point in history (the five-phases scheme as it was incorporated into Buddhist thought and visuality) in their iconographical representations of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.

Kūkai and an early Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu depiction in Japan

The earliest reliable document discovered to date that notes the existence of a specific depiction of the pentad in Japan is found in a *ganmon* 願文, or votive document, written by Kūkai in 821 (Kōnin 12).²⁶⁰ The document, included in Kūkai's *Shōryōshū* 性靈集, is entitled *Shion no on tame ni nibu no daimandara o tsukuru ganmon* 四恩の奉為に二部の大曼荼羅を造る願文 ("Votive document for making the two-part mandala for the four compassions").²⁶¹ The "four compassions" according to Kūkai are those towards one's parents 父母, sentient beings 衆生, rulers 国王, and the Three Treasures (三宝, the Buddha, the dharma and the *sangha*, or Buddhist community).²⁶²

²⁶⁰ I am grateful to Cynthea Bogel for this valuable reference. She discusses this document in Bogel, *With a single glance*, 229, 33. Uehara Shōichi makes the earliest specific reference to this votive document in Uehara Shōichi, "Jingoji Tahōto Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō," 505. Izumi Takeo also makes a brief reference to the document, although he does not name it. Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 49.

²⁶¹ Reproduced in KZ3: 476-77.

²⁶² Kūkai's *Kyōōkyō kaidai* 教王經開題, the text by Kūkai in which he discusses the four compassions, is reproduced in Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, ed., *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai zenshū* 弘法大師空海全集 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1984) 3: 191.

As David Gardiner explains, votive texts such as these “record the performance of a religious rite and the circumstances in which it was performed.”²⁶³ They often mention images used in the rituals.²⁶⁴ Kūkai wrote over forty of these texts, often for memorial ceremonies for one of his acquaintances’ deceased relatives. These texts typically have a section praising the Buddha who will liberate the soul of the deceased, one eulogizing the deceased, and others recording the funeral proceedings and other devotional activities such as creating images for the merit of the deceased.²⁶⁵

However, the specific *ganmon* under discussion here does not appear to have been written on the occasion of someone’s death. Rather, it explains that the production of a certain set of images (a depiction of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu among them) was donated with the support of the imperial family, as might be ascertained from the inclusion of the “four compassions” in the *ganmon*’s title. The text begins with a series of metaphors for the greatness and necessity of Dainichi Nyorai’s teachings. It explains that in the name of these teachings, Kūkai travelled to China under the auspices of Emperor Kammu (桓武天皇 r. 781-806), studied under the Esoteric Buddhist master Huiguo, and returned with paintings of the Diamond and Womb mandalas. Eighteen years later, in 821, these paintings had gotten so tattered and faded, saddening not only Kūkai but the emperor, empress, court ladies, the crown prince, the Great Minister, and the Ministers of the Right and Left. With the support of these people, two new mandalas, both measuring over six meters in length, were produced. In addition to these two mandalas, Kūkai lists several other images that were donated at the same time:

²⁶³ David L. Gardiner, "Japan's first Shingon ceremony," in *Religions of Japan in practice*, ed. George Joji Tanabe (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 154.

²⁶⁴ Cynthia Bogel points out that ninth-century *ganmon* contain listings of images that combine older and newer deities. Bogel, *With a single glance*, 233.

²⁶⁵ Gardiner, "Japan's first Shingon ceremony," 154-58.

One painting each of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu 五大虚空蔵菩薩, Gofunnuson 五忿怒尊,²⁶⁶ Kongōsatta 金剛薩埵, Butsumō myōō 佛母明王, each four lengths [of one *ho* of silk]²⁶⁷ by one *jō*,²⁶⁸ Jūdaigo no tennō 十大護の天王,²⁶⁹ an image of Garuda-ten 藥魯拏天の像,²⁷⁰ portraits of the bodhisattvas Ryūmyō 龍猛菩薩 [Nagarjuna] and Ryūchi 龍智菩薩 [Nagabodhi].²⁷¹ Twenty-six various paintings [in all].

This reference to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images may be what Izumi Takeo refers to when he mentions that Kūkai brought a one-*jō* 丈 (approximately three meter) image of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu back with him from China, although he provides no documentation supporting this claim.²⁷² Regrettably, these images no longer exist, but their mention in this text may be the earliest proof in Japan of a specific set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images.²⁷³ The images mentioned in the *ganmon* were likely based upon imported iconographical drawings as well as

²⁶⁶ The term Gofunnuson (Five honored wrathful ones) was used early in the ninth century to refer to what were later known as Godai Myōō 五大明王. The deities in both cases were Fudō 不動, Gozanze 五三世, Gundari 軍荼利, Daiitoku 大威徳 and Kongōyasha 金剛夜叉. These are wrathful beings, some of which appear in the Womb world mandala in the register between the central lotus and the Hall of Kokūzō (fig. 14a). Inagaki Hisao and P.G. O'Neill, *Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist terms: based on references in Japanese literature*, 5th ed. (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 2003), 66-68.

²⁶⁷ One *ho* (鋪) measures approximately 76 cm. Personal correspondence with Nedachi Kensuke, April 2009.

²⁶⁸ One *jō* (丈) measures approximately 303 cm. Ibid. The paintings thus each measured approximately three meters square.

²⁶⁹ Ten deities which protect the Buddhist teachings.

²⁷⁰ This is an alternate Chinese character rendering for Garuda. Normally the characters are 迦楼羅.

²⁷¹ Nagarjuna and Nagabodhi are two Central Asian patriarchs in Kūkai's Shingon lineage.

²⁷² He mentions that Kūkai created a one-*jō* (丈) image of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu for the purposes of the Four Compassions, although he neither names the document nor provides documentation supporting this claim. Izumi Takeo 泉武夫, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 49.

²⁷³ Bogel states that the deities in the *ganmon* were new to Japan, not found in Kūkai's inventories, and thus representative of the new influx in *mikkyō* imagery. Bogel, *With a single glance*, 229. However, images of Garuda, one of which is also included in the *ganmon*, were in circulation in Japan a century prior. See, for example, the eighth-century Garuda dry-lacquer wood-frame sculpture at Kōfukuji in Nara. Mizuno Keizaburō 水野敬三郎, ed., *Nihon butsuzōshi 日本仏像史* (Tokyo: Bijutsu shuppansha, 2001), 36-37.

texts.²⁷⁴ Although it is not possible to determine with certainty what they looked like, they may have been based on the form noted in *Yūgikyō* or a derivation thereof.

Several points should be raised in regard to this document. First is the fact that the images are painted, rather than sculpted. Cynthia Bogel's research on Kanshinji 観心寺 in modern-day Osaka prefecture indicates that another set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu paintings was housed in the *nyohōdō* 如法堂 of the temple as early as 883 (Genkei 7), when it appeared in the *Kanshinji kanroku engi shizaishō* 観心寺勘録縁起資財帳 (Official register and inventory for Kanshinji).²⁷⁵ According to her, within certain contexts, sculptures were primarily signifiers of Esoteric concepts and often had sūtras read in front of them rather than being the focus of a specific ritual procedure. Paintings, on the other hand, were primarily for use in rituals that included construction of a ritual altar, calling the deity into the ritual space, and performing mantras and mūdras. Thus, she states, because the Kanshinji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images were paintings (鋪 *hō*, measuring three *fuku* 副²⁷⁶), rather than sculptures, the *nyohōdō* was utilized as an Esoteric ritual practice hall.²⁷⁷ The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu paintings mentioned in Kūkai's *ganmon* may also have been used in such a ritual context.

²⁷⁴ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 229.

²⁷⁵ Bogel, "Canonizing Kannon," 40-1.

²⁷⁶ These are counters and measurements for paintings. One *fuku* is equivalent to approximately three square meters.

²⁷⁷ Bogel, "Canonizing Kannon," 41. Bogel changes her opinion regarding the medium of the Kanshinji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images in 2009, stating that Kanshinji was among those ninth-century temples which housed a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu *sculptures* (author's italics). Bogel, *With a single glance*, 258. However, because the *Kanshinji shizaichō* uses measurements for paintings to describe the Godai Kokūzō images, I maintain that they were paintings. Kanshinji was run by a disciple in Kūkai's lineage (Jitsue 実惠 786-847) during the ninth century, received the designation of *jōkakuji* 定額寺 (imperial sanctioned temple), and housed images of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, Godai Myōō and Gochi Nyorai. For the history of the site see NCKSS-jys 3: 16-17, 34-52. In English see Bogel, "Canonizing Kannon," 39-44. However, the representations of the Godai Kokūzō and Godai Myōō are paintings (and thus likely served different purposes than sculptures), and the Gochi Nyorai were moved to Zenrinji 禅林寺 because Kanshinji proved too difficult a location to access. Ōe says that this situates Kanshinji into the pattern of Fujiwara family related *jōkakuji* housing Birushana images. Ōe Atsushi, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 48. Although Kanshinji thus does not fit into the pattern of ninth-century *sanrinjin*-focused sculptural patronage

Second, this *ganmon* shows the close relationship between Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu paintings, Kūkai, and the imperial family. As mentioned above, the title of this *ganmon* indicates that the images were made in the name of the “four compassions:” compassion towards rulers, one’s parents, sentient beings, and the Three Treasures. The imperial family supported Kūkai’s endeavor to have these images produced, and Kūkai in turn donated them to his supporters. In this way, the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images served as a concrete link between Kūkai and his imperial patrons. Gardiner explains that early in Japanese history, *ganmon* like these legitimized claims that the aristocracy had upon “cultural forms, symbol systems and beliefs.”²⁷⁸ These paintings, most of which were used in Esoteric rituals focusing on initiation or the transmission of lineage, were one such symbol that the imperial family and high-ranking officials associated with Kūkai and co-opted for their own purposes. This *ganmon* illustrates the earliest direct link between Kūkai, images of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, and the imperial family in the ninth century.

Thirdly and equally important are the implications that the grouping of these specific deities has for the function and meaning of subsequent Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images in the ninth century. Subsequent to this *ganmon*, the pentad next appears later in the ninth century in conjunction with other deity configurations at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji, forming what I believe to be a physical expression of one of Kūkai’s major Esoteric concepts, the *sanrinjin* 三輪身, an Esoteric-based triad comprised of the “three wheel-turning embodiments” of the Buddha.²⁷⁹ While the pentads at the three temples were sculptures, I believe that the paintings listed in the 821 *ganmon* were also linked to this concept. The role of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu paintings in

which is the focus of this dissertation, it nevertheless shows another example of as possible intention to install a derivation of a *sanrinjin* configuration at a temple related to Kūkai’s lineage.

²⁷⁸ Gardiner, "Japan's first Shingon ceremony," 156.

²⁷⁹ Here I utilize Charles Orzech’s translation. Orzech, *Politics and transcendent wisdom*, 156 n. 65.

particular will be examined after I explore the *sanrinjin* as a dynamic, complex and symbolically-charged iconographical concept.

Kūkai and the *sanrinjin*

This complex phenomenon has been studied extensively by scholars of Japanese art history and religion.²⁸⁰ The term *sanrinjin* does not appear in Japanese texts as a systematic term until the twelfth century, but the concept appears in ninth and tenth century texts and sūtras related to Kūkai.²⁸¹ Scholars agree that the twenty-one sculptures dated to 839 and located in the Tōji lecture hall embody this concept (see Diagram 10). While evidence links the conception of this altar configuration to Kūkai, and most scholars attribute the configuration to the patriarch, his own writings do not explicitly state as such.²⁸²

The configuration upon the Tōji altar consists of three parts or “wheel bodies” (輪身 Jp. *rinjin*, Ch. *lunshen*), each represented by five deities on the Tōji altar: five Gochi Nyorai in the center, flanked by the Five Great Bodhisattvas (Jp. Godai Bosatsu 五大菩薩) to the east and the Five Kings of light (Jp. Godai Myōō 五大明王, Skt. Vidyārājas) to the west. While not noted in Diagram 10, sculptures of the Four Guardian Kings (Shitennō 四天王) stand on each of the four corners, while Bonten 梵天 (Skt. Brahmā) and Taishakuten 帝釈天 (Skt. Indra) images sit on the

²⁸⁰ For thorough reviews in English, see Bogel, *With a single glance*, 278-337; Orzech, *Politics and transcendent wisdom*. For scholarship in Japanese, see Kagiwada Seiko 鍵和田聖子, "Tōji kōdō rittai mandara no shisōteki haikai 東寺講堂立体曼荼羅の思想的背景," *Ryūkoku daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka kiyō* 竜谷大学大学院文学研究科紀要 28 (2006): 140-56; Matsuura Masaaki 松浦正昭, "Tōji kōdō no Shingon chōkoku 東寺講堂の真言彫刻," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 150 (1983): 77-101; Ōtani Yoshihiro 大谷欣裕, "Sanrinjin no keisei ni kansuru ikkōsatsu 三輪身の形成に関する一考察," *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 仏教学研究 64 (2008): 14-36; Yamana Nobuo 山名伸生, "Tōji kōdō shozō no seiritsu ni tsuite: zuzō to sono chōkokuka no mondai 東寺講堂諸像の成立について: 図像とその彫刻化の問題," *Bigaku* 美学 148 (1987): 37-48.

²⁸¹ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 313.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 286.

east and west ends of the altar, respectively, bringing the total number of sculptures to twenty-one. The three pentads in the center of the altar form the focus of the following discussion.

Within this scheme, the Gochi Nyorai, which appear in center the Perfected Body Assembly of the Diamond world mandala (fig. 14c), are represented by the “wheel body of self-nature” (Jp. *jishōrinjin* 自性輪身, Skt. *svabhāvacakrakāya*). The locations of the Gochi Nyorai within the Tōji altar configuration are: Dainichi in the center; Ashuku in the northeast; Hōshō in the southeast; Amida in the southwest; and Fukūjōju in the northwest.²⁸³ All the Buddha sculptures in the lecture hall, however, are replacements from the sixteenth-nineteenth centuries.²⁸⁴ The current sculptures are all gilt, and I believe that the ninth-century images were as well.

Orzech states that each of these Buddhas have a corresponding benevolent bodhisattva form, represented by the “body [which turns] the wheel of correct teaching” (Jp. *seihōrinjin* 正法輪身, Skt. *sadharmacakrakāya*) and wrathful *myōō* form which is represented by the “body [which turns] the wheel of command” (Jp. *kimyōrinjin* 歸命輪身, Skt. *ādesanācakrakāya*).²⁸⁵ However, Bogel’s examination of this configuration within the specific ninth-century Japanese environment points out that these are actually dual aspects of the same bodhisattvas, the Bodhisattvas of the Five Directions (Gohō Bosatsu 五方菩薩), which can take on either a benevolent or wrathful form.²⁸⁶ In the case of the Tōji mandala, we thus see the Godai Bosatsu (not to be confused with the Godai *Kokūzō* Bosatsu²⁸⁷) and the Godai Myōō.

²⁸³ While the exact configuration of the Gochi Nyorai is not entirely consistent within Shingon texts, Hakeda notes that the five-Buddha configuration Kūkai followed is that which is set forth in the Esoteric lineage with which he identified. Hakeda, *Kūkai: major works*, 83-4.

²⁸⁴ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 285.

²⁸⁵ Orzech, *Politics and transcendent wisdom*, 156-58.

²⁸⁶ Bogel, *With a single glance*.

²⁸⁷ Author’s italics. One of the main comprehensive Japanese art history survey texts in English mistakenly identifies these images as Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. Penelope E. Mason and Donald Dinwiddie, *History of Japanese art*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), 131-32.

Like the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, the Godai Bosatsu at Tōji are five separate guises of a bodhisattva, each with its own iconographical aspects (fig. 15a). The Tōji bodhisattvas are all associated with the vajra (金剛 Jp. *kongō*) and each hold different attributes and perform different mudras. Four of the bodhisattvas are placed around a larger, central deity. The center deity, Kongō Haramitta 金剛波羅蜜多, is a Muromachi period (1392-1573) replacement, and will not be considered in this study except for its iconographical role in the configuration of five bodhisattvas. The four other sculptures are identified as: Kongōhō 金剛法 (SW), Kongōhō 金剛宝 (SE), Kongōgyō 金剛業 (NW), and Kongōsatta 金剛薩埵 (NE). The current sculptures on the Tōji altar are all covered with gold leaf with no pigment.²⁸⁸

The third component of the *sanrinjin* is the *myōō*, represented in the Tōji altar by the Godai Myōō: Fudō 不動 in the center (Skt. *Ācala*), Gozanze 降三世 (SE, Skt. *Trailokyavijaya*), Gundari 軍荼利 (SW, Skt. *Kundalin*), Daiitoku 大威德 (NW, Skt. *Yamāntaka*) and Kongōyasha 金剛夜叉 (NE, Skt. *Vajrayaksa*). In contrast to the seated Buddhas and bodhisattvas with their meditative gazes, still bodies and gold-leafed surfaces, these sculptures stand in dynamic poses which are emphasized by colorfully pigmented skin, hair and armor.

During the ninth century, this configuration was involved in sūtra readings dedicated to rites of national protection. However, as Bogel reveals, the actual sculptural configuration was not based on one or even two texts, but a mixture of texts and sometimes disparate iconographies.²⁸⁹ For example, the Godai Myōō, four of the Godai Bosatsu, the Shitennō and Taishakuten are from a ritual manual entitled *Ninnō nenju giki* 仁王念誦儀軌. Although likely an apocrypha of Chinese origin, this text nevertheless had a vital role in protecting the Japanese state and was

²⁸⁸ A visual and structural analysis of the Godai Bosatsu appears in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

²⁸⁹ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 299-335.

endorsed by the imperial family in the ninth century.²⁹⁰ This text was likely recited in front of the images in order to protect the nation and legitimize the governing regime in the name of Buddhism. This deity combination appears in the the *ritual text*²⁹¹ for the mandala of the *Benevolent kings sūtra* (*Ninnō gokoku kyō* 仁王護国経) and are not noted in the sūtra itself.²⁹²

The Gochi Nyorai and the central Godai Bosatsu image, on the other hand, derive from the Diamond world rite.²⁹³ It should be recalled that the Gochi Nyorai are located in the Perfected Body Assembly in the center of the Diamond world mandala (fig. 14c). The Gochi Nyorai and the *sanrinjin* configuration appear later in texts associated with Kūkai, such as *Shōmugekyō* 撰無礙経 (“To embrace without hindrance sūtra,” which he imported) and *Hizōki* 秘藏記 (“Notes on the secret treasury,” which he wrote), so they were obviously within his iconographical repertoire.²⁹⁴ Bonten appears on the altar because he is often iconographically paired with Taishakuten. A record dated to 847 (Jōwa 14) describes all the deities presently on the altar, and states that the images were “respectfully constructed as a vow for the health of our sovereign.”²⁹⁵ Although no other ninth-century examples of this exact sculptural configuration exist, I believe that Kūkai’s disciples installed altered forms of it at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji, thereby continuing the trend of installing Buddhist sculptural configurations in temples for the purpose of national protection.²⁹⁶ The Tōji lecture hall configuration was not completed until three years after Kūkai’s death, but was finished by his disciples. As Bogel states, they completed his vision

²⁹⁰ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 329.

²⁹¹ Author’s italics.

²⁹² Bogel, *With a single glance*, 84, 321.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 321.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁵ The passage is translated in *Ibid.*, 289. The text is entitled *Tōji denpō-e hyōhaku* 東寺伝法表白 in *Tōbōki* 6, *Hōbō-ge* 東宝記六法室下. Reproduced in NCKSS-jsh 1:65 (*shiryō* 16). Noted in Bogel, *With a single glance*, 421.

²⁹⁶ An entry in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 from 873 (Jōgan 15) notes that Godai Bosatsu sculptures were housed in an unnamed *kokubunji* 国分寺 (nationally sanctioned temple) in order to protect the nation from violent invaders. KT 4:333. Although the text gives no further details regarding other possible sculptures at the site, it may indicate the existence of a similar protective sculptural configuration at a ninth-century temple.

here as well as at the Shingon'in. Kūkai's disciples lived in a generation different from Kūkai, however; the increasing plagues and famines that ravaged the archipelago and the rise of the Fujiwara family were two such factors that necessitated a new system of religious and political legitimation, manifested in such programs. Thus, although the image programs at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji were also extensions of Kūkai's vision installed by his disciples, these images and their meanings "better suited the needs of their patrons and the general religious milieu of the ninth century."²⁹⁷

The sculptural medium of the Tōji configuration is significant. The document from 847 mentioned above calls the configuration a *katsuma mandara* 羯磨曼荼羅. *Katsuma* (Skt. *karma*) refers to action, for example, human actions that determine the amount of Buddhist merit one acquires. A *katsuma mandara* is a three-dimensional, sculptural mandala (exemplified in the Tōji lecture hall configuration), a visual form theoretically more "active" than their two-dimensional counterparts. These mandalas "represent the universal activity of Mahāvairocana."²⁹⁸ Kūkai indicated that "all aspects of ritual practice are present in three-dimensional mandala representation," illustrating the high regard with which he treated sculpture.²⁹⁹ The 847 document thus proves that the three-dimensional type of mandala so significant to Kūkai was part of the *mikkyō* visual lexicon in the mid-ninth century. The inherent power of the three-dimensional format of the *sanrinjin* configuration is also applicable in the case of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures seen at other ninth-century temples.

²⁹⁷ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 260.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 118.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 328. The *katsuma* mandala is one of the four types of mandala noted in the *Dainichikyō* imported by Kūkai. Bogel, *With a single glance*, 118.

Placement of the Tōji *sanrinjin*

The *sanrinjin* configuration, while a powerful symbol in its own right, gained further symbolic strength through its location within the Tōji complex, as well as its position within the city itself. The lecture hall, located in the center of the Tōji complex, between the *kondō* 金堂 (golden hall, a Buddhist image hall) and the *jikidō* 食堂 (lit. ‘dining hall’) on a north-south axis, was a symbol of the Buddhist teachings that ultimately protected the capital and the nation.

Within the city of Kyoto itself, Tōji 東寺 (Eastern temple), along with its partner temple Saiji 西寺 (Western temple) were significant temples built for protection of the capital and nation.³⁰⁰ The imperial palace, the center of imperial authority, was located in the north-central part of Kyoto. Tōji was placed to the east of the southern entrance of the city, while Saiji was to the west. Other temples were required to be located on the periphery of the capital. Learning difficult lessons from Buddhist clerics’ high level of involvement at court, as well as the laxity with which they regarded Buddhist precepts in the Nara capital, the government attempted to curb the influence and unsanctioned activities of the Buddhist establishment when conceiving of the new grid-style layout of Kyoto in 794.³⁰¹ With the imperial palace located in the north-central part of the city, and Saiji and Tōji placed on either end of the southern entrance on a north-south axis with the palace, Tōji protected the capital as an imperially-patronized symbol of Buddhist authority.

This positioned the *sanrinjin* configuration at Tōji as a central locus of symbolic power within the temple, and by extension with the capital itself. Emperors and Esoteric Buddhist priests recognized the importance of the placement of Buddhist symbols, and incorporated

³⁰⁰ Saiji is no longer extant. For more on the arrangement of the Heian capital, see Van Goethem, 253-59.

³⁰¹ Stanley Weinstein, "Aristocratic Buddhism," in *The Cambridge history of Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall and Donald Shively (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 455-61.

concepts related to the *cakravartin* ideal in their planning of temples and sculptural configurations. The same can be said for Kyoto in regard to the location of Tōji and Saiji in relation to the Imperial Palace.³⁰² As will be shown in subsequent chapters, the *sanrinjin* configurations at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji, located in areas surrounding the capital, also protected the realm and sanctified the emperor's position as the universal ruler, albeit in a different way. The Tōji configuration, one of the main emblems of Esoteric transmission and lineage, served as a center point around which Kūkai's disciples placed other *sanrinjin* configurations in the ninth century.

Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and the *sanrinjin*

Realizing the significance of the sculptural medium of the Tōji lecture hall images, Kūkai's disciples used this three wheel-body configuration as a basic template and installed an altered form of it at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji. While the Buddha and *myōō* elements were kept intact, I believe his disciples replaced the Godai Bosatsu with the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. While other scholars have noted this possibility, the question of why this occurred has not been examined.³⁰³

The replacement can be explained in light of the significance of Kokūzō Bosatsu to the lineage of Kūkai, specifically the three disciples who installed the sculptures in their respective temples. Shinzei, who installed the first configuration in Jingoji, received teachings from Kūkai while both priests were at the temple. Eun, who housed a pentad in Anjōji, was a disciple of Jitsue (also in residence at Jingoji with Kūkai), who had a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu

³⁰² James Duncan describes how city planners placed certain Buddhist symbols around the city of Kandy in nineteenth-century Sri Lanka, which referred to the *cakravartin* and reinforced the position of the ruler as the embodiment of that very symbol. James S. Duncan, "From discourse to landscape: a kingly reading," in *The cultural geography reader*, ed. Timothy S. Oakes and Patricia L. Price (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 186-93.

³⁰³ Izumi Takeo also states that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu may have been used in place of the Godai Bosatsu, but fails to explain why. Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 49.

paintings at his temple of Kanshinji. Shinga, the priest involved in the installation of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures at Jōganji, was Kūkai's own brother, as well as disciple, and was also close to Shinzei.

A twelfth-century iconographical manual entitled *Ninnōkyō gohō shosonzu* 仁王經五方諸尊図 gives valuable insight into one possible source that informed their decision to feature the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in the *sanrinjin* configuration. Five ink-on-paper illustrations within this compilation are traditionally said to be based upon imagery that informed Kūkai's conception of the Tōji alter configuration.³⁰⁴ The five large images, each measuring approximately 150 cm by 90 cm, depict the bodhisattvas, *myōō* and other deities associated with one of the cardinal directions and the center. All the deities are standing, with the bodhisattvas and wrathful beings depicted slightly larger. The deity grouping associated with the south includes Kokūzō Bosatsu in the upper left corner, identified as “Hōkokūzō Bosatsu” 宝虚空藏菩薩, or Jewel Kokūzō Bosatsu (fig.16). The bodhisattva stands in a hip-shot pose on a lotus pedestal. The right hand is held downward, palm up, in the *yōgan-in* mudra, while the left hand holds a tall lotus flower stem with a flaming jewel on top. This indicates that Kokūzō Bosatsu was a prominent deity in one of the sources that informed Kūkai's *sanrinjin* configuration. While other bodhisattvas are depicted in *Ninnōkyō gohō shosonzu*, it is likely that Kūkai's disciples realized the significance of Kokūzō Bosatsu to their master, and replicated it five times to correspond with the other pentads in the configuration.

The 821 *ganmon* is another possible source that shows an early version of the *sanrinjin* with the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. The first four entries listed in the 821 *ganmon* are paintings of the Diamond mandala, Womb Mandala, the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, and the Gofunnuson (Godai

³⁰⁴ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 303; Tōji Hōmotsukan 東寺宝物館, ed., *Tōji no mikkyō zuzō* 東寺の密教図像 (Kyoto: Benridō, 1999), 92.

Myōō). The *sanrinjin* template first consists of the Buddha wheel-body, which appears in the Perfected Body Assembly of the Diamond World mandala. As Bogel demonstrates, the Gochi Nyorai in the Tōji lecture hall are from the Diamond World rite noted above, and so the deities present in the mandala listed in the *ganmon* could conceivably represent the Buddha aspect of the triad. Next, the command body of the *sanrinjin* configuration is represented by the Godai Myōō, represented in the *ganmon* by the five Gofunnuson paintings. Lastly, the bodhisattva (teaching) body (represented by the Godai Bosatsu in the case of Tōji) is noted in the *ganmon* as the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu paintings. The *ganmon* does not mention the Godai Bosatsu. The paintings listed in this document may have had a different ritual function from the sculptural *sanrinjin* configurations, but I believe that they were all related to rites of national protection. The combination of the specific deities, the absence of the Godai Bosatsu and the presence of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in this list of imperially-commissioned paintings all assert the possibility that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu paintings appeared in a *sanrinjin* configuration.

A reexamination of Kokūzō Bosatsu's close associations with celestial bodies and the five-phases theories sheds further light upon why Kūkai's disciples singled out Kokūzō Bosatsu to represent the bodhisattva element in their sculptural *sanrinjin* configurations.

Celestial associations

In the beginning of this chapter, I demonstrated how *Yugikyō* is one in a system of sources which informed the ninth-century iconography of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptural pentads. Based on the iconography outlined in this text, I have demonstrated above the pentad's relationship to the five categories of Buddhist deities as well as colors seen in the five-phases theories.

However, aside from the deity's prominence among Buddhist clerics both prior and subsequent to Kūkai's transmission of Esoteric teachings to Japan, the question of why the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu took the place of the Godai Bosatsu within the *sanrinjin* configuration at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji must be examined. I propose that clues may lie in the single deity's relation to celestial bodies even within the pentad formation. As should be recalled from Chapter One, single images of Kokūzō Bosatsu were utilized in the *gumonjihō*, a ritual that was performed for memory retention, and that incorporated Venus (*myōjō*, the Morning Star) and/or Myōjō Tenshi (the deity of Venus) in the ritual. Within *Yugikyō* and in later sources depicting the deities, Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu, the image painted white, is placed in the center of the other four Kokūzō deities. Within Chinese five-phases theories, white is associated with the celestial body Venus. I suggest that Shingon clerics retained Kokūzō Bosatsu's celestial associations and framed the pentad's iconography within the parameters of five-phases correlative cosmology in order to increase its protective powers. In this way, they both promoted Kūkai's lineage and increased the politico-religious power of their imperial and Fujiwara patrons.

Even though the relationship between Kokūzō and Venus is an important one, it is unlikely that the pentad form was utilized in the *gumonjihō*. Rather, its significance lay in its role in national protection, and the deities' deep association with the powerful celestial ritual which gave the pentad even richer symbolic meaning. Kūkai may not have considered the Godai Kokūzō as appropriate for the bodhisattva aspect in the *sanrinjin* configuration at Tōji. He may have noted the value of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad to national protection, however, as evidenced in the 821 *ganmon*. Kūkai's disciples did see the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad as appropriate for the *sanrinjin* configuration, however, not as a mere substitute for the Godai Bosatsu, but, as I suggest, because the iconography of the Godai Kokūzō pentad had a

fundamentally more significant meaning within the context of the mid-ninth century multivalent religious atmosphere and to the patrons of their respective temples.

These associations will be revisited later in the dissertation when I explore the specific historical circumstances under which the pentads were installed. Subsequent chapters of this dissertation will reveal specifically how and why this configuration was integrated into the iconographical programs at the three imperially-sponsored temples of Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji in roles that protected the state.³⁰⁵

Later references to the pentad

Several sources from later centuries indicate a relationship between the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and celestial bodies. It is valuable to compare these sources with what I believe to be the ninth-century context. While the incorporation of celestial bodies into Buddhist practice is evident in the ninth century, it becomes even more so from the eleventh century onward.

One example is the ritual manuals describing the *Godai Kokūzō hō* 五大虚空藏法, or Ritual of the Godai Kokūzō, which appears in iconographical compilations from the eleventh century onward. The translation of this ritual manual, formally entitled *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sokushitsu daijinken himitsu shikikyō* 五大虚空藏菩薩速疾大神驗秘密式經, hereafter *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu hō*),³⁰⁶ into Chinese is attributed to Vajrabodhi.³⁰⁷ Although there is no evidence

³⁰⁵ The paintings of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, the Womb mandala, and Godaion (Five Myōō,) seen in the inventory of the Kanshinji *nyohōdō* may also represent the three bodies, an issue that is intriguing, yet outside the scope of this dissertation.

³⁰⁶ T20:1149.

³⁰⁷ The production of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu paintings and iconographical drawings increased from the eleventh century and onward as part of the surge of ritual and iconographic manual copying that occurred during this time. This phenomenon is seen in the twelfth-century *Kakuzenshō*, the Kamakura (1189-1333) period *Godai Kokūzō zai sho zuzō* 五大虚空藏座居諸図像 housed at Daigoji, and the Nambokuchō period (1331-92) *Godai Kokūzō yō* 五大虚空藏様 housed at the Tōji Kanchiin. All are reproduced in Manabe Shunshō 真鍋俊照, "Omuro

regarding the importation of this text into Japan, Izumi believes that one of the Eight Shingon Patriarchs brought it upon returning from a trip to Tang dynasty China.³⁰⁸ However, the text the text does not appear in any of the patriarchs' inventories, which indicates that it was composed later in Japan.

This relatively short, single-fascicle ritual manual begins like many other Shingon rituals, with the demarcation of the sacred space into which the deity will enter according to specific measurements and directional orientations outlined in the manual. The *Godai Kokūzō hō* ritual manual describes the construction of an altar for the earth 地盤 (*jiban*), as well as for heaven 天盤 (*tenban*). It continues on to describe the five deities to be drawn for the ritual, their directional associations, attributes, colors and seed syllables:

Draw a Fukuchi [福智 merit and knowledge]³⁰⁹ Kokūzō Bosatsu seated [on a] white jeweled lotus. Place a five Buddha crown [on its head]. Decorate it with strands of necklaces. The right hand performs the freedom-from-fear mudra, the left hand holds a jewel lotus, upon which is a *katsuma* [羯磨杵 intersecting vajras]. It is yellow. The syllable for the south is *trah*, it is Nōman [能滿 full ability] Kokūzō Bosatsu seated on a red lotus. On top [of the head] is a five-Buddha crown, the same as above. It is colored red. The right hand holds a jeweled sword. The left hand grasps a blue lotus. On top of the lotus is a flaming jewel. The syllable for the west is *hrīh*. It is Seigan [施願 bestower of blessings] Kokūzō Bosatsu, seated on a purple lotus. The jeweled crown is drawn the same as above. The hands perform *gassho* [合掌] in front of the chest. It is crimson. The symbol for the north is *ah*. It is Mukō [無垢 free of defilement] Kokūzō Bosatsu and is seated on a white lotus. The jewel

kanjōdō mandara shuhen no shiteki kōsatsu: oyobi Jōki'inbon 'Godai Kokūzō zai shozuzō' 御室灌頂堂曼荼羅周辺の史的考察：および常喜院本「五大虚空蔵座居諸図像」, "Mikkyō bunka 密教学研究 88 (1969): 73-81.

³⁰⁸ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 49. Although the members of the Eight Patriarchs vary, Izumi adopts the following members: Kūkai, Saichō (最澄 767-822), Eun (恵運 798-869), Jōgyō (常暁 d. 866), Ennin (円仁 794-864), Enchin (円珍 814-91), Engyō (円行 799-852), and Shūei (宗叡 809-84).

³⁰⁹ Author's translations in brackets.

crown is drawn the same as above. The left hand performs the wish-bestowing mudra, the right hand holds a jeweled lotus flower. On top of this sits a moon disk [月輪 *gachirin*]. It is colored water-white. The symbol for the center is *vam*. This is Gedatsu [解脱 liberation] Kokūzō Bosatsu. The jewel crown is drawn the same as above. [The deity is] seated on a white-yellow lotus. The right hand performs the freedom-from-fear mudra, the left hand holds a jewel lotus, on top of which is a yellow single-pronged vajra.³¹⁰

Diagram 11 illustrates this configuration in visual form. Here we have a second system of nomenclature for the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. When compared to the depiction of the deities in *Yugikyō* (Diagram 7), it is clear that the attributes and colors of the deities are different as well. The central Kokūzō Bosatsu in *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuhō*, for example, is yellow, not white as in the central deity in *Yugikyō*. One interpretation associates each deity mentioned in the above ritual text with one in the *Yugikyō*: Hōkai =Gedatsu, Kongō=Fukuchi, Hōkō=Nōman, Renge=Seigan, Goyō=Mukō.³¹¹

The text continues:

Next draw images of the Seven star kings [七星王 *shichiseiō*] on top of the heavenly altar. Then draw the Eight heavenly beings [八天 *hatten*] in the eight directions of the inner hall of the earth altar. The four corners contain the Shittennō [四天王 Four guardian kings] including Taishakuten in the east, Emmaten in the south, Bonten in the west, and Bishamonten in the north.³¹² In the center, draw the twenty-eight lunar mansions [二十八宿 *nijūhasshuku*], including seven male figures in the east with blue garments, holding staffs. Seven male figures are also seen in the south wearing red, in the west wearing white, and in the north wearing black. Draw the thirty-six

³¹⁰ I have translated this passage with the assistance of Otsuka Yoshio.

³¹¹ Kamata Shigeo et al, *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten*, 966.

³¹² This is an atypical configuration of Shitenno. Normally the four guardians include Kōmokuten 広目天, Zōchōten 增長天, Tamonten 多聞天, and Bishamonten 毘沙門天. MD2: 1008.

animals [三十六禽 *sanjūrokkin*] in the outer hall, each in its proper order. Yakṣa appear in their midst. Draw these figures... The inner hall ground is yellow, the center blue, and the outer is red.

This portion of the ritual procedure gives further instructions for constructing the mandala to be used during the ritual, with deities placed in hierarchical positions within different sections of the mandala. This description is similar to painted Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu mandalas from the Kamakura period (1185-1333, fig. 17), although no paintings prior to the twelfth century survive.³¹³

The main point of interest for the purposes of this study is the inclusion of the celestial references (Seven star kings, twenty-eight lunar mansions, and thirty-six animals) in this section of the text. The Seven star kings likely refer to deities of the five main planets (Mars, Venus, Jupiter, Saturn and Mercury) plus the sun and moon. As I have shown throughout this chapter, Buddhist concepts, especially Esoteric Buddhist, were affected by and intertwined with astrological teachings. The twenty-eight lunar mansions are the twenty-eight locations in the sky, marked by simple stellar constellations, in which the moon is thought to reside over the course of a lunar month.³¹⁴ The thirty-six animals refer to a feature of both Indian and Chinese cosmological systems, although no specific animals are listed in this case.³¹⁵ Nonetheless, the inclusion of this array of planets, constellations, and other heavenly phenomena in the mandala

³¹³ Extant versions are housed at Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺 and Daikakuji 大覚寺, reproduced in Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺 and Kōyasan Reihōkan 高野山靈宝館, eds., *Kōyasan no meihō: Mikkyō mandara, kosumosu no sekai 高野山の名宝：密教曼荼羅、コスモスの世界*, *Kōyasan daihōzōten* (Kōya-chō: Kōyasan Reihōkan, 2005), 21 and Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, ed., *Daikakuji no meihō: Gouda hōō gonyūzan 700nen kinen 大覚寺の名宝：御宇多法王御入山700年記念* (Kyoto: Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2007), 16, respectively.

³¹⁴ Schafer, *Pacing the void*, 79-81.

³¹⁵ These animals appear in Japanese texts and iconographical drawings mainly from the Kamakura (1185-1333) through the Edo (1600-1868) period. Yano Michio 矢野道雄, "Bukkyō tenbugaku-senseijutsu no zuzō gakuteki junmen: sanjū rokkin to Dekan 仏教天文学・占星術の図像学的順面：三十六禽とデカン," *Dōshisha daigaku rikō kenkyū hōkoku 同志社大学理工学研究報告* 48, no. 4 (2008): 1-6. For a thirteenth-century list of the animals, see *Jōbodai shū 成菩提集* reproduced in T8: 728.

for this ritual text directly associates the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu with celestial bodies, and points to the integration of Buddhism and celestial bodies that peaked during the mid- and late Heian period.

The Shingon monk Kōzen 興然 (1120-99), a monk from Kajūji 觀修寺 in Yamashina area of Kyoto, writes an account of a similar mandala in his *Gojūkan shō* 五十卷鈔. The fifteenth fascicle of this compilation of notes regarding Buddhist deities and rituals deals with Kokūzō Bosatsu in both single and pentad form. Kōzen cites, among other sources, a commentary on the *Yugikyō* entitled *Yugikyō shochū* 瑜祇經疏中. He adds to the above mandala description that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are a manifestation of Myōjō Tenshi 明星天子.³¹⁶

After construction of the elaborate mandala, the *Godai Kokūzō hō* ritual text goes on to give the dharani to be used in the procedure. Interestingly, the dharani used in this rite is the same one used in the *gumonjiki*, the ritual manual for the Kokūzō Bosatsu-centered *gumonjihō* discussed in Chapter One. However, the *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu hō* includes five additional dharani for the five directions (the cardinal directions plus the center), as well as forty additional secret ritual procedures.³¹⁷ These five likely correspond to each of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. The text also states that the mudras to be performed are those mentioned in *Yugikyō*.

Although the translation of this text into Chinese is attributed to Vajrabodhi, even the thirteenth-century Shingon priest Kakuzen doubts this attribution.³¹⁸ More recently, Murayama

³¹⁶ SZ29: 282-84.

³¹⁷ Kamata Shigeo et al, *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten*, 324. This characterization of the procedure as “secret” was likely a tool used by the practitioners and sponsors of the ritual to elevate the practice above non-secret procedures into the realm of the unknowable, and therefore more powerful. For more on secrecy in Indian, Chinese and Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, see Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen, eds., *The culture of secrecy in Japanese religion* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006).

³¹⁸ T1150: 609.

Shūichi states that while it does have elements resonant with Chinese-based belief systems such as five-phases theories, that the text is from the early eleventh century.³¹⁹

An indication of the later production date of the *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu hō* can be seen in a popular appellation given to the rite, *Kanoto tori toshi hō* 辛酉年法.³²⁰ This title refers to a specific year of the Chinese sexagenary cycle in which the rite was performed, corresponding to 1021 (Chian 1). According to the sixty-year cycle, this year was a *kanoto tori toshi* 辛酉年, meaning the fifty-eighth year of the cycle.³²¹ Fifty-eighth years were those during which a “ruling dynasty is deprived of the divine mandate to govern and a new dynasty is begun,” often in the form of a “revolution” (革命 *kakumei*).³²² The ritual was performed in order to avoid such calamities that could arise during such a year, such as famine, disease, and natural disasters.³²³ Legend states that the prelate Ningai (仁海 951-1046) from the Ono branch of Shingon performed the ritual for the first time during this year.³²⁴ Indeed, even during the mid-eleventh century, Japan was still in a state of depopulation, famine, and unbalanced social structure,³²⁵ necessitating these rites.

The *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu hō* is likely what Brian Ruppert refers to when he states that by the mid-Heian period, the deities were venerated in the Godai Kokūzō Ritual, a procedure that

³¹⁹ Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, *Shūgendō/onmyōdō to shaji shiryō* 修験・陰陽道と社寺史料 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1997), 492-93.

³²⁰ This ritual was often referred to with the homophonic but seeming meaningless characters 金門鳥敏法.

³²¹ Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, ed., *Kūkai to Kōyasan: Kōbō Daishi nittō 1200-nen kinen* 空海と高野山：弘法大師入唐1200年記念 (Osaka: NHK Osaka hōsōkyoku, 2003), 276.

³²² Van Goethem, 67, 103.

³²³ Murayama Shūichi, *Shūgendō/onmyōdō*, 492-93; Sano Kenji, *Kokūzō Bosatsu shinkō no kenkyū*, 25-26. The year 901 was also a *kanoto tori* year which was predicted to bring revolutionary change, famine and other disruptions upon the nation. Bialock, *Narrative*, 49.

³²⁴ Among Ningai's many written works is *Godai Kokūzō shidaitō* 五大虚空藏次第等, a collection of procedures or ritual instructions related to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. This entry is noted in *Shoshi seisaku mokuroku* 諸姉製作目録 reproduced in Bussho kankōkai 仏書刊行会, ed., 151 vols., *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書 (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1912-22), hereafter "DNBZ," 2: 320. Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate this text.

³²⁵ Farris, *Japan to 1600*, x.

centers on the worship of five grains of Buddha relics visualized as a wish-fulfilling jewel.³²⁶ Unfortunately, there are no recorded instances of this ritual having been performed as early as the ninth century, but Ruppert does give references to this ritual being performed in the twelfth century.³²⁷

Another text, the 1154 *Gyōrinshō* 行林鈔,³²⁸ an eighty-two volume text primarily associated with the Tendai school of Buddhism, contains descriptions of rites devoted to various deities, including Kokūzō Bosatsu (fascicle 43) and Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu (fascicle 44). It should be recalled from Chapter One that Kokūzō Bosatsu was related to the Morning Star in Zhiyi's commentary to the Lotus sutra; this is the main text within Tendai Buddhism. This demonstrates that Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu connections to Venus were not sectarian.

The section of *Gyōrinshō* related to Godai Kokūzō Boatsu explains that in 1080 (Jōryaku 4), the *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu hō* was performed for court nobles. The process took twenty-seven days and utilized a *goma* altar, and explains that *myōjō* (Venus) appeared during a certain part of the ritual as a result of a visualization. The description of this visualization is similar to that of the *fukutokuhō* discussed in Chapter One: five seed syllables appear atop a mountain where a five-pointed pavilion is located. Inside the pavilion is a mandala, atop of which is a moon disk representing Venus. Above the disk are five lotus pedestals, one in the center and the other four radiating outwards. Seed syllables appear atop the pedestals, which are then transformed into the Gochi Nyorai, Dainichi in the center with others placed in their appropriate directions. Each Buddha becomes a symbol or attribute (pagoda, vajra, jewel, lotus, *katsuma*), each of which become one of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. These symbols are similar to the Buddha “families” noted earlier in this chapter. Within this schema, Dainichi is Hōkai, Ashuku is Kongō, Hōshō is

³²⁶ Ruppert, *Jewel in the ashes*, 420 n. 47.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 189, 217.

³²⁸ T76: 2409.

Hōkō, Amida is Renge, and Fukūjōju is Gōyō. This text demonstrates the process by which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu manifest from the seed syllables, symbols and Gochi Nyorai. It also emphasizes the mandala-like configuration of the deities, with the most prominent deity in the center (Dainichi Nyorai/Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu) and other peripheral deities placed in radial positions. Izumi states that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu seated in the center of Myōjō's circle (明星の円明) posits the pentad as the ruler of the cosmos.³²⁹ This statement may also be related to the passage in *Gyōrinshō*.

The thirteenth-century *Kakuzenshō* also states that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are a manifestation of Myōjō Tenshi, and also gives a ritual procedure for worshipping the deity.³³⁰ The *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄, an iconographical manual comprised of 128 fascicles compiled by the Tendai priest Shōchō (承澄, 1205-1282) also identifies each of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu with Myōjō Tenshi and one of the Gochi Nyorai in the same associative schema seen in *Gyōrinshō*.³³¹

Rites involving images described above likely utilized later Heian and Kamakura period elaborately-painted mandalas of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, rather than sculptures like those at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji. Several of these paintings are extant. The texts are rich with imagery and concepts related to celestial bodies and divination which, although utilized in the ninth century, became more developed and widespread in later centuries as seen through my analysis of the *Godai Kokūzō hō*, *Gyōrinshō* and other sources. Although it is not possible to prove that these texts were directly relevant to the ninth century Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures, it nevertheless presents a fascinating view of how the role of the deities developed from the eleventh century onwards. Together with a multitude of celestial beings, a potent dharani, and

³²⁹ Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 68.

³³⁰ TZ5: 48.

³³¹ TZ9: 274.

the power of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, rites involving the pentad bolstered the authority of the priests that performed them (both Shingon and Tendai), as well as the imperial patrons that supported it.

Conclusion

The earliest evidence of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in the Japanese archipelago introduced in this chapter, namely *Yugikyō* and Kūkai's *ganmon* from 821, give clues about the iconography and role of the pentad in the ninth century. These texts indicate that the iconography of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads were associated with that of the Gochi Nyorai, and incorporated Chinese-based belief elements such as the colors and directional associations of five-phases theories. The pentad also retained Kokūzō Bosatsu's association with Venus, so vital to the power of the deity in its single form. These iconographical features indicated that there was a cohesive system of praxis involving Buddho-celestial deities in effect when the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptural pentads emerged in Japan. Later sources describing the pentad's use illustrate the trajectory of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu belief and how its celestial associations were further emphasized.

I will demonstrate in following chapters that ninth-century pentads were included as part of the powerful *sanrinjin* configuration at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji. Through replication of Kūkai's concept, his disciples were able to increase the prestige and religious authority of the configuration, its patrons, as well as Kūkai's lineage. Its placement in peripheral areas in relation to the capital also served to protect imperial authority. In addition to the iconographical aspects of the images that I have explained here, however, historical circumstances also generated the production of these sculptures. The next chapters will focus on the history of the individual

pentads, as well as the historical circumstances that led to their installation in the three Shingon temples.

Chapter Three The Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu

The journey to Jingoji from the center of modern-day Kyoto requires a bus or car ride up winding mountain roads and a brief mountain climb on foot. Panoramic vistas and lush greenery, which transforms into brilliant autumn foliage, surround the temple complex, bringing throngs of tourists each year. The buildings of the temple, almost all reconstructions from the Edo period (1603-1868), are nestled in the hillsides along the wide central walkway of the complex or hidden behind groupings of trees. The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad is housed in the pagoda³³² which is set atop a stone staircase behind the *kondō* (golden hall).

This chapter will examine these sculptures, installed at Jingoji under the auspices of Kūkai's disciple Shinzei (真濟 800-860) in the mid-ninth century. Shinzei was closely aligned with Emperor Nimmyō, the first ruler to be associated with a depiction of the pentad. One source indicates that he commissioned the pagoda into which Shinzei housed the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images, although another source states that Shinzei himself commissioned the building. While it was not uncommon for imperial or aristocratic families to be closely aligned with prominent priests, the fact that these relationships were a factor in the installation of this sculptural configuration during an approximately thirty-year span at only three temples in the Kyoto area is significant. I will explore the history of Jingoji prior to the pentad's arrival, illustrating its prominence as a site associated with national protection and imperial authority, as well the variety of religious practices that occurred at and around this mountain site. I will focus on the images housed at Jingoji during the early to mid-ninth century to illustrate how the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were part of the larger *sanrinjin* configuration in this particular temple. The

³³² This structure is a 1935 reconstruction. NCKSS-jys2: 48.

Jingoji pentad is the first in a succession of three instances where the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were installed in a Shingon temple under Kūkai's disciples.

These sculptures are primarily discussed in scholarly research as paradigmatic stylistic examples of mid-ninth century Shingon sculpture of imperial patronage. As is the case in much of early Japanese art history, the prewar scholarship regarding these sculptures attempts to secure their date of production, rather than contextualize their iconographical role within the larger religious milieu of the period. Utilizing stylistic analysis and the few primary documents that exist, scholars (primarily Japanese, as no extensive Western-language scholarship has been conducted on the images) focus on the years between 834 (Jōwa 1), the first year of Emperor Nimmyō's reign and 850 (Kashō 3), the year of his death and the enthronement of his son, Emperor Montoku 文徳天皇 (r. 850-858).³³³ While post-war research on the images incorporates a more integrative approach with regard to religious and historical studies, it still relies heavily on stylistic analysis and avoids discussion of the broader context in which the images were produced.³³⁴ My discussion will expand beyond these scholarly works to discuss the specific historical, religious and political circumstances under which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures were housed at Jingoji. In doing so I will illuminate more fully the significance these

³³³ Adachi Kō 足立康, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō bosatsuzō no zōgan nendai 神護寺五大虚空蔵菩薩像の造願年代," *Kensetsushi 建設史* 1, no. 6 (1939): 536; Haruyama Takematsu 春山武松, "Jingoji no butszō 神護寺の仏像," *Tōyō bijutsu* 3 (1929): 13-35; Higashifumi Kunihide 東伏見国英, "Jingoji no Yakushi to Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu ni tsuite 神護寺の薬師と五大虚空蔵に就いて," *Hōun* 7 (Sept. 1933): 19-29.

³³⁴ Itō Shirō, *Jingoji to Murōji*, 45-47, and "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 120-21; *Heian jidai chōkoku no kenkyū*, 124-125; *Nihon koji bijutsu zenshū 日本古寺美術全集*, ed. Kuno Takeshi 久野健, vol. 9, *Jingoji to rakusei rakuboku no koji 神護寺と洛西・洛北の古寺* (Tokyo: Shueisha, 1981), 91-92; *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu 原色日本の美術*, ed. Kurata Bunsaku 倉田文作, vol. 5, *Mikkyō jūin to Jōgan chōkoku 密教寺院と貞観彫刻* (Tokyo: Shōgakkān, 1967), 75-6, 190; Sasaki Moritoshi, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu," 1-14; Tsuji Shindō, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 48-54; Uehara Shōichi, "Jingoji Tahōto Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō," 505-07; *Nihon bijutsu zenshū 日本美術全集*, ed. Uehara Shōichi, vol. 6, *Mikkyō no bijutsu: Tōji, Jingoji, Murōji 密教の美術：東寺、神護寺、室生寺* (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980), 158, 93-93. Also see NCKSS-jsh 2.

images had to the patrons and clerics associated with them, significance that exceeds appearance and technical processes.

The Jingoji pentad and the ninth-century imperial sculptural milieu

Designated National Treasures, the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu presently sit in a single row atop a dais, located against the rear wall of a five-story pagoda facing south (figs. 1a-1c).

Although not technically “secret images” (秘仏 *hibutsu*), these sculptures are open for public viewing only for three days each in mid-October and mid-March and thus are in relatively good condition due to limited exposure.³³⁵ Recitations of *Rishukyō* 理趣經, a standard Shingon sūtra, are performed in front of the images by the head priest.³³⁶

While each of the images has varying degrees of surface damage, their basic bodily forms are well-preserved and similar enough to give a general description.³³⁷ The height of each seated bodhisattva is approximately the same, ranging from 95.0 cm (Hōkō Kokūzō Bosatsu) to 101.4 cm (Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu) in height, not including the lotus bases on which they sit. Each deity is seated in half-lotus position with the exposed right foot resting on top of the left knee, while the arms are held down at the sides, elbows held away from the body, with the forearms bent up holding an attribute in the right hand (with the exception of Hōkai whose right hand is held at shoulder height with the palm facing outward, thumb and index finger touching, fig. 1f). Sasaki Moritoshi has investigated the iconography of this image at length, examining related sūtras and iconographical drawings. His impressively thorough, yet somewhat tedious,

³³⁵ According to Shingon doctrine, some Buddhist images are so powerful that they must remain hidden from view. For more on the issue of *hibutsu*, see Kuno Takeshi 久野健, *Hibutsu 秘仏* (Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1978); Fabio Rambelli, "Secret Buddhas: The Limits of Buddhist Representation," *Monumenta Nipponica* 57, no. 3 (Autumn, 2002): 271-307; Scheid and Teeuwen, eds., *The culture of secrecy in Japanese religion*.

³³⁶ These public viewings began as recently as 2010. Prior to that, special advance permission was required by the temple to view the images.

