

PACIFIC WORLD

Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies

Third Series Number 11
Fall 2009

Special Issue Celebrating the
Sixtieth Anniversary of the
Institute of Buddhist Studies
1949-2009



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Acknowledgment: This annual publication is made possible by the donation of BDK America of Berkeley, California.

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The Daoist Facet of Kinpusen and Sugawara no Michizane Worship in the *Dōken Shōnin Meidoki*: A Translation of the *Dōken Shōnin Meidoki*

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*DŌKEN SHŌNIN MEIDOKI*¹ (道賢上人冥途記, Record of Dōken Shōnin's Experience of the Other World; hereafter *Meidoki*) is a medieval Japanese Buddhist narrative that appears in the section concerned with the fourth year of Tengyō (天慶; 941) in the *Fusō ryakki*² (扶桑略記, Abbreviated History of Japan). The *Meidoki* relates Dōken Shōnin's³ (道賢上人, or Nichizō Shōnin, 日藏上人; 905–985[?]) experience of the other world, which began while he was practicing on Kinpusen⁴ 金峯山 on the first day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Tengyō, during which he found that he was suddenly unable to breathe and subsequently died. On his journey in the other world, he made a pilgrimage through the three realms and six paths of transmigration under the guidance of Zaō Gongen 蔵王権現, who was acting as the guardian deity of Kinpusen.⁵ He met Nihon Dajō Itoku Ten (日本太政威徳天, Virtuous and Powerful Deva of the Japanese Cabinet: the dead spirit of Sugawara no Michizane, 菅原道真; 845–903) in the Pure Land of Kinpusen, and he learned of the reasons why Michizane had become an angry spirit and why the people of the capital had incurred his wrath, which manifested most often as natural disasters. He also saw Emperor Daigo (醍醐天皇; 885–930, r. 897–930) suffering in hell; the late emperor expressed his remorse for the evil acts he had committed, including exiling Michizane. Upon his return from the other world, Dōken Shōnin explained that social and physical upheavals were being caused by the ill will of the angry spirit of Michizane and other discontented spirits. Finally, through various rituals and supplications, the anger of Michizane was pacified and peace prevailed throughout the country.

Although the *Meidoki* was included in the in the *Fusō ryakki* (specifically, in the section on the fourth year of Tenryō), it is not clear when and by whom it was written. While more investigation is needed in order to conclusively determine the temporal provenance of the *Meidoki*, sometime between the eleventh and twelfth centuries seems like a good bet.

There are three substantiating pieces of evidence for this assertion. First, in the fourth year of Shōrei (昌曆; 993) Emperor Ichijō (980–1011, r. 986–1011) granted the angry spirit of Sugawara no Michizane the title Dajō Daijin. The name given to his angry spirit in the *Meidoki*—Nihon Daijō Itoku Ten—seems to be a combination of the title granted by Emperor Ichijō and certain *mikkyō* conceptions of deities. If this is correct, then the *Meidoki* must be a post-993 composition.

Second, Ōe no Masafusa (大江匡房; 1041–1111)⁶ effected a transformation in the perception of the spirit of Sugawara no Michizane whereby the latter, previously thought of as an *onryō* 怨靈, came to be perceived of as a *goryō* 御靈. In addition, Masafusa, drawing on the model of the Daoist immortal, depicted Sugawara's spirit as an eternally abiding deity of learning. And it is Masafusa's Sugawara no Michizane, an immortal *goryō* who watches out for scholars, who appears in the *Meidoki*, thus suggesting that the latter text had to have been composed after the writings of Masafusa.

Finally, capping the period of authorship on the other end is Jien's *Gukanshō* (愚管抄, The Future and the Past), which was written in the first year of Jōkyū (承久; 1219)⁷ and contains references to the *Meidoki*. Taken together, these data give us the following range: 993–1219, i.e., roughly the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

As for the question of authorship, it is clear that Dōken Shōnin did not compose the *Meidoki* by himself. Rather, the work seems to have first been composed by Dōken Shōnin's disciples or others close to him who practiced esoteric rituals on Kinpusen in order to secure worldly benefits. Later, during the mid-Heian period, monks performing Tendai-related mountain practices revised the *Meidoki*, primarily in the form of inserted *setsuwa*-style phrases and passages. These revisions were partially aimed at asserting Tendai 天台 control over Kinpusen, though Kōfuku-ji and Daigō-ji managed to retain their possession of the mountain throughout Japanese history.

This tale contains two important themes. First, there is the image of Kinpusen as a destination and place of practice for religious virtuosi.

Such religious significance was based on Kinpusen's metal deposits, which were in turn based on the importance of metal in a Daoist, and, to a lesser extent, *mikkyō*, religious framework. Although Kinpusen came to be a point of amalgamation of various religious rituals and beliefs, including elements of Japanese mythology and *yin-yang* theory, the Daoist religious elements took precedence on Kinpusen, and the mountain can therefore be viewed as a hub of pre-medieval Japanese Daoist theory and praxis. In this regard, the five phases theory⁷ must be taken in account in any consideration of the religious aspects of Kinpusen.

Second, the *Meidoki* presents the reader with depictions of the worship of Sugawara no Michizane as Nihon Dajō Itoku Ten. The manner by which Sugawara's angry spirit transformed into Nihon Dajō Itoku Ten in turn reveals a fascinating example of *honjisuijaku* and *hongaku* discourses at work in Heian Japan, particularly as these intellectual historical trends relate to Japanese conceptions of angry spirits.

In the pages that follow I shall discuss these two themes in turn and, by doing so, highlight the oft-ignored Daoist elements in Japanese religion, on the one hand, and contribute to our understanding of the manner in which theories about angry spirits were influenced by Buddhist intellectual trends, on the other.

THE DAOIST ELEMENTS AT KINPUSEN

Kinpusen came to hold great religious importance due to its rich deposits of metals. As is well known, in the Daoist framework, which was certainly well established in Japan (if not at an institutional level, then certainly at the theoretical and practical levels), metal, as one of the five elements, is essential for the practice of Daoist alchemy. The importance of the metals in Kinpusen, though, must be understood in the context of mining in early Japan, which I shall briefly outline before continuing.

Even before the Nara period (710–784), mining knowledge and techniques had already been introduced to Japan from China and Korea. While some Buddhist statues and coins were brought over from China and Korea, many Buddhist statues (such as the great image of Buddha at Nara) and copper and silver coins were actually domestic products, created from metals from Japanese mines. From early on, Chinese and Korean immigrants and monks from the mainland who had acquired and accumulated mining techniques and experience

through successive generations introduced their knowledge to Japan. Some initially employed their mining skills in or around the capital, but many later shifted to areas of known deposits or moved about the island searching for minable veins.

The importance of metals during the Nara period was twofold: political authorities sought minerals for the production of coins, an enterprise of great political importance, and religious authorities coveted metals for making Buddhist statues.⁸ This is besides farmers, of course, who had come to depend on iron tools to cultivate the badly neglected land.

Due to the high value of metals, mining was tightly controlled by the government. The first official permission to mine was issued in the first year of Taihō (大宝; 701), when the Imperial Prince Osakabe (Osakabe Shinnō, 刑部親王; ?–705; the ninth son of Emperor Tenmu, 天武天皇; ?–686; r. 673–683) and Fujiwara no Fuhito (藤原不比等; 659–720; the second son of Fujiwara no Kamatari, 藤原鎌足; 614–669) signed a document allowing the mining of gold, silver, copper, mercury, and iron. Thereupon, under tight imperial regulation, minerals were sent to the capital from various places (e.g., Iyo Province 伊予, Tanba Province 丹波, Chichibu Province 秩父) for the production of statues and coins. This marked the beginning of the growth of what would prove to become a vibrant industry: mining and its concomitant metallurgical activities.

In addition, the offering of metals came to be extremely potent sources of power in the religious and political arenas. The *Shoku Nihongi* (続日本紀, Continued Chronicles of Japan; 797), for example, records numerous donations of minerals to the imperial court,⁹ indicating both this material's political value and prevalence. Besides coin and statue production, the collected minerals were used as medicine intended to foster good health, longevity, and worldly success, and they were further refined to be used as face powder by the imperial family and high-ranking officials. These instances suggest that offerings of metals were integral to cultural exchange between the court and peripheral regions as well as to political relations between capital-based interests and the court.

Depictions of miners first appear in early collections of narratives and poems, such as the *Nihonkoku genpō zen'aku ryōiki* (日本国現報善悪靈異記, Miraculous Stories of Karmic Retribution of Good and Evil in Japan, a.k.a. *Nihon ryōiki*, 日本靈異記; 822–824), the earliest Japanese

collection of Buddhist tales. One tale in particular is set at a state-owned iron mine in Aita district, Mimasaka Province (美作国英多郡, present-day Okayama Prefecture), during the reign of Empress Abe, and tells of a provincial magistrate who drafted ten workmen to dig out iron ore.¹⁰ The story substantiates the historically verifiable fact that miners and mining remained continuously under the control of the comprehensive criminal and administrative codes, the *Taihō ritsuryō* 大宝律令,¹² and that workers' skills were employed for the benefit of the imperial court.

Compiled some eighty years hence, the *Kokin wakashū* (古今和歌集, A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern; 905), in a poem in the section of songs for *kami* ceremonies, portrays the local mountain folk (*yamabito*, 山人) as mining specialists who mine iron ore and gives us the impression that mining was a vibrant industry in mountainous regions.¹¹ Likewise, the *Shoku Nihongi* contains the following passages: “the Prince Shihinshiki [Shihinshiki Shinnō 四品志紀親王] was given the mines (*kana*, 鉄穴) in Ōmi region 近江 on the third day of the ninth month of the third year of Taihō”,¹² “the Prime Minister Fujiwara no Nakamaro [藤原仲麻呂; 706–764; Dashi Fujiwara no Emi ason Oshikatsu, 太師藤原惠美朝臣押勝] was given the mines (*kana*, 鉄穴) in Asai 浅井 and Takashima 高嶋 districts of the Ōmi region on the twenty-fifth day of the second month of the six year of Tenpyōhōji 天平宝字.”¹³

It is important to note that the fact that depictions of the mountain-dwelling miners appear in the early collections of narratives and poems indicates their prominence in the collective imagination of the time (or at least the imagination of the literate classes), which in turn suggests their general importance to the *ritsuryō* system under which this elite stratum of society flourished.

