Creating Heresy:

(Mis)representation, Fabrication, and the Tachikawa-ryū

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ABSTRACT

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In this dissertation I provide a detailed analysis of the role played by the Tachikawa-ryū in the development of Japanese esoteric Buddhist doctrine during the medieval period (900-1200). In doing so, I seek to challenge currently held, inaccurate views of the role played by this tradition in the history of Japanese esoteric Buddhism and Japanese religion more generally. The Tachikawa-ryū, which has yet to receive sustained attention in English-language scholarship, began in the twelfth century and later came to be denounced as heretical by mainstream Buddhist institutions. The project will be divided into four sections: three of these will each focus on a different chronological stage in the development of the Tachikawa-ryū, while the introduction will address the portrayal of this tradition in twentieth-century scholarship.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DNKC	*Dai Nihon Kokiroku, Chūyūki*
DNKD	*Dai Nihon Kokiroku, Denryaku*
DNKG	*Dai Nihon Kokiroku, Gonijō moromichiki*
DNKIK	*Dai Nihon Kokiroku, Inokuma Kanpakuki*
DNKK	*Dai Nihon Kokiroku, Kyūreki*
DNKM	*Dai Nihon Kokiroku, Minkeiki*
DNKMK	*Dai Nihon Kokiroku, Midō Kanpakuki*
DNKS	*Dai Nihon Kokiroku, Shōyūki*
DNS	*Dai Nihon Shiryō*
GR	*Gunsho Ruijū*
HI	*Heian Ibun*
KK	*Kokusho Kankōkai*
ND	*Nihon Daizōkyō*
NKBT	*Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei*
NST	*Nihon Shisō Taikei*
SHG	*Shiryō Hensan, Gonki*
SNKBT	*Shin Nihon Koten Bunka Taikei*
SZKT	*Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikei*
SZKTA	*Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikei, Azuma kagami*
SZKTK	*Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikei, Kugyō bunin*
T	*Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*
ZGR	*Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*
ZZGR	*Zoku Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*
ZST	*Zōho Shiryō Taisei*
ZSTC	*Zōho Shiryō Taisei, Chōshūki*

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began to explore Buddhist Studies as an academic field and to focus in particular on the Tachikawa-ryū and Original Enlightenment thought (*hongaku shisō* 本覚思想).

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Dedicated to the Memory of

Rie Yamashita, Masahiko Hino, and Seiichi Adachi

Without their determination to fight their terminal illnesses

and to live their lives as fully as possible,

this work would not have been written.

PREFACE

This dissertation will examine the so-called "heretical" teachings and practices of the Tachikawa-ryū 立川流 that proved to be popular among medieval Japanese religious practitioners in the Nara 奈良 and Kantō 関東 areas. Recently, Japanese and Anglophone scholars of Buddhist studies have begun to realize the significance of the Tachikawa-ryū, a sub-branch of the principle Japanese esoteric Buddhist school that experienced a sudden growth and rise in popularity during the tenth to fifteenth centuries. No one, however, has yet studied it in any systematic manner, and since most of the Tachikawa-ryū texts and records were destroyed as a result of religious and political suppression, this Japanese Buddhist trend remains largely unknown or, in some cases, misunderstood. The argument in this thesis will challenge some commonly held concepts about this puzzling Japanese religious tradition and offer a critical analysis of the history of the scholarship—both modern and medieval—that produced these concepts.

During the Japanese medieval period, the Tachikawa-ryū was dismissed for its supposedly heretical doctrines and practices, and it was commonly held that its adherents enshrined a skull as the principle image of Mahavairocana and advocated some sort of religious sexual union between males and females as part of their practices. It was believed that this school taught that sexual practices would lead to enlightenment and awakening of buddhahood "in this very body" (J. *sokushinjōbutsu* 即身成仏), and that these rituals and practices would bring one great benefits, religious awakening, and purity of mind and body when practiced in front of the main object of veneration. One might wonder whether these highly charged

depictions present an accurate portrayal of the school and its teachings.

In fact, this historically inaccurate depiction of the Tachikawa-ryū provides us with an example of the uncritical acceptance of polemical portrayals of the Tachikawa-ryū as positivist historical accounts. This is not to say that the target of the polemics did not exist; it is simply to hint at what I hope to demonstrate in this dissertation, namely, that what we have come to accept as representative of the Tachikawa-ryū is but a marginal and oft misunderstood aspect of a larger phenomenon.

INTRODUCTION

After having been largely ignored by modern scholarship, the Tachikawa-ryū 立川流 has recently enjoyed increased scholarly attention by Japanese and non-Japanese academics alike. This is due to a growing awareness of the important role that this sub-branch of Shingon Buddhism played in the history of Japanese Buddhism, a role that has yet to be fully clarified. Despite this interest, there has yet to be any systematic study of the Tachikawa-ryū in English or Japanese, and many of the previous misconceptions about this tradition continue to appear in passing references to the Tachikawa-ryū scattered throughout recent works on Japanese Buddhism. Clear traces of the historically inaccurate depiction of the Tachikawa-ryū as a heretical sect that employed perverse rites, such as skull rituals (*dokurohō* 髑髏法), and focused on the pursuit of "extraordinary accomplishments" (*henjōjuhō* 變成就法) can be observed in contemporary scholarship.

The commonly accepted theory among almost all scholars is that the Tachikawa-ryū was founded by Ninkan 仁寬 ([?]-1114), the preceptor of Daigoji 醍醐寺 (or Ninnaji 仁和寺) and the protector monk (J. *gojisō* 護持僧) of Prince Sukehito[1] 輔仁親王 (1073-1119).

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[1] Prince Sukehito was the third son of Emperor Gosanjō 後三条天皇 (1034-1073; r. 1068-1072) and Emperor Shirakawa's 白河天皇 (1053-1129; r. 1072-1086) half-brother. He became third in line to the throne on the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Jōhō 承保 (1075) and celebrated his attainment of manhood (*genbuku* 元服) in the second day of the sixth month of the first year of Kanji 寬治 (1087). In the third day of the second month of the sixth year of Kanji (1092), he moved to the residence of the late Fujiwara no Norimichi 藤原教通 (997–1075). After he was placed under house arrest, he suffered from a serious illness and took the tonsure on the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Gen-ei 元永 (1119). Eventually he passed away due to a diabetes-related complication in the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Gen-ei (1119). In the fifth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Gen-ei (1119), his funeral ceremony was held at Kannonji 観音寺. Prince Sukehito was said to have been an expert on poetry. Fujii Jōji and Yoshioka Masayuki, eds. *Gosanjō tennō jitsuroku: Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku 32* (Tōkyō: Yumani Shobō, 2007), 393–411.

Although he was the third son of Great Minister of the Left Minamoto no Toshifusa[2] 源俊房 (1035-1121), Ninkan's career was hardly auspicious. Near the end of his life, he is said to have put a curse on Emperor Toba 鳥羽天皇 (1103-1156; r. 1107-1123) in order to guarantee Prince Sukehito's succession to the throne and was consequently exiled from the capital to distant Izu Province 伊豆国 (modern-day Shizuoka Prefecture 静岡県). Three months into his exile, he took his own life by jumping off a cliff. After Ninkan's death in exile, Kenren 見蓮 (fl. twelfth century), a local yin-yang practitioner and one of Ninkan's disciples during exile, transmitted Ninkan's esoteric teachings and practices and infused them with numerous yin-yang theories that claimed that sexual union between male and female could be part of a practice leading to the awakening of buddhahood "in this very mind and body" (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成仏). This was the origin of the "heretical" Tachikawa-ryū.

Over a century, Monkan 文観 (1278–1357), a monk of Hannyaji 般若寺 who later became the protector monk of Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288‐1339; r. 1318‐1339), restored and developed the Tachikawa-ryū teachings and practices. He studied Shingon-ritsu 真言律 at Hannyaji and then was initiated into the Hōon'in lineage 報恩院流 at Daigoji 醍醐寺. During Emperor Godaigo's rebellion against the Kamakura-shogunate, Godaigo appointed Monkan head monk of Daigoji and ordered him to use esoteric rituals to force the Kamakura shogunate into submission. After the collapse of the Kamakura shogunate (*kamakura bakufu* 鎌

[2] Minamoto no Toshifusa (1035–1121) was a late Heian-period aristocrat. The *Honchō seiki* entry for the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the first year of Kōwa 康和 (1099) records that Toshifusa ordered a general amnesty in response to natural disasters *(Honchō seiki* 22. SZKT 9:309) and suggests his high political authority. Toshifusa is also known to have carried on a romantic affair with Keishi naishinnō 娟子内親王 (1032-1103), the second princess of Emperor Gosuzaku 後朱雀天皇 (1009-1045; r. 1036-1045) and an older sister of Emperor Gosanjō.

倉幕府; 1185-1333), Monkan was appointed head monk of Tōji 東寺 and later become the director of monks. During the time of conflict between the Northern and Southern courts (*nanbokuchō jidai* 南北朝時代; 1336–1392), Monkan was affiliated with the Southern court and attended Emperor Godaigo on a journey to Yoshino 吉野 (modern-day, Nara Prefecture 奈良県). With the support of Emperor Godaigo, he purportedly used the rituals of Dakini-Ten (*dakinitenhō* 荼枳尼天法) to force the Northern court into submission and was very keen on divinatory and calendrical practices.

The origins of the Tachikawa-ryū can thus be traced to a group of monks associated with failed political causes as well as to practices that, although perhaps not uncommon during Japan's medieval period, were later condemned by Japanese Buddhists operating in very different historical and ideological circumstances. Before we can understand the role of the Tachikawa-ryū within the Japanese Buddhist tradition, therefore, it will be necessary to ask whether these characterizations are historically accurate, whether the charges leveled by later generations are fair and, equally importantly, why post-Meiji scholarship has sought to construct an image of the Tachikawa-ryū as a perverse, heterodox sect well outside of mainstream Buddhist thought and practice.

In order to reconstruct the development of this strain of Japanese Buddhism I shall proceed through two stages. First, I will examine the few extant Tachikawa-ryū depictions and determine their place within the larger context of Japanese Buddhist doctrinal history. Second, I shall scrutinize the anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics produced by the rival Shingon school of Japanese esoteric Buddhism as well as popular depictions of Tachikawa-ryū appearing in

medieval literature. Due to persecution of the Tachikawa-ryū that began in the fourteenth century, only a handful of Tachikawa-ryū ritual and doctrinal texts have survived to the present day. This has led many scholars to resign themselves to an incomplete understanding of this tradition, and the few available Tachikawa-ryū texts have accordingly been entirely ignored by Japanese and non-Japanese scholars alike. In contrast to this unfortunate neglect, I shall suggest that a reconstruction of the tradition is possible by supplementing the few remaining texts we have with a detailed analysis of the popular and polemical depictions of the Tachikawa-ryū.

Central to this project will be an examination of a much larger corpus of texts than has been utilized to date for understanding the Tachikawa-ryū. After a close reading of all extant texts originating within the Tachikawa-ryū itself, I shall shift my focus to appearances of the Tachikawa-ryū in three historical and literary genres: courtiers' diaries (*nikki* 日記), Buddhist tale literature (*setsuwa* 説話), and historical narratives (*rekishi monogatari* 歴史物語). While these sources have been previously examined for their literary value and expression of Japanese cultural norms, their depictions of the Tachikawa-ryū have regrettably been overlooked. By determining the common themes and tropes appearing in these depictions and then comparing them to the extant Tachikawa-ryū texts, I shall further clarify the salient characteristics of the Tachikawa-ryū. Through careful examination of the nature and content of the critiques found therein I shall further refine my reconstruction of the Tachikawa-ryū. In so doing I will suggest that much supposedly objective, academic research produced during the past century has been little more than a reiteration of medieval Japanese religious polemics. A radical re-examination of the Tachikawa-ryū is thus in order.

Meiji historiography

This section will summarize twentieth-century scholarship on the Tachikawa-ryū and argue that the picture painted by such scholarship fails to include the full scope of what this dissertation endeavors to demarcate as "Tachikawa-ryū." Another problem is the complete reliance of modern scholars on anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics produced by Mt. Kōya 高野山 monks during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period. Rather than being seen in their proper historical context, these polemical writings have been uncritically taken at face value as historically accurate descriptions.

The Tachikawa-ryū has not proved to be a popular subject of study among Japanese and Anglophone scholars, even though what has been perceived as the Tachikawa-ryū teachings and practices have been of great importance to Japanese religious and historical studies. One reason for this has been that the earliest modern, academic hypotheses concerning the movement were for the most part uncritically accepted by later generations of scholars of Japanese Buddhism. The earliest twentieth-century studies of the Tachikawa-ryū were undertaken by a small group of Japanese Shingon monk-scholars from Mt. Kōya, all of whom placed a great emphasis on the aforementioned anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics of the Muromachi period (*muromachi jidai* 室町時代; 1336-1573). Not surprisingly, each of these scholars also concluded that the Tachikawa-ryū was heretical both in its origins and essential characteristics.

As I shall discuss shortly, the interest that these early twentieth-century Shingon scholars took in the Tachikawa-ryū was not simply academic in nature. This interest was part of a larger project to understand Indian esoteric Buddhism and to create a link between its myths and

the origins of Japanese thought and culture, which in turn must be understood in the light of the Japanese desire to create a sphere of influence in East Asia that could successfully hold at bay encroaching European interests and influence. Rather, these monks appear to have been motivated in great part by a desire to establish the Shingon sect as an orthodox form of Buddhism worthy of support during a period when esoteric Buddhist practices in Japan were under attack from a number of sources both outside and inside of the Buddhist tradition. Seen in this light, the classification of the Tachikawa-ryū as a heretical sect clearly supported two views of utmost importance to Shingon apologists: 1) that the Shingon school focuses solely on "pure esotericism" (*junmitsu* 純密), with a long pedigree within the Buddhist tradition, and 2) that the Shingon school should not be associated with "miscellaneous esotericism" (*zōmitsu* 雑密), now dismissed as superstitious, corrupt, immoral, and open to abuse.

The framework proposed by Shingon apologists had a great impact on later Japanese religious scholarship in which a methodological distinction was made between "sectarian studies of Japanese Buddhism" (*bukkyōgaku* 仏教学) undertaken by Buddhist monastic scholars and "folklore studies of Japanese religion" (*minzokugaku* 民俗学) initiated by Yanagida Kunio 柳田国男 (1875–1962) and Minakata Kumagusu 南方熊楠 (1867–1941). These two movements exhibited great scholarly aptitude and creativity as they broke fresh ground in the fields of historical and religious sources of Japanese cultural studies. Equally important, however, they also reproduced a Japanese scholarly tendency to subjectively seek for characteristics in Japanese religion and culture that were peculiar to Japan. As a result, they proved to be useful instruments for the Meiji government, which was intent on constructing an explicitly "Japanese" ideology

that could be used to create a modern nation capable of countering "Western thought" with "Eastern thought."

The development of these two academic disciplines should thus be seen in the context of the Meiji Restoration (Meiji ishin 明治維新), which comprised a series of revolutionary political and cultural changes that were designed to create a Westernized, centrally administrated state that was compatible with the capitalist systems introduced following the collapse of the Tokugawa shogunate (Tokugawa bakufu 徳川幕府; 1603-1867) in 1867. In the name of an evolutionarily, social shift from "pre-modern" to "modern" Japan, many Japanese traveled to Western countries to study. These individuals subsequently returned to Meiji Japan, where they introduced modern technologies and Western culture they had learned and adopted abroad. Within this turbulent period of social change, there were at least two "Westernization" movements that influenced, and are thus directly relevant to, the academic study of the Tachikawa-ryū during the twentieth century.