³³⁷ The images were last repaired in 1908. NCKSS jsh 2: 12.

examination proposes that the present iconography of this particular sculpture was based on an iconographical drawing entitled *Rishukyō jūhachie mandara* 理趣經十八会曼荼羅 (fig. 36) and that the right hand originally held a lotus stem topped with jewels.³³⁸ I agree with this conclusion, rather than that of Uehara who states the image's right hand was originally empty, the thumb and forefinger touching.³³⁹ No iconographical sources, textual or visual, depict the sculpture with an empty right hand. I believe that Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu, as the central image, had the most in common iconographically with single Kokūzō Bosatsu images, in which the right hand held a lotus stem or was held down in the *yōgan-in* 与願印 (wish-fulfilling) mudra.³⁴⁰ This iconography, plus the deity's association with Venus, reveals the dynamic continuity between ninth-century belief systems that was made manifest in images such as Kokūzō Bosatsu images, an issue to be explored later in the chapter.

As noted in earlier chapters, the right hand of each image holds an attribute corresponding with their name. These attributes are not original to the sculptures.³⁴¹ However, a twelfth-century account that Kakuzen recorded from the Buddhist priest Shūmei (alt. Shūmyō 宗命 1119-71) from the Shingon temple Daigoji indicates that they held similar objects at the time the document was written (with the exception of Hōkai, which had probably lost its lotus by this time):

Hōkai Kokūzō...right hand is held palm out in front of the chest, the thumb and index finger touching, the other three fingers held down.

Kongō Kokūzō...the five fingers of the right are raised in front of the chest, and hold a five-pronged vajra.

Hōkō Kokūzō...right hand is raised in front of the chest. It holds

³³⁸ Sasaki Moritoshi, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu," 1-14.

³³⁹ Uehara Shōichi, "Jingoji Tahōto Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō," 505-07.

³⁴⁰ See the Gakuanji Kokūzō Bosatsu sculpture discussed in Chapter One. This image has the same right hand iconography as the Jingoji Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu.

³⁴¹ NCSSS jsh 2: 13.

[a single lotus stem with] four lotuses, on top of which rests a red flaming jewel.

Renge Kokūzō...right hand is raised in front of the chest. It holds three lotuses, on top of which is a jewel.

Gōyō Kokūzō...right hand holds a *katsuma*.³⁴²

The left hands each grasp hooked, vajra-topped staffs (三鈷鉤 *sankokō*).³⁴³

Although portions of the images have been repaired since the ninth century, what Japanese scholars' examinations have determined to be original components are stylistically and technically consistent with other imperially-commissioned sculptures from the same period. The heads of the deities are slightly oversized, each with a tall topknot arranged in broad locks of hair atop the head. The topknots are covered by tall, gilt, openwork crowns (later additions³⁴⁴) with varying foliate designs. Tendrils of hair are also splayed atop the shoulders, and swept across the long-lobed ears. Beneath the bottom edge of the crown, the faces are framed by segmented sections of hair. On all the sculptures, this hair retains traces of bluish-green pigment.

Long, thin eyebrows arc low and wide on the slightly tapered face, meeting atop the bridge of the nose. The *byakugo* 白毫, or a tuft of white hair above the bridge of the nose representing the three light-emitting hairs of enlightened beings, is indicated by a protruding sphere of unpainted wood inserted into the surface of each face (fig. 1g).³⁴⁵ The narrow, downcast eyes appear half-closed as if in a meditative state. The small noses are softly modeled with a narrow

³⁴² TZ5: 57. As explained in Chapter Two, *katsuma* is a Japanese adaptation of the Sanskrit word *karma*, and represents action. This concept takes the form of two double-sided, three-pronged vajras attached perpendicularly.

³⁴³ Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, ed., *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 望月信亨, 7 vols. (Tokyo: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai, 1973) 2: 1507-08. The *sankokō* is held by various deities within both the Diamond world and Womb world mandalas, including a deity within the Kokūzō-in of the Womb world mandala, Fukūkōkanzeon Bosatsu 不空鉤觀世音菩薩.

³⁴⁴ NCKSS-jsh 2:13.

³⁴⁵ The original *byakugo* was likely made from crystal or painted wood.

bridge and rounded tip and nostrils. The lips are small but have broad surfaces, while the corners of the mouths are tucked slightly into the fleshy cheeks. Red pigment is visible on the lips of Renge (fig. 1e), Kongō and Hōkai, which are then framed by a thin black line. The outer edge of the upper lip forms a pronounced cupid's bow, but there is no natural philtrum, or vertical depression on skin of the upper lip. The broad cheeks flow almost seamlessly into the short neck, obscuring any definite jaw line. Three shallow, gentle folds of flesh compose the neck, which dip just into the center of the upper chest.

The torso modeling is tapered and compact, but the pectoral muscles are defined by shallow incisions, and the navel by a vertical indentation compressed gently between the flesh of the upper and lower belly. The arms lack distinctive musculature, and are stiff as the upper arm emerges from the wide shoulders, the forearms from the elbows. Besides the faces, the hands are the most expressive and sensitively modeled part of the anatomy, with the delineated finger joints connected smoothly and tapering into fingertips with flattened-off fingernails. This is especially evident in Gōyō Kokūzō's hand (fig. 1g). The thick legs provide a solid base for the upper body.

The drapery of the images consists of a *jōhaku* 条帛 (sash) draped diagonally from the left shoulder to the right hip, the end tucked under the sash portion on the shoulder with the end hanging down in front of the left side of the body.³⁴⁶ A *mō* 裳 (Skt. *dhoti*), or skirt-like garment, wraps low around the hips, and is tied below the navel. It swirls around the outside of the upper legs towards the inner thighs, and hangs in stylized swags on the front of the lower legs. No folds appear where the bent knees press tightly against the fabric of the skirt. All the images wear

³⁴⁶ See Nishimura Kōchō 西村公朝, *Butsuzō no saihakken: kantei e no michi* 仏像の再発見：鑑定への道 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1976), 250-51 for details on drapery configurations.

necklaces with foliate and flower designs, upper armbands with central medallions and simple wristlets.

The sculptures were made using the *ichiboku zukuri* 一木造り technique, meaning they were carved from a single block of wood, with the exception of the arms and hands. The backs of the statues were carved out to prevent the wood from splitting, but the bottoms of the sculptures were left uncarved. The circular rings of the wood grain are visible on the bottoms of the images, indicating that cross sections of trees were used to produce the images. *Hinoki* (Japanese cypress, Lat. *chamaecyparis obtuse*) may have been used,³⁴⁷ but opinions vary as the wood type has not yet been thoroughly scientifically analyzed.³⁴⁸ After the images were carved, layers of lacquer-soaked cloth were applied to the certain parts of the image's surface using the *kanshitsu heiyō* 乾漆併用 (partial dry lacquer over wood) technique.³⁴⁹ After the final layer dried, another coating of *sabi urushi* 錆漆 was applied to the surface of the wood to allow the sculptor to model the delicate details and contours of the image.³⁵⁰ This process was used to create sections of the drapery, as well as the tendrils of hair that are splayed about the shoulders.³⁵¹

³⁴⁷ For characteristics of this type of wood see Fujii Tomoyuki 藤井智之, "Mokuchōzō no kishu: mokuchōzō yōzai no kagakuteki bunseki 木彫像の樹種：木彫像用材の科学的分析," in *Butsuzō: ichiboku ni komerareta inori* 仏像：一木にこめられた祈り, ed. Tokyo National Museum (Tokyo: The Yomiuri Shinbun, 2006), 238-39. NCKSS jsh 2: 11-12.

³⁴⁸ When the wood was analyzed by microscope during a survey between 1950 and 1963, it was deemed to be *hinoki*. See Kohara Jirō 小原二郎, "Nihon chōkoku yōzai chōsa shiryō 日本彫刻用材調査資料," *Bijustu kenkyū* 美術研究 229 (1963): 79. However, Nedachi Kensuke of the Kyoto University Aesthetics and Art History department is not convinced that these images are made from *hinoki*. Personal correspondence, May 2008. Wood specialist Mechtild Mertz from the Research Institute for Humanity and Nature, Kyoto, suggests that they are made from *kaya* (Japanese nutmeg, Lat. *Torreya nucifera*), as many other imperially-sponsored images from the ninth century were made from this material. Personal correspondence, June 2010.

³⁴⁹ Itō Shirō, *Heian jidai chōkoku no kenkyū*, 2.

³⁵⁰ This is a mixture of sap from the lac tree and burnt powdered clay. Waei taishō Nihon bijutsu yōgo jiten henshūinkai, ed., *Nihon bijutsu yōgo jiten*, 245.

³⁵¹ NCKSS jsh 2: 11-12. This technique was practiced by sculptors trained in the Nara-based workshops that eventually spread to Kyoto. As the capital shifted from Nara to Nagaokakyō in 784, then to Kyoto (Heiankyō) in 794, the political and religious base of Japan also shifted, necessitating the move of Buddhist sculptors, or *busshi* 仏師. Already proficient in wood core dry lacquer techniques (*mokushin kanshitsu* 木心乾漆) used in the Nara workshops, these sculptors gradually used fewer layers of lacquer-soaked cloth, at times simply a lacquer-based

After the lacquer layer dried, pigment was applied to the surface. According to the *Jingoji Jōhei jitsurokuchō* 神護寺承平實録帳 (True record of Jingoji from the Jōhei era [931-38], hereafter *Jōhei jitsurokuchō*), the paint was restored in 899 (Shōtai 2).³⁵² The exposed skin of each image, including the face, neck, arms, torso and exposed right foot is pigmented with a different color. The fact that they are pigmented is of special significance and will be addressed later in the chapter. As noted before, the eyes are colored with white, brownish pupils and black irises. The drapery also appears to be painted; the background color of the drapery varies (Kongō Kokūzō's is reddish, Gōyō Kokūzō's is greenish, while Hōkai, Renge and Hōkō Kokūzō's is brownish hue) but they all carry a floral pattern still visible on the ends of the sash hanging in front of the left torso, and on squarish sections of the skirt-like garment on the front of the knees. This fabric pattern is also seen on Buddhist images created prior to the ninth century. The edges of the sash are highlighted with thin gold outlines, visible on Hōkai's sash, further refining and lending an air of luxury to the images. The pattern on the *dhotis* is likely of ninth-century origin, as it is similar to that of the ninth-century Nyoririn Kannon housed at Kanshinji, to be discussed below. The current pigment of the skin and drapery is thought by scholars to be at least as old as its last restoration in 899 (Shōtai 2),³⁵³ although I propose that the images had the same pigment when they were created earlier in the ninth century. The crowns, necklaces, armbands, wristlets

paste, on the wood until it was used only on selected areas of the sculptures such as the hair, fabric, hands, feet and jewelry. The production method of the seated Kokūzō Bosatsu image currently housed in Nōmanji, examined in Chapter One, is known as a precursor to this technique.

³⁵² NCKSS jsh 2:12. *Jingoji Jōhei jitsurokuchō* is a collection of excerpts from Jōhei era (承平 931-38) histories, and thus is considered by most scholars to be the earliest extensive history of Jingoji. The oldest copied excerpts of *Jingoji Jōhei jitsurokuchō* are found in *Jingoji ryakki* 神護寺略記, a document written in 1315, as well as the late fourteenth-century *Jingoji sairyakki* 神護寺最略記. Although these two secondary sources both contain portions of the *Jingoji Jōhei jitsurokuchō*, they are not the same portions and thus contain somewhat varying data. *Jingoji ryakki* is reproduced in NCKSS jsh 2:21-27 and Fujita Tsuneyo 藤田經世, ed., *Kōkan bijutsu shiryō* 校刊美術史料, vol. Jiin hen 寺院編 (Tokyo: Chūō kōron shuppansha, 1972), 257-74. *Jingoji sairyakki* is reproduced in NCKSS jsh 2:27-31 and Fujita Tsuneyo, ed., *Kōkan bijutsu shiryō*, 278-88.

³⁵³ Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 46.

and attributes in the sculptures' hands, all separate pieces, are made of pounded metal and are the result of later repairs and additions.³⁵⁴

Ninth-century sculpture: comparative images

These sculptures fit relatively securely into a vein of sculptures patronized by the imperial family, created in imperially-sponsored workshops in the capital area, and associated with the Shingon school of Buddhism in the ninth century.³⁵⁵ This style of Buddhist sculpture features heavy bodies with thick, volumetric torsos, fleshy chests and broad shoulders. Thick, stylized drapery with deep, patterned folds predominates, while the faces of these images are rounded, fleshy and mask-like with an exaggerated elongation of the eyes and thin, broadly arching eyebrows. As will be shown below, Kūkai's disciples were involved in imperially patronized sculpture of this stylistic vein.

One such sculpture, the one most often used in stylistic comparisons with the Jingoji images, is the Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪觀音菩薩 (Skt. Cintāmanicakra) housed at Kanshinji 觀心寺 in Osaka (fig. 18).³⁵⁶ This image was commissioned by Tachibana Kachiko (橘かちこ 786-850), the empress of Emperor Saga (嵯峨天皇 r. 809-23), and was installed in the temple with the help

³⁵⁴ NCKSS jsh 2: 13.

³⁵⁵ This has traditionally been labeled the "Shingon style" of sculpture in art historical scholarship. However, sculptures outside the Shingon school are also part of this stylistic vein, and so I will use this term with caution. These images are often described in terms of their "soft," "sensual," and "exotic" qualities and are often inappropriately feminized within academic scholarship. For examples of this within general survey texts, see Mizuno Keizaburō, ed., *Nihon butsuzōshi*, 73; Sawa Takaaki, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, trans. Richard L. Gage (New York; Tokyo: Weatherhill; Heibonsha, 1972), 80, 150. For issues pertaining to the feminization of Buddhist images, see Bogel, "Canonizing Kannon," 35; Bernard Faure, "The Kyoto School and Reverse Orientalism," in *Japan in Traditional and Postmodern Perspectives*, ed. Charles Wei-hsun Fu and Steven Heine (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 254-81; Sarah Fremmerman, "Divine Impersonations: Nyoirin Kannon in Medieval Japan" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, Stanford, 2008). Most recently, Bogel has characterized this style as "Sinicized Central Asian." Bogel, *With a single glance*, 94.

³⁵⁶ Tsuji Shindō refutes this statement, basing his somewhat tenuous argument on differences between the images' drapery modeling, hair configurations, and more "voluptuous" nature of the Nyoirin Kannon. Tsuji Shindō, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," 48-54.

of Kūkai's disciple Jitsue (alt. Jichie 実恵 786-847).³⁵⁷ It was produced around 840 (Jōwa 7).³⁵⁸

Kanshinji also housed a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu paintings in the ninth century, which I addressed in previous chapters.³⁵⁹

The Nyoirin Kannon image is approximately 109 centimeters tall, including the topknot. It was created using the same single-block, *kanshitsu heiyō* technique as the Jingoji Godai Bosatsu images. The drapery is further decorated with detailed *kirikane* 切り金 (pounded and cut gold) designs.³⁶⁰ It sits in the position of “royal ease,” with both knees bent, the right knee raised and the left knee falling open to the side. This deity has six arms, all separate blocks of wood. This is one example of Esoteric Buddhist iconography that is taken from the multi-armed, multi-headed deities of the Indian Hindu pantheon. The six hands hold various Buddhist symbols, including the jewel (如意 *nyoi*) and wheel (輪 *rin*), the two attributes that give the deity its name.

The square but slightly tapered shape of the face, long, narrow eyebrows above the elongated eyes, and the scalloped frame of sectioned hair below the crown resonate with the Jingoji images. In addition, the small mouth and nose, lack of jaw definition and broad, heavy cheeks are similar. The modeling of the body is soft, with shallow incisions used to indicate pectoral muscles, three fleshy rings on the short neck rings, and indented navel. The cloth pulled tight against the left knee and the creasing of the fabric into two or three regular curves is indeed

³⁵⁷ NCKSS jsh 3: 16.

³⁵⁸ Mizuno Keizaburō 水野敬三郎, *Nihon chōkokushi kenkyū* 日本彫刻史研究 (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1996), 150.

³⁵⁹ Interestingly, Nyoirin Kannon was also used in a memory-retention rite called *Nyoirin gumonjihō* 如意輪求聞持法. The procedure is almost identical to the Kokūzō *gumonjihō*, except that the image of Kokūzō is replaced by a sculpture of Nyoirin Kannon measuring 42.42 cm (1 *shaku* and 4 *sun*), and Venus is not incorporated into the ritual. The Shingon patriarch Shūei and the Tendai patriarch Ennin both imported copies of the text into Japan. MD 4: 1738.

³⁶⁰ This is a secret image and is only open for public viewing for three days every each April, which perhaps accounts for its well-preserved condition.

much like that of the Jingoji images.³⁶¹ The iconographical significance of the Nyoirin Kannon at Kanshinji has been covered at length by Cynthea Bogel. She reveals that although this image is now the *honzon* 本尊 (main image of veneration) in the temple, during the ninth century it was located in a separate building as the focus of rituals and part of a pentad created to honor and protect the deceased Emperor Nimmyō.³⁶² Complex iconographical groupings such as these play a vital role in ninth-century Esoteric Buddhist practices of the imperial family.

Four of the Godai Bosatsu 五大菩薩 (Five Great Bodhisattvas) sculptures in the Tōji (fig. 15a) discussed in Chapter Two are also stylistically comparable to the Jingoji images. As the “body [which turns] the wheel of correct teaching,” this Godai Bosatsu pentad comprises the bodhisattva component of the *sanrinjin* configuration. These sculptures share the same single-block, *kanshitsu heiyō* construction as the Jingoji images, but retain the more svelte physiques common to eighth-century sculpture (fig. 15b). The sculptures in both sets are of similar size (approximately one meter tall) and technique (wooden core with dry lacquer). Unlike the multicolored Jingoji images, however, the surface of the Tōji images is covered with lacquer and then a layer of gold foil, a technique known as *shippaku* 漆箔.³⁶³ The iconographical role and patronage of this pentad was discussed in Chapter Two.

Another set of images stylistically and iconographically comparable to the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu is the Gochi Nyorai 五智如来 (Five Wisdom Buddhas) formerly housed at

³⁶¹ Within art historical scholarship, the Kanshinji Nyoirin Kannon is especially known for being qualified as possessing “feminine” characteristics. In an article as recent as 2005, Inoue Kazutoshi emphasizes what he deems as the image’s “feminine” qualities, attributing them to the fact that the patron, Tachibana Kachiko 橘嘉智子 (786-850, before she became empress), had a dream that predicted she would become a Buddhist empress and thus had the Nyoirin Kannon made in her own image. See Inoue Kazutoshi 井上一稔, “Kanshinji Nyoirin Kannonzō to danzō kōgō no yume 観心寺如意輪観音像と壇像皇后の夢,” in *Bunkashigaku no chōsen 文学史学の挑戦*, ed. Kasai Masaaki 笠井昌昭 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2005), 87-101. For further reading on the constructed feminization of this image, see Bogel, “Canonizing Kannon,” 30-36.

³⁶² Bogel, “Canonizing Kannon,” 50-51.

³⁶³ Waei taishō Nihon bijutsu yōgo jiten henshūinkai, ed., *Nihon bijutsu yōgo jiten*, 276.

Anjōji but now at the Kyoto National Museum (figs.19a, b). These images are considerably larger than the Jingoji sculptures; the height of the central Dainichi Nyorai sculpture is 161.2 cm, with the surrounding four Buddhas measuring between 107 and 109 cm. They are technically similar to the Jingoji sculptures in their single-block, wood core-dry lacquer production method. Like the Tōji images, the surfaces are finished with a thin layer of lacquer and pounded gold.³⁶⁴

Similar stylistic features are especially visible between the Anjōji Dainichi Nyorai (fig. 19b) and Jingoji Renge Kokūzō (fig. 1e); for example, both bodies exhibit a slight stiffness, most notable in the arms held bent at the sides. Dainichi Nyorai has a squarer head, longer neck, higher eyebrows and eyes drawn further outward than Renge Kokūzō, giving the former a more streamlined look. However, the shallow modeling of the facial features, the slight curve to the lower eyelid, small lips and almost identical noses indicate that the sculptors who created these images had a cache of motifs that were repeated in their works.

As will be discussed further in Chapter Four, in the ninth century this pentad was part of a three wheel-body configuration at Anjōji, located in the southeast mountains of modern-day Kyoto. Empress Dowager Junshi (consort of Nimmyō) and Emperor Montoku (son of Junshi and Nimmyō) were patrons of this temple. Although created by the same group of Kyoto-based sculptors around 859,³⁶⁵ they were combined with the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu that are now

³⁶⁴ For a detailed summary of the production and style of these images, see Sasaki Moritoshi 佐々木守俊, "Anjōji Gochi Nyorai zazō ni tsuite 安祥寺五智如来坐像について," *Kokka 国家* 1306 (August 2004): 7-10. Also see NCKSS jsh 4, Adachi Kō 足立康, "Anjōji Gochi nyoraizō no zōken nendai 安祥寺五智如来像の造顯年代," *Kensetsushi 建設史* 2, no. 6 (1940); Konno Toshifumi 紺野敏文, "Sōkenki no Anjōji to Gochi Nyoraizō 創建期の安祥寺と五智如来像," *Bijutsushi 美術史* 101, no. 1 (1976): 21-38; Nedachi Kensuke 根立研介, "Anjōji no bukkyō chōkoku o meguru shomondai," 265-67.

³⁶⁵ Mizuno Keizaburō, *Nihon chōkokushi kenkyū*, 151.

housed in the Tōji Kanchiin. All the sculptures noted above are related to the imperial family and/or clergy within the lineage of Kūkai.³⁶⁶

Jingoji as a protective site

Examining the history early of Jingoji prior to the arrival of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures reveals that it was a site dedicated to the protection of the nation. It was one within a complex system of temples where *keka* 悔過 (repentance rites) were performed with Yakushi Nyorai 薬師如来 (Skt. Bhaisajyaguru) as the main image of veneration. Priests performed repentance rites in order to absolve sins and earn merit on behalf of the entire nation, as well as to eradicate malevolent spirits. Jingoji was also one of the first sites in the Kyoto area where *abhisekha* (Jp. *kanjō* 灌頂 or Esoteric Buddhist initiations) and other Buddhist rites dedicated to national protection were conducted.

Yakushi keka, Esoteric initiations and mountains

The complex circumstances surrounding the establishment of Jingoji have been well researched. In their investigations into the original location of the late eighth-century standing Yakushi Nyorai sculpture (fig. 20) currently housed in the Jingoji golden hall, scholars such as Samuel Morse, Nagasaka Ichirō, Nagaoka Ryūsaku, and Yui Suzuki have thoroughly researched the early history of the temple and its relationship to Yakushi *keka*.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ The Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来 housed at Kōryūji 広隆寺 in northwestern Kyoto also shares stylistic and technical affinities with the other sculptures in this group, and was likely produced by the same imperial sculptural workshop. Asai Kazuharu 浅井和春, "Kōryūji kōdō Amida Nyoraizō no zōritsu nendai ni tsuite 広隆寺講堂阿弥陀如来像の造立年代について," *Kokka* 国華 974 (1974): 5-10. This sculpture is associated with Amida-based worship, but the building in which it is housed also contains a pair of sculptures identified as Kokūzō Bosatsu and Jizō Bosatsu. The issue of this iconographical pairing will be addressed below.

³⁶⁷ Samuel Crowell Morse, "The standing image of Yakushi at Jingoji and the formation of the plain-wood style," *Archives of Asian Art* 40 (1987): 36-55; Nagaoka Ryūsaku, "Jōgyōsō to kōkan," 4-42; Nagasaka Ichirō 長坂

The narrative begins with a temple named Jinganji 神願寺, no longer extant. The exact location of the temple remains unknown, but most scholarly opinions point to somewhere in the Kansai region of western Honshu.³⁶⁸ This temple was established by Wake no Kiyomaro (和氣清麻呂, 733-99), a statesman and close affiliate of the imperial court, in response to an oracle he received in the late 760's from Usa Hachiman shrine 宇佐八幡神宮 on the island of Kyushu.³⁶⁹ This shrine is one of the main centers for worship of Hachiman 八幡, a well-known deity of the Shinto pantheon often described as a bodhisattva and depicted in the physical form of a Buddhist monk.³⁷⁰

In response to the oracle, Kiyomaro vowed to build a temple complex, to copy sūtras, and to sponsor the creation of images and sūtra recitations.³⁷¹ Several years later, in 784 (the same year during which Emperor Kammu moved the capital from Nara to Nagaokakyō), Kiyomaro built Jinganji ("temple of the divine request"), and soon afterwards it was given the status of *jōkakuji* 定額寺. Nagaoka states that this status was for imperially-sanctioned private temples, or ones

一郎, *Shinbutsu shūgōzō no kenkyū*; Nagasaka Ichirō, "Shoki jingūji no seiritsu to sono honzon no imi: Jingoji Yakushi Nyorai ritsuzō no zōzō riyū o tegakari ni shite 初期神宮寺の成立とその本尊の意味・神護寺薬師如来立像の造像理由をてがかりにして," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 354 (September 1992); Suzuki, "The medicine master."

³⁶⁸ It was likely located in present day Kinki area, with various opinions pointing to present-day Osaka, Kyoto and Nara prefecture. Suzuki, "The medicine master," 136.

³⁶⁹ Kiyomaro was sent by the government to investigate claims that the infamous monk Dōkyō (道鏡 d. 772) had upon the imperial throne. Jane Marie Law, "Violence, Ritual Reenactment, and Ideology: the "Hōjō-e" (Rite for Release of Sentient Beings) of the Usa Hachiman Shrine in Japan," *History of Religions* 33, no. 4 (May 1994): 329-33.

³⁷⁰ Usa Hachimangu, located in present-day Oita prefecture on the island of Kyushu, is one of the oldest shrines dedicated to the deity Hachiman. It was a center for oracle transmission. Michael Como points out that Usa Hachiman is adjacent to the Hata clan temple of Kokūzōji 虚空蔵寺 in northern Kyushu. This temple illustrates the tandem usage of Kokūzō Bosatsu and Hachiman within the Hata belief system. Como, *Weaving and binding*, 18. I believe that this trend is also seen at Jingoji, to be discussed below. For more on the history of Hachiman imagery, see Christine Guth Kanda, *Shinzō: Hachiman imagery and its development* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).

³⁷¹ Morse, "Standing image of Yakushi," 47.

that had applied to be official imperial temples (*kanji* 官寺),³⁷² and Adolphson clarifies that this designation was primarily intended for private (i.e. not established by the government) temples established outside the city proper that received special support from the court; in exchange, the temple would perform rituals which benefited the state.³⁷³ The temple was also a *jingūji* 神宮寺, or a temple built at the behest of a Shinto deity; in this case, Hachiman.³⁷⁴

At the same time, another temple called Takaosanji 高雄山寺 existed in the mountains in northwest Kyoto. This temple is named for the Takao region in which the temple is located, one area of Mt. Atago 愛宕山 in the mountains northwest of Kyoto. The details surrounding the establishment of the temple are unclear, although the tenth-century *Jōhei jitsurokuchō* states that it was established during mid-eighth century.³⁷⁵ The first mention of events at the temple appears in the second fascicle of *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 (Abridged history of Japan³⁷⁶), edited by the Tendai priest Kōen 皇円 (d. 1169). This text states that in 802 (Enryaku 21) at the behest of Wake no Hiroyo 和气広世 (late eighth-early ninth century) and his brother Matsuna 真綱 (783-846), the priests Saichō and Zengi 善儀 (729-812), participated in Lotus sūtra-related services at the site.³⁷⁷ Saichō was later involved in what has traditionally been deemed the first *abhisekha*, or Esoteric initiation ceremony at the temple in 805 (Enryaku 24), along with the support of Emperor Kammu and the Wake clan.³⁷⁸ This ceremony served to pacify the vengeful spirit of the

³⁷² Nagaoka Ryūsaku, "Jōgyōsō to kōkan," 4.

³⁷³ Mikael S. Adolphson, "Institutional diversity and religious integration: the establishment of temple networks in the Heian age," in *Heian Japan, centers and peripheries*, ed. Mikael S. Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 221-22.

³⁷⁴ Nagasaka Ichirō 長坂一郎, "Shoki jingūji no seiritsu," 1-4.

³⁷⁵ NCKSS jsh 2: 30.

³⁷⁶ Translation of this title is from Ruppert, *Jewel in the ashes*, 204. See also Morse, "Standing image of Yakushi," 48.

³⁷⁷ KT12: 114-15.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Cited in Paul Groner, *Saichō: the establishment of the Japanese Tendai School, Berkeley Buddhist studies series 7* (Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1984), 66.

deceased Prince Sawara (早良新王 750-85) which was believed to be responsible for the illness that had befallen Kammu at the time.³⁷⁹ It is clear that Saichō conducted Esoteric rites at the temple before Kūkai or those within his lineage had arrived here.

When Kūkai did arrive at Takaosanji in 810 (Kōnin 1), four years after returning from Tang dynasty China, he requested permission to perform national protection rituals here, including readings of a new version of *Ninnō kyō* 仁王經 (*Benevolent Kings sūtra*, mentioned earlier in connection to the Tōji *sanrinjin*) and *Shugokokkaishu darani kyō* 守護国界主陀羅尼經 (Ch. *Shouhu guojie zhu tuoluoni jing*; Skt. *Āryadhāraīśvararāja-sūtra*³⁸⁰), which he imported from China.³⁸¹ For the next several years he performed many Esoteric initiations here.³⁸² Because of the many *abhiseka* and national protection rituals performed at Takaosanji, it became a major center of Esoteric Buddhism through the activities of Saichō and Kūkai in the early ninth century. The *abhiseka* rituals especially were a vital legitimizing activity in a politico-religious system in which the emperor ruled over a physical realm, as well as his own metaphysical universe accessed through Esoteric Buddhist practice. These rituals were thus not only necessary for religious officials, but for many imperial and Fujiwara regent family members as well.

As Kūkai's instrumental role in the Esoteric initiation ceremonies grew, so did his desire to build a larger center for Shingon studies. In 816 (Kōnin 7), he petitioned his main supporter, Emperor Saga, for permission to build a temple on Mt. Kōya in present-day Wakayama prefecture. Construction began in 819 (Kōnin 10), and must have taken his attention from Takaosanji; records dealing with his relationship to Takaosanji between 816 and 824 are scant. In 821 (Kōnin 12), however, he submitted his *ganmon* (votive document) to the court for the

³⁷⁹ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 228.

³⁸⁰ T997: 19.

³⁸¹ Ibid. Reproduced in KZ1: 77.

³⁸² Fujii Keisuke, *Mikkyō kenchiku kūkanron*, 45.

restoration of twenty-six paintings (to be done at Takaosanji) that he had brought from China, including the set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu paintings mentioned in Chapter Two. In 823, Emperor Saga asked Kūkai to take over Tōji as *bettō* 別当 (official administrative head), and he left Takaosanji “in the hands of some disciples” as Yoshio Hakeda states.³⁸³ This ambiguity and lack of concrete data in Hakeda’s response is intriguing for what it fails to reveal about this period of the temple’s history, a central issue in this dissertation. Further investigation reveals that Kūkai chose his main disciple, Jitsue, to administer Takaosanji during this time. Jitsue seems to have remained active here until 827, when he began building his own temple, Kanshinji, in modern-day Osaka prefecture.³⁸⁴

It was thus Jitsue who was in charge of Takaosanji when the temple underwent many changes in 824 (Tenchō 1), among them the renaming of the temple. By this time, the site of Jinganji was considered “polluted” 汚穢 (*owai*), and Wake no Matsuna and Nakayo, sons of Kiyomaro, asked Emperor Junna (淳和天皇, r. 823-33) to transfer Jinganji’s *jōkakujī* status to Takaosanji. Again, this status was given to imperially-sanctioned temples located most often in the peripheral mountains outside of the capital. In exchange for financial support these temples conducted rites on behalf of the state. While this “polluted” state can be interpreted several ways (physical or spiritual pollution, for example), Nagaoka Ryūsaku’s comparative study of this term reveals that in this case, the term likely refers to the grounds of Jinganji having become sandy and muddy, making it physically unsuitable as a temple site.³⁸⁵ The Wake brothers’ request was granted and the temple’s *jōkakujī* status was transferred to Takaosanji, leaving Jinganji defunct. With its new status, Takaosanji was renamed Jingokokusakushingonji 神護国作真言寺 (“true

³⁸³ Hakeda, *Kūkai: major works*, 54.

³⁸⁴ Hirano Kunio and Seno Seisaburō, eds., *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten*, 445.

³⁸⁵ Nagaoka Ryūsaku 長岡龍作, "Jingoji Yakushi zō no isō 神護寺薬師像の位相," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 359 (1994): 5.

word temple of nation-building [under] divine protection”), which was abbreviated to Jingoji 神護寺. One of the benefits of *jōkakuji* included the addition of monks to administer the temple. Indeed, in 824, seventeen new monks entered the priesthood at the site.³⁸⁶ One of these monks was Engyō (円行 799-852), who later authored texts related to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, to be explored below.

Scholars such as Adachi Kō and Samuel Morse believe that the Yakushi Nyorai image presently housed in the golden hall of Jingoji was moved here from Jinganji at this time.³⁸⁷ However, due to their thorough investigations into temple inventories and analyses of the concept of “pollution” within the Jinganji/Jingoji temple contexts, Nagaoka and Suzuki more convincingly argue that the standing Yakushi Nyorai image was originally intended for the Jingoji site.³⁸⁸

A number of factors contributed to the decision to give Takaosanji Jinganji’s *jōkakuji* status.³⁸⁹ Among them, and most central to this discussion, is the prominence of Takaosanji as a site where Yakushi *keka* were performed. These procedures were sponsored by the imperial government and carried out at temples throughout the Kyoto area from the eighth century onward.³⁹⁰ Such rituals were performed for the confession of sins and purification of one’s soul,

³⁸⁶ See the 892 *Ruijū kokushi* 類聚国史 reproduced in KT6: 259-60. Suzuki’s excellent English translation of the relevant section of this record appears in Suzuki, “The medicine master,” 124-28. This passage and its relationship to Engyō is discussed in Satō Nagato 佐藤長門, “Nittōsō Engyō ni kansuru kisoteki kōsatsu 入唐僧円行に関する基礎的考察,” *Kokushigaku 国史学* 153 (1994): 56.

³⁸⁷ Adachi Kō 足立康, “Jingoji Yakushizō no zōken nendai 神護寺薬師像の像顕年代,” *Kōkogaku zasshi 考古学雑誌* 29.12 (1939): 719-25; Morse, “Standing image of Yakushi,” 46-52.

³⁸⁸ Suzuki, “The medicine master,” 144.

³⁸⁹ For example, only a certain number of temples were allowed to receive *jōkakuji* status during a given time period. Since Jinganji no longer needed this rank, it had to be given to another temple. *Ibid.*, 143-44.

³⁹⁰ Nagaoka Ryūsaku 長岡龍作, “Keka to butsumō 悔過と仏像,” *Rokuon zasshū: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō 鹿園雑集: 奈良国立博物館研究紀要* 8 (2006): 13-17.

but as Nagaoka rightly states, such purification would be extended to the state itself, and would thus help to alleviate any malicious spirits that might cause plagues or natural disasters.³⁹¹

The temples where such rituals were performed during the eighth and ninth centuries were located within the “Seven high mountains” 七高山 that separated provinces in the Kinai region of Honshu. Jingoji, for example, was located in the Takao area of Mount Atago, at the border between Yamashiro 山城 and Tamba 丹波 provinces.³⁹² Mountains were considered sacred geographical features within many realms of Japanese spiritual life. In the Buddhist tradition, mountains were considered holy training sites, as well as geographic manifestations of Buddhist concepts: Mt. Kōya and its eight surrounding peaks as the eight-petal mandala of the Womb world, or Mt. Murō and its five peaks as the five wisdoms (五智 *gochi*), for example.³⁹³ Within Shinto, a mountain is considered to be either “the support of, or an actual divinity.”³⁹⁴ Mountains were also the sites of mysterious phenomena (sources of water, sites for contacting divinities, realms of darkness and remoteness associated with death), while the plains or valleys were where more mundane activities took place (farming, government processes, daily human interactions).³⁹⁵ Jingoji was, then, a vital part of a network of temples that functioned as sites for state protection within divine mountain areas. This fact made it worthy of *jōkakuji* status and of the government-appointed monk administrators that went along with this designation. It should also be recalled that Jinganji was a *jingūji*, or a temple built at the behest of a Shinto deity. This increased the value of the *jōkakuji* designation for both the Jinganji and Jingoji sites, and demonstrates the integrated character of religious establishments during this period.

³⁹¹ Nagaoka Ryūsaku, "Jōgyōsō to kōkan," 9.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁹³ Fowler, *Murōji*, 12.

³⁹⁴ Grapard, "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness," 199.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 199-205.

This early history set the stage for the solidification of Jingoji as a site for Esoteric initiation and national protection rites, performed by Kūkai and his disciples during the ninth century. These elements of the temple's history must be considered when examining the environment into which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures were introduced.

Umegahata region as a ritual site: excavations and Hiraoka Hachimangu

Jingoji is currently located in an area of Mt. Takao known as Umegahata 梅ヶ畑. Archeological evidence excavated from a site in the lowlands of this area reveals that it was likely utilized as a ritual practice ground as early as the Yayoi (fourth or third century B.C.E.-third century C.E.) and Kofun (third century C.E.-seventh century C.E.) periods, and into the Nara and early Heian periods.³⁹⁶ This area is located between the Esoteric temple Ninnaji 仁和寺 and the entrance to nearby Hiraoka Hachimangu 平岡八幡宮, a Shinto shrine located at the base of the foothills on the way to Jingoji. *Sueki* 須恵器 and *hajiki* 土師器 wares, common ceramics of the Nara and Heian periods, were found here in broken, although virtually unused condition, indicating that they may have been used once in a ritual and discarded after use. An etched stone image of a human figure with a halo was also found, as was a ceramic sherd with a similar image.³⁹⁷ As Takahashi Kiyoshi indicates, this was a period in which Shinto and Buddhist ritual procedures were not distinct from one another, as many practices had similar magico-religious elements.³⁹⁸ These excavated objects may indicate that such ritual activity took place in the Hiraoka Hachimangu area.

³⁹⁶ Takahashi Kiyoshi 高橋潔, "Jingoji ni tsunagaru 'shinsei na tani' 神護寺につながる「神聖な谷」," in *Jingoji Yakushi Nyorai zō no sekai 神護寺薬師如来像の世界, Kokuhō to rekishi no tabi 国宝と歴史の旅* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999), 23-4.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

Hiraoka Hachimangu itself is another point of association between Jingoji, Usa Hachimangu and Shinto belief. The current complex dates to the Edo period, but was rebuilt in the fifteenth century as well. Shrine legend states that that it was founded by Kūkai in 809 as a protective shrine (*chinjū* 鎮守) for Jingoji, and that he enshrined the deity from Usa Hachimangu here. However, there is no ninth-century documentation attesting to the fact that Kūkai established the shrine. This legend is one of many associated with shrines and temples throughout Japan that Kūkai supposedly established, and should be dealt with cautiously.³⁹⁹ However, it should be recalled that Jinganji, the *jōkakujī* status of which was given to Takaosanji/Jingoji, was built by the Wake clan at the request of an oracle from Usa Hachiman; it is possible that the deity from the Usa shrine in Kyushu was brought to Hiraoka Hachimangu in Kyoto in order to protect Jingoji.⁴⁰⁰

Documentary evidence illustrates the connection between this particular shrine and Jingoji. The earliest evidence for the shrine is found in the 931 *Jōhei jitsurokuchō*, which mentions “Hiraoka jingū” 平岡神宮, and gives a basic description of the buildings:

Two *gozaiden* 御在殿 (hall for the residence of deities), each three bays wide⁴⁰¹
 One central *mon* 門 (gate)

³⁹⁹ Maruyama Shirō 丸山士郎 relies heavily upon the theory that Kūkai established this shrine, speculating that the main Yakushi Nyorai image currently housed in Jingoji’s golden hall was originally venerated at Jinganji as Hachiman Bosatsu, was later moved to Hiraoka Hachimangu by Kūkai, and finally brought to its present location sometime before the priest Mongaku’s (文覚, act. thirteenth century) large-scale restoration of Jingoji in the thirteenth century. Maruyama Shirō 丸山士郎, "Shoki shinzō chōkoku no kenkyū 初期神像彫刻の研究" *Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 東京国立博物館紀要 40 (2004): 79-95. The present author remains tentative regarding this theory, however, and uses the relationship between the shrine and Jingoji to illustrate the multifaceted nature of religion in the ninth century.

⁴⁰⁰ The procedure to divide and relocate a Shinto deity is known as *kanjō* 観請, a process which does not lessen the power of the deity in either location. Bogel, *With a single glance*, 270. This may have been the procedure done for the deity housed in Hiraoka Hachimangu.

⁴⁰¹ Maruyama Shirō and Mitsuura Masayuki 三浦正幸 explain that one structure functioned as the deity’s residence during the day, the other during the night. Maruyama Shirō, "Shoki shinzō chōkoku no kenkyū": 89-90.

- One inner *torii* 鳥居 (shrine gate)
- One three-bay, wood-shingled *raiden* 礼殿 (worship hall)
- One three-bay, wood-shingled *saiden* 齋殿 (purification hall)
- One middle *torii* gate
- One five-bay, wood-shingled *mandokoro* 政所 (government office)
- One outer *torii*⁴⁰²

The text mentions neither a connection with Usa Hachiman, nor the circumstances under which the shrine was built. However, at the very least it indicates that “Hiraoka jingu” (which I believe to be an early or abbreviated appellation for Hiraoka Hachimangu) and Jingoji had a relationship by 931 that was significant enough to warrant its inclusion in the Jingoji temple record. Even if this shrine is not the physical structure that currently sits at the base of the mountains where Jingoji is now located, it nevertheless illustrates that there was a shrine devoted to *kami* worship with this name in the area.

Later references further associate the shrine with Jingoji. A reference to the shrine (noted as Hiraoka jingū 平岡神宮) is found in the early fourteenth-century *Jingoji ryaki*,⁴⁰³ as well as the late fourteenth-century *Jingoji sairyakki* 神護寺最略記 (*Most abridged account of Jingoji*), which lists all the buildings within the Jingoji grounds, as well as their contents. Included here is a reference to “Hiraoka” 平岡 and its associated buildings such as the *goden* 御殿 (deity hall), *haiden* 拜殿 (worship hall), and three *torii*, all structures with corresponding references in the aforementioned *Jōhei jisturokuchō*.⁴⁰⁴

There are also sources which claim that Hiraoka Hachimangu, and/or Jingoji, housed an image of Hachiman, painted by none other than Kūkai himself. As noted above, Hachiman was

⁴⁰² In *Jingoji sairyakki*, NCKSS jsh 2: 30.

⁴⁰³ NCKSS jsh 2: 26.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

the deity from which the Wake clan received the oracle instructing them to built Jinganji in the eighth century. The deity is often depicted as a bodhisattva known as Hachiman Bosatsu 八幡菩薩 and was the “guardian of imperial legitimacy,” as he protected imperially-sponsored temples and shrines.⁴⁰⁵ Christine Guth Kanda’s extensive examination of Hachiman imagery reveals that Jingoji was one of the first sites of several sites to demonstrate such a claim of owning a Hachiman image painted by Kūkai.⁴⁰⁶ In the case of Jingoji, the Hachiman image was housed in the temple’s golden hall, a building which, by current tradition, houses Buddhist deities.⁴⁰⁷ This illustrates the fluidity inherent in belief systems and imagery in the ninth century. The same image was later transferred to Shōkōmyōin 勝光明院 in Kyoto after a fire at Jingoji in 1149 (Kyūan 5), and returned to Jingoji in 1306 (Tokuji 1). Although this work no longer exists, Jingoji currently houses a Kamakura-period (1185-1333) painting of Hachiman.⁴⁰⁸ The image of Hachiman at Hiraoka shrine is more difficult to trace, but it is also attributed to Kūkai.⁴⁰⁹

Keeping in mind that the attributions of these Hachiman images to Kūkai may have been fabricated, they may be the bases for a scene in the *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō emaki* (弘法大師行狀絵巻 Illustrated handscroll of Kōbō Daishi’s activities), painted between 1396 and 1403 and housed at Tōji.⁴¹⁰ The sixth section of this work, entitled *Takao rengyō* (高雄練行 Training activities at Takao) depicts Jingoji set within the resplendent autumn foliage of Mt. Takao, the top of the temple’s pagoda with its tall golden finial (相輪 *sōrin*) nestled against the mountains in the upper right hand corner (fig. 21). Kūkai and Hachiman Bosatsu appear in the center of the

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 41.

⁴⁰⁶ Guth Kanda, 54.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 54-55.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 77. For an image, see plate 54.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 76.

⁴¹⁰ Niimi Yasuko 新見康子, "Kōbō Daishi gyōjō: rekishi to shite no kanōsei 弘法大師行狀絵：歴史としての可能性," in *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō emaki no sekai: eien e no hishō 弘法大師行狀絵巻の世界：永遠への秘抄* (Kyoto: Tōji Hōmotsukan, 2000), 138.

composition, each painting a portrait of the other.⁴¹¹ Hachiman hovers in the sky, his head and shoulders obscured by clouds, with a portrait of Kūkai visible in his hands. Kūkai gazes up at the deity while he paints an image of Hachiman, the head and shoulders of the deity again obscured by clouds. This may be a depiction of a tradition known as *tagai no miei* 互いの御影, or reciprocal images, whereby Hachiman and Kūkai paint images of each other.⁴¹² The text accompanying this image in the scroll states that the portrait of Kūkai was housed in the *nyōryōbō* 納涼房 (monks quarters used in the warmer summer months) at Jingoji, and the portrait of Hachiman at Shōkōmyōin.⁴¹³ This echoes the claim above that a Hachiman portrait painted by Kūkai was housed at Shōkōmyōin from 1149 to 1306.

While ninth-century documentation regarding the relationship between Hiraoka Hachimangu and Jingoji is sparse, the reciprocal relationship between a Buddhist temple and a Shinto shrine in the ninth century follows a pattern of such pairings that occurred from the seventh century onward, soon after Buddhism was introduced into Japan. Using the Kasuga-Kōfukuji 春日 - 興福寺 temple/shrine complex as a case study for example, Alan Grapard has shown how these two sites were inextricably linked through “systematic relations.” In other words, Shinto and Buddhism were melded together in the fabric of Japanese politics and court life that they were not recognized as single entities until the later medieval period.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹¹ Noted in Jinja to Shinto kenkyūkai 神社と神道研究会, ed., *Hachiman jinja: rekishi to densetsu* 八幡神社：歴史と伝説 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2003), 147. A reproduction of this section of the scroll can be found in Tōji Hōmotsukan 東寺宝物館, *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō emaki no sekai: eien e no hishō* 弘法大師行状絵巻の世界：永遠への飛翔 (Kyoto: Tōji Hōmotsukan, 2000), 68.

⁴¹² Guth Kanda, 55.

⁴¹³ Tōji Hōmotsukan, *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō emaki no sekai*, 68.

⁴¹⁴ See the Introduction in Grapard, *The protocol of the gods: a study of the Kasuga cult in Japanese history*, 1-13. Also see James C. Dobbins and Suzanne Gay, "Shinto in the history of Japanese religion: an essay by Kuroda Toshio," in *Religions of Japan in practice*, ed. George Joji Tanabe (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 451-67.

Murayama Shūichi's work also illustrates the integrative nature of shrines and temples at specific sites, and outlines ways in which Buddhist and Shinto deities were considered to be manifestations of each other in a concept known as *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合 (fusion of Shintō and Buddhist deities).⁴¹⁵ He reveals reciprocal relationships between Usa Hachiman shrine and Mirokuji 弥勒寺 in Kōchi prefecture, Fushimi Inari Taisha 伏見稲荷大社 and Tōji in Kyoto, Kitano Tenmangu shrine 北野天満宮 and Kannonji 観音寺 in Kyoto, and Hiyoshi Taisha 日吉大社 and Enryakuji 延暦寺 in Shiga prefecture. The relationship between Hiraoka Hachimangu and Jingoji is thus another example of the fluidity and interdependence of religious systems. Unlike the modern understanding of Buddhism and Shinto being separate elements that was institutionalized during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in the ninth century they formed an intertwined, reciprocal, cohesive system of deities and thought.

From the above analysis, it is clear that before the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were installed at Jingoji, the temple served as a powerful protective site for the state, specifically as part of the existing Buddhist-Shinto belief system. Not only did its location within one of the “Seven high mountains” serve to symbolically protect the capital, but through repentance rites, the area's early connection with proto-historical rituals, its relationship to Shinto through the Hachiman cult and Buddhist national protection rites performed by Saichō and Kūkai, this temple was characterized as a vital part of the multi-faceted belief system that supported the emperor during the ninth century.

⁴¹⁵ Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, *Shinbutsu shūgō no seichi 神仏習合の聖地* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2006).

The emergence of Jingoji as a Shingon center

The Buddhist modes in which Jingoji functioned during the early ninth century were very different than those in play during the middle part of the century. In order to accommodate the new Esoteric teachings and practices being weaved into the fabric of Japan's religious milieu, a surge of new temple construction and alteration of existing temples took place. Images of new deities, many based on the multi-headed, multi-armed deities of the Hindu pantheon, were created for large sculptural arrangements and installed in temples. Esoteric rituals that included mandalas were performed (such as initiations for priests and emperors) and the nation was protected using models of Indian Esoteric Buddhism. Within this system, devotees entered into their own mandalic realms via Buddhist practice. The emperor, as the central figure within the government, ruled in parallel over both his physical and metaphysical domains.⁴¹⁶ Esoteric teachings became primary tools for the protection of the state, especially through the efforts of Saichō and Kūkai.

Jingoji thrived as part of this new Esoteric-based politico-religious system throughout the early and mid-ninth century. More priests went to serve at Jingoji, among them Kūkai's disciple Shinzei. In 826, he received "secret teachings" here from Kūkai.⁴¹⁷ Four years after the temple's official name change, in 829, the brothers Wake Matsuna and Nakayo officially gave the temple over to Kūkai and his lineage.⁴¹⁸ By this point, Jitsue's attention was largely focused on his own temple Kanshinji,⁴¹⁹ leaving Shinzei to tend to administer Jingoji. This same year Kūkai built the *kanjōdō* 灌頂堂 (also known as the Shingondō 真言堂) for Esoteric *abhisekha* initiations and the *gomadō* 護摩堂 for Esoteric fire rituals, as well as the *nōryōbō* 納涼房 (monks quarters used

⁴¹⁶ For explanations of this phenomenon in South and East Asia, see Berger, "Preserving the nation," 189-204; Davidson, *Indian esoteric Buddhism*, chapters 2, 3 and 4. Also see the introduction of this dissertation.

⁴¹⁷ MD3: 1285.

⁴¹⁸ Weinstein, "Aristocratic Buddhism," 477.

⁴¹⁹ Hirano Kunio and Seno Seisaburō, eds., *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten*, 445.

in the warmer summer months).⁴²⁰ Despite the addition of these structures, it must be noted that the temple's original architectural plan was not definitively Esoteric; it only became so after buildings which housed Esoteric Buddhist rituals and images were added to the site.⁴²¹

During the years 829-33, the well-known Takao mandalas were made for the *kanjōdō* at Jingoji under the direction of Shinzei and the patronage of Emperor Junna.⁴²² These mandalas are believed to be copies of the Diamond and Womb world mandalas Kūkai brought back from China (see Chapter One), depicted in the form of what became later known as the *genzu mandara* tradition associated with Kūkai, noted in Chapter One. Although the composition and size are similar to the ninth-century polychrome Saiin mandala, the Takao mandala is rendered in gold and silver ink on indigo-dyed damaSkt. This mandala was used in Esoteric *abhisekha* rites, and thus was vital for promotion of the faith and establishment of the Esoteric schools.⁴²³

This was also a critical time during which Kūkai transmitted valuable Esoteric knowledge to his disciples. *Takao kuketsu* 高雄口決, Shinzei's record of oral instructions that he received from Kūkai on Mt. Takao,⁴²⁴ lists a variety of ritual procedures and descriptions of the deities used in the rituals. One section describes a ritual with five separate functions including disaster prevention, increase of merit and exorcism. Each of the ritual procedures is associated with a color, and the practitioner faces a certain direction when one of the rituals is performed.⁴²⁵ These aspects resonate with Chinese-based five-phases theories involving colors and directions, as well as the iconography of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. Another ritual entitled *Shirei hō* 四禮法 incorporates four bodhisattvas: Kongōsatta, Kokūzō Bosatsu, whose secret name is Kongōzō 金

⁴²⁰ NCKSS jsh 2: 47.

⁴²¹ Fujii Keisuke, *Mikkyō kenchiku kūkanron*, 46.

⁴²² ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas*, 80.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 80-84.

⁴²⁴ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 469, n. 173.

⁴²⁵ T78: 2466.

剛藏, Kanjizai Bosatsu, whose secret name is Kongōhō 金剛法, and Katsumashin, whose secret name is Kongogyō 金剛業. These deities “secret names” as they are called in the text, resonate with the current names of some of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.

Shinzei also wrote a text dealing specifically with the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.⁴²⁶ Entitled *Gobu kanjinki* 五部肝心記 (*Account of the fundamental principle of the five parts*⁴²⁷), this is a short and somewhat disjointed text written during his residence at Jingoji between 832 and 840. Several sources state that this was the period during which he installed a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures in the temple’s pagoda, bringing us the images housed in the pagoda today.⁴²⁸

This text begins with a list of ritual items, continuing with a ritual procedure with a long list of mantras to be recited and mudras to be performed during the rite, which focuses on the Diamond world, relics and jewels. The content of the ritual is similar to an abbreviated form of the *fukutokuhō*, the ritual for merit and virtue discussed in Chapter One. This rite incorporates a series of visualizations, culminating with ones of Kokūzō Bosatsu and a wish-fulfilling jewel as its main image of veneration.

The text gives directions for drawing an image of five Buddhas 五仏, but the description matches the iconography of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu as noted in the *Yugikyō* in terms of the color of the figures, attributes, and directional associations. Each of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are named, with the same nomenclature and iconographical features as noted in the *Yugikyō* discussed in Chapter Two. It adds that this configuration should be drawn within an eight-petal lotus form, which is placed inside a pavilion placed inside another lotus form located in Mt.

⁴²⁶ He wrote more about this configuration than did any of Kūkai’s other disciples. Uehara Shōichi, "Jingoji Tahōto Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō," 505.