While the economic activities of miners, as previously mentioned, were regulated by the court, because this population resided far from the center of control, it had a certain degree of freedom and leverage. The centrally-located imperial and religious authorities thus had to take various measures to ensure the continuity and solidity of their relationship with these peripherally-located communities in order to maintain the supply of increasingly indispensable metals during the Nara and early Heian.

One of the most famous mining regions during this time was Kane no Midake, now called Kinpusen. Peculiar to this territory was the fact

the miners there felt that the mountain should be a sacred and purified place, suitable for religious practices and rituals.

Early knowledge of Kinpusen's mineral deposits is made evident by the fact that the mountain was called Kane no Midake or Kano no Mine in pre-modern Japan ("kane" denoting minerals such as gold, silver, copper, and iron). Descriptions of Kinpusen as the Peak of Gold (Kane no Midake) first appear in pre-modern collections of poems and narratives. For example, the *Manyōshū* (万葉集, Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves; 759) notes that "It is always raining on Midake no Take (Gold Peak) at Yoshino,"¹⁴ and the *Meidoki* states that "Kinpusen was the highest of mountains. Its top was completely flat and shining with bright gold light." The *Eika monogatari* (栄華物語, A Tale of Flowering Fortunes; twelfth century) describes a scene in which Fujiwara no Michinaga (藤原道長; 966–1027) obtained the merit of local deities for prosperity of descendants.¹⁵ These descriptions clearly helped to establish the mountain as a sacred peak of gold.

Kinpusen, as a "gold peak," was a liminal space, in between the purity of heaven on the one hand and the terrain below and secular society on the other. Accordingly, Kinpusen is described as a boundary zone that is neither purely religious nor secular. People created small temples and shrines in order to worship bodhisattvas, buddhas, and local deities, and, in addition, there were undoubtedly people who acquired religious skills and rituals as they practiced on Kinpusen. These religious specialists' teachings encouraged mountain worship and a view of mountains as sacred places where bodhisattvas and deities dwell. In the case of the cult of Kinpusen, Zaō Gongen and local deities were enshrined and worshiped at local temples and shrines in order to protect the mining lands and activities.

One of the most famous stories about Kinpusen as a peak of gold tells of a numinous occurrence at Ishiyamaji 石山寺 in the *Genkō shakusho* (元亨釈書, A Genkō's Era History and Biographies; 1322). The story demonstrates that people in pre-modern times clearly recognized Kinpusen as a gold mountain protected by a local deity.¹⁶ In another story, found in the *Uji shūi monogatari* (宇治拾遺物語, Stories Gleaned at Uji; thirteenth century), Kinpusen is depicted as a golden mountain, and we are told that gold extracted from Kinpusen cannot be used due to the fact the mountain's mineral deposits are protected by the spirits of ancestors and the recently-deceased.¹⁷

Besides the religious and political importance of the golden peak's metals, Kinpusen also appealed to the capital's elite, both religious and secular, because they depended on the waters of the Kinpusen. Kinpusen shrine 金峯社, a local shrine, was probably located on top of Kinpusen and was dedicated to the tutelary deity of mountain mining: the male and female deities of golden mountains (Kanayamahiko 金山彦 and Kanayamahime 金山姫, respectively). With regard to the origin of these spirits in Japanese mythology, the *Nihon shoki* (日本書記, Chronicles of Japan; 720) and the *Kojiki* (古事記, Record of Ancient Matters; 712) notes that human vomit in particular contains magical powers and that people should pay close attention to Kanayamahiko.¹⁸ Clearly, Kanayamahiko is an impure (*kegare*, 穢れ) being that, in the legendary accounts, was forced out of the imperial court and came to play an important role as an “outsider” in Japanese mythology. Through editing of the *Nihon shoki* and the *Kojiki*, these male and female deities of golden mountains were somewhat redeemed and were able to shed the image of poor outcasts with which they were associated in the early myths. Their merits and demerits vis-à-vis the imperial court clarified, officials in the department of divinities under the *ritsuryō* system enshrined them as mining deities associated with the court.

Male and female deities of golden peaks, enshrined as guardian deities for their respective mountain territories, thus came to be acknowledged and legitimized as mining deities within a politico-religious context determined by the imperial court. Consequently, the Kinpu shrine received official ranks three times: first in the second year of Ninju (仁寿; 852),¹⁹ then in the third year of Ninju (853),²⁰ and a third time in the first year of Jōgan (貞觀; 859).²¹ Later, the female deity of golden peaks became a popular mining deity and, having spread to other mining communities, came to be localized in various places. While the Kinpusen deities did enjoy official recognition as guardian deities of mining areas acting on behalf of the imperial court, they tended to be seen as unpleasant or evil deities (for example, *konjin*, 金神) and were consequently never treated as deities of the highest rank in local mythologies.

During the early medieval period, Kinpusen was often called a place of *tan* 丹. According to the early Heian-period *Wamyō ruijushō* (和名類聚抄, Classified and Annotated Japanese Names for Things; 934), which combines features of both a dictionary and an encyclopedia, the archaic word *tan* means *tansa* 丹砂 (or *tansha*) or *shusha* 朱砂 (sulfide

of mercury).²² And in the *Manyōshū*, the archaic word “*tan*” appears as the name of a mining clan, “*Nifu*,” and also denotes mercury, or a vein of mercury.

Sulfide of mercury was an essential mineral for making medicines (*tan*, 丹) for good health, a tradition brought by immigrants who introduced continental culture and technology. Indications of sulfide of mercury for medical use are found in the *Shoku nihonkōki* (続日本後紀, Late Chronicle of Japan, Continued; 869) and the *Sandai jitsuroku* (三代実録, Actual Records of Three Regions; 901). An obituary of Emperor Ninmyō (仁明天皇; 810–850, r. 833–850) appearing in the *Shoku nihonkōki* entry for the twenty-fifth day of the third month of the third year of Kashō (嘉祥; 850) reads as follows:

I [Emperor Ninmyō] had a lump in my abdomen when I was seven years old. At the age of eight, I had a pain in the pit of my stomach and had a bad headache. Moreover, three years after the coming-of-age ceremony for a boy in the old days, I began to suffer from a pain in my chest. Due to distress caused by the pain, at the beginning I suffered. It was like fulguration. At the end, the pain was getting worse and worse. It was as if a sword was being thrust into my abdomen. Then I took seven-energy pills (Ch. *Qiqiwan*, 七氣丸). It was like hot aster ginger tea, and the medicine initially had an immediate effect on me. Although I later felt that the medicine was heavy, the medicine had no effect on me. Emperor Junna (淳和天皇; 786–840, r. 823–833) was concerned. The Emperor Junna said, “In the old days, I also had this disease. Various treatments had no effect on me. I longed for cinnabar (Ch. *Jinyedan*, 金液丹) and quartz (Ch. *Baishiying*, 白石英). Medical practitioners prohibited it for medical use, but I took it. Eventually, I was cured of my affliction. From what I understand of your current disease, you cannot be cured of the disease by taking medical herbs. You should take cinnabar. If some common medical practitioners were to ask [about the risk of taking cinnabar], I would make an objection, saying that it is unacceptable.”²³

This passage shows that Emperors Junna and Ninmyō willingly ingested alchemical medicines as cures because they longed for immortality and eternal youth. Moreover, an obituary of Fujiwara no Yoshimi (藤原良相; 813–867) in *Sandai jitsuroku* entry for the tenth day of the tenth month of the ninth year of Jōgan (貞觀; 867) notes that “Emperor Ninmyō once kneaded the five-stones²⁴ (Ch. *wushi*, 五石) and ordered Yoshimi and his aides to try the medicine.”²⁵ The medicine made from these minerals was believed to be effective in the improvement of

weak constitutions. Minerals such as cinnabar and quartz were valued for their medical properties. It is thought that Kinpusen, as Kane no Midake, was well known as a location for prospecting for these precious metals.

I return now to the aforementioned use of the word *tan* 丹 as denoting a particular mining family. Now, the Nifu River flows through Kinpusen. One of the Nifu families lived near Kinpusen and possessed renowned mining skill.²⁶ Near the Nifu and Yoshino Rivers are located the Nifu shrines in which a female deity called Nifuduhime 丹生都比売 was enshrined; this set of shrines eventually became categorized as one of the twenty-two shrines that became recipients of imperial support during the Heian period. These shrines were originally built in prosperous mines and were related to the Nifu family.

Another imperial connection is as follows. The chronicle records show that the imperial court and capital aristocracy made offerings of both divine horses and official messengers to the Nifu shrines in order to pray for increases and decreases in rainfall.²⁹ In the Daoist five phases schema, metal, represented by the color white, generates water. What seems clear is that the belief that the offering of a white horse or the dispatch of official messengers to Kinpusen would produce water was founded on a conception of Kinpusen as playing the part (either symbolic, real, or both) of metal in the aforementioned theory. These connections—besides demonstrating the existence of a strong connection between natural resources, the imperial court, and a particular system of beliefs and religious activities—highlight the Daoist elements integral to certain practices undertaken at Kinpusen.

Here I would like to consider the relationship between religious practices and the mining industry. Gold and mercury were valued as precious materials for religious rituals in particular because many religious practitioners used such minerals for the purpose of transforming their body of flesh into one made of gold, a process that was supposed to result in immortality and a sort of eternal youth. For those engaged in such practices, Kane no Midake was a well-known and popular place to obtain the gold or mercury necessary for their endeavors. For the most part, the substance used in these rituals was pure mercury, which easily reacted with other substances and had the characteristics of changing and recurring. This close relationship between religious rituals and veins of mercury had the affect of binding esoteric worship to mountains during the early pre-medieval period.

HONJI SUIJAKU IN HONGAKU SHISŌ

The syncretism of buddhas and local deities (*honji suijaku*, 本地垂迹) occurred in the context of original enlightenment thought (*hongaku shisō*, 本覚思想) during the Heian period. The syncretism of buddhas and local deities and original enlightenment thought had a great impact on the popularization of Buddhism in local regions and the growing belief in angry spirits, particularly in an esoteric context. Religious practitioners, who worked as official and unofficial monks for the imperial court and local government, propagated Buddhism and established local temples and shrines. These kinds of religious activities at the local level created a movement whereby an amalgamation of buddhas and local deities was developed, a process that tended to attenuate tensions between the capital and periphery.