First, the Meiji government actively adopted Western academic disciplines, including psychoanalysis as developed by Sigmund Freud. During the Meiji period the development of psychiatry was based on analysis of the human drive mechanism, which in turn rested upon the importance of the unconscious, psychosexual development, and the pleasure principle as found in Freud's theoretical framework. The popularity of psychoanalytical theory among the Japanese eventually led to a new theory of a Japanese version of the Oedipus complex, namely, the *ajase* complex[3] (*ajase konpurekkusu* 阿闍世コンプレックス). For our purposes it is important to

[3] *Ajase* complex, advocated by Kozawa Heisaku 小沢平作 (1897-1968) and later popularized by Okonogi

remember that according to early Japanese interpretations of Freud, human emotion, intellectual appetite, and curiosity—even in the unconscious—all arise from an individual's carnal appetite. Religious practices entailing hetero- and homosexual acts were accepted as a sort of "normal disease" or as a normal facet of human desire and were thus approached from the vantage point of treatment rather than being categorized as abnormal behavior resulting from evil spirits, which would have been approached from a moral standpoint. All of this thus illustrates the degree to which, in Meiji-period Japan, there was a strong desire for the standards of Western culture and an attempt to mold Japanese culture into one that more closely resembled the West.

Second, the Meiji government forged ahead with an anti-Buddhist movement that led to the destruction of Buddhist temples, texts, and images (*haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈) and forced many Buddhist monks to return to lay life. In order for the Meiji government to adopt measures to cope with the struggle against Western colonialism and imperialism, the creation of a national identity centered upon a common purpose was seen as an urgent necessity. Ironically, because the Meiji government defined the "national spirit" as none other than a new understanding of the Shintō tradition as an inflexible sense of purity, morality and patriotism, questions of national ideology often came to be debated within the larger framework of "world religions."

Amid growing loyalty and patriotic sentiment, both Shingon scholar-monks and

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Keigo 小此木啓吾 (1930-2003), both of whom specialized in psychoanalysis as developed by Freud, is a theory concerning the formation of one's personality. This theory emphasizes the conflict between mother and child and puts forth the notion of "enemy before birth," i.e., the idea that while pregnant the mother experiences fear with about the looming birth while the child, still in the womb, already harbors enmity towards the mother. The term *ajase* refers to Ajātaśatru, a king of the Magadha empire in north India, who, according to Buddhist tradition, played a vital role in the development of early Buddhism. Keigo, Okonogi, ed. *Ajase complex* (Tōkyō: Sōgensha, 2001).

folklorists from this period drew upon polemical anti-Tachikawa-ryū texts from the Muromachi period to create a suitable target for deviations from Meiji government ideology within Japanese religion. Consequently, the history of what occurred in medieval Japan was covered by a negative image of the Tachikawa-ryū as a religious movement that was focused upon esoteric rituals, sexual rites, traffic with the supernatural and magical practices such as curses (*juso* 呪詛), divination (*bokuzei* 卜筮), and astrology (*senseijutsu* 占星術) all employed in order to deceive the Japanese people. This characterization was useful to the Meiji government, folklorists, and sectarian scholars alike. As sectarian scholars and folklorists condemned these "heresies" and "superstitions" as deviations from "true" versions of Buddhism or the Japanese spirit, they were able to contrast the Tachikawa-ryū with "true" Japanese Buddhist observances and restraints that did not violate the Meiji government's aforementioned concern to promote patriotism, morality and decency.

Sectarianism and the invention of heresy

Because the Tachikawa-ryū was a sub-sect of the Shingon tradition, it is hardly surprising that much of the earliest scholarship on the Tachikawa-ryū was written by Shingon monks who were driven by the broader concerns outlined above. The initial stage of sectarian scholarship on the Tachikawa-ryū is best represented by Mizuhara Gyōei 水原堯栄 (1890–1965), a scholar of Japanese esoteric Buddhism whose primary focus was on developing a critique of what he took to be Tachikawa-ryū doctrinal positions. Mizuhara took as given that orthodox Buddhism (*udō mikkyō* 右道密教), as well as the Shingon tradition, entailed the

assertion that all humans possess the potential to be good and can reach enlightenment and the awakening of buddhahood by giving up their afflictions.[4] In his characterization of the Tachikawa-ryū, however, Mizuhara focused heavily upon assertions that central to the Tachikawa-ryū—in his eyes a form of heterodox Buddhism (*sadō mikkyō* 左道密教)—was the use of sexual practices that were designed to lead the practitioner to enlightenment and the awakening of buddhahood "in this very body."[5] Focusing on one illustration from the *Sankai isshinki* 三界一心記 (Record of the Triple Realm of the One Mind), a purportedly Tachikawa-ryū text,[6] Mizuhara argued that the Tachikawa-ryū had in fact actively used sexual practices based on yin-yang theory.[7]

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[4] Gyōei Mizuhara, *Jakyō tachikawaryū no kenkyū* (Kyōto: Zenshosha Shosekibu, 1923), 94.

[5] Mizuhara, *Jakyō tachikawaryū no kenkyū*, 94-151. Mizuhara asserts that the early Tachikawa-ryū teachings and practices were linked to local cults and apocryphal scriptures that possessed esoteric elements but were not directly related to Mahāvairocana. He cites the following passage from the *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 (Abbreviated History of Japan): "On the second day of the ninth month of the second year of Tengyō 天慶 (939): recently on the streets in the East and West capital, [people] carved wood, making [statues] of local deities, which they then enshrined. The body-shape of these statues was completely robust, and a crown was put on [the statue's head]. [The statue] had the hair on the temples hanging in pigtails down to the shoulder. The body of [the statue], painted with cinnabar, was the color of scarlet. In daily life, [the shape of the statue] is transformative. One after another, each statue had different forms. The shape of the female was carved so as to be robust, and stood upright. The image of the yin-yang was carved in the lower part of the waist, beneath the navel. Setting up a table in front of [the statue] and placing [the statue] on the earthenware, [the statue] of a child was vulgar. Worshipping [the statue] was intimate with the stick of silk strip [offered to the statue] or with an offering of incense and flowers. [People] recited *funado no kami* 岐神 and praised the honorific spirits [*goryō* 御霊]. [The people] did not know what the sign was and were curious about this." (*Fusō ryakki*. 25. SZKT 12: 214). Similar descriptions appear in the *Honchō seiki* entry for the second day of the ninth month of the first year of Tengyō 天慶 (938) (*Honchō seiki* 2. SZKT 9:12). *Honchō seiki* 本朝世紀 is an annalistic history consisting of twenty volumes and divided into forty-seven imperial reigns. It was compiled by Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲 (1106–1159). Mizuhara asserts that such depictions of male and female genitalia worship became extremely popular in ancient Japan and helped to establish and preserve the Tachikawa-ryū teachings and practices. He may have been drawing on an entry from the *Shasekishū* 沙石集 (Sand and Pebbles) that explains that from the view of the Womb World Mandala, yin is female and yang is male (*Shasekishū* 1. NKBT 85:60). He most likely saw the *Fusō ryakki* not as a Buddhist historical source but rather as Japanese literary text, which led him to treat it as a lessauthoritative source.

[6] Mizuhara, *Jakyō Tachikawaryū no kenkyū*, 116-169.

[7] Mizuhara, *Jakyō Tachikawaryū no kenkyū*, 131. Mizuhara asserts that the illustration is definite evidence that the Tachikawa-ryū actively employed sexual practices based on yin-yang theories.

Mizuhara's work was soon followed by that of Kushida Ryōkō 櫛田良洪 (1905–1980). Kushida broadened Mizuhara's critique of the Tachikawa-ryū as a heretical movement by focusing upon Tachikawa-ryū interactions with other popular religious movements. Noting the explosive popularity and tremendous growth of the Tachikawa-ryū teachings and practices in the Kantō 関東 area, particularly during the Kamakura period, Kushida defined the Tachikawa-ryū as a heretical social phenomenon. As was the case with Mizuhara, Kushida's account often shifts from the descriptive to the normative. In particular, Kushida placed great emphasis upon his belief in the defiled nature of human beings, which he contrasted with Tachikawa-ryū views that he believed were based on esoteric Buddhist notions that the mind is inherently undefiled.[8] Building upon this belief, Kushida further argued that in addition to being a flourishing movement in its own right, the Tachikawa-ryū also exercised significant influence over other movements such as the Miwa-ryū 三輪流, a medieval Shinto movement of murky origins that Kushida also believed had place great importance upon "depraved" sexual practices.[9]

Other scholarship was characterized by similar tendencies. Moriyama Shōshin 守山聖真 (1888–[?]), for example, argued for a view of the Tachikawa-ryū as a heretical phenomenon that spontaneously came into existence during the Kamakura period.[10] Moriyama fails to see

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[8] Ryōkō Kushida, *Shingon mikkyō seiritsu katei no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Sankibō, 1965), 373-382.

[9] Ryōkō Kushida, *Shingon mikkyō seiritsu katei no kenkyū*, 376. In support of his position, Kushida cites the following passages from the letter of secret transmission of Daigoji: "The meaning of space and the universal is the harmony shaped like mother and father, who have the nature of production. One antique is the faculty of father. A flower is the faculty of mother. For this reason, the intermixture between two faculties becomes the affair of buddhas. These are all referred to in the preface of the present sutra, the meaning of space and the universal of thirty-seven buddhas."

[10] Shōshin Moriyma, *Tachikawa-ryū himitsushi Monkan Shōnin no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Morie Shoten, 1938), 26-36. Moriyama's research was primarily based on the *Juhō yōjinshū* 受法用心集 (Collection of Advice to receive the Dharma), ed. Shinjō 心定 (fl. thirteenth century), and the *Sangen menju* 纂元面授 (Personal Instruction about Collected Original Teachings), compiled by Seigen 成賢 (1162-1232), he discusses the

that the Tachikawa-ryū was treated as a scapegoat within the context of Mt. Kōya institutional ideology during the fourteenth century when Mt. Kōya was attempting to depict itself as the "orthodox" stream of the Shingon school as part of its support of the Northern Dynasty (*hokuchō* 北朝). In other words, he mistakes prescriptive claims as descriptive account. By accepting institutional polemic as historical fact Moriyama, like Mizuhara, uncritically accepts the institutional categories of "orthodox" and "heterodox" lineage within the Shingon school and thereby contributes to the further reification of these classifications.

Buddhist monk-scholars, such as Muraoka Kū 村岡空 (1935–2005) and Manabe Shunshō 真鍋俊照 (1939–), have gone on to develop ethical critiques of the Tachikawa-ryū. Muraoka, who also views the Tachikawa-ryū almost entirely through the lens of Tantric Buddhist sexual union, points to the doctrinal relationship between the awakening of buddhahood "in this very body" and the metaphysical consciousness of the sexual unity of male and female found in the Tachikawa-ryū teachings and practices. Based on these observations, Muraoka describes the Tachikawa-ryū as a "perverse religion," intellectually organized around esoteric Buddhist

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ritual in which an enshrined skull was used as the principle image of Mahavairocana as well as the sexual practices used to "attain enlightenment in this very body." *Sangen menju* is a valuable record in which Shōken 勝賢 (1138-1196), the head monk of Daigoji and son of Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲 (1106–1160), transmitted the Buddhist teachings to Seigen 成賢 (1162-1232). Although he cites the original text of the *Juhō yōjinshū* in his book – *Tachikawa jakyō to sono shakaiteki haikei no kenkyū* 立川邪教とその社会的背景の研究 (A Study of the Heretical Tachikawa and the Social Background)—the text to which he refers is not the same as the original inherited in written format by Kōzanji 高山寺 and Zentsūji 善通寺. It might be the case that different resources still exist in certain temples on Mt. Kōya, but Moriyama fails to note by whom or when the text was copied and transmitted. Shōshin Moriyama, *Tachikawa jakyō to sono shakaiteki haikei no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Kanōen, 1965), 530-571. Sueki Fumihiko also points out the difference between the text of the *Juhō yōjinshū* in Moyiryama's book and the text found in Kōzanji. Fumihiko Sueki, "Kōzanjibon juhōyōjinshū ni tsuite" *Kōzanji tenseki bunsho sōgō chōsadan kenkyū hōkoku ronshū* ed. Kōzanji tenseki bunsho chōsadan 2007: 5-11.

theories and practices related to sexual union.[11] In addition, he asserts that Tantric Buddhism is the basis for the Tachikawa-ryū notion that the defiling activities of human beings cannot be denied and simply shunned. On the other hand, Manabe's study attempts to give a comprehensive account of Shingon mikkyō in the Japanese esoteric Buddhist tradition, and to address the question as to whether the Tachikawa-ryū should be conceived of as "orthodox" esoteric Buddhism or as "heterodox" tantric Buddhism.[12] He attempts to reexamine the Tachikawa-ryū by using Shingon mikkyō sources that had identified those which conclusively demonstrate the heretical character of the Tachikawa-ryū. Based on this research, he concludes that the Tachikawa-ryū should be considered as heretical vis-à-vis mainstream Shingon mikkyō.

Unfortunately, these characterizations were also adopted uncritically by the first Western scholar to study the Tachikawa-ryū. Pol Vanden Broucke who translated the *Hōkyōshō*[13] 宝鏡抄 (Compendium of the Precious Mirror), a fifteenth-century critique of the Tachikawa-ryū, enthusiastically accepts the interpretation of early Japanese scholarship and reproduces portrayals of Ninkan and Monkan as Buddhist teachers possessed by a demon.[14] James Sanford similarly introduces the *Juhō Yōjinshū*[15] 受法用心集 (Collection of Advice to Receive the Dharma) as a text that contains the "sinister ways" of the Tachikawa-ryū, such as the skull ritual.

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11 Kū Muraoka, "Sokushin jōbutsu no shisō: shingon tachikawa-ryū ni okeru sei nit suite" *Risō* 538 (1978): 93-108.

12 Shunshō Manabe, *Jakyō Tachikawaryū* (Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 2002), 209-260.

13 *Hōkyōshō* was written as a critique of the activities and doctrines of what were deemed to be the carnal Buddhist monks of the Tachikawa-ryū. T2456_.77.0847c22-T2456_.77.0851b20.

14 Pol Vanden Broucke, *Hōkyōshō: the compendium of the precious mirror of the monk Yūkai* (Ghent, Belgium: Ghent National University., 1992).

15 *Juhō yōjinshū* is a question-and answer format text written in Classical Chinese and dated to the thirteenth century. This record was written by Seiganbō Shinjō 誓願坊心定 (fl. thirteenth century) of Hōgenji 豊原寺 in Echigo 越後 Province (modern-day, Niigata 新潟 Prefecture).

Basing his research primarily on the anti-Tachikawa-ryū stance as put forth in the writings of Mujū Dōgyō 無住道暁 (1226-1312) and Yūkai 宥快 (1345-1416), Sanford describes the Tachikawa-ryū as either a degenerate heterodoxy in medieval Japanese religion or an odd medieval Shingon movement adhering to strange ideas.[16]

By defining the Tachikawa-ryū as a degenerate sub-branch of Japanese esoteric Buddhism that was destroyed through religious suppression by high ranking monks of the Mt. Kōya establishment, these scholars have firmly placed the Tachikawa-ryū outside the category of mainstream Japanese esoteric Buddhism and, in doing so, have effectively denied it the possibility of being taken seriously. These twentieth-century monks and scholars have conclusively relegated the Tachikawa-ryū to the category of "heretical" with only the aid of anti-Tachikawa-ryū texts, such as the *Hōkyōshō* and the *Tachikawa shōgyō mokuroku* 立河聖教目録 (Catalogue of the Sacred Teachings of the Tachikawa-ryū). They have, in short, banished it from the realm of orthodoxy and have thereby done a disservice, albeit unintentionally, to modern scholarship.

Thus, the earliest academic portrayals of the Tachikawa-ryū in the twentieth century undertaken by Japanese esoteric monk-scholars should be seen against the backdrop of a misleading binary opposition between "mainstream" Shingon mikkyō, on the one hand, and mikkyō that fell outside of this category (primarily Tendai and Nanto mikkyō), on the other. In this way, modern sectarian and folklorist scholarship that addresses the so-called sinister ways of the Tachikawa-ryū relied heavily on the perceived dichotomy between Buddhist orthodoxy and

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[16] James H. Sanford. "The Abominable Tachikawa Skull Ritual." *Monumenta Nipponica* 46, no. 1 (1991): 1-20.

heterodoxy. The fabricated diachotomy between “pure” and “miscellaneous” exotericism contributed to the forced separation of buddhas and kami (*shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離) during the Meiji Restoration, a phenomenon that can be traced in part to neo-Confucian and National Learning (*kokugaku* 国学) schools of thought that opposed Buddhism and attempted to restore what these intellectual movements perceived as the essence of pre-Buddhist Japanese culture. This contributed to the development of the notion of “Japaneseness” or “Japanese uniqueness” that was at the heart of Japanese imperialism, a state-directed ideology that was central to the aspiration to construct a “religious nation” capable of standing on an equal footing with the West. The academic research produced during the past century is nothing more than a reiteration of medieval Japanese religious polemics, at least to the extent that modern scholarship accepts the artificially clear distinction between orthodoxy and heterodoxy without delving into the political and relative nature of these categories.