⁴²⁷ T78: 2467. Here I utilize Brian Ruppert’s translation of the title of the text. Ruppert, *Jewel in the ashes*, 130. The only surviving copy is from 1148 and is housed at Kōzanji 高山寺 in the Umegahata area of Kyoto.

⁴²⁸ *Jingoji sairyakki* and *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* reproduced in NCKSS jsh 2: 27-31, 14 respectively.

Sumeru (Jp. Shumisan 須弥山), the cosmological mountain upon which the entire Buddhist cosmos is situated. Sasaki Moritoshi suggests that these descriptions were based on Kūkai's iconographical drawings, although it is not clear to which specific sources he is referring.⁴²⁹ I propose, however, that this is a key text linking the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures to Shinzei, the priest in charge of the temple at the time the images were installed there. A list of more ritual utensils follows, including holy water, fire, bells, etc., further proceeded by notes, ending with an abbreviated image of an altar diagram.

The final section of this text is another written record of an oral transmission. Brian Ruppert's translation of this section states that Huiguo, Kūkai's master from China, "bestowed the wish-fulfilling jewel on 'Daishi,'⁴³⁰ and that it is buried on the peak of Mt. Murō; the Tōji ācārya [master] who conducts the Latter Seven-Day Rite 後七日御修法 (*goshichinichi mishūhō*) is to visualize the peak when he looks at the altar (i.e. at the relics)."⁴³¹ It instructs the practitioner to utilize five relic grains in the procedure and also states that Kūkai transmitted the ritual of the wish-fulfilling jewel to his disciple Kenne (堅慧 d. 872).⁴³² The *Gobu kanjinki* describes rituals which utilize the wish-fulfilling jewel central to relic worship and the symbol of imperial and cosmological authority in the ninth century, and also indicates links to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad and Esoteric ritual practice in the ninth century. As I have demonstrated above, Shinzei was the main recipient for liturgy and rituals related to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.

⁴²⁹ Sasaki Moritoshi, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu," 9.

⁴³⁰ The title 'Daishi' 大師 (Great Teacher) here refers to Kūkai. Brian Ruppert states that this appellation was posthumously bestowed upon Kūkai in the tenth century, and thus is a later addition to the *Gobu kanjinki*. Ruppert, *Jewel in the ashes*, 422, n. 83.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 130-31. This rite, also known as the "Imperial rite of the second seven days of the New Year," was an Esoteric rite introduced by Kūkai and conducted annually to ensure the emperor's success in ruling during the upcoming year. Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 13, 58-59.

⁴³² Kamata Shigeo et al, *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten*, 732.

I believe this, along with Kūkai's other thoughts on Buddhist concepts, gave him the "spiritual authority" to dictate the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures' appearance.⁴³³

Apart from Shinzei, there is also evidence that the priest Engyō, one of the early monks to be sent to the temple after its name change to Jingoji in 824, also authored a text related to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. Engyō travelled to Tang dynasty China in 838 (Jōwa 5), and upon returning one year later, resided at Reikanji 靈巖寺 in the southern part of modern-day Kyoto prefecture.⁴³⁴ Many secondary sources list Engyō as the author of the *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu hō* 五大虚空蔵菩薩法.⁴³⁵ Hidden in the *Godai Kokūzō ryakushidai* 五大虚空蔵略次第, part of the twelfth-century ritual manual compilation entitled *Genpishō* 玄秘抄 authored by the twelfth-century Daigoji monk Jichiun 実運, is a reference to the head priest of the temple: "Reikan (gyō) kashō" 靈巖行和尚. I believe this refers to Engyō. If this is correct, it would indicate that Engyō had knowledge of this procedure in the ninth century, and may have participated in rituals involving the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures during his tenure at Jingoji.

These new buildings, texts and visual media all served as tools and symbols which priests such as Saichō, Kūkai, Shinzei and Engyō utilized to bestow religious and political legitimacy upon the Japanese imperial family by means of mandala-focused *abhisekha* rituals. I will now introduce elements that appeared next in the ninth-century temple plan of Jingoji, including the

⁴³³ Amy McNair uses this phrase to describe the Wei dynasty (386-535) monk Huicheng's right to design Longmen Buddhist sculpture grottoes. Amy McNair, *Donors of Longmen*, 23.

⁴³⁴ Hirano Kunio and Seno Seisaburō, eds., *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten*, 134. This temple is no longer extant but was built in the Kitayama area of northern Kyoto in the early ninth century. The site was originally built in a location where Myōken Bosatsu 妙見菩薩 (a deity known as a manifestation of the North Star) could be observed and venerated, and thus was called Myōkenji 妙見寺. Engyō resided here sometime between 834 and 848. For a brief summary of the temple's history see NRT27: 506-07. For more on Myōken Bosatsu see Hayashi On, "Myōken bosatsu to hoshi mandara."

⁴³⁵ MD1: 158; Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, ed., *Kokusho sōmoku roku* 国書総目録, 9 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989), hereafter "KSM," 3: 489. The text is also listed in *Shoshū shōshoroku* 諸宗章疏録, reproduced in DNBZ1: 162. I have not found the actual document.

buildings that housed the Godai Myōō, Gochi Nyorai and Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, the three components of the politically and religiously powerful *sanrinjin* configuration.⁴³⁶

The sanrinjin configuration at Jingoji

In addition to the above-mentioned features of the temple, the incorporation of the *sanrinjin* (three wheel-turning bodies) configuration was another factor that associated Jingoji with Esoteric teachings during the early and mid-ninth centuries. As this tripartite configuration demonstrates, the relationship between religious icons, the structures in which they were housed and their functions are of vital importance in Buddhist temples.

As was discussed in Chapter Two, the *sanrinjin* configuration consists of Buddhas as the “wheel body of self-nature,” bodhisattvas as the “body [which turns] the wheel of correct teaching,” and *myōō* as the “body [which turns] the wheel of command.” The most often cited example of this is the sculptural configuration in the Tōji lecture hall, where each body is represented by pentads of the Gochi Nyorai (also known as the Godai Butsu), Godai Bosatsu and Godai Myōō.

Unfortunately, there are no extant ninth-century sculptures of the Gochi Nyorai or Godai Myōō at Jingoji to form a *sanrinjin* configuration. However, evidence indicates that some form of the deities did exist at the time the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were installed in the pagoda. They may have been represented in painted form within the Takao mandalas, a pair of paintings created between 829-33 and housed at Jingoji. The Diamond world mandala of this pairing includes the Gochi Nyorai within the Perfected Body Assembly, which may have represented the Buddha element of the *sanrinjin* configuration. Another theory is that the Gochi Nyorai were

⁴³⁶ Itō Shirō has proposed similar ideas, but falls short of considering the iconographical significance of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and their role in this configuration. Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 105, 32-33.

represented visually by a *keshin* (化身, alternate manifestation), in this case the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. However, there is also evidence for a sculpted set of Gochi Nyorai at the site.⁴³⁷ A passage listing the buildings of Jingoji and their contents in the *Jingoji sairyakki* states:

One three-bay [wide] Gobutsudō 五仏堂 [Hall of Five Buddhas] with *hinoki* bark roof
Five life-sized, gold-colored Diamond world Buddhas⁴³⁸

This indicates that sculptures of the Diamond world Gochi Nyorai were housed in the Gobutsudō 五仏堂. They were “gold colored” (*konjiki* 金色), likely referring to pounded gold leaf, and were life size 等身 (*tōshin*), indicating that they were sculptures, rather than paintings. While Chapter Two discussed the possible impact of the five-colored Gochi Nyorai (noted in Subhakarasiṃha’s translation of *Hajigoku ki*) iconography upon the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, according to the *Jingoji sairyaki* passage noted above, the Jingoji Gochi Nyorai were apparently gilt, rather than pigmented. Fujii states that the Gobutsudō in which these images were housed was not commissioned by Emperors Junna or Nimmmyō, but suggests that it may have been commissioned earlier by Kūkai.

Jingoji sairyakki also indicates that a set of Godai Myōō were housed in the Godaidō 五大堂 [Hall of the Five Great Ones],⁴³⁹ built sometime during the Tenchō 天長 reign (824-34):

One five-bay [wide] Godaidō with a Japanese cedar bark roof

⁴³⁷ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 258. Bogel also suggests that a set of Gochi Nyorai sculptures was “probably made for Jingoji.”

⁴³⁸ NCKSS jsh 2: 29.

⁴³⁹ The “Five Great Ones” is normally a reference to the Godai Myōō.

The repairs [of this building, which was built] by the order of the Tenchō Emperor [Junna] for the prince [Tsunesada],⁴⁴⁰ were completed by Wake Ariiki 和氣有翊 in 891 (Kanpyō 3).⁴⁴¹

The passage continues on to state that the Godaidō housed pigmented, wooden sculptures of the Gofunnuson (an earlier term for the Godai Myōō, which again includes Fudō, Gozanze, Gundari, Daiitoku Myōō and Kongō Yasha) that Emperor Junna ordered.⁴⁴² These were likely created before the Godai Myōō in the Tōji lecture hall, and the building was also likely part of Kūkai's design to create institutions which emphasized Esoteric Buddhist teachings and rites.⁴⁴³

As for the bodhisattva element of the *sanrinjin* configuration, I propose that this role was fulfilled by the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures housed in the pagoda. An exploration of this building within the ninth-century context of Jingoji is crucial to understanding the significance of the pentad housed within.

The pagoda at Jingoji

The current pagoda at Jingoji is a 1935 reconstruction, built with funds donated by the wealthy Kyoto layman Yamaguchi Gendō (山口玄洞 1863-1937).⁴⁴⁴ However, the ninth-century temple plan also included one, built after the Godaidō and Gobutsudō. This pagoda housed the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. Although it was not unusual to have a pagoda at an Esoteric temple in the ninth century, there are features of pagodas in general that should be understood within the context of

⁴⁴⁰ Prince Tsunesada, mentioned in the text above, was deposed as Crown Prince in favor of Michiyasu (the future Emperor Montoku) in the Jōwa Incident (Jōwa no hen 承和の変) of 842. Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 216. The pressure exerted by the Fujiwara clan helped depose Tsunesada and put Montoku, the son of Fujiwara Junshi, on the throne, a strategic move which ensured that continuation of the Fujiwara line within the imperial family. Wake Ariiki's repairs on the structure in 891, then, can be viewed as a political move in opposition to the Fujiwara involvement in the imperial lineage.

⁴⁴¹ NCKSS jsh 2: 28.

⁴⁴² NCKSS jsh 2: 28.

⁴⁴³ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 327.

⁴⁴⁴ Jingoji staff, personal correspondence, Oct. 2010.

Japanese Buddhism in order to grasp more fully the iconographical significance of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.

Pagodas are seen in Japan as early as the sixth century, in a variety of Buddhist traditions.⁴⁴⁵ They often house Buddhist relics or images depicting Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha. In the ninth century, however, with the influx of Esoteric teachings, new types of pagodas emerged which were used as an expression of new religious concepts and housed images other than Śākyamuni. There were two basic types: the *tahōtō* 多宝塔 (Skt. Prabhūtaratna stūpa, lit. “pagoda of many jewels”), constructed with two square roofs vertically stacked, a rounded plaster protrusion between them, and the *hōtō* 宝塔 (jewel pagoda), a cylindrical plaster structure with a rounded top, topped by a single square roof.⁴⁴⁶ Although no ninth-century examples of such buildings survive, twelfth- through fourteenth-century sources indicate that the two pagodas at Kongōbuji, Kūkai’s temple on Mt. Kōya, are what would now be called *tahōtō*.⁴⁴⁷

The contents of pagodas housed at temples that emphasized Esoteric teachings differed as well. Beginning in the ninth century, paintings and sculptures of Buddhist deities were integrated into the interior of pagodas to compose diverse variations of mandalic space.⁴⁴⁸ In addition, whereas in earlier centuries Buddhas of the four paradises were often placed around the central heart pillar which stood over the relic, in the ninth century, four Buddhas from either the Womb

⁴⁴⁵ Hamashima Masaji 濱島正士, "Heian jidai zenki no buttō 平安時代前期の仏塔," in *Mikkyō jiin to butsumō Heian kenchiku chōkoku I 密教寺院と仏像平安建築彫刻 I*, ed. Mizuno Keizaburō et al., *Nihon bijutsu zenshū 日本美術全集* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), 186.

⁴⁴⁶ Hamashima Masaji 濱島正士, *Nihon buttō shūsei 日本仏塔集成* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2001), 60. While during the Heian period, a distinction was made between these two styles, after the Momoyama period (1573-1615), both styles were called *tahōtō*.

⁴⁴⁷ Hamashima Masaji, "Heian jidai zenki no buttō," 190. Hamashima cites an 1103 document written during the temple’s reconstruction and the Kamakura period *Kōyasan ezu* 高野山絵図 (*Pictorial diagram of Mt. Kōya*).

⁴⁴⁸ For more on pagodas within specific temples and their respective ninth-tenth century mandala configurations, see Tomishima Yoshiyuki 富島義幸, "Henyō suru ryōkai mandara: tō no naka de nani ga okotte ita no ka 変容する両界曼荼羅：塔の中で何が起こっていたのか," in *Tō: katachi, imi, gijutsu 塔：形、意味技術, Kokuhō to rekishi no tabi 国宝と歴史の旅* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999) 8: 42-46.

or Diamond world mandala were placed around a central image of Dainichi Nyorai. Depending on the specific type of teachings emphasized at a certain temple, this image would be depicted in painted form on the heart pillar, in sculptural form and placed in front of the pillar, or depicted by the pillar itself.⁴⁴⁹ In the case of *tahōtō* and *hōtō* that did not have central heart pillars, a sculpted image would be placed in the middle of the structure's central image platform.⁴⁵⁰

The content of pagodas also differed to some extent between the Shingon and Tendai traditions. While pagodas in both traditions may have housed the five Buddhas of the Womb or Diamond world, in the early Heian period, Tendai pagodas often held copies of the *Hokkekyō* 法華經 (Lotus Sūtra) and were used for *hokke zanmai* 法華三昧 (Lotus Sūtra-based meditation) practices.⁴⁵¹ In the Shingon tradition, the structures were often referred to as *Birushana tahōtō* 毘盧遮那多宝塔 and represented the “true nature of Dainichi Nyorai.” They often housed either an image of a single Buddha, or the five Buddhas of the Diamond world or Womb world mandalas.⁴⁵² Kūkai's text *Kanshin hōzō buttō chishikisho* 勧進奉知識書 indicates that the two pagodas at Kongōbuji, for example, housed these two mandalas.⁴⁵³ It is of interest that the structure's official name in the text, *Birushana hōkai taishōtō* 毘盧遮那法界体性塔,⁴⁵⁴ includes the term *hōkai* 法界 (dharma realm), the same name as the central bodhisattva (Hōkai Kokūzō

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 45.

⁴⁵⁰ Fowler, *Murōji*, 91. This was likely the arrangement of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu within the Jingoji pagoda, with Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu placed in the center of the platform, the other four deities surrounding him.

⁴⁵¹ Fujii Keisuke, *Mikkyō kenchiku kūkanron*, 101-12. For more on Lotus Sūtra meditation practices, see Lucia Dolce, “Taimitsu ni okeru Hokkekyō kaishaku to girei: Hokkehō to Hokke mandara ni tsuite 台密における法華經解釈と儀礼：法華經と法華曼荼羅について,” *天台学報* 48 (2007): 13-31.

⁴⁵² MD3: 1561.

⁴⁵³ From Kūkai's *Shōryōshū* 性靈集, reproduced in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系, ed. Watanabe Shōkō 渡邊昭宏 and Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, vol. 71, *Sangō shūiki*, *Shōryōshū* 三教指帰、性靈集 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 382-83.

⁴⁵⁴ Author's underline.

Bosatsu) in the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration. According to Charles Muller, *hōkai* refers to a realm that is

the origin of all things, and in this sense is often seen translated as *reality-realm*...this reality-realm, being true existence as-it-is, is equated to the reality-body (dharma-body) of the Buddha.⁴⁵⁵

As will be shown below, Hōkai Kokūzō was originally placed in the center of the other four Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures, which were placed in cardinal directions around it. This may have been because Hōkai was “equated to the reality-body of the Buddha” as noted above, but also because of this central image’s iconographical connection to Venus.

The earliest extant sources mentioning the Jingoji pagoda give incongruent accounts regarding the type of pagoda, when it was built, and who requested it. The entry for 860 (Jogan 2) in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 (*True Record of the Reigns of the Three Emperors*, hereafter *Sandai jitsuroku*),⁴⁵⁶ an imperially commissioned history of the years 858-87 and written in 901, reads:

[At] the expressed request of Shinzei, a single-layer jewel pagoda was built at Jingoji, on a peak of Takao.⁴⁵⁷

The term *hōtō* (pagoda with a rounded, cylindrical body) is used, and the single-layer roof construction is specified. However, the 931 *Jōhei jitsurokuchō* states that Emperor Nimmō requested a *tahōtō* (square pagoda with a rounded protrusion between two roofs) at Jingoji in 836

⁴⁵⁵ Charles Muller, “Hōkai,” DDB (accessed October, 2009). Also see MD5: 1991.

⁴⁵⁶ I have adopted Abe Ryūichi’s translation of this title. See Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 71.

⁴⁵⁷ KT4: 48.

(Jōwa 3), work began in 840, and it was completed five years later in 845.⁴⁵⁸ The mid-twelfth century map of the Jingoji complex also depicts the pagoda as a two-layer structure with a white, rounded plaster form between them, a drawing in concordance with *tahōtō* descriptions.⁴⁵⁹ This difference in nomenclature muddies our view of the ninth-century structure, as the sources describing the Jingoji pagoda are inconsistent. However, since both *hōtō* and *tahōtō* refer to pagodas commonly seen within Esoteric-, and more specifically Shingon-based temple complexes, the Jingoji pagoda nevertheless stood as a symbol of the teachings promoted by Kūkai's lineage. The ninth-century pagoda at Jingoji was likely closely related to the design and function of Kūkai's Kongōbuji pagodas since they were all built under the direction of Kūkai's disciples.⁴⁶⁰ These two sources also give differing accounts of the patron of the pagoda, but considering the close relationship between Esoteric clerics and imperial family members, Nimmyō and Shinzei likely worked together to see the completion of the structure.

Although *Sandai jitsuroku* does not mention the year in which the pagoda was constructed, we can at least theorize from this text that it was built during or prior to the year 860, the year of Shinzei's death. *Jōhei jitsurokuchō* states that construction was completed in 845, so I believe the structure was ready to receive the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images closer to this date. Later, Emperor Kōkō (光孝天皇, r. 884-887) requested repairs on the pagoda sometime during his reign, although the type of repairs is not specified.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸ NCKSS jsh 2: 28. The structure was built in the *hōtōin* 宝塔院, which refers to the section of land within the Joganji temple complex that was devoted to the pagoda.

⁴⁵⁹ For an image of this map see NCKSS jsh 2: 46.

⁴⁶⁰ Hamashima Masaji, "Heian jidai zenki no buttō," 190.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*

The installation of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures in the pagoda

It is important to emphasize that although the above documents state that either Shinzei or Emperor Nimmyō requested the pagoda, there is no specific statement that either of them commissioned the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images themselves. Since Shinzei was the active administrator of the temple at least by 826, and was also the direct recipient of Kūkai's knowledge regarding the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, he likely had the spiritual authority necessary to install the sculptures, albeit with the intent of emphasizing national protection on behalf of the emperor. Shinzei was given full administrative rights of Jingoji in 832, and became *bettō* (別当 official administrative head) in 840,⁴⁶² giving him the authority to have the images housed in the pagoda.

The same entry in *Sandai jitsuroku* which mentions the Jingoji pagoda also mentions the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images:

Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures were made and put in the pagoda. Seven priests and three yearly ordinands came to the temple. During the two seasons of spring and autumn, rituals were held for perpetuity. Sūtras such as the *Kokūzōkyō* 虚空藏經 and *Jūrinkyō* 十輪經 were repeated [for the purpose of] protecting the nation.⁴⁶³

This passage clearly states a relationship between the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures and sūtras read for national protection, but a deeper examination of these two sūtras will illuminate the specific context in which the images were venerated.

⁴⁶² Hirano Kunio and Seno Seisaburō, eds., *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten*, 519-20.

⁴⁶³ Author's brackets. KT4: 48. Currently, recitations of *Rishukyō* are performed in front of the sculptures each March and October, prior to the three-day public viewings of the images.

Jūrinkyō, short for *Daihōkō jūrinkyō* 大方廣十輪經 (Ch. *Dafangguang shilun jing*), is an eight-fascicle, fifteen-chapter sūtra listed in the *Beiliang lu* 北涼錄 (translated 397-439 by an unknown translator). It is also known as *Ksitigarbha-sūtra*,⁴⁶⁴ as its contents are basically the same as *Daijō daishū Jizō jūrinkyō* (大乘大集地藏十輪經 Ch. *Daji Dizang shilun jing*) a text related to *Ksitigarbha* (Jp. *Jizō*, Ch. *Dizang*) translated by the Tang dynasty priest Xuanzang (玄奘 act. mid-seventh century).⁴⁶⁵ Although this text is related primarily to *Jizō*, it closes with a passage stating that *Kokūzō Bosatsu* received the transmission of the sūtra from the Buddha.⁴⁶⁶ This illustrates a relationship between *Jizō* and *Kokūzō Bosatsu*. The Japanese monk *Gonsō*, an avid practitioner of the *gumonjihō* noted in Chapter One, wrote a commentary on this sūtra entitled *Jūrinkyō ryakushō* 十輪經略抄, illustrating the sūtra's prominence among eighth-century monks.⁴⁶⁷

The earliest reference in Japan to the pairing of *Jizō* and *Kokūzō Bosatsu* appears in the mid-eighth century.⁴⁶⁸ The *Tōdaiji yōroku* 東大寺要錄 lists a *Kokūzō Bosatsu* sculpture, one *jō* in height, placed in the lecture hall of *Tōdaiji* in *Nara*. It is paired with a *Jizō Bosatsu* image of similar height. Both sculptures were commissioned by Empress *Kōmyō* (光明皇后 701-60) in 737 (*Tempyō* 19).⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁴ T13: 410.

⁴⁶⁵ T13: 411 and Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙 and Maruyama Takao 丸山孝雄, 15 vols., *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 仏書解説大辞典 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1964-88), hereafter “BKD,” 7, 463.

⁴⁶⁶ T13: 411. Summarized in Kamata Shigeo et al, *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten*, 117-18.

⁴⁶⁷ Hayami Tasuku, *Heian kizoku shakai to bukkyō*, 207.

⁴⁶⁸ de Visser, *The Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha (Kokūzō) in China and Japan*, 5.

⁴⁶⁹ Noted in Hayami Tasuku, *Heian kizoku shakai to bukkyō*, 206.

A ninth-century sculptural pair of the two deities, created at least by 873 (Jogan 15),⁴⁷⁰ is housed at Kōryūji 広隆寺 in western Kyoto. In addition to their similar size, stylistic features belonging to the “Shingon” style of sculptures examined earlier in the chapter, and production technique, their listing in the 873 *Kōryūji engi shizaichō* 広隆寺縁起資材帳 also indicates that they were originally created as a pair.⁴⁷¹ Since Kōryūji was a temple of the Hata clan which had a close connection to *gumonjihō* rites, Michael Como’s states that the Kokūzō image here was utilized in the *gumonjihō*. However, since the pair was commissioned together and not housed in a mountain temple where *gumonjihō* were typically performed, it is more likely that these two sculptures were connected to *keka* rites in Nara-based Buddhist, Tendai and Shingon schools.⁴⁷² The inclusion of the *Jūrinkyō* in the above *Sandai jitsuroku* passage is thus understandable in light of the textual pairing of Kokūzō Bosatsu and Jizō Bosatsu. However, although the passage insinuates a relationship between Shinzei’s placement of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in the Jingoji pagoda and the reading of these texts, their precise connection to each other remains unclear. To my knowledge, there was no Jizō Bosatsu image at Jingoji during the ninth century.

What of the other sūtra noted in *Sandai jitsuroku*? The title *Kokūzōkyō* may be an abbreviation of any number of sūtras, so it is not possible to conclude with certainty to which specific text it refers (see Table 1 which outlines sūtras related to Kokūzō Bosatsu).⁴⁷³ One

⁴⁷⁰ Mizuno suggests they were produced between 840 and 862, possibly for the deceased Emperor Montoku’s memorial ceremony held at Kōryūji in 858 (Ten’an 2). Mizuno Keizaburō, *Nihon chōkokushi kenkyū*, 151. Como indicates that the priest Dōshō, who had close connections to the Hata as well as Ninmyō’s grandson Emperor Seiwa, installed the images here. Como, *Weaving and binding*, 19.

⁴⁷¹ The *Kōryūji engi shizaichō* 広隆寺縁起資材帳 written in 873 (Jōgan 15) states that these two “lightly pigmented images” were created at the behest of the Nara Sanron school monk, Dōshō (道昌 798-875). NCKSS jsh 2: 68. Como indicates that the priest Dōshō, who had close connections to the Hata as well as Ninmyō’s grandson Emperor Seiwa, installed the images here. Como, *Weaving and binding*, 19.

⁴⁷² The issue of the use of the Kokūzō/Jizō pairing in *keka* appears in unpublished research by Inamoto Yasuo 稲本泰生, “Jizō bosatsu to Kokūzō Bosatsu 地藏菩薩と虚空蔵菩薩,” in *Sande tōku (Sunday Talk)* (Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan: Nov. 16, 2008). Como’s statement appears in Como, *Weaving and binding*, 18.

⁴⁷³ Although Inamoto explores the Jizō-related sūtras mentioned in the *Nihon sandai jitsurokuchō* in some detail, he treats those dealing with the Kokūzō Bosatsu side of the pairing with less care.

possibility is *Kokūzō Bosatsu kyō* discussed in Chapter One, which deals primarily with visualization and Kokūzō repentance practices in China and Japan discussed in Chapter One. This resonates with the *keka* themes present in the Kokūzō/Jizō pairing as noted by Inamoto above, as well as with concepts of Jingoji as a site for *keka* earlier in its history.

Another possibility suggested by Ono Genmyō is the *Daishū Dai Kokūzō Bosatsu shomonkyō* 大集大虚空藏菩薩所問經, an eight-fascicle text translated by Amoghavajra.⁴⁷⁴ This text consists of an assembly of bodhisattvas, including Kokūzō Bosatsu, engaged in a question and answer session, and ends with an explanation of Kokūzō as a manifestation of Dainichi Nyorai from the Diamond world mandala and Myōjō Tenshi as the embodiment of the deity.⁴⁷⁵ This text posits Kokūzō Bosatsu, Dainichi Nyorai and Myōjō Tenshi as a single manifestation of a Buddhist celestial deity.

The next reference to the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures is found in *Johei jitsurokucho*, following the passage regarding the pagoda:

Five wooden, pigmented Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. Central image is three *shaku*, surrounding four images are two *shaku* five *sun* each.⁴⁷⁶

This passage gives a very basic description of the images; the fact that they are pigmented, and their sizes. One intriguing point regarding this text is the discrepancy between the measurements recorded in this document and those of the current Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures. Calculating the measurements stated in this document, there would be a difference of

⁴⁷⁴ T13: 613; BKD 3: 238. *Shōsōin monjō* (Documents of Shōsōin) records a copy of this sutra from the year 730 (Tenpyō 2). See Sano Kenji, *Kokūzō Bosatsu shinkō no kenkyū*, 52.

⁴⁷⁵ Kamata Shigeo et al, *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten*, 115-16.

⁴⁷⁶ Reproduced in NCKSS jsh 2: 29. One *shaku* 尺 equals about 30.3cm, while one *sun* 寸 equals about 3.03 cm.

approximately fifteen centimeters between the central image (90.9 cm) and the surrounding four (75.75 cm). The current images range from 95.0 cm (Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu) and 101.4 cm (Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu) in height, a difference of only about six centimeters. Although this does raise the question of whether or not the images currently housed in the pagoda are the original images, Itō Shirō convincingly proposes that the former measurement refers to the height of the image only up to the hairline, the latter to the peak of the topknot.⁴⁷⁷

The production date of the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō has been an active area of debate among scholars. Most scholars agree that they were made sometime during the Jōwa (834-48) or Kashō (848-50) periods and installed in the pagoda soon afterwards. The earliest scholarship dealing with these sculptures is Haruyama Takematsu's 1929 article, where he examines the history of the temple and concludes that the images were made sometime during this twenty-six year span.⁴⁷⁸ Four years after the images were moved from the Godaidō into the pagoda, Adachi Kō published research based on a comparison between the above and a 925 (Enchō 3) government document from Ōjidera 應待寺. He concluded that the seven new ordinands that the *Sandai jitsuroku* says appeared at the temple did not arrive until 850 (Kashō 3), indicating that the temple did not have high enough status to warrant the construction of a major structure like the pagoda before 840. Based on this information, he concluded that the images were created a bit later, between 840 and 850.⁴⁷⁹ Itō has refuted this claim, stating that the document in question presents evidence unrelated to the production of the images.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁷ Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 121.

⁴⁷⁸ Haruyama Takematsu, "Jingoji no butszō," 13-35. This article was written when the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures were still housed in the Godaidō of Jingoji (prior to the 1935 construction of the current pagoda), providing insightful photographs of the images in situ (see page 23 of his article). Higashifumi states that they were lined up against the eastern wall of the building. Higashifumi Kunihide, "Jingoji no Yakushi to Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu ni tsuite," 23.

⁴⁷⁹ Adachi Kō, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō bosatsuzō no zōgan nendai," 536.

⁴⁸⁰ Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 120.

One of the most notable post-war scholarly contributions to the debate is by Uehara Shōichi, who in 1962 introduced new sources related to the production of the Jingoji images.⁴⁸¹ He analyzes the *Shinren'inbon ryakki* 心蓮院本略記 (Record of Shinren'in version) copied in 1531 by Zenga 禅雅 (active early-mid sixteenth century) from the Toganoo area-based temple of Zenzaiin 善財院.⁴⁸² It states that the Jingoji *hōtō* (jewel pagoda) was constructed between 831-45, and so the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were likely produced around that time and installed in the structure. He investigates the activities and rank of Shinzei and the effect that those may have had on the date that the images were produced. He also mentions that since Kūkai conveyed specific teachings to Shinzei (as evidenced in *Gobu kanjinki* and *Takao kuketsu*, discussed above), that Kūkai was also likely to have transmitted the concept of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu to him,⁴⁸³ even though Jitsue was the official head of the temple when Kūkai did so. He also states that the years 834-47 were an especially active time for new innovations in sculptural innovations, especially among Shingon monks in Kūkai's lineage.

The above accounts propose that the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were created between 834 and 850 and installed in the pagoda, a symbol of Esoteric wisdom. Based on stylistic comparisons with the Tōji lecture hall Godai Bosatsu, which were completed no later than 839, I believe the Jingoji images were likely produced after 839. The Jingoji images reveal a fuller form more consistent with images from later decades, in contrast to the Tōji images which are slimmer. As for the patron of the images, although Emperor Nimmyō may have commissioned the pagoda, there is no evidence that he specifically requested the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images

⁴⁸¹ Uehara Shōichi, "Jingoji Tahōto Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō," 505-7. Later work by Uehara is found in Uehara Shōichi, *Mikkyō no bijutsu: Tōji, Jingoji, Murōji*, 192-3.

⁴⁸² Currently housed in Ninnaji, Uehara Shōichi, "Jingoji Tahōto Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō," 505.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

be installed there. It is likely that he left this decision up to Shinzei, who was likely the functioning administrator at least by the 830's, even while Jitsue was still the official head.

The images were not always housed in the Jingoji pagoda, however. Both *Jingoji ryakki* and *Jingoji sairyakki* indicate that around 1065 (Jiryaku 2), Jingoji fell into a state of disrepair. Some of the temple's treasures, including the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, were moved to an unnamed location in order to preserve them.⁴⁸⁴ Shūmei's description gives some context of the images in the twelfth century:

The *hōkke-e* 法花会⁴⁸⁵ is performed in this building, and the Godai Kokūzō are installed here...the temple monk told [me that] they were in the *hōtō*, and later were put in this building to be worshipped.⁴⁸⁶

At the time this description was written, the images were placed in “this building,” the same structure where ritualized lectures on the Lotus Sūtra were held, and not in the pagoda where the images were housed earlier. Tanabe states that lectures on this sūtra were held “for the purpose of insuring prosperity and tranquility for the imperial family and the nation,”⁴⁸⁷ a point in accordance with the ninth-century function of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures. Jingoji did have a *hokke zanmaidō* 法華三昧堂 (Hall for Lotus meditations) by at least 1226, but it is not

⁴⁸⁴ NCKSS jsh 2: 48.

⁴⁸⁵ *Hokke-e* is also written 法華会. The term refers to readings of and lectures on the Lotus Sutra. Willa Jane Tanabe, “The Lotus lectures: *Hokke Hakko* in the Heian period,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 39, no. 4 (Winter 1984): 393-94; Edward Kamens, *The three jewels: a study and translation of Minamoto Tamenori's Sanbōe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 288-90. Kamens points out a reference in Minamoto Tamenori's (源為憲 d. 1011) tenth-century *Sanbōe* 三宝絵 (*Illustrations of the three jewels*) which states that *hokke-e* were held at Jingoji from Kūkai's tenure onward. They were also conducted at Nara-area temples of Tōdaiji, Kōfukuji and Yakushiji. *Ibid.*, 289.

⁴⁸⁶ Author's underline. In TZ5: 57.

⁴⁸⁷ Tanabe, “The Lotus lectures,” 394.

clear if it is this structure that is implied in the above quote.⁴⁸⁸ It is also possible that the images were housed in “this building” at a separate temple entirely.

A history of Jingoji written between 1192-99 by the priest Mongaku (文覚 1139-1203) notes that the images were moved to Ninnaji 仁和寺 after Jingoji had been left in ruin for several decades.⁴⁸⁹ Ninnaji is located in northwest Kyoto in the foothills below Mt. Takao. This may have been where the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were located while Jingoji was no longer deemed a suitable place to house them, and is one possibility for the where they were located when Shūmei wrote the aforementioned description. The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures were returned to Jingoji after the pagoda was reconstructed in 1224.⁴⁹⁰

The above discussion regarding the ninth-century installation of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images in the pagoda raises the question of why the *sanrinjin* configuration was installed at Jingoji. This can be answered in light of the early history of the temple. Jingoji (or Takaosanji, as it was called until 824) was one of the first sites of Esoteric-related activities, first through Saichō’s performance of *abhisekha* in 805, and later with the arrival of Kūkai in 809. Kūkai, with his close ties to the imperial family, was likely sent here because of the temple’s prominent role in the protection of the state and emperor through Yakushi *keka* rites and *abhisekha*. Furthermore, as an Esoteric temple with *jōkakuji* status located in one of the “Seven high mountains,” it was an appropriate location for new Esoteric images and configurations that focused on the protection of the nation. This is exemplified not only by the installation of the *sanrinjin* configuration at the temple, but also by recitation of sūtras vital to national protection.

⁴⁸⁸ *Karoku ninen Jingoji kuyō ganmon* 嘉禄二年神護寺供養願文 (Votive offerings for Jingoji in Karoku 2 [1226]), reproduced in NCKSS jsh 2: 20.

⁴⁸⁹ NCKSS jsh 2: 44.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 12, 48. The 1244 reconstruction of the pagoda is noted in *Gōji shojō* 行慈書狀, reproduced in *ibid.*, 48.

The new version of the *Ninnōkyō* so important to Kūkai's conception of the *sanrinjin* configuration at Tōji was also recited at Jingoji, indicating a parallel function of national protection between the Tōji sculptures and those at Jingoji. *Jingoji ryakki* contains a copy of a record from 907 (Engi 7) indicating that the duties of one of the new ordinands at the temple included:

Diamond world duties and readings of ten fascicles of *Shugokoku kaishu daranikyō* 守護国界主陀羅尼經 or the new translation of two fascicles of *Ninnōkyō* 新翻仁王經 and study of the *Ryōbukai* 兩部界 (Dual world).⁴⁹¹

This proves that one specially designated monk was to specialize in the reading of *Shugokoku kaishu daranikyō* as well as the new translation of the *Ninnōkyō*, both central texts for protecting the nation, as seen at Tōji.

Placement

Chapter Two illustrated that the location of images both within a temple's grounds, as well in relation to the capital during the ninth century, could be manipulated for certain purposes. It has likely come to the reader's attention that the three elements of the *sanrinjin* configuration at Jingoji were placed in three separate structures: the Godai Kokūzō in the pagoda, the Godai Myōō in the Godaidō, and the Gochi Nyorai in the Gobutsudō. This differs from the *sanrinjin* configuration at Tōji, in which all three components are arranged together on a single altar in the lecture hall. While records are silent as to why the components were separated, one reason may have been a lack of adequate space. Tōji was built in a flat area with plenty of usable land, but in

⁴⁹¹ NCKSS jsh 2: 23

the mountains of northwest Kyoto, there may not have been enough flat terrain to build a large building upon. The Jingoji temple layout is of the *sanchi garan* 山地伽藍 (mountain complex) type, meaning that the layout is largely determined by the landscape⁴⁹² and thus lacks the symmetrical plan of Tōji.

In addition, we must consider the specific rites that were carried out at Jingoji and the buildings in which they occurred. Early in its history, Jingoji was a site of repentance rituals focused on Yakushi Nyorai. An image of this deity was, and still is, housed in the temple's lecture hall. With this image associated with a specific ritual practice, it may have been necessary to keep it, and its related rites, separated from a multi-deity sculptural configuration such as the *sanrinjin*. Despite the separation, however, I suggest that the tripartite *sanrinjin* configuration functioned as the object of sūtra readings that protected the nation.

Aside from the placement of the *sanrinjin* elements within the Jingoji complex, the location of this configuration at a temple outside the capital proper, as well as the character of rites performed here, made the temple a protective site. Since mountains were seen as places of significant spiritual power, temples located there could help to mediate any negative energy and protect the capital from afar, especially through the recitation of appropriate Buddhist texts. The efficacy of ritual activity held in peripheral areas of the capital was widely known in East Asian contexts for the legitimization of rule. Early Tang dynasty rulers performed sacrifices in suburban areas of the capital in order to show the full geographic extent of imperial authority.⁴⁹³ This tradition extended to Japan as well, as seen in Emperor Kammu's eighth-century performance of a "suburban round altar sacrifice" which served to "legitimize the position and

⁴⁹² Sherry Fowler indicates that this style is seen at Murōji, Kongōbuji and Enryakuji as well. Fowler, *Murōji*, 85.

⁴⁹³ Weschler, *Offerings of jade and silk*, Chapter Five.

actions of an emperor.”⁴⁹⁴ I propose that the peripheral location of and ritual activity at Jingoji posits this temple in the same tradition.

The Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and religious multivalence

Thus far I have described the specific historical circumstances surrounding the installation of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures in Jingoji. In order to comprehend in more depth the religious environment into which they emerged, however, an examination of the multi-faceted belief system of the ninth-century is necessary.

The connection between Jingoji and Hiraoka Hachimangu described above is but one example of the combinatory nature of religion in ninth-century Japan. This multifaceted belief system is also evident in the iconography of the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures.⁴⁹⁵ This includes the colors, names, directional placement, and celestial associations present in the images. The early thirteenth-century *Kakuzenshō* contains visual representations and descriptions of a myriad of icons, including the Jingoji pentad. A diagram labeled “Takaotō” 高雄塔 (Takao pagoda) contains descriptions of the deities written in five separate circles (fig. 22).⁴⁹⁶ Diagram 12 shows a translation of the drawing and text. This diagram gives a good indication of the images’ appearance and placement within the pagoda during the at least the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Considering the ninth-century positioning of the pentads on the Tōji lecture

⁴⁹⁴ Van Goethem, 58-60. Van Goethem also explains that Kammu’s interest in the Chinese-based concepts of *yin yang* and five-phases (including directional association, as evidenced by his performance of the suburban rite) may stem from his Korean ancestry. His mother’s family claimed decent from the Yamato clan, who traced their lineage to the king of Baekje. *Ibid.*, 258.

⁴⁹⁵ The relationship between Shinto and this configuration is also demonstrated by the example of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures installed in Iidesan Jinja 飯豊山神社 in Fukui prefecture, stylistically dated to the sixteenth century. The iconography of these relatively small (41cm tall) bronze figures does not correspond to any known Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images, but offers an intriguing reference that is chronologically beyond the scope of this dissertation. For an image, see Kuno Takeshi 久野健, ed., *Butsuzō shūsei I: Nihon no butsuzō (Hokkaidō, Tōhoku, Kantō) 仏像集成 I : 日本の仏像 (北海道、東北、関東)* (Tokyo: Gakugeisha, 1989), 329. Noted in Sasaki Moritoshi, “Jingoj Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō no zuzō ni tsuite,” 13-14.

⁴⁹⁶ In TZ5: pl. 265.

hall altar, as well as the emphasis on mandala during this period, I suggest that this placement scheme was also in effect for the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu during Shinzei's tenure.

Other iconographical drawings from the thirteenth century onward show the deities in a similar configuration. Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu is consistently placed in the center, although the other four images are placed either in cardinal or ordinal directions. For example, the 1376 drawing by the monk Kenbō (1333-98) depicting the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad in a mandala formation is similar to the above diagram; a white image is in the center, black in the northeast, red in the northwest, yellow in the southwest, and green in the southeast.⁴⁹⁷ Considering the association of the Kokūzō Bosatsu, the *gumonjihō*, the planet Venus and the color white within Chinese five-phases theories, it is appropriate for the white Kokūzō Bosatsu to be placed in the center. As noted above, the placement of the white Kokūzō Bosatsu in the center of the other four is also likely related to the Gochi Nyorai pentad configuration noted in Subhakarasiṃha's "translation" of *Hajigoku ki*, which situates a white image of Dainichi Nyorai in the center.

Despite the intriguing associations with Buddhist deities, celestial bodies, and five-phases theories, such models have not been applied to the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. In the bulk of scholarship regarding these sculptures, the images are known as representing primarily the Buddhist tradition. Uehara proposes that the iconography of the pentad represents the *hōbu* 宝部 (jewel section), although he does not explain what the *hōbu* is.⁴⁹⁸ According to *Mikkyō daijiten*, the jewel section is one of five sections within the Diamond world mandala, and represents the "inner enlightenment function of Hōshō Nyorai 宝生如来," the Buddha located within the central/southern region of the mandala.⁴⁹⁹ Although Uehara rightly associates the pentad with the

⁴⁹⁷ TZ4: 86.

⁴⁹⁸ Uehara Shōichi, "Jingoji Tahōto Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō," 505.

⁴⁹⁹ MD5: 2030. Within this mandala, each cardinal and ordinal direction is associated with one of the Gochi Nyorai.

Diamond world mandala, his conclusion is narrow in scope, as it only associates them with one Buddha, and does not take into account the significance of the pigment used for the sculptures' skin color.

Tsukamoto Zenryū and Nakano Genzō's interpretation is similar, noting that Shinzei created them between 835 and 851 for the purposes of national protection. They state that like the image grouping in the Tōji lecture hall and the Gochi Nyorai housed in the pagoda of Anjōji, the Godai Kokūzō were borne according to their different functions.⁵⁰⁰ Ishida Hisatoyo states that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration is a mandala representing the five knowledges with which Kokūzō is endowed, and that are divided among the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. These deities are also said to be metamorphoses of the five Buddhas of the Womb world mandala,⁵⁰¹ although I have demonstrated that they are related, rather, to the five Buddhas of the Perfected Body Assembly in the Diamond World mandala.

Konno Toshifumi and Tanabe Saburōsuke state that the five are the manifestations of the Gochi Nyorai, and that they are bodhisattvas worshipped in regard to success (*fuki jōju* 富貴成就) and disaster *prevention* (*sokusai zōeki* 息災增益).⁵⁰² This and Murayama Shūichi's analysis come closer to an integrative analysis, stating that the placement of the Jingoji images in the pagoda was meant to avert natural disasters and welcome favorable blessings.⁵⁰³ This resonates with themes from Chinese-based divination practices, for not only were natural disasters such as

⁵⁰⁰ Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 and Nakano Genzō 中野玄三, *Kyoto no butsuzō 京都の仏像* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1978), 151.

⁵⁰¹ Ishida Hisatoyo and E. Dale Saunders, *Esoteric Buddhist painting* (Tokyo; New York: Kodansha International, 1987), 56. He continues on to state that this mandala situates five Kokūzō Bosatsu (diamond *kongō*, jeweled light *hōkō*, lotus *renge*, and karmic functions *gōyō*) around a central universal *hōkai* Kokūzō Bosatsu. He states that it is based on Vajrabodhi's translation of the *Yūgikyō* (T18: 263), used in the "ceremony of praying for the elimination of natural disasters and for wealth and influence."

⁵⁰² Tanabe Saburōsuke and Konno Toshifumi, *Bosatsu*, 182.

⁵⁰³ Murayama Shūichi, *Shūgendō/onmyōdō*, 493.

earthquakes, typhoons, etc. physically dangerous to the people, they can also be interpreted as portending bad fortune for the nation at large, or for the emperor's person specifically.

The above hypotheses, however, while beneficial to the study of this enigmatic configuration, emphasize the Buddhist contexts of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. They reflect a Western-based methodology that, during the Meiji period (1868-1912) separated religious traditions into distinct categories, a policy known as *shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離 (separation of Shinto and Buddhist deities, the converse of *shinbutsu shūgō*). This official separation of Buddhist and Shinto deities has caused premodern Japanese belief systems and related images to be viewed as distinctly Buddhist or Shinto, with little room for crossover or the integration of other belief elements (local or imported).⁵⁰⁴ As I have explored in this dissertation thus far, however, the religious contexts into which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration was introduced was rich with elements from other belief systems, including Buddhism.

I agree that the images were likely used in rituals intended to prevent disaster and invite favorable blessings unto the nation. However, I further suggest that this was achieved because the images' iconography mixed Buddhist and Chinese-based divination elements of that increased their efficacy. Thus the colors, directional associations and names of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu (of the Jingoji and Anjōji pentads) were conceived of with elements of Esoteric Buddhist and from other belief systems in mind. Admittedly there are no records from the ninth century that detail the appearance of the images during this period, or how their iconography may have been related to divination practices. However, later documents and comparisons with other ninth-century Esoteric pentads nevertheless serve as valuable sources illuminating parallels between the images' appearance and the rich variety of concurrent beliefs and practices.

⁵⁰⁴ Grapard, *The protocol of the gods*, 3.

The presence of Chinese-based belief elements within the eighth-century Japanese religious tradition were explored in Chapter One. The following section will explore the ninth-century context, and will analyze the iconography of the Jingoji images in light of these elements. The directional associations, colors and attributes of the Jingoji images resonate with correlative element relationships used within the cosmology-based divination system employed in China.

Onmyōdō in the mid-ninth century

To what extent were these methods of divination and correlative theories utilized in ninth-century Japanese religious practices? Most scholarship regarding divination, *yin yang* and five phases theories in Japan focuses on either its seventh- and eight-century formative phase, or the later, more developed phase from tenth-century onward, when the Abe 安倍 and Kamo 加茂 lineages of *onmyōji* (陰陽師 *yinyang* diviners) dominated celestial and directional divination for the imperial family and courtiers.⁵⁰⁵ The use of such practices during the ninth century is an underdeveloped area of research, but here I will illustrate that during this period, when the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures emerged, such practices were well utilized, specifically in imperial and state circles.

Despite the establishment of the *onmyōryō* (the Bureau of Yin and Yang) in Japan in 718 by the Fujiwara regents, it was disbanded in 820 during the reign of Emperor Saga.⁵⁰⁶ He and his predecessors Emperors Heijō (平城天皇 r. 806-808) and Junna preferred Confucian teachings

⁵⁰⁵ Lee Butler, "The way of yin and yang: a tradition revived, sold, adopted," *Monumenta Nipponica* 51, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 193; Dolce, "The worship of celestial bodies in Japan: politics, rituals and icons," 12; Kawai Shōko 川合章子, *Onmyōdō to Heiankyō: Abe Seimei no seikai 陰陽道と平安京：安倍晴明の世界* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 2003); Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, ed., *Onmyōdō kiso shiryō shūsei 陰陽道基礎資料集成*, (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 1987), 353-62; Shigeta Shin'ichi 繁田信一, *Heian kizoku to onmyōji: Abe Seimei no rekishi minzokugaku 平安貴族と陰陽師：安倍晴明の歴史民俗学* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2005).

⁵⁰⁶ Grapard, "Religious practices," 550. There is a 902 (Engi 2) reference to the *onmyōryō* in the *Fusō ryakki* indicating it was functioning again at least by this date. KT12: 173.

over *onmyōdō* and divination practices, and by the time of Saga, divination practices had become so widespread and efficacious that they were viewed as a threat to imperial authority. As Bialock explains:

“as the symbolic functions of the Yin-Yang Bureau shifted over to yin-yang masters and pollution practices that fell increasingly within the purview of Buddhist doctrinal concerns—a domain, in other words, of Buddhist authority—the court’s control over the apparatus and symbolic language that legitimated its authority gradually slipped from its control.”⁵⁰⁷

The unsanctioned use of divining practices thus accounts for the periodic banning of such activities by the government during the reign of Saga.

However, practices which fell under the category of *onmyōdō* continued to be utilized in government settings even after the bureau was disbanded. Grapard states that in Esoteric Buddhism, many of these practices were used within *sukuyōdō* 宿曜道 (way of lodgings and planetoids) and *shugendō* 修験道 (mountain asceticism) instead, and that “the government relied on both Shingon and Tendai esotericism to perform a number of rites which in earlier years would have been the domain of the *onmyōryō*.”⁵⁰⁸

The subsequent reign of Nimmyō saw a resurgence in such practices, as the Fujiwara increased their efforts to wield power over the throne.⁵⁰⁹ This is evident in several ways. Firstly, reign names during the years of Emperors Heijō, Saga and Junna changed only when a new emperor was enthroned. However, in subsequent centuries, it was common to change the reign

⁵⁰⁷ Bialock, *Narrative*, 108.

⁵⁰⁸ Allan G. Grapard, "The economics of ritual power," in *Shinto in history: ways of the kami*, ed. John Breen and Mark Teeuwen (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 73.

⁵⁰⁹ Bialock, *Narrative*, 108. See also Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, "Kodai Nihon no onmyōdō 古代日本の陰陽道," in *Onmyōdō sōsho* 陰陽道叢書, ed. Murayama Shūichi 村山修一 (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1991), 27-28.

names upon the appearance of inauspicious or unusual natural phenomena.⁵¹⁰ This included the appearance of rare animals, ominous clouds, earthquakes, fires, or plagues. In addition to the standard name change at the beginning of a new emperor's reign, Emperor Nimmyō changed his reign name twice during his seventeen-year reign (to Jōwa 承和 and Kashō 嘉祥), and Montoku twice during his eight-year reign (to Ninju 仁寿 and Saikō 齋衡). Compared with previous reigns, there was a higher number of changes in natural phenomena recorded during the reigns of Nimmyō, Montoku and Seiwa in comparison with previous reigns.

In addition, diviners were still employed by the imperial court during the ninth century. Haruzono Tamanari 春苑玉成 (active mid-ninth century), one such official advisor who practiced during Nimmyō's reign, imported the divination text *Nanki* 難義 (Rites for malevolent phenomena) upon his return from a delegation to China in 839.⁵¹¹ Coincidentally, he was on the same envoy trip to China as the monk Engyō, one of the first official monks to be placed at Jingoji in 824, although they were on separate ships.⁵¹² After his return to Japan, Tamanari was involved in the *onmyōryō*, teaching what he had learned during his journey to China. In subsequent years, Tamanari's work became a trusted source for *onmyōdō* divination.⁵¹³ Ōkasuga no Manomaro (大春日真野麻呂, act. mid-ninth century), a calendar calculation specialist during the time of Montoku's reign (r. 850-58) brought new calculation methods from China that included more accurate methods to predict solar eclipses. Followers of both Haruzono and

⁵¹⁰ Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, *Nihon onmyōdōshi sōsetsu* 日本陰陽道史総説 (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1981), 84-5.

⁵¹¹ Cited in Ishida Toshinori 石田敏紀, "Kentōshi onmyōji Haruzono Tamanari 遣唐使陰陽師春苑玉成," *Kyōdo to hakubutsukan* 郷土と博物館 48, no. 92 (2003): 7, 12; Murayama Shūichi, "Kodai Nihon no onmyōdō," 27.

⁵¹² This trip, the last of the Tang envoys, was lead by Fujiwara Tsunetsugu 藤原常嗣 (796-840). Additional details about the envoy itself can be found in Saeki Arikiyo 佐伯有清, *Saigo no kentōshi* 最後の遣唐使 (Tokyo: Tankōsha, 2007).

⁵¹³ Ishida Toshinori, "Kentōshi onmyōji Haruzono Tamanari," 7.

Ōkasuga continued to import divination-related texts from China to be used for the benefit of the imperial family and courtiers.⁵¹⁴

The 927 record of official regulations and ceremonies entitled *Engi shiki* 延喜式 also discusses how elements from Chinese *yin yang* practices and other belief systems were utilized in ninth-century *onmyōdō* practices for the Japanese imperial family and regents.⁵¹⁵ Another example is the account of the scholar Fujiwara no Sukeyo (藤原佐世 847-98) in the comprehensive bibliography *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本国現在書目録, a text which lists the names of divinities within the Daoist pantheon.⁵¹⁶ In short, although the official *onmyōryō* was disbanded, practices continued to be used for divination, calendrical calculation, and geomancy for the imperial family and courtiers.

Moreover, prayers and divination were carried out for the welfare of the nation in general. As mentioned throughout this dissertation, the early ninth century was a time of repeated famine and natural disasters. *Zoku Nihon koki* 続日本後記, an imperially commissioned history, records several such instances in the year 836 (Jōwa 3), a year which falls within the ten-year span during the pagoda was commissioned at Jingoji.⁵¹⁷ It was common practice for the imperial family to make Buddhist offerings at temples and to sponsor the reading of sūtras in order to pray for bountiful harvests, as well as during times of famine. This was done, for example, as part of Yakushi *keka* rites, during which confessional rites were performed in front of Yakushi

⁵¹⁴ Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, "Kodai Nihon no onmyōdō 古代日本の陰陽道," 28.

⁵¹⁵ For an English translation and analysis of a section of this text, see Bock, "Classical learning and Taoist practices in early Japan with a translation of books XVI and XX of the *Engi shiki*."

⁵¹⁶ Tim Barrett, "Shinto and Taoism in early Japan," in *Shinto in history: ways of the kami*, ed. John Breen and Mark Teeuwen (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 19.