The aforementioned concepts developed systematically within the Tendai school. Eryō (恵亮; 812–860), a Tendai monk who served Emperor Seiwa (清和天皇; 850–880, r. 858–876), wrote a petition asking permission to use two monks in his services for local deities at Kamo 賀茂 and Kasuga 春日 on the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month of the first year of Jōgan (貞観; 859). In the petition he explained the close relation between bodhisattvas, local deities, and humans by recourse to *honji suijaku* theory, specifically as the latter theoretical framework was understood in the context of original enlightenment thought.³⁰

Some of the *honji suijaku*-related notions used by Eryō can be found in the sixteenth chapter (“Life Span of the Thus Come One”) of the *Lotus Sutra*, which introduces the idea that the Buddha’s life is in fact much longer than the perceived eighty years of the historical Buddha. Although never this explicit, the *Lotus Sutra* seems to posit an eternal Buddha. The chapter presents us with the dual notion of the Buddha’s “original and traces,” which corresponds to two differing conceptions of the Buddha: (1) the idea of an absolute and perfect original Buddha, the implication being that Śākyamuni was in fact enlightened eons ago; (2) the idea of traces, which appear as provisional manifestations (e.g., as Śākyamuni, who to the unenlightened eye seemed to have achieved enlightenment from a state of non-enlightenment). In other words, the Buddha, whose lifespan is immeasurable, has existed in this world for a very long time and appeared as a provisional manifestation (i.e., the historical Buddha) in order to save all sentient beings. According to this line of thinking, the death of the Buddha was a skillful trick intended to lead all sentient beings to the attainment of buddhahood,

but the fact of the matter is that the Buddha eternally presides over this world. Accordingly, the Buddha, who is eternal, temporarily manifested in this world as an actual figure, Śākyamuni. This notion led in turn to the development of the essential elements of the buddha-body theory in the *Lotus Sutra*, and it played a very important role in the popularization of Mahāyāna thought as found in the *Lotus Sutra*, a way of thinking based on dualistic doctrines (e.g., “essence and phenomenon,” “ideality and actuality”). “Original,” then, is the essence that manifests in the world in the form of a particular deity.

In addition, local deities were closely related to the Nara and Heian-periods cult of angry spirits (*goryō shinkō*, 御霊信仰), which entailed the enshrinement of local deities for the purpose of pacifying the spirits of those who had been accidentally killed and, in their post-mortem form, wreaked havoc on the capital by way of natural disasters and other calamities.³¹ Monks characterized angry spirits as the esoteric *vidyārāja* and pacified them with esoteric rituals. Chōen (長宴; 1016–1081), a Tendai monk and head monk (*bettō*, 別当) of Gangyōji 元慶寺, explained the *daiitokuhō* (大威徳法, “rituals of the great powerful”) in the *Shijū jōketsu*³² (四十帖決, Forty Sheets of Promises; eleventh century) as follows: “The teachings of the thirteenth day of the sixth month of the third year of Kantoku (寛徳; 1046): Rituals of control are acquired by rituals of the five great honored ones. It is likely not heard that [rituals of control are] applied to the other rituals of buddhas and bodhisattvas. Rituals of control applied to Acala and the Great Powerful of five great honored ones are well-known practices.”³³ The cult of Tenjin, in which people enshrined the dead spirit of Sugawara no Michizane³⁴ (菅原道真; 845–903), who manifests as the Great Powerful in the *Meidoki*, is a typical example of the use of esoteric rituals to pacify angry spirits.³⁵ This manner of ritual fostered the creation of local deities and angry spirits, each of whom represented a new “*kami*” in accordance with *honji suijaku* categories. The case of angry spirits as it played out in an intellectual milieu characterized by the merging of the *honji suijaku* and *hongaku* theories generated a new phenomenon, namely, that of humans transforming into local deities. The fact that local deities exorcised angry spirits made possible the amalgamation of Buddhist teachings and local deities.

The principle of *honji suijaku* as it developed in relation to *hongaku* theory involves three concepts: (1) “originals” (dharma-body), (2) “traces” (reward-body), and (3) “originals and traces” (response-body).³⁶

In light of the concepts of “phenomenon” and “actuality,” Sugawara no Michizane was thought to express the “essence” and “ideality” of a buddha. This conception, with its two phases of “phenomenon” and “essence,” led to the original enlightenment-inspired presupposition that humans have the potential to become buddhas or deities. In this manner, Sugawara no Michizane, according to the conceptual premise of original enlightenment thought in conjunction with notions of “essence” and “phenomenon” as defined in *honji suijaku* theory, came to be thought of as either a bodhisattva or a deity.

The *honji suijaku* framework was based on the interpretation of deities at local shrines as particular buddhas and bodhisattvas. In the late seventh century, when Buddhism was introduced into local powerful clans, this ideology gradually began to develop at Jingūji 神宮寺 (*not* Jingū, 神宮), a temple that served a local shrine. Emperor Shōtoku (稱徳天皇; 718–770, r. 764–770) states in an imperial edict issued on the twenty-third day of the eleventh month of the first year of Tenpyō Jingo (765): “People keep deities away from buddhas because they think that these deities should not be amalgamated with buddhas. However, according to the sutras these deities are guardians who adore buddhas and protect Buddhist teachings.” From the time of Emperor Shōtoku onward, the process of syncretizing buddhas and local deities was expedited with the help of the imperial court. Descriptions of Jingūji and rituals related to the syncretism of buddhas and local deities first appear in the *Shoku Nihongi*.³⁷ In due course, Jingūji grew to become an official large-temple, and the theoretical framework characterized by syncretism of buddhas and local deities came to pervade both official Buddhist groups (and local temples and shrines) and the thinking of religious virtuosi. Up until the end of the eighth century, when Jingūji became an official temple, local shrines were often assigned officially and unofficially ordained monks for the purpose of performing Buddhist rituals and prayers for the local deities. The deities at local shrines were regarded as manifestations of Buddhist deities, reinforcing the idea that local deities were manifestations of Indian Buddhist divinities or of Śākyamuni.³⁸ Official and unordained monks at local shrines generated Buddhist faith among local populations by teaching them that the virtues of local deities came from a particular buddha or bodhisattva. The syncretism of buddhas and local deities was thus established at the level of shrines and temples, not at a national level. The syncretism of buddhas and local deities permeated the local

shrines and temples primarily through the activities of unofficial, ordained monks and lay believers until the end of the ninth century, at which point official large-temples in Nara began attempting to attract large numbers of lay believers in order to expand their territory and extent of influence at the local level. The interpretation of local deities as particular buddhas or bodhisattvas slowly began to spread from one region to the next.

Sueki Fumihiko, a scholar of Japanese Buddhism, has identified four kinds syncretism between buddhas and local deities, which reflect four different relationships between the two parties: (1) the *kami* were suffering beings who wanted to hear the Buddhist teachings; (2) the *kami* served as guardians of the dharma and thereby became bodhisattvas; (3) the *kami* were seen as new *kami* developed through the influence of Buddhism; and (4) the *kami* were seen as the forms that bodhisattvas took in Japan.³⁹ Ever since the introduction of Buddhism at the local level, local deities had begun to be interpreted as guardian deities. During the middle of the eighth century, people enshrined local deities and prayed to them for worldly success and to pacify dead spirits that brought natural disasters. Especially in a state governed according to fixed statutes, people hoped and expected to become local deities in order to protect their regions.

A tale in the *Nihon ryōiki* (entitled “On Being Born as a Monkey for Keeping Men from Seeking the Way”) recounts the efforts of a deity seeking Buddhist teachings.⁴⁰ Due to past karma whereby the deity, in its previous existence as a monkey, had obstructed people’s hopes to pursue the bodhisattva path, the former monkey, who in the present tale is a deity of a local shrine, wanted to hear the *Lotus Sutra* and thereby attain buddhahood. Fortunately the deity was able to hear recitation of the *Lotus Sutra* by a monk. Thereupon the deity attained buddhahood and the area of which he had been the guardian deity grew calm and devoid of troubles. Although the government official, as a ruler who brought Buddhism to the provinces, governed and controlled the local, the local clan, as a semi-independent unit that continuously enshrined deities for local benefits, never fully complied with government orders. It was thought that due to the suffering caused by witnessing such tensions and conflicts between the capital and the local, local deities went to Buddhist teachings for comfort and voluntarily began to transform into buddhas and bodhisattvas.

On the other hand, another tale in the same collection (entitled “On Paying for and Freeing Turtles and Being Rewarded Immediately and Saved by Them”) tells of a rare event.⁴¹ Mitani Temple was established so that those who had escaped calamities could make vows there to local deities. This local temple was the same type as Jingūji at Ise, where people enshrined benevolent deities who protect the Buddhist teachings.

In the pages above I have endeavored to clarify some significant aspects of the *Meidoki* as well as the historical backdrop against which those aspects must be understood. In particular, I highlighted the Daoist elements of Kinpusen-related thought and praxis (and especially the manner in which they were based upon the presence of metal deposits in Kinpusen) and discussed the syncretism of buddhas and local deities in relation to original enlightenment thought in the cult of Kinpusen during the Nara and Heian periods. On the one hand, we have seen that Kinpusen was important to the non-elites living outside the capital: not only was it a point of exchange and amalgamation between varying traditions of Japanese and continental religion (e.g., esoteric Buddhism, Daoism), but it was also the residence of miners, hunters, potters, and so forth. On the other hand, I have also demonstrated the mountain’s importance for the wielders of political and religious power in the capital. Thus, Kane no Midake was a place of continuous activity for local mountain inhabitants, a numinous locale for the village and town dwellers, and a sacred mountain for the imperial court and religious practitioners in the capital and the capital’s five adjacent regions. In addition, Kinpusen provides us with one example of the way in which the relationship between *honji suijaku* thought, original enlightenment thought, and belief in angry spirits interacted. In this case, this dynamic, affected as well by esoteric Buddhist theory, resulted in an early example of what would prove to be a common religious phenomenon in Nara and Heian Japan: the transformation of humans, particularly the angry spirits of humans, into *kami*.