Continuing paradigms

Further complicating this already murky picture, for much of the 1980s and 90s, the study of the Tachikawa-ryū became intertwined with a number of academic discussions as scholars from a number of disciplines built upon earlier scholarship to promote agendas that often had little to do with the Tachikawa-ryū movement. The famed historian Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦 (1928-2004), for instance, followed Moriyama’s schemes and defined Monkan as a “heretical” vinaya-master (*irui no ritsusō* 異類の律僧), who both restored the Dakini-Ten rituals of the Tachikawa-ryū when he performed the prayers for Emperor Godaigo, and moved

"outcasts or blackguards" (e.g.. Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成; 1294-1336 and Iga Kanemitsu 伊賀兼光; fl. fourteenth century) to join an anti-Kamakura Shogunate army.[17] Amino's interest in these events, however, appears to be mainly centered upon what he sees as their significance for his critique of emperor-centered historiographies that are based on "national" textual sources that implicitly view Japan as a divine country under the unbroken rule of the imperial family. For Amino, the Dakini-Ten rituals performed for the "outcasts and blackguards" of medieval Japan are important mainly because they help him champion the cause of history of the common people based on "local" textual sources that reveal behavioral and ideological patterns of Japanese culture. Further study of a new development of the Dakini-Ten rituals, which appeared in the popularization of the Inari cult (*inari shinkō* 稲荷信仰)[18], undertaken by Hayami Tasuku 速見侑 (1936-) supported the aforementioned assessment of emperor-centered historiographies contrived by Amino.

When feminism began to assert itself in Japanese religious studies, the Tachikawa-ryū similarly drew the attention of scholars interesting in studying the history of sexuality and Japanese Buddhism. Focusing on textual sources, these scholars have tended to label the origin and essentials of medieval Japanese esoteric Buddhist doctrines and practices as "heretical" or "sexual." Tanaka Takako 田中貴子 (1960-), for instance, argues for a literary and historical account of medieval Japanese esoteric Buddhism that sees heresies as having been produced and designated by the collusive relations between *ōbō* ("Imperial law") and *buppō* ("Buddhist

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17 Yoshihiko Amino, *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū dai roku kan* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2007), 355-361.
18 Tasuku Hayami, *Jujutsu shūkyō no sekai* (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1987), 168-201.

law").[19] For Tanaka, the Tachikawa-ryū is of interest because she believes that the conjunction of heresy and sexual practices—which she assumes defined the movement—can be used to discuss gender and power relations within medieval Japanese Buddhism. More specifically, she strives to show that in a social circumstance in which "heretical" and "sexual" teachings and practices were excluded from the mainstream of medieval Japanese Buddhism, women were held in contempt and were regarded as representations of defilement.[20] Echoing Kushida (although for very different purposes) Tanaka concludes that the purportedly heretical and sexual practices of the Tachikawa-ryū were in fact extremely popular among medieval religious practitioners, and that there was not a great gulf between medieval Japanese esoteric Buddhism and the Tachikawa-ryū.[21]

Yamamoto Hiroko 山本ひろ子 (1946-) has similarly discussed Tachikawa-ryū initiation rituals as sexual practices designed to allow the practitioner to attain enlightenment "in this very mind and body." Yamamoto elucidates the metaphysical consciousness of the sexual unity of male and female in the medieval Japanese esoteric Buddhist tradition. Citing references to these practices in such texts as the *Keiranshūyōshū*[22] 渓嵐拾葉集 (Collection of Leaves

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19 Takako Tanaka, *Gehō to aihō no chūsei* (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 2006), 221-234.

20 Takako Tanaka. "Musō kantokuzō: musō ni yoru butusga sujakuga no seisaku ni tsuite," in *Girei no chikara: chūseishūkyō no jissen sekai*, eds. Lucia Dolce and Ikyu Matsumoto (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2010), 104-124.

21 Tanaka, *Gehō to aihō no chūsei*, 279-300.

22 *Keiran shūyōshū,* an encyclopedic work on Tendai Buddhism, is a collection of Buddhist commentaries about four major studies in and around Mt. Hiei, which are mainly focused on exoteric, esoteric, vinaya, and pure land teachings, and consists of 300 volumes, only 116 of which are extant. It was compiled between the first year of Onchō 応長 (1311) and the third year of Jōwa 貞和 (1347). This text was compiled by Kōshū 光宗 (1276-1350) , an erudite monk of Mt. Hiei who promoted a new sect, the so-called "Kurotani-ryū 黒谷流, Enkai 円戒, or Kaike 戒家" which transmitted the Buddhist teachings and initiation rituals of Tendai vinaya. The greater part of this text contains details of esoteric Buddhist teachings and practices transmitted to the Tendai school and is a valuable record which describes esoteric Buddhist rituals and thoughts of the period, especially among Tendai practitioners and followers. The beginning of this text indicates the main points and

Gathered in a Stormy Ravine), a medieval historical/literary account of Japanese Buddhism, Yamamoto argues that the Tachikawa-ryū developed a fundamental theory of transformative practice based on the esoteric idea of sexual union between male and female.[23] These two scholars' studies of the *Keiranshūyōshū* engendered a new area of research that combined the study of Japanese Buddhism and literature with an examination of the sexual teachings and practices of the Tachikawa-ryū.

More recently, Bernard Faure has defined the Tachikawa-ryū as a sub-branch of Japanese Tantric Buddhism and suggests that the Tachikawa-ryū teachings and practices continued to influence late medieval and early modern Buddhist discourse. He asserts that the Tachikawa-ryū developed out of a sub-branch of Japanese "Tantric" Shintō 神道, the so-called Ryōbu Shintō 両部神道.[24] Furthermore, Lucia Dolce has discussed the role within the Tachikawa-ryū of the cult of two kings: Fudō-myōō 不動明王 (Skt. Acalanātha) and Aizen-myōō 愛染明王 (Skt. Rāga-rāja). She argues that these Buddhist deities represented a non-dualistic concept in medieval Japanese Buddhism that helped produce the threefold structure that became the main form of esoteric worship.[25]

In a similar vein, John Stevens refers to a Tokugawa-period Buddhist image depicting sexual union to argue that the "subcultural" Tachikawa-ryū used skulls and incorporated sexual

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details of Kōshū's argument divided into six sections: exoteric, esoteric, vinaya, chronicle, medicine, and memorandum. This text extends over a wide range of medieval Buddhist activities connected with Kōshū and others like him. Although Japanese and Anglophone scholars of Japanese religious studies have begun to realize the significance of this text, medieval Japanese Buddhist thought, literature, and history, no one has yet studied it systematically because 60 % of this text was damaged and destroyed in the process of transcription.

[23] Hiroko Yamamoto, *Henjōfu: chūsei shinbutsu shūgō no sekai* (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1993), 291-370.

[24] Bernard Faure, "Japanese Tantra, the Tachikawa-ryū, and Ryōbu Shintō," in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordon White (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 543-556.

[25] Lucia Dolce, "Nigenteki genre no gireika: fudō aizen to chikara no hizō," in *Girei no chikara: chūseishūkyō no jissen sekai* ed. Lucia Dolce and Ikyu Matsumoto (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2010), 159-206.

rites into its practice regime.[26] By asserting that such heretical practices were limited to Tachikawa-ryū practitioners, he reifies twentieth-century theories about the impact of the Tachikawa-ryū on the popularization of material and print cultures during the Tokugawa period. While scholars such as Mikael Adolphson have revealed the histocially inaccurate depictions of medieval Japanese institutions, particularly with regard to warrior monks (*sōhei* 僧兵) in the case of Adolphson's scholarship,[27] the fantastic world of medieval Japan conured up by post-medeival visual art, literature, and scholarship further confounds our efforts to accurately perceive anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics for what they are, which has resulted in the uncritical acceptance of these Muromachi-period, Shingon polemical treatises as historically accurate discriptions.

The aforementioned scholars' research on the Tachikawa-ryū is underpinned by by theories about the amalgamation of buddhas and local deities (*honji suijaku shisō* 本地垂迹思想), especially theories that focus on deities associated with sexual practices and the esoteric Buddhist notion of "cognition of principle" (*kontai* 金胎). Theories concerning the Ritual of Succession to the Throne (*sokuikanjōhō* 即位灌頂法), in which Dakini-Ten is the main principle, and the Ritual of Subduing in Love (*keiaihō* 敬愛法), in which Aizen-myōō is the main principle, have also been very influential on this scholarship. The notion of non-duality was long central to court-centered Japanese esoteric Buddhist rituals. These rituals encouraged the imperial worship of Heaven, which functioned ideologically to unify Japan under the emperor.

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[26] John Stevens, Tantra of the Tachikawa Ryu: Secret Sex Teachings of the Buddha (Berkeley, CA: Stone Bridge Press, 2010).

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

This phenomenon draws our attention to the dominant position that "popular" esoteric Buddhism held in medieval Japan. By carefully examining the common themes and tropes appearing in these depictions and then comparing them to "sectarian" studies of Japanese Buddhism, studies of the Tachikawa-ryū carried out during the 1980s and 90s are in line with the methodologically dominant position of anthropological history in Japanese academia.

Turning points

The study of the Tachikawa-ryū has recently come to a turning point as a number of scholars have introduced hitherto unutilized sources for the study of the Tachikawa-ryū. Nishioka Yoshifumi 西岡芳文 (1957-) has examined in detail a number of medieval Japanese Buddhist manuscripts in the Kanazawa Bunko archives that relate to the teachings and practices of the Tachikawa-ryū. Nishioka claims that the Ritual of Succession to the Throne, in which Dakini-Ten (or Kangi-Ten 歓喜天) is the principle object of veneration, was an esoteric ritual that involved a yin-yang-based divination board.[28] He concludes that there is no evidence to support the charge that the Tachikawa-ryū actively engaged in practices of sexual unification based on yin-yang theory.[29] Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎 (1953-) has similarly examined a text composed by Shukaku Hosshinnō 守覚法親王 (1150-1203) at Ninnaji that also contains the Ritual of Succession to the Throne. Abe asserts that Shukaku created a system of ritual textuality that was far from "deviant" and was in fact closely related to esoteric rituals associated with

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[28] Yoshifumi Nishioka, "Kanazawa shōmyōji ni okeru tonsei sojihō," *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū* 320/3 (2008): 35-47.

[29] Yoshifumi Nishioka, "Kanazawa bunko hokan no shikisen kankei shiryō ni tsuite," *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū* 282/3 (1989): 39-48.

imperial authority.[30]

Inoue Mayumi 井野上真弓 (1962-) has also raised a doubt about the Amino Yoshihiko's depiction of Monkan. She claims that Monkan was not a "heretical" monk of the Tachikawa-ryū who restored Dakini-Ten Rituals in order to perform prayers for Emperor Godaigo, but rather a "legitimate" vinaya-master who actively participated in a political movement.[31] Chiba Tadashi 千葉正 has called for further consideration of the Tōji monk Kōhō's 杲宝 (1306-1362) criticism of the Tachikawa-ryū and concludes that Kōhō attempted to distinguish between Shingon orthopraxy and groups deemed heretical.[32]

Uchida Keiichi 内田啓一 (1960-) asserts that the image of the Tachikawa-ryū produced by Mt. Kōya anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period was part of an attempt to define Shingon orthodoxy and orthopraxy vis-à-vis groups deemed heretical.[33] He points out the necessity of reconsidering the received view of Monkan as a restorer of the Tachikawa-ryū as a movement that was closely associated with sexual teachings and praxis. Ueda emphasizes that once the view of Monkan as restorer of the heretical Tachikawa-ryū is firmly entrenched in scholars' minds, it is very difficult to correct this historically inaccurate view.[34]

Iyanaga Nobumi 彌永信美 (1948-) has unraveled several puzzling questions surrounding the teachings and praxis of the Tachikawa-ryū that have been depicted as

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30 Yasurō Abe, "Girei to shūkyō tekisuto: chūsei mikkyō shōgyō no keno wo megurite," in *Girei no chikara: chūseishūkyō no jissen sekai*, eds. Lucia Dolce and Ikyu Matsumoto (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2010), 307-328.
31 Mayumi Inoue, "Tōji chōja to Monkan," in *Nihon shakai ni okeru hotoke to kami*, ed. Hayami Tasuku (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006), 60-79.
32 Tadashi Chiba, "Kōhō no Tachikawa-ryū hihan ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 53 1 (2004): 50-53.
33 Keiichi Uchida, *Monkanbōkōshin to bijutsu* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2006), 116-286.
34 Keiichi Uchida, *Godaigo tennō to mikkyō* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2010), 144.

"heretical." He concludes that the real Tachikawa-ryū as far as it can be known was not associated with sexual praxis and skull rituals as described in the *Hōkyōshō* and the *Juhōyōjinshū*.[35] As we can see, the imaginary Tachikawa-ryū depicted by Mt Kōya anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (1336–1392), and which Yūkai 宥快 (1345-1416) used as a tool for excluding his rivals from what he defined as the mainstream, Mt. Kōya Shingon orthodoxy, was very successful.[36]

Textual Studies: Sophism

In point of fact, the historically inaccurate depiction of the Tachikawa-ryū that I have described provides us with an important example of the much more widespread phenomenon of uncritical analysis of what in reality were medieval religious rituals. This is not to say that no one actually performed skull rituals or strove to achieve "extraordinary accomplishments"; it is simply to put forward what I hope to demonstrate in this dissertation, namely, that what we have come to accept as representative of the "heretical" praxis of the Tachikawa-ryū is but a marginal

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[35] Nobumi Iyanaga, "Mikkyō girei to nenzuru kokoro: hōkyōshō no hihanteki kenshō, oyobi juhōyōjinshū no dokuro girei wo chūshin to shite," in *Girei no chikara: chūseishūkyō no jissen sekai* ed. Lucia Dolce and Ikyu Matsumoto (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2010), 127-158. Furthermore, Iyanaga suggests that Moriyama appends the original text of the anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemic *Tachikawa shōgyō mokuroku* 立河聖教目録 (Catalogue of the Sacred Teachings of the Tachikawa-ryū) to his book and includes his own annotations with the original text. *Tachikawa shōgyō mokuroku* is the catalogue of sacred teachings of Tachikawa-ryū and consists of one volume. Texts presented in the *Tachikawa shōgyō mokuroku* were destroyed as a result of religious and political suppression. Moriyama, *Tachikawa jakyō to sono shakaiteki haikei no kenkyū*, 589. Moriyama adds the following passages: "A private note of Sei [Moriyama Shōshin] says that in the text the era name of Emperor Godaigo is incorrect. It is the era name of the ninety-ninth Emperor Gokamei (?-1424; r. 1383-1392). In the third year of Bunchū 文中 (1374), the era name was changed to Tenjū 天授. The master Yūkai was twenty-one years old." These changes and descriptions indicate that Moriyama overstates the case for the heretical character of the Tachikawa-ryū by uncritically accepting the polemics of the texts he studies

[36] Nobumi Iyanaga, "Tachikawa-ryū" *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 803-814.

and oft misunderstood aspect of a larger phenomenon. That is, it is a mistake to define the Tachikawa-ryū based on one small part of the medieval Japanese Buddhist tradition. Rather, throughout this dissertation I shall attempt to explicate some commonly held misconceptions about the "orthodox" Japanese religious tradition and offer a critical examination of the history of the scholarship—both modern and contemporary—which produced these concepts.