⁵¹⁷ *Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku* 天皇皇族実録, ed. Fujii Jōji 藤井譲治 and Yoshioka Masayuki 吉岡真之, vol. 10, *Junna tennō jitsuroku; Nimmyō tennō jitsuroku* 淳和天皇実録 ; 仁明天皇実録 (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2007), 58-67.

images.⁵¹⁸ It was also common practice to give offerings when natural disasters occurred, or to give offertory thanks when auspicious natural phenomena were sighted. As is seen above, these types of phenomena were often observed during the reigns of Emperors Nimmyō onward.⁵¹⁹ Such rites and offerings may have been conducted for a these very reasons.

In addition to divination techniques, longevity-based alchemy used in Daoist belief also played a role in the ninth-century imperial circles. Such practices were likely modeled after Tang dynasty emperors, who ingested a variety of naturally occurring, at times toxic, mineral substances, in hopes that it would immortalize them.⁵²⁰ *Sandai jitsuroku* states that Emperor Nimmyō partook of Chinese alchemy, specifically the five stones (五石 *goseki*) and did so until his death in 850.⁵²¹ He was buried in the Fukakusa region of Kyoto near the site of another Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad at Jōganji, the topic of Chapter Five. These examples illustrate that the use of divination techniques were alive and well in the ninth-century imperial and aristocratic environment into which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures were installed not only at Jingoji, as I have shown here, but at Anjōji and Jōganji as well.

Conclusion

The installation of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures in the Jingoji pagoda was the earliest instance whereby a disciple of Kūkai and imperial family member were involved in the installation of this configuration in mid ninth-century Kyoto. It was the first in a tri-generational

⁵¹⁸ See Chapters One and Three of Suzuki, "The medicine master".

⁵¹⁹ Murayama Shūichi, *Nihon onmyōdōshi sōsetsu*, 84-5.

⁵²⁰ Kristofer Schipper, "Taoism, the story of the way," in *Taoism and the arts of China*, ed. Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman (Chicago, Berkeley: Art Institute of Chicago, University of California Press, 2000), 47.

⁵²¹ *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT4: 222. Noted in Hikoyoshi Mieko 彦由三枝子, "Nishi Sanjō Udaijin Fujiwara Yoshimi ni tsuite no ikkōsatsu 西三条右大臣藤原良相についての一考察 (I)," *Seiji keizai shigaku 政治経済史学* 228 (1985): 14-15. The most well known substances were cinnabar and gold. Little and Eichman, eds., *Taoism and the arts of China*, 384-85.

series of patronage and collaboration between imperial patrons and clerics in Kūkai's lineage. These partnerships were vital to the legitimization of the emperor as the politico-religious center of Japanese authority during this period.

In addition, these sculptures signified national protection not only through their placement within a *sanrinjin* configuration but also through the pentad's association with Venus, as well as its iconography that reflected Chinese-based belief systems. The colors, directional positioning, and names of each of the deities resonate with these themes, adding an additional layer of efficacy to the images. Although the configuration, in its distribution among three separate buildings (the Godai Kokūzō in the pagoda, the Gochi Nyorai in the Gobutsudō, and the Godai Myōō in the Godaidō), differed from that of the Tōji lecture hall, it still manifested the same concept of national protection in a tripartite sculptural arrangement because of the protective sūtras associated with it. These aspects of the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu make this pentad a powerful signifier of political and religious authority in the mid-ninth century.

Chapter Four

The Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu

Kanchiin, a subtemple located just outside the small northern gate of the Tōji complex, is known today for its role in the *jūsan mairi* 十三参り, a coming of age ceremony that bestows knowledge and protection upon children who have turned thirteen years old.⁵²² The main images of veneration in this rite are the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures (designated Important Cultural Properties) housed in the main hall (fig. 2a-2g).⁵²³ Although partially obscured by lavish altar ornamentations and set back in the building far from the viewer, one can discern five figures seated on lotus pedestals, each of which is set upon an animal vehicle (fig. 2b). These Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures have been housed at Kanchiin since 1347, but their history and relationship to the temple of Anjōji prior to this date is an issue of art historical debate.

During the ninth century, a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures was housed in Anjōji, a temple located in the Yamashina 山科 area mountains of southeast Kyoto. Like the Jingoji sculptures, the Anjōji images were also installed in a temple with the help of a disciple in Kūkai's lineage; in this case, the Shingon priest Eun (恵運 798-869), a disciple of Jitsue.⁵²⁴ Eun established Anjōji under the direction of Fujiwara Junshi (藤原順子⁵²⁵ 809-71), the consort of Emperor Nimmyō. Although Anjōji itself no longer exists, there has been a surge of scholarship

⁵²² *Jūsan mairi* rites are performed on scheduled days during the Kanchiin's public viewing period, between mid-April to mid-May, and mid-September to mid-November. Reservations are required. This rite is performed at temples with any form of Kokūzō Bosatsu image, single or pentad. For example, Hōrinji in Kyoto, which houses a single image of the deity, is also a major site for this ritual.

⁵²³ Because of the *gumonjihō*'s emphasis on memorization and knowledge acquisition, Kokūzō Bosatsu became associated with knowledge, the most well-known examples being Kūkai's and Dōshō's experience of the *gumonjihō* at Hōrinji in Kyoto. In the eighteenth century, Hōrinji became a worship center for young adults wishing to gain knowledge, and other temples housing Kokūzō Bosatsu (and Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu) images likely followed suit. For the history and development of this ceremony throughout Japan, see Sano Kenji, *Kokūzō Bosatsu shinkō no kenkyū*, Chapter Six.

⁵²⁴ As noted in previous chapters, Jitsue was administrator of Jingoji prior to Shinzei. After leaving Jingoji, he established Kanshinji, a temple which housed a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu paintings.

⁵²⁵ Junshi is also read "Nobuko."

on the temple in recent years that has greatly increased our understanding of the site in the ninth century.⁵²⁶ The images currently housed in Kanchiin are purportedly the images brought by Eun, and that were installed in Kanchiin in 1347 after Anjōji was destroyed in a typhoon.

While Anjōji did house a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures in the ninth century, I am cautious about confirming the Kanchiin images as those originally housed at Anjōji. However, since Anjōji did house a set, examining this site and its ninth-century context is imperative to my discussion. This chapter will not only illuminate the ninth-century context of Anjōji as a site for national protection in light of the sculptural *sanrinjin* (three-wheel body) configuration that was housed there, but will also reveal the individual character of the temple as a locus for personal familial devotion. I will also illustrate ways in which this temple served as a site where sculptural patronage patterns simultaneously reveal the continuity and perhaps usurpation of symbolic power and authority from the imperial family by the Fujiwara lineage.

Two major aspects of the sculptures housed in Kanchiin form a major component of my discussion. The first is their alleged continental provenance. Early eighteenth-century documentary evidence suggests that Eun, disciple of Jitsue, brought a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu from the temple of Qinglongsi 青龍寺 in the Chinese Tang-dynasty capital of Chang'an in 847.⁵²⁷ This chapter will illustrate that the style and production method of the Kanchin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images suggest that they were indeed produced in China, but that an expanded

⁵²⁶ For an early publication on the images, see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Danzō*, 145-47. The report of the Tokyo Cultural Affairs research team lead by Okada Ken contains results of the most extensive physical examination that has been done to date on the sculptures themselves. See Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, ed., *Tōji Kanchiinzō*. The 2004-2006 Global Centers of Excellence project headed by Kyoto University, "Authority and Monuments," has published invaluable findings on the production, placement and patronage of Anjōji and its treasures, including the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. See Dai 14 kenkyūkai "Ōken to monyumento," ed., *Anjōji no kenkyū I*; Dai 14 kenkyūkai "Ōken to monyumento," ed., *Anjōji no kenkyū II*. The reports from these two years of research became the basis for the collection of essays related to Anjōji in 2007, published in Uehara Mahito, ed., *Kōtaigō no yamadera*.

⁵²⁷ Okada Ken, "Tōji Kanchiin zō," 61. This is written in a 1703 inscription on the base of the platform on which Hōkai Kokūzō's horse stands. This inscription will be discussed further below.

temporal and geographical view is necessary when considering their time and place of production. To explore these issues, I will review recent scholarship pertinent to the production of the images, specifically newly examined Chinese sculptural comparisons. In doing so, I will illustrate the importance of clerical lineage within the Shingon tradition.

The other significant feature of the Kanchiin images is their animal vehicles. These animals (lion, horse, elephant, *garuda* and peacock) are seen in both Buddhist contexts and in other local Indian and Chinese belief systems. I will explore the iconographical significance of the vehicles, the sources which may have informed their production, as well as the malleability of these iconographical features within different temple settings. The ninth-century temple context of Anjōji and its images shed light on the versatile religious and political function of temples in Japan during this period.

The images

I will begin with an examination of the bodhisattva images themselves, treating the animal vehicles in a separate section. Like the Jingoji images, each deity has its own name as a Kokūzō Bosatsu, but unlike the former, the lotus base upon which each image sits is perched upon an animal vehicle (figs. 2a-2g. Also see Diagram 5). Each of the Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures, not including the lotus base or animal vehicle, sits between sixty-eight and seventy-six cm tall. They sit in full-lotus position, with both flat, exposed feet placed securely on the opposite thighs. The arms are held down and away from the body, and are bent upward at the elbows. The right hands hold varying configurations of flaming jewels, while the left hands hold staffs. Since the images have undergone multiple repairs, it is quite possible that this

iconography has been changed since the images were first created.⁵²⁸ Indeed, the somewhat awkward proportions and unnatural transitions between adjacent body parts indicate restorations.

The sculptures all have segmented torsos with a pronounced lower belly protruding beneath a thin strip of fabric tied around the lower ribcage, tubular arms, pectoral muscles protruding slightly beneath smooth skin, and two overtly pronounced rings of flesh on the neck above one shallow ring. The proportions of each image are somewhat dissimilar from each other, showing unnatural transitions between adjacent body parts. Hōkai Bosatsu (fig. 2c) shows the most evident discrepancy in style, with an unnaturally thin torso below wide, fully formed shoulders. It is unclear from existing condition reports whether or not these distorted proportions are due to the extensive restorations done on the images since their creation, or if this was their original appearance.

The faces are rectangular with long cheeks and the flat plane of the forehead continues seamlessly down the pinched bridge of the nose. The eyes bulge visibly beneath the eyelids and the eyelids open like ruptures on the surface of the bulge. The pupils are represented by rounded pegs inserted into the eyes, which is a distinctive feature of these sculptures (fig. 2c). Itō Shirō identifies the material of the pegs as a type of clay, and notes that this technique of inserting pupils made from a separate material into the eyes was employed on sculptures in China from the Tang (618-907) through Song dynasties (960-1279).⁵²⁹ He notes that this technique was not

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 68.

⁵²⁹ Itō Shirō, *Heian jidai chōkoku no kenkyū*, 173. Itō notes another example of a wooden Chinese sculpture housed in Japan with the same feature, the wooden Tang dynasty Tobatsu Bishamonten 兜跋毘沙門天 sculpture housed at Tōji. This image, as well as the earth goddess (*jiten* 地天) that appears on the base below it, has inserted clay pupils covered with black lacquer, while the demon on the base has inserted clay pupils without lacquer. Other examples of eighth- or ninth-century wooden images with inserted pupils are the Nine-faced Kannon Bosatsu housed at Hōryūji 法隆寺, brought to Japan from China in 719 (reproduced in Iwasa Mitsuharu 岩佐光晴, "Heian jidai zenki no chōkoku 平安時代前期の彫刻," *Nihon no bijutsu 日本美術* 457 (June 2004): fig. 31), the Tōji lecture hall Shitennō (Ibid., figs. 85-88), the Tang-style pensive bodhisattva housed at Hōbodai'in 宝菩提院 in Gantokuji 願徳寺 (reproduced in Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Butsuzō*, fig. 20.), and the Eleven-headed Kannon Bosatsu at Dōmyōji (seen in Mizuno Keizaburō, ed., *Nihon butsuzōshi*, fig. 2-26).

common in Japan during the later Heian period.⁵³⁰ The 2003 Tokyo Cultural Affairs examination reveals, however, that because a hole passes through the center of these orbs, that they were likely recycled from somewhere within the sculpture's jewelry configuration and inserted into the holes in the eyes in later years.⁵³¹

The tall crowns are made of Japanese cedar and are later additions. Each crown has five sides, each side a plane of openwork curvilinear forms with a seated Buddha figure (a *kebutsu* 仏, or "transformation Buddha") in the center.⁵³² The crown of each figure rests upon a diadem, depicted as a band around the head, which is likely original to each of the statues. The crowns of Hōkai (fig. 2c) and Kongō Kokūzō (fig. 2e) include another original layer with a carved palmette design between the bottom band and the five sides of the crown.⁵³³ In the case of Hōkai Kokūzō, the lowermost band of the crown (what Okada judges to be original), contains a seated Buddha figure performing the meditation mudra; since none of the other Anjōji Kokūzō Bosatsu images have this additional Buddha image in their crowns, it may indicate the special significance of Hōkai Kokūzō as the original central image of the group.

The wooden *kanzashi* 簪, or protruding adornments attached to the lowermost band of the crown, are comprised of foliate stems bending upwards at ninety degree angles, each topped by a flaming jewel. From the bottom of these stems hang multi-tiered pendants, composed of an arrangement of dangling jewel and flower motifs. Nishimura Kōchō points out that this type of protruding crown adornment with dangling decorations is an Edo period (1600-1868) convention,

⁵³⁰ Itō Shirō, *Heian jidai chōkoku no kenkyū*, 174.

⁵³¹ Okada Ken, "Tōji Kanchiinzō," 84.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 68.

⁵³³ Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu's is noticeably wider.

and so it is unlikely that these are original to the Anjōji sculptures.⁵³⁴ Tendrils of hair fall upon the shoulders, each section further defined by incised lines to represent strands of hair.

The jewelry appears to have been made by a technique known as *nerimono* 練り物, a common technique seen on Chinese Buddhist sculptures whereby a malleable material, such as clay or plaster, is fashioned into shapes and then affixed to a surface.⁵³⁵ The jewelry also consists of flat, wide arm bands wrap that around the upper arms; remnants of jewelry in arabesque and circular shapes remain on some of the images' armbands.

The ears are narrow ovals covered almost entirely by wide swaths of hair. The fleshy, protruding lobes are exposed, however, and are pierced by large, circular discs. This feature is also seen in Chinese Song dynasty Buddhist sculptures.⁵³⁶ There also appear to be remains of jewelry on the front of the legs of Kongō Kokūzō (fig. 2e), Hōkai Kokūzō, and Hōkō Kokūzō (fig. 2f), indicating that the necklaces may have extended down to the folded legs.

The complex drapery arrangement consists of a thin *sōgishi* 僧祇支⁵³⁷ (Skt. *sankasikā*, a garment worn under the *kesa*, or outer robe) draped over the right shoulder and clinging to the front and back of the torso. This is secured by an *obi* 帯 (belt) tied underneath the ribcage, causing large, sharply carved crescent-shaped wrinkles to form in the fabric stretched across the deities' protruding bellies. A *jōhaku* 条帛 (sash) is then draped over the left shoulder, over the *sōgishi* and *obi*. The drapery is contrived of stiff, thick planes, with limited attention to naturalistic rendition. It hugs the curves of the protruding pectorals and belly, but the edges are

⁵³⁴ Nishimura Kōchō, *Butsuzō no saihakken: kantei e no michi*, 101. These new features were added to older images when Edo period repairs were undertaken. Both wooden and metal fixtures were used, the latter being more common.

⁵³⁵ Okada Ken, "Tōji Kanchiinō," 68.

⁵³⁶ Shi Yan 史岩 et al, *Zhongguo mei shu quan ji 中国美術全集*, vol. 5, *Wu dai, Song diao su 五大、宋雕塑* (Beijing: Ren min mei shu chu ban she, 1988), 70-1.

⁵³⁷ This garment is often seen on Buddhist images of the Asuka period (sixth through the first half of seventh century). Waei taishō Nihon bijutsu yōgo jiten henshūinkai, ed., *Nihon bijutsu yōgo jiten*, 375.

thick and carved perpendicular to the body. Only Hōkai has a *tenne* 天衣 (heavenly scarf) draped around the shoulders, upper back, and upper arms, in addition to the *jōhaku*.⁵³⁸ Along with the additional Buddha image in the crown, this extra garment also singles out Hōkai as significant among the other four deities.

A single block of wood was used to carve each figure, including the portions of the arms up until the elbows (in the case of the central Hōkai Kokūzō, until the wrists), as well as the lotus base.⁵³⁹ The shiny, dark surface of the wooden images is, upon first glance, sometimes mistaken for bronze, but this appearance is due to the application of lacquer upon the surface of the wood. Miniscule traces of paint are visible upon close inspection. The drapery of Kongō Kokūzō and Hōkai Kokūzō show traces of green and red. X-rays taken during the 2003 examination of the sculptures reveal a circular cloud-like pattern on the left torso drapery of Hōkai Kokūzō.⁵⁴⁰ A white base layer and traces of gold are seen on the edges of the eyebrows and eyeballs of Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu, indicating that this image may have been gilt.⁵⁴¹ Later iconographical drawings from the twelfth century onward also indicate that they were each painted a different color, but it is not possible to determine whether or not they were pigmented as early as the ninth century. Iconographical manuals that give clues about the pigmentation will be introduced later in the chapter.

During a 1919 restoration of the images, the wood of the each bodhisattva and their respective animal attribute was identified as a broad-leafed tree resembling camphor (*kusunoki* 楠, Lat. *cinnamomum camphora*), an assessment with which recent studies of the sculptures

⁵³⁸ Although Hōkai Kokūzō is now placed in the center of the row of images, justifying the presence of the *tenne* as a special marker for this deity, there is debate among scholars as to the original configuration of the deities, hence this drapery element cannot be assumed to be original to the sculpture. This issue will be explored later in the chapter.

⁵³⁹ Okada Ken, "Tōji Kanchiinzō," 80-89.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., 73.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., 84.

concurr.⁵⁴² This tree is found mostly in coastal areas of southern Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu, and is also found in Taiwan, southwest China and Indonesia.⁵⁴³ Other portions of the sculptures have been repaired with Japanese cypress, a common material native to Japan and found throughout southern Honshū and Shikoku.⁵⁴⁴

A questionable Chinese provenance

The Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are somewhat of an anomaly among East Asian Buddhist sculptures. While their style and technique differ significantly from ninth-century Japanese Buddhist sculptures, they do not show strong resonances with extant ninth-century Chinese Buddhist sculptures either. The ninth-century Japanese sculptures seen in Chapter Three, for example, show wider bodies with somewhat flatter torsos, and fuller faces with more elongated eyes than the Kanchiin images. Japanese imperially patronized sculptures from this period were created using the wood core-dry lacquer technique; the Kanchiin images also have lacquer applied to their surfaces, but it has been brushed onto the surface of the wood without the use of lacquer-soaked cloth strips. In addition, portions of the Kanchiin sculptures' jewelry and eyes are made with the *nerimono* technique, which was not used on Japanese sculptures of this period. While some of these technical aspects are indeed seen on Chinese images, the awkward proportions, inconsistent composition and lack of plasticity may be indications that the images were made by Japanese sculptors inexperienced in Chinese stylistic conventions. This, plus the somewhat questionable documentary evidence stating that these images were those brought by Eun and installed in Anjōji, make the Chinese provenance of the Kanchiin images questionable.

⁵⁴² Ibid., 62-63.

⁵⁴³ Fujii Tomoyuki, "Mokuchōzō no kishu: mokuchōzō yōzai no kagakuteki bunseki," 243.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., 238.

A variety of textual evidence notes the purported Chinese provenance of the Kanchiin images.⁵⁴⁵ The earliest source noting Eun's ninth-century importation of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu is *Anjōji garan engi shizaichō* 安祥寺伽藍縁起資材帳, hereafter *Shizaichō*), written by him in 867 (Jōgan 9), twenty years after he returned from China.⁵⁴⁶ In the inventory section of this document listing the temple's objects, it states:

One Hōkai Kokūzō Buddhist image.

One Kongō Kokūzō Buddhist image.

One Mani Kokūzō Buddhist image.

One Renge Kokūzō Buddhist image.

(Gōyō Kokūzō is omitted, but was likely there).⁵⁴⁷

[These] five Buddhist images are pigmented. Each rides an animal.

They are from the Great Tang [dynasty].⁵⁴⁸

Although it is not certain that the images now housed in the Kanchin are the images to which Eun is referring here, this text nevertheless states that he brought a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images seated upon animal vehicles to Japan from China. The next piece of evidence dealing with the Chinese provenance of the Kanchiin images is found in two separate inscriptions written

⁵⁴⁵ Unfortunately, a reliable inventory compiled by Eun soon after his return does not exist. Two inventories attributed to Eun were in circulation, however. The first, claiming 847 authorship (the year after he returned), is entitled *Eun zenshi shōrai kyōhō mokuroku* 惠運禪師将来教法目録 (T55: 2168A). It is a rather short list of sutras, dharani and ritual manuals; no paintings, iconographical drawings, or sculptures, including the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, are noted. A Kamakura-period copy of this inventory is housed at Kozanji 高山寺, but its 847 authorship is spurious. Noted in KSM1: 440. The second is dated to 963 (Ōwa 3) and entitled *Eun risshi sho mokuroku* 惠運律師目録 (T55: 2168B). This is a longer compilation which also includes ritual manuals, sutras, dharani, in addition to a handful of images. The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures are absent from this text as well.

⁵⁴⁶ This document was discovered at Kajūji, near the Anjōji site, in 1136. It was copied here but was damaged, necessitating the creation of another copy in 1385 (Shitoku 2) by Kenbō. This 1385 copy, now housed at Tōji, is the only extant version. Nakamachi Mikako 中町美香子, "'Anjōji shizaichō' no seiritsu 「安祥寺資材帳」の成立," in *Kōtaigō no yamadera*, 213-35. The authenticity of this document must be taken with caution, however, as the twelfth through fourteenth century was a period during which many Japanese commentaries regarding Chinese sources were manufactured.

⁵⁴⁷ This comment in the 1385 copy indicates that although the original 867 *Shizaichō* did not include Goyō Kokūzō Bosatsu, the sculpture was likely originally part of this set.

⁵⁴⁸ *Anjōji garan engi shizaichō* is reproduced in Dai 14 kenkyūkai "Ōken to monyumento," ed., *Anjōji no kenkyū I*, 37.

on the underside of the wooden panel on which Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu's horse vehicle stands (fig. 23).⁵⁴⁹ A third inscription was etched into a bronze plaque and attached to the top of this wooden panel upon the restorations in 1919. Since it simply declares that the repairs took place, the text itself is not pertinent to the following discussion.

The first relevant inscription, located in the middle of the wooden panel, was written in 1435 (Eikyō 7) by the priest Sōken (宗賢 act. early-mid fifteenth century). He quotes an earlier text, *Kenbō Hōinki* 賢宝法印記 by the priest Kenbō (賢宝 1333-98),⁵⁵⁰ which states that Kenbō moved the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu from Anjōji to Kanchiin in 1376. The inscription on the panel says that Anjōji was in ruins after having been destroyed by a typhoon,⁵⁵¹ and Kenbō was so distraught that he asked the head of nearby Kajūji 勧修寺 for permission to transport the images to a new location. His request was granted, and upon being transported and repaired, he “thereby fulfilled the wishes of Master Eun, Sanshū, and others who returned from China 請来大師惠運三修等早廻慈眼速令成心願終.”⁵⁵² The significance of transferring a vital element of the three-wheel bodies configuration to Tōji, which housed the first such configuration in Japan, was probably not lost on Kenbō. Sōken's inscription continues on to state that in 1388 the images

⁵⁴⁹ A modern-day Japanese translation and interpretation of these inscriptions is found in Okada Ken 岡田健, "Tōji Kanchiin zō," 63.

⁵⁵⁰ Kenbō was the disciple of Gōhō (杲宝 1306-62) who founded Kanchiin. Both priests were active in the creation, collection and preservation of documents (such as *Tōbōki* 東宝記) related to Tōji and the Shingon school in the fourteenth century. Tōji Hōmotsukan 東寺宝物館, ed., *Tōji Kanchiin no rekishi to bijutsu: meihō no bi, seikyō no seika* 東寺観智院の歴史と美術：名宝の美、聖教の精華 (Kyoto: Benridō, 2003), 10.

⁵⁵¹ This passage does not indicate when the typhoon occurred, nor when Kenbō saw the images, only that both events happened in “previous years” (先年 *sennen*). Okada Ken, "Tōji Kanchiin zō," 63.

⁵⁵² The precise meaning of the characters “慈眼” is unclear. There was a Tendai priest named Tenkai (天海 1536-1643) whose posthumous name was Jigan Daishi 慈眼大師, but he lived a generation after Sōken. Nihon bukkyō jinmei jiten hensan iinkai 日本仏教人名辞典編纂委員会, ed., *Nihon Bukkyō jinmei jiten* 日本仏教人名編纂委員会 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1992), 549.

were put in “this building” (*tōdō* 当堂),⁵⁵³ and that this year marked the five hundred and forty-second-year anniversary of Eun bringing them to Japan.

The second related inscription is located in the bottom third of the wooden panel. It is a 1703 (Genroku 16) inscription by Gōkai (杲快 dates unknown), and states that Eun brought the images from the golden hall of Qinglongsi in Chang’an. Gōkai also describes restorations performed on the images in 1596 (Keichō 1).⁵⁵⁴ As noted in Chapter One, many Japanese priests, including Kūkai, considered Qinglongsi a major Buddhist learning center. He was instructed in Buddhist teachings here, and it thus served as an important source of legitimization of Japanese Shingon Buddhist lineage. These two inscriptions on the base of the platform, however, were written centuries after the images were allegedly brought from China, and may have been fabricated.

The inventory in *Shizaichō*, as well as these two inscriptions on the wood panel, shows an increasingly specific attribution of the images’ provenance. The 867 *Shizaichō* states Tang dynasty China; the 1435 inscription by Sōken (quoting the fourteenth century *Kenbō Hōinki*) states the year they were brought from China, while the 1703 inscription states that Eun brought them from Qinglongsi in Chang’an.

However, it is unlikely that the Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are from Qinglongsi. Stylistic comparisons with ninth-century images from the Chang’an region (of which very few exist), as well as wood type comparisons, reveal stark differences between the Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.⁵⁵⁵ In addition, Qinglongsi was likely destroyed, or at least significantly damaged by the 845 Huichang Buddhist persecutions instigated by the devout Daoist Emperor

⁵⁵³ It is unclear which building this refers to.

⁵⁵⁴ In addition to the repairs mentioned in the inscriptions, the images were repaired again in 1918 and 1971. Okada Ken, "Tōji Kanchiin zō," 63.

⁵⁵⁵ Mizuno Keizaburō, ed., *Nihon butsuzōshi*, 88.

Wuzong (武宗 r. 840-46).⁵⁵⁶ There is the possibility however, that the images escaped destruction, and that Eun transported the images in 847 to ensure that they would not be taken in the volatile religious atmosphere of the period.

If nothing else, these inscriptions indicate that from the fourteenth century onward, the Buddhist establishment in Japan desired to associate the images with Eun, as well as the Esoteric Buddhist center Qinglongsi, in order to establish the sculptures' legitimacy. Associating these images with this well-known Buddhist center placed them closer to the source of Esoteric Buddhist teachings, thus giving them credibility and prestige.

If not from Qinglongsi or the Chang'an area, where might the images have been produced? Technical features of the images, such as the *nerimono* jewelry and the inserted pupils were relatively widespread features, seen in Chinese Buddhist sculptures in several different regions.⁵⁵⁷ Okada mentions comparative examples of Tang dynasty images housed in the Guangdong province temple of Guangxiaosi 光孝寺 in southern China, but states that it is difficult to theorize about a direct connection, and fails to provide images of, or specific stylistic comparisons to these sculptures.⁵⁵⁸ Upon my own examination of photos of a Tang dynasty offering figure (labeled *gongyang renxiang* 供養人像) from a source Okada cited on Guangxiaosi, there do appear to be similarities between the Kanchiin images and this figure's thin body segmented by sashes tied about the torso, the fleshy jowls on the oblong face, and the

⁵⁵⁶ Shatzman Steinhardt, "The Mizong Hall of Qinglongsi," 28.

⁵⁵⁷ Examples of *nerimono* appears on Tang dynasty sculptures in northwestern China's Dunhuang Mogao 敦煌莫高 in caves 45, 328 and 205. *Dunhuang shi ku quan ji* 敦煌石窟全集, ed. Dunhuang yan jiu yuan 敦煌研究院, vol. 23, *Kexue jishuhua juan* 科学技术画卷 (Xianggang: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1999-2001), figs. 139, 18, and 30, respectively. These images have a form of clay or plaster appliqué jewelry on the chest, composed of a variety of arabesque and circular forms.

⁵⁵⁸ Okada Ken, "Tōji Kanchiinō," 74.

flat continuous plane of the forehead and bridge of the nose (fig. 24).⁵⁵⁹ Saitō Takashi compares the Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu with three Tang dynasty stone sculptures from Longxingsi 龍興寺 in modern-day Qiongxia 邛峽, Sichuan province in southwest China.⁵⁶⁰ One of the images, identified as Wenshu Pusa 文殊菩薩 (Jp. Monju Bosatsu) shows traces of gold on the drapery, and has a thin face, pinched nose bridge, long torso, and drapery arrangement similar to that of the Kanchiin Hōkai Kokūzō image. Saito also states that these images from Sichuan, however, while of Tang dynasty manufacture, appear to have been based on sixth century models, and made in provincial areas.

However, tracing the path of Eun's journey to China reveals that he did not travel to the Guangdong or Sichuan regions. According to *Shizaichō*, Eun's early activity in China was centered in modern-day Zhejiang province, located in the central east coast of China. He arrived in the modern-day coastal city of Wenzhou in 842.⁵⁶¹ From Zhejiang, the 853 (Ninju 3) diary entry of the ninth-century Tendai patriarch, Enchin, explains that Eun, like Enchin, went to Mt. Tiantai 天台山, the center of Tiantai 天台 (Jp. Tendai) worship in China.⁵⁶² This mountain is located in northern Zhejiang province. From here Eun went west to Qinglongsi in the capital of Chang'an. A passage from the seventh chapter of *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧伝 (*Lives of*

⁵⁵⁹ Shang Chengzuo 商承祚, *Guangzhou Guangxiaosi gu dai mu diao xian tu lu* 廣州光孝寺古代木彫像圖錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai chu ban gong si, 1955), 24. This author states that the image is 23.5 cm tall, it has orbs inserted into the eyes, that about sixty percent of its gold pigment still remains, and that the one-line inscription on the back of the image has only one character legible, that of "body" (身). There is also a hole in the base of the image.

⁵⁶⁰ Saitō Takashi 齊藤孝, *Nihon kodai to Tōfū bijutsu* 日本古代と唐風美術 (Osaka: Sōgensha, 1978), 219-22. See also figs. 68-71.

⁵⁶¹ *Shizaichō*, 34.

⁵⁶² *Enchin gyōrekishō* 円珍行歷抄 reproduced in Tanaka Toshiaki 田中俊明, "Anjōji kaiso Eun no tokai: kyūseiki no higashi Ajia kōryū 安祥寺開祖惠運の渡海：九世紀の東アジア交流," in *Kōtaigō no yamadera*, 158. Tanaka's examination of Eun's voyage to China within the broader context of ninth-century East Asian sea travel also illustrates that he did not travel as an official envoy. Rather, he had to travel aboard a cargo ship because a major proponent of Korean sea trade during the Silla dynasty (668-935), (Chang Pogo 張保臯, Jp. Chō Hokō), died in 841. After his death, sea traffic, including official envoys between Japan, Korea and China, was severely limited. *Ibid.*, 165-72. I thank Kim Eun-ah of Kyoto University for her assistance with this citation.

eminent monks) states that Eun studied Buddhism at Qinglongsi, and that among the over two hundred sutras and ritual implements he brought back to Japan with him, were “protective deity sculptures from Qinglongsi (青龍寺鎮守神体を持ち帰る)” which were subsequently housed in Anjōji.⁵⁶³ Although it is possible that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images from Anjōji were some of the “protective deity sculptures” referred to here, without further evidence it is not possible to make such conclusions.

After Eun had completed his study, he departed from present-day Ningbo 寧波 (also in Zhejiang province) for Japan in 847.⁵⁶⁴ From the ninth century onward, Ningbo was a major region of exchange between China and Japan, as well as a center of Buddhist image production. What can be gleaned from this evidence is that Eun’s recorded activities were centered in Zhejiang province on the east coast and the Chang’an area in Shaanxi province, central China.

Since so few comparative Tang dynasty images remain, in Chang’an or other places Eun travelled such as Ningbo, it is necessary to expand our search beyond the ninth century. Later images from the Song dynasty (960-1279) show intriguing stylistic affinities with the Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. Two wooden sculptures created during the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279) and now housed in Japanese temples show stylistic similarities with the Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images.⁵⁶⁵ The Seated Bodhisattva housed in Hōonji 法恩寺 in Hyogo prefecture (fig. 25), carries an inscription stating that the image was made in 1237 at the request of the Japanese Rinzai Zen priest Kakushin (覺心 1207-98) on his second trip to the Southern

⁵⁶³ DNBZ102: 126.

⁵⁶⁴ *Shizaichō*, 34.

⁵⁶⁵ Nedachi Kensuke, “Anjōji no bukkū chōkoku wo meguru shomondai,” 277-80.

Song dynasty. It also states that it was made by a Buddhist sculptor from present-day Ningbo.⁵⁶⁶ Comparing the face of this sculpture with that of Kongō Kokūzō from Kanchiin, we see the same small lips, sharply delineated brows and fullness about the jaw, although the transitions between features are smoother on the Hōōnji sculpture. The sharp, planar drapery carving are similar, and the scooping folds on the front of the Hōōnji image's knees show the same deeply carved arc on the knees of Hōkai and Gōyō Kokūzō. These points indicate similarities in some of the fundamental elements of the images, although the Hōōnji image displays a much more refined technique.

The Seated Kannon Bosatsu (also known as Yang Guifei Guanyin 楊貴妃觀音 [Jp. Yōkihi Kannon], fig. 26) housed at Sennyūji 泉湧寺 in Kyoto, also serves as a stylistic comparison with the Kanchiin images.⁵⁶⁷ Interred inside this sculpture was a wooden tablet with an inscription stating it was brought to Japan by the priest Tankai 湛海 (b. 1181) in 1230. The tablet also suggests that the image was from Putuoshan 普陀山 (Jp. Fudasan),⁵⁶⁸ the mythical dwelling of Guanyin (Jp. Kannon) and an object of worship for safe sea travel. According to the inscription, Putuoshan was located offshore from Ningbo. Although more sophisticated in overall composition and expressiveness than the Kanchiin images, the elongated, narrow face and nose, thick neck flesh and adorned earlobes show stylistic affinities.

These two Southern Song dynasty examples indicate a specific sculptural style associated with the Ningbo region, characterized by elongated, slightly rectangular heads, sharply carved

⁵⁶⁶ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, ed., *Seichi Ninbō: Nihon Bukkyō 1300 nen no genryū: subete wa koko kara yatte kita 聖地寧波：日本仏教1300年の源流：すべてはここからやって来た* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2009), 304.

⁵⁶⁷ The image was originally a Willow Guanyin (楊柳觀音 Jp. Yōryū Kannon) but was re-named Yōhiki Kannon (Ch. Yang Guifei) in the Edo period. Ibid. Yang Guifei (719-56) was the famous Tang dynasty courtesan of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712-56), known for her full, fleshy beauty as well for as her role in the An Lushan Rebellion. Michael Sullivan, *The arts of China* (Los Angeles, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 125, 50. The identification of the sculpture was likely changed to reflect this famous personage.

⁵⁶⁸ Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Seichi Ninbō*, 303.

brows, narrow lips and noses, along with thick drapery carving about the shoulders and gently swooping folds. The Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu show some basic similarities with these two Southern Song dynasty images, and thus may have been based on images created in the Ningbo region. Nedachi states that these two images can be considered as later examples of Buddhist Chinese sculptures in the same stylistic lineage as the Kanchiin images.⁵⁶⁹

This brings us to the question of why so much of the extant documentary evidence claims that the images were from Qinglongsi in Chang'an. The city was a major Buddhist center during the Tang dynasty, and among Japanese Esoteric priests, Qinglongsi was a highly renowned temple for Esoteric Buddhist study. As noted in previous chapters, Kūkai studied here under his master Huiguo. A provenance from this significant temple would imbue any Buddhist image with more religious legitimacy in the eyes of the Japanese clergy. I propose that by claiming a Qinglongsi provenance for the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, Eun, or subsequent generations of his disciples, may have attempted to enhance the value of the sculptures, as well as the reputation of Eun. Taking into account the stylistic features of the images, however, it is more likely that the images were made in the Ningbo region during the Southern Song dynasty.

It is also important to note that there is no other reliable evidence for the existence of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration in China, or anywhere else in Asia. There are no other extant images, and the texts that deal with the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu (*Yūgikyō*, for example) may have been created in Japan. The Kanchiin sculptures are the only possible extant evidence that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration existed in China. Perhaps the somewhat tenuous continental connections necessitated legitimation of the pentad with the type of lore provided by the Qinglongsi provenance attribution.

⁵⁶⁹ Nedachi Kensuke suggests that they may have also been produced in Hangzhou, also in Zhejiang province. Nedachi Kensuke 根立研介, "Anjōji no bukkūyō chōkoku o meguru shomondai," 287.

History of Anjōji and its images

Eun returned to Japan in 847 with a cache of Buddhist texts and images, among them possibly a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures. Upon his return, however, the sculptures were not immediately installed in Anjōji as part of a *sanrinjin* configuration, as the temple had not yet been built. Investigation of the establishment of the temple and the images it housed will not only reveal that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were part of a *sanrinjin* configuration at the site, but that the association of the Fujiwara family with this pentad began to increase during this period, and that a strong familial element permeated the temple's early functions.

Most of the scholarship regarding Anjōji and its images deals with the issue of where the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, Gochi Nyorai and Godai Myōō were placed within the Anjōji complex.⁵⁷⁰ Part of the reason that this issue has been so widely discussed is that primary documents dealing with the issue are not consistent with dates, and that there is no single document that states where the images were located.

Historical background

In 827, Fujiwara Junshi, consort of Emperor Nimmyō (who was still crown prince at the time), gave birth to her son Michiyasu 道康,⁵⁷¹ the future Emperor Montoku (r. 850-58). Montoku's position as crown prince was secured in the 842 Jōwa Incident (Jōwa no hen 承和の変) that deposed Prince Tsunetada.⁵⁷² Since Montoku's mother Junshi was a Fujiwara, this immediately

⁵⁷⁰ In addition to the scholarship listed in the introduction to this chapter, see also Itō Shirō, *Heian jidai chōkoku no kenkyū*, 37-43; Sasaki Moritoshi, "Anjōji Gochi Nyorai zazō ni tsuite," 10-20.

⁵⁷¹ He is also known as Tamura 田邑.

⁵⁷² Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 215.

put the powerful clan at the forefront of imperial politics, securing the Fujiwara presence in the imperial family.

Five years later, in 847, Eun returned from his studies in Tang dynasty China with a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures. Upon his return, he constructed a small hermitage (草庵 *sōan*) in the mountains of the present-day Yamashina area of southeast Kyoto.⁵⁷³ This may have been where he first placed the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures, but considering the importance of the images, it is more likely that he placed them in nearby Kajūji 勧修寺, a well-established temple and a proper facility for such valuable sculptures.⁵⁷⁴

The next year, in 848 (Kashō 1), the building of Anjōji commenced. *Shizaichō* states that Anjōji was built for the “four compassions of Senior grand imperial dowager (*taikōtaigo*) Junshi 太皇太后并四恩。始建立安祥寺.”⁵⁷⁵ Although the *Sandai jitsuroku* states that during the Ninjū era (851-54), “for the first time, the temple plan is built,”⁵⁷⁶ I believe that construction was underway during this time span, after its initial commissioning by Junshi in 848. The temple was built on the same site where Eun’s hermitage was located.⁵⁷⁷

Many significant events occurred during the building of the temple that should be noted. In 850 (Kashō 3), Nimmyō died and Montoku ascended the throne as emperor. This same year, Montoku promoted his mother’s status from consort to Imperial Mother (*kōtai bunin* 皇太夫人). This status change indicates that Junshi commissioned the temple in 848 while she still had the

⁵⁷³ Sasaki Moritoshi, "Anjōji Gochi Nyorai zazō ni tsuite," 14.

⁵⁷⁴ Nedachi Kensuke, lecture Nov. 7, 2007.

⁵⁷⁵ *Shizaichō*, 34-35. The “four compassions” as noted in Chapter One, are those towards one’s parents, sentient beings, rulers, and the Three Treasures (the Buddha, the dharma and the *sangha*). It should be noted that Junshi received did not receive the title of *taikōtaigō* until 854, and so still had the status of consort when the temple was built in 848. This document was written in 867, so it is still plausible that Eun, the author, was referring to her with the title she had at the time the document was written.

⁵⁷⁶ Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 125.

⁵⁷⁷ Sasaki Moritoshi, "Anjōji Gochi Nyorai zazō ni tsuite," 14.

official title of consort, rather than *kōtai bunin* (Imperial Mother); she must have wielded considerable power as a consort.⁵⁷⁸

In 851 (Ninjū 1), the year after her husband Nimmyō died, Junshi requested that seven new monks be assigned to the temple.⁵⁷⁹ Anjōji must have been functioning by this point, as worship and living facilities were needed for the monk's activities. Junshi most likely requested these seven new monks to pray for the deceased soul of Nimmyō. In 854 (Kashō 6) Montoku further promoted her to Grand Imperial Dowager (*kōtaigō* 皇太后).⁵⁸⁰

In 855 (Saikō 2), Anjōji was granted the status of *jōkakuji* 定額寺, a term used for temples that were imperially sanctioned.⁵⁸¹ As noted in previous chapters, this designation meant that a temple received special support from the court in exchange for performing rituals which benefited the state. Temples received support for maintenance and prestige from this imperial connection, while the imperial state had the authority to exert some degree of control over temples not officially under their jurisdiction, and physically distanced from the capital.⁵⁸² I suggest that this status was granted because Anjōji also housed, or was slated to house, a sculptural *sanrinjin* configuration, and was a site for recitation of national protection rituals. This project was brought to fruition, but through significant hardship for its patrons, as we shall see below.

⁵⁷⁸ Junshi received the title of *taikōtaigō* in 854; *Shizaichō* was written in 867, so it is still plausible that Eun, the author, was referring to her with the title she had at the time the document was written.

⁵⁷⁹ *Shizaichō*, 35.

⁵⁸⁰ Fukuto Sanae and Takeshi Watanabe, "From female sovereign to mother of the nation," in *Heian Japan, centers and peripheries*, ed. Mikael S. Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 23.

⁵⁸¹ *Montoku jitsuroku* 文德実録, reproduced in *Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku* 天皇皇族実録, ed. Fujii Jōji 藤井譲治 and Yoshioka Masayuki 吉岡真之, vol. 11, *Montoku tennō jitsuroku* 文德天皇実録 (Tokyo: Yumata shobō, 2007), 75.

⁵⁸² Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 221-22.

The ninth-century images of Anjōji

Shizaichō is the earliest source that gives clues into Anjōji's layout and the images it housed. The images and buildings are listed separately, and it is not clear where the images were housed.

Further complicating the issue is the separation of Anjōji into an upper temple (*kamidera* 上寺) and lower temple (*shimodera* 下寺), much like the current arrangement of Daigoji also in the Yamashina area of Kyoto.

The inventory section of *Shizaichō* states that Montoku requested one sculptural pentad each of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and Godai Myōō for Anjōji. The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are those mentioned in the quote above that lists each Kokūzō image individually, and that states the images are from the “Great Tang dynasty.” Following this listing are the Godai Myōō: Fudō 不動, Gosanze 降三世, Gundari 軍荼利, one six-legged deity (likely Daiitoku 大威德), and Kongō Yasha 金剛夜叉. Unfortunately the Godai Myōō have been lost. Montoku likely requested these two pentads around the time of the temple's *jōkakūji* designation, and had planned to install a set of Gochi Nyorai as well, completing the *sanrinjin* configuration here.

By installing the *sanrinjin* sculptures as Anjōji, I propose that Montoku planned to emulate the *sanrinjin* configuration at Jingoji, which had served a protective role during the reign of his father, Emperor Nimmyō. In contrast to the installation of the Godai Kokūzō and Godai Myōō at Jingoji, which was likely orchestrated by the Kūkai's disciple Shinzei, *Shizaichō* directly connects the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures with an imperial patron of Fujiwara descent (Montoku's mother was Fujiwara Junshi). While Eun was likely involved, the fact that Montoku himself commissioned the images is germane to the propagation of the *sanrinjin* configuration within the imperial line, as well as the lineage of Kūkai. Although it is unclear whether Montoku's father, Emperor Nimmyō, or Shinzei commissioned the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu at

Jingoji, Nimmyō nevertheless benefitted from the sculptures through their protective role at the site. Kūkai and Shinzei had laid the groundwork for this configuration, and Montoku did not necessarily need “spiritual authority” to emulate it. Montoku’s commission can be seen as one of the ways in which the Fujiwara clan began to assert its authority in the ninth century, by co-opting symbols within the lexicon of imperial rulership.

However, in 858 (Ten’an 2) at the age of 51, Montoku died. This must have had a devastating impact on Junshi, as seen in her subsequent patronage activities at the temple.⁵⁸³ The following year she ordered three more ordinands for the temple, and requested that they perform the *Sonshōhō* 尊勝法 on behalf of Nimmyō and Montoku.⁵⁸⁴ The *Sonshōhō* was a rite performed for disaster prevention, safe birth, long life, and prayers for the deceased.⁵⁸⁵ The dharani for this rite was mostly used for funerals in Tang dynasty China, and became popular in Japan among the ruling classes during the last half of the ninth century.⁵⁸⁶ One version of Eun’s inventory⁵⁸⁷ indicates that he brought two versions of this text (those by Amoghavajra and Subakarasimha) from China, both of which may have formed the basis of this rite in Japan.⁵⁸⁸ The main image of veneration in this rite is the Sonshō mandala, which features Dainichi Nyorai in the center of a lunar disk, surrounded by either eight Buddhas (as in Subhakarasiṃha’s version) or eight

⁵⁸³ Amy McNair reveals how imperial family Buddhist patronage patterns in early sixth-century China generated merit for the beneficiary as well as the donor. McNair, *Donors of Longmen*, 49-50. I believe this same system of beliefs regarding merit accretion was in effect in ninth-century Japan as well, specifically in the case of Junshi’s patronage of Anjōji.

⁵⁸⁴ *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT4: 161. Also noted in Itō Shirō, “Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron,” 126; Sasaki Moritoshi, “Anjōji Gochi Nyorai zazō ni tsuite,” 15-6. Sasaki illustrates that Shinga from Jōganji also performed the *Sonshōhō* for Nimmyō and Montoku in 859 (Jōgan 1). *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT4: 22-3.

⁵⁸⁵ Sasaki Moritoshi, “Anjōji Gochi Nyorai zazō ni tsuite,” 15-16. See also MD3: 1425 and Inagaki Hisao and O’Neill, *Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist terms*, 333. Kokūzō Bosatsu is one of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in the Sonshō mandala based on this translation. Manabe Shunshō 真鍋俊照, *Nihon butsuzō jiten* 日本仏像辞典 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004), 157-58. This ritual is also used for expiation, calamity prevention, increase of merit, repentance, safe birth, etc. Although *Shizaichō* notes a *Butchō sonshō* stone pagoda from the Tang dynasty, no painted or sculpted image of veneration is noted.

⁵⁸⁶ Hayami Tasuku, *Heian kizoku shakai to bukkyō*, 190.

⁵⁸⁷ *Eun risshi sho mokuroku* 惠運律師書目錄, noted above as possibly spurious.

⁵⁸⁸ Subhakarasiṃha’s translation entitled *Sonshō butchō shū yuga hō giki* 尊勝仏頂修瑜伽法儀軌 (T19: 973) and Amoghavajra’s translation known as *Butchō sonshō darani nenju giki* 仏頂尊勝陀羅尼念誦儀軌 (T19: 972)

bodhisattvas (as in Amoghavajra's). Below the central Buddha configuration, Fudō Myōō is depicted in triangular shape placed in the lower left corner of the mandala, while Gosanze Myōō is depicted in a half-circle in the lower right corner.⁵⁸⁹ Sasaki suggests that Junshi commissioned the Gochi Nyorai sculptures at Anjōji as an abbreviated version of the eight Buddha configuration.⁵⁹⁰ Taking into account the coinciding events of Montoku's death and her sponsorship of this rite, Sasaki's theory is plausible. I add, however, that she chose this particular configuration of Buddhas to complete the *sanrinjin* sculptural mandala at Anjōji, since her son no longer could. In doing so, the monument served as a continuation of a specific sculptural pattern (the *sanrinjin* with the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu) seen at Jingoji and associated with Nimmyō. Anjōji thus had a triple function as a site of personal devotion, of continuation of a certain imperially-commissioned sculptural configuration, and of national protection.

The Gochi Nyorai are the first sculptural grouping listed in *Shizaichō*, indicating their importance. They are identified as: Birushana, Ashuku, Hōshō, Kanjizai [Amida], and Fukūjōju. The texts states that they are gilt, and so are likely those currently housed in the Kyoto National Museum (figs. 19a,b). Although the patron is not specified, I believe Junshi commissioned the images but refrained from taking credit herself since Montoku was planning to commission them.⁵⁹¹ The absence of her name as the patron of the Gochi Nyorai is testament to her avoidance of a conflict of interest.

Junshi's devotional activity here is part of a pattern of Heian period female-sponsored religious activity focused on personal devotion. It is also an early instance of a partially Fujiwara-sponsored temple (Montoku's father was not of the Fujiwara clan), a trend that

⁵⁸⁹ ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas*, 103-106.

⁵⁹⁰ Sasaki Moritoshi, "Anjōji Gochi Nyorai zazō ni tsuite," 15-16.

⁵⁹¹ *Shizaichō* notes that Junshi also commissioned images of Birushana, Fukūkenjaku Bosatsu, two Shaka Nyorai images, and two attendant images.

continues with the patronage of Jōganji to be explored below. Not only did Junshi fervently sponsor prayers for her deceased family members, after Montoku died, Junshi became an avid supporter of her grandson's (son of Montoku and Fujiwara Meishi [藤原明子 828-900]) accession to the throne as the future Emperor Seiwa (清和天皇 r. 858-875).⁵⁹² She was successful, and thus part of a trend in the mid-ninth century that saw female imperial family members wielding more political power than in previous decades.⁵⁹³

Anjōji served as one in a network of temples that protected the nation. Although scholars such as Hayami Tasuku and, more recently, Hongō Masatsugu state that private temples were constructed outside the capital proper, and temples for national protection were built inside the city,⁵⁹⁴ temples such as Anjōji, Jingoji and Jōganji that housed the *sanrinjin* configuration had an important role in national protection precisely because they were located in peripheral areas. The previous chapter examined how Jingoji, as well as other temples within the “Seven high mountains,” for example, were built in strategic areas within the mountains in order to protect the vicinity around the capital.

The above data suggests that Montoku had planned to install a sculptural *sanrinjin* configuration at the temple, much like the pentad at Jingoji, where his father had a strong connection. The *Shizaichō* illustrates that he dedicated the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu as well as set of Godai Myōō. However, his untimely death before the making of the Gochi Nyorai pentad prevented him from realizing this plan. In his stead, Junshi commissioned the Gochi Nyorai, and

⁵⁹² Fukuto Sanae and Watanabe, "From female sovereign to mother of the nation," 25.

⁵⁹³ This is also evident in the new spatial configurations of the Fujiwara palaces; the Fujiwara males moved to the women's palaces, which became the stage from which both genders conducted their political maneuvering. Ibid., 32.

⁵⁹⁴ Hayami Tasuku, *Heian kizoku shakai to bukyō*, 14-25; Hongō Masatsugu 本郷真紹, "Kyūtei josei no bukyō shinkō: goganji konyū no shiteki igi 宮廷女性の仏教信仰：御願寺建立の史的意義," in *Kōtaigō no yamadera: Yamashina Anjōji no sōken to kodai sanrin jūin 皇太后の山寺：山科安祥寺の創建と古代山林寺院*, ed. Uehara Mahito 上原真人 (Kyoto: Yanagihara shuppan, 2007), 189.

in doing so put the temple in the same politico-religious lineage as Jingoji, with its powerful symbol of ecclesiastical and political authority, the *sanrinjin* sculptural configuration.

Location of the images, placement of the temple

As noted above, the division of the Anjōji site into an upper and lower temple complicates the task of locating the images within specific buildings. As in the case of Jingoji, however, I believe the sculptures of the *sanrinjin* configuration were placed in separate structures, rather than in one building as at Tōji. The upper temple was likely where Eun had his hermitage, and where the main image halls of Anjōji were later built. Fig. 27 depicts a recent artist's rendition of the Anjōji upper temple layout based on descriptions in existing documents.

Shizaichō lists the buildings of Anjōji in a section of the document separate from the sculptural inventory. One subsection within this part lists three structures in the upper temple built by Eun: the Raibutsudō 礼仏堂 (Hall for Buddha worship)⁵⁹⁵ Godaidō 五大堂 (Hall of the Five Great Deities),⁵⁹⁶ and pagoda of the Butchō Sonshō darani 仏頂尊勝陀羅尼 (Dharani of the jubilant Buddha-corona, Skt. Usnīsa-vijayā dharani) brought from Tang China.⁵⁹⁷ The measurements of this last structure indicate that it was likely a stone marker that was not likely intended to house any images. Two jeweled banners 宝幢 (*hōtō*) commissioned by Junshi, are listed next. The list goes on to describe accommodations, storehouses, bathing and cooking facilities in the upper temple that may have been used by patrons of the temple when attending large ceremonies. After completing the arduous journey up mountain paths to this remote site, some kind of provisions were likely needed.

⁵⁹⁵ Cynthia Bogel states that the Butsudō (referred to in the *Shizaichō* as Raibutsudō) at Anjōji “filled multiple functions, including those of a lecture hall and abhisekha hall.” Bogel, *With a single glance*, 259.

⁵⁹⁶ Godaidō normally house images of the Godai Myōō.

⁵⁹⁷ *Shizaichō*, 44-47. Translation from Charles Muller, “Butchō Sonshō darani,” DDB (accessed December, 2009).