APPENDIX

*Dōken Shōnin Meidoki*⁴²
(道賢上人冥途記, *A Record of Dōken Shōnin's
Experience of the Other World*)

Fusōryakki (扶桑略記, vol. 25)

Spring of the third month of the fourth year of Tengen [天慶;
941], the year of junior metal-ox (*kanoto-ushi*, 辛丑).

According to the *Dōken Shōnin Meidoki*:

I, Dōken (now named Nichizō, 日藏), a disciple [of the Buddha], first entered Kinpusen⁴³ 金峯山 in the spring of the second month of the sixteenth year of Engi [延喜; 916] when I was twelve years old. I took tonsure at Hosshinmon Chinzanji 発心門椿山寺 and put on clerical robes.⁴⁴ I pledged not to consume salt or grains. I practiced in solitude on the mountain for six years. However, I heard that my mother was struck down by a serious illness and that [she missed me so much] she could not stop crying. . . . Therefore, in the spring of the third month of the twenty-first year of the same era [921], I left the mountain and returned to the capital. Since then, I have returned to the mountain once a year to practice diligently [for the three-month rainy season retreat].⁴⁵ Since the spring when I first entered the mountain until the fall of this year [941], twenty-six years have already passed in which I have faithfully practiced on this mountain.

In recent years, however, numerous disasters have struck this country. Seeing and hearing about them, I felt that I was near death. Moreover, I was frightened by evil visions in my dreams. [The offices of] Tenmon [天文, Astronomy] and Onmyō [陰陽, Yin-Yang Studies] continually reported ominous signs.⁴⁶ Therefore, in order to gain the spirit-power (*reigen*, 靈驗), I forswore my life in the capital and climbed this mountain. I entered deeper and deeper [into the mountain] in order to strengthen the power of my devotion and spiritual practice. The purpose [of my practice] was, first, for the welfare of the entire country, and, second, for the realization of my own spiritual aspiration.⁴⁷ Moreover, for twenty-one days,⁴⁸ without uttering a word or eating any food, I single-mindedly meditated on the Buddha.

On the afternoon of the first day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Tengen [941], while performing a ritual, I suddenly experienced a high fever. My throat and tongue dried up and I was unable to breathe.

I thought to myself, “Since I have already vowed not to speak, how can I call on anyone [to help me]?” I cried and then breathed through my mouth. As I was thinking about this, I stopped breathing.

At the moment I died [in this world]; I was standing on the outside of the mountain, carrying only a Buddhist sutra, just as I had been when I entered it. While looking to the four directions, trying to decide which way I should go, I was [suddenly back] inside the mountain. A Buddhist monk came [from inside]. In his hand he held a golden bottle from which he poured water for the disciple [Dōken]. The taste of it penetrated to the marrow of my bones. It was sweet and good. Then the Buddhist monk said, “I am Vajrapāṇi [Shūkongōshin, 執金剛神].⁴⁹ I have always resided in this cave in order to protect the teachings left by Śākyamuni Buddha. Responding to your Reverence’s [Dōken’s] years of dharma offerings to me, I have gone to the Himalaya Mountains (*sessen*, 雪山) to bring this water that I have just offered to you. . . .” Also, there were dozens of *deva-kumāra* (*tendōji*, 天童子; divine youths) standing and waiting, each holding a large lotus leaf filled with various kinds of food and drink.⁵⁰ The Buddhist monk said, “They are the twenty-eight guardian deities (*nijūhachi bushū*, 二十八部衆).”⁵¹

Shortly, a monk of great virtue descended from the top of a rock to the west. He immediately extended his left hand and took the disciple’s [Dōken’s] hand. He led me to the rock and made me climb to the top of it. [The mountain was] covered with one hundred feet of snow. When I reached the peak and looked out, I saw the entire world before my eyes.⁵² This mountain was the highest of all mountains. Its top was completely flat and shining with bright golden light. There was a golden peak on this side [north side of the mountain], and there was a dais adorned with the seven precious jewels.⁵³ The monk reached the dais and took a seat. The great monk said, “I am Zaō Bodhisattva (Zaō Bosatsu, 藏王菩薩), an incarnation of Śākyamuni. This land is the Pure Land of Kinpusen. Your life is about to end. Therefore, you must practice good deeds, racing against what remains of your life. It is difficult to be born as a human being. You must not do evil deeds.”

The disciple of the Buddha [Dōken] replied, “Although I am an ignorant being, I am determined to offer my life [for the dharma]. However, if I begin building a practice hall⁵⁴ (*dōjō*, 道場), I am afraid that I will be dead before construction is completed. Please tell me how long I will live. Also, I beg you to teach me in which buddha I should take refuge, and what teaching I should practice in order to extend my life.”

The Bodhisattva then took out a short talisman, wrote eight words on it, and presented it to me. The characters read as follows:

Sun-Storehouse Nine-Nine Year-Month King-Protection.
[*nichi-zō ku-ku nen-getsu ō-go*, 日藏九九、年月王護]

The Bodhisattva said,

Disciple of the Buddha, your life will be dispersed like a floating cloud hanging over a mountain. [When a cloud is] floating up in the sky, it easily disperses. Your life is also like that. If you practice in the mountains, [your life will become] very long. If you live in a village and become lax in your practice, [your life will be] cut short. “Sun-Storehouse” (*Nichi-zō*, 日藏) is the name of the Honored One about whose teaching you asked me. In accordance with the teaching of the Honored One, you should change your name immediately. “Nine-nine” (*ku-ku*, 九九) is [the number] for your remaining life. “Year-month” (*nen-getsu*, 年月) is [the unit] of the length of life. “King-protection” (*ō-go*, 王護) means the protection [of the Honored One]. With me as this guardian bodhisattva [*Gohō Bosatsu*, 護法菩薩] acting as your master, you should receive the pure precepts.⁵⁵

At that moment, a natural light began to brightly illuminate the place in five colors. The Bodhisattva said, “*Nihon Dajō Itoku Ten*⁵⁶ [日本太政威徳天, Virtuous and Powerful Deva of the Japanese Cabinet, i.e., Sugawara no Michizane, 菅原道真] is coming.” Immediately, from the empty space beyond the mountain to the west, millions of people began to appear. It was a like a scene of an enthronement ceremony for a great king. The number of the attendants, guardians⁵⁷ (*kenzoku*, 眷属), demons⁵⁸ (*irui*, 異類), and other beings⁵⁹ (*zōgyō*, 雜形) was too great to count. Some looked like Vajrapāṇi⁶⁰ (*Kongōrikishi*, 金剛力士). Others looked like thunder gods⁶¹ (*raijin*, 雷神), *pretas*⁶² (*kiō*, 鬼王), or *yakṣas*⁶³ (*yashakami*, 夜叉神). They all looked very frightening. Each carried bows and arrows, swords and spears, and countless sickles and sticks. When the *Dajō Ten* 太政天 was about to leave the scene, he saw the disciple of the Buddha and said, “I want to show this disciple of the Buddha my residence, which is named the palace of the *Dai Itoku* 大威徳. May I take him back?”

The Bodhisattva gave his permission. We immediately rode together on [the back of] a white horse and traveled many hundreds of miles. [We arrived] at a large pond. In the pond, there was a large island about one hundred *li*⁶⁴ wide. On the island, there was a platform about eight inches squared. On the platform was a lotus flower. On

the top of the lotus flower there was a jeweled pagoda. A copy of the *Lotus Sutra* was enshrined inside of the pagoda, and on the eastern and western sides [of the sutra] hung a set of the Ryōbu Mandala 兩部曼荼羅. The magnificence of the Buddhist sutra was beyond description. Also, looking to the north, I saw a great castle shining brightly. It was the palace of the Dajō Ten. Innumerable guardian attendants (*kenzoku*) were all waiting inside [of the palace] and protecting [it for him]. The Dai Ten 大天 said,

I am the Kan Shōfu [菅相府, the Prime Minister Sugawara (no Michizane)] of the country from which your Reverence has come. The deity in the Trāyastriśā⁶⁵ (Tōri Ten, 忉利天) has given me the name of Nihon Dajō Itoku Ten 日本太政威徳天. At first I grieved deeply because of the anguish of parting from my loved ones,⁶⁶ and I was displeased. As a consequence, I wanted to make the emperors and their retainers suffer, harm their people, and destroy the entire country. I became the master of all plagues and disasters. I first contemplated this while I was still alive, shedding tears as I did so. I wanted to be sure to destroy that country by submerging it in the ocean. Then, eighty-four years later, I planned to establish a country and build my castle there. However, bodhisattvas like Samantabhadra⁶⁷ (Fugen, 普賢) and Nāgārjuna (Ryūmyō, 龍猛) were there, and they enthusiastically propagated the esoteric teachings. Because I liked these teachings very much, one-tenth of my deeply seated enmity from my past was reduced. Moreover, by the power of their compassionate vows the bodhisattvas in their transformed bodies (*keshin bosatsu*, 化身菩薩) manifested themselves as divine spirits.⁶⁸ Some presided in mountains and forests and others on seashores or riversides. They continuously applied all their wisdom powers to heal me [of my enmity]. As a result, I have yet to bring any serious harm [to the country]. Nevertheless, 168,000 evil spirits, who are my guardian attendants (*kenzoku*), have caused harm everywhere. Even I have difficulty restraining them; how much more so the other deities.

The disciple of the Buddha said, “The people in my country, high and low alike, have called you Karai Tenjin⁶⁹ [火雷天神, Heavenly Deity of Fire and Thunder]. They have respected you just as they worship the World-Honored One [Śākyamuni Buddha]. Why is your mind so angry?”

Then Dajō Ten replied,

[People in] that country have branded me as the great angry bandit. Who respects such a one? Besides, Karai Taiki Dokuō⁷⁰ [火雷大気毒王, King of Fire-Thunder and Poisonous Air] is the name of my third

messenger. Until I attain buddhahood, I shall never forget this evil mind of old. If there is anyone who holds the same official rank [in the court] that I had when I was alive, I will make sure to put a curse on him. However, today, I will make a promise to you, Reverend Sir [Dōken]. If there are people who believe you, [then] hold up my words, erect my statue, recite my name, and reverently offer their prayers to me; I will surely answer your prayers [on their behalf]. However, I see the sign of a short life in your face. Please practice diligently and do not be lax.