With regard to the aforementioned debates about the enshrining of skulls as described in the *Juhō yōjinshū*, an account of skull rituals that appears in the *Minkeiki* 民経記, the diary of Fujiwara no Tsunemitsu 藤原経光 (1212-1274), provides us with some important clues as to what in practice the skull rituals might actually have been. The entry for the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month of the fourth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1267) states as follows:

> A Dharma master Ken-e 兼恵 (fl. thirteenth century) of Anshōji 安祥寺, a brother of Tsunemitsu, came to me [Tsunemitsu] and engaged in small talk… There was a misfortune after Zenshōkoku's 前相国 [Saionji Kinsuke] death: Jisshō shōnin 実相上人 (1221-1277) started a rumor after a strange event occurred. There was a suspicion that on the night of Shōkoku's funeral, Shōkoku's head was stolen [as he lay] in a pool of blood. People said that there were many eminent monks who performed skull rituals in these days. People were skeptical about what [Jisshō] Shōnin was doing to perform the skull rituals.[37]

In conjunction with the *Minkeiki* entry for the sixth day of the eighth month of the fifth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1268), which addresses the dissemination of commentaries on skull rituals,[38] it would appear that the "Tachikawa-ryū" adherents enshrined a skull as the principle image of Mahavairocana and advocated some sort of religious practice—or sinister way (*gehō* 外

[37] *Minkeiki*. DNKM 10:54.
[38] *Minkeiki*. DNKM 10:88.

法)—that required a fresh skull endowed with specific facial lineaments.[39] However, from similar passages appearing in a verse of the *Masukagami*[40] 増鏡 (Clear Mirror), which discusses the skull ritual associated with the medieval aristocrat Saionji Kinsuke[41] 西園寺公相 (1223-1267), the "skull ritual" would seem to be closely related to methods for prolonging life, one of six practices of Japanese esoteric Buddhism for manipulating one's predestined lifespan. Depictions of medieval eminent monks violating religious precepts, performing sinister rituals, and championing the sinister way as the most effective, evoke the notion of "negative skillful means," which was used to deliberately deceive Fujiwara no Tsunemitsu. In this manner, "skillful means" was regarded as a fallacious argument based on a mistaken view whereby one demonstrated the validity of one's position in medieval religious disputes.

Rather than shedding light on the historical performance of "skull rituals," it is far

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[39] Hiroyuki Momo, *Rekihō no kenkyū (ge): Momo Hiroyuki chosakushū dai hachi kan* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1990), 163-173. Momo Hiroyuki 桃裕行 (1910-1986) asserts that the skull ritual was intimately linked to the attempt to prolong the lifespan of the medieval aristocrat Sainoji Kinsuke. Momo also asserts that there is no doubt that the so-called "Tachikawa-ryū adherents" enshrined a skull as a representation of Mahavairocana and that the skull was to be a fresh one and characterized by a certain set of lineaments. He further argues that skull rituals were linked to local practices that to which people were completely enslaved during the medieval period. He suggests that such practices were the same as the Dakini-Ten rituals that appear in the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (Tale of the Heike) and the *Taiheiki* 太平記 (Record of the Great Peace). He concludes that with the death of Saionji Kinsuke as a stimulus, these skull rituals spread widely throughout the medieval religious world. Momo presents much evidence to support his assertation that medieval-period eminent monks who violated religious precepts often performed such "sinister rituals" and held to the idea that such practices were the most efficacious during the period in question.

[40] *Masukagami* 7. George W. Perkins, *The Clear Mirror: A Chronicle of the Japanese Court During the Kamakura Period* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 95. It reads as follows: "Soon afterward, it became known that Kinsuke was ill. People dismissed his ailment as minor, but then, shockingly enough, he died. (He was the person called the Reizei Chancellor.) Saneuji must have been devastated. Empress Kishi left the palace to go into mourning."

[41] Saionji Kinsuke was a Kamakura-period aristocrat and the second son of the Chansellor of the Realm Saionji Saneuji 西園寺実氏 (1194-1269). He strengthened the Saionji family's position through marital links to the imperial family.Kinsuke followed Saneuji's policies and maintained political authority over Saionji family in the imperial court. He was promoted to junior fifth rank in the first year of Antei 安貞 (1227). In the third year of Shōka 正嘉 (1259), he was promoted to Minister of the Left. He was finally promoted to the Chansellor of the Realm in the second year of Bunō 文応 (1261).

more likely that the above entry appearing in the *Minkeiki* shows that there was an initial stage of anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics, which consisted of an attempt by the Mt. Kōya establishment to define Shingon orthodoxy and orthopraxy vis-à-vis groups deemed heretical during the Kamakura period. The *Minkeiki* entry for the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month of the fourth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1267) portrays Jisshō shōnin as a monk who withdrew from secular matters and devoted his energies to restoring a Buddhist statue and Buddha hall.[42] Jisshō Shōnin (aka Enshō 円照), a vinaya master of Tōdaiji 東大寺 involved with initiation rituals of the Zen, Southern Ritsu (*nankyōritsu* 南京律), and Northern Ritsu (*hokkyōritsu* 北京律) traditions, was an erudite monk who administered Bodhisattva precepts (*bosatsukai* 菩薩戒) to emperors and court aristocrats in Buddhist precepts assemblies and who asked for donations to perform almsgiving campaigns (*kanjin* 勧進). The monks of Anshōji were wary of Jisshō shōnin's powerful movement, while religious movements to restore the vinaya tradition—by Eison 叡尊 (1201-1290) at Saidaiji 西大寺 and Shunjō 俊芿 (1166-1227) at Sennyūji 泉涌寺—were engaged in sectarian domination. It seems that the vinaya movement was linked to "non-Buddhist" rituals that became extremely popular in medieval Japan.

Other suggestions found in medieval literature of a relationship between Buddhist monks and sexuality can also be classified as metaphorical expressions (or skillful means) of this "indirect" violence. Such suggestions could be used to ridicule, expose, and criticize the religious activities of a particular individual or group, especially in conflicts based largely on the orthodoxy/heterodoxy diachotomy. The consensus view during this age took a negative view of

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[42] *Minkeiki*. DNKM 10:54.

inappropriate and unreasonable sexual misconduct, a position that was in accord with Buddhist precepts. Rather than concerning ourselves with whether or not a particular Buddhist monk broke the precepts by engaging in some sort of sexual conduct, I would suggest that it is far more important to focus on the manner in which these sexual expressions came to inform these texts. With regard to the pursuit of "extraordinary accomplishments," one illustration can be found in the *Shasekishū*[43] 沙石集 (Sand and Pebbles), compiled by Mujū Dōgyō 無住道暁 (Dharma name, Ichien 一円; 1226-1312). The relevant passage states as follows:

> Even in Buddhism, when words are mistakenly understood, the sinister teachings arise. Recently, there has been a religious practice in the Shingon school related to a so-called "extraordinary accomplishment" (*henjōju* 變成就) which is said to be at the boundary of the attainment of enlightenment and the Buddha's cognition. While ordinary afflictions are consumed, [they claim] there is no attachment which clings to things as real. While subject and object in the cognitive sense are forgotten, others and one's-self are extinguished. When the mystery of the Diamond is functioning prominently, they claim that cognitions, such as the yin-yang and male-female, are regarded as the two truths of principle and cognition. Thus by attachment to ordinary afflictions, a ritual is [erroneously] named as the unification of the mind and wisdom. [Here] the understanding of the scriptures is wrong, oblivious to the mystery of the incorrect teachings and sinister praxis.[44]

The belief that to eliminate love and desire is a true path to salvation and the attainment of true thusness[45] points to the basic theory informing this religious group: the medieval Japanese esoteric Buddhist notion that true suchness, although tainted by the defilements to which human minds are attached, is identical with the original purity of the mind. It follows from this that

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[43] *Shasekishū* is a collection of Kamakura Buddhist narratives and consists of one hundred fifty stories.
[44] *Shasekishū* 6:16. NKBT 85:284-286.
[45] *Shasekishū* 7:2. NKBT 85:296-297.

defiled behavior cannot be denied outright, because it is ultimately the product of that originally pure mind. Indirect evidence of the prominence of such beliefs can be seen in a tale in the *Shasekishū* (entitled "*A Matter of the Punishment on the Dull Shingon*") in which the author Mujū expresses his disapproval of the Ritual of the Dharma-Transmission and the Ritual of Subduing in Love.[46] Far from demonstrating that such rites were extreme aberrations, however, I would suggest that the text is best read as a response to the disturbing (for Mujū) prevalence of such practices during the medieval period. I would further note that, although there is no doubt that in many cases these practices were associated with the Tachikawa-ryū, at no period in Japanese history, was the performance of such rituals limited to the Tachikawa-ryū. As we shall see repeatedly throughout this dissertation, these practices and teachings for the attainment material blessings, the elimination of disasters, and the defeat of one's enemies were performed by monks from a broad range of schools and movements during the medieval period.[47]

Another illustration of the *Zōtanshū* 雑談集 (Collection of Idle Talks) by Mujū

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[46] *Shasekishū* 7:19. NKBT 85:317.

[47] One entry entitled the '*One Letter Spell King Sutra*' (*ichiji juōkyō* 一字呪王経) of the *Keiranshūyōshū* notes as follows: It is asked: "What is the One Letter Spell King Sutra?" It is said that this sutra is the teachings transmitted from the Mii-ryū 三井流. It is the ritual of one mudra practice, and is called the one letter spell. According to a tale, Gyōbu sōjō 刑部僧正 (Chōgen 長厳, 1152-1228) of Mii[-dera] is the most famous monk who has little experience in studying the texts. Therefore, he becomes a mountain practitioner and recites mudra, the secret ritual of the one letter spell king of Daten. When [Chōgen] leaves Mt. Ōmine to make a pilgrimage to Inari, he gives dharma teachings in front of the landlord manifestation. Occasionally, Kyōnihin 卿二品 [Kyōnii 卿二位: Fujiwara no Kaneko 藤原兼子 (1155-1229)], Oki-in's [Emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽天皇 (1180-1239; r. 1183-1198)] wet nurse mother, makes a pilgrimage. From her ox-drawn carriage, she catches a glimpse of the poor monk Gyōbubō exposing his big penis through a rip in his *hakama*. Kyōnihin sees this and calls him. Consequently, he becomes the protector-monk [of Kyōnihin] and is given three hundred sixty fiefs. He is a lucky man and becomes Ikkai sōjō 一階僧正. This ritual of the one letter spell king sutra is the extremely secret teaching of Mii-ryū (*Keiran shūyōshū.* T2410_.76.0633b13-T2410_.76.033b24). This passage shows that Kōshū 光宗 (1276-1350), the author of the *Keiran shūyōshū,* criticized Chōgen, a mountain practitioner who was successfully promoted to a high rank by taking half measures. This depiction of sexual practices reveals an intense hatred of Chōgen and envy of his high position.

Dōgyō may also support the claim that medieval religious practitioners actively engaged in sexual practices based on yin-yang theory. The tale entitled '*A Matter of Yin-Yang*' reads as follows:

> The shape of yin and yang is mutually inclusive. Just like Buddhist merit, things illustrated by the darkness are attributable to a form of yin and yang. Entering the gate of principle and cognition is a great accomplishment. This is because cognition of principle and wisdom are interpreted as the yin and yang of non-Buddhist texts. The male is the yang. The female is the yin. The male takes an original bird in his hand. The female has her hair down to the bottom. This is a form of the yin and yang. The south is the yang. The north is the yin. People call the female consort (*kita no kata* 北の方). What is the way to renounce the world? This is a form to attain the original state of Buddhahood. Non-Buddhist texts say that a form of heaven and earth is just like a chick at the time when the world is in a chaotic state. They depict the fact that male and female differ from the form of yin and yang after the creation of heaven and earth. Taking the tonsure differs from yin and yang and actually has a form to return to origin. A rounded head is a particular form in which heaven and earth have not been created. A text says that to rest one's mind is to reach origin: that is to say, it is a way to attain Buddhahood. This shows that this is the teaching of foolish mind, which is unable to instruct people.[48]

This passage shows that Mujū Dōgyō selected those aspects that seemed to imitate true Buddhist doctrine and practice, as well as those that were considered heterodox by the Buddhist mainstream. He finds fault with a particular group's doctrine and praxis, and disapprovingly states that they are based as more on Daoism and yin-yang theories than on Buddhism. Given the power structure of the age, the activities of the groups that were portrayed in this medieval Buddhist *setsuwa* were erroneously labeled as "heretical" by later popular culture. Contemporary researchers then accepted these polemical claims at face value, and treated the opinions

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[48] *Zōtanshū* 1. Sadatoshi Matsuura *Zōtanshū*: Koten Bunko 41 (Tōkyō: Koten Bunko, 1950), 13-14.

condemned by Mujū and Shingon polemicists as heretical Buddhist ideas rather than as religious phenomenon arising from a diversity of influences.

It is important to recall, in this light, that Mujū Dōgyō attempted to combine all Tendai Buddhist theories and practices into one teaching. When he compiled the *Zōtanshū*,[49] he emphasized the significance of Tendai's Bodhisattva precepts by heavily criticizing other teachings and practices associated with esoteric Buddhism. He also claimed that it is necessary for Buddhist practitioners to cultivate a comprehensive understanding of Buddhist doctrine and practice through the dharma of the Tendai tradition as given in the *Lotus Sutra* and to follow the Mahayana perfect and immediate moral precepts, in the sense that instantaneous buddhahood is possible. Mujū's writings thus illustrate the medieval religious tendency towards sectarianism, discriminating between the Nanto Buddhist schools, the Heian Buddhist schools, and new religious movements.

Such polemics were in large part a product of attempts by powerful religious establishments referred to as "*sanmon*" 山門 to define "esoteric Buddhist" orthodoxy and orthopraxy vis-à-vis groups deemed heretical. This, in turn, was integral to a larger process whereby Mt. Hiei and Mt. Kōya attempted to establish religious authority for themselves and

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[49] *Zōtanshū* 6. Sadatoshi Matsuura *Zōtanshū*: Koten Bunko 42 (Tōkyō: Koten Bunko, 1950), 215-221. One tale entitled 'A Matter of Bodhisattva Precepts' says as follows: "This concerns the late founder of Tōfukuji 東福寺 [Enni 円爾: 1202-1280]. A female was possessed by spirits of the dead. Although many skilled monks performed prayers for her, they could not propitiate the spirits of the dead. A Shingon monk was asked to perform prayers for her. His practice was a deviant one, and involved performing a ritual in which he put a body on the skull platform. When his secret was exposed, he ran away. While the female visited many shrines and temples and prayed for her recovery, she did not fulfill this wish. Accordingly, there was no place left for her to visit. She tried everything that she could think of. Finally, she visited Tōfukuji and prayed for her own descendants. She asked Enni to bestow upon her the Boddhisattva precepts. Upon receiving the bodhisattva precepts from Enni she was cured of the affliction. It it certain that Enni's virtue was a result of the great precepts. Indeed, it was invaluable."

strong relationships with the government then in power. The fictitious heretical monks fabricated by these polemical treatises were carnal Buddhist monks who ate meat and married—thereby violating the Buddhist precepts—and, in addition, performed skull rituals solely for the purpose of propagating sinister ways. These depictions of skull rituals and sexual practices appearing in medieval aristocratic and literary sources thus at best reveal an attempt to legitimize a sectarian Tendai position by juxtaposing one tradition's doctrine with that of another.

As part of any attempt to accurately understand the practices of medieval Japanese esoteric Buddhism, two things are of particular importance. First, it is necessary to question the historical accuracy of previous scholarship's portrayals of these practices. Japanese and non-Japanese scholars have tended to focus on the philosophy and history of Shingon Buddhism and the role that this tradition played in the history of Japanese Buddhism, while they have largely ignored Shingon rituals and ritual-related texts. These rituals and related texts, however, constitute the most important context for understanding medieval Shingon Buddhism. This is in contrast to the tendency of previous scholarship, which has tended to focus on the growing popularity of esoteric rituals in medieval Japan in relation to so-called Kamakura new-Buddhist movements and to the relationships between Shingon and local cults and popular beliefs.