The next subsection of *Shizaichō* lists buildings located in both the upper and lower temples. The first listing is a Birushana five-layer pagoda (*Birushana gorin sutopa* 毘盧舍那五輪率都婆), but the size is not indicated. In addition, the *gorin* type of pagoda was comprised of five layers of different shapes representing the five elements within Buddhist Esoteric cosmology, as discussed in Chapter Two. These pagodas were primarily smaller, solid structures that did not house images. A variety of unnamed, cedar-tile roofed buildings are listed next.

As for the precise location of the *sanrinjin* elements, I believe that firstly, the Godai Myōō were housed in the Godaidō which measured four *jō* in length (approximately 12 meters long).⁵⁹⁸ It was standard practice in the ninth century to house Godai Myōō images in these buildings, and I will assume this was the case at Anjōji as well. The Raibutsudō 礼仏堂 (Buddha veneration hall), standing at five *jō* in length (approximately fifteen meters) was the biggest building on the site, and therefore probably housed the most prominent iconographical images at the site, the gilt Gochi Nyorai sculptures.

Determining the ninth-century location of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu is a more complicated issue. The sixteenth-century inscription on the base of Hōkai Kokūzō's base indicates that they were housed in the upper temple, and I agree. Several scholars suggest that they were housed in the Godaidō with the Godai Myōō, although they were not the main images here.⁵⁹⁹ Considering the prominence of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu among Shingon clerics of the ninth century, however, I believe that they were housed in their own building.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁸ One *jō* equals 3.03 meters.

⁵⁹⁹ Konno Toshifumi, "Sōkenki no Anjōji to Gochi Nyoraizō," 28; Kajikawa Toshio and Uehara Mahito, "Kodai sanrinjin kenkyū to Yamashina Anjōji 古代山林寺院研究と山科安祥寺" in *Kōtaigō no yamadera*, 28-29.

⁶⁰⁰ Murayama Shūichi states that similar to the arrangement at Jingoji, the placement of the Anjōji images in the *tahoto* was meant to avert natural disasters and welcome favorable blessings or merit. Murayama Shūichi, *Shūgendō/onmyōdō*, 493.

We should recall from Chapter Three that the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were housed in a pagoda, and this may have been the case at Anjōji as well. Physical examination of the Anjōji site revealed pillar stones for what Kajikawa has called a *hōkeidō* 方形堂.⁶⁰¹ This building appears to have been a three-bay wide, nearly square-shaped structure, roughly one-third the area of the Raibutsudō and located in the northwest corner of the temple grounds.⁶⁰² This is the structure that Kajikawa has depicted as a pagoda in fig. 27. It appears to have been built on relatively unstable ground near a sharp cliff on the edge of the valley. This may have been the building in which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were housed some point in Anjōji's history.

Although there are several buildings in the *Shizaichō*, none of their measurements correspond to a square structure, and thus the *hōkeidō* does not appear to be included. In addition, because the base stones are larger than those of the other buildings, it is thought that it was built later than the rest of the temple.⁶⁰³ The tenth-century *Engishiki* 延喜式 notes a donation of funds put towards the restoration of the Anjōji *hōto*.⁶⁰⁴ Since it is not listed in the 867 *Shizaichō* and is listed in the 901-22 *Engishiki*, the *hōkeidō* existed at least by 922. Although it is impossible to conclude that this unnamed square structure at Anjōji was a pagoda, or that it housed the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, the discovery of these foundation stones alters our understanding of the ninth-century layout of the temple.

Another important item listed in *Shizaichō* is a copy of *Ninnōhannyakyō* 仁王般若經,⁶⁰⁵ which is an abbreviation of *Bussetsu ninnō hannyaharamitsukyō* 仏説仁王般若波羅蜜經 (also

⁶⁰¹ Kajikawa Toshio, Uehara Mahito, and Iwai Toshihira 岩井俊平, "Anjōji kamidera ato no sokuryō chōsa seika 安祥寺上寺跡の測量調査成果," in Dai 14 kenkyūkai "Ōken to monyumento" ed., *Anjōji no kenkyū I*, 24-28.

⁶⁰² Kajikawa Toshio, "Heiankyō shūhen no sanrinjiin to Anjōji 平安京周辺の山林寺院と安祥寺," in *Kōtaigō no yamadera*, 140; Kajikawa Toshio, Uehara Mahito, and Iwai Toshihira, "Anjōji kamidera ato," 25-26.

⁶⁰³ Kajikawa Toshio, Uehara Mahito, and Iwai Toshihira, "Anjōji kamidera ato," 25-26.

⁶⁰⁴ Kajikawa Toshio, "Heiankyō shūhen," 141.

⁶⁰⁵ T245: 825, 829, 834. It is unclear to which version this refers. Cited in *Shizaichō*, 40.

known as *Ninnōkyō* 仁王經).⁶⁰⁶ This is a sūtra dedicated to protection of the nation, in the same vein as those read for the *sanrinjin* configuration at Tōji. Junshi requested readings of this text and others at the site.⁶⁰⁷ Although this text does not outline the specific elements of the *sanrinjin* configuration as known by Kūkai, it nevertheless deals with protection of the nation and I suggest it was read with the tripartite sculptural configuration at Anjōji in mind. Montoku was also known to perform imperially-legitimizing rites at peripherally located sites, in emulation of Tang emperors who conducted similar practices.⁶⁰⁸ The practice of performing national protection rites at Anjōji thus makes the temple an important site for peripheral protection of the nation, as seen at Jingoji as well. I will now turn to the animal vehicles of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and the placement of the images within the structure that housed them.

The animal vehicles of the Anjōji/Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and correlative theories

Since *Shizaichō* states that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sit upon animal vehicles, I believe these elements were part of the images when they were housed in Anjōji in the ninth century. Within the Buddhist tradition, animals are often depicted as the vehicles of bodhisattvas. The animals upon which the lotus pedestals of the Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures (as well as corresponding ones seen in iconographical drawings labeled “Anjōji”) often appear in Buddhist imagery, as the lion, elephant, horse, peacock, and garuda are commonly seen accompanying a variety of deities. However, the Kanchiin sculptures and Anjōji iconographical drawings are the only known case where animals serve as vehicles for a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in any medium. The usage of animals in Buddhist visual culture is likely taken from Indian folkloric

⁶⁰⁶ Although traditionally this has been thought to be a translation by Kumarajiva, recent research has shown that it is likely an apocrypha created in China. Kamata Shigeo et al, *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten*, 71.

⁶⁰⁷ *Sandai jitsuroku*, in KT4: 26. Cited from Dai 14 kenkyūkai “Ōken to monyumento,” ed., *Anjōji no kenkyū I*, 73, n. 37.

⁶⁰⁸ Van Goethem, 59.

and Hindu traditions, but as Buddhism was brought through Central Asia, China, and Korea, the symbolic meaning of animals accreted additional layers. As the Kanchiin/Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are allegedly of Chinese origin, the significance of animals in that region especially warrants examination.

Roel Sterckx explains that until at least the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E.-220 C.E.) in China, the animal world was considered a “normative model for the establishment of sociopolitical authority and the ideal of sage rulership.”⁶⁰⁹ Animals were not considered to be merely metaphors, but analogues with the human realm of behavior. He also reveals that from the mid-third century onward, the closest resemblance to a taxonomic categorization of animals is association with the five-phase correlative element scheme (see Diagrams 6 and 13).⁶¹⁰ In addition to the five-phases, these categories also closely correspond to the Shijin (Guardians of the Four Directions) noted in Chapter Two, excluding the central entity. Although new animals and associated meanings entered the belief system of China with the introduction of Buddhism, these earlier associations were still significant. The resultant significance of animals in later centuries is exemplified by the Anjōji/Kanchiin pentad.

Considering the important associations between Venus (represented by the color white) and Kokūzō Bosatsu in Japan, as well as the Gochi Nyorai and their correlative colors and directions, I have shown in previous chapters that Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu depictions featured deities associated with *white in the center*. I will illustrate below that this correlative pattern extended to the bodhisattvas’ animal vehicles as well. To do so, I will demonstrate below that the lion, rather than the horse, was likely the vehicle for the center Hōkai Kokūzō because of the lion’s prominence within the Buddhist tradition and because of its stylistic features. Thus, adding the

⁶⁰⁹ Roel Sterckx, *The animal and daemon in early China* (Albany: State University of New York, 2002), 5.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

Anjōji and/or Kanchiin animal vehicles to the correlative schema above, and switching the locations of the white and yellow elements, we see each category configured as in Diagram 14. The animal vehicles of the Anjōji and/or Kanchiin images appear to have followed this schema but were adapted over time and by the viewers who received them, even if there was not an exact match with each category (Sterckx notes that the human category was likely at the center).⁶¹¹ I propose that Diagram 14 illustrates the associations that were in effect during the ninth-century among Japanese clerics. Bearing this in mind, I will explore the iconographical role of these animals, as well as the varying degree of sculptural quality and animation of the Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures.

The animal pedestals and multiple meanings

Renge (Lotus) Kokūzō sits upon a peacock with a fanned tail and outstretched wings. Within Buddhist tradition, the peacock, lion and *cakravartin*, or universal ruler king, are the only three beings which are believed not to fear thunder and lightning.⁶¹² Their reputation for bravery makes it appropriate that peacock motifs are seen on the armor of Buddhist images from the eighth and ninth centuries. The peacock is also known as the vehicle of Kujaku Myōō 孔雀明王 (Skt. Mahāmāyūrī), the Peacock King. The representative sūtra of this deity is Amoghavajra's translation of *Butsumo daikujaku myōō kyō* 仏母大孔雀明王經.⁶¹³ An episode within this sutra illustrates how Śākyamuni instructs his disciple Ananda to recite the Kujaku Myōō mantra for the eradication of all poisons, fears and delusions. This deity thus removes all hindrances and calamities afflicting living beings, just as a peacock eats poisonous snakes and herbs. The

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² Masuki Ryūsuke 増記隆介, "Kujaku Myōō 孔雀明王," *Nihon no bijutsu 日本美術* 508 (September 2008): 17.

⁶¹³ T19: 982.

Kujaku Myōōhō, or ritual for the Peacock King, is done for the protection of state, cessation of natural disasters, as well as for rainfall control.

Gōyō Kokūzō sits upon a *garuda*, a mythical bird-like animal within the Buddhist pantheon. It is similar in appearance to the peacock vehicle of Renge Kokūzō in its voluminous body, thick legs, short wings and long neck, but the eyes and beak are sharper and protrude out from the face. In the Hindu tradition, the garuda is the vehicle of Vishnu, and like peacocks, are also known as eaters of snakes and dragons. As such, the garuda is one of the Eight Protectors of Buddhism, or *hachi busshu* 八部衆.⁶¹⁴

Hōkō Kokūzō is seated upon a wrinkly-skinned elephant, its four legs planted firmly on the base and head held downward. The elephant is a common motif of royalty in Indian mythology, especially in the Hindu and Buddhist traditions. Images of the Hindu elephant-headed deity Ganesha are ubiquitous. In a popular Buddhist myth associated with the birth of Prince Śākyamuni, the prince's mother, Maya, had a dream in which a white elephant entered her womb; Maya later give birth to a son, who became Prince Siddhartha, and later Śākyamuni Buddha. The white elephant is also the vehicle of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva (Jp. Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩), the bodhisattva of Buddhist practice and principle and one of the common attendants of Śākyamuni.⁶¹⁵ It is also the vehicle of Ashuku Nyorai 阿闍如来, one of the Gochi Nyorai seated to the east of Dainichi in the Diamond world mandala.⁶¹⁶ Elephants were once indigenous to China, but their numbers dwindled after the twelfth century because of

⁶¹⁴ Kenbō's record states that when he saw the images in the typhoon-ravaged Anjōji, the peacock and garuda were not present. The current peacock and garuda are likely restorations that were produced when Kenbō moved them to Kanchiin in 1376. By noting the two animals, however, he shows that he knew of their existence before the originals were destroyed. Okada Ken, "Tōji Kanchiin zō," 63. It is not clear when Kenbō actually saw the images.

⁶¹⁵ Inagaki Hisao and O'Neill, *Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist terms*, 52.

⁶¹⁶ Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏, "Bukkyō no naka no dōbutsutachi 仏教の中の動物たち," *Nihon no bijutsu 日本の美術* 279 (August 1989): 86.

urbanization and deforestation.⁶¹⁷ Within Chinese Daoist or Confucian contexts, winged elephants appear in myths as sagacious and strong beings. The animal's depiction in the Chinese Buddhist context seems to be largely inherited from Indian traditions, as the elephant appears in images as a revered animal, and also as a vehicle in Buddhist processions.⁶¹⁸

The lotus pedestal of Hōkai Kokūzō, the image currently placed in the center of the other four sculptures, sits upon the large saddle of a somewhat squat, motionless horse (fig. 28). Simple trappings adorn the head and rump. The head is held upright, the eyes look straight ahead, and the flattened tail hangs somewhat lifelessly. This same style of horse is seen in Chinese burial figures of the Six Dynasties period (220-589), which were modeled on native horses from the northern part of the country. In China, horses were revered for their use in warfare, farming, and transportation, especially during the Tang dynasty, when trade along the Silk Road peaked. It is not surprising then that the horse appears as one of the twelve Chinese zodiac signs. The animal takes on special significance in Buddhism primarily because it was the vehicle of Prince Siddhartha as he left his palace to begin his quest for spiritual truth. Along with the elephant, the horse is also one of the seven treasures of the *cakravartin*, or universal ruler king.⁶¹⁹ In the Esoteric Buddhist tradition, the horse is associated with Hayagrīva (Jp. Batō Kannon 馬頭觀音), a bodhisattva known as the Horse-Headed Kannon because of the horse head placed atop the deity's topknot. In East Asian traditions, this bodhisattva is one of the Six Avalokiteśvara (Jp. Roku Kannon 六觀音).⁶²⁰ Each of these deities saves beings in one of the six paths of rebirth;

⁶¹⁷ Patricia Bjaaland Welch, *Chinese art: a guide to motifs and visual imagery* (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle, 2008), 127-29.

⁶¹⁸ Ming-chiu Lai, "On the image procession in China from the second to the sixth centuries A.D.: an interpretation of an elephant sculpture at the Kongwangshan site," in *Politics and religion in ancient and medieval Europe and China*, ed. Frederick Hok-ming Cheung and Ming chiu Lai (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1999), 47-51.

⁶¹⁹ Yoritomi Motohiro, "Bukkyō no naka no dōbutsutachi," 87-88.

⁶²⁰ Fowler, "Travels of the Daihōonji Six Kannon sculptures," 187-88.

Batō Kannon is the savior of beings in the animal path. In the earthly realm, the deity is known as the protector of horses and cows. Beyond these associations, in Chinese traditions, however, horse images are largely utilized in secular contexts, rather than Buddhist. In addition, for the vehicle of the central Kokūzō Bosatsu image at Anjōji, this horse sculpture seems surprisingly static and devoid of significant energy.

The most animated animal in the group is the brazen, open-mouthed lion which supports the lotus pedestal of Kongō Kokūzō. One paw even steps forward as if in motion (fig. 29a), while the flame-like tail protrudes outward. In Buddhist traditions, the lion is the vehicle of Manjuśrī, the bodhisattva of wisdom. Saitō emphasizes that a Tang dynasty stone lion sculpture from Sichuan, depicted as the vehicle of Wenshu Pusa shows affinities with the lion of Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu with its open mouth, exaggerated chest muscles, eyes and nose.⁶²¹ In the Western zodiac, it is the manifestation of the constellation of Leo, which was adopted into Chinese cosmology. The term *shishiku* 獅子吼 (lion's roar) is used to refer to the preaching of Śākyamuni, and thus serves as the name for Shishiku Bosatsu.⁶²² More importantly, however, the lion is a royal symbol of the Śākya clan, the clan into which Śākyamuni was born. Images of Śākyamuni Buddha are often seated upon pedestals with lion motifs.⁶²³ Moreover, as seen in Chapters One and Two, many eidetic visualizations feature Esoteric visual elements (seed syllables, moon disks, etc.) upon lion pedestals.

The significance of the Kanchiin lion sculpture is further revealed by findings of the 2003 Tokyo Cultural Affairs Division study. The study incorporated many methods of physical

⁶²¹ Saitō Takashi 齊藤孝, "Tōji Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzazōkō: Chūgoku chōkoku e no ittenbō 東寺観智院五大虚空蔵菩薩坐像考：中国彫刻への一展望," *Bijutsushi 美術史* 72, no. 4 (1969): 139-40.

⁶²² Inagaki Hisao and O'Neill, *Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist terms*, 306. For an eighth-century sculptural example of this deity, see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Komikkyō*, fig. 17.

⁶²³ In the *Kenbōtōhin* 見宝塔品 section of the Lotus sutra, both Śākyamuni and Prabhutaratna Buddha are seated upon lion thrones. Yoritomi Motohiro, "Bukkyō no naka no dōbutsutachi," 85.

examination of the images, including x-ray, which revealed a hollow rectangular container within the body of the lion (fig. 29b). This box contains a string of coins from the Kan'ei (寛永 1624-44) and Bunkyū (文久 1861-63) eras, discovered when the images were repaired in 1919; at that time, they were put into a box and returned to the cavity inside the lion's body.⁶²⁴ The act of interring objects such as relics, reliquaries, texts and miniature images into Buddhist sculptures (a phenomenon known in Japanese as *zōnai nōnyūhin* 像内納入品) is an attempt on part of the believer to “overcome the sense of inaccessibility of the sacred, its distance or even absence.”⁶²⁵ It served to animate religious images and improve their efficacy. The coins were interred sometime after 1624, so are obviously not original to the image. It is also debatable whether or not the cavity was originally present, as it may have been carved out later to make the sculpture lighter and easier to transport.⁶²⁶ Nevertheless, the act of interring of the coins here was undoubtedly intended to imbue the sculpture with more meaning than the other animals, which have nothing interred inside.

Since the lion is the more significant animal within the Japanese Buddhist iconographical traditions, as well as stylistically within the Anjōji pentad itself, I suggest that the lion was placed in the center as the original vehicle of Hōkai Kokūzō, but that it was switched with the horse sometime between the late twelfth century and their transfer to the Kanchiin in 1376. The reasons for the switch are unclear in the absence of more data, but it may have been to accommodate the new ritual function of the images in the setting of Kanchiin.

⁶²⁴ Okada Ken, "Tōji Kanchiin zō," 72.

⁶²⁵ Helmut Brinker, *Secrets of the Sacred: Empowering Buddhist Images in Clear, in Code, and in Cache* (Lawrence, KS and Seattle: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas and University of Washington, forthcoming). For more on this issue see *Jūyō bunkazai 重要文化財*, ed. Bunkachō 文化庁, vols. 1, 2, *Zōnai nōnyūhin 像内納入品* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1978).

⁶²⁶ Okada Ken, "Tōji Kanchiin zō," 72.

Placement and iconographical drawings

The earliest iconographical depiction of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sitting upon animal vehicles appears in the late Heian period *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記, an iconographical manual compiled by Shingaku (1117-90) from Jōkiin 常喜院.⁶²⁷ Although it does not specifically state that they are the Anjōji images, it nevertheless shows that the form of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu seated upon animals was circulating at this time. Although the individual deities are unnamed, this diagram shows that the central Kokūzō Bosatsu, painted white, sits upon a lion, while the Kokūzō Bosatsu placed in the south, painted blue/green, sits upon a horse (fig. 30). While the configuration seen in this drawing does not conform to the five-phases in terms of color and directional association, it does show that the white image was in the center at least by the late twelfth century.

The late twelfth century-early thirteenth century *Kakuzenshō* iconographical manual also contains a drawing of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu entitled “Godai Kokūzō sanshakuzō 五大虛空藏三尺像,” or “Godai Kokūzō images measuring three *shaku* tall” (fig. 31).⁶²⁸ Indeed, the height of the Kanchiin images and their lotus bases, not including the animals, is approximately 90 cm, the equivalent of three *shaku* during the Heian period. The images in this drawing ride upon the same animals as the Kanchiin images (horse, elephant, lion, peacock and garuda) and are drawn in mandala configuration with the lion in the center. This drawing shows a frontal view of the central image, placed atop a lion. The smaller surrounding images, including the image placed on the horse, are drawn in three-quarter view. This depiction not only illustrates the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu seated upon animals, but also emphasizes the central bodhisattva and lion image with its central positioning and frontal perspective. It is generally agreed among scholars that these refer

⁶²⁷ TZ3: 514.

⁶²⁸ TZ5: 58. At the time the *Kakuzenshō* was written, one *shaku* was the equivalent of 29.6 cm.

to the images that were housed at Anjōji, although Kakuzen's commentary on the images rightly questions their Qinglongsi provenance, stating, "[Are the] three-*shaku* images [the] Qinglongsi version? 三尺像青龍寺本歟."⁶²⁹

Another drawing entitled "Anjōji style 安祥寺様" from the twelfth-thirteenth century *Shoson zuzō* 諸尊図像 iconographical compilation housed in the Daitōkyū kinen bunkō 大東急記念文庫⁶³⁰ also depicts the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu riding upon animals (fig. 32).⁶³¹ This drawing also shows a frontal view of the central image, noted as white, placed atop an open-mouthed lion. The smaller surrounding images, including the green/blue Kokūzō Bosatsu placed on the horse, are drawn in three-quarter view. Again the central deity on its lion vehicle is the intended focal point.

Other iconographical depictions of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu depict the horse as the central image as well. Kenbō's *Godai Kokūzōyō* 五大虚空蔵様⁶³² contains several different versions of the configuration, some with the horse in the center, and others with the lion. The thirteenth-fourteenth century iconographical collection entitled *Godai Kokūzō isho zuzō* 五大虚空蔵居諸図像 (compiler unknown) also contains drawings of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration with the horse as the central deity's vehicle (those entitled *Dainichidō* 大日堂, *Anjōji Hokudō* 安祥寺北堂, and *Tōbon* 唐本), as well as versions with the lion in the center (*Anjōji mokuzō* 安祥寺木像 and *Arujinzu* 或人図).⁶³³

These drawings indicate that the lion and the horse vehicles were switched sometime after the late Heian period, but because earlier iconographical drawings depict the lion in the center, I

⁶²⁹ TZ5: 45. Noted in Sasaki Moritoshi 佐々木守俊, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu," 6.

⁶³⁰ The Daitōkyū kinen bunkō is a research archive at the Gotoh Museum in Tokyo.

⁶³¹ TZ4: 73.

⁶³² TZ6: 81-94. This copy is housed at Kanchiin.

⁶³³ TZ6: 69-79. A copy of this is housed at Daigoji.

agree with Okada who suggests that they were positioned in a similar fashion when housed in Anjōji in the ninth century.⁶³⁴ The distinctive appearance of the lion, as well as the fact that it is somewhat more iconographically significant than the horse within Buddhist traditions, also make the lion a better candidate for the central Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu's vehicle than the horse.

It is unclear why the animals were switched since such little consistent data remains. It is possible that the switch occurred when they were moved to the Kanchiin because of a new ritual role at the new site. A sketch of the *Kanchiin Kokūzōdō* 観智院虚空蔵堂 in *Mandara kushizu* 万茶羅供指図⁶³⁵ dated to the Muromachi period (1392-1573) shows the interior plan of the building in which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were housed during this period.⁶³⁶ The sketch depicts the altar arrangement for an offertory rite involving mandala, complete with a square ritual platform in the building's main chamber, and an altar in a separate chamber in front of the platform (fig. 33).

The *honzon* 本尊 (main image of veneration), assumed here to be the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures, are placed in the front of the altar, a Nyoirin Kannon image to the pentad's left, and a portrait of Kūkai to the right.⁶³⁷ This combination of images suggests a relationship between Kūkai's lineage (represented by his portrait), Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures and Nyoririn Kannon. Although the neither the specific relationship between the three, nor the ritual in which this configuration was used is clear, this document illustrates that when the sculptures

⁶³⁴ Okada Ken, "Tōji Kanchiin zō," 67.

⁶³⁵ 万茶羅 is an alternate character configuration for *mandara*. Normally the characters are 曼茶羅.

⁶³⁶ Tōji Hōmotsukan, ed., *Tōji Kanchiin no rekishi to bijutsu: meihō no bi, seikyō no seika*, 93, 134.

⁶³⁷ I am grateful to Professor Nedachi Kensuke for his assistance in interpreting this diagram.

were moved to Kanchiin, their new ritual setting had little to do with the *sanrinjin* configuration.⁶³⁸

If the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu at Anjōji were seated upon animals with the lion in the center, were the other images in the Anjōji *sanrinjin* configuration seated upon animals with a central lion as well, to correspond with the iconography of the Chinese pentad? The Godai Myōō no longer exist, nor do records or drawings of them, so I will deal only with the Gochi Nyorai to examine this issue.

The Gochi Nyorai and animal vehicles

The following section will explore this hypothesis, examining images and texts related to the Gochi Nyorai pentads from Anjōji, as well as those in the Tōji lecture hall. I will explore both Chinese and Japanese texts and images related to the Gochi Nyorai configuration, as the existence of images with similar iconography to the Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu may illuminate the continental context in which this configuration functioned.

The Gochi Nyorai from Anjōji (now housed in the Kyoto National Museum) do not currently sit upon animal vehicles. However, evidence for a form of this pentad seated upon animals exists in China, so they may have been in Japan as well. An eighth-century stone sculpture of Hōshō Nyorai (宝生如来 Ch. Baosheng Rulai, Skt. Ratnasambhava) was excavated in 1959 from Anguosi 安国寺 in the Tang-dynasty capital of Chang'an and is now in the collection of the Shaanxi Provincial Museum in Xi'an.⁶³⁹ Emperor Ruizong (睿宗 r. 684-90) donated his imperial residence for the establishment of this temple, illustrating the interwoven

⁶³⁸ *Mikkyō daijiten* states that Kenpō authored a text called *Godai Kokūzō shoken zuihitsu* 五大虚空藏所見随筆, but I have found no other evidence for this text. MD2: 342.

⁶³⁹ Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 100-01. The sculpture is 66 cm in height.

relationship between the state and Buddhism at the site; rites for the imperial house were held here, and it became a major Buddhist translation and administration center.⁶⁴⁰

The Hōshō Nyorai image is one of a ten-part group of Buddhist sculptures unearthed from the site that appear as if they were destroyed intentionally, perhaps during the 845 Huichang Buddhist persecutions. The specific Buddhist context in which these images functioned is not known, but as Cynthia Bogel indicates, the group of sculptures was not necessarily part of a sectarian Esoteric Buddhist category.⁶⁴¹

The Hōshō Nyorai sculpture sits on a lotus base, which rests on the back of several seated, winged horses. The deity's left hand grasps the edge of the robe, the right rests on the knee, palm facing upward in the wish-granting mudra.⁶⁴² Although the head is missing, the full, fleshy body of the well-proportioned figure and the clinging drapery about the knees and shoulder indicate an eighth-century production date.⁶⁴³ Careful examination of the sculpture reveals that the skin of the image was colored yellow, and the fabric gilt. There are even traces of red and green pigment on the horses.⁶⁴⁴ Bogel also believes that this image was related to the *Ninnōkyō*, and that it relates iconographically to the Tōji lecture hall configuration.⁶⁴⁵ If this is accurate, this Hōshō Nyorai image may be evidence for sculptural Gochi Nyorai images seated upon animal vehicles.

Other pictorial evidence for the Gochi Nyorai seated upon animals exists as well. As Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis explains, several versions of the Diamond world mandala were in circulation during the ninth century besides Kūkai's *genzu mandara* tradition introduced in

⁶⁴⁰ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 78.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴² When these two hand positions are combined, they form what is known in Japan as *kesa ken'in* 袈裟拳印. Hōtō Nyorai 宝幢如来 (Skt. Ratnaketu) typically performs this mudra. This is also another name for Hōshō Nyorai. Frédéric, *Buddhism*, 42.

⁶⁴³ Discussed in Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 100-01. For a high quality reproduction of the image see Matsuura Masaaki, "Tōji kōdō no Shingon chōkoku," colorplates 1, 2 and 3.

⁶⁴⁴ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 81.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

Chapter One. For example, Diamond world mandala imagery is found in the ninth-century *Gobushinkan* 五部心觀, a handscroll of iconographical drawings that serves as a blueprint for creating mandalas.⁶⁴⁶ It was introduced into Japan by Kūkai's nephew, the Tendai priest Enchin, who travelled throughout China from 853-58, collecting texts and images and receiving Buddhist teachings. Six assemblies of deities appear within this compilation, among them the Perfected Body Assembly that features the Gochi Nyorai. The Buddhas within this assembly are all seated upon animal vehicles: Dainichi Nyorai upon a set of lions, Ashuku upon elephants, Hōshō on horses (similar to the Ratnasambhava image from Anguosi), Amida on peacocks, and Fukūjōju on garudas (figs. 34a-e).⁶⁴⁷

A later handscroll dated to 1083 and housed in the temple of Shōrenin 青蓮院 in Kyoto depicts similar iconography and gives further insight on the topic of the Gochi Nyorai animal vehicles. It depicts thirty-seven images divided into five groupings: Buddha, vajra, jewel, lotus, and karma, the same “families” seen in the *Kongōchō kyō* discussed in Chapter 2 which correspond to the names of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. The pedestal of each divinity in the scroll is seated upon a grouping of animals: either lions, elephants, horses, peacocks or garudas. These are the same vehicles upon which the Anjōji (and/or Kanchiin) Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu are seated, although in multiples. Yanagisawa states that these animal vehicles are common in Tendai (rather than Shingon) iconography, and are seen in image collections such as *Gobushinkan*.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁶ ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas*, 47-48.

⁶⁴⁷ Reproduced in Osaka shiritsu bijutsukan 大阪市立美術館, *Kokuhō Mūdera ten: Chishō Daishi kichō 1500 nen* 国宝三井寺展：智証大師帰朝1500年 (Osaka: NHK Osaka Hōsōkyoku, 2008), colorplate 5.

⁶⁴⁸ Yanagisawa Taka 柳澤孝, "Shōren'in denrai no hakubyō kongōkai mandara shoson zuzō (jō) 青蓮院伝来の白描金剛界曼荼羅諸尊図像 (上)," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 241 (July 1965): 66-67.

This illustrates that during the ninth century, Esoteric schools were still in their formative stages and iconographical images were shared by clerics in both these traditions.⁶⁴⁹

An iconographical drawing of the “Kongōkai butsu” (Diamond world Buddhas) from *Shoson zuzō* also depicts the Gochi Nyorai placed atop animal mounts; the central Birushana on a lion, Ashuku on an elephant, Hōshō on a horse, and Amida on a peacock and Fukūjōju on a garuda.⁶⁵⁰ Although the specific location of the images depicted in this drawing is not indicated, it further supports the theory of the existence of the Gochi Nyorai with animal vehicles in the Japanese Buddhist visual lexicon.

Depictions of Gochi Nyorai upon animal vehicles also appear in texts such as Vajrabodhi’s seventh-eighth century translation of the *Kongōchō yuga chūryaku shutsunenjūkyō* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (Ch. *Jingangding yujia zhong lüechu niansong jing*). This text describes Dainichi Nyorai seated on a lion, Ashuku on an elephant, Hōshō on a horse, Amida on a peacock, and Fukūjōju on a garuda.⁶⁵¹ This sūtra, abbreviated as *Shukkyō* 出經, is one of two translations of the same Sanskrit text, but Orzech states that *Shukkyō* was utilized mostly in China rather than in Japan.⁶⁵² However, it is clear that this iconography resonates with that in the *Gobushinkan*.

Orzech claims that the other translation of this sūtra, *Kongōchō kyō* (discussed in Chapter Two in relation to the nomenclature of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu), was used in Japan.⁶⁵³ In this text, Kongōkai Nyorai 金剛界如来 (interpreted as Dainichi Nyorai) sits upon a lion, but the text does not mention the animal vehicles of other four Buddhas.

⁶⁴⁹ Bogel demonstrates that Enchin’s imported texts and images filled gaps in the Esoteric materials brought by Kūkai. Bogel, *With a single glance*, 233.

⁶⁵⁰ TZ4: 68.

⁶⁵¹ T18: 866, p. 227. Cited in Matsuura Masaaki, “Tōji kōdō no Shingon chōkoku,” 92.

⁶⁵² Orzech, “Mandalas on the move,” 211.

⁶⁵³ T18: 865.

Although animal vehicles are absent from the current Gochi Nyorai in the Tōji lecture hall, they may have been part of the sculpture's original iconography. The 1352 *Tōbōki* 東宝記 record from Tōji mentions that the central Dainichi Nyorai image was seated upon a lion, but does not mention any other animals.⁶⁵⁴ Matsuura states that this is because the *Tōbōki*'s author may have not felt it necessary to record the other animal's existence because they are so blatantly stated in *Shukkyō*.

The matching of texts and images within Buddhist art historical investigations is fraught with complications, contradictions, and lacunae. What I have presented here is visual and textual evidence for the form of Gochi Nyorai seated upon animal vehicles in order to show iconographical resonances with the Anjōji (and/or Kanchiin) Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu animal vehicles, and to demonstrate that their iconography is not an isolated case.⁶⁵⁵ It is possible that sculptures of the Gochi Nyorai configuration, such as those housed at Anjōji (now in the Kyoto National Museum) and at Tōji (those from 839, rather than the fifteenth-eighteenth-century replacements currently on the altar) may have been used in conjunction with sculptures of bodhisattva pentads seated upon animals, such as the Anjōji pentad, within a *sanrinjin* configuration in the ninth century. Such a convention would add iconographical significance to the sculptures, since each of the animals has its own meaning and symbolic power.

⁶⁵⁴ Matsuura Masaaki, "Tōji kōdō no Shingon chōkoku," 92-93.

⁶⁵⁵ It should be noted that the Gochi Nyorai are not always depicted on animals. Another image of the configuration excavated from the same area near Chang'an, but now housed in the Aichi Prefectural Ceramics Museum, is a stone stele with what appear to be Gochi Nyorai carved in low relief on the surface. In the center is a large image of Dainichi Nyorai, surrounded by smaller images of the other four Gochi Nyorai. For an image see Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," fig. 59. These images are only seated on lotus pedestals. Although Konno states that the iconographical form of the Gochi Nyorai at the Kyoto National Museum (formerly at Anjōji) is strikingly similar to the Diamond world Gobutsu depicted in the *Tōbon mandarazu* 唐本曼荼羅図 housed at Ninnaji, these drawings are post-tenth-century replacements and thus should be carefully included in any discussion of ninth-century sculptural trends. Konno Toshifumi 紺野敏文, "Ninnajibon gobutsu zuzō to Anjōji Gochi Nyoraizō ni tsuite 仁和寺本五仏図像と安祥寺五知如来像について," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 121 (1978): 55.

The Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu patrons and ninth-century belief systems

As has been demonstrated in previous chapters, the religious environment of ninth-century Japan was multifaceted and complex. The Esoteric practices and doctrines that had been synthesized into the existing Buddhist tradition during the early ninth century also incorporated aspects of yin yang and five-phases-based divination techniques. However, it is important to note that the Chinese Buddhist traditions within which the Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images were created were not part of an institutionalized, sectarian *mikkyō* 密教 (Ch. *mijiao*) Buddhist category.⁶⁵⁶ In this sense, although their precise ritual function within the Chinese context is unknown, it is inaccurate to assume that the Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images were part of a movement of Chinese ‘esoteric’ or ‘secretive’ Buddhism that was transmitted to Japan. Although they were manifestations of Buddhist teachings, they also were part of a complex multivalent belief system that included local traditions. While keeping in mind that these elements manifested themselves differently in Japan and China, their use within the Japanese context is the focus of this dissertation. As the utilization of these beliefs among ninth-century imperial personages was illustrated in previous chapters, I will now explore the case of Anjōji and its patrons specifically.

Divination was a significant feature of daily life for the imperial family and regent community of ninth-century Japan, and specifically among the patrons of Anjōji. Montoku, along with the five emperors that succeeded him, adhered to directional taboos when conducting both state and personal business. The emperor’s person was thought to have a divine quality, and needed to be protected at all costs. When departing from the palace, yin yang advisors determined which directions were auspicious and which were not, and the emperor and his party would move around the capital according to their advice.⁶⁵⁷ Montoku also relied on calendrical

⁶⁵⁶ Lehnert, "Myth and secrecy in Tang-period Tantric Buddhism," 78-82.

⁶⁵⁷ Murayama Shūichi, "Kodai Nihon no onmyōdō," 27.

calculations, particularly the work of Daikasuga Shin'no maro 大春日真野麻呂 (act. ninth century) to determine lucky or unlucky days to conduct business or other activities. He imported calendrical calculation methods from China and new ways to interpret eclipses.⁶⁵⁸ Junshi relied on the Tendai monk Sōō (相応 831-918) to eradicate malicious spirits that vexed her.⁶⁵⁹ These examples illustrate the multifaceted nature of religious practices among the patrons of Anjōji.

As for the presence of other belief systems within the iconography of the Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images themselves, they were most likely arranged with Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu as a center point, with the other surrounding images placed in cardinal directions. This can be seen in the iconographical drawings that depict the sculptural arrangement (figs. 30, 31, 32). Traces of pigment remain on the images, much like the Jingoji sculptures. I theorize that the same iconographical scheme was applied to both pentads, with the color and directional placement of each image drawing upon five-phases theories that had been adapted into the Esoteric Shingon tradition in Japan. The animal vehicles presented an additional iconographical feature that further strengthened the individual nature and function of each deity, and also had corresponding relationships to the five phases.

Conclusion

Recent scholarship on the site and images of Anjōji has led to a variety of characterizations of the temple by scholars. According to Ryūichi Abe, Anjōji was established primarily as a private academic center for Shingon study. Eun was originally affiliated with the Nara schools of Buddhism, which were eager to integrate Shingon teachings.⁶⁶⁰ Abe notes that the temple was

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., 27-8.

⁶⁵⁹ Hayami Tasuku, *Heian kizoku shakai to bukkyō*, 149.

⁶⁶⁰ Abe, "Scholasticism, exegesis, and ritual practice: on renovation in the history of Buddhist writing in the early Heian period," 207.

outside the reach of imperial rules and regulations. This was not only due to its geographic isolation in the mountains (which, as Chapter Three explained) were powerful places in their own right), but also Junshi's private, rather than governmental, support. Nedachi Kensuke emphasizes the temple's role as a repository for Chinese textual and visual resources. These were not only highly prized objects to be utilized in new rituals, but symbols of authority from the continent as well.⁶⁶¹ Sasaki describes the site as one dedicated to prayers and offerings conducted on behalf of Junshi's deceased son and husband.⁶⁶² These are all valid descriptions. I would add, however, that the existence of the *sanrinjin* configuration, with its added protective element of animal iconography, bolstered the temple's political prestige and religious authority. As such, the temple was not only beneficial to the state because it possessed symbolic capital and economic power, but because it also served as a site of devotion for the souls of deceased emperors, who were the foundation of the Japanese state.

In addition, the patronage of the *sanrinjin* configuration is significant as well. Montoku's initial patronage of the Godai Kokuzō Bosatsu and Godai Myōō indicate his desire to emulate the configuration at the temple associated with his father, Emperor Nimmyō. His death prevented him from realizing this, and in his stead, his mother Junshi dedicated the last element of the configuration, the Gochi Nyorai. It therefore served dual functions as a site of personal devotion and national protection. With Junshi's commissions, it also served as an indication of rising Fujiwara presence in the imperial family. Her sponsorship of the temple and its images served to promote the family's associations to Buddhist authority. This is demonstrated further in the case of Jōganji, the subject of the final chapter of this dissertation.

⁶⁶¹ Nedachi Kensuke, "Anjōji no bukkyō chōkoku o meguru shomondai," 289-91.

⁶⁶² Sasaki Moritoshi, "Anjōji Gochi Nyorai zazō ni tsuite," 7-20.

Chapter Five

The Jōganji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu

The third of the ninth-century Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptural pentads to be examined in this dissertation was housed at Jōganji 貞観寺, located in the Fukakusa 深草 area in southern Kyoto. Like the pentads at Jingoji and Anjōji, the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad at Jōganji was also part of a *sanrinjin* (three wheel bodies) configuration at the temple. Previous chapters have illustrated that each of these three “wheel bodies” functioned as an aspect of the Buddhist teachings, and that collectively the configuration, together with the reading of national protective texts, was a major signifier of religious and political power in the ninth century. In the case of Jōganji, however, the Fujiwara clan dominated the patronage of both the temple and the images, indicating the use of Buddhist image commissions in their rise to political power.

Although the images themselves no longer survive, textual evidence indicates that, like the images at Jingoji and Anjōji, they were placed in a temple with a direct association to an imperial family member while the temple was under the direction of a disciple in the Shingon lineage of Kūkai. Kūkai’s disciple Shinga (真雅 801-879, who was also the biological younger brother of Kūkai) and Fujiwara Yoshifusa (藤原良房 804-72) collaborated to create Jōganji as a ritual and memorial site dedicated to Emperor Seiwa (清和天皇 r. 858-876), the son of Emperor Montoku and his consort Fujiwara Meishi (藤原明子 828-900). Yoshifusa was not only Montoku’s maternal uncle (he was the brother of Anjōji patron Fujiwara Junshi discussed in Chapter Four), but Meishi’s father as well, and as such was Emperor Seiwa’s maternal grandfather (see Diagram 1). Such close relationships between Fujiwara family members and the imperial family characterized Heian period politics. Yoshifusa, a powerful statesman, sponsored services at Jōganji in part to accrue Buddhist merit, but also to secure his grandson’s position on the throne.

Doing so allowed Yoshifusa to control government affairs in the name of the young Emperor Seiwa.

This chapter will explore the conditions under which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images were installed in the temple, specifically the political and religious activities of their patron, Yoshifusa's brother Fujiwara Yoshimi (藤原良相 813-67).⁶⁶³ This chapter will also demonstrate how the designation of Jōganji as a *goganji* 御願寺 (imperial vowed temple), its location the Fukakusa area, its proximity to its parent temple Kashōji 嘉祥寺, and repentance rites held at the site also reveal details about the multivalent belief systems of ninth-century Japan, especially those of the Fujiwara. This chapter thus reveals that the Fujiwara commission of a *sanrinjin* triad with a Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu component at Jōganji in the ninth-century illustrates the ascendancy of this influential family.

Historiography of Jōganji

Since the temple became defunct sometime during the uprisings of the late fifteenth century, there is a severe lack of data related to Jōganji and its images. The images are often briefly mentioned within the context of Heian period Shingon temple scholarship. Work by Fujii Keisuke and Tomishima Yoshiyuki, for example, contextualize Jōganji within the Esoteric Buddhist milieu of Japan, and place it into a pattern of early Heian period Esoteric temple

⁶⁶³ The Fujiwara family was divided into four branches: the Northern (北家 Hokke), Southern (南家 Nanke), Ceremonial (式家 Shikike) and Capital (京家 Kyōke). These stemmed from the four sons of Fujiwara Fuhito in the late seventh-early eighth century. Yoshimi and Yoshifusa were part of the Northern branch, which sought to preserve their dominance at court by marrying their daughters to members of the imperial family. Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 241, n. 11; Van Goethem, 11-12.

construction.⁶⁶⁴ Itō Shirō provides a useful but rather general summary of the temple's history alongside others in the ninth century.⁶⁶⁵

Scholarly research focused on the temple is limited to a handful of articles dealing with specific facets of its establishment. Political historian Hikoyoshi Mieko wrote extensively on Fujiwara Yoshimi and his involvement in the politically charged Ōtenmon arson incident of 866 (Jōgan 8).⁶⁶⁶ Oyamada Kazuo discusses Yoshimi's Tendai temple commissions and compares the bigographical accounts of Shinga, Kūkai's disciple who was involved with Jōganji.⁶⁶⁷ Takei Akio provides a constructive analysis of the religious circumstances of Jōganji's establishment in light of its parent temple Kashōji, and gives attention to the pillar paintings in the temple's *shindō* (新堂, a building commissioned by Fujiwara Yoshifusa), which had previously been ignored in scholarship.⁶⁶⁸ Other scholarship on the site relates to its status as a *goganji*, or imperially vowed temple, an issue that will be discussed further below.

These works are not associated with specific temples or priests and thus are valid scholarly contributions. However, they deal with other aspects of Jingoji not specifically related to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures. This chapter will focus on this specific and significant aspect of the temple, one which illuminates a facet of Esoteric Buddhist image patronage associated with celestial bodies, the imperial (and Fujiwara) families, and Kūkai's lineage.

⁶⁶⁴ Fujii Keisuke, *Mikkyō kenchiku kūkanron*, 52-57; Tomishima Yoshiyuki 富島義幸, *Mikkyō kūkan shiron* 密教空間史論 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2007), 108, 54-61.

⁶⁶⁵ Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 121-22.

⁶⁶⁶ Hikoyoshi Mieko 彦由三枝子, "Fujiwara Yoshimi (I)," 12-25; Hikoyoshi Mieko 彦由三枝子, "Nishi Sanjō Udaijin Fujiwara Yoshimi ni tsuite no ikkōsatsu 西三条右大臣藤原良相についての一考察 (II)," *Seiji keizai shigaku* 政治経済史学 300 (1991): 622-64. This incident will be explained below.

⁶⁶⁷ Oyamada Kazuo 小山田和夫, "Fujiwara Yoshimi to bukkyō: Sūshin'in o chūshin to shite 藤原良相と仏教: 崇親院を中心として," *Seiji keizai shigaku* 政治経済史学 141 (1978): 45-60; Oyamada Kazuo 小山田和夫, "'Shinga denki' to 'Nihon sandai jitsuroku,'" 14-25.

⁶⁶⁸ Takei Akio, "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō," 26-45.

Kashōji: Montoku's dedication

Since the history of Jōganji is deeply entwined with that of another nearby temple named Kashōji 嘉祥寺, a discussion of the latter will help to ground my discussion and to contextualize the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures within this milieu of temple construction and patronage.

The exact year of Kashōji's construction varies according to which source is consulted, but it was likely built very soon after Emperor Nimmyō's death in 850.⁶⁶⁹ Emperor Montoku commissioned the temple to be built in the vicinity of his father Nimmyō's gravesite in the Fukakusa area south of the capital.⁶⁷⁰ The actual building of the temple was begun when the Seiryōden 清涼殿 (emperor's quarters) from the Imperial palace was transferred to the new temple site.⁶⁷¹ In 851 (Ninjū 1), a *gyokisaie* 御忌齋会 (memorial ceremony) was performed at Kashōji for the deceased emperor, so Kashōji was likely completed by then.⁶⁷² Shinga assisted Montoku in his endeavor, and performed the actual opening of the temple.

⁶⁶⁹ For the detailed history of Kashōji and Joganji, I rely primarily on the only two articles devoted solely to these temples: Oyamada Kazuo, "'Shinga denki' to 'Nihon sandai jitsuroku'," 14-25; Takei Akio, "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō," 26-45.

⁶⁷⁰ An entry for 859 (Jogan 1) in *Sandai jitsuroku* states that Kashōji was built in Fukakusa for Emperor Nimmyō. Reproduced in KT4: 22. *Kosōshō hōin daioshōi Shinga denki* 故僧正法印大和尚位真雅伝記 (hereafter *Shinga denki*), states that Kashōji was built in Kashō 3 (850) by Montoku in the "sacred land of Fukakusa." Reproduced in KZ10: 12. Abe states that Kashōji was built to celebrate the birth of Emperor Seiwa, but the passage that he cites in *Sandai jitsuroku* does not state a causal relationship between the building of Kashōji and Seiwa's birth. Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 368. Other sources mentioned below, however, indicate that Jōganji was built to house rituals dedicated to Seiwa.

⁶⁷¹ *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku* 日本文徳天皇実録 fasc. 3, in KT3: 26. It is not clear if the entire chamber was physically brought to Kashōji, or if only part of the room was brought to symbolize the imperial presence in the area.

⁶⁷² *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT4: 339, *Shinga denki* KZ10: 12. Although Yoshikawa Shinji states that Joganji was built in 852, I believe it was completed at least by 851 for the *gyokisaie*. Yoshikawa Shinji 吉川真司, *Heiankyō 平安京*, vol. 5, *Nihon no jidaishi 日本の時代史* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002), 163. Montoku's patronage of Kashōji illustrates the strong pattern of patronage that reinforced Nimmyō's lineage. Although interrupted by the somewhat unstable rule of Seiwa's son Emperor Yōzei (陽成天皇 r. 876-884), this pattern continued with Emperor Kōkō (光孝天皇 r. 884-87), Seiwa's grandson, who constructed a five-layer pagoda at Kashōji in 884 (Gankei 8). *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT4: 567. Kōkō also repaired the Jingoji pagoda sometime during his three-year reign, showing a continuation of imperial patronage at Esoteric temples related to Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configurations.

As noted above, Shinga was the biological brother and disciple of Kūkai, having received initiation from him in 825 (Tenchō 2).⁶⁷³ Kūkai's conceptions of Buddhist thought, including temple planning and image placement, thus likely had a significant impact upon Shinga's own understanding of Buddhism. From an early age Shinga was involved in Esoteric Buddhist ritual, performing rites at the court of Emperor Junna at the invitation of Kūkai's disciple Jitsue.⁶⁷⁴ Shinga became a trusted priest of Junna and was often invited to the court, where he was in close contact with Yoshifusa. This relationship was the basis for their collaboration on Jōganji.

Jōganji: Shinga, Yoshifusa and Yoshimi

The steps toward the establishment of Jōganji began in 859 (Jogan 1) when Shinga was granted three new ordinands for Kashōji in order to perform services “promoting peace and tranquility in the realm.”⁶⁷⁵ The eleventh century *Ruijū sandaikaku* 類聚三代格 (*Categorized records of three generations*) states that while residing in the Saiin (西院 western hall) of Kashōji, these three monks performed Esoteric rites related to *Sonshō* 尊勝 and *Kujaku* 孔雀.⁶⁷⁶ Although the record does not specify which specific rites were performed, I will speculate that *Sonshō* refers to the *Sonshōhō* 尊勝法, a ritual performed for calamity prevention, merit increase, as well as safe birth, long life, and to honor the deceased.⁶⁷⁷ This practice was often performed for the imperial family, as seen in the example of Junshi dedicating performances of this rite to Montoku and

⁶⁷³ *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT4: 443. Cited in Hirano Kunio and Seno Seisaburō, eds., *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten*, 511.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 511-12.

⁶⁷⁵ Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 217. Since it sponsored prayers for the sake of the nation, Adolphson states that Kashōji was designated as a *goganji* (御願寺 imperially vowed temple) at this time, but this term does not appear in primary sources. I will explore the issue of *goganji* designations later in the discussion.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ruijū sandaikaku* 類聚三代格, reproduced in KT25: 96-97. Cited in Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 121-22. The *Ruijū sandaikaku* does not refer to the full name of the sutras or rites.

⁶⁷⁷ Shinga conducted this ritual when Fujiwara Meishi gave birth to the future Emperor Seiwa, to ensure his safe delivery. MD3: 1425.

Nimmyō discussed in Chapter Four. *Kujaku*, the name of the Peacock king deity and the focus of several Esoteric rituals, probably refers to the *Kujakukyōhō* 孔雀經法, a ritual instrumental in protection of the emperor and nation, also discussed in Chapter Four. These rites were performed in honor of Emperor Seiwa each year on the twenty-fifth day of the third month (Seiwa's birthday).⁶⁷⁸ The emperor's physical body was seen as a symbol of the nation, and it was vital to keep both safe and secure. These ritual practices continued, and in 862 (Jogan 4), the Saiin became an independent structure and was renamed Jōganji.⁶⁷⁹

Fujiwara Yoshifusa sponsored these services at Jōganji in honor of Emperor Seiwa. His reasons for doing so may have been outwardly to accrue Buddhist merit, but were most certainly also part of his machinations to gain political power.⁶⁸⁰ Fujiwara political influence, which peaked during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was achieved largely through strategic marriages between female members of their clan and male members of the imperial family. For example, when Yoshifusa's daughter Meishi, the consort of Emperor Montoku, gave birth to Prince Korehito (惟仁親王 the future Emperor Seiwa),⁶⁸¹ Yoshifusa seized the opportunity to make his grandson crown prince. This was despite Montoku's wish that his first son by consort Ki no Shizuko (紀の静子 d. 866), Prince Koretaka (惟喬新王 844-97) be named crown prince. Yoshifusa succeeded, and his grandson Korehito became crown prince in 850.⁶⁸² This is a pivotal period during which the Fujiwara begin to usurp power from the imperial family, and also during which sculptural pentads of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu appear.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ruijū sandaikaku*, KT25: 96-97.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ruijū sandaikaku*, *ibid.*

⁶⁸⁰ Yoshifusa's activities at court included reorganization of the political regents and advisors system (摂関政治体制 *sekkān seiji taisei*) in the mid-ninth century and cosponsoring the 861 restoration of the Tōdaiji Colossal Buddha in Nara. Hikoyoshi Mieko, "Fujiwara Yoshimi (I)," 12-13.

⁶⁸¹ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 367-8.

⁶⁸² *Nihon Montoku jitsuroku*, KT3: 23.

Yoshifusa rose to the rank of *daijō daijin* 太政大臣 (Prime chancellor) in 857 (Ten'an 1), the highest governmental position a non-imperial person could have during this period. After the death of Montoku in 858, Yoshifusa put Prince Koretaka, then only eight years old, on the throne as Emperor Seiwa. This was the first case of many during the Heian period in which a male family member controlled governmental affairs in the name of a young emperor. Sherry Fowler illustrates how the authors of the eighteenth-century *Murōji engi* 室生寺縁起 manipulated this event to bolster the reputation of the temple and Mt. Ben'ichi where it is located.⁶⁸³ According to this account, as Korehito and Koretaka were vying for the throne in 858, Emperor Montoku dreamt of Mt. Ben'ichi. He interpreted this to mean that Korehito should become emperor, which he subsequently did, later making donations to the temple.⁶⁸⁴ This account is problematic for at least two reasons: first, Korehito was only eight years old in 858, and so hardly could have been exerting his own effort to become sovereign; the effort was Yoshifusa's. Secondly, Montoku wanted Koretaka, his firstborn son, to become emperor. It was the workings of Yoshifusa that saw Korehito enthroned as Emperor Seiwa in 858.