The disciple of the Buddha said, “The Bodhisattva on Kinpusen gave me this short talisman. But I still do not understand the meaning of the passage.”

Then Dajō Ten Buddha interpreted the meaning and said,

The “sun” (*niche*, 日) is Mahāvairocana (Dainichi, 大日). The “storehouse” (*zō*, 藏) is the Matrix-Storehouse (Taizō, 胎藏). The “Nine-nine” (*ku-ku*, 九九) is [nine times nine, which is] eighty-one. The “year” (*nen*, 年), therefore, is eighty-one years. And the “month” (*getsu*, 月) is eighty-one months. The “king” (*ō*, 王) is Zaō. “Protection” (*go*, 護) [indicates] that he is guardian. By taking refuge in the Mahāvairocana Tathāgata and practicing the great teaching of the Matrix-Storehouse, the number of years of your remaining life will be eighty-one. If you practice according to the teaching, your life will be extended by nine-times-nine years [eighty-one years]. However, if you do not repent and are lax, your life will be shortened to nine-times-nine months [eighty-one months]. [While you are practicing] you are under the protection of Zaō. As of today, you should change your name and call yourself Nichizō. Be brave, practice diligently, and do not be lax.

The disciple of the Buddha [Nichizō] humbly received the order [of the Dajō Ten] and returned to Kinpusen. There I reported this story [to Zaō Bodhisattva]. Then the Bodhisattva said, “I sent you there so that you may know the root cause of natural disasters in the world.” In addition, Mantoku Ten 満徳天 [the spirit of Uda Emperor, 宇多] said,

The Nihon Dajō Ten 日本太政天 is Kankō 菅公 [Sugawara no Michizane]. His guardian attendants, 168,000 poisonous dragons, evil demons, deities of water and fire, thunder and lightning, the director of the wind, the master of the rain, and other poisonous, harmful, and evil deities are spreading all over the country and causing great disasters. The good deities who have been protecting the country are no longer able to stop them. Also, in the summer of the eighth year of Enchō [延長; 930], imperial officers such as Kiyotsura [清貫, Fujiwara

no Kiyotsura, 藤原清貫] and Mareyo 希世 [Taira no Mareyo, 平希世] were struck down [by lightning]. This heavenly fire was caused by his third messenger, Karai Taiki Dokuō. The flesh and six internal organs of our King of the Engi era [Emperor Daigo, 醍醐天皇] became influenced and collapsed. As a result, the king died. Also, many great temples, such as Sūfuku[ji] 崇福寺, Hōryū[ji] 法隆寺, Tōdai[ji] 東大寺, Enryaku[ji] 延暦寺, and Danrin[ji] 檀林寺, were destroyed by fire. These incidents were also caused by the messenger from heaven. As in the case of evil deities, our king of the Engi era alone will receive the punishment for the offenses of destroying the dharma and harming lives, just as the waters of all rivers are consumed by one great ocean. Furthermore, the power of the other guardian attendants is equal to that of Karaiō [火雷王, the king of fire and thunder]. Some caused landslides on the mountains and earthquakes. Others destroyed palaces and damaged other things. Some caused storms of wind and rain that were harmful to people and property. Others spread plagues and other fatal diseases. And some instigated minds to [engage in] rebellion and insurrection. However, the deities of Kinpu, Hachiman⁷² 八幡, and others, including myself, adamantly refused them permission to act any further. Consequently, they were no longer able to act freely.

[When he had finished] his instructions to me, he showed me the way to return. The disciple of the Buddha [Nichizō] entered a cave and was promptly resuscitated. It was at the hour of the tiger [4 a.m.] on the thirteenth day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Tengyō [941]. Thirteen days had elapsed since I had passed through the gate of death. I just barely regained my life to be able to record my experiences of the other world.

The following is an additional note of my dream [from] when I was inside the gate of death. While the Bodhisattva of Kinpu was showing the disciple of the Buddha [Nichizō] the realm of hells, we came upon an iron cavern. There was a house with a thatched roof, and four people were inside. Their figures looked like burned ashes. One of them was wearing a robe, but it covered only his back. The other three were naked and were squatting on red-hot charcoal. The overseer of hell said, “The person wearing the robe is the Engi Emperor [Emperor Daigo] of your Reverence’s country. The other three naked men are his ministers. The lord and his vassals are receiving their suffering together.”

When the lord [Engi Emperor] saw the disciple of the Buddha, he invited me over and said,

I am the son of Nihon Kongōkaku Daiō [日本金剛覺大王, Great King of Japan of Diamond- (or Adamantine-) like Awakening, i.e., Uda Emperor]. Nevertheless, I am now suffering in this iron cavern. The Dajō Tenjin 太政天神, his mind filled with enmity, has been destroying the *buddhadharma* with fire and harming sentient beings. All of the karmic retributions created by his evil deeds have been falling upon me. Because I am the root cause of his anger, I now bear these sufferings. The Dajō Ten is Kanshin [菅臣, Minister Sugawara (no Michizane)]. Due to the power of his virtue in previous lives, he has become one of the Dai Itoku no Ten [大威徳乃天, Most Powerful and Virtuous Heavenly Deities]. Meanwhile, I made my father—the dharma king—walk treacherous paths and suffer great mental anguish. That was my first offense. In the palace I sat myself in seats of higher honor, while I made my father sit on the ground, causing him anguish and tears. That was my second offense. Although the wise minister [Sugawara no Michizane] was innocent, I mistakenly exiled him.⁷¹ That was my third offense. I clung to the throne too long, creating anger among the people and destroying the dharma. That was my fourth offense. I caused my enemy [Sugawara no Michizane] to harm other sentient beings through his enmity against me. That was my fifth offense. These five are the main sources [of my sufferings]. There are immeasurable additional charges [against me]. I receive suffering without respite. How painful! How sad! Remember my words as I have told them to you, and convey my message to the Emperor [Suzaku, 朱雀]. Ask him to relieve me from this painful suffering as soon as possible. . . . Also, tell the Regent and Prime Minister [*sesshō daijin*, 摂政大臣; Fujiwara no Tadahira, 藤原忠平] to erect ten thousand *stūpas* in order to remove my suffering.

NOTES

1. Another version of the *Meidoki*, entitled *Nichizō yumeki* (日藏夢記, Story of Nichizō's Dreams and Visions; hereafter *Yumeki*) is found in the eleventh volume of the *Kitano Literature* (*Kitano bunsō*, 北野文叢), edited by Sōen 宗淵, a priest at the Kitano shrine. Parts of the *Yumeki* are cited in several texts, such as the "Picture Scroll of the History of Tenjin" ("Tenjin engi emaki," 天神縁起絵巻) and *Record of an Oracle of Kitano Tenjin* (*Kitano Tenjin gotakusenbun*, 北野天神御託宣文), both compiled in the Kamakura period. The *Yumeki* describes Dōken Shōnin's experience of the other world in a fashion similar to that of the *Meidoki*, but there are some differences in the details, and the *Meidoki* is roughly two-thirds the length of the *Yumeki*. Despite their similar content, the *Meidoki* is much simpler with regard to descriptions and explanations contained therein. However, as the *Fusō ryakki*, in which the *Meidoki* is embedded, became more well known as a piece of historical writing, the *Meidoki* came to

be more widely known than the *Yumeki*. There continue to be varying opinions as to which one was written first.

2. The *Fusō ryakki*, edited by Kōen Shōnin (皇円上人; 1074–1169), is a historical record that begins with the mythical Emperor Jinmu 神武天皇 and terminates with the reign of Emperor Horikawa (1079–1107, r. 1086–1107). Kōen Shōnin, a grandchild of Fujiwara no Shigefusa 藤原重房, was born in the fifth year of Eikyū (永久, 1073) in Tamana, Higo Province (presently Tamana district in Kumamoto Prefecture), and learned both exoteric and esoteric Buddhism at Kudokuin 功德院 on Mount Hiei 比叡山. Hōnen Shōnin (法然上人; 1133–1212), founder of the Jōdo school, was counted among Kōen's disciples.

3. Dōken Shōnin was born in Engi 5 (延喜; 905). By the age of six, he was already undertaking the secret of fasting on water. He shaved his head, becoming a Buddhist monk at Hasshinmon Chinzanji 発心門椿山寺 on Kinpusen in the spring of the second month of Engi 16 (916) when he was twelve years old. He pledged not to consume salt and grains and undertook ascetic practice for several years. After training for six years on the mountain, he learned that his mother had become sick and he returned to the capital. From then on, he resided at Tōji 東寺 and studied esoteric Buddhism under Ryōrin 良燐. After Dōken Shōnin experienced his otherworld journey in Tengyō 4 (941), he followed an oracle of Zaō Gongen 蔵王権現 and took the new name Nichizō. He received the initiation for transmitting the dharma (*denpō kanjō*, 伝法灌頂) at Tōji in Tenryaku 11 (天曆; 957). While his death is recorded as Kanna 1 (寛和; 985), it is commonly believed that he lived until he was one hundred years old and was a legendary wizard, capable of performing miracles, who dwelled in the mountains.

4. Kinpusen (Mount Kinpu), sometimes referred to as Kane no Midake 金の御岳, is located in Yoshino, in present-day Nara Prefecture.

5. Zaō Gongen is a deity who has been worshipped on Kinpusen since the end of the ninth century. He is regarded as the manifestation of Zaō Bodhisattva and is associated with mountain practitioners and esoteric Buddhist practice. According to the Shugendō tradition, Zaō Gongen is the manifestation of Śākyamuni Tathāgata, Sahasrabhuja, and Maitreya Bodhisattva who appeared to the tradition's legendary founder, En no Ozuno, as the latter was praying for his own protective deity. In the *Meidoki*, Zaō Gongen, whom Dōken Shōnin met on Kinpusen while being guided by Vajrapāṇi, transformed into Kongō Zaō Gongen and served as the protector of Kinpusen. Moreover, Zaō Gongen was regarded as a guardian deity of Cintāmaṇicakra and was in addition associated with the belief in and devotion to the mother-child deity (*boshinshin shinkō*, 母子神信仰).