The second important question to ask when thinking about medieval Japanese esoteric practices is this: Why did people engage in these practices? The esoteric Buddhism introduced by Kūkai 空海 (774-835), which later came to be known as Shingon *mikkyō*, was embraced by those who sought Buddhist salvation as well as by those invested in protection of the state. The heirs to the Shingon tradition later used various means to incorporate apparently inconsistent

elements into what was supposed to be an internally coherent system and worldview. Even so, it remains true that no cleric or thinker following Kūkai has surpassed the complexity and coherent systematization found in Kūkai's doctrinal schemata. In fact, it would not be such a stretch to say that Shingon esoteric Buddhism was not fully accepted by large numbers precisely because few were able to fully comprehend the complex nature of both its doctrine and praxis.

In reality, most monks who pursued supposedly Shingon practices were in fact studying Tendai exoteric practices far away from their affiliated temples. This was particularly true of the schools based in Nara, the so-called Nanto schools, in which simultaneous study of multiple scholastic and religious traditions became the norm during the medieval period. The religious tendency must be understood in the context of seeking a third path to religious enlightenment, one of religious pursuits that proved to be very popular in medieval Japanese esoteric Buddhism.

It is in this context that the Tendai esoteric notion of "accomplishments" (J. *soshitsuji* 蘇悉地; Skt. susiddhi; C. sūxīdì) must be understood. More specifically, this teaching, the tertiary insight of Japanese esoteric Buddhism, which is based on the idea of non-duality and the belief in the unified nature of the *Daibirushana Jōbutsu Kyōso* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (Skt. *Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi-tantra*) and *Kongōchōkyō* 金剛頂經 (Skt. *Vajraśekhara sutra*), must be understood in a context dominated by an esoteric Buddhist conceptual framework in which there existed a close relationship between esoteric longevity practices aimed at prolonging one's predetermined lifespan and the amalgamation of buddhas and kami. In fact, Tendai astrological and calendrical practices associated with prolonging one's lifespan were ubiquitous

among medieval Japanese monks. Medieval Japanese Buddhist praxis was ritual that drew on elements of both Daoist and esoteric elements.

Thesis

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the Tachikawa-ryū not only as one important strain of Buddhist doctrine and practice within Japanese esoteric Buddhism, but also as a polemical invention that was created in a series of portrayals that can be found in medieval literature, aristocrat diaries, and twentieth-century scholarship. In this sense, it is perhaps better when speaking of the Tachikawa-ryū to avoid the definite article and instead speak of Tachikawa-ryūs in the plural. In the work that follows, five distinct Tachikawa-ryūs are identified.

First, there was a group consisting of senior monks of aristocratic origin who performed divinatory and astrological rites and rituals for the purposes of coronation, establishing authority, and removing potential obstacles to the actions of the imperial court and aristocracy. I shall argue that although the activities of these monks were extremely important for the development of medieval Japanese Buddhism, they have been consistently ignored or misunderstood by later scholars influenced by Shingon polemics that date back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Second, there was a loose network of individuals and groups who adhered to doctrines and engaged in practices that were considered heterodox by the Buddhist mainstream. This group's praxis and doctrine, though, were as much Daoist and yin-yang based as they were

Buddhist. But in medieval literature, and later in Shingon polemical works, the activities of this group were erroneously labeled “Tachikawa-ryū” and as such the group has come to be accepted as a heretical Buddhist group rather than as a religious phenomenon arising from a diversity of influences.

Third, there was the image of Tachikawa-ryū produced by Mt. Kōya (and Tōji) anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period. Such polemics were in large part a product of attempts by the Mt. Kōya establishment to define Shingon orthodoxy and orthopraxy vis-à-vis groups that were deemed heretical. As we shall see, later Meiji polemics had deep roots in a similar process from the medieval period in which Mt. Kōya attempted to use anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics to establish religious authority for itself and a strong relationship with the Ashikaga family. The members of the Tachikawa-ryū fabricated by these polemical treatises were carnal Buddhist monks who ate meat and married—thereby violating the Buddhist precepts—and, in addition, performed esoteric rituals solely for the purpose of gaining worldly benefits and “attaining buddhahood in this very body.”

Fourth, there was the image of the Tachikawa-ryū that resulted from the persecution of Christians during the “peaceful” period of the Tokugawa shogunate. At the start of the Edo period, the shogunate feared that the rapidly increasing number of Catholic converts and adherents, particularly among the warriors of northern Kyūshū 九州 and the rural peasantry, was significant enough to endanger the political stability of the Tokugawa regime. In response to this concern, the shogunate posted supervisors to direct and oversee the activities of temples and shrines (*jisha bugyō* 寺社奉行). These supervisors also managed the certificates that Buddhist

temples were required to issue in order to verify adherents' affilation with Buddhism. Christians, "practitioners of folk religion," and those of whom performed "perverse" teachings and widespread yin-yang-based rituals were regarded as heretical. Yin-yang practitioners, who were supposedly representatives of heresy, were erroneously linked with the Tachikawa-ryū. This resulted in assertions that yin-yang symbolism—especially the sexual unification between male and female—was used to support the Tokugawa shogunate's rule, and these assertions were particularly acute in the context of Buddhist factionalism dominated by the diachotomy of orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

Fifth, there is the image of the Tachikawa-ryū produced by twentieth-century scholarship. This image resulted from the forced return to secular life of Buddhist monks during the Meiji period. Throughout this dissertation, we shall see time and again that scholars have made reference primarily to the second and especially the third of the aforementioned Tachikawa-ryūs, thereby providing us with the image of a heretical sect engaged in sexual practices that has unfortunately been inaccurately thought to be all there is to the Tachikawa-ryū. Fundamental to this misrepresentation is not only scholarly ignorance of the first of the aforementioned three, but also an uncritical acceptance of the fourth type of Tachikawa-ryū as depicted in Shingon polemics.

Prior to the politically motivated anti-Tachikawa-ryū writings produced at Mt. Kōya and Tōji during the Muromachi period, the name "Tachikawa-ryū" does not apper as a lable for any sub-branch of the Shingon school (e.g., as in the *Hōkyōshō*). The Tachikawa-ryū only became more obscure after the initial persecution of Christianity (Shimabara 島原 Rebellion;

1637-1638) and during the period of the "temple guarantee" system (*terauke seido* 寺請制度) during which time the Tokugawa shogunate forced all Japanese to obtain certificates of temple-affiliation to prove their adherence to Buddhist orthodoxy. The persecution of Christianity supported a structural discrimination in a social system of Buddhist orthodoxy vis-à-vis the heresies of Christianity and "folk religion." The popularization of certain kinds of visual images produced by text-pritings and *shunga* 春画 —a type of Edo-period erotic art—further contributed to the the perception that the Tachikawa-ryū was a heretical sect based on the Buddhist notion of non-duality and the use of sexual practices aimed at achieving enlightenment and the awakening of buddhahood "in this very body.

Having said much about what the Tachikawa-ryū was not, I must emphasize that there was in fact such a thing as the Tachikawa-ryū; it was a sect that played vital role in the development of medieval Japanese Buddhism and that performed divinatory (or astrological) rituals for the purposes of coronation, establishing authority, and removing potential obstacles to the actions of the imperial court and aristocracy. The preceptor Ninkan, as one who inherited the Tachikawa-ryū Dharma transmission, was a medieval astrologer, regarded as a political failure who had failed in his role as a protector monk and brough great confusion to the realm. The politically motivated anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics of Yūkai 宥快 (1345–1416), written to criticize the activities and doctrinal positions of the "carnal" Buddhist monks" of the Tachikawa-ryū, include the historically inaccurate lamentation that eighty- to ninety-percent of Shingon monks were converting to the Tachikawa-ryū persuasion. The commonly held conceptions of the second of the aforementioned types of the Tachikawa-ryū led to a portrayal of

the movement as heretical and it was accordingly deemed the political and religious enemy of Mt. Kōya orthodoxy. This shows that like the Tokugawa period religious world, Muromachi-period Shingon witnessed a division of membership according to the categories of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Later on, during the Tokugawa and Meiji periods, esoteric rituals such as curses, divination, and astrological rites, all of which were generally speaking the province of "men of folk religion," came to be regarded as "heretical occultism" as Western thought was adopted. Unfortunately, modern scholars have only continued this trend, presenting an image of a heretical Tachikawa-ryū organized around sexual and other so-called polluting practices.

Beyond sex, lies, and heresy

This thesis will focus primarily upon the historical development of the first of the aforementioned types of the Tachikawa-ryū in order to address the inaccuracies of modern scholarship concerning this group between the mid-Heian period and the beginning of the Kamakura period (approximately 900-1200). As I investigate the historical context in which this Tachikawa-ryū developed, however, I shall also elucidate important elements that later became the main focus of the fabrications of Shingon polemicists. The dissertation will comprise three main sections. The first chapter will examine the divinatory activities that became popular among religious practitioners between the mid-Heian period and the beginning of the Kamakura period. The second chapter will analyze the relationship between political and religious activities of the court, temples, and mountain-dwelling practitioners during the Insei period, an era associated with the power of abdicated sovereigns. The third chapter, finally, will scrutinize an

astrological practice that was often performed in the medieval Japanese court, especially during the Insei period. In each of these chapters I will seek to clarify what constituted this phenomenon and thus to question previous simplifications and dismissals. A central theme that runs through much of this dissertation will thus be the importance of *onmyōdō* practices related to Chinese astrology and divination for even mainstream Buddhist practitioners during Japan's medieval period.

Chapter one will focus on the lineage chart of the *Hyakurenshō*[50] 百錬抄 (Hundred-fold Temperings), in which the name of the preceptor Ninkan appears. This genealogy allows us a new perspective on the Tachikawa-ryū and leads to a view of Ninkan as an astrology master who engaged in practices aimed as predicting future events, rather than as a proponent of heretical teachings and practices. This lineage chart suggests that rather than being concerned with sexual practices, skulls, and blood rituals—all of which play a prominent role in twentieth-century scholarship's portrayal of the Tachikawa-ryū—Ninkan rooted his teachings and practices largely in Chinese astrology and divinatory practices. I will argue that Ninkan's lineage consisted of senior monks who engaged in divinatory and astrological praxis for the purposes of imperial centralization, establishing authority, and removing potential obstacles to the actions of the imperial court and aristocracy.

Chapter two will develop a picture of the mutual interdependence of imperial, religious, and local institutions during the Insei period, the era in which this lineage of divinatory practitioners developed. This chapter deconstructs Heian esotericism, a conceptual system that

[50] *Hyakurenshō* is a historical record of the Kamakura period and is an amalgamation of various historical records and aristocratic dairies.

binds together several religious and ethnic groups within the Nanto-Heiankyō 南都· 平安京 region. Using a wide range of primary sources—from histories to courtier diaries—I follow the suggestions of previous scholars and explore the influence of medieval Tendai Buddhism and local cults on political and religious activities at the court.

Chapter three will examine the history of court rites and rituals related to astrological and divinatory practices that occurred in medieval Japan (900-1200), the period that corresponds to the aforementioned lineage chart to be examined in the first chapter. I will show that the purification ritual of the four quarters (*shihōhai* 四方拝) and the seven stars of the Northern Dipper worship (*hokutohai* 北斗拝), both of which were related to astrological treatises, and knowledge of zodiac signs, celestial events, and constellations that were based on the Chinese calendar, functioned as important means of centralizing power in the hands of the court. Written accounts of the imperial rites pertaining to celestial phenomena (*sukuyō kanmon* 宿曜勘文) at the time of solar eclipses and lunar eclipses were therefore of great importance in producing horoscopes.

This dissertation will seek to demonstrate that the religious phenomenon labeled "Tachikawa-ryū" is more diverse than previously assumed. By showing that there are Tachikawa-ryūs rather than *a* Tachikawa-ryū, I hope to (1) shed light on a previously unexamined and, in the context of medieval Japanese Buddhism, mainstream form of the Tachikawa-ryū tradition (i.e., the first of the three aforementioned types) and (2) further demonstrate the presence of Daoist and yin-yang elements in the divinatory and astrological practices carried out by Buddhist practitioners, and 3) demonstrate the importance of heresy and

polemics in the construction of Japanese Buddhist identities.

CHAPTER I
Genealogy of a Divination Transmission

Introduction

This chapter will present and examine the divinatory activities that became extremely popular among religious practitioners between the mid-Heian period and the beginning of the Kamakura period. This particular divinatory tradition used standard divinatory and astrological practices with illicit ends in mind, particularly the securing of political power.[51] In the pages that follow, I will address the relationship between this tradition described as "a sinister way" by a major anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemicist and the supposedly heretical teachings and practices of the Tachikawa-ryū.[52] In order to do this, it will be necessary to identify the earliest figures associated with the Tachikawa-ryū, and then seek for commonalities in their political careers as well as their religious practices. I shall argue that once we begin to look at the careers of specific

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[51] In the *Chūyūki* 中右記 (the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141)) entry for the sixteenth day of the eleventh month of the first year of Hōen 保延 (1135) we read that on the occasion of a lunar eclipse an astrologer proclaimed, "Divination is performed by humans for the purpose of knowing the extent of celestial changes (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:167). *Chūyūki* is the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada from the first year of Kanji 寬治 (1087) until the fourth year of Hōen 保延 (1138).

[52] In the medieval religious sphere, this tradition was thought to be one path to obtaining knowledge of Buddhist teachings, as can be seen in the following story found in the *Shasekishū*. According to this story, Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597), founder of the Tiantai school, said, "A man of the deviant way, possessing the ability to perceive religious truths and attain realization, changes a deviant phase into a correct phase—a false teaching becomes a true teaching. A stupid man of Buddhist teachings turns a true phase into a false phase—a true teaching becomes a sinister teaching." Similarly, we are told, Huineng 恵能 (638-713), the sixth patriarch of Chan school, said, "The true teachings become the sinister teachings when a man of falsehoods advocates true teachings. The sinister teachings become the true teachings when a man of truth preaches the sinister teachings (*Shasekishū* 1:10. NKBT 85: 88-89). In this manner Mujū Dōgyō 無住道暁 (1226-1312), the compiler of the *Shasekishū*, puts forth the notion that there are three truths in this world that can be perceived by humans. The difference between the sinister (i.e., erroneous) and correct ways of obtaining Buddhist teachings depends on the mind of beings in this world, while the Buddhist teachings are, at an ultimate level, absolutely true. It suggests that one, whose mind is not shaken by the erroneous determination to view all things correctly, does not—cannot, in fact—have a wrong view. Sinister ways cannot be denied simply by one's judgment that all human beings have the potential to attain perfect enlightenment.

individuals, it becomes possible to see past many of the polemical filters that have covered over the reality of the early Tachikawa-ryū. Perhaps even more importantly, I shall also argue that by so doing it will also become possible to more fully understand the central role of divinatory practices not only for medieval Japanese Buddhism, but also for the turbulent politics of the age.

In undertaking this investigation I shall proceed from the premise that divination played a central role in not only religious but also political activity in the middle ages. One of the best illustrations of this can be seen in an account from the *Ōkagami* 大鏡 (Great Mirror), a late-Heian historical-literary work and one of the so-called four mirrors of Japanese history. Within this text we find a story that exemplifies the degree to which Heian aristocrats made decisions based on divination and in consultation with the lunar calendar. The text reads as follows:

> I need not tell you what an impression it made when Yoshinobu repeated everything the Prince had said the night before. To force the Prince to resign, Michinaga had thought, would be too disrespectful to the imperial house, but now, to his boundless delight, the Prince himself had solved the problem. Shōshi's karma was nothing short of magnificent! What should the next step be, he asked Toshikata. "Don't waste any time," Toshikata answered. "There is no need to have diviners pick an auspicious date. If you delay, he will probably change his mind and decide to stay, and then where will you be?" Michinaga agreed. Consulting the calendar, he saw that that very day was not inauspicious. The Regent, Yorimichi, who had happened onto the scene, urged, "Act now! Act now!"[53]

This anecdote highlights the degree to which Heian court nobles were prisoners of the calendar: Chinese astrology and divination, both of which were based on the calendar, determined

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[53] Helen Craig McCullough, *Ōkagami:The Great Mirror* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 122. *Ōkagami* 2. SZKT 21 *jō*: 54–68.

aristocrats' daily schedules, the directions and times of their travels, and much more. Even more importantly, the incident also reveals both a strong dependence on knowledge of the future and a significant lack of faith in the individual's ability to change the course of events.