A telling passage in *Sandai jitsuroku* further illustrates the power the Fujiwara was gaining over Nimmyō's circle of family and clergy members. It notes that in 858 (Ten'an 2) when Emperor Montoku was on his deathbed, Shinzei (who was *bettō* of Jingoji at this point) went into "isolation" (隠居 *inkyō*)⁶⁸⁵ rather than perform prayers on behalf of the ailing monarch's health. This was the precise occasion upon which Fujiwara Yoshifusa put his young grandson, Prince Korehito, on the throne as Emperor Seiwa. Shinzei may have been pressured by the Fujiwara to refrain from performing prayers for Montoku, who had opposed Yoshifusa's choice of emperors.

⁶⁸³ Fowler, *Murōji*, 75.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ Oyamada Kazuo 小山田和夫, "Shinzei ni tsuite: Jitsue, Shinshō to no kankei 真濟について：実恵・真紹との関係," *Risshō shigaku* 立正史学 42 (1978): 59.

This illustrates the inherent efficacy of prayer as well as the Fujiwara's manipulation of such practices to further their own interests.

To cement his authority as grandfather of the emperor and Prime chancellor, Yoshifusa ordered the Daianji priest Gyōkyō (行教 act. mid-ninth century) to bring the powerful deity and oracle from Usa Hachimangu in Kyushu to Iwashimizu Hachimangu 石清水八幡宮 in Kyoto, so that the deity could protect the capital under Seiwa's new reign.⁶⁸⁶ Usa Hachimangu remained a cultic center managed by the Tendai school, while Iwashimizu came under the direction of the Shingon clerics.⁶⁸⁷ This is one example of the ninth-tenth century trend whereby Shinto shrines were not only connected to Buddhist temples, but they relied on *mikkyō* establishments for sponsorship.⁶⁸⁸ Furthermore, considering his manipulations within politics, it is highly possible that Yoshifusa's political agendas influenced his involvement in editing well-known historical volumes such as *Jogan kakushiki* 貞觀格式, *Gishiki* 儀式, and *Zoku Nihon koki* 続日本後紀.⁶⁸⁹ With his young grandson as emperor, Yoshifusa was essentially able to dominate the government of mid-ninth century Japan.

Jōganji was likely completed by 874 (Jogan 16), when a large, lavish ceremony (大齋会 *daisaie*) was held at the temple on the twenty-third day of third month.⁶⁹⁰ This celebration commemorated the birth of Emperor Seiwa, as it was held near the same day that prayers were recited for the emperor at Jōganji each year since he was born.⁶⁹¹ More than one hundred monks from a variety of Buddhist schools attended, the eminent monk Dōshō (an active *gumonjihō*

⁶⁸⁶ Murayama Shūichi, *Shinbutsu shūgō no seichi*, 20-23, 146. Usa Hachimangu is discussed in Chapter Three. As noted earlier, the procedure to divide and relocate a Shinto deity is known as *kanjō* 觀請, a process which does not lessen the power of the deity in either location. Bogel, *With a single glance*, 270.

⁶⁸⁷ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 269.

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁶⁸⁹ Hirano Kunio and Seno Seisaburō, eds., *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten*, 856.

⁶⁹⁰ *Sandai jitsuroku*, 339, 443.

⁶⁹¹ Takei Akio, "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō," 35-36.

practitioner, discussed above) presided as *risshi* 律師 (*vinaya* master), and there was music and dance. By the time this ceremony took place, Jōganji had been designated as a *jokakuji*.⁶⁹² This official imperial designation meant that the temple received financial support in exchange for performing services for the state. Jōganji was awarded this status earlier than its parent temple Kashōji, which was designated in 878. It is perhaps a testament to Yoshifusa's influence that Kashōji came under the control of Jōganji this same year.⁶⁹³ Jōganji was clearly the individual commission of a Fujiwara family member, rather than one of the state or of an imperial family member (like Montoku's patronage of Kashōji, for example), and thus played a key role in the expression of Yoshifusa's power.⁶⁹⁴ His push to put Seiwa on the throne fits into the one-hundred year span during which, as Allan Grapard states, the "Fujiwara house ensured that emperors were chosen exclusively among children born of a union between a reigning emperor and a woman of Fujiwara birth; this enabled the Fujiwara ministers to govern in the name of their grandchildren and thus control the imperial lineage." He also states the importance of cultic activity in their claims to legitimacy in this context.⁶⁹⁵ I will elaborate on this issue later in the chapter.

Images at Jōganji

Tracing the existence of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and *sanrinjin* configurations at Jōganji is a complex issue, due to the fact that the buildings and images housed within the ninth-century layout of the temple vary according to which source is consulted. The patronage activities of Yoshimi, Yoshifusa's brother, will be addressed here.

⁶⁹² *Ruijū sandaikaku*, KT25: 96-97.

⁶⁹³ *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT4: 421

⁶⁹⁴ Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 121-22.

⁶⁹⁵ Grapard, "Religious practices," 551.

Shinga's biography, *Kosōshō hōin daikashōi Shinga denki* 故僧正法印大和尚位真雅伝記 (hereafter *Shinga denki*), gives the most detailed account of the layout of Jōganji.⁶⁹⁶ This text, written in 893 (Kanpei 5) includes a description of the temple buildings, their contents and patrons in the order listed in Table 2.⁶⁹⁷ According to this record, a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu (commissioned by Yoshimi) were placed in the *hōtō* (jewel pagoda), as are Jingoji's Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, and perhaps the Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu as well. The Godaison (五大尊, also known as the Godai Myōō, and also commissioned by Yoshimi) are housed in the Godaidō, another parallel with Jingoji and Anjōji. Since the entry uses the term *zō* 像 to refer to the images, it can be assumed that they were all sculptures, rather than paintings. There are no Gochi Nyorai (五智如来 Five Wisdom Buddhas) listed, but as at Jingoji, they may have been represented by the Gochi Nyorai in the Diamond world mandala listed first in Table 2. If so, then the sculptural program at Jingoji strongly resembles that at Jingoji and Anjōji, with each of the separate elements of the *sanrinjin* configuration (Buddha, bodhisattva, and *myōō*) represented by images housed in separate structures.

How do the images at the temple function in relation to the buildings in which they were housed? At the center of the complex was the *daidō* 大堂 (great hall) used for Esoteric Buddhist rites, and a *raidō* 礼堂 (worship hall) for exoteric purifications like *keka*.⁶⁹⁸ It is not clear if the *raidō* was attached to the *daidō* or was a separate structure.⁶⁹⁹ *Raidō* were new features at mid-ninth-century Esoteric temples in Kyoto, such as Anjōji and Zenrinji 禅林寺, which differed

⁶⁹⁶ Reproduced in KZ10: 11-14. The text is a collection of writings from Shinga's disciples (*Yūtei tōki* 遺弟等記), although no specific authors are named.

⁶⁹⁷ *Shinga denki*, KZ10: 11.

⁶⁹⁸ Yamagishi Tsuneto 山岸常人, "Mikkyō hondō no seiritsu 密教本堂の成立," in *Zenshū Nihon no koji* 全集 日本の古寺, ed. Kasahara Kazuo 笠原一男 and Yamagishi Tsuneto 山岸常人, vol. 5, *Ishiyamadera to Ōmi no koji* 石山寺と近江の古寺 (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1985), 116.

⁶⁹⁹ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 250.

from eighth and early ninth-century complexes. The Jōganji *daidō/raidō* housed images of Sonshō Butsu,⁷⁰⁰ Kannon, Jizō among others, as illustrated in Table 2, although the *Shinga denki* does not specify which images were in the *daidō* and which in the *raidō*. However, I suggest that since the Sonshō Butsu image(s) was likely the main image of veneration for the *Sonshōhō* performed for Emperor Seiwa, it was placed in the larger *daidō*, while images involved in *keka* such as the Kannon and Jizō images, were located in the *raidō*.

Various sources suggest that the *raidō* may have been a space dedicated to *keka* rites. An 872 (Jogan 14) record of Jōganji's land transactions entitled *Jōganji tachi mokurokuchō* 貞觀寺田地目錄帳 (hereafter *Jingoji tachi*) indicate that Hata Akimaro 秦秋磨 (active mid-ninth century) and the Jōganji resident priest Enso hosshi 延祚法師 (active mid-ninth century) were involved in a land transaction dedicated to *Senjubutsu keka* 千手仏悔過 (repentance rites focused on what I believe is a reference to Senju Kannon 千手觀音 Thousand-armed Kannon).⁷⁰¹ In addition, *Shinga denki* states that a Kannon image was housed in the *raidō*, although it does not state that it is specifically a Thousand-armed Kannon (see Table 2). In light of this evidence, I agree with Yamagishi who states that Senjū Kannon repentance rites were performed in the *raidō* of Jōganji.⁷⁰² The significance of these rites is important to the issue of Jōganji's location peripheral to the capital, an issue which I will examine below.

⁷⁰⁰ The text states that this was a Sonshō Butsu image 尊勝佛像. While this may indicate an image or images used in the Sonshōhō ritual, the main image of veneration in the rite is normally a Sonshōhō mandala with Dainichi Nyorai in the center surrounded by eight Buddhas or bodhisattvas. Considering that the Sonshōhō was performed at Jōganji, this image reference may actually be a Sonshō mandala.

⁷⁰¹ Reproduced in Kan'ichi Asakawa, *Land and society in medieval Japan* (Tokyo: Japan society for the promotion of science, 1965), 100. Although Asakawa translates this document from Japanese into English, the specific reference to Senjūbutsu is curiously absent from his translation. It is present in the original Japanese text, however. The involvement of a member of the Hata family is significant in light of Michael Como's recent examination of how the imperial government of Japan synthesized beliefs that the Hata had brought from the Korean peninsula into Japanese seventh through ninth-century religious praxis. See Como, *Weaving and binding*, xi-xx.

⁷⁰² Yamagishi Tsuneto, "Mikkyō hondō no seiritsu," 116.

To the east and west of the *daidō* were the Diamond world hall and Womb world hall, which, as the names suggest, housed deities within mandalas. These two buildings replaced the east and west pagodas, which normally house representations of mandalas at Esoteric temples.⁷⁰³ These mandalic depictions may have been large painted works on fabric or paper, or painted directly on the interior surfaces of the structure, or represented by sculptures of the five Buddhas of the Womb or Diamond world configured around the central heart pillar.

The other structures at Jōganji were placed along the periphery of the temple's central axis.⁷⁰⁴ They included the new hall (containing several images such as Shaka Nyorai, Shitennō, Taishakuten and Bonten), the south hall, the *kanjōdō*, the pagoda that housed the Godai Kokūzō, the Godaidō that housed the Godai Myōō, the sūtra repository and bell tower. The order of the buildings listed in the *Shinga denki* suggests this arrangement. The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and Godai Myōō do not seem to have taken on prominent positions at the temple, as they are listed near the bottom of the entry in *Shinga denki*, above the sūtra repository and bell tower.

Other primary documents discuss the building and sculptural programs at Jōganji, but they must be used with caution. An entry in the imperially-commissioned history *Sandai jitsuroku* compiled in 901 describes the 874 ceremony held at Jōganji. It lists the buildings within the temple grounds in the order noted in Table 3.⁷⁰⁵ This entry not only contains fewer buildings than the *Shinga denki*, but also states that a Sonshō Nyorai 尊勝如来 sculpture commissioned by an unnamed patron was housed in the pagoda, rather than the Godai Kokūzō.⁷⁰⁶ The Godaidō,

⁷⁰³ Fujii Keisuke, *Mikkyō kenchiku kūkanron*, 55.

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁵ *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT4: 339.

⁷⁰⁶ As with the Sonshō Butsu recorded in the *Shinga denki* above, this may be a reference to deities in the Sonshō mandala.

daidō/raidō, south hall, sūtra repository and bell tower are all absent as well, while Yoshifusa's Śākyamuni-centered sculptural configuration is clearly stated.⁷⁰⁷

One possible reason for these omissions in *Sandai jitsuroku* emerges when considering Yoshifusa's political orchestrations. As Itō states, *Sandai jitsuroku* indicates that Yoshifusa commissioned images and building for the success and prosperity of his own family.⁷⁰⁸ Considering Yoshifusa's role in the edition of national histories, as well as his influential political position, it is possible that Yoshifusa's contributions to Jōganji were emphasized, while Yoshimi's were omitted from this text. Doing so would serve to highlight Yoshifusa's own contributions to the success of his grandson, Emperor Seiwa. *Shinga denki*, on the other hand, has a more neutral tone, not using superlative or laudatory language.

In addition, although the *Sandai jitsuroku* describes events from 858-887, it was not compiled until 901, seven years after the *Shinga denki* was compiled in 893. Oyamada Kazuo's comparative analysis of both sources convincingly illustrates that the passage in the 901 *Sandai jitsuroku* describing the buildings (Table 3) is based upon the earlier 893 *Shinga denki* (Table 2).⁷⁰⁹ There are several differences, however, such as the omission of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, for example. *Shinga denki* thus gives the more accurate representation of the layout and sculptural programs at Jingoji during the ninth century.

Another source describing the buildings within Jōganji is the 931 (Jōhei 1) *Rihōōki* 吏部王記, a diary detailing the travels of the brothers Prince Shigeaki (重明親王 906-54) and Prince Shiroaki (代明 early-mid ninth century). This account states that after the two princes visited the

⁷⁰⁷ Yamamoto Tsutomu states that the "Birushana hōtō" mentioned in the *Sandai jitsuroku* housed a set of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. However, as shown above, this text states that the pagoda housed the "Sonshō Nyorai." It is *Shinga denki* which states that the pagoda held a sculptural pentad of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. Yamamoto Tsutomu 山本勉, "Dainichi Nyoraizō 大日如来像," *Nihon no bijutsu 日本美術* 374 (July 1997): 29.

⁷⁰⁸ Itō Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 121-22.

⁷⁰⁹ Oyamada Kazuo, "'Shinga denki' to 'Nihon sandai jitsuroku'," 14-25.

gravesite of their father, Emperor Daigo (醍醐天皇 r. 897-930), they went to Jōganji perhaps to make a pilgrimage to the temple dedicated to Emperor Seiwa. They describe the temple layout as noted in Table 4.⁷¹⁰

The diary also states that the temple priest (座主 *zasu*) explained to the two princes that the images on the pillars of the *dōbutsu* 堂仏 (hall for Buddhas, perhaps an image hall) depict the *Eight scenes from Sakyamuni's life* 觀楹繪八相成道 (*kanbashirae hassō jōdō*). Takei speculates that if these paintings did exist, the priest's explanation of the images would be one of the first recorded examples of *etoki* 絵解き, or "picture explanations," known in Japan.⁷¹¹ This entry does not mention the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, nor does it state which specific Buddhist sculptures, if any, are housed in the pagoda. It does show, however, that the painted pillars of the main Buddha hall were a central part of the visual program at Jōganji at least by the mid-tenth century.

The last textual source for clues into the imagery of the Jōganji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu to be examined is an entry in the late twelfth-early thirteenth century iconographical manual *Kakuzenshō*, which mentions a pilgrimage to the *nanin* 南院 (south hall) of Jōganji in 1008 (Kankō 4). The 1008 reference states:

This mandala is visible in front of the portrait of [the one who has received the title of *sōsho* 僧正].⁷¹² It is hung and worshipped.⁷¹³

⁷¹⁰ Yoneda Yūsuke 米田雄介 and Yoshioka Masayuki 吉岡真之, eds., *Rihōōki* 吏部王記, *Shiryō sanshū* 資料纂集 (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1980), 56. Also noted in Takei Akio, "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō," 36, 40; Tanaka Shigehisa 田中重久, *Nihon no hekiwa no kenkyū* 日本の壁画の研究 (Osaka: Tōkasha shobō, 1944), 320.

⁷¹¹ Takei Akio, "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō," 41. For more on *etoki* see Barbara Ruch, "Origins of the companion library: an anthology of medieval Japanese stories," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 30, no. 3 (May 1971): 593-610; Ikumi Kaminishi, *Explaining pictures: Buddhist propaganda and Buddhist etoki storytelling in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press), 2006.

⁷¹² This is the highest clerical rank within the ninth-century Japanese Buddhist hierarchy. Shinga received this rank in 856. KT4: 443.

What follows is the ritual procedure for Amoghavajra's translation of the *Godai Kokūzō hō* discussed in Chapter Two. Diagram 11 depicts the deities described in this ritual text. Here too we see that the iconography and names of the deities are different from those depicted in *Yugikyō* and the present Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures. The central position of the white pigmented deity in the center is clear, and although the text states that the mandala was painted, and thus is not the pentad commissioned by Yoshimi, it nevertheless connects Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu imagery (with the white pigmented deity in the center) with Jōganji. The passage also notes that the mandala was housed in a structure with a portrait of the *sōsho*, which I believe is a reference to Shinga. The south hall may have been the site of rituals focused on the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad as early as 1008. Performing a ritual in front of a patriarch portrait reinforces the transmission of the practice within the Shingon lineage.

Above I have examined textual evidence related to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad at Jōganji. Aside from the entry in the *Shinga denki*, there is no record, textual or visual, referencing the Godai Myōō or Gochi Nyorai at Jōganji. However, I believe they did exist as part of the visual program at the temple at least in the ninth century. They formed a *sanrinjin* configuration as seen at Jingoji, with the Godai Kokūzō in the pagoda, the Godai Myōō in the Godaidō, and the Gochi Nyorai in the Diamond world mandala housed in the Diamond world hall. However, even if these images do fall into a pattern of patronage and worship similar to those at Jingoji and Anjōji in the ninth century, the specific relationship between the images, their secular patrons and the clergy under which they were installed is essential to their historical and religious context. Examination of the patronage patterns of Fujiwara Yoshimi and the

⁷¹³ TZ5: 57. Text also reproduced in Manabe Shunshō 真鍋俊照, "Omuro kanjōdō mandara shuhen no shiteki kōsatsu: oyobi Jōki'inbon 'Godai Kokūzō zai shozuzō' 御室灌頂堂曼荼羅周辺の史的考察：および常喜院本「五大虚空蔵座居諸図像」," 80-81.

influence of Shinga yields data that will further contextualize the Jōganji images.

Fujiwara Yoshimi: public and private devotion

Primary data regarding Yoshimi is sparse. He was the younger brother of Fujiwara Yoshifusa, and was given the title of Udaijin (右大臣 Minister of the right) by at least 857. This title is listed in the 893 *Shinga denki* as the patron of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and Godai Myōō, so he must have commissioned them sometime between 857 and his death in 867.

Yoshimi was a learned scholar and was active at court.⁷¹⁴ An episode in the *Zoku Nihon koki* 続日本古 explains that he once received Chinese alchemical medicine prepared by Emperor Nimmyō himself,⁷¹⁵ and likely gained his trust because of this. The two were very close before Nimmyō's death in 850.

Within Japanese history, Yoshimi is most known for his involvement in the Oten Gate arson incident 応天門の変 (*Ōtenmon no hen*) of 866 (Jogan 8).⁷¹⁶ After a fire destroyed this prominent symbol that marked the entry to the imperial palace's Hasshōin (八省院 an inner court of government), the counselor Tomo no Yoshio (伴善男 811-68) accused his rival, the Minister of the left Minamoto Makoto (源信 810-69), of arson. Yoshio persuaded Yoshimi to arrest Makoto, but instead Yoshimi interceded on Makoto's behalf. This, in addition to the testimony of a witness and adversary of Yoshio who stated that Yoshio and others in the Tomo and Ki clan were the true culprits, were enough to have members from both clans exiled. The removal of these clan members from court ended a long-standing power struggle between these two

⁷¹⁴ Hirano Kunio and Seno Seisaburō, eds., *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten*, 856.

⁷¹⁵ Cited in Hikoyoshi Mieko, "Fujiwara Yoshimi (I)," 15.

⁷¹⁶ *Sandai jitsurokuchō*, KT4: 198. Also see Hikoyoshi Mieko, "Fujiwara Yoshimi (II)," 623-64; Saeki Arikaio 佐伯有清, *Tomo no Yoshio 伴善男* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1970); Yoshikawa Shinji 吉川真司, *Heiankyō 平安京*, 159-71.

parties.⁷¹⁷ This episode is depicted in the twelfth-century *Ban Dainagon emaki* 伴大納言絵巻, an illustrated handscroll housed in the Idemitsu collection in Tokyo (fig. 35).⁷¹⁸ This scroll includes a poignant scene of Yoshifusa asking Seiwa to pardon Makoto, in which the emperor sits on a raised dais, while a distraught Yoshifusa sits before him, head bowed and hand held to his face. This incident illustrates the court power struggles in which courtiers like Yoshimi were entwined, the integrity of Yoshimi, and his closeness to the imperial court.

Although separated by a considerable distance, the arson in the palace had a significant impact upon Nimmyō's gravesite near Kashōji and the surrounding area in Fukakusa. Years prior to the arson, Tomo no Yoshio had donated the *jikidō* 食堂 (dining hall) to Kashōji, the site of Nimmyō's memorial rites since his death in 850. Yoshio also hosted lectures here on the Lotus sūtra (法華八講会 *Hokke hakkoe*) in honor of the deceased emperor. After Yoshio was exiled, the *jikidō* and all other things associated with him were considered 'polluted' (汚穢 *owai*).⁷¹⁹ The *jikidō* was intentionally demolished (perhaps explaining its absence from the *Sandai jitsuroku* or *Shinga denki*) and the perimeter of Nimmyō's grave had to be reconfigured.⁷²⁰ This was necessary so that the other gravesites in the area, including a large grave to the east (possibly that of Emperor Kammu), as well as another large grave to the north would not become 'polluted' as well.⁷²¹ It also ensured the pacification of Nimmyō's spirit, an issue I will discuss later in this chapter.

⁷¹⁷ William H. McCullough, "The Heian court 794-1070," in *The Cambridge history of Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall and Donald Shively (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 2: 49-51.

⁷¹⁸ *Shinpen meihō Nihon no bijutsu* 新編名宝日本の美術, ed. Kuroda Taizō 黒田泰三 et al, vol. 12, *Ban Dainagon emaki* 伴大納言絵巻 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1991), fig. 12. While historical documents paint Yoshimi as the hero and victim of the incident, the illustrated scroll posits Yoshifusa as the center of the debacle.

⁷¹⁹ *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT4: 199. In contrast to Nagaoka's interpretation of the term *owai* as sandy or muddy in the case of Jinganji (see Chapter Three), I believe that Yoshio's destructive actions in the palace had made the *jikidō* at Jōganji polluted by negative energy.

⁷²⁰ Saeki Arikiyo, *Tomo no Yoshio*, 284-85.

⁷²¹ *Ibid.*

Although Yoshimi's involvement in these political events dominates the bulk of the scholarship surrounding him, examination of his active religious life illustrates that his commission of the Godai Kokūzō may have been of a personal, as well as political nature. His wife Ootoe (乙枝 b. early ninth century), the daughter of Prince Abo (安保親王 792-842), died when Yoshimi was in his thirties (843-53).⁷²² The distraught Yoshimi never remarried and although he wished to take the Buddhist tonsure, his official duties at court prevented him from doing so. Instead, he devoted the last twenty or so years of his life to Buddhism and his court position.

Yoshimi had close ties to Mt. Hiei and the Tendai priest Ennin (円仁 794-864), and so asked Ennin to initiate the young monk Sōō in his stead. Sōō became a renowned healer at court, curing diseases for many of the imperial family members including Takakiko (多賀幾子 act. mid-ninth century), who was Yoshimi's daughter and Montoku's consort.⁷²³ He also performed purificatory rites on behalf of Junshi, Yoshimi's sister and the patron of Anjōji.⁷²⁴ Yoshimi became Sōō's primary supporter, while Sōō became Yoshimi's spiritual advisor.⁷²⁵ Yoshimi's associations with priests of several traditions illustrates that he was not a strict observer of the sectarian affiliations that were developing by this time.

In 859 (Jogan 1), Yoshimi established Enmyōin 延命院 and Sūshin'in 崇親院 in the southeastern part of Kyoto, and dedicated them to the four branches of the Fujiwara in hopes of unifying the clan.⁷²⁶ He also opened his residence as a learning center, and provided monetary

⁷²² This episode is noted in Hikoyoshi Mieko, "Fujiwara Yoshimi (I)," 18-19. There is no specific age mentioned.

⁷²³ Oyamada Kazuo, "Fujiwara Yoshimi to bukkyō," 52.

⁷²⁴ Hayami Tasuku, *Heian kizoku shakai to bukkyō*, 149.

⁷²⁵ Hikoyoshi Mieko, "Fujiwara Yoshimi (I)," 18-19.

⁷²⁶ Oyamada Kazuo, "Fujiwara Yoshimi to bukkyō," 47.

support for students.⁷²⁷ Hikoyoshi states that Yoshimi was a critic of the government, and to “atone” for such sins, he donated several plots of land to Jōganji.⁷²⁸ Of the Jōganji land donations recorded, the largest percentage of them was by Yoshimi.⁷²⁹ Yoshimi’s commission of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and Godai Myōō at Jōganji can thus be viewed as part this wave of religious activism and temple patronage, a phase in his life perhaps precipitated by the death of his young wife. While priests undoubtedly had the authority to decide which images were installed in a specific temple, I believe that imperial and Fujiwara patrons had enough knowledge of Buddhist image programs and their basic functions within temple contexts (the *sanrinjin* configuration within the lineage of Nimmyō, for example) to justify their involvement in choosing images for temples as well. The patrons did, after all, provide the funds for images to be created.

The question remains, however, as to why Yoshimi chose to commission these particular configurations at Jōganji. When deciding which specific images would be appropriate for the temple, he likely received advice from those figures active in political and religious spheres of the period, specifically his sister Junshi, and Shinga, the main priest associated with Jōganji. Junshi was the sister of both Yoshimi and Yoshifusa, and the grandmother of Emperor Seiwa (see Diagram 1). It is plausible that she encouraged Yoshimi to continue the pattern of *sanrinjin* image patronage with Kokūzō Bosatsu representing the ‘correct teaching’ aspect of the configuration, as had been done at Jingoji and Anshōji. Yoshimi also seemed to have had a close bond with his grand-nephew Seiwa, and may have chosen to honor him with this commission.

⁷²⁷ Hikoyoshi Mieko, "Fujiwara Yoshimi (I)," 21.

⁷²⁸ Hikoyoshi Mieko, "Fujiwara Yoshimi (II)," 663.

⁷²⁹ Takei Akio, "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō," 33-34.

Jōganji priests: Shinga and Shōbō

Shinga, as a disciple and blood relative of Kūkai, was likely familiar with Kūkai's Esoteric theories and conception of the Buddhist cosmos. In 860, Shinga followed in the footsteps of Shinzei and was named *chōja* 長者 (abbot) of Tōji.⁷³⁰ With the succession of roles, the significance and structure of the *sanjinrin* configuration (both the forms at Tōji and at Jingoji) may have also been transmitted by Shinzei to Shinga as part of the Shingon lineage.⁷³¹ As Bogel states, Shinga (along with other disciples Shinzei and Shinshō [真紹 797-873]), was responsible for carrying out Kūkai's "vision for rituals and icons," particularly at the Shingon'in (真言院, an Esoteric ritual space within the Imperial Palace), and within the Tōji lecture hall.⁷³² Shinga was also close to Emperor Nimmyō as a *gojisō* (護持僧 chaplain) at his court.⁷³³ Shinga rose quickly in the monastic ranks, became close to Emperor Junna and was a trusted advisor of Emperor Seiwa as well.

Shinga frequently mentions Kokūzō Bosatsu in the context of rituals. *Taizō daishidai* 胎藏大次第, a ritual text for Womb world mandala rites, for example, mentions Kokūzō Bosatsu-centered devotions as one of a cycle of several deities venerated in the Womb world mandala.⁷³⁴ This text is relatively securely identified as Shinga's writing. Another source, copied by Kyoto's Nishigamo shrine 西鴨神社 in 1730 (Kyōhō 15), entitled *Kokūzō gumonjihō* 虚空藏求聞持法 is

⁷³⁰ Ito Shirō, "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron," 121-22. I am grateful to Michael Jamentz for his help with the English translation of *chōja*.

⁷³¹ Itō also notes that Shinga was *chōja* of Tōji until 871 (Jogan 13); since a secret image of Fudō currently in the Tōji Saiin is dated to Jogan 9 (in an iconographical drawing where he holds a sword), it was likely made during his tenure there. Ibid., 121-22.

⁷³² Bogel, *With a single glance*, 260.

⁷³³ Abe, *The weaving of mantra*, 367. He was also an acclaimed poet, as Paul Gordon Schalow confirms Shinga's authorship of a love poem to the Heian period courtier, Ariwara no Narihira (在原業平 825-80). Paul Gordon Schalow, "The invention of a literary tradition of male love: Kitamura Kigin's *Iwatsutsuji*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 48, no. 1 (1993): 5.

⁷³⁴ Hase Hōshū 長谷宝秀, ed., *Kōbō daishi shodeshi zenshū* 弘法大師諸弟子全集, 3 vols. (Kyoto: Daigakudō shoten, 1974), hereafter "KDSZ," 2: 236, 84.

a ritual text quite different from the *gumonjihō* discussed in Chapter One.⁷³⁵ This text involves visualization of the Five Buddhas of the Diamond world and of the Womb world. It also involves a four-sided pagoda, Hōshō Nyorai as a manifestation of Kokūzō Bosatsu, and a synthesis of Monju Bosatsu and Kokūzō Bosatsu as one unified body representing wisdom and merit.⁷³⁶ It includes the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu as the fourth in a series of seven seed syllables to be recited along with the performance of mudras. Although the text states that it was written by Shinga at Jōganji and copied in 1730, the 1743 editorial comments dispute the priest's authorship.

Other ninth-century clerics besides Shinga had associations to Seiwa and the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. Another ninth-century ritual text and mandala depicting the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu adds dimension to the authority of the deity. The *Rishukyō jūhachie mandara* 理趣經十八会曼荼羅, brought by the Shingon priest Shūei (宗叡 809-84) from Tang dynasty China, was another iconographical source for at least the central image of Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu currently housed in the Jingoji pagoda.⁷³⁷ Shūei studied with Enchin and other Tendai priests early in his career, but became affiliated with Shingon, studying at Qinglongsi in China and becoming administrator of Tōji upon his return.⁷³⁸ Shūei's closeness to the imperial family is demonstrated by his Esoteric initiation of Emperor Seiwa.⁷³⁹

The earliest existing version of this mandala is a 1228 copy housed at Daigoji in Kyoto (fig. 36).⁷⁴⁰ This mandala shows the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in mandala configuration, all seated in

⁷³⁵ KDSZ2: 203-06.

⁷³⁶ The iconography of both Monju and Kokūzō Bosatsu includes a sword, known in Buddhist traditions to cut away delusions.

⁷³⁷ Sasaki Moritoshi, "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu," 10-11. For more on Shūei's relationship to this mandala see Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏, "Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō: toku ni Rishukyō mandara o chūshin to shite 宗叡請来の密教図像：特に理趣經曼荼羅を中心として," *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō* 成田山仏教研究所紀要 15 (1992): 522-34.

⁷³⁸ Hirano Kunio and Seno Seisaburō, eds., *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten*, 471-72.

⁷³⁹ ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas*, 86.

⁷⁴⁰ TZ5: 794.

full lotus position. Hōkai Kokūzō is at the center, holding a hook in the left hand, and a long-stemmed lotus topped with a tripartite jewel in the right. The other deities, placed below, above, and to the right and left of the central image, all hold hooks in the left hand and tripartite flaming jewels in the right. The image to the left holds what appears to be a vajra, standing on end in the deity's palm (fig. 36).

While the text that informs this mandala's iconography, *Dairaku kongō Fukū shinjitsu sammaya kyō* 大樂金剛不空真実三昧耶經 (alt. *Rishukyō*, explained in Amoghavajra's *Rishushaku* 理趣釈⁷⁴¹), does contain references to Kokūzō Bosatsu in its single deity form, there are no references to the pentad. However, elements of the *Yugikyō* such as the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and Aizen Myōō were added in later forms of the mandala.⁷⁴² It is possible that by the time Shūei imported this mandala to Japan, that it had accumulated the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu imagery. This shows continued connections between the imperial family, Shingon lineage, and Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad.

Shōbō (聖宝 832-909), another Shingon priest and disciple of Shinga, was also related to the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad and Jōganji. Although he is most known for his role in establishing Daigoji in 874, he subsequently became *zasu* at Jōganji from 890.⁷⁴³ Shōbō wrote the single fascicle *Godai Kokūzō shikihō* 五大虚空藏式法 (Godai Kokūzō ritual).⁷⁴⁴ This text may have been used at Jōganji with the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures commissioned by

⁷⁴¹ Ian Astley's study of this text explains that although several versions of this sūtra are known, Amoghavajra's translation is the one that became one of the major Shingon Buddhist texts in Japan from the ninth century onward. Ian Astley, "The five mysteries of Vajrasattva: a Buddhist tantric view of the passions and enlightenment," in *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, ed. Richard Karl Payne (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006), 119. This version is found in T8: 243.

⁷⁴² Hayashi On 林温, "Besson mandara 別尊曼荼羅," *Nihon no bijutsu 日本美術* 433 (June 2002): 39-40; Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏, "Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō," 495-539.

⁷⁴³ Hirano Kunio and Seno Seisaburō, eds., *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten*, 506-07.

⁷⁴⁴ *Shoshi seisaku mokuroku* 諸師製作目録 in DNBZ2: 7; *Shakkyō shoshi seisaku mokuroku* 釋教諸師製作目録 in Tokyo Teikoku daigaku shiryō hensanjo 東京帝国大学史料編纂所, ed., *Dai Nihon shiryō 大日本史料* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1968) 1: pt. 4, 110.

Yoshimi. Shōbō later became *chōja* of Tōji in 906, following in the footsteps of Shinga and Shinzei. Later in his life he was active in imperially-related prayers as well as *shugendō* (mountain ascetic) practices in the Yoshino area.⁷⁴⁵ Chapter One demonstrated the significance of the Yoshino region to priests involved in the *gumonjihō* and other rites.

Temple designations, wrathful spirits, and peripheries

Another aspect of the mid-ninth century political and religious milieu affecting Buddhist institutions was the system of temple designations, specifically those of *jōkakuji* (imperial designated temple) and *goganji* (imperial vowed temple).⁷⁴⁶ As mentioned throughout this dissertation, the term *jōkakuji* is an official designation given to temples that received monetary support from the imperial government in exchange for the performance of national protection rites. Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji were all *jōkakuji*.

Goganji, however, seems to have been a more ambiguous category, as scholarship dealing is fraught with conflicting definitions. For example, is unclear as to whether *goganji* was an official designation bestowed by the government (like *jōkakuji*), or if the term was simply used in historical documents to refer to a temple that was supported by private, rather than government, funds. Adolphson sheds light on the issue, stating that because *goganji* held rites on behalf of the emperor, by extension, the state also benefitted.⁷⁴⁷ This sounds similar to the function of *jōkakuji*,

⁷⁴⁵ Hirano Kunio and Seno Seisaburō, eds., *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten*, 506-07.

⁷⁴⁶ For scholarship on these designations, see for example, Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 212-44; Hori Yutaka 堀裕, "Heian jidai no goganji to tennō: kyū, jūseiki o chūshin ni 平安時代の御願寺と天皇：九・十世紀を中心に," *Shirin* 史林 91, no. 1 (2008): 67-100; Nishiguchi Junko 西口順子, "Heian jidai shoki jūin no kōsatsu: goganji o chūshin ni 平安時代初期寺院の考察：御願寺を中心に," *Shisō* 史窓 28 (1970): 43-59; Nishimura Ryōhei 西村良平, "Okadera no tanjō: Kashōji saikō <陸寺>の誕生：嘉祥寺の再考," in *Nihon kokka no shiteki tokushitsu: kodai, chūsei* 日本国家の史的特質：古代、中世, ed. Ōyama Kyōhei 大山喬平 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1997), 361-84; Ōe Atsushi, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 44-68, 226-56; Okano Kōji 岡野浩二, *Heian jidai no kokka to jūin* 平安時代の国家と寺院 (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 2009).

⁷⁴⁷ Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 217.

but the personal dedication was key to the *goganji* designation. Hori Yutaka's argument points out that the term *gogan* 御願 is used in many primary sources to refer to both the commissioning of an entire temple complex, or for just one building within a temple; moreover, the character of *goganji* changed from the eighth through eleventh centuries.⁷⁴⁸ The corporeal body of a specific emperor was related to eighth- and ninth-century *goganji*, hence the establishment of Kashōji near Nimmyō's gravesite. Emperors who died during the ninth century, if still on the throne at the time of death, would continue to be honored as an emperor at their graves, which were typically located in mountain areas away from the capital proper. This stands in contrast to *goganji* in the late tenth century onward, which were considered general prayer sites not dedicated to one specific ruler. During this period an emperor was no longer honored as an emperor after his death.⁷⁴⁹ While we must be cautious in our definition and categorization of *goganji*, it is clear that *goganji* had a certain degree of personal significance to their sponsors as well as an imperial dedicatory function.

Historical documentation clearly states the *jōkakujī* status of Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji. Although privately funded by Seiwa's grandfather, Yoshifusa, Jōganji was granted the status of *jōkakujī* by 874, as noted above in the celebration held there that year. Yoshifusa's involvement in *jōkakujī* went beyond this temple, however. He was a powerful player in the imperial court, and his heavy involvement in the conferral of *jōkakujī* status designations throughout Japan helped him control land, for example, both within the capital regions and in outlying provinces.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁸ Hori Yutaka, "Heian jidai no goganji to tennō: kyū, jūseiki o chūshin ni," 98.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁷⁵⁰ Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 225.

The entire complex of Jōganji was known as a *goganji* at least by 876.⁷⁵¹ The *Shingishiki* 新儀式, a mid tenth-century record of rituals edited under Emperor Murakami (村上天皇 r. 926-67) lists Jōganji as a *goganji*, so it held this status at least until this date.⁷⁵² Jōganji's distinctive status as both a *jōkakuji* and *goganji* meant that it was both an imperially certified temple that received funding based on a demonstrated need, and an imperially vowed temple established privately but that held rites for the benefit of the state. This placed the temple in a privileged position, earning, as Adolphson says, "double honors."⁷⁵³ Jingoji and Anjōji only had *jōkakuji* status. An example of the benefits that Jōganji received is noted in the *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (Procedures of the Engi era), a multi-volume record of court procedures written in the early tenth century, which contains a list of provisions that the state donated to Jōganji.⁷⁵⁴ With this type of recognition and status, Jōganji thus seems an especially appropriate location for the placement of the *sanrinjin* configuration.

The establishment of *goganji*, because they were sites for devotional prayers dedicated to specific emperors, functioned as a preventative measure against harm that *onryō* 怨靈 (vengeful spirits), especially those of deceased emperors, might inflict.⁷⁵⁵ The avoidance and prevention of *onryō* was a primary concern of Heian religious and government officials. If wronged during their lifetimes, *goryō* 御靈, or spirits of the deceased (emperors and high government officials

⁷⁵¹ Although Adolphson states that this designation was bestowed upon the temple by Emperor Montoku in 862, it is first mentioned in 876. *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT4: 381

⁷⁵² Ōe cites three categories of *goganji* in the *Shingishiki*: temples with a specific building dedicated to an emperor; entire temple complexes dedicated to an emperor, such as Jōganji or Ninnaji, where prayers for the deceased would be held (Emperor Kōkō (光孝天皇 r. 884-87) commissioned Ninnaji for the recitation of prayers dedicated to his deceased grandfather, Seiwa); and subtemples commissioned by emperors for the purpose of national protection, like Nimmyō's Jōshin'in 定心院 and Montoku's Shiten'in 四王院 at the Tendai Enryakuji 延暦寺 complex on Mt. Hiei. Ōe Atsushi, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 231-33. Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 217-18. This indicates that neither this temple designation, nor the Buddhist patronage of Nimmyō or Montoku, were strictly Shingon.

⁷⁵³ Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 222-23.

⁷⁵⁴ Cited in NRT27: 414.

⁷⁵⁵ Ōe Atsushi, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 5, 47.

were of special concern) could manifest as a malicious *onryō* (angry spirits) and inflict famine, natural disasters, and sickness upon the nation. The desolate state of the nation during the ninth century may have been seen as the effect of *onryō*. Bogel points out that during the ninth century, *miyadera* 宮寺, or shrine-temples, emerged as the primary sites dedicated to prayers for the appeasement of *onryō*, incorporating practices similar to *keka*, features of *mikkyō*, as well as rites for Shinto deities.⁷⁵⁶ I propose, however, that *goganji* were also part of this system of protection from malicious spirits through their dedicatory nature.

In Japan, *goganji* were often built in mountain areas, where the spiritual power, whether beneficial or malicious (in the case of *onryō*), would be isolated within the supra-magical geography. This took on greater significance from Nimmyō's reign onwards, evidenced by the increased number of memorial services held in the mountains. Such services conducted during the year after an emperor's death were typically performed at one location within the capital. However, Nimmyō expressly stated that his own memorial services be performed at seven separate mountain temples located at key points in the mountains of what are present-day Kyoto, Nara, Osaka and Wakayama prefectures.⁷⁵⁷ Nishimura states that this was because Nimmyō recognized the potential danger of his own spirit becoming an *onryō*.⁷⁵⁸ Nimmyō acknowledged the danger of malicious spirits, and requested that his first-year memorial rites be performed at mountain temples more geographically widespread than those of his predecessors in order for his spirit to be appeased. His services also were the first in several generations of imperial memorial ceremonies that were more lavish than the more spartan services of his predecessors.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁶ Bogel, *With a single glance*, 157-58.

⁷⁵⁷ However, none of them were Jingoji, Anjōji or Jōganji. Nishimura Ryōhei, "Okadera no tanjō: Kashōji saikō," 368; Ōe Atsushi, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 237-38.

⁷⁵⁸ Nishimura Ryōhei, "Okadera no tanjō: Kashōji saikō," 377.

⁷⁵⁹ Ōe illustrates that the belief patterns of Nimmyō and Junshi mirrored that of Shōmu and Kōmyō. Like Shōmu, Nimmyō's memorial rites were more lavish than his predecessors, while Junshi, like Empress Kōmyō (光明

Nimmyō's one-year death anniversary was conducted at Kashōji in 851, which, while not located in a mountainous area per se, was a *goganji* located in a less populated area outside of the capital proper. As noted earlier, the Seiryōden of the palace was moved to the site of Kashōji in Fukakusa.⁷⁶⁰ Nimmyō died in the Seiryōden, and in order to prevent the pollution of the palace brought on by his death, this structure, or some portion of it that symbolized the emperor's presence, was removed from the palace. Doing so served to pacify his spirit. Other graves were located in the Fukakusa area and there was no history of *onryō* here, making it an appropriate location for Nimmyō's burial.⁷⁶¹ Like Jingoji and Anjōji, Jōganji also fits into the category of a temple located outside of the capital proper so that it could protect the city from afar. Temples with reign names, such as Kashōji, Jōganji, and also Enryakuji (named after Emperor Saga's reign), were considered to be especially auspicious because they were associated with good omens and ancestor blessings that are included in the meaning of the name.⁷⁶²

The increased frequency with which ominous and auspicious phenomena occurred coincided with the Fujiwara ascendancy to power. This illustrates that, as Grapard writes:

...political worries in Heian Japan were as if symbolically manifested in an increased consciousness of the course of nature in relation to human affairs, well within the framework of a nature-culture dialectic. The notable increase in records of natural occurrences interpreted as heavenly warnings or blessings is related to the evolution of the *gōryō* belief system, and might be viewed as a manifestation of

皇后 701-60) was active in Amida-based beliefs while still sponsoring Esoteric rites such as the Sonshōhō and Kujakuhō at Anjōji. Ōe does note, however, that the period during which the *Shingishiki* was written was deeply steeped in Amida and Pure Land belief, a fact which may have caused the authors to emphasize the elements of Amida belief evident in Junshi's activities. Ōe Atsushi, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 241.

⁷⁶⁰ *Montoku tennō jitsuroku*, KT3: 26.

⁷⁶¹ Nishimura Ryōhei, "Okadera no tanjō: Kashōji saikō," 377; Takei Akio, "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō," 43-44.

⁷⁶² Horii Yutaka, "Heian jidai no goganji to tennō: kyū, jūseiki o chūshin ni," 98-99.

popular criticism of governmental policies and of the internecine struggle that took place within the aristocracy.⁷⁶³

Yoshimi's patronage of the sculptural configurations at Jōganji can be viewed in light of this political and spiritual anxiety which permeated the ninth-century court.

As part of the system to keep malicious spirits at bay, repentance rites, performed in mountain areas isolated from the city, feature prominently in the Japanese religious system from the eighth century onwards. During the eighth and ninth centuries, *keka* focusing on Yakushi, Senjū Kannon, Kichijōten, Jizō, Jūichimen Kannon, and other bodhisattvas were most common.⁷⁶⁴ As shown in previous chapters, Yakushi *keka* were a primary rite at Jingoji. The *Anjōji shizaichō* includes a listing of a Jūichimen Kannon and a Jizō sculpture, which may have been used in *keka* at Anjōji.⁷⁶⁵ Finally, as illustrated above, land dedicated to Senjū Kannon *keka* (which, as noted earlier in this chapter, may have been held in the *raidō*) was donated to Jōganji. Takei also presents evidence that Jizō *keka* were performed at Kashōji, although there is no record of a Jizō image at the temple.⁷⁶⁶ Such rites may have been intended to pacify Nimmyō's spirit, preventing his spirit from wreaking havoc upon the nation.

While there is no evidence that the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads directly relate to *keka* rituals themselves, we must not overlook the significance of *keka* rite performances at the three temples where *sanrinjin* configurations that included the Godai Kokūzō pentads were located. The relationship between *keka* and the concept of national protection embodied by the *sanjinrin* configuration is one of merit accretion for the nation. Repentance through *keka* rites accrues

⁷⁶³ Grapard, "Religious practices," 551.

⁷⁶⁴ See Nagaoka Ryūsaku, "Keka to butszō," 1-29; Nakano Genzō 中野玄三, *Keka no geijutsu 悔過の芸術* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982), chapter 3. Nagaoka also includes Shitennō, Bonten and Taishakuten in the list of deities venerated in eighth-century penitence rites.

⁷⁶⁵ *Shizaichō*, 37-38.

⁷⁶⁶ Takei Akio, "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō," 39.

merit for the adherent and perhaps an imperial patron, merit which could also be utilized to protect the state. Commissioning the politically and religiously powerful symbol of the *sanrinjin* configuration further achieves these same goals. Sutras related to protection of the nation were read at these temples, likely in front of these tripartite configurations. The ravaged condition of Japanese society in general (famine, plague, depopulation) necessitated these rites, as the imperial family depended on the clergy to reinforce and prove the protective, benevolent power inherent in the *cakravartin* ideal. In the ninth century, when the emperor's activities were reflected in the appearance of celestial changes, natural disasters, and malicious spirits, a nation left in desolation would directly be connected to a sovereign who was not fulfilling his role as protector. Safeguarding the nation through these rites and sūtra readings was thus of prime importance.

Kashōji and Jōganji in later centuries

In the late Heian period, Kashōji was unable to support itself and became a *betsuin* (別院 detached cloister) of Ninnaji.⁷⁶⁷ This designation was primarily for temples that had lost the benefits of the declining *jōkakuji* status, and that needed associations with larger more prominent temples in order to continue functioning.⁷⁶⁸ The name of the temple appears in *Shūgaishō* 拾芥抄 by Tōin Kinkata (洞院公賢 1291-1360),⁷⁶⁹ as well as in a map of Fushimi dated to 1445 (Bunan 2) in the collection of Tanaka Kanbē 田中勘兵衛. Jōganji also appears here. The temple was burned down during the nation-wide devastation that befell Japan during the Muromachi period (1392-1573).

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., 27.

⁷⁶⁸ Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 228.

⁷⁶⁹ Tōin Kinkata 洞院公賢, "Shūgaishō 拾芥抄," ed. Sonkeikaku bunko 尊敬閣文庫 (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 1998), 183.

Although no structures from the temple remain, eleven of Kashōji's foundation stones still exist at the Fukakusa area Jōdō Shinshū 浄土真宗 temple of Zenpukuji 善福寺. Nine of the stones, configured in a Y-shape, are currently incorporated into the temple's decorative inner garden. The two other stones serve as the bases for porch pillars of the present main hall. This temple also houses a small bronze Yakushi Buddha sculpture (approx. 15cm tall), purportedly worshipped by Emperor Nimmyō himself, but this fact is not verifiable with existing resources. A number of Kashōji roof tiles are housed at Zenpukuji as well.⁷⁷⁰ While a Tendai school temple named Kashōji exists today near Zenpukuji, it was built in the seventeenth century and only carries the same name as the previous Kashōji.⁷⁷¹ However, the grounds of this temple likely were part of the larger ninth-century Kashōji complex.

Even less data remains about the history of Jōganji after the eleventh century. Although in the late tenth century, the *jōkakujī* system became obsolete due to a lack of government funds, prominent *goganji* became more important.⁷⁷² As a temple with both designations, Jōganji may have been fortunate to still remain viable during tumultuous years of civil war at least until the fifteenth century. The entry in *Kakuzenshō* referring to the pilgrimage to the southern hall of Jōganji in 1008 illustrates that the temple was still functioning at this point.⁷⁷³ Along with Kashōji, Jōganji also appears in the above-mentioned *Shūkaishō* in a listing of twenty-one other prominent temples such as Kajūji, Ninnaji, Enryakuji, and Jōfukuji,⁷⁷⁴ as well as in a 1445 map of the Fushimi area. Jōganji likely declined sometime during the fifteenth century, however, and

⁷⁷⁰ Kyotofu 京都府, ed., *Kyotofu shiseki shōchi chōsakai hōkoku* 京都府史蹟勝地調査会報告 (Kyoto: Kyotofu, 1919) 1: 69-71; Saeki Arikio, *Tomo no Yoshio*, 286; Takei Akio, "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō," 29.

⁷⁷¹ Tendaishū Kyoto kyōku 天台宗京都教区, ed., *Tendaishū Kyoto kyōku jūinshi* 天台宗京都教区寺院誌 (Kyoto: Tendaishū Kyoto kyōku shūmusho, 2008), 96-97.

⁷⁷² Adolphson, "Institutional diversity," 227-28.

⁷⁷³ TZ5: 57.

⁷⁷⁴ Tōin Kinkata, "Shūgaishō," 183.

was abandoned soon thereafter.⁷⁷⁵ Later records indicate that Jōganji's land became the site of the Nichiren school temple Bokusenji 墨染寺 in the seventeenth century, which is an active temple today.⁷⁷⁶ Bokusenji (the grounds where Jōganji was located), is approximately 1.8 kilometers southwest of Zenpukuji and Nimmyō's gravesite (the grounds where Kashōji was located), illustrating the grand scale of the Kashōji-Jōganji temple complexes.

Stylistic issues and early Fujiwara commissions

I have examined above the particular historical and religious circumstances under which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures were installed at Jōganji. Due to the lack of information about the images' style and iconography, it is difficult to determine whether or not they contained any elements of Chinese-based belief systems, such as those associated with five-phases theories. However, considering the mid-ninth century environment in which a multivalent belief and ritual system was paramount to the expression of political authority, as well as the connections which the Fujiwara clan likely had to imperial sculptural workshops, it is possible that the Jōganji images were stylistically similar to the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and the Anjōji Gochi Nyorai sculptures, falling into the "Sinicized Central Asian" vein of images.⁷⁷⁷ Considering Yoshifusa's high governmental rank, the function of Jōganji as a site dedicated to prayers for Emperor Seiwa, and the association with Shinga (Kūkai's biological brother and disciple), the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures were likely produced in a government-sponsored workshop where other ninth-century imperially commissioned Buddhist sculptures were made. Stylistic features of images made in such workshops during the mid-ninth century include full, rounded

⁷⁷⁵ NRT27: 414; Takei Akio, "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō," 36.

⁷⁷⁶ NRT27: 414; Ibid. According to the current head priest, Bokusenji currently houses no records or remains related to Joganji.

⁷⁷⁷ This style is noted in Bogel, *With a single glance*, 330.

faces, narrow, elongated eyes, and fleshy bodies, like those seen in the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, the Anjōji Gochi Nyorai, and the Kanshinji Nyoirin Kannon. Since Yoshimi died in 867, this places his commission within this timeframe of approximately 835 and 870 when this style was most prevalent.

While tenth-century Fujiwara Buddhist temple and sculpture commissions are known,⁷⁷⁸ it is notable that there are few from the ninth century. In later centuries, this clan became prolific patrons of Buddhist visual culture, working closely with sculptors from the workshops of Jōchō's (定朝 d. 1057) lineage.⁷⁷⁹ However, few ninth-century Fujiwara sculpture commissions are known. This chapter has illustrated that Fujiwara Yoshimi patronized two Esoteric image groupings at the temple, while Yoshifusa patronized deities that during the mid-ninth century at least were used in Esoteric rites (Sonshō Butsu), others that were not (Śākyamuni), as well as some that may have been used in either context (Shitennō, Kannon, Jizō). Fujiwara Junshi's commissions at Anjōji also fall into this pattern of ninth-century Fujiwara temple patronage. Yoshimi's patronage of the Jōganji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures thus illustrates an early recorded example of Fujiwara involvement in a large-scale Esoteric Buddhist image commission, a movement which gained momentum into the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

⁷⁷⁸ I am grateful to Prof. Nedachi Kensuke for pointing out that Hōshōji 法性寺, formerly located in the modern-day Higashiyama area of eastern Kyoto, was an early Fujiwara commission. This temple was commissioned by Fujiwara Tadahira (藤原忠平 880-949) and was the site of Lotus Sutra lectures for the Fujiwara in the tenth and eleventh centuries. NRT27; Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus lectures," 403.

⁷⁷⁹ The attention given to such patronage is one element in what Mimi Yiengpruksawan describes as the Fujiwara "paradigm," a "construct" intended to signify culture, refinement, wealth and power of the Fujiwara regents in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, "What's in a name? Fujiwara fixation in Japanese cultural history," *Monumenta Nipponica* 49, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 423-53.

Conclusion

The above examination has shown that the context into which the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu were installed at Jōganji during the ninth century involved not only the imperial family and disciples in Kūkai's lineage, but to a large degree, the Fujiwara family. While the lack of images and paucity of primary sources on the temple pose challenges in trying to reconstruct the visual program at the site, what we are able to glean from extant sources illuminates a dynamic setting for the images. The *sanrinjin* configuration is continued here, patronized not by the imperial family, but by members of the Fujiwara clan. This act of patronage can be viewed as a microcosm of the larger political situation: they continued a pattern of image and building commissions that was originally the purview of the imperial family, and co-opted it as a symbol of the Fujiwara presence in the imperial realm. Fujiwara participation in the establishment of this temple coincided with their ascendancy to power (and image patronage) that was to peak later in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The relationship between Kashōji and Jōganji shows a similar trend. While Montoku established Kashōji and dedicated it to prayers for his father Nimmō, the Fujiwara established nearby Jōganji and dedicated to prayers to Emperor Seiwa, the grandson of Yoshifusa and the highest government official in the nation. Again, the Fujiwara took what was originally a symbol dedicated to an emperor, and imprinted it with their own seal in the name of Buddhism. The designation of Jōganji as both a *goganji* and a *jokakuji* also gave it a highly privileged position among ninth-century temples.