6. Ōe served as a lecturer for emperors Gosanjō (後三条天皇; 1034–1073, r. 1068–1072), Shirakawa (白河天皇; 1053–1129, r. 1072–1086), and Horikawa

(堀河天皇; 1079–1107, r. 1086–1107). He longed to establish a Daoist academy of learning based on the Sung model.

7. *Gukanshō* 3. Masako Okami and Akamatsu Toshihide, et al., *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 86 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1964), 157. “As to the Kitano’s incident, although it was true, no one places complete reliance on the *Story of Nichizo’s Dream and Vision*.” Jien’s references resulted in the *Meidoki*’s rise in popularity among Buddhist monks as well as among the aristocracy more generally during the beginning of thirteenth century.

8. The five phases theory (the five elements being wood, fire, earth, metal, and water) attributes a generative and destructive, or controlling, character to each element: on the one hand, each element produces another, while on the other, each controls another. These relationships are as follows: wood generates fire, fire generates earth, earth generates metal, metal generates water, and water generates wood. With regard to the controlling character, water controls fire, fire controls metal, metal controls wood, wood controls earth, and earth controls water.

9. The great image of Buddha at Asuka 飛鳥 (presently Nara Prefecture) was cast in the seventeenth year of Suiko (推古, 609). The Buddhist statues at Hōryūji 法隆寺 were cast in the thirty-first year of Suiko (623). Copper and silver coins (*wadō kaichin*, 和銅開珎) were produced and used in the first year of Wadō (和銅; 708). The great image of Buddha at Nara was cast in the fourth year of Tenpyōshōhō (天平勝宝; 752).

10. There are many descriptions in the *Shoku Nihongi* that attest to the practice of offering minerals to the imperial court: (1) Inaba Province (the eastern part of modern-day Tottori Prefecture) presented copper on the fifth day of the third month of the second year of Monmu Tennō (698); (2) Ōmi Province (modern-day Shiga Prefecture) presented alum on the eighth day of the sixth month of the second year of Monmu Tennō (698); (3) Iyo Province (modern-day Ehime Prefecture) presented tin twice, once on the seventeenth day of the seventh month of the second year of Monmu Tennō (698) and again on the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month of the second year of Monmu Tennō (698); (4) Suō Province (the eastern part of modern-day Yamaguchi Prefecture) presented copper on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of the second year of Monmu Tennō (698); (5) On the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month of the second year of Monmu Tennō (698), Ōmi Province presented blue face powders (chemical compounds of sulfate and ferrous sulfide); Ise Province (modern-day Mie Prefecture) presented red and yellow face powders (a chemical compound of sulfur and mercury); Hitachi Province (modern-day Ibaraki Prefecture), Bizen Province (the southeastern part of modern-day Okayama Prefecture), Iyo, and Hyūga Province (modern-day Miyazaki Prefecture) presented red face powders; Aki Province (the western part of modern-day Hiroshima Prefecture) and Nagato Province (the

northwestern part of modern-day Yamaguchi Prefecture) presented blue and green face powders (copper oxide); and Bungo Province (modern-day Ōita Prefecture) presented red face powders (sulfide of mercury); (6) Ise Province presented tin on the fifth day of eleventh month of the second year of Monmu Tennō (698); (7) Tsushima Isl. (modern-day Nagasaki Prefecture) presented gold on the fifth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Monmu Tennō (698); (8) Shimotsuke Province (modern-day Tochigi Prefecture) presented yellow face powders on the fourth day of the third month of the third year of Monmu Tennō (699); (9) Chichibu District, Musashi Province (the western part of modern-day Saitama Prefecture) presented natural copper (domestically produced: Jpn. *wadō*) on the eleventh day of the first month of the first year of Wadō (708); (10) Ōmi Province, Dazaifu (modern-day Fukuoka Prefecture), and Inaba Province created copper coins and presented these coins twice, once on the twenty-sixth day of the seventh month of the first year of Wadō (708) and again in the first month of Wadō (710). For more information, see the *Shoku Nihongi*. Kazuo Aoki et al., *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 12 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 8–163.

11. *Nihon ryōiki* 3:13. Osamu Izumoji et al., *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 30 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 146–148.

12. These codes were based on Chinese political theory and remained the basis for civil administration in Japan until the Meiji period (at least in theory, if not always in practice).

13. *Kokin wakashū* 1076. Noriyuki Kojima and Eizō Arai, et al., *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 326.

14. *Shoku Nihongi* 3. Katsumi Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 19.

15. *Shoku Nihongi* 24. Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 2, 268.

16. *Manyōshū* 3293 and 3294. Noriyuki Kojima, Masatoshi Kinoshita, and Akihiro Satake, et al., *Kanyaku Nihon no koten* 5 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1985), 433.

17. *Eiga monogatari* 8. Hiroji Matsumura and Yutaka Yamanaka, et al., *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 75 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), 253–253.

18. *Genkō shakusho* 28. Katsumo Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 31 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 423. “A monk at Ishiyamaji created Emperor Shōmu’s palace (Tōdaiji at Nara). He cast a fifteen-meter Vairocana bronze statue. There was need for much gold leaf. At this time, there was no gold in this country. Ryōben Hōshi gave his opinion to the Emperor (Emperor Shōmu). He said, ‘Kinpusen in Yamato Province is a place of gold.’ He prayed to Kongō Zaō to request gold in order to gild the bronze statue. However, there was no response. Therefore, he entered Kinpusen and made a vow. In his dream, Zaō Gongen answered, saying that there is no gold to gild the bronze statue.”

19. *Uji shūi monogatari* 2. Katsumo Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikai* 18 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 29–30. “Once upon a time, someone found gold bullion on Kinpusen. He stole the gold from Kinpusen and created seven or eight thousand gold leaves. Then, he donated these gold leaves to gild the monumental statue of Buddha at Tōji. However, when people used these gold leaves, the name ‘*kane no midake*’ came to the front on these gold leaves. His theft was found out. He was punished and imprisoned for ten days.”
20. *Nihon shoki* 1. Katsumo Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikai* 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 13–14. *Kojiki* 1. Katsumo Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikai* 7 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 9–10.
21. *Nihon montoku tennō jitsuroku* 4. Katsumo Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikai* 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 42.
22. *Nihon montoku tennō jitsuroku* 5. Katsumo Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikai* 3, 53.
23. *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 2. Katsumo Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikai* 4 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 17.
24. *Wamyō ruijushō* 3:10 and 11. Kanzō shiryō henshūkai et al., *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan zō kichō tenseki sōsho. Bungaku hen, dai 22-kan* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1999), 246–247.
25. *Shoku nihonkōki* 20. Katsumo Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikai* 3, 238–239.
26. The five-stones are ancient Chinese medicines made of five minerals: stalactite, sulfur, quartz, fluorite, and loess.
27. *Sandai jitsuroku* 14. Katsumo Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikai* 4, 222.
28. The Nifu family, one of the powerful local mountain clans in pre-medieval Japan, was a mining clan of Korean immigrants from Paekche (346–660; Jpn. Kudara, 百濟). They mined mercury and used the extracted mineral in the production of face powders and medicines intended to bring about good health and long life, a medical tradition brought by immigrants from the continent. They also introduced advanced mining techniques, methods for casting gold Buddha statues, and the knowledge of how mercury could be used to make statues and alter fitting of gold. (To gild Buddha statues, people had to combine gold with mercury and then smelt these materials together.) In pre-medieval Japan, mercury was indispensable for the casting of gold Buddha statues and the production of face powders and medicines used by the imperial family and religion practitioners. The local mountain people were in fact, then, Chinese and Korean immigrants who had brought advanced mining technologies and, in addition, a host of continental deities who were subsequently worshipped in these Chinese and Korean mining communities.
29. Many descriptions of offering divine horses or dispatching officials to Nifu

shrines are found in the chronicles. These appear in the entries for: (1) the twenty-ninth day of the fourth month of the second year of Emperor Monmu (698) (*Shoku nihongi* 1; Kazuo Aoki, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 12, 10), (2) the seventeenth day of the fifth month of the second year of Tenpyōjingo (766) (*Shoku nihongi* 27; Kazuo Aoki, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 15, 122), (3) the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the eighth year of Hōki (777) (*Shoku nihongi* 34; Kazuo Aoki, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 16, 38), (4) the eighth day of the eighth month of the eighth year of Hōki (777) (*Shoku nihongi* 34; Kazuo Aoki, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 16, 42), (5) the tenth day of the fourth month of the seventh year of Enryaku (788) (*Shoku nihongi* 39; Kazuo Aoki, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 16, 402), (6) the fourteenth day of the eighth month of the nineteenth year of Enryaku (800) (*Nihon kiryaku* 13; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 275), (7) the seventeenth day of the fifth month of the twentieth year of Enryaku (801) (*Nihon kiryaku* 13; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 276), (8) the eighth day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Daidō (809) (*Nihon kiryaku* 14; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 290), (9) the second day of the seventh month of the tenth year of Kōnin (819) (*Nihon kiryaku* 14; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 308), (10) the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month of the sixth year of Tenchō (829) (*Nihon kiryaku* 14; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 328), (11) the twenty-eighth day of the seventh month of the tenth year of Tenchō (833) (*Nihon kiryaku* 15; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 338), (12) the eighth month of the second year of Jōwa (835) (*Nihon kiryaku* 15; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 344), (13) the twenty-ninth day of the fifth month of the third year of Jōwa (836) (*Nihon kiryaku* 15; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 348), (14) the nineteenth day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Jōwa (837) (*Nihon kiryaku* 15; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 352), (15) the tenth day of the fourth month of the sixth year of Jōwa (839) (*Shoku nihonkōki* 8; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 3, 86), (16) the seventh day of the eighth month of the sixth year of Jōwa (839) (*Shoku nihonkōki* 8; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 3, 90), (17) the ninth day of the sixth month of the seventh year of Jōwa (840) (*Shoku nihonkōki* 8; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 3, 90), (18) the sixth day of the seventh month of the ninth year of Jōwa (842) (*Shoku nihonkōki* 12; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 3, 135), (19) the thirteenth day of the eighth month of the tenth year of Jōwa (843) (*Shoku nihonkōki* 13; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 3, 161), (20) the twenty-second day of the seventh month of the fourteenth year of Jōwa (847) (*Shoku nihonkōki* 17; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 3, 200), (21) the twenty-third day of the fourth month of the second year of Saikō (855) (*Nihon montoku tennō jitsuroku* 7; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 3, 73), (22) the third day of the seventh month of the eighth year of Jōkan (866) (*Nihon kiryaku* 17; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 432),