In many ways, these beliefs were entirely consistent with prevailing Buddhist doctrines of the day—for all its devotional aspects and depictions of beings being swept away to the paradise of this or that buddha or bodhisattva, medieval Japanese Buddhism maintained a surprisingly individualistic view of salvation in which spiritual awakening was ultimately based solely on one's own mental actions. At the same time, however, the *Ōkagami* narrative also shows us that such concerns were never simply doctrinal or theoretical. Rather, here we see that even the most powerful Heian aristocrats relied habitually upon divinatory practices in order to decide how to live their daily lives as well as steer their political careers and matters of state.

One further premise that will also undergird much of this investigation is that divinatory knowledge and practices were widely available to prominent monks from the period, and that such knowledge served as a crucial point of intersection between such monks and the leading political figures of the day. Crucially for our purposes, one such monk who was deeply involved in divination was none other than Ninkan, the so-called founder of the Tachikawa-ryū. One record which provides invaluable insight into Ninkan's intellectual affiliations and heritage appears in the *Hyakurenshō*[54] 百錬抄 (Hundred-fold Temperings), a text that extracts passages from aristocrat diaries during emperors' reigns beginning with Reizen 冷泉 (950-1011; r. 967-969) and ending with Gofukakusa 後深草 (1243-1304; r. 1246-1259). The *Hyakurenshō*

[54] *Hyakurenshō* consists of seventeen volumes and is compilation of sections of various Kamakura-period historical records and aristocratic diaries. It is unclear when and by whom the record was edited.

entry for the twenty-third day of the second month of the fourth year of Jōgen 承元 (1210) reads as follows:

> *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu* 秀長易塵相伝系図 (Genealogy of Hidenaga's Sinister Divination-Transmission) of the *Nagakaneki* 長兼記 (or *Nagakanekyōki* 長兼卿記), the diary of Fujiwara no Nagakane 藤原長兼 (fl. thirteenth century), states the following: Zenshōkō 善相公 (Miyoshi Kiyoyuki 三善清行, 847-918) initiated his younger brother, director of monks Nichizō 日蔵僧都 (fl. tenth century), [into the divination transmission]. Nichizō initiated senior monk Ningai 仁海僧正 (fl. eleventh century) [into the divination transmission]. Ningai initiated Director of Monks Gihan 義範僧都 (1023-1088) [into the divination transmission]. Gihan initiated Ninkan 仁寛阿闍梨 (fl. twelfth century) [into the divination transmission]. Ninkan initiated Shinya 心也 (fl. twelfth century), also called Ben-kimi 弁君, [into the divination transmission]. Shinya initiated Minor Councilor Nyūdō Shinzei 少納言入道信西 (Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲, 1106-1159) [into the divination transmission]. Minor Councilor Nyūdō Shinzei initiated [Sugano] Hidechika 菅野秀親 (fl. twelfth century) [into the divination transmission]. Hidechika initiated [Sugano] Hidenaga 菅野秀長 (fl. thirteenth century) [into the divination transmission]. Another linage is as follows: Zenshōkō, Jōzō 浄蔵 (891-964), Shōan 接安 (fl. tenth century), Chūin 忠允 (fl. tenth century), Genso 彦祚 (fl. eleventh century), Monsan 文替 (fl. eleventh century), Jinjitsu 尋實 (fl. eleventh century), and Minor Councilor Nyūdō. Nyūdō received divination-initiations for both lineages.[55]

This entry was drawn from the *Nagakaneki* (*Sanchōki* 三長記), a medieval aristocratic diary containing vivid desciptions of political and religious affairs at court and in the temples of Nara in the early Kamakura period.[56] Although the portrayals of the *Sanchōki* suggest that Nagakane often deplored political corruption and decadence at court, the genealogy of sinister

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55 *Hyakurenshō* 11. SZKT 11:139.

56 Nembutsu practitioners petitioned Emperor Tsuchimikado 土御門天皇 (1195-1231; r. 1198-1210) to sanction the impreachment of Kōfukuji.

divination-transmission is powerful evidence that suggests divination to be extremely popular among the Heian and Kamakura aristocrats. Embedded in the lineage chart, one can find Nagakane's views on a major cause of the political and religious degeneration of the Miyoshi family as a divination-lineage (*sanka* 竿家) that established a divinatory tradition after changing their family name to Sugano. Here we see that the lineage chart is designed to legitimate Sugano no Hidenaga's authority in divinatory and astrological studies.

This chart has been discussed briefly by Murayama Shūichi 村山修一 (1914-2010), a specialist in Japanese yin-yang studies (*onmyōdō* 陰陽道), in terms of its significance for understanding the history of Onmyōdō. In this regard, although Murayama ignores the significance of a number of medieval astrologers (*sukuyōshi* 宿曜師) on the chart, he does note that the time-measuring expert Sugano Hidechika (漏刻博士 *rōkoku hakase*) and time-measuring expert Sugano Hidenaga were both yin-yang masters of sorts who were deeply concerned with calendars.[57] For our purposes, however, this lineage chart is of particular note because it suggests that Ninkan, who was later known as the founder of the Tachikawa-ryū, was a medieval astrologer who performed astrological and divinatory practices for the purpose of bolstering the court's authority and removing potential obstacles to the will of the imperial court and aristocracy. As we shall see shortly, this chart depicting a lineage of prominent yin-yang practitioners is populated by a number of monks that were said to have misled emperors and caused chaos in the realm. We shall also see that these political failures that were associated with

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[57] Murayama Shūichi, *Nihon Onmyōdōshi sōsetsu* (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1981), 255 and 322. In addition, in his discussion of time-measuring expert Sugano Hidenaga's lineage chart, Murayama notes that it is not exactly clear how the teachings of Hidenaga were transmitted to later generations.

"sinister" divination practices were later also labeled as early figures of the Tachikawa-ryū.

In this chapter, I shall examine this lineage chart in order to gain a new perspective on the Tachikawa-ryū. I shall argue that Ninkan and the others on this list are best understood as astrological masters who engaged in practices aimed at predicting future events. In contrast to the common twentieth-century scholarship's portrayal of the Tachikawa-ryū as a movement centered on heretical teachings and practices associated with sex, skulls, and blood rituals, we shall see that these figures rooted their teachings and practices largely in Chinese astrology and divinatory practices. In this context it is important to note that, although the lineage as presented may in fact be true, it is not essential to my argument that it is true: rather, for our purposes the essential point will be that the purported founders of the Tachikawa-ryū were perceived in this as well as several other sources as closely associated with figures engaged primarily in Chinese astrology and divinatory practices.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section examines the process of putting curses on others. In the second section I turn my attention to descriptions of Ninkan found in both primary and secondary sources. The third section will focus on other figures appearing in the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu*. Finally, the fourth section examines the careers of the time-measuring experts Sugano Hidechika and Hidenaga. References to, and thus sources for the elucidation of, the figures in this particular lineage are generally to be found in medieval aristocrat diaries: such writings will therefore serve as the primary source for the research in this chapter.

I. Curses

Although we often speak of Onmyōdō as a means for obtaining knowledge or maintaining good health and attaining longevity, it is impossible to understand the politics or even the religion of the medieval period without acknowledging the pervasive use of curses for political and even religious ends.[58] To cite but one text in this regard, the *Shōyūki* 小右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957-1046), records twelve examples pertaining to curses occurring between the Chōtoku 長徳 (995-999) and Chōgen 長元 (1028-1037) eras.[59] It is thus clear that the use of curses for political ends, an act that was in theory harmful to one's soul and body, was ubiquitous in Heian aristocratic society.

The work of Taira Masayuki 平雅行 (1951-) is perhaps the best representative of modern scholarship's initial stage of research into religious curses. He shows that prayers to buddhas and kami were seen as legitimate ways of inflicting harm on others.[60] Related to this, Fabio Rambelli argues that divine punishment, as understoond at both the elite and popular levels, is best seen in relation to understandings of punishment meted out by kami and buddhas, an understanding that is in turn based on the amalgatiom of buddhas and kami as presented in Kuroda's framework of the exoteric-exoteric (Buddhist) system (*kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制).[61]

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[58] Putting curses on others via petitions to buddhas and kami came to be seen as a legitimate way for Buddhist practitioners to eliminate their own karmic hindrances. The buddha or kami-created curses, put on one person at the request of another, were recognized as a form of skillful means, and thus no matter how unpleasant the results of such a curse may have been, the ensuing hardships were interpreted through a Buddhist soteriological lens as a potential step towards Buddhist salvation. The *Hyakurenshō* entry for the thirteenth day of the eleventh month of the fifth year of Shōryaku 正暦 (994) mentions that the preceptor Gijō 義静 (fl. tenth century) put a curse on Fujiwara no Michikane 藤原道兼 (961–995) (*Hyakurenshō* 4. SZKT 11:8).

[59] *Shōyūki.* DNKS 10:51-52.

[60] Masayuki Taira, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to bukkyō* (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1992), 28.

[61] Fabio Rambelli, "Buddha's Wrath: Esoteric Buddhism and the Discourse of Divine Punishment" Japanese Religions Vol 27 (1), January 2002: 45. He says, "People also invoked divine punishment against their enemie

Furthermore, Satō Hiroo 佐藤弘夫 (1953-) suggests that angry deities (*okorukami* 怒る神) are the "traces" (*suijaku* 垂迹) that dispense reward and punishment.[62] These scholars seem to all agree that the use of Buddhist curses, understood by medieval Japanese as a legitimate means of inflicting religious violence in order to protect the realm and the *shōen* system, was related to the degeneration of Dharma during the medieval period. They have focused on the supposed amoralism of "Kamakura new Buddhist movements" and the relationship of these movements to legitimization of religious violence via curses.

One frequent victim of curses was Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966-1027), the famous Heian aristocrat of the Fujiwara clan who during his lifetime exercised virtually unrivalled authority over the court. In spite of—or perhaps because of—his political power, various courtier diaries state that Michinaga suffered from an unidentifiable disease that was caused by a curse put on him no less than four times: once on the eleventh day of the fifth month of the second year of Chōhō 長保 (1000)[63], a second time on the seventeenth day of the sixth month of the first year of Chōwa 長和 (1012)[64], a third time on the nineteenth day of the eleventh month of the first year of Kannin 寛仁 (1017)[65], and a fourth time on the second day of the twelfth month of the fourth year of Manju 万寿 (1027)[66]. Hattori Toshirō 服部敏郎 has closely analyzed courtiers' diaries in order to describe a diagnostic technique used in Heian

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according to two basic modalities. On the one hand, religious institutions performed particular rituals requesting the intervention of supernatural agencies such as the buddhas, the kami, and the human patriarchs, against their enemies; on the other hand, groups and organizations sometimes invoked divine punishment against traitors and oath-breakers."

62 Hiroo Satō, "Shinbutsu shūgō ron" *Nihon bukkyō sanjū yon no kagi* (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 2003), 94-101.

63 *Gonki*. SHG 1:202.

64 *Shōyūki.* DNKS 3:38-39.

65 *Shōyūki.* DNKS 4:272.

66 *Shōyūki.* DNKS 8:44.

aristocratic society,[67] while Cameron Hurst has addressed the relationship between Michinaga's vow to attain rebirth in Amida's paradise by chanting the nembutsu and his chronic illnesses and poor physical health.[68] Michinaga's plight highlights a central fact of medieval courtier life: no matter how influential a political figure may have been, he could not compete against curses rooted in others' envy. Simply put, the politically and economically competitive nature of the period ensured that the commissioning of curses was anything but rare throughout the late Heian and Kamakura periods. It should be clear that Heian aristocrats, who are usually seen as being concerned first and foremost with onmyōdō practices, played a vital role in the initial development of the employment of curses for religious and political ends.

Just as interesting as who was cursed was the question of who it was who did the actual cursing. Effective cursing appears to have required substantial knowledge of dark arts that were closely related to Onmyōdō divination techniques. Most likely for this reason, examples of religious specialists being commissioned by courtiers to curse their rivals at court abound. Thus the *Denryaku* 殿暦, the diary of Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078–1162), notes that Tadazane saw a spell-master at Hosshōji 法勝寺.[69] One entry in the *Honchō seiki* 本朝世紀 (Chronicle of Imperial Reigns) for the nineteenth day of the first month of the first year of Kōji 康治 (1142) portrays a scene in which a shrine maiden was sentenced to exile due to having put a curse on Fujiwara no Nariko 藤原得子 (1117–1160).[70] The *Minkeiki* 民経記, the diary of Fujiwara no Tsunemitsu 藤原経光 (1212-1274), entry for the first day of the seventh month of

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67 Toshirō Hattori, *Ōchō kizoku no byōjō shindan* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006), 45.
68 Cameron Hurst, "Michinaga's Maladies: A Medieval Report on Fujiwara no Michinaga," *Monumenta Nipponica* 34, no. 1 (1979): 101-112.
69 *Denryaku*. DNKD 4:10.
70 *Honchō seiki* 24. SZKT 9:357.

the first year of Jōei 貞永 (1232) is placed at a scene in which Fujiwara no Iezane 藤原家實 (1179-1243) was suspected of putting a curse on his political rivals by depositing a short talisman in the body of Kannon 観音 statue at Kitano 北野.[71] Frequently such curses were involved prayers and petitions to the buddhas and kami of the realm.[72] Such "religious curses," were so pervasive, in fact, that it is fair to say that they constituted one of the basic activities of a large number of religious professionals during this period.

By the twelfth century, curses had become so pervasive, in fact, that they even began to affect even the longstanding relationship between *ōhō* 王法 ("Imperial law") and *buppō* 仏法 ("Buddhist law"). In light of the fact that in several instances Buddhist monks were found to have put curses on emperors, this is perhaps not surprising. One such incident appears in the *Denryaku* entry for the sixth day of the seventh month of the first year of Ten-ei 天永 (1110). It reads as follows:

> …Tonight, the chief administrator of Bureau of Taxation (Minamoto no Toshiaki 源俊明, 1044–1114) and his colleagues gathered at the court to discuss a matter of grave national concern, [namely,] that Inoue Jirō 井上二郎 (fl. twelfth century), Minamoto no Mitsuzane 源満実 (fl. twelfth century), and monk Jōjitsu 静實 (fl. twelfth century) had put a curse on Emperor Toba 鳥羽天皇 (1103-1156; r. 1107-1123). Court nobles considered charging these men and came to an agreement about charges of two of the men [Inoue Jirō and Jōjitsu]. At the time of the rat [11pm to 1am], the meeting came to a close. All left the court. Due to disagreement among the aristocrats, the charge against Mitsuzane remained undecided.[73]

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71 *Minkeiki*. DNKM 5:128-129.

72 Entry for the eleventh day of the fifth month of the second year of Chōhō 長保 (1000) appearing in the *Gonki*, which was composed by Fujiwara no Yukinari 藤原行成 (972‐1028), explains that the Minister of the Left was struck down by a serious illness while under the influence of a curse put on him by someone performing these rituals (*Gonki*. SHG 3:125).

73 *Denryaku*. DNKD 3:96.

This passage is of interest for us for two reasons. First, and most obviously, it illustrates how competition for political authority could even lead to emperors becoming targets of curses. Second, it shows that such cases were treated as legal matters that often resulted in sustained political negotiations. More importantly, putting curses on the emperor was beyond the realm of possibility. Toba's accession to the throne was thus bound to cause resentment among Heian aristocrats who wished to maintain political power. Rather than being a means to maintain authority over the realm, putting curses on others via petitions to buddhas and kami came to be seen as a way for the people to meet demands more individualistic in nature.