The precise ritual functions of other known ninth-century Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu images discussed in this chapter are difficult to ascertain, as are that of the Jōganji images. The records of specific images at the temple as well as other primary sources reveal that the performance of

keka and the reading of specific sūtras devoted to the emperor (and thus promoting national protection) was a pillar of ritual activity at Jōganji. I believe that as at Tōji, rites and sūtra readings related to the *Ninnōkyō* were performed at Jōganji with the *sanrinjin* configuration in mind. The importance of the celestial realm represented by the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu was likely not lost on the patrons of Jōganji, as such beliefs thrived in later centuries, both among imperial family members and regents. The specific inclusion of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in the temple plan of Jōganji was also likely in keeping with the patronage patterns and clerical influences of those involved in the visual programs at Jingoji and Anjōji. Jingoji demonstrates how continuity in the legitimization and protection of lineage was vital in the ninth-century political and religious milieu of Japan.

Conclusion

Since its introduction into Japan in the sixth century, Buddhist imagery and practice was altered and adapted according to the needs of society. Each generation of Shingon priests in Kūkai's lineage, for example, adopted more varied images, iconography and rituals than the previous one, often depending on their patrons' demand for certain rites. This is exemplified in the changes seen in Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures. What began as single depictions of the deity venerated in a star-related ritual transformed into a pentad with complex, multivalent iconography, the patronage of which reflected the shifting locus of political authority in the ninth century.

I have introduced the complex iconography of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu, the multifaceted religious environment in which sculptures of this pentad emerged, and the prominent role these images played during the mid-ninth century. Although the pentad is first seen in Japan within the milieu of Kūkai's Shingon lineage and his imperial patrons, I have revealed the multilateral usage of this configuration as the Fujiwara family gained prominence and the way in which they co-opted this symbolically powerful pentad for their own legitimization purposes in the mid-ninth century. This study has also brought to light a more nuanced situation in regard to sectarian affiliations in Japan as well, with iconographical exchange not only between Shingon and Tendai traditions, but with streams of Chinese-based belief as well.

The Jingoji images' color and directional placement resonate with the Chinese five-phase correlative cosmology system. The directional associations also apply to the Anjōji and/or Kanchiin images, but the animal vehicles of these images add another level of iconographical significance. Perhaps most significantly, the placement of the deity (and animal, in the case of

the Anjōji images) associated with white in the center of the other four Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures makes reference to the significance of the deity within the *gumonjihō* context.

Another pillar of my discussion is the *sanrinjin* configuration formulated by Kūkai and installed in the lecture hall of Tōji in 839. Kokūzō Bosatsu was recognized as an appropriate substitute for the Godai Bosatsu within this scheme for several reasons particular to the mid-century politico-religious milieu of Japan: firstly, Kūkai was deeply affected by his *gumonjihō* experience early in his life, solidifying the deity in his mind as one within the cosmological hierarchy that was an extension of the natural world. This ritual was not only related to celestial bodies, but through its practice by priests and patronage by emperors, it reinforced and drew upon the power inherent in the cosmos, another realm of hierarchy according to Chinese-based star worship.

Secondly, Kūkai's disciples must have known the significance of Kokūzō Bosatsu to their master. Kūkai was one of many Japanese Buddhist clerics in the late eighth and early ninth century who practiced the *gumonjihō* and in doing so, recognized the importance of Venus. He continued to include Kokūzō Bosatsu in his own Buddhist visual and iconographical lexicon, as evidenced in his associations with the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu imagery and texts. Kūkai's disciples were subsequently instrumental in installing sculptures of this pentad in temples closely associated with the imperial family.

Third, the religious milieu of the mid-ninth century was conducive to the incorporation of star-related deities. This point diverges from the dominant body of academic scholarship that emphasizes celestial worship much later in Japan's religious history. With the help of diviners, imperial family members and courtiers practiced protective rites which included directional associations, colors and celestial bodies. The inclusion of Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures at

Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji is evidence of the way in which magico-religious authority of deities within the Esoteric Buddhist pantheon were vital to the belief system of this period.

Belief and images after the ninth century

Sculptures of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration was closely tied to the Nimmyō-Montoku-Seiwa imperial lineage, as well as the disciples in Kūkai's lineage who attended these imperial patrons (Shinzei, Eun and Shinga, respectively). After the later ninth century, however, the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad is no longer seen in sculptural form in temple contexts.⁷⁸⁰ This disappearance can be understood first in light of the general decline of *mikkyō* practice during the later ninth and tenth centuries. Kūkai's *mikkyō*-based *sanrinjin* configuration, so vital for state protection rituals during his lifetime and that of his immediate disciples, thus became obsolete. This change was also part of a larger trend of the rising popularity of Lotus sūtra-based teachings, which became the belief of choice for the imperial family and the increasingly influential Fujiwara clan from the tenth century onward. As the Fujiwara influence at court increased, especially with the enthronement of Emperors Montoku and Seiwa, their propensity towards Tendai and Pure Land teachings prioritized creation of visual elements from this vein of Buddhist thought.

In addition, there was a somewhat violent rupture in multi-generational patronage pattern of the *sanrinjin* configurations featuring the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu. I have shown the strong familial element present in the three successive generations of emperors' associations with the pentad, and how the Fujiwara family integrated themselves into this lineage. When Emperor Seiwa abdicated in favor of his unorthodox, at times violent son, Emperor Yōzei 陽成 (r. 876-

⁷⁸⁰ A sixteenth-century bronze pentad is housed at Iidesan Jinja 飯豊山神社, a Shinto shrine in Fukui prefecture. Kuno Takeshi, ed., *Butsuzō shūsei I*, 329.

84), this pattern of successive generations of *sanrinjin* patronage ended. Although historical records are perhaps intentionally obscure regarding the activities of Yōzei, he is known to have murdered one of his own courtiers.⁷⁸¹ During his term as emperor, Yōzei demonstrated what can at the very least be described as behavior unbecoming of a ruler, and was deemed unfit to rule by imperial advisors. Given his unconventional behavior, it is thus not surprising that he is not known as an active patron of Buddhist images. His successor, Emperor Kōkō 光孝天皇 (r. 884-87), however, did sponsor restorations at Jingoji and Jōganji, demonstrating perhaps an act of filial piety to his predecessors. By his time, however, practices based in the Lotus sūtra and Pure Land teachings had overtaken Shingon practices and patronage, and the *sanrinjin* configuration was not continued.

Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu imagery did not completely disappear, however. Later generations often utilized lavish paintings of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad in rituals from the eleventh century and throughout the twelfth through nineteenth centuries.⁷⁸² These include single images of Kokūzō Bosatsu as well as the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentad configuration. Many of them incorporate landscape, showing a connection to geographical features and thus other land and nature-based belief systems as well.

The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptural configurations today

Both the Jingoji and Kanchiin pentads are still utilized today in rituals within their respective temples. One of the standard Shingon sūtras, *Rishukyō* 理趣經, is recited in front of the Jingoji images when they are open for public viewing for three-day periods each mid-October and mid-

⁷⁸¹ McCullough, "The Heian court 794-1070," 51-53.

⁷⁸² For a nineteenth-century painting of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu see Tōji Hōmotsukan 東寺宝物館, *Tōji no bosatsuzō 東寺の菩薩像* (Kyoto: Benridō, 2000), plate 32.

March. There are also monthly *goma* 護摩 (Esoteric Buddhist fire rites) performed at the temple in the Myōōdō, in addition to a variety of memorial rites for Kūkai and Mongaku, the Kamakura period priest responsible for reconstructing the temple after it lay in a state of disrepair for several decades. As noted in Chapter Four, the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu housed in Kanchiin at Tōji are utilized in the *jūsan mairi* 十三参り ceremony held for boys and girls who are thirteen years of age. Since Kokūzō Bosatsu is associated with knowledge, the pentad is venerated in the hopes the deities will bestow wisdom upon the children as they cross the threshold into young adulthood.

With our modern gaze, the three Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu pentads at Jingoji, Anjōji and Jōganji undoubtedly appear in a different light to us than they did to viewers during the ninth century. However, it is the present author's hope that this exploration of the multivalent religious, historical and political context into which these sculptures emerged has revealed some facets of the history of these fascinating sculptures, and given some sense of their ninth-century reception.

Tables and diagrams

Table 1. Selected texts related to Kokūzō Bosatsu:⁷⁸³

Name of text					
Characters	虚空藏菩薩經	大方等大集經 虚空藏品	虚空藏菩薩神 呪經	觀虚空藏菩 薩經	法華文句
Japanese	<i>Kokūzō Bosatsukyō</i> T13: 405	<i>Daihōtō daijūkyō Kokūzō bon</i> T13: 397	<i>Kokūzō Bosatsu jinjūkyō</i> (same content as <i>Kokūzō Bosatsukyō</i>) ⁷⁸⁴ T13: 407	<i>Kankokūzō bosatsukyō</i> T13: 409	<i>Hokke monku</i> T34: 1718
Chinese	<i>Xukongzhang pusa jing</i>	<i>Dafengdeng daiji jing</i>	<i>Xukongzhang pusa shenzhou jing</i>	<i>Guan Xukongzhang pusa ching</i>	<i>Fahua wenju</i>
Sanskrit	<i>Ākāśagarbha sūtra</i>	<i>Mahāvaiṣṭya mahāsamni- pāta</i>			
Date	403-413	Fifth century	424-481	424-481	Sixth century
Translator into Chinese/ Author	tr. Buddhayasas	tr. Dharmaraksah	Ttr. harmamitra	tr. Dharmamitra	Zhiyi
Features of Kokūzō Bosatsu	Jewel on head		Jewel on head	Jewel in hand, 35 Buddhas in crown	Kokūzō Bosatsu is noted as a manifestation of Venus.
Rituals included in text				<i>Kankokūzō Bosatsu e</i>	
How text reached Japan					

⁷⁸³ I have given the Sanskrit, Chinese character, and Chinese and Japanese readings of the titles whenever available. Blanks indicate where information is not available.

⁷⁸⁴ Ono Genmyō and Maruyama Takao, BKD3: 240.

Table 1, cont'd.

Name of text				
Characters	虚空藏菩薩能滿諸願 最勝心陀羅尼	大日經	大虚空藏菩薩念誦 法	大集大虚空藏 菩薩所門經
Japanese	<i>Kokūzō Bosatsu nōman shogan saishōshin darani gumonjihō</i> (alt. <i>gumonjiki</i>) T20: 1145	<i>Dainichikyō</i> T18: 848	<i>Daikokūzō Bosatsu nenjuhō</i> T20: 1146	<i>Daijūdai Kokūzō Bosatsu shomongyō</i> T13: 04 (alt. translation of 大方等)
Chinese	<i>Xukongzhang pusa nengman zhuyuan zuisheng xin tuoluoni qiuwenchi fa</i>			
Sanskrit		<i>Mahāvairocana sūtra</i>		
Date	717	Eighth century	766	Eighth century
Translator into Chinese/Author	tr. Subhakarasiṃha	tr. Subhakarasiṃha and Yixing	tr. Amoghavajra	tr. Amoghavajra
Features of Kokūzō Bosatsu	Left hand holds white lotus with jewel emerging, right hand performs <i>yōgan-in</i> . Gold skin, five- Buddha crown		Left hand is closed in a fist at chest	<i>myōjō</i> is associated with Kokūzō's manifestation of Dainichi Nyorai in the Diamond world mandala
Rituals included in text	<i>Gumonjihō</i>		<i>fukutokuhō</i>	
How text reached Japan	Dōji, 718		Kūkai's <i>Shōrai mokuroku</i> 請來目錄	Kūkai's <i>Shōrai mokuroku</i> 請來目錄

Table 1, con't.

Name of text			
Characters	八大菩薩曼荼羅經	仁王護国般若念波羅蜜 多經陀羅尼念誦儀軌	仏説虚空蔵菩薩神呪經
Japanese	<i>Hachidai Bosatsu mandara kyō</i> T20: 1167	<i>Ninnōkyō gokoku hannya haramita kyō darani nenjū giki</i> T19: 994	<i>Bussetsu Kokūzō Bosatsu jinjūkyō</i> T13: 406 (same content as <i>Kokūzō Bosatsu jinjūkyō</i>)
Chinese	<i>Ba da pusa matuluo jing</i>	<i>Renwang huguo bore boluomi duo jing tuoluoni niansong yigui</i>	
Sanskrit	<i>Astamandalaka sūtra</i>		
Date	Eighth century	Eighth century	
Translator into Chinese/ Author	tr. Amoghavajra	tr. Amoghavajra	
Features of Kokūzō Bosatsu	Left hand holds jewel in front of chest. Right hand is giving mudra	Holds vajra jewel	
Rituals included in text			
How text reached Japan	Kūkai's <i>Shōrai mokuroku</i> 請來目錄		

Table 2. Buildings, images and patrons of Jōganji according to the 893 *Shinga denki*.

Building	Contents	Patron
<i>Kongōkaidō</i> (Diamond world hall)	Thirty-seven deity sculptures for veneration and others totaling seventy ⁷⁸⁵	Imperial dowager Meishi
<i>daidō/raidō</i> (great hall/worship hall)	Sonshō Butsu, Kannon and Jizō Bosatsu, gold Bonnō, Taishaku and Shitennō sculptures	Imperial family
<i>Taizōdō</i> (womb hall) ⁷⁸⁶	Taizō mandala deity sculptures and others	Shinga
<i>shindō</i> (new hall)	Sakyamuni sculpture and right and left attendants. Sandalwood colored Bonnō, Taishaku, Shitennō sculptures	Prime chancellor Yoshifusa
<i>nandō</i> (southern hall)	Ten gold Buddhist sculptures	For Shinga's recitation hall
<i>kanjōdō</i> (initiation hall)	n/a	n/a
<i>hōtō</i> (jewel pagoda)	Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures	Nishi Sanjō Udaijin (Yoshimi) ⁷⁸⁷
<i>Godaidō</i> (hall for the Godai Myōō)	Godaison (Godai Myōō) sculptures	Nishi Sanjō Udaijin (Yoshimi)
<i>kyōzō</i> (sutra repository, near south gate)	n/a	n/a
<i>shōrō</i> (bell tower, near south gate)	n/a	n/a

Table 3. Buildings, images and patrons of Jōganji according to an 874 entry in *Sandai jitsuroku*

Building	Contents	Patron
<i>Birushana no hōtō</i> (Birushana jewel pagoda)	Gold Sonshō Nyorai sculpture	n/a
<i>kanjōdō</i> (initiation hall)	n/a	n/a
<i>shindō</i> (new building) ⁷⁸⁸	<i>Rokujō</i> Shakamuni sculpture, Bonten, Taishakuten, Shitennō sculptures	Yoshifusa
<i>saidō</i> (western hall)	Diamond world mandala	<i>kōtaigo</i> (built for Meishi)
<i>tōdō</i> (eastern hall)	Womb world mandala	Shinga

⁷⁸⁵ The terminology used to describe the images here, *zō* 像, normally refers to sculpture, rather than painting.

⁷⁸⁶ The usage of the term *Taizōdō* (“womb hall”) rather than *Taizōkaidō* (“womb world hall”), the term which would be likely used today, reflects an early stage of Esoteric visual imagery. For example, Kūkai’s inventory also contained mandalas noted as “Great Compassion Womb *mandala*” with no mention of the term “world” (*kai* 界). For more on this issue, see Cynthia Bogel, *With a single glance*, 20-22, 118-19.

⁷⁸⁷ The term “Nishi Sanjō” 西三条 refers to the location of Yoshimi’s Kyoto residence and political base on Sanjō (avenue).

⁷⁸⁸ While the *Sandai jitsuroku* refers to this as “an additional building was built” 一堂更建, I follow Itō’s terminology in labeling this as the “new building.” Itō Shirō, “Shingon mikkyō chōzo ron,” 122.

Table 4. Buildings, images and patrons of Jōganji according to the tenth century *Rihōōki*.

Building	Contents	Patron
<i>Kongōkaidō</i> (Diamond world hall)	n/a	n/a
<i>Taizōkaidō</i> (Womb world hall)	n/a	n/a
Sakurami bell	n/a	n/a
<i>reitō gebutsu</i> (worship pagoda with Buddhas on the bottom level?)	n/a	n/a
<i>dōbutsu</i> (Yoshifusa's building for Buddhas)	pillar pictures of eight scenes from Sakyamuni's life	Prime chancellor Yoshifusa

Diagram 1. Abbreviated chart of imperial and Fujiwara familial lineages in the ninth century.

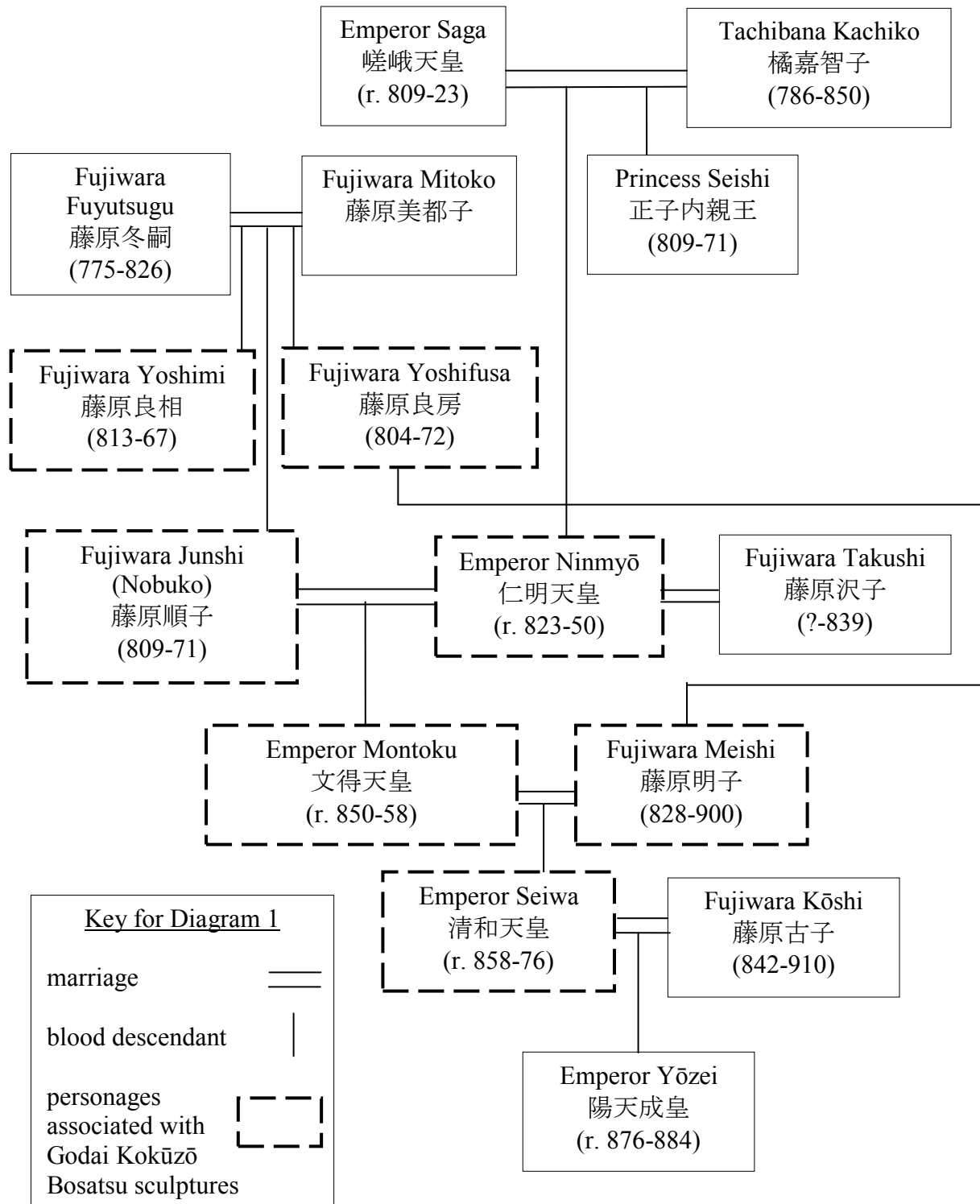


Diagram 2. Abbreviated chart of the early Heian period Shingon lineage in Japan.

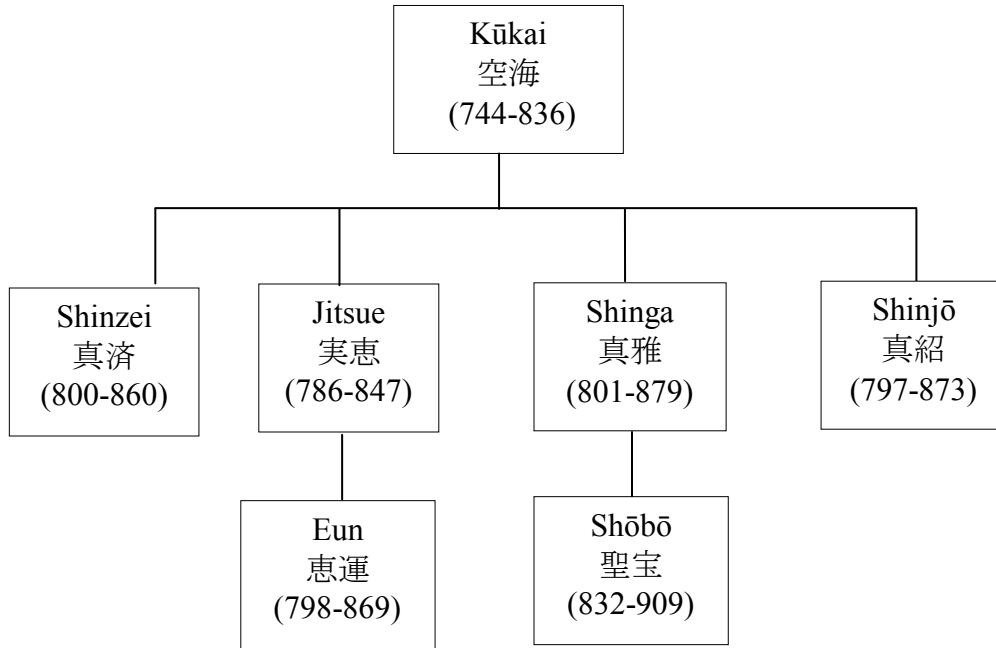
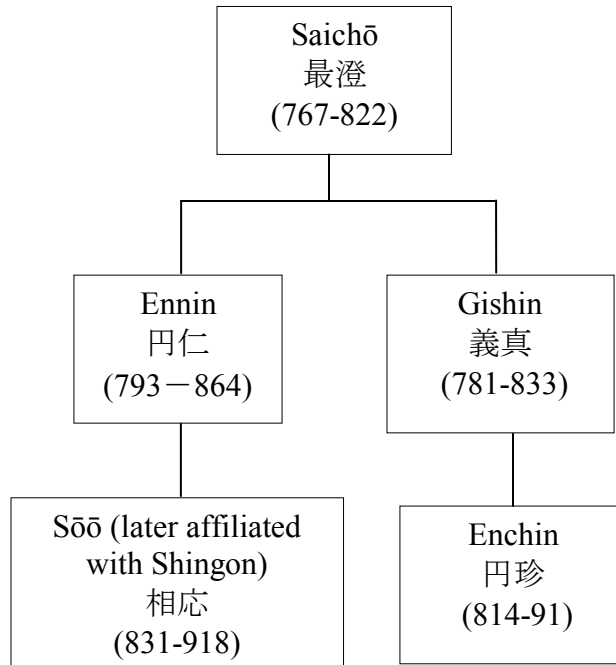


Diagram 3. Abbreviated chart of the early Heian period Tendai lineage in Japan.⁷⁸⁹



⁷⁸⁹ Adapted from Kyoto kokuritu hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館 and Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館, eds. *Saichō to Tendai no kokuhō 最澄と天台の国宝* (Kyoto, Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbun, 2005), 375.

Diagram 4. Present arrangement of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu sculptures housed in the Jingoji pagoda.⁷⁹⁰

<p>Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu 金剛虚空蔵 菩薩 Right hand: vajra Left hand: hook Skin color: yellow</p>	<p>Gōyō Kokūzō Bosatsu 業用虚空蔵 菩薩 Right hand: <i>katsuma</i> Left hand: hook Skin color: black/purple</p>	<p>Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu 法界虚空蔵 菩薩 Right hand: lotus stem with flower Left hand: hook Skin color: white</p>	<p>Renge Kokūzō Bosatsu 蓮華虚空蔵 菩薩 Right hand: Three-tiered lotus pedestal Left hand: hook Skin color: red</p>	<p>Hōkō Kokūzō Bosatsu 宝光虚空蔵菩 薩 Right hand: tripartite flaming jewel atop a two- tiered lotus pedestal Left hand: hook Skin color: green/blue</p>
---	---	---	--	---

Diagram 5. Present arrangement of the Anjōji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu housed in the Tōji Kanchiin.

<p>Renge Kokūzō Bosatsu Right hand: four flaming jewels Left hand: hook Vehicle: peacock</p>	<p>Gōyō Kokūzō Bosatsu Right hand: single flaming jewel Right hand: hook Vehicle: garuda</p>	<p>Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu Right hand: 1 lotus stem with flower, 1 lotus stem with flaming jewels Left hand: hook Vehicle: horse</p>	<p>Hōkō Kokūzō Bosatsu Right hand: 4 flaming jewels Left hand: hook Vehicle: elephant</p>	<p>Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu Right hand: single flaming jewel Right hand: hook Vehicle: lion</p>
--	--	---	---	---

⁷⁹⁰ Hōkō Kokūzō Bosatsu is sometimes called Mani Kokūzō Bosatsu (摩尼虚空蔵菩薩), depending on the text. The 869 *Anjōji shizaichō*, for example, uses this designation. See Saitō Takashi 齊藤孝, *Nihon kodai to Tōfu no bijutsu*, 205. The word *mani* refers to a jewel, a symbol of Buddha and his doctrines. Charles Muller, “Mani,” DDB (accessed April, 2008).

Diagram 6. Five Phases and their corollary planetary, directional, and color associations.⁷⁹¹

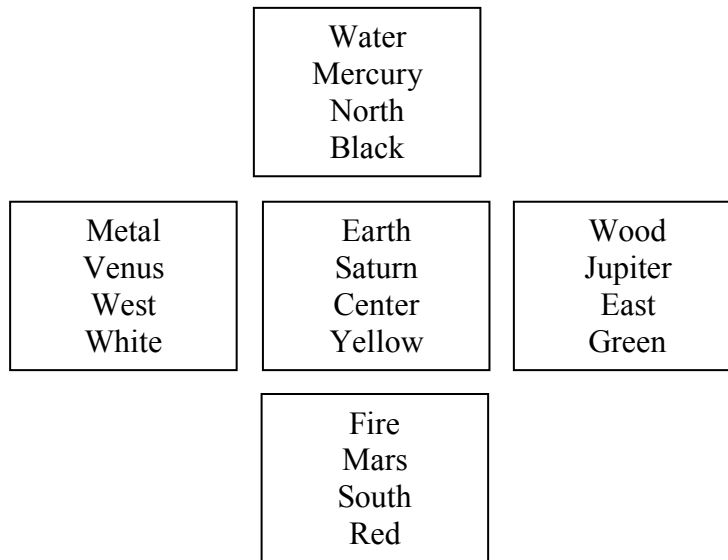
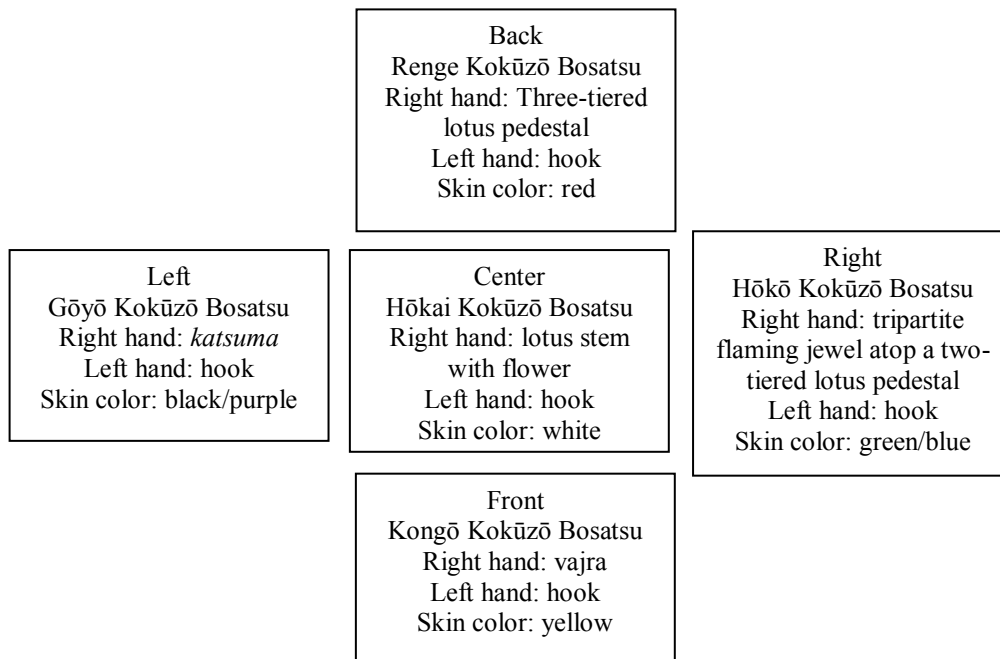


Diagram 7. Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu according to *Yugikyō*



⁷⁹¹ Adapted from Aihe Wang, “Yinyang wuxing,” Table 2, 9890.

Diagram 8. Gochi Nyorai and associated attributes, according to *Hajigoku ki*.

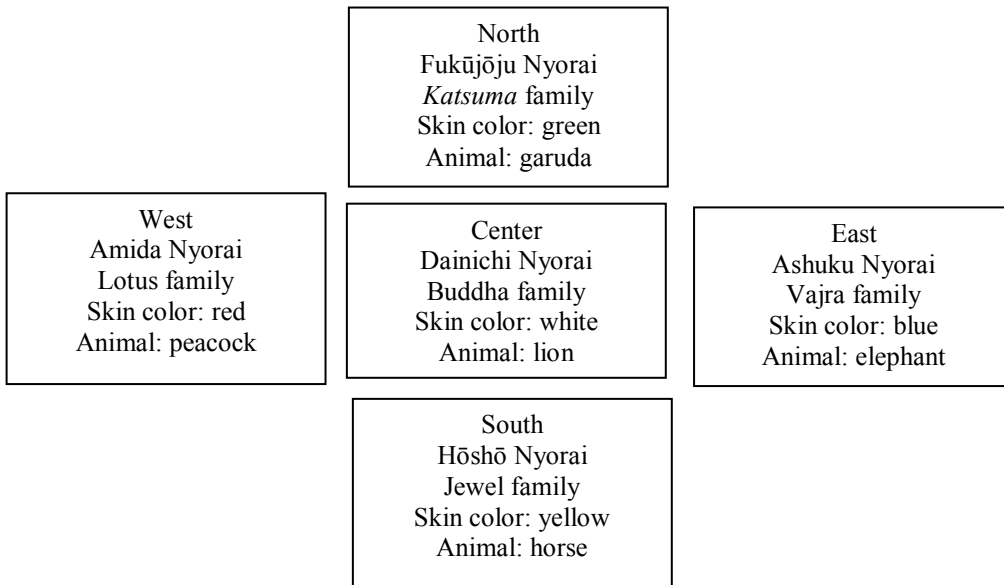


Diagram 9. *Kongōkai tatsumi byō* (Vases of the southeast vajra realm).

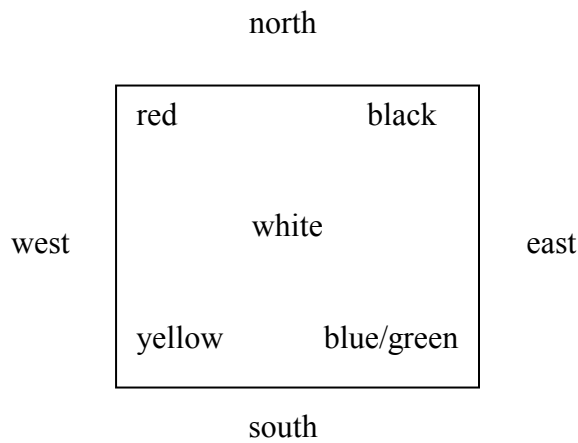
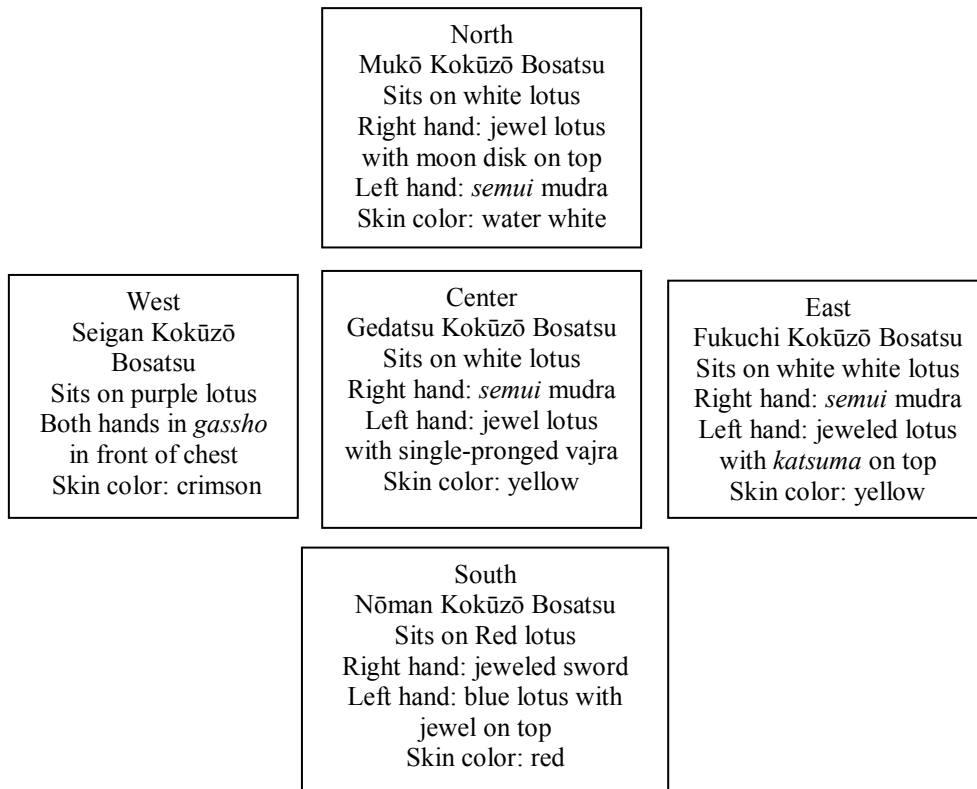


Diagram 10. Sculptural arrangement of deities in the Tōji lecture hall that illustrates the three wheel bodies.⁷⁹²

Daiitoku	Kongō yasha	Fukūjōju	Ashuku	Kongōgyō	Kongōsatta
Fudō		Dainichi		Kongōharamitsu	
Gundari	Gosanze	Amida	Hōshō	Kongōhō	Kongōhō
Command (Godai Myōō)		Self-nature (Gochi Nyorai)		Correct teaching (Godai Bosatsu)	

Diagram 11. Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu according to the *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu hō*.



⁷⁹² Adapted from Orzech, *Politics and transcendent wisdom*, fig. 3.

Diagram 12. English translation of *Takaotō* iconographical diagram (fig. 22) from *Kakuzenshō*, depicting the Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu.

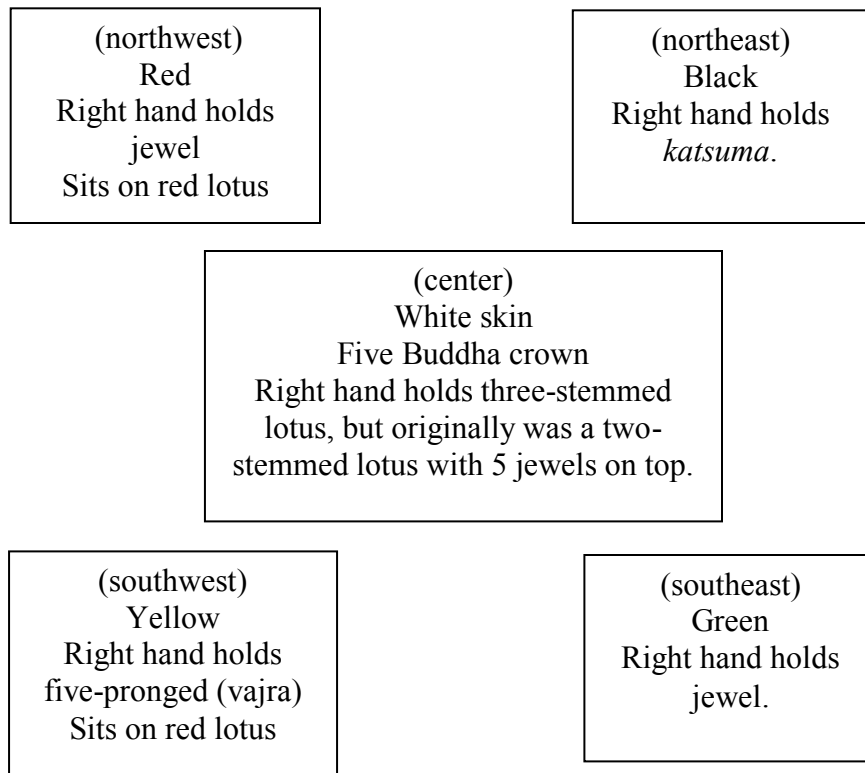
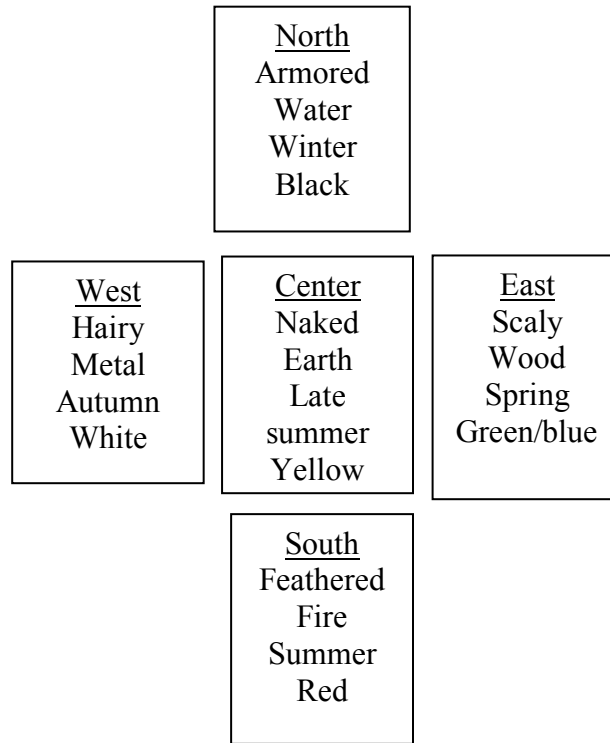
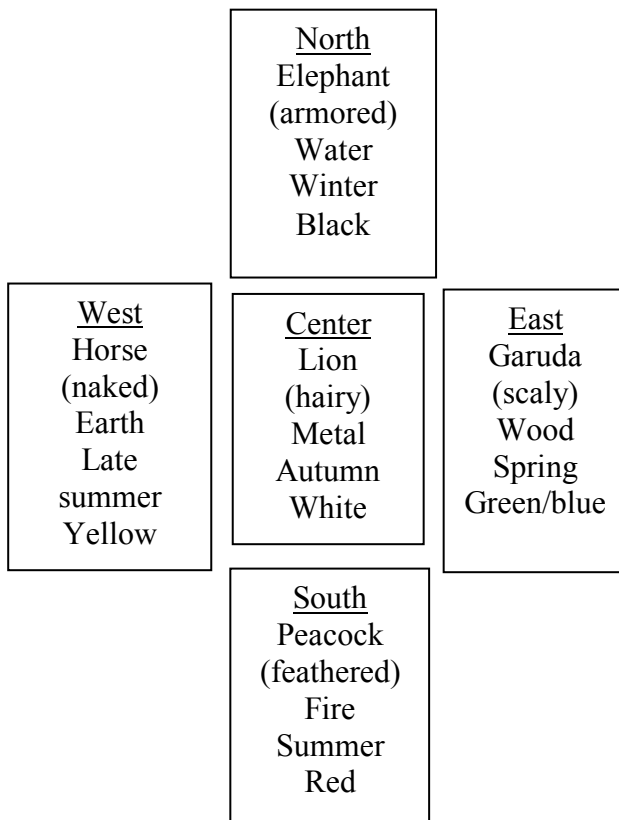


Diagram 13. Animal categories and correlative phenomena
(direction, element, season and color).⁷⁹³



⁷⁹³ Data from Sterckx, *The animal and daemon in early China*, 79. Sterckx's table is based on the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, a second century B.C.E. text that includes a variety of theoretical concepts such as those related to Daoism and five-phase schema. Ibid., 271, n. 47.

Diagram 14. Animal vehicles of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu and correlated phenomena (direction, element, season and color).⁷⁹⁴



⁷⁹⁴ Adapted from *ibid.*, 79.

List of Images

- Figs. 1a, 1b, 1c. *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu*. Mid-ninth century. Dry lacquer over wood core. Jingoji, Kyoto. From Kuno Takeshi, ed., *Jingoji to rakusei/rakuboku no koji*, vol. 9 of *Nihon koji bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Shueisha, 1981), figs. 2, 3, 4.
- Fig. 1d. *Hōkō Kokūzō Bosatsu*. From Itō Shirō et al, ed., *Jingoji to Murōji*, vol. 8 of *Shinpen meihō Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shogakkan), fig. 118.
- Fig. 1e. *Renge Kokūzō Bosatsu*. From *ibid.*, fig. 119.
- Fig. 1f. *Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu*. From *ibid.*, fig. 120.
- Fig. 1g. *Gōyō Kokūzō Bosatsu*. From *ibid.*, fig. 121.
- Fig. 1h. *Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu*. From *ibid.*, fig. 122.
- Fig. 2a. *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu*. Mid-late ninth century. Wood with traces of pigment, gold. Kanchiin, Tōji, Kyoto (formerly at Anjōji). From Tōji Hōmotsukan, ed., *Tōji Kanchiin no rekishi to bijutsu: meihō no bi, seikyō no seika* (Kyoto: Benridō, 2003), p. 4.
- Fig. 2b. *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu in situ*. Mid-late ninth century. Wood with traces of pigment. Kanchiin, Tōji, Kyoto. From *ibid.*, p. 4.
- Fig. 2c. *Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu*. From Tokyo bunkazai kenkyūjo, ed. *Tōji Kanchiin zō Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2003), fig. 25.
- Fig. 2d. *Gōyō Kokūzō Bosatsu*. From *ibid.*, fig. 33.
- Fig. 2e. *Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu*. From *ibid.*, fig. 17.
- Fig. 2f. *Renge Kokūzō Bosatsu*. From *ibid.*, fig. 21.
- Fig. 2g. *Hōkō Kokūzō Bosatsu*. From *ibid.*, fig. 29.
- Fig. 3. *Bodhisattva attendants*. Kokūzō Bosatsu, upper right. Mid-Tang dynasty (780-850). Wall painting. Yulin cave 25. Anxi, Gansu province, China. From Duan Wenjie, *Yu lin ku*, vol. 1 of *Dunhuang shi ku yi shu* (Nanjing: Jiangsu mei shu chu ban she, 1993) p. 154.
- Fig. 4. *Garbha (Womb) mandala*. Tang dynasty. Wood. Kongōbuji, Wakayama prefecture. From Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Danzō: byakudanbutsu kara Nihon no mokuchōbutsu e* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1991), p. 45.
- Fig. 5. *Seogguram*. 751-71. Stone. Bulguksa, Geongju. From Jane Portal, *Korea: Art and archeology* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000), fig. 39.

- Fig. 6. *Myōjō Tenshi*. Thirteenth century. Ink on paper. From *Kakuzenshō* TZ5: 227.
- Fig. 7. *Kokūzō Bosatsu*. Eighth century. Wood with dry lacquer and pigment. Gakuanji, Yamotokoriyama, Nara prefecture. From Izumi Takeo, "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō," *Nihon no bijutsu* 380 (January 1998), pl. 2.
- Fig. 8 *Kokūzō Bosatsu*. Kamakura period copy of an eighth-century original. Ink on paper. Daigoji, Kyoto. From *ibid.*, fig. 51.
- Fig. 9a. *Kokūzō Bosatsu*. Eighth century. Dry lacquer over wood core. Nōmanji, Fukushima. From *ibid.*, fig.53.
- Fig. 9b. *Kokūzō Bosatsu with sword*. Eighth century. Dry lacquer over wood core. Nōmanji, Fukushima. From *ibid.*, fig.53
- Fig. 10. *Kokūzō Bosatsu* from *Taizō kyū zuyō*. Twelfth century copy of ninth century original. Ink on paper. *Kakuzenshō*, TZ2: 520.
- Fig. 11. *Kokūzō Bosatsu*. Ninth century. Wood with polychrome. Yatadera kitasōbō, Yamatokoriyama, Nara prefecture. From Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Yatadera no butsuzō* (Nara: Bukkyō bijutsu kyōkai, 2001), fig. 3.
- Fig. 12. *Kokūzō Bosatsu* from *Besson zakki*. Twelfth century. Ink on paper. From TZ3: 102.
- Fig. 13. *Kokūzō Bosatsu* from *Shoson zuzō*. Twelfth century. Ink on paper. From TZ3:27.
- Fig. 14a. *Womb world mandala* (known as one in a pair of the *Saiin mandara*). Second half of ninth century. Ink and color on silk. Tōji, Kyoto. From Shimamoto Shūji, ed. *Kūkai to mandara uchū*, vol. 39 of *Nihon no bi o meguru* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2003), p. 21-23.
- Fig. 14b. Hall of Kokūzō. *Womb world mandara (Saiin mandara)*. From *ibid.*, detail.
- Fig. 14c. Five Buddhas (Gochi Nyorai) of the Perfected Body Assembly. Detail of *Saiin mandara*. From Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese mandalas: representations of sacred geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), fig. 19.
- Fig. 15a. *Godai Bosatsu*. Central image, Muromachi period (1392-1573). Four flanking images, 839. Wood, lacquer and gold leaf. Lecture Hall, Tōji, Kyoto. From Tōji Hōmotsukan, ed., *Tōji no bosatsuzō* (Kyoto: Benridō, 2000), fig. 1.
- Fig. 15b. *Kongōhō Bosatsu*. Detail of *Godai Bosatsu*. 839. Wood, lacquer, gold leaf. Tōji, Kyoto. From *ibid.*, fig. 4.
- Fig. 16. *Southern deity grouping* (Kokūzō Bosatsu is upper right). *Ninnōkyō gohō bosatsu*

shosonzu. Muromachi period (1392-1573). Ink on paper. Tōji, Kyoto. From Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Komikkyō: Nihon mikkyō no taidō* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2005), fig. 11.

Fig. 17. *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu*. Thirteenth-fourteenth century. Hanging scroll, colors on silk. Sainan-in, Mount Kōya, Wakayama. From Kongōbuji and Kōyasan Reihōkan, ed., *Kōyasan no meihō: Mikkyō mandara, kosumosu no sekai, Kōyasan daihōzōten* (Kōya-chō: Kōyasan Reihōkan, 2005), p. 21

Fig. 18. Nyoirin Kannon. Mid-ninth century. Wood, lacquer, pigment and gold leaf. Kanshinji, Osaka. From Mizuno Keizaburō et al, eds., *Mikkyō jūin to butsumō Heian kenchiku chōkoku I*, vol. 5 of *Nihon bijutsu zenshu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), fig. 51.

Fig. 19a. *Gochi Nyorai*. Mid-ninth century. Wood, lacquer and gold leaf. Kyoto National Museum. From Uehara Mahito, ed. *Kōtaigō no yamadera: Yamashina Anjōji no sōken to kodai sanrin jūin* (Kyoto: Yanagihara shuppan, 2007), fig. 9-1.

Fig. 19b. Dainichi Nyorai. Detail of *Gochi Nyorai*. Kyoto National Museum. From Itō Shirō, *Heian jidai chōkoku no kenkyū* (Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku shuppansha, 2000), fig. 4.

Fig. 20. *Yakushi Nyorai*. Late eighth century. Wood and slight pigment. Jingoji, Kyoto. From Itō Shirō, et al, eds., *Jingoji to Murōji*, vol. 8 of *Shinpen meihō Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1992).

Fig. 21. Detail of *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō emaki*. 1396-1403. Ink and color on paper. Tōji Hōmotsukan. From Niimi Yasuko, "Kōbō Daishi gyōjōe: rekishi to shite no kanōsei," in *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō emaki no sekai: eien e no hishō* (Kyoto: Tōji Hōmotsukan, 2000), p. 68.

Fig. 22. *Takaotō* from *Kakuzenshō*. Late twelfth-early thirteenth century. Ink on paper. TZ5: 265. See Diagram 12 for English transcription.

Fig. 23. Underside of panel on which Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu's horse stands. Top bronze plaque dated to 1919. Center inscription dated to 1453. Bottom inscription dated to 1703. Tōji, Kanchiin, Kyoto. From Tokyo bunkazai kenkyūjo, ed. *Tōji Kanchiinzō Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2003), fig. 27.

Fig. 24. *Offering figure*. Tang dynasty. Material unknown. Guangxiaosi, Guangdong province, China. From Shang Chengzuo, *Guangzhou Guangxiaosi gu dai mu diao xian tu lu* (Shanghai: Shanghai chu ban gong si, 1955), fig. 9.

Fig. 25. *Seated Bodhisattva*. Southern Song dynasty (inscribed to 1237). Wood, pigment. Hōonji, Hyogo. From Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Seichi Ninbō: Nihon Bukkyō 1300 nen no genryū: subete wa koko kara yatte kita* (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2009), fig. 91.

Fig. 26. *Seated Avalokitesvara*. Southern Song dynasty, thirteenth century. Wood and pigment.

Sennyūji, Kyoto. From *ibid.*, fig. 87.

Fig. 27. *Upper temple of Anjōji*. By Kajikawa Toshio. Lower left: Raibutsudō. Center: Godaidō. Upper center: Hokkeidō/Tahōtō. From Dai 14 kenkyūkai "Ōken to monyumento," ed., *Anjōji no kenkyū I: Kyotoshi Yamashinaku shozai no Heian jidai shoki no sanrinjin: Kyoto daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka 21-seiki COE puroguramu "Gurōbaruka jidai no tagenteki jinbungaku no kyoten keisei" seika hōkokuzho* (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka 21-seiki COE puroguramu "Gurōbaruka jidai no tagenteki jinbungaku no kyoten keisei," 2004), frontispiece.

Fig. 28. *Horse of Hōkai Kokūzō Bosatsu*. Mid-late ninth century. Wood with traces of pigment. Kanchiin, Tōji, Kyoto. From Tokyo bunkazai kenkyūjo, ed. *Tōji Kanchiin zō Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2003), colorplate 14.

Fig. 29a. *Lion of Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu*. Mid-late ninth century. Wood with traces of pigment. Kanchiin, Tōji, Kyoto. From *ibid.*, colorplate 12.

Fig. 29b. *X-ray of lion of Kongō Kokūzō Bosatsu*. From *ibid.*, vol. 2, fig. 49.

Fig. 30. Untitled image from *Besson zakki*. Mid-late twelfth century. TZ3: 514.

Fig. 31. *Godai Kokūzō sanshakuzō* from *Kakuzenshō*. Late twelfth-early thirteenth century. Ink on paper. TZ5: 258.

Fig. 32. *Anjōjiyō* from *Shoson zuzō*. Twelfth-thirteenth century. Ink on paper. TZ4: 73.

Fig. 33. *Kokūzōdō* detail from *Mandara kushizu*. Muromachi period (1392-1573). Ink on paper. From Tōji Hōmotsukan, ed., *Tōji Kanchiin no rekishi to bijutsu: meihō no bi, seikyō no seika* (Kyoto: Benridō, 2003), fig. 78.

Fig. 34a. *Dainichi Nyorai* (detail of *Gobushinkan*). Tang dynasty, ninth century. Ink on paper. Miidera, Otsu-shi. From Osaka shiritsu bijutsukan, ed., *Kokuhō Miidera ten: Chishō Daishi kichō 1500 nen* (Osaka: NHK Osaka Hōsōkyoku, 2008), colorplate. 5.

Fig. 34b. *Ashuku Nyorai*. Detail from *ibid.*

Fig. 34c. *Hōshō Nyorai*. Detail from *ibid.*

Fig. 34d. *Amida Nyorai* Detail from *ibid.*

Fig. 34e. *Fukūjōju Nyorai*. Detail from *ibid.*

Fig. 35. *Emperor Seiwa and Fujiwara Yoshifusa*. Detail from *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*. Twelfth century. Handscroll, ink on paper. Idemitsu museum, Tokyo. From Kuroda Taizō et al, eds., *Ban Dainagon emaki*, vol. 12 of *Shinpen meihō Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1991), pl. 12.