(23) the nineteenth day of the fifth month of the thirteenth year of Jōkan (871) (*Nihon kiryaku* 17; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 451), (24) the seventeenth day of the eighth month of the sixteenth year of Jōgan (874) (*Sandai jitsuroku* 26; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 4, 346), (25) the second day of the seventh month of the seventeenth year of Jōgan (875) (*Sandai jitsuroku* 27; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 4, 364), (26) the fourth day of the sixth month of the first year of Gangyō (877) (*Sandai jitsuroku* 31; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 4, 406), (27) the thirteenth day of the seventh month of the seventh year of Gangyō (883) (*Sandai jitsuroku* 44; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 4, 539), (28) the thirteenth day of the seventh month of the first year of Ninna (885) (*Nihon kiryaku* 20; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 10, 519), (29) the seventh day of the eighth month of the second year of Ninna (886) (*Sandai jitsuroku* 49; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 4, 616), (30) the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the third year of Ninna (887) (*Sandai jitsuroku* 50; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 4, 636), (31) the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the fifth year of Tengen (982) (*Nihon kiryaku* 7; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 11, 146), (32) the twenty-first day of the fifth month of the first year of Eien (987) (*Nihon kiryaku* 7; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 11, 160), (33) the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month of second year of Shōryaku (991) (*Nihon kiryaku* 9; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 11, 171), (34) the thirteenth day of the sixth month of the fifth year of Shōryaku (994) (*Nihon kiryaku* 9; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 11, 178), (35) the twenty-third day of the sixth month of the third year of Chōtoku (997) (*Nihon kiryaku* 10; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 11, 188), (36) the eighth day of the eighth month of the second year of Kankō (1005) (*Nihon kiryaku* 11; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 11, 209), (37) the nineteenth day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Kankō (1007) (*Nihon kiryaku* 11; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 11, 215), (38) the sixteenth day of the fifth month of the third year of Kannin (1019) (*Nihon kiryaku* 11; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 11, 251), (39) the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the sixth year of Chōgen (1033) (*Nihon kiryaku* 14; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 11, 285), (40) the second day of the sixth month of the second year of Tenjyō (939) (*Honchō seiki* 3; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 9, 35), (41) the twelfth day of the sixth month of the second year of Tenjyō (939) (*Honchō seiki* 3; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 9, 36), (42) the thirteenth day of the eighth month of the second year of Tenjyō (939) (*Honchō seiki* 5; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 9, 51), (43) the sixth day of the ninth month of the second year of Tenjyō (939) (*Honchō seiki* 5; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 9, 58), (44) the seventeenth day of the ninth month of the first year of Shōryaku (990) (*Honchō seiki* 9; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 11, 153), (45) the fourth day of the sixth month of the fifth year of Shōryaku (994) (*Honchō seiki* 13; Katsumo Kuroita,

Shintai zōho kokushi taikei 9, 191), (46) the sixth day of the third month of the first year of Kōwa (1099) (*Honchō seiki* 22; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 9, 302), (47) the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month of the fifth year of Kōwa (1103) (*Honchō seiki* 23; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 9, 341), (48) the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the fifth year of Kōwa (1103) (*Honchō seiki* 23; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 9, 341), (49) the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month of the first year of Kōji (1142) (*Honchō seiki* 25; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 9, 395), (50) the twenty-fifth day of the second month of the second year of Kōji (1143) (*Honchō seiki* 26; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 9, 423), (51) the twentieth day of the seventh month of the third year of Kyūan (1145) (*Honchō seiki* 33; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 9, 559), and (52) the second day of the eighth month of the first year of Ninpei (1151) (*Honchō seiki* 40; Katsumo Kuroita, *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 9, 780).

30. A prayer said: “The study in classics that leads to things has actuality and authority. A bodhisattva, appearing as traces, [manifests in the forms of] the king or *kami*. For this reason, a holy king governs the country and certainly relies on the secret help of *kami*. The way of *kami* that terminates the bond [to afflictions] depends only on the wisdom-sword of the tamer” (*Sandai jitsuroku*, 3; Katsumo Kuroita et al., *Shintai zōho kokushi taikei* 4, 37).

31. According to Murayama Shūichi, at least fifteen ceremonies for angry spirits (*goryō-e*, 御霊会) were performed at Shinsen'en 神泉苑 in the fifth year of Jōgan (貞観; 863): (1) Nagayaō (長屋王; 684–729) in the first year of Tenpyō (天平; 729), (2) Fujiwara no Hirotsugu (藤原広嗣; d. 740) in the twelfth year of Tenpyō (740), (3) Tachibana no Naramaro (橘奈良麻呂; 721–757) in the eighth year of Tenpyōshōhō (天平勝宝; 756), (4) Funadōō (道祖王; d. 757) in the first year of Tenpyōhōji (天平宝字; 757), (5) Fujiwara no Nakamaro (藤原仲麻呂; 706–764) in the eighth year of Tenpyōhōji (764), (6) Wakeō (和氣王; d. 765) in the first year of Tenpyōjingo (765), (7) Agatainukainoaneme (粟犬養姉女; date unknown) in the second year of Tenpyōjingo (766), (8) Dōkyō (道鏡; d. 772) in the third year of Jingokeyū (神護景雲; 769), (9) Emperor Kōnin's (光仁天皇; 709–781, r. 770–781) wife and son in the sixth year of Hōki (宝亀; 775), (10) Hikami Kawatsugu 氷上川継 in the first year of Enryaku (延暦; 782), (11) Fujiwara no Tanetsugu (藤原種継; 735–785) and Prince Sawara (早良親王; d. 785) in the fourth year of Enryaku (785), (12) Prince Iyo (伊予親王; d. 807) in the second year of Daidō (大同; 807), (13) Fujiwara no Nakanari (藤原仲成; 774–810) and Fujiwara no Kusuko (藤原菜子; d. 810) in the first year of Kōnin (弘仁; 810), (14) Tomo no Kowamine (伴健岑; dates unknown) and Tachibana no Hayanari (橘逸勢; 782–842) in the ninth year of Jōwa (承和; 842), and (15) Funya no Miyatamaro (文室宮田麻呂; dates unknown) in the tenth year of Jōwa (843). Murayama Shūichi, *Honji suijaku* (Kyoto: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1974), 72–91.

32. *Shijū jōketsu*, a fifteen-chapter work written by Chōen in 1049, is the record of rituals of the Tendai school.

33. *Shijū jōketsu*. T. 2408, 75.0918c14–c17.

34. A great source of distress for the Heian imperial court was the growing belief in the angry spirit of Sugawara no Michizane. It was held that due to Michizane's exile after his failed political rivalry with Fujiwara no Tokihira (藤原時平; 871–909) during the reign of Emperor Daigo (醍醐天皇; 885–930, r. 897–930) and his subsequent and by all accounts miserable death in Dazaifu 太宰府, the former politician became an angry spirit and thereupon brought natural disasters and unnatural deaths to many people, especially aristocrats who had been instrumental in Michizane's exile.

35. Another example was the enshrinement of Gozu Tennō 牛頭天王 (the divine cow-headed king) at Gionsha 祇園社 to avert various calamities and natural disasters.

36. *Zhu Foshuo Weimojie jing*. T. 1775, 38.0327b01–b05. “In general, the commonly accepted explanation among people is that all ‘originals’ are beyond contemplation or conceptualization. Borrowing the seat from the king of brightness, begging fragrant soil for food, touching chiliocosms by hand, holding dry form in the abode: these are all ‘traces’ beyond contemplation or conceptualization. Yet, to teach the obscured gate is difficult and the response of the Buddha is not the same. If there is no essence—no ‘original,’ [that is]—then [the form of a certain deity] as a phenomenon—as a ‘trace,’ [that is]—does not appear. If there are no phenomena—no ‘trace,’ [that is]—then the essence—the ‘original,’ [that is]—does not exist. Although there are differences between ‘originals’ and ‘traces,’ ‘originals’ and ‘traces’ are inconceivably the same.”

37. The passages in the *Shoku Nihongi* are as follows. (1) The twenty-third day of the seventh month of the second year of Tenpyō Jingo (766): “[Emperor Shōtoku] sent the imperial messenger and enshrined a one-jō 丈 six-shaku 尺 [about 5 meters] Buddhist statue in the temple of Ise ōkami 伊勢大神 [Ise Jingūji]” (*Shoku Nihongi* 27; Kazuo Aoki, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 15, 129); (2) the eighth day of the first month of the first year of Jingo Keiun (神護景雲; 767): “[Emperor Shōtoku declares an imperial edict: Monks] in the five provinces and on the seven main roads must perform the repentant rituals of Kichijō Ten (吉祥天; Skt. Lakṣmī) for seventeen days at various provinces of Kokubunkonkōmyōji 国分金光明寺 [Kokubunji, 国分寺]” (*Shoku Nihongi* 28; Kazuo Aoki, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 15, 149); (3) the sixteenth day of the eighth month of the first year of Jingo Keiun (767): “[Emperor Shōtoku declares the imperial edict]: As a result of the repentant rituals of Kichijō Ten, there was a large sign of a heavenly cloud that simultaneously manifested as the three treasures, various deities, and deities of the heavens and

the earth” (*Shoku Nihongi* 28; Kazuo Aoki, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 15, 173); (4) the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the first year of Jingo Keiun (767): “Yahata Hime Jingūji 八幡比売神宮寺 [Usa Hachimangū 宇佐八幡宮 in Bizen Province 備前國] was established” (*Shoku Nihongi* 28; Kazuo Aoki, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 15, 18); (5) the sixth day of the eighth month of the third year of Hōki (宝亀; 772): “Jingūji in Watarai Province was relocated to Watarase 渡瀬 in Iitaka 飯高 Province” (*Shoku Nihongi* 32; Kazuo Aoki, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 15, 385); (6) the first day of the second month of the eleventh year of Hōki (780): “Ise Jingūji should be again relocated to some other place due to a curse caused by angry spirits” (*Shoku Nihongi*, 36; Kazuo Aoki, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 16, 129).