These issues also appear in a similar case in which Buddhist monks cursed the retired Emperor Shirakawa 白河天皇 (1053-1129; r. 1072-1086). This incident is discussed in the aristocratic work *Eikyū gannenki*[74] 永久元年記 (Record of the First Year of Eikyū) and the *Denryaku*. The *Denryaku* entry for the eighth day of the sixth month of the first year of Eikyū 永久 (1113) notes as follows:

> [A note written on the back of the entry for the eighth day of the sixth month of the first year of Enkyū says that] the retired Emperor Shirakawa reported that [Minamoto no] Masakane[75] 源

[74] *Eikyū gannenki*. GR 25:452.

[75] Minamoto no Masakane was a late-Heian-period government official. He was first made an official in the third year of Chōji 長治 (1106). In the fifth year of Taiji 大治 (1130), he had the first appointment as the consultants (*sangi* 参議) who were of Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade. In the first year of Tenshō 天承 (1131), he was appointed the vice Middle Counselor who was Junior Third Rank (*Kugyō bunin*. SZKTK 1:398–406). Descriptions of Masakane as one who arranged a Buddhist service at Hosshōji and an event held by Emperor Shirakawa appear in the *Chōshūki* entries for (1) the seventeenth day of the fifth month of the second year of Ten-ei 天永 (1111), (2) the twenty-third day of the eighth month of the second year of Ten-ei, (3) the second day of the twelfth month of the second year of Ten-ei, (4) the fifth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Gen-ei 元永 (1119), and (5) the twenty-fifth day of the third month of the fourth year of Taiji 大治 (1129).

雅兼 (1079–1143) summoned penal laws master Abe no Nobusada 安倍信貞 (1051-1121) in order to present charges against two monks who had participated in the three major southern Buddhist assemblies [*nankyōsan-e* 南京三会]. Masakane said that due to the accusation [that the two monks had put a] curse on the retired Emperor Shirakawa, the two monks were sentenced to exile. Masakane told the retired Emperor Shirakawa the reason [for the charge of two monks].

"Due to my unlucky day, I [Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実, 1078-1162] did not go out. About the charge of two monks who participated in the three major southern Buddhist assemblies, Kyōkaku 経覚 (fl. twelfth century)—generally believed to be a son of Fujiwara no Sukeie[76] 藤原祐家 (1036–1088)—and Ryūkan 隆観 (fl. eleventh century)—a son of Fujiwara no Tamefusa[77] 藤原為房 (1049–1115)—[both of whom are affiliated with Kōfukuji 興福寺], were charged with the curse put on retired Emperor Shirakawa. I heard it from the retired Emperor Shirakawa that the advice of Masakane was followed." Court aristocrats and superintendents expressed their concurrence. I said, "I fail to see the wisdom of a decision on this case when I was not interested in sentencing the two monks. This case lasted for a long time and was a matter of grave concern to the whole country. The decision was approved by all court members after I had decided [that the two monks were] not guilty. If there was a reason about for a prompt decision to be made by the court, I would not say anything. To begin with, this case was not concerned with followers of Kōfukuji, but affected them. I did not accept the judgment so that further dispute [between the Fujiwara clan and the court] might be useless for later generations." Masakane said to me, "The decision was carefully considered according to [the precedence set by] a previous case."[78] I asked him, "Was it the incident [related to

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[76] Fujiwara no Sukeie was a late-Heian government official. In the seventh year of Eishō 永承 (1052), he had the first appointment as Junior Third Rank. He was appointed as Senior Third Rank in the third year of Tengi 天喜 (1055). He was promoted to Junior Second Rank in the fifth year of Tengi 天喜 (1057). In the seventh year of Kōhei 康平 (1064), he had the first appointment as the consultants. In the fourth year of Jiryaku 治暦 (1068), he was appointed as the lower Middle Counselor who was Senior Second Rank. In the fourth year of Jōryaku 承暦 (1080), he was promoted to Middle Counselor (*Kugyō bunin*. SZKTK 1:306–350).

[77] Fujiwara no Tamefusa was a late-Heian aristocrat. In the second year of Ten-ei 天永 (1111), he had the first appointment as the consultants who were Senior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade. In the second year of Eikyū (1114), he was promoted to Senior Third Rank (*Kugyō bunin*. SZKTK 1:306–350).

[78] The grave-robbing of emperor's tomb occurred on the twenty-sixth day of the sixth month of the sixth year of Kōhei 康平 (1063). The *Hyakurenshō* passage for the seventeenth day of the tenth month of the sixth year of Kōhei (1063) notes that "monk of Kōfukuji Jōhan was exiled to Izu Province due to the demolition of the Emperor Seimu's 成務天皇 (84-190; r. 131-190) tomb. Sixteen followers were also sentenced to exile. Court adviser Fujiwara no Tsuneie 藤原経家 (1018–1068) conveyed this decision to Kōfukuji" (*Hyakurenshō* 4.

> unauthorized excavation] of treasure of Kasuga 春日 shrine?" He answered, "When monks of Kōfukuji were prosecuted on a charge, the name of charge was accordingly followed from the incident [related to unauthorized excavation] of treasure of Kasuga shrine, the previous case referred to as the exile of Jōhan 静範 (fl. eleventh century) in the reign of Emperor Goreizei 後冷泉天皇 (1025–1068; r.1045–1068). Masakene visited the retired Emperor Shirakawa." In the afternoon, Masakane returned to Tadazane and said, "After the last decision was made, an additional article related to the previous case was also drawn up. To begin with, this case was not concerned with followers of Kōfukuji, and yet it affected the history of Kōfukuji and Kasuga shrine."[79]

This case again is illustrative of a number of important features of religious and political life of the Insei 院政 period. Among the most important of these are: First, curses put on the emperor by Buddhist monks during the Insei period were often inseparable from regency politics (*sekkan seiji* 摂関政治) whereby court aristocrats with a maternal relation to the imperial family assisted the emperor. As such, both the frequent conspiracies to curse rulers and their often complicated aftermath tell us a great deal about the relationship between various courtier factions and some of the most prominent Buddhist institutions and individuals of the day. Second, the fact that the retired Emperor Shirakawa was found to have been cursed just three years after the ruling sovereign Toba had been cursed again strongly suggests that in such turbulent times, the barrier between religion and politics was thin to non-existent. Here, it would appear, religious curses appear to have been simply politics by other means.[80]

SZKT 11:28).

79 *Denryaku*. DNKD 4:38–39.

80 Further descriptions of putting a curse on the emperor appear in the *Gyokuyō* 玉葉, the diary of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207). One entry of the *Gyokuyō* for the thirtieth day of the first month of the third year of Kenkyū 建久 (1192) refers to a rumor that Hachijōin sanmi 八条院三位 ([?]-1218) put a curse on the retired Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河法皇 (1127–1192; r. 1155–1158) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:789). Another entry of the *Gyokuyō*, for the seventeenth day of the seventh month of the second year of Kenkyū 建

Further evidence for the startling degree to which curses had entered into mainstream religious practice can be seen in an account from the *Inokuma Kanpakuki* 猪隈関白記, the diary of Konoe Iezane 近衛家実 (1179-1243). There, in an entry for the eighth day of the tenth month of the first year of Kennin 建仁 (1201), the text actually describes a curse-casting festival organized around the pacification ritual that Buddist "yin-yang" masters used to purify the angry spirits attacking people, which was a ritual customarily held on the eighth day of every month. All of this strongly suggests that medieval Japanese rites and rituals intended to generate religious curses were not necessarily described as according to the divine rewards and punishments associated with the development of "Kamakura new Buddhist movements" but recognized as a common (if not quite legitimate) way of eliminating one's wrongdoings and defilements, both being obstacles to attaining wisdom and compassion for the sake of saving all sentient beings.

Finally, for our purposes it is of great importance that the conduct of the apprehended monks appears to have been no different from that of Ninkan, the purported founder of the Tachikawa-ryū who is also known to have put curses on Emperor Toba in order to guarantee his patron Prince Sukehito's succession to the throne. Unfortunately, a failure to recognize the frequency of such incidents has led scholars such as Moriyama Shōshin and Kushida Ryōkō to conclude not only that such curses were the mainstay of Tachikawa-ryū praxis, but also that

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久 (1191), presents an anonymously-authored note that reveals that Fujiwara no Mitsunaga 藤原光長 (1144–1195) and a monk of Fujiwara no Tamesuke 藤原頼輔 (1112-1186) put a curse on the retired Emperor Goshirakawa due to some troubles with a receipt of territory and that they then gathered warriors and conspired against the court (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:720). The aforementioned entries appearing in the *Gyokuyō* entail two concerns: 1) retired Emperor Goshirakawa was displeased with Mitsunaga because of the latter's close relationship with Kujō Kanezane and 2) the religious force of Mitsunaga was based on the destruction of defilement by means of fire ceremonies (*goma* 護摩).

virtually all monks that were associated with curses must have been "Tachikawa-ryū" monks. Such characterizations have contributed greatly to contemporary misunderstandings of the nature of the Tachikawa-ryū. Even more importantly, however, by asserting that such practices were limited to Tachikawa-ryū practitioners, these scholars have also helped obscure an essential aspect of medieval esoteric Buddhist practice.

II. Preceptor Ninkan

In this section, I shall follow previous scholars' schemes and attempts to trace the chronological descriptions of Ninkan and through doing so hopefully present a more historically accurate biographical account of Ninkan, who is central to our understanding of the Tachikawa-ryū.[81] Descriptions of Ninkan and affairs relevant to his work are few in number. The ones that do exist appear primarily in the *Hyakurenshō*, the *Denryaku*, the *Chūyūki*, the *Chōshūki* 長秋記, the diary of Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時 (1077–1136), the *Genpeiseisuiki* 源平盛衰記 (Accounts of the Genpei Wars), and the *Zokukojidan* 続古事談 (Talks about Ancient Matters Continued). Despite this dearth of sources, the few aforementioned sources do allow us to reconstruct Ninkan's biography to a significant extent.

The earliest descriptions of Dharma-master Ninkan appear in a chronological record of Muryōkō-in 无量光院, a subtemple of Daigoji, entitled the *Daigoji shin yōroku Muryōkō-in* 醍

[81] Early studies of Ninkan were conducted by Tachikawa-ryū scholars, such Kushida Ryōkō. Kushida concludes that although Ninkan was the founder of the Tachikawa-ryū, he hesitates to affirm that Ninkan spread his sinister teachings to the Kantō area soon after he was exiled to Izu Province. Ryōkō Kushida, *Shingon mikkyō seiritsu katei no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Sankibō, 1965), 370. Inoue Mayumi 井野上真弓 (1962-), however, concludes that there was no religious relation between Ninkan and the sinister teachings of the Tachikawa-ryū. Mayumi Inoue, "Tachikawa-ryū ni tsuite no ikōsatsu," *Shōnan shigaku* 14 (1995): 107-113.

醐寺新要録无量光院 (The Collection of Abbreviated Religious Affairs of Muryōkō-in). This text states that Ninkan participated in a Buddhist service for the construction of a temple at Muryōkō-in on the twenty-first day of the eighth month of the second year of Eichō 永長 (1097) and received the "Coronation of the Dharma-Transmission" from Shōkaku 勝覚 (1057-1129) on the thirteenth day of the second month of the third year of Kōwa 康和 (1101).[82] In the *Chōshūki*, Minamoto no Morotoki, who was Lower Middle Counselor and who shared Ninkan's ancestry, depicts Ninkan as a religious practitioner who closely worked with Prince Sukehito at Ninnaji. The *Chōshūki* entry for the fifth day of the fourth month of the second year of Ten-ei 天永 (1111) notes as follows:

> As to the Buddhist service for the bayberry, the dedicated three *shaku* Amitabha Buddha and Dharma lecturer, the preceptor Kakushin[83] 覚心 (1069–1141), had an audience with Great Minister of the Left (Minamoto no Toshifusa 源俊房, 1035–1121). An audience with Sanmiya 三宮 (Prince Sukehito) was respectfully expected. However, Ninkan did not mention it and deserved to be reprimanded.[84]

The passage indicates that Ninkan, son of Minamoto no Toshifusa 源俊房 (1035-1121), was closely associated with Prince Sukehito and was active mainly in Ninnaji. Further evidence for this can be seen in an a subsequent entry of the *Chōshūki* for the fifth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Ten-ei 天永 (1113) we also find the following note: "I [Minamoto no

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82 Daigoji shinyōroku 11. Gien, *Daigoji shin yōroku* 1 (Kyōto: Kyōto fu kyōiku iinkai, 1951), 623-627.
83 Kakushin was a monk of Onjōji and son of Fujiwara no Tomofusa 藤原知房 (1046–1112). The preceptor Kakushin was served as a observer at the thirty lectures (*sanjūkō* 卅講) of Hosshōji 法勝寺 in the second year of Ten-ei 天永 (1111). He was also appointed as a lecturer of the *daijō-e* rituals 大乗会 at Enshūji 円宗寺.
84 *Chōshūki*. ZST 16:35.

Morotoki] later heard that Ninkan, one affiliated with Daigoji 醍醐寺, was captured due to the Buddhist service performed in the vicinity of Ryōen 梁園. The incident was horrible. There are no words that can express it."[85] Ryōen was the residence of Prince Sukehito, where a house of Fujiwara no Mototaka[86] 藤原基隆 (1075–1132) was located on *manjukōji* 万手小路 street, south of Sixth Street and north of Seven Street.[87] These passages, taken together, strongly suggest that Ninkan served as a protector-monk for Prince Sukehito.[88]

Several hints concerning the religious practices that Ninkan performed for Prince Sukehito appear in the *Genpeiseisuiki*. One story in the *Genpeiseisuiki* sketches a scene in which the protector-monk Ninkan planned to plot against Emperor Toba for the sake of Prince Sukehito, who at the time was living in obscurity. The discovery of this plot resulted in Ninkan's exile to Izu Province.[89] Further, as Inoue Mayumi has pointed out, Ninkan's exile to Izu Province is presented here a result of his plot to put a curse on Emperor Toba, not a result of objections to Ninkan's "heretical" teachings and practices.[90]

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85 *Chōshūki*. ZST 16:123.

86 Fujiwara no Mototaka, often called Ōidono 大炊殿, was a late-Heian court vassal who supported the government of the retired emperor Shirakawa.

87 The *Chōshūki* entry for the twenty-first day of the tenth month of the second year of Gen-ei 元永 (1119) notes that "Ryōen is a house of Mototaka, which was located in the *manjukōji"* (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:170).

88 Another depiction of Ninkan's relationship with the protector-monk for Prince Sukehito is found in a subsequent entry of the *Chōshūki*. A passage of the *Chōshūki* for the twenty-third day of the eleventh month of the second year of Gen-ei 元永 (1119) records Prince Sukehito's last wish as follows: "My residence, which was located on the seventh line, should be torn down. A small hall should be established in Ninnaji" (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:181–185). Kushida also affirms Ryōen to be meant the name of Prince Sukehito by using direct quotes from the *Zokukojidan* (*Zokukojidan* 5-43, 162. SNKBT 41:811). The religious rituals performed by Ninan for Prince Sukehito seems to have greatly concerned the Heian court aristocrats. The preceptor Ninkan was thus portrayed as a protector-monk whose practices and teachings had caused great confusion among the Heian aristocracy.

89 *Genpeiseisuiki* 16. Kuroda Akira and Matsuo Ashie, eds., *Genpeiseisuiki* 3 (Tōkyō: Miyai Shoten, 1994), 113-114. Although the *Genpeiseisuiki* is often an unreliable historical source, for our purposes this text is unquestionably significant if only as a lament for Ninkan's exile.

90 Mayumi Inoue, "Tachikawa-ryū ni tuite no ichi kōsatsu," *Shōnan shigaku* 14 (1995):108-110.

Inoue's supposition is supported by evidence that Prince Sukehito seems to have had some involvement with the cursing of Emperor Toba.[91] Entries from the *Chōshūki* indicate that relations between Toba and Sukehito had become strained by seventeenth day of the eighth month of fourth year of Ten-ei 天永 (1113), when Toba excluded Sukehito from an imperial visit to the Kitano shrine.[92] Soon thereafter, in an entry for the seventh day of the ninth month of fourth year of Ten-ei 天永 (1113), the text notes Toba was seized with a serious disease. Thereupon the retired Emperor Shirakawa accordingly began to pray to Hachiman 八幡 and the Kamo 賀茂 deities and asked official monks to perform rituals for the health of Emperor Toba.[93] Suspicion apparently immediately fell on Sukehito, *Denryaku* entries for the day that Emperor Toba was taken seriously ill[94] state that Toba's illness may have been due to a curse secretly put on him by Prince Sukehito and Ninkan. Soon after Toba recovered his health, Ninkan was accused of putting a curse on Toba.

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91 The *Chōshūki* entry for the twenty-third day of the tenth month of the second year of Gen-ei 元永 (1119) notes that when the buddha-offerings ceremony in which Nyōgo 女御 (Minamoto no Kishi 源基子, 1049–1134) was to participate was held at Ninnaji, the Minamoto clan did not visit Prince Sukehito due to ill feelings towards the prince (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:174.).

92 As for the curse on Emperor Toba, evidence of a slight breach between Emperor Toba and Prince Sukehito seems to appear in the *Chōshūki* (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:113). The entry for the seventeenth day of the eighth month of the four year of Ten-ei 天永 (1113) is set at a scene in which Emperor Toba and court aristocrats made a visit to Kitano Shrine for the purpose of holding a ceremony for celebrating appointment of rank and for giving rewards. After finishing the ceremony, Emperor Toba immediately left Kitano shrine at sunset. The entry reads as follows: "After Emperor Toba left Kitano shrine, Sanmiya [Prince Sukehito] rushed to Kitano shrine and composed a poem entitled 'A full moon sheds light on a veil of darkness.' He thought that it was sort of a slipshod work. Thereafter, he composed about twenty poems and left" (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:113.). This event occurred two months before Ninkan's plot came to light. It shows that Emperor Toba was on bad terms with Prince Sukehito. Although some scholars assert that Prince Sukehito was not invited to the ceremony because of a dispute over the succession to the Imperial Throne, the fact of the matter is that Prince Sukehito was not invited for the reason that he thought ill of Emperor Toba.

93 Three kinds of alter ceremonies were performed to protect the emperor. Vice director of monks Kanjo 寛助 (1057–1125) performed the rituals of the honored victor. The forty-second head monk of Tendai school Ningō 仁豪 (fl. twelfth century) performed the rituals of blazing perfect light. Senior monk Sonyū 尊祐 (fl. twelfth century) performed the rituals of the honored star king (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:118).

94 *Denryaku*. DNKD 4:52–54.

The historical accounts pertaining to Ninkan's capture appear in the *Hyakurenshō* entry for the twenty-second day of the eleventh month of the first year of Eikyū 永久 (1113):

> All court aristocrats came to an agreement about a charge of Ninkan. Ninkan was exiled to Izu Province and his associate was also sentenced to exile. The incident was that on the fourth day [of the tenth month of the first year of Enkyū], a scribbled note was thrown into the residence of the emperor. [It said that] Ninkan talked with Senjumaru 千手丸 (fl. twelfth century), a youth of the director of monks Shōkaku 勝覚 (1057–1129), about plunging the country into a crisis. The plot was exposed, and the armed government official (*kebiishi* 検非違使) [Fujiwara no] Morishige 藤原盛重 (fl. twelfth century) was dispatched and captured them.[95]

Kōno Fusao 河野房雄 (1903-[?]) claims that this incident was caused by discord between the retired Emperor Shirakawa and Prince Sukehito, which was in turn due to the retired Emperor Shirakawa's open display of his displeasure with Emperor Gonsanjō desire that Prince Sukehito succeed to the throne.[96] Cameron Hurst builds on previous scholars' assessments[97] and shows that the retired Emperor Shirakawa attempted to eclipse Prince Sukehito's right of succession to the Imperial Throne and the rising power of the Murakami family.[98] Although some scholars

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95 In addition, a headnote for the same day in the *Hyakurenshō* states that "After this incident, Sanmiya, Prince Sukehito, was sentenced to remain in confinement. In the second year of Eikyū, when the retired Emperor Shirakawa visited *fuke* 富家 (Fujiwara no Tadazene 藤原忠実, 1078–1162), he was allowed from his confinement (*Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:50).

96 Fusao Kōno, *Heian makki seijishi kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1979), 49-52.

97 Other scholars overemphasize the political significance of this scribbled note as part of a plot planned by the retired Emperor Shirakawa or the Murakami Genji family's rivals, who attempted to eclipse of Prince Sukehito's right of succession to the Imperial Throne and the rising power of the Murakami Genji family. Sakamoto Shōzō, Sekiguchi Tsutomu, and Ryū Susumu have drawn our attention to the theory that in order to eclipse the power of Minamoto no Toshifusa and his family, the rivals of Minamoto no Toshifusa, who was close to Prince Sukehito, planned this incident. Sakamoto Shōzō, "Murakami genji no seikaku," *Kōki sekkan jidai shi no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1990), 299–329. Sekiguchi Tsutomu, *Sekkan jidai bunkashi kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2007), 228–256. Ryū Susumu, *Heian jidai* (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1962), 93–115.

98 Cameron Hurst, G., *Insei: Abdicated Sovereigns in the Politics of Late Heian Japan* (1086-1185) (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1976), 130-136.

emphasize the significance of political balance between the imperial family and the Heian aristocracy, this incident demonstrates that in premodern Japan recognition as the offical heir to the throne was no guarantee that one would be able to ascend to the throne without obsructions. More importantly, the system of succession to the Imperial Throne that required Fujiwara approval was the initial stage in the medevail political breakdown, which eventually led to the situation in which the retired emperor had the power to decide next emperor.

As is perhaps always the case in such matters of intrigue, whether or not Ninkan actually put curses on Emperor Toba remains unclear.[99] We can be sure, however, that the incident made a great impression upon courtiers of the period, most likely because of the scandal of one member of the imperial house putting a curse upon another.[100] Subsequent descriptions of this incident appear in early Kamakura *setsuwa* collections, such as the *Zokukojidan* and the *Genpeiseisuiki*, and state that Ninkan and Senjumaru planned a rebellion against Emperor

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[99] Detailed descriptions of the aforementioned incident, which are found in the *Denryaku* entry for the fifth day of the tenth month of the first year of Eikyū, note that the incident was revealed in the beginning of the tenth month of the first year of Eikyū (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:59). It reads as follows: "On the third day [of this month], someone threw a scribbled note into the place of empress (Reishi naishinnō 令子内親王; 1078-1144). The note read, 'There was one who attempted to put a curse on Emperor Toba. As to the aforementioned matter, there was a youth named Senjumaru who served as a servant of the head monk of Daigo[-ji] Shōkaku 勝覚 (1057–1129). One tempted him to put a curse on Emperor Toba.' The note was sent to the court from the empress so that a verdict would be issued. Senjumaru was captured and questioned. The youth said that it was true: he was the preceptor Ninkan, a son of the Great Minister of the Left (Minamoto no Toshifusa 源俊房), and that he was a protector-monk of Sanmiya 三宮 (Prince Sukehito). He said, 'In the days of the ninth month, it had taken many years while I waited for the affairs of the world. I was utterly unable to devise any appropriate measure to cope with the matter. And yet, I was able to put a curse on Emperor Toba at court.' Although he visited the court two or three times [in order to put a curse on Emperor Toba], he ceased due to a lack of results. Daigoji was guarded while the preceptor Ninkan was called by his master, the head monk of Daigoji Shōkaku. Then, the armed government officials (*kebiishi* 検非違使) [Fujiwara no] Morishige 藤原盛重 (fl. twelfth century) and [Minamoto no] Shigetoki 源重時 (d. 1142) guarded the route and headed [to the preceptor Ninkan]. While the preceptor Ninkan left the house, Morishige captured him.

[100] The *Taiki* 台記, the diary of Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120‐1156), reports that the retired Emperor Shirakawa hoped for his son Emperor Toba's succession, rather than that of Prince Sukehito, who was Emperor Shirakawa's brother by a different mother. It appears in the entry for the sixteenth day of the fifth month of the first year of Kōji (*Taiki* 2. ZST 23:67–68).

Toba.[101] As for the *Hyakurenshō* entry, this passage simply depicts the fact that due to the charge that Ninkan plotted the downfall of the imperial court, the council had come to a decision that Ninkan and his associate, Senjumaru, were sentenced to exile.[102]

One final piece of evidence concerning the nature of Ninkan's practice as well as his crime can be seen in a subsequent entry of the *Denryaku* for the twenty-second day of the tenth

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[101] *Zokukojidan* 5. SNKBT 41:811. *Genpeiseisuiki* 16. Akira Kuroda et al, *Genpeiseisuiki* 3 (Tōkyō: Miyai Shoten, 1993), 113–114.

[102] Hints of the reason why Ninkan put curses on Emperor Toba appear in the *Meigetsuki* 明月記, the diary of Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241). The *Meigetsuki* entry for the eighteenth day of the third month of the third year of Kanki 寛喜 (1231) describes an incident involving a frenzied youth, who drew his sword at court, recalling the actions of Senjumaru in the Eikyū era (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 2:295). It seems to have been thought of as an isolated incident instigated by a mad youth. Judging from similar previous cases and other indications of the same period, this case seems not to have been the result of political polemics between the imperial court and the Murakami Genji family: it simply says that the preceptor Ninkan wishing for Prince Sukehito's succession, put a curse on Emperor Toba, and was sentenced to exile. Senjumaru's frenzy proves that a curse was in fact put on Emperor Toba. It is important to note that a distinguishing feature of the Insei period was that the new emperor was chosen and ascended the throne while the retired emperor was still living (*Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:36). Passage for the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Jōryaku (1078) appearing in the *Hyakurenshō* notes that "Due to an execration, an armed government official was dispatched and captured the ceremony master Onshō 恩紹 and the dinning master Nobusue 信季." After Ninkan's capture, the *Denryaku* describes Ninkan being questioned about putting a curse on Emperor Toba. The *Denryaku* entry for the sixth day of the tenth month of the first year of Eikyū portrays Ninkan pleading his innocence (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:59). It reads as follows: "In the early morning, the superintendent (Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠, 1062-1141) came to me (Fujiwara no Tadazane) and said, "I was able to visit the court so that I could hear the verdict of the preceptor [Ninkan]. Pressed for an answer as to why he had committed a crime, he said, 'I did not do anything.' However, what he said from the beginning to the end was full of inconsistencies. In the case of the preceptor [Ninkan], [Fujiwara no] Morishige was ordered to put [the preceptor Ninkan] in his place." After his appeal, the verdict was not issued for a while (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4: 59-60). It appears in the *Denryaku* entry for the seventh day of the tenth month of the first year of Eikyū and reads as follows: "I (Fujiwara no Tadazane) received a visit from the superintendent (Fujiwara no Munetada). He rushed to me to talk about the verdict of the preceptor Ninkan. The head of Ministry of Popular Affairs (Minamoto no Toshiaki 源俊明,1044-1114) also rushed to me [something important to talk about the verdict of the preceptor Ninkan]. It took us hours to discuss the verdict of the preceptor Ninkan. As today was a day for choosing an imperial messenger to Ise shrine (*kugyō chokushi* 公卿勅使), I was afraid to inquire the preceptor Ninkan about his charge. I conveyed this to the people concerned." Moreover, the conclusion was postponed even when all court executives had gathered for delivering a sentence to Ninkan (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:60). It appears in the *Denryaku* entry for the tenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Eikyū and reads as follows: "I (Fujiwara no Tadazane) went to see the retired Emperor Shirakawa. The head of Ministry of Popular Affairs (Minamoto no Toshiaki 源俊明, 1044–1114), Great Minister of the Center (Minamoto no Masazane 源雅実, 1058–1127), the superintendent (Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠, 1062–1141), and the head of Ministry of the Treasury (Fujiwara no Tamefusa 藤原為房, 1049–1115) participated in the meeting for a verdict of the preceptor Ninkan. …The verdict of the preceptor Ninkan had been postponed till an other day. Therefore, all left the meeting in the beginning of evening."

month of the first year of Eikyū that discusses Ninkan's sentence:

> Today a sentence was handed down to Ninkan. Three of the upper-class court aristocrats (*kandachime* 上達部) participated in the meeting and decided upon a sentence for Ninkan. Ninkan was exiled to Ōshima 大嶋, Izu 伊豆. Senjumaru 千手丸 [was exiled to] Sado Province 佐渡. All government officials (*kebiishi* 検非違使) were present.[103]

One detail of note in this passage concerns the fact that Ninkan was exiled to Ōshima. One tale of the *Kojidan* 古事談 (Talks about Ancient Matters), an early Kamakura *setsuwa* collection, describes the Ōshima district as a divination place during the reign of Emperor Horikawa and tells of a local resident whose talent for performing divinations was far superior to those of

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[103] Although the retired Emperor Shirakawa's judgment was clouded by his anger, which influenced his verdict in the case against Ninkan, the preceptor Ninkan was continually subjected to severe cross-examination (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:62). The *Denryaku* entry for the seventeenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Eikyū and reads as follows: "I (Fujiwara no Tadazane) came to see the retired Emperor Shirakawa for a verdict of the preceptor Ninkan. …In the evening, the superintendent (Fujiwara no Munetada) and head of officials came to me and received the message from the retired Emperor Shirakawa in reference to a sentence of the preceptor Ninkan. "Today, as yet no conclusion had been reached in regard to this matter. Although the sentence had been easily handed down following a precedent, court vassals had not interviewed from the retired Emperor Shirakawa due to his bad health. Therefore, the conclusion had been postponed." I replied to the retired Emperor Shirakawa. "What was the matter?"(*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:62). The *Denryaku* entry for the twenty-first day of the tenth month of the first year of Eikyū reads as follows: "A head of official said, "I announce an affair of a sentence of the preceptor Ninkan as follows: during the retired Emperor Shirakawa felt uncomfortable trial so he immediately left for the Imperial Palace. However, he could not concentrate on other things. He therefore left the Imperial Palace" (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:62). The *Denryaku* entry for the nineteenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Eikyū and reads as follows: "Tonight, the preceptor Ninkan incident came up for trial. Participants pressed the preceptor Ninkan hard with many questions. The conclusion was carried over to the next day. Although all upper-class court aristocrats left the trial and came to the court, I (Fujiwara no Tadazane) did not go to the court" (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:62). The *Denryaku* entry for the twentieth day of the tenth month of the first year of Eikyū reads as follows: "As to a verdict of the preceptor Ninkan, this morning, a superintendent (*bettō*, Fujiwara no Munetada) said to the retired Emperor Shirakawa, "Examine the preceptor Ninkan's followers strictly. Everyone has asked them to explain [the true state of affairs]." In this morning, a messenger came to the head of Ministry of Popular Affairs (Minamoto no Toshiaki 源俊明, 1044–1114) and said that it was unnecessary for the public." Fujiwara no Tadazane, who provided punctilious descriptions of Ninkan's trial, gained a deep interest in the political disturbance (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:65). The *Denryaku* entry for the seventh day of the eleventh month of the first year of Eikyū reads as follows: "an imperial messenger was dispatched to inform Tadazane of a verdict of the preceptor Ninkan and his associates" (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:65).

ordinary people and who served as the divination master for the emperor.[104] The Ōshima district was designated as an area of exile where experts in divination, who were exiled from the capital, remained under the power of the regency and abdicated sovereigns in the middle and late Heian periods. Although later depictions of the Tachikawa-ryū highlight the fact that Kenren 見蓮 (fl. twelfth century), a local yin-yang practitioner from the area and one of Ninkan's disciples during exile, transmitted Ninkan's esoteric teachings and practices and infused them with numerous yin-yang theories, Ninkan seems to have been identified only as someone who specialized in divination.

There are many unanswered questions with regard to the death of Ninkan.[105] The

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104 *Kojidan*. SNKBT 41:583.

105 After the verdict of the preceptor Ninkan's exile to Izu, descriptions pertaining to the preceptor Ninkan's affairs appear in medieval aristocratic writings. The *Denryaku* entry for the nineteenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Eikyū notes that the Minister of the Center (*naifu* 内府) showed his unbearable conceit concerning the fact that Minister of the Left (Minamoto no Toshifusa) had not showed up for work at court due to the matter of Ninkan (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:72). Indications of the preceptor