Fig. 36. *Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu* from *Rishukyō jūhachie mandara*. 1228 copy of ninth-century drawing. Ink on paper. Daigoji, Kyoto. From TZ5: 794.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

- BKD *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 仏書解説大辞典. 15 vols. Edited by Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙, and Maruyama Takao 丸山孝雄. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1964-88.
- DDB *Digital dictionary of Buddhism*. <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>. Edited by Charles Muller. Accessed Dec., 2010.
- DNBZ *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書. 151 vols. Edited by Bussho kankōkai 仏書刊行会. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1912-22.
- DZ *Daozang* 道藏. 36 vols. Beijing: Wen wu chu ban she; Shanghai: Shanghai shu dian; Tianjin: Tianjin gu ju chu ban she, 1988.
- KDSDZ *Kōbō daishi shodeshi zenshū* 弘法大師諸弟子全集. 3 vols. Edited by Hase Hōshū 長谷宝秀. Kyoto: Daigakudō shoten, 1974.
- KSM *Kokusho sōmoku roku* 国書総目録. 9 vols. Edited by Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989.
- KT *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 新訂増補国史大系. 66 vols. Edited by Kokushi taikai henshūkai 国史大系編修会. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964-67.
- KZ *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集. 7 vols. Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjō 密教文化研究所. Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1978.
- MD *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辞典. 6 vols. Edited by Mikkyō jiten hensankai 密教辞典編纂会, Mikkyō daijiten saikan iinkai 密教大辞典再刊委員会, and Mikkyō gakkai 密教学会, eds. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1969.
- NCKSS jys *Nihon chōkokushi kiso shiryō shūsei: Heian jidai; jūyō sakuninhen* 日本彫刻史基礎資料集成: 平安時代: 重要作品編. 5 vols. Edited by Maruō Shōsaburō 丸尾彰三郎 et al. Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1973-97.
- NRT *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai* 日本歴史地名大系. 49 vols. Edited by Chihō shiryō sentā 地方資料センター. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979.
- SZ *Shingonshū zensho* 真言宗全書. 44 vols. Edited by Shingonshū zensho kankōkai 真言宗全書刊行会. Kōyachō: Kōyasan daigaku, 1934-36.

- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. 85 vols. Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-35.
- TZ *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzōbu* 大正新修大藏經圖像部. 12 vols. Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-35.

Sources in Western languages

- Abe, Ryūichi. "Scholasticism, exegesis, and ritual practice: on renovation in the history of Buddhist writing in the early Heian period." In Adolpson, Kamens, and Matsumoto, *Heian Japan, centers and peripheries*, 179-211.
- . *The weaving of mantra: Kūkai and the construction of esoteric Buddhist discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Adolphson, Mikael S., Edward Kamens and Stacie Matsumoto, eds. *Heian Japan, centers and peripheries*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Adolphson, Mikael S. "Institutional diversity and religious integration: the establishment of temple networks in the Heian age." In Adolpson, Kamens, and Matsumoto, *Heian Japan, centers and peripheries*, 212-244.
- Asakawa Kan'ichi. *Land and society in medieval Japan*. Tokyo: Japan society for the promotion of science, 1965.
- Astley, Ian. "The five mysteries of Vajrasattva: a Buddhist tantric view of the passions and enlightenment." In Payne, *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, 119-136.
- Bandyopadhyay, Bimal. *Buddhist Centres of Orissa: Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri, and Udayagiri*. New Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 2004.
- Barrett, Tim. "Shinto and Taoism in early Japan." In Breen and Teeuwen, *Shinto in history*, 13-31.
- Berger, Patricia Ann. "Preserving the nation: the political uses of tantric art in China." In *Latter Days of the Law: images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, edited by Marsha Smith Weidner, et al. Lawrence, Honolulu: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Hawai'i Press, 1994.
- Bialock, David. *Narrative, ritual and royal authority from 'The chronicles of Japan' to 'The tale of Heike'*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- Bock, Felicia G. "Classical learning and Taoist practices in early Japan with a translation of books XVI and XX of the *Engi shiki*." *Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University Occasional paper no. 17* (1985): 1-101.

- Bodiford, William M. *Sōtō Zen in medieval Japan, Studies in East Asian Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993.
- Bogel, Cynthia. "Canonizing Kannon: The Ninth-Century Esoteric Buddhist Altar at Kanshinji." *Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (Mar 2002): 30-64.
- . "Situating Objects: a Sino-Japanese catalogue of imported items, 800 C.E. to the present." In *What's the use of art?: Asian visual and material culture in context*, edited by Jan Mrázek and Morgan Pitelka. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.
- . *With a single glance: Buddhist icon and early mikkyō vision*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Bowring, Richard. *The religious traditions of Japan: 500-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Breen, John. "Ideologues, bureaucrats and priests: on 'Shinto' and 'Buddhism' in early Meiji Japan." In Breen and Teeuwen, *Shinto in history: ways of the kami*, 230-51.
- Breen John and Mark Teeuwen, eds. *Shinto in history: ways of the kami*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.
- Brinker, Helmut. *Secrets of the Sacred: Empowering Buddhist Images in Clear, in Code, and in Cache*. Lawrence, KS and Seattle: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas and University of Washington, forthcoming.
- Butler, Lee. "The way of yin and yang: a tradition revived, sold, adopted." *Monumenta Nipponica* 51, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 189-217.
- Chandra, Lokesh, and David L. Snellgrove. *Sarva-Tathāgata-tattva-sāgraha: facsimile reproduction of a tenth century Sanskrit manuscript from Nepal*. New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1981.
- Como, Michael. *Weaving and binding: immigrant gods and female immortals in ancient Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.
- Cunningham, Michael R., John M. Rosenfield, and Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan. *Buddhist treasures from Nara*. Cleveland; New York: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998.
- Davidson, Ronald M. *Indian esoteric Buddhism: a social history of the Tantric movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

- de Visser, Marinus Willem. *The Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha (Kokūzō) in China and Japan*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1931.
- Dobbins, James C., and Suzanne Gay. "Shinto in the history of Japanese religion: an essay by Kuroda Toshio." In Tanabe, *Religions of Japan in practice*, 451-67.
- Dolce, Lucia. "The worship of celestial bodies in Japan: politics, rituals and icons." *Culture and cosmos: a journal of the history of astrology and cultural astronomy* 10, no. 1, 2 (2006): 3-48.
- , ed. *The worship of stars in Japanese religious practice*. Vol. 10, nos. 1 and 2, *Culture and cosmos: a journal of the history of astrology and cultural astronomy*, 2006.
- Donaldson, Thomas E., and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. *Iconography of the Buddhist sculpture of Orissa*. 2 vols. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts: Abhinav Publications, 2001.
- Duncan, James S. "From discourse to landscape: a kingly reading." In *The cultural geography reader*, edited by Timothy S. Oakes and Patricia L. Price. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Farris, William Wayne. "Famine, climate and farming in Japan, 670-1100." In Adolphson, Kamens and Matsumoto, *Heian Japan, centers and peripheries*, 275-304.
- . *Japan to 1600: a social and economic history*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.
- Faure, Bernard. "The Kyoto School and reverse orientalism." In *Japan in traditional and postmodern perspectives*, edited by Charles Wei-hsun Fu and Steven Heine. Albany: SUNY Press, 1995.
- Fowler, Sherry. "Between six and thirty-three: manifestations of Kannon in Japan." In *Kannon: divine compassion: early Buddhist art from Japan*, edited by Katharina Epprecht, Museum Rietberg and Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan. Zürich: Museum Rietberg Zürich, 2007.
- . *Murōji: rearranging art and history at a Japanese Buddhist temple*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.
- . "Travels of the Daihōonji Six Kannon sculptures." *Ars Orientalis* 36 (2006): 179-214.
- Frédéric, Louis. *Buddhism, Flammarion iconographic guides*. Paris; New York: Flammarion, 1995.
- Fremerman, Sarah. "Divine Impersonations: Nyoirin Kannon in Medieval Japan." Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, Stanford, 2008.
- Fukuto Sanae, and Takeshi Watanabe. "From female sovereign to mother of the nation." In

- Adolphson, Kamens and Matusmoto, *Heian Japan, centers and peripheries*, 15-34.
- Gardiner, David L. "Japan's first Shingon ceremony." In Tanabe, *Religions of Japan in practice*, 153-58.
- Granoff, Phyllis, and Koichi Shinohara eds. *Images in Asian religions: texts and contexts*. Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press, 2004.
- Grapard, Allan G. "The economics of ritual power." In Breen and Teeuwen, *Shinto in history: ways of the kami*, 68-94.
- . "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions." *History of Religions* 21, no. 3 (1982): 195-221.
- . *The protocol of the gods: a study of the Kasuga cult in Japanese history*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- . "Religious practices." In Hall and Shively, *The Cambridge history of Japan*, 517-75.
- Grèunwedel, Albert, Agnes C. Gibson, and James Burgess. *Buddhist art in India*. New Delhi: S. Chand, 1972.
- Groner, Paul. *Saichō: the establishment of the Japanese Tendai School, Berkeley Buddhist studies series 7*. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1984.
- Guth Kanda, Christine. *Shinzō: Hachiman imagery and its development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Hakeda, Yoshito S. *Kūkai: major works*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.
- Hall, John Whitney and Donald Shively, eds. *The Cambridge history of Japan*. Vol. 2. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Hare, Thomas Blenman. "Reading Writing and Cooking: Kūkai's Interpretive Strategies." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 49, no. 2 (May 1990): 253-73.
- Harvey, Peter. *An introduction to Buddhist ethics: foundations, values, and issues*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Howard, Angela Falco. "The Dharani Pillar of Kunming, Yunnan: A legacy of Esoteric Buddhism and Burial rites of the Bai People in the kingdom of Dali (937-1253)." *Artibus Asiae* 57, no. 1/2 (1997): 33-72.
- Inagaki Hisao, and P.G. O'Neill. *Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist terms: based on references in Japanese literature*. 5th ed. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 2003.
- Ishida Hisatoyo, and E. Dale Saunders. *Esoteric Buddhist painting*. Tokyo; New York: Kodansha

- International, 1987.
- Izutsu Shinryū. "The art treasures of Mount Kōya and the Kōbō Daishi faith." In *Sacred Treasures of Mount Kōya: the art of Japanese Shingon Buddhism*, edited by Izutsu Shinryū and Ōmori Shōryū. Honolulu: Kōyasan reihōkan museum, 2002.
- Jones, Lindsay, ed. *Encyclopedia of religion*. 2nd ed. 14 vols. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005.
- Jung Jae-seo. "Daoism in Korea." Translated by James Miller. In Kohn, *Daoism Handbook*, 792-820.
- Kamens, Edward. "Onmyōdō." In Jones, *Encyclopedia of religion*, vol. 10, 6827-30.
- _____. *The three jewels: a study and translation of Minamoto Tamenori's Sanbōe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988.
- Kaminishi, Ikumi. *Explaining pictures: Buddhist propaganda and Buddhist etoki storytelling in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.
- Kinnard, Jacob N. *Imaging wisdom: seeing and knowing in the art of Indian Buddhism*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1999.
- Kohn, Livia, ed. *Daoism Handbook*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Kuo Li-ying. *Confession et contrition dans le bouddhisme chinois du Ve au Xe siècle*. Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1994.
- Lai Ming-chiu. "On the image procession in China from the second to the sixth centuries A.D.: an interpretation of an elephant sculpture at the Kongwangshan site." In *Politics and religion in ancient and medieval Europe and China*, edited by Frederick Hok-ming Cheung and Ming chiu Lai. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1999.
- Law, Jane Marie. "Violence, Ritual Reenactment, and Ideology: the "Hōjō-e" (Rite for Release of Sentient Beings) of the Usa Hachiman Shrine in Japan." *History of Religions* 33, no. 4 (May 1994): 325-57.
- Lehnert, Martin. "Myth and secrecy in Tang-period Tantric Buddhism." In *The culture of secrecy in Japanese religion*, edited by Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen. London; New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Leidy, Denise Patry, and Robert A. F. Thurman. *Mandala: the architecture of enlightenment*. New York, Boston: Asia Society Galleries: Tibet House; Shambhala, 1997.
- Lippe, Aschwin. "Buddha and the holy multitude." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 23, no. 9 (1965): 325-35.

- Livingston, Amy. "Goal of the transformed mind: Enlightenment symbolized, the Five Jina Buddhas." In *The circle of bliss: Buddhist meditational art*, edited by John Huntington and Dina Bangdel. Columbus; Los Angeles: Columbus Museum of Art and Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2003.
- Mahoney, William K. "Cakravartin." In Jones, *Encyclopedia of religion*, vol. 3, 1350-51.
- Mason, Penelope E., and Donald Dinwiddie. *History of Japanese art*. 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005.
- Masuo Shin'ichirō. "Daoism in Japan." In Kohn, *Daoism handbook*, 821-42.
- McBride II, Richard D. *Domesticating the dharma: Buddhist cults and the Hwaōm synthesis in Silla Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.
- McCallum, Donald F. *Zenkōji and its icon : a study in medieval Japanese religious art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- McCullough, William H. "The Heian court 794-1070." In Hall and Shively, 20-96.
- McHam, Sarah Blake. "Donatello's bronze 'David' and 'Judith' as metaphors of Medici rule in Florence," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 83, no. 1 (March 2001): 32-47
- McNair, Amy. *Donors of Longmen: faith, politics and patronage in medieval Chinese Buddhist sculpture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Mollier, Christine. *Buddhism and Taoism face to face: scripture, ritual, and iconographic exchange in medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.
- Morse, Samuel Crowell. "Japanese sculpture in transition: an eighth-century example from the Tōdaiji Sculpture Workshop." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 13, no. 1 (1987): 52-69.
- . "The standing image of Yakushi at Jingoji and the formation of the plain-wood style." *Archives of Asian Art* 40 (1987): 36-55.
- Ooms, Herman. *Imperial politics and symbolics in ancient Japan: the Tenmu dynasty, 650-800*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.
- Orzech, Charles D. "Mandalas on the Move: Reflections from Chinese Esoteric Buddhism circa 800 C.E." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 19, no. 2 (Winter 1996): 209-44.
- . *Politics and transcendent wisdom: the Scripture for humane kings in the creation of Chinese Buddhism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.

- Payne, Richard Karl, ed. *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006.
- Phillips, Quitman E. *The practices of painting in Japan, 1475-1500*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Portal, Jane. *Korea: Art and archeology*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000.
- Rambelli, Fabio. "Secret Buddhas: The Limits of Buddhist Representation." *Monumenta Nipponica* 57, no. 3 (Autumn, 2002): 271-307.
- Reynolds, Craig J. "Power." In *Critical terms for the study of Buddhism*, edited by Donald S. Lopez. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Ruch, Barbara. "Origins of the companion library: an anthology of medieval Japanese stories," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 30, no. 3 (May 1971): 593-610.
- Ruppert, Brian Douglas. *Jewel in the ashes: Buddha relics and power in early medieval Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000.
- Sawa Takaaki. *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*. Translated by Richard L. Gage. New York; Tokyo: Weatherhill; Heibonsha, 1972.
- Schafer, Edward H. *Pacing the void: T'ang approaches to the stars*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Schalow, Paul Gordon. "The invention of a literary tradition of male love: Kitamura Kigin's *Iwatsutsuji*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 48, no. 1 (1993): 1-31.
- Schipper, Kristofer. "Taoism, the story of the way." In *Taoism and the arts of China*, edited by Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman. Chicago, Berkeley: Art Institute of Chicago, University of California Press, 2000.
- _____. *The Taoist canon: a historical companion to the Daozang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Sharf, Robert. *Coming to terms with Chinese Buddhism: a reading of the Treasure Store Treatise*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.
- Shatzman Steinhardt, Nancy. "The Mizong Hall of Qinglongsi: Space, Ritual, and classicism in Tang Architecture." *Archives of Asian Art* 44 (1991): 27-50.
- Snodgrass, Adrian. *The Matrix and Diamond World mandalas in Shingon Buddhism*. Vol. 1. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1988.
- Soothill, William Edward, and Lewis Hodous. *A dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms: with Sanskrit and English equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali index*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass,

- 1977.
- Sterckx, Roel. *The animal and daemon in early China*. Albany: State University of New York, 2002.
- Strickmann, Michel, and Bernard Faure. *Chinese magical medicine*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- Sullivan, Michael. *The arts of China*. Los Angeles, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Suzuki, Yui. "The Medicine Master: Yakushi Buddha Icons and Devotional Practice in Heian Japan." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2005.
- Tanabe, George Joji, ed. *Religions of Japan in practice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Tanabe, Willa Jane. "The Lotus lectures: *Hokke Hakko* in the Heian period." *Monumenta Nipponica* 39, no. 4 (Winter 1984): 393-407.
- Teeuwen, Mark, and Fabio Rambelli, eds. *Buddhas and kami in Japan: honji suijaku as a combinatorial paradigm*. London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- ten Grotenhuis, Elizabeth. *Japanese mandalas: representations of sacred geography*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.
- ten Grotenhuis, Elizabeth, and Silk Road Project Inc. *Along the Silk Road*. Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2002.
- Tsuda Tetsuei. "Images of stars and their significance in Japanese esoteric art of the Heian period." In Dolce, *Culture and cosmos: a journal of the history of astrology and cultural astronomy*, 145-194.
- Van Goethem, Ellen. *Nagaoka: Japan's forgotten capital*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Vanden Broucke, Pol. "The Twelve-armed deity Daishō Kongō and his scriptural sources." In Payne, *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, 147-160.
- Wang, Aihe. "Yinyang wuxing." In Jones, *Encyclopedia of religion*, vol. 14, 9887.
- Weinstein, Stanley. "Aristocratic Buddhism." In Hal and Shively, *The Cambridge history of Japan*, 449-516.
- Welch, Patricia Bjaaland. *Chinese art: a guide to motifs and visual imagery*. North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle, 2008.

Weschler, Howard. *Offerings of jade and silk: ritual and symbol in the legitimation of the Tang dynasty*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Wu Hung. "Buddhist elements in early Chinese art (2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.)" *Artibus Asiae* 47 (1986): 264-352.

Yamasaki Taikō. *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*. Boston; New York: Shambhala Publications, 1996.

Yiengpruksawan, Mimi Hall. *Hiraizumi: Buddhist art and regional politics in twelfth-century Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998.

———. "The Phoenix Hall at Uji and the Symmetries of Replication." *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 4 (Dec., 1995): 647-72.

———. "What's in a name? Fujiwara fixation in Japanese cultural history." *Monumenta Nipponica* 49, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 423-53.

Sources in Japanese and Chinese

Adachi Kō 足立康. "Anjōji Gochi nyoraizō no zōken nendai 安祥寺五智如来像の造頭年代." *Kensetsushi 建設史* 2, no. 6 (1940).

———. "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō bosatsuzō no zōgan nendai 神護寺五大虚空蔵菩薩像の造願年代." *Kensetsushi 建設史* 1, no. 6 (1939): 536.

———. "Jingoji Yakushizō no zōken nendai 神護寺薬師像の像頭年代." *Kōkogaku zasshi 考古学雑誌* 29.12 (1939): 719-25.

Asai Kazuharu 浅井和春. "Kōryūji kōdō Amida Nyoraizō no zōritsu nendai ni tsuite 広隆寺講堂阿弥陀如来像の造立年代について." *Kokka 国華* 974 (1974): 5-10.

Bak Hyeongguk 朴亨國. "Keishū Sekkutsuan no gannai zōgun ni kansuru isshiron: Yuima, Monju to Hachidai Bosatsu no fukugen o chūshin ni 慶州石窟庵の龕内像群に関する一試論：維摩、文殊と八大菩薩の復原を中心に." *Bukkyō geijutsu 仏教芸術* 239 (1998): 50-72.

———. *Vairōchanabutsu no zuzō gakuteki kenkyū ヴァイローチャナ仏の図像学的研究*. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2001.

Bunkachō 文化庁, ed. *Zōnai nōnyūhin 像内納入品*. Vol. I and II, *Jūyō bunkazai 重要文化財*. Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1978.

Dai 14 kenkyūkai "Ōken to monyumento" 第14研究会 "王権とモニュメント," ed. *Anjōji no*

kenkyū I: Kyotoshi Yamashinaku shozai no Heian jidai shoki no sanrinjin: Kyoto daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka 21-seiki COE puroguramu "Gurōbaruka jidai no tagenteki jimbungaku no kyoten keisei" seika hōkokuzho 安祥寺の研究I: 京都市山科区所在の平安時代初期の山林寺院: 京都大学大学院文学研究科 21 世紀 COE プログラム「グローバル化時代の多元的人文学の拠点形成」成果報告書. Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka 21-seiki COE puroguramu "Gurōbaruka jidai no tagenteki jimbungaku no kyoten keisei," 2004.

———, ed. *Anjōji no kenkyū II: Kyotoshi Yamashinaku shozai no Heian jidai shoki no sanrinjin: Kyoto daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka 21-seiki COE puroguramu "Gurōbaruka jidai no tagenteki jimbungaku no kyoten keisei" seika hōkokuzho 安祥寺の研究I: 京都市山科区所在の平安時代初期の山林寺院: 京都大学大学院文学研究科 21 世紀 COE プログラム「グローバル化時代の多元的人文学の拠点形成」成果報告書. Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka 21-seiki COE puroguramu "Gurōbaruka jidai no tagenteki jimbungaku no kyoten keisei," 2006.*

Dolce, Lucia. "Taimitsu ni okeru Hokkekyō kaishaku to girei: Hokkehō to Hokke mandara ni tsuite 台密における法華経解釈と儀礼: 法華経と法華曼荼羅について." *Taimitsu gakuho 天台学報* 48 (2007): 13-31.

Duan Wenjie 段文傑. *Yu lin ku 榆林窟*. Vol. 1 of *Dunhuang shi ku yi shu 敦煌石窟芸術*. Nanjing: Jiangsu mei shu chu ban she, 1993.

Dunhuang yan jiu yuan 敦煌研究院, ed. *Kexue jishuhua juan 科学技术画卷*. Vol. 23 of *Dunhuang shi ku quan ji 敦煌石窟全集*. Xianggang: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1999-2001.

Fujii Jōji 藤井譲治, and Yoshioka Masayuki 吉岡真之, eds. *Junna tennō jitsuroku; Nimmyō tennō jitsuroku 淳和天皇実録; 仁明天皇実録*. Vol. 10 of *Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku 天皇皇族実録*. Tokyo: Yumata shobō, 2007.

———. *Montoku tennō jitsuroku 文徳天皇実録*. Vol. 11 of *Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku 天皇皇族実録*. Tokyo: Yumata shobō, 2007.

Fujii Keisuke 藤井恵介. *Mikkyō kenchiku kūkanron 密教建築空間論*. Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1998.

Fujii Tomoyuki 藤井智之. "Mokuchōzō no kishu: mokuchōzō yōzai no kagakuteki bunseki 木彫像の樹種: 木彫像用材の科学的分析." In Tokyo kokuritusu hakubutusan, *Butsuzō: ichiboku ni komerareta inori 仏像: 一木にこめられた祈り*, 234-48.

Fujita Tsuneyo 藤田経世, ed.. Vol. Jiin hen 寺院編 of *Kōkan bijutsu shiryō 校刊美術史料*. Tokyo: Chūō kōron shuppansha, 1972.

Fukunaga Mitsuji 福永光司, ed. *Saichō, Kūkai 最澄・空海*. Vol. 3 of *Nihon no meicho 日本*の

- 名著. Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1977.
- Hamashima Masaji 濱島正士. "Heian jidai zenki no buttō 平安時代前期の仏塔." In Mizuno, Konno and Kakichi, *Mikkyō jūin to butszō Heian kenchiku chōkoku I 密教寺院と仏像平安建築彫刻I*, 186-93.
- . *Nihon buttō shūsei 日本仏塔集成*. Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2001.
- Haruyama Takematsu 春山武松. "Jingoji no butszō 神護寺の仏像." *Tōyō bijutsu* 3 (1929): 13-35.
- Hase Hōshū 長谷宝秀, ed. *Kōbō Daishi deshi den 弘法大師弟子伝*. Reprint ed. 10 vols, *Kōbō Daishi zenshū 弘法大師全集*. Tokyo: Pitaka, 1977.
- Hasegawa Makoto 長谷川誠. "Monju zazō 文殊座像." In Nara rokudaiji taikan kankōkai 奈良六大寺大観刊行会, ed., *Yakushiji 薬師寺*. Vol. 6 of *Nara rokudaiji taikan 奈良六大寺大観*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970.
- Hayami Tasuku 速水侑. *Heian kizoku shakai to bukkyō 平安貴族社会と仏教*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975.
- Hayashi On 林温. "Besson mandara 別尊曼荼羅." *Nihon no bijutsu 日本の美術* 433 (June 2002).
- . "Myōken bosatsu to hoshi mandara 妙見菩薩と星曼荼羅." *Nihon no bijutsu* 377 (October 1997).
- Higashifumi Kunihide 東伏見国英. "Jingoji no Yakushi to Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu ni tsuite 神護寺の薬師と五大虚空蔵に就いて." *Hōun* 7 (Sept. 1933): 19-29.
- Hikoyoshi Mieko 彦由三枝子. "Nishi Sanjō Udaijin Fujiwara Yoshimi ni tsuite no ikkōsatsu 西三条右大臣藤原良相についての一考察 (I)." *Seiji keizai shigaku 政治経済史学* 228 (1985): 12-25.
- . "Nishi Sanjō Udaijin Fujiwara Yoshimi ni tsuite no ikkōsatsu 西三条右大臣藤原良相についての一考察 (II)." *Seiji keizai shigaku 政治経済史学* 300 (1991): 622-64.
- Hirano Kunio 平野邦雄, and Seno Seisaburō 瀬野精一郎, eds. *Nihon kodai chūsei jinmei jiten 日本古代中世人名事典*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2006.
- Hirohata Sukeo 広畑輔雄. "Nihon kodai ni okeru hokushin sūhai ni tsuite 日本古代における北辰崇拜について." In Sano, *Hoshi no shinkō: Myōken to Kokūzō*, 93-105.

- Hongō Masatsugu 本郷真紹. "Kyūtei josei no bukkyō shinkō: goganji konyū no shiteki igi 宮廷女性の仏教信仰：御願寺建立の史的意義." In Uehara, *Kōtaigō no yamadera*, 184-96.
- Honma Toshio 本間紀男. "X sen ni yoru Nōmanji Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō oyobi Gakuanji Kōkuzō Bosatsu hankazō no kenkyū X線による能満寺虚空蔵菩薩坐像及び額安寺虚空蔵菩薩半跏像の研究." *Tokyo geijutsu daigaku bijutsu gakubu kiyō 東京芸術大学美術学部紀要* 15 (1980): 33-70.
- Hori Yutaka 堀裕. "Heian jidai no goganji to tennō: kyū, jūseiki o chūshin ni 平安時代の御願寺と天皇：九・十世紀を中心に." *Shirin 史林* 91, no. 1 (2008): 67-100.
- Imaizumi Yoshio 今泉淑夫, ed. *Nihon Bukkyō shi jiten 日本仏教史辞典*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999.
- Inamoto Yasuo 稲本泰生. "Jizō bosatsu to Kokūzō Bosatsu 地藏菩薩と虚空蔵菩薩." In *Sande tōku (Sunday Talk) Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan*, Nov. 16, 2008.
- Inoue Kaoru 井上薫. *Nihon kodai no seiji to shūkyō 日本古代の政治と宗教*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1961.
- Inoue Kazutoshi 井上一稔. "Kanshinji Nyoirin Kannonzō to danzō kōgō no yume 観心寺如意輪観音像と壇像皇后の夢." In *Bunkashigaku no chōsen 文学史学の挑戦*, edited by Kasai Masaaki 笠井昌昭. Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2005.
- Ishida Hisatoyo 石田尚豊. *Ryōkai mandara no chie 両界曼荼羅の智慧*. Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 1979.
- Ishida Toshinori 石田敏紀. "Kentōshi onmyōji Harusono Tamanari 遣唐使陰陽師春苑玉成." *Kyōdo to hakubutsukan 郷土と博物館* 48, no. 92 (2003): 7-12.
- Itō Shirō 伊藤史朗. *Heian jidai chōkoku no kenkyū 平安時代彫刻の研究*. Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku shuppansha, 2000.
- . "Shingon mikkyō chōzō ron 真言密教彫像論." In *Jingoji to Murōji 神護寺と室生寺*, edited by Itō Shirō 伊東史朗, Ōta Hirotarō 大田博太郎, Yamane Yūzō 山根有三, Yonezawa Yoshiho 米沢壽圃, Saitō Nozomu 斎藤望 and Kasuya Makoto 加須屋誠. Vol. 8 of *Shinpen meihō Nihon no bijutsu 新編名宝日本の美術*. Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1992, 100-41.
- Iwasa Mitsuharu 岩佐光晴. "Heian jidai zenki no chōkoku 平安時代前期の彫刻." *Nihon no bijutsu 日本の美術* 457 (June 2004).
- Iwata Shigeki 岩田茂樹. "Yatadera no butsumō 矢田寺の仏像." In *Yatadera no butsumō 矢田寺の仏像*, edited by Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館. Nara: Bukkyō bijutsu

kyōkai, 2001.

Izumi Takeo 泉武夫. "Kokūzō Bosatsuzō 虚空蔵菩薩." *Nihon no bijutsu 日本の美術* 380 (January 1998).

Jinja to Shinto kenkyūkai 神社と神道研究会, ed. *Hachiman jinja: rekishi to densetsu 八幡神社：歴史と伝説*. Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2003.

Kagiwada Seiko 鍵和田聖子. "Tōji kōdō rittai mandara no shisōteki haikai 東寺講堂立体曼荼羅の思想的背景" *Ryūkoku daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka kiyō 竜谷大学大学院文学研究科紀要* 28 (2006): 140-56.

Kajikawa Toshio 梶川敏夫. "Heiankyō shūhen no sanrinjiin to Anjōji 平安京周辺の山林寺院と安祥寺." In Uehara, *Kōtaigō no yamadera*, 113-53.

Kajikawa Toshio 梶川敏夫 and Uehara Mahito 上原真人. "Kodai sanrinjiin kenkyū to Yamashina Anjōji 古代山林寺院研究と山科安祥寺." In Uehara, *Kōtaigō no yamadera*, 1-50.

Kajikawa Toshio 梶川敏夫, Uehara Mahito 上原真人, and Iwai Toshihira 岩井俊平. "Anjōji kamidera ato no sokuryō chōsa seika 安祥寺上寺跡の測量調査成果." In Dai 14 kenkyūkai "Ōken to monyumento," ed., *Anjōji no kenkyū I*.

Kamata Shigeo et al 鎌田茂雄. *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten 大蔵経全解説大事典*. Tokyo: Yūzankaku shuppan, 1998.

Katō Tomoyasu 加藤友康 and Yui Masaomi 由井正臣, eds. *Nihonshi bunken kaidai jiten 日本史文献解題事典*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2000.

Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教, ed. *Hizō hōyaku/Hannya shingyō hikken 秘蔵宝鑰・般若心経秘鍵*. Vol. 32, *Butten kōza 仏典講座*. Tokyo: Daizō shuppan kabushiki gaisha, 1977.

———, ed. *Kōbō Daishi chosaku zenshū 弘法大師著作全集* 6th ed. 3 vols. Tokyo: Sankibō busshōrin, 1968-1973.

Kawai Shōko 川合章子. *Onmyōdō to Heiankyō: Abe Seimei no seikai 陰陽道と平安京：安倍晴明の世界*. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 2003.

Kikutake Junichi 菊竹淳一, and Chung Woothak 鄭于澤. *Kōrai jidai no butsuga 高麗時代の仏画*. Seoul: Sigongsa, 2000.

Kohara Jirō 小原二郎. "Nihon chōkoku yōzai chōsa shiryō 日本彫刻用材調査資料." *Bijutsu kenkyū 美術研究* 229 (1963): 74-83.

Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺, and Kōyasan Reihōkan 高野山靈宝館, eds. *Kōyasan no bosatsuzō* 高野山の菩薩像. Kōya-chō: Kōyasan Reihōkan, 1995.

———, eds. *Kōyasan no meihō: Mikkyō mandara, kosumosu no sekai* 高野山の名宝：密教曼荼羅、コスモスの世界. Kōya-chō: Kōyasan Reihōkan, 2005.

Konno Toshifumi 紺野敏文. "Kokūzō bosatsu zuzō no henyō to sono zōzō: ken o toru Kokūzōson no seiritsu 虚空蔵菩薩図像の変容とその造像：剣を執る虚空蔵尊の成立." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 239 (1998): 15-49.

———. *Nihon chōkokushi no shiza* 日本彫刻史の視座. Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2004.

———. "Ninnajibon gobutsu zuzō to Anjōji Gochi Nyoraizō ni tsuite 仁和寺本五仏図像と安祥寺五知如来像について." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 121 (1978): 48-63.

———. "Sōkenki no Anjōji to Gochi Nyoraizō 創建期の安祥寺と五智如来像." *Bijutsushi* 美術史 101, no. 1 (1976): 21-38.

Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺, Kōyasan Reihōkan 高野山靈宝館, eds. *Kōyasan no meihō: Mikkyō mandara, kosumosu no sekai* 高野山の名宝：密教曼荼羅、コスモスの世界. Kōya-cho: Kōyasan Reihōkan (2005).

Kubo Noritada 窪徳忠. "Chūgoku kara Nihon e: hoshi o meguru minkan shinkō 中国から日本へ：星をめぐる民間信仰." In Sano, *Hoshi no shinkō: Myōken to Kokūzō*, 309-41.

Kuno Takeshi 久野健. *Hibutsu* 秘仏. Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1978.

———, ed. *Jingoji to rakusei rakuboku no koji* 神護寺と洛西・洛北の古寺. Vol. 9 of *Nihon koji bijutsu zenshū* 日本古寺美術全集. Tokyo: Shueisha, 1981.

———, ed. *Butsuzō shūsei I: Nihon no butsuzō (Hokkaidō, Tōhoku, Kantō)* 仏像集成I：日本の仏像（北海道、東北、関東）. Tokyo: Gakugeisha, 1989.

Kurata Bunsaku 倉田文作, ed. *Mikkyō jiin to Jōgan chōkoku* 密教寺院と貞観彫刻. Vol. 5 of *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu* 原色日本の美術. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1967.

———, et al, ed. *Chōkoku* 彫刻. Vol. 8 of *Zaigai Nihon no shihō* 在外日本の至宝. Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1980.

Kuroda Taizō 黒田泰三, Ōta Hirotarō 大田博太郎, Yamane Yūzō 山根有三, and Yonezawa Yoshiho 米沢壽圃, eds. *Ban Dainagon emaki* 伴大納言絵巻. Vol. 12 of *Shinpen meihō*

- Nihon no bijutsu* 新編名宝日本の美術. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1991.
- Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, ed. *Daikakuji no meihō: Gouda hōō gonyūzan 700nen kinen* 大覚寺の名宝：御宇多法王御入山700年記念. Kyoto: Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2007.
- , ed. *Kūkai to Kōyasan: Kōbō Daishi nittō 1200-nen kinen* 空海と高野山：弘法大師入唐1200年記念. Osaka: NHK Osaka hōsōkyoku, 2003.
- Kyoto kokuritu hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館 and Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館, eds. *Saichō to Tendai no kokuhō* 最澄と天台の国宝. Kyoto, Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbun, 2005.
- Kyotofu 京都府, ed. *Kyotofu shiseki shōchi chōsakai hōkoku* 京都府史蹟勝地調査会報告. Vol. 1. Kyoto: Kyotofu, 1919.
- Mainichi Shinbunsha 毎日新聞社, and Daini Tosho Henshūbu 第二図書編集部, eds. *Chōkoku* 彫刻. Vol. 3 of *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai taizen* 国宝重要文化財大全. Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1997.
- Manabe Shunshō 真鍋俊照. *Nihon butsumō jiten* 日本仏像辞典. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004.
- . "Omuro kanjōdō mandara shuhen no shiteki kōsatsu: oyobi Jōki'inbon 'Godai Kokūzō zai shozuzō' 御室灌頂堂曼荼羅周辺の史的考察：および常喜院本「五大虚空蔵座居諸図像」." *Mikkyō bunka* 密教学研究 88 (1969): 40-88.
- Maruyama Shirō 丸山士郎. "Shōki shinzō chōkoku no kenkyū 初期神像彫刻の研究" *Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 東京国立博物館紀要 40 (2004): 3-122.
- Masaki Ryūsuke 増記隆介. "Kujaku Myōō 孔雀明王." *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 508 (September 2008).
- Matsuura Masaaki 松浦正昭. "Tōji kōdō no Shingon chōkoku 東寺講堂の真言彫刻." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 150 (1983): 77-101.
- Mikkyō jiten hensankai 密教辞典編纂会. *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辞典. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1983.
- Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, ed. Vol. 3 of *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai zenshū* 弘法大師空海全集. Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1984.
- Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, Kanaoka Shūyū 金岡秀友, and Manabe Shunshō 真鍋俊照. *Mikkyō zuten* 密教図典. Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房, 1980.

- Mizuno Keizaburō 水野敬三郎. *Nihon chōkokushi kenkyū* 日本彫刻史研究. Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1996.
- , ed. *Nihon butsumōshi* 日本仏像史. Tokyo: Bijutsu shuppansha, 2001.
- Mizuno Keizaburō 水野敬三郎, Konno Toshifumi 紺野敏文, and Suzuki Kakichi 鈴木嘉吉, eds. *Mikkyō jiin to butsumō Heian kenchiku chōkoku I* 密教寺院と仏像平安の建築彫刻I. Vol. 5 of *Nihon bijutsu zenshu* 日本美術全集. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992.
- Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, ed. *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 望月信亨. 7 vols. Tokyo: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai, 1973.
- Mori Masahide 森雅秀. *Mandara no jiten* マンダラの事典. Tokyo: Shinjūsha, 2008.
- Murakami Tomomi 村上知美. "Kammu kara Nimmyō chō ni okeru onmyōryō no katsudō ni tsuite 桓武から仁明朝における陰陽寮の活動について." *Shūkyō minzoku kenkyū* 宗教民俗研究 11 (2001): 47-62.
- Murayama Shūichi 村山修一. "Kodai Nihon no onmyōdō 古代日本の陰陽道." In *Onmyōdō sōsho* 陰陽道叢書, edited by Murayama Shūichi 村山修一. Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1991.
- . *Nihon onmyōdōshi sōsetsu* 日本陰陽道史総説. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1981.
- . *Shinbutsu shūgō no seichi* 神仏習合の聖地. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2006.
- . *Shūgendō/onmyōdō to shaji shiryō* 修験・陰陽道と社寺史料. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1997.
- , ed. *Onmyōdō kiso shiryō shūsei* 陰陽道基礎資料集成. Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 1987.
- Nagaoka Ryūsaku 長岡龍作. "Jingoji Yakushizō no isō 神護寺薬師像の位相." *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 359 (1994): 1-27.
- . "Jōgyōsō to kōkan shita yamadera no reizō 浄行僧と交感した山寺の霊像." In *Jingoji Yakushi Nyorai no sekai* 神護寺薬師如来の世界. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999, 4-42.
- . "Keka to butsumō 悔過と仏像." *Rokuon zasshū: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 鹿園雑集：奈良国立博物館研究紀要 8 (2006): 1-29.
- Nagasaka Ichirō 長坂一郎. *Shinbutsu shūgōzō no kenkyū: seiritsu to denpa no haikai* 神仏習合の研究：成立と伝播の背景. Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2004.
- . "Shoki jingūji no seiritsu to sono honzon no imi: Jingoji Yakushi Nyorai ritsuzō no zōzō riyū o tegakari ni shite 初期神宮寺の成立とその本尊の意味・神護寺薬師如来立像の

- 造像理由をてがかりにして." *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 354 (September 1992): 1-18.
- Nakamachi Mikako 中町美香子. "Anjōji shizaichō' no seiritsu 「安祥寺資材帳」の成立." In Uehara, *Kōtaigō no yamadera: Yamashina Anjōji no sōken to kodai sanrin jiin* 皇太后の山寺：山科安祥寺の創建と古代山林寺院, 213-35.
- Nakamura Hajime 中村元. *Iwanami Bukkyō jiten* 岩波仏教辞典. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989.
- Nakano Genzō 中野玄三. *Keka no geijutsu* 悔過の芸術. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982.
- Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, ed. *Danzō: byakudanbutsu kara Nihon no mokuchōbutsu e* 壇像：白檀仏から日本の木彫仏へ. Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1991.
- , ed. *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai bukkō bijutsu I (Hokkaidō-Tōhoku)* 国宝重要文化財仏教美術I (北海道・東北). Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1972.
- , ed. *Komikkyō: Nihon mikkyō no taidō* 古密教：日本密教の胎動. Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2005.
- , ed. *Seichi Ninbō: Nihon Bukkyō 1300 nen no genryū: subete wa koko kara yatte kita* 聖地寧波：日本仏教1300年の源流：すべてはここからやって来た. Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2009.
- Nedachi Kensuke 根立研介. "Anjōji no bukkō chōkoku o meguru shomondai: sōkenki chōzō no kokusaisei to shinkisei no mondai o chūshin ni shite 安祥寺の仏教彫刻をめぐる諸問題：創建期彫像の国際性と新奇性の問題を中心にして." In Uehara, *Kōtaigō no yamadera*, 263-92.
- Nihon bukkō jinmei jiten hensan iinkai 日本仏教人名辞典編纂委員会, ed. *Nihon Bukkyō jinmei jiten* 日本仏教人名辞典. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1992.
- Niimi Yasuko 新見康子. "Kōbō Daishi gyōjōe: rekishi to shite no kanōsei 弘法大師行状絵：歴史としての可能性." In *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō emaki no sekai: eien e no hishō* 弘法大師行状絵巻の世界：永遠への秘抄. Kyoto: Tōji Hōmotsukan, 2000.
- Nishiguchi Junko 西口順子. "Heian jidai shōki jiin no kōsatsu: goganji o chūshin ni 平安時代初期寺院の考察：御願寺を中心に." *Shisō* 史窓 28 (1970): 43-59.
- Nishimura Kōchō 西村公朝. *Butsuzō no saihakken: kantei e no michi* 仏像の再発見：鑑定への道. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1976.
- Nishimura Ryōhei 西村良平. "Okadera no tanjō: Kashōji saikō <陸寺>の誕生：嘉祥寺の再

- 考." In *Nihon kokka no shiteki tokushitsu: kodai, chūsei* 日本国家の史的特質：古代、中世, edited by Ōyama Kyōhei 大山喬平. Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1997.
- Ōe Atsushi 大江篤. *Nihon kodai no kami to rei* 日本古代の神と霊. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2007.
- Okada Ken 岡田健. "Tōji Kanchiin zō Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō 東寺観智院蔵五大虚空蔵菩薩像." In *Tōji Kanchiin zō Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō 東寺観智院蔵五大虚空蔵菩薩像*, edited by Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 東京文化財研究所. Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2003.
- Okano Kōji 岡野浩二. *Heian jidai no kokka to jiin* 平安時代の国家と寺院. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 2009.
- Osaka shiritsu bijutsukan 大阪市立美術館, ed. *Dōkyō no bijutsu* 道教の美術. Osaka: Osaka shiritsu bijutsukan, 2009.
- , ed. *Kokuhō Miidera ten: Chishō Daishi kichō 1500 nen* 国宝三井寺展：智証大師帰朝1500年. Osaka: NHK Osaka Hōsōkyoku, 2008.
- Ōtani Yoshihiro 大谷欣裕. "Sanrinjin no keisei ni kansuru ikkōsatsu 三輪身の形成に関する一考察." *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 仏教学研究 64 (2008): 114-36.
- Oyamada Kazuo 小山田和夫. "Fujiwara Yoshimi to bukkyō: Sūshin'in o chūshin to shite 藤原良相と仏教：崇親院を中心として." *Seiji keizai shigaku* 政治経済史学 141 (1978): 45-60.
- . "'Kosōshō hōin daikashōi Shinga denki' to 'Nihon sandai jitsuroku' Shinga sōden ni tsuite 『故僧正法印大和尚位真雅伝記』と『日本三代実録』真雅卒伝について." *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 383 (1978): 14-25.
- . "Shinzei ni tsuite: Jitsue, Shinshō to no kankei 真濟について：実恵・真紹との関係." *Risshō shigaku* 立正史学 42 (1978): 55-74.
- Rittō rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan 栗東歴史民族博物館. *Konshōji: Rōben setsuwa to nijūgo betsuin* 金勝寺：良弁説話と二十五別院. Rittō chō: Benridō, 1995.
- Saeki Arikiyo 佐伯有清. *Saigo no kentōshi* 最後の遣唐使. Tokyo: Tankōsha, 2007.
- . *Tomo no Yoshio* 伴善男. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1970.
- Saitō Takashi 齊藤孝. *Nihon kodai to Tōfū bijutsu* 日本古代と唐風美術. Osaka: Sōgensha, 1978.

- . "Tōji Kanchiin Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzazōkō: Chūgoku chōkoku e no ittenbō 東寺觀智院五大虚空藏菩薩坐像考：中国彫刻への一展望." *Bijutsushi 美術史* 72, no. 4 (1969): 127-50.
- Sano Kenji 佐野賢治, ed. *Hoshi no shinkō: Myōken, Kokūzō 星の信仰・妙見、虚空藏*. Tokyo: Tansuisha, 1994.
- . *Kokūzō Bosatsu shinkō no kenkyū 虚空藏菩薩信仰の研究*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1996.
- . *Kokūzō shinkō 虚空藏信仰*. Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1991.
- . "Nihon seishin shinkōshi gairon: Myōken, Kokūzō shinkō o chūshin ni shite 日本星神信仰史概論：妙見、虚空藏信仰を中心にして." In Sano, *Hoshi no shinkō: Myōken, Kokūzō 星の信仰・妙見、虚空藏*, 3-53.
- Sasaki Moritoshi 佐々木守俊. "Anjōji Gochi Nyorai zazō ni tsuite 安祥寺五智如来坐像について." *Kokka 国家* 1306 (August 2004): 7-20.
- . "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō no zuzō ni tsuite 神護寺五大虚空藏菩薩坐像の図像について." *Bijutsushi 美術史* 147 (October 1999): 1-14.
- Satō Nagato 佐藤長門. "Nittōsō Engyō ni kansuru kisoteki kōsatsu 入唐僧円行に関する基礎的考察." *Kokushigaku 国史学* 153 (1994): 53-95.
- Senda Minoru 千田稔. *Nihon kodai no ōken no kūkan 日本古代の王権の空間*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2004.
- . "Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku dōkyō 日本における中国の道教." In Sai Ki 蔡毅, ed., *Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku dentō bunka 日本における中国伝道文化*, Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2002.
- Shang Chengzuo 商承祚. *Guangzhou Guangxiaosi gu dai mu diao xian tu lu 廣州光孝寺古代木彫像図録*. Shanghai: Shanghai chu ban gong si, 1955.
- Shi Yan 史岩, Chai Zejun 紫澤俊, Yang Chengyin 楊成寅, and Zhongguo mei shu quan ji bian ji wei yuan hui 中国美術全集編輯委員會, eds. *Wu dai, Song diao su 五大、宋雕塑*. Vol. 5 of *Zhongguo mei shu quan ji 中国美術全集*. Beijing: Ren min mei shu chu ban she, 1988.
- Shigeta Shin'ichi 繁田信一. *Heian kizoku to onmyōji: Abe Seimei no rekishi minzokugaku 平安貴族と陰陽師：安倍晴明の歴史民俗学*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2005.
- Shimamoto Shūji 島本修二, ed. *Kūkai to mandara uchū 空海と曼荼羅宇宙*. Vol. 39 of *Nihon*

- no bi o meguru* 日本の美をめぐる. Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2003.
- Sohō Sen'yōkai 祖風宣揚会, ed., *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集. 3rd ed. *Shukan* 首巻. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1967.
- Sonoda Kōyū 藺田香融. *Heian bukkyō no kenkyū* 平安仏教の研究. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1981.
- Takahashi Kiyoshi 高橋潔. "Jingoji ni tsunagaru 'shinsei na tani' 神護寺につながる「神聖な谷」." In *Jingoji Yakushi Nyorai zō no sekai* 神護寺薬師如来像の世界. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999.
- Takei Akio 竹居明男. "Kashōji, Jōganji zakkō 嘉祥寺・貞観寺雑考." *Bunkashigaku* 文化史学 39 (1983): 26-45.
- Tanabe Saburōsuke 田辺三郎助, and Konno Toshifumi 紺野敏文. *Bosatsu* 菩薩. Vol. 2 of *Nihon no butsuzō dai hyakka* 日本の仏像大百科. Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1990.
- Tanaka Shigehisa 田中重久. *Nihon no hekiga no kenkyū* 日本の壁画の研究. Osaka: Tōkasha shobō, 1944.
- Tanaka Toshiaki 田中俊明. "Anjōji kaiso Eun no tokai: kyūseiki no higashi Ajia kōryū 安祥寺開祖恵運の渡海：九世紀の東アジア交流." In Uehara, *Kōtaigō no yamadera*, 156-83.
- Tendaishū Kyoto kyōku 天台宗京都教区, ed. *Tendaishū Kyoto kyōku jīnshi* 天台宗京都教区寺院誌. Kyoto: Tendaishū Kyoto kyōku shūmusho, 2008.
- Tōin Kinkata 洞院公賢. "Shūgaishō 拾芥抄." Edited by Sonkeikaku bunko 尊敬閣文庫. Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 1998.
- Tōji Hōmotsukan 東寺宝物館, ed. *Kōbō Daishi gyōjō emaki no sekai: eien e no hishō* 弘法大師行状絵巻の世界：永遠への飛翔. Kyoto: Tōji Hōmotsukan, 2000.
- , ed. *Tōji no bosatsuzō* 東寺の菩薩像. Kyoto: Benridō, 2000.
- , ed. *Tōji Kanchiin no rekishi to bijutsu: meihō no bi, seikyō no seika* 東寺観智院の歴史と美術：名宝の美、聖教の精華. Kyoto: Benridō, 2003.
- , ed. *Tōji no mikkyō zuzō* 東寺の密教図像. Kyoto: Benridō, 1999.
- Tokyo bunkazai kenkyūjo 東京文化財研究所, ed. *Tōji Kanchiin zō Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō* 東寺観智院蔵五大虚空蔵菩薩像. 2 vols. Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2003.
- Tokyo kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo 東京国立文化財研究所. *Takao mandara: bijutsu kenkyū*

- hōkoku* 高雄曼荼羅 : 美術研究所報告. Tokyo: Tokyo kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, 1967.
- Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館, ed. *Butsuzō: ichiboku ni komerareta inori* 仏像 : 一木にこめられた祈り. Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbun, 2006.
- Tokyo Teikoku daigaku shiryō hensanjo 東京帝国大学史料編纂所, ed. Vol. 1 of *Dai Nihon shiryō* 大日本史料. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1968.
- Tomishima Yoshiyuki 富島義幸. "Henyō suru ryōkai mandara: tō no naka de nani ga okotte ita no ka 変容する両界曼荼羅 : 塔の中で何が起こっていたのか." In *Tō: katachi, imi, gijutsu* 塔 : 形、意味技術. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999.
- . *Mikkyō kūkan shiron* 密教空間史論. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2007.
- Tsuji Shindō 辻晉堂. "Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsuzō 神護寺五大虚空蔵菩薩像." *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 18 (1953): 48-54.
- Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, and Nakano Genzō 中野玄三. *Kyoto no butsuzō* 京都の仏像. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1978.
- Uehara Mahito 上原真人, ed. *Kōtaigō no yamadera: Yamashina Anjōji no sōken to kodai sanrin jūin* 皇太后の山寺 : 山科安祥寺の創建と古代山林寺院. Kyoto: Yanagihara shuppan, 2007.
- Uehara Shōichi 上原昭一. "Jingoji Tahōto Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu zazō 神護寺多宝塔五大虚空蔵菩薩坐像." *Kokka* 848 (Nov. 1962): 505-07.
- , ed. *Mikkyō no bijutsu: Tōji, Jingoji, Murōji* 密教の美術 : 東寺、神護寺、室生寺. Vol. 6 of *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 日本美術全集. Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980.
- Waei taishō Nihon bijutsu yōgo jiten henshūinkai 和英対照日本美術用語辞典編集委員会, ed. *Nihon bijutsu yōgo jiten* 日本美術用語辞典. Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 1990.
- Watanabe Shōkō 渡邊昭宏, and Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, eds. *Sangō shiiki, Shōryōshū* 三教指帰、性霊集. Vol. 71 of *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文学大系. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965.
- Yamagishi Tsuneto 山岸常人. "Mikkyō hondō no seiritsu 密教本堂の成立." In *Ishiyamadera to Ōmi no koji* 石山寺と近江の古寺, edited by Kasahara Kazuo 笠原一男 and Yamagishi Tsuneto 山岸常人. Vol. 5 of *Zenshū Nihon no koji* 全集日本の古寺. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1985.
- Yamamoto Tsutomu 山本勉. "Dainichi Nyoraizō 大日如来像." *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術

374 (July 1997).

Yamana Nobuo 山名伸生. "Tōji kōdō shozō no seiritsu ni tsuite: zuzō to sono chōkokuka no mondai 東寺講堂諸像の成立について：図像とその彫刻化の問題." *Bigaku 美学* 148 (1987): 37-48.

Yanagisawa Taka 柳澤孝. "Shōren'in denrai no hakubyō kongōkai mandara shoson zuzō (jō) 青蓮院伝来の白描金剛界曼荼羅諸尊図像（上）." *Bijutsu kenkyū 美術研究* 241 (July 1965): 58-80.

Yano Michio 矢野道雄. "Bukkyō tenbugaku-senseijutsu no zuzō gakuteki junmen: sanjū rokkin to Dekan 仏教天文学・占星術の図像学的順面：三十六禽とデカン." *Dōshisha daigaku rikō kenkyū hōkoku 同志社大学理工学研究報告* 48, no. 4 (2008): 1-6.

———. *Hoshi uranai no bunka kōryūshi 星占いの文化交流史*. Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 2004.

Yoneda Yūsuke 米田雄介, and Yoshioka Masayuki 吉岡真之, eds. *Rihōōki 吏部王記, Shiryō sanshū 資料纂集*. Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1980.

Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏. "Bukkyō no naka no dōbutsutachi 仏教の中の動物たち." *Nihon no bijutsu 日本の美術* 279 (August 1989): 85-90.

———. "Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō: toku ni Rishukyō mandara o chūshin to shite 宗叡請来の密教図像：特に理趣経曼荼羅を中心として." *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō 成田山仏教研究所紀要* 15 (1992): 495-539.

———. "Mandara to hachidai bosatsu 曼荼羅と八大菩薩." *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō 日本仏教学会年報* 57 (1991): 251-67.

———. *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū 密教仏の研究*. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990.

Yoshikawa Shinji 吉川真司. *Heiankyō 平安京*. Vol. 5 of *Nihon no jidaishi 日本の時代史*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002.

Yoshino Hiroko 吉野裕子. "Onmyōdō gogyō ni yoru Nihon minzoku no kōzōkuteki ha'aku 陰陽道五行により日本民族の皇族的把握." *Minzokugaku kenkyū 民族学研究* 45, no. 2 (1980): 134-59.

Digital resources

JAANUS The online dictionary of Japanese architectural and art historical terminology:
<http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/>

Digital dictionary of Buddhism: <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>

The SAT Daizōkyō database: <http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/index.html>