38. As Teeuwen and Rambelli state, “Particularly important to the *honji suijaku* discourse were the following elements: Japanese, Chinese, and Indian religions, mythologies, and literatures used as a rich repertory of characters, image, and styles; the theme of the Three Counties (India, China, and Japan), with India playing a preeminent role; versions of a cosmic hierarchy, going from an absolute Buddha (depending on the tradition, Dainichi, Śākyamuni, or Amida) down to Japanese, human figures (such as Shōtoku taishi, Kōbō Daishi, or even Hōnen), or even Japanese wild animals and ghosts; doctrines of salvation (the modality and degree of intervention in this world of buddhas and bodhisattvas through the medium of kami), usually—but not always—based on the philosophy of original enlightenment (*hongaku*); ideas about ways of interacting with the sacred that ranged from religious rituals to artistic production (poetry, music, etc.) to labor and everyday activities” (Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, *Buddhas and Kami in Japan* [New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003], 51).

39. Sueki Fumihiko, *Chūsei no kami to hotoke* (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2003), 17.

40. *Nihon ryōiki* 3:24. Osamu Izumoji, et al. *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 30 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 163–165. “‘I was the king of a state in the eastern part of India. . . . Although I did not suppress the practice of the teaching, preventing men from following monks was a sin. This is why I was reborn as a monkey and as the *kami* of this shrine. Please stay here and recite the *Lotus Sutra* so that I may be released from this life.’ The monk said, ‘Then you must make offerings.’ The monkey answered, ‘I have nothing to offer.’ . . . The monkey said, ‘Though the government officials gave the rice to me, the person in charge of it regards it as his own and would never let me have it for my use.’”

41. *Nihon ryōiki* 1:7. Osamu Izumoji et al., *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 30 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 18–19. Dhyāna Master Gusai came from Paekche. When that country was invaded, an ancestor of the governor of Mitani district in Bingo Province was put in charge of reinforcements and

sent to Paekche. At that time the present governor's ancestor vowed that if he came home safely he would build a temple dedicated to the deities of heaven and earth. He managed to escape harm's way. Thereupon, he invited Dhyāna Master Gusai to return to Japan with him. Mitani-dera is the temple that was founded by this master, and both monks and laymen felt awe and reverence upon seeing it.

42. *Dōken Shōnin Meidoki* (A Record of Dōken Shōnin's Experience of the Other World) is revised and annotated in two books: Makabe Toshinobu, *Shinto taikai: Jinjahan jūichi Kitano* (Tokyo: Kitano Shinto Taikai Hensankai, 1978), 77–80; Kurosaka Katsumi, *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai dai jūnikan: Fusō ryakki* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunsha, 1932), 219–222. I have also consulted the contemporary Japanese translation by Kawane Yoshiyasu, *Tenjin shinkō no seiritsu: Nihon ni okeru kodai kara chūseihe no ikō* (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 2003), 168–174.

43. Kinpusen is located in the southern part of the Ōmine mountain range and is one of a set of five high peaks, the others being Mount Yoshino (Yoshinosan, 吉野山), the peak of Aone (Aonegamine, 青根ヶ峰), the rock of Shisun (Shisuniwa, 四寸岩), the Great Sky (Daitenjō, 大天井), and the peak of Sanjō (Sanjōgatake, 山上ヶ岳).

44. Hosshinmon Chinzanji was located within Kinpusenji 金峯山寺. Hosshinmon is one of the gates of Kinpusen. Practitioners regard the Hosshinmon as a gate to the other world or the buddha-world and believe that their spiritual acuity would be improved simply by passing through this gate. Chinzanji's name was changed to Chikurinjin 竹林院 in the Muromachi period 室町時代.

45. *Varṣa* (Jpn. *ango*) was a religious practice in which practitioners confined themselves to the mountain for a period of three months (from the sixteenth day of the fourth month until the fifteenth day of seventh month).

46. Tenmon was a technology for reading the good or bad omens of natural phenomena and was a course of study in the Onmyōryō 陰陽寮, a department within the *ritsuryō* 律令 government. Onmyō are the ancient Chinese interacting principles of *yin* and *yang* and are relevant in the study of astrology and meteorology, calendar production, pyro-plastronomy, and the selection of good land.

47. The term “welfare of the entire country” is the same idea as the “protection of the nation.” In order to calm national disturbances, practitioners in the Japanese esoteric Buddhist tradition invoked supernatural power by burning small pieces of wood on an altar.

48. The text says “three seven days,” i.e., twenty-one days.

49. Vajrapāṇi is a deity that protects the Buddha's teachings with a *vajra* implement (*kongōsho*, 金剛杵).

50. Deva-kumāra is a type of deity who protects the Buddhist teaching and who is usually depicted as a youth.
51. These deities are the “family” (Skt. *parivāra*; Jpn. *kenzoku*, 眷属) of Sahasrabhuja.
52. According to the classical Buddhist worldview, this realm consists of four main lands, which surround Mount Sumeru. The entire universe can be described as three thousand worlds. This realm is a buddha-land. In the *Meidoki*, the Pure Land of Kinpusen is the center of this world.
53. The seven precious treasures (Skt. *sapta-ratna*) are: gold (Skt. *suvarṇa*), silver (Skt. *rūpya*), lapis lazuli (Skt. *vaidūrya*), crystal (Skt. *sphaṭika*), shell-fish (Skt. *musāragalva*), coral (Skt. *lohitamuktikā*), and agate (Skt. *āsmagarbha*). However, there are many different kinds and orders described by Buddhist sutras. The term *sapta-ratna* appears often in the early Pure Land sutras and in the *Lotus Sutra*.
54. “Practice hall” (Skt. *bodhi-maṇḍa*; Jpn. *dōjō*) referred to the place where Śākyamuni attained enlightenment. Subsequently, it has come to refer to any place of Buddhist training.
55. The guardian bodhisattva is a deity who protects Buddhist sutras. Vedic deities such as Brahmā (Bonten, 梵天) and Śakro Devānām Indra (Taishaku Ten, 帝釈天) were appropriated and charged with the protection of Buddhist sutras. The guardian bodhisattva serves and protects priests and practitioners of esoteric Buddhism and Shugendō 修験道. The guardian bodhisattva also appears in pre-modern Japanese collections of Buddhist tales.
56. There are several forms of this term referring to Sugawara no Michizane as a deity: (1) Nihon Dajō Itoku Ten, (2) Dajō Itoku Ten, (3) Dajō Ten, (4) Dai Itoku Tenjin 大威徳天神, (5) Dai Itoku no Ten, (6) Dai Itoku Ten, (7) Dai Ten 大天, and (8) Dajō Tenjin 太政天神. It is not certain which form of this Nihon Dajō Itoku Ten was popular at the time of Dōken Shōnin.
57. The guardians (Skt. *parivāra*; Jpn. *kenzoku*) are members of the households of buddhas and bodhisattvas, e.g., the twelve guardian deities of Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabha, the eight great heavenly youth of Acalanātha, and the twenty-eight good deities of Sahasrabhuja.
58. The demons are ogres, hungry ghosts, and beasts who belong to the three kinds of evil and dwell in the lower three of the six realms of transmigration.
59. The other beings are various figures of deities.
60. Vajrapāṇi, also referred to as Niō, protects the *buddhadharma*.
61. The thunder god is a deity personifying natural phenomena. Farmers worshiped the thunder god as a sort of nature deity. In esoteric Buddhism, the thunder god is portrayed as a wind-deity and as Śakro Devānām Indra (Taishaku Ten, 帝釈天; the Vedic deity of thunder).

62. *Pretas* are hungry ghosts.
63. *Yakṣas* are *parivāra* of Vaiśravaṇa and protectors of the north.
64. One *li* is about four kilometers.
65. Trāyastrimśa is the second of six heavens in the realm of the desire world: (1) four deity kings, (2) Trāyastrimśa, (3) Yāma, (4) Tuṣita, (5) Nirmāṇarati, and (6) Takejizai Ten. Trāyastrimśa is on the top of Mount Sumeru. There are four peaks, and each peak has eight heavens, giving us a total of thirty-two peaks. By adding Śakro Devānām Indra, the total comes to thirty-three deities.
66. This is one of the eight sufferings as defined in Buddhist teaching.
67. Samantabhadra is the bodhisattva, well-known for his acts of charity, supporting Śākyamuni Tathāgata along with Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva.
68. The bodhisattvas in their provisional manifestations are essentially bodhisattvas who have altered their forms in order to help sentient beings.
69. Karai Tenjin (the fire-thunder deity) is one of the common names for Sugawara no Michizane's angry spirit. People believed that fire and thunder were Tenjin's instruments of retribution.
70. Karai Taiki Dokuō (King of Fire-Thunder and Poisonous Air) is another name of Karai Tenjin.
71. Hachiman (or Yawata) refers to Iwashimizu Hachiman 石清水八幡. Hachiman was a Korean deity, brought from the Korean Peninsula by immigrants. He initially had only a local following but was popular from early on. Hachiman was granted the title of Gokokureigen Iryokujintsu Dai Bosatsu 護国靈驗威力神通大菩薩 or Gokokureigen Iryokujintsu Daijizaiō Bosatsu 護国靈驗威力神通大自在王菩薩 by the imperial court and was popularly referred to as Hachiman Dai Bosatsu 八幡大菩薩. In the second year of Jōgan (貞觀; 860), Daianji 大安寺 Gyōgyō 行教 enshrined Usa Hachiman 宇佐八幡 at Iwashimizu in Yamashiro 山城 Province and named it Iwashimizu Hachimangū. The Usa family in Kyūshū 九州 enshrined Hachiman as its tutelary deity (*ujigami*, 氏神). Around the same time he was identified as the spirit of the legendary Emperor Ōjin 応神天皇. The Hachiman cult spread in the central provinces during the Nara period after Hachiman gave support to Emperor Shōmu's (聖武天皇; 701–756, r. 724–749) efforts to construct Tōdaiji and cast the large Vairocana Buddha statue.
72. Sugawara no Michizane was exiled by Emperor Daigo to Dazaifu 太宰府 in the fourth year of Shōtai (昌泰; 902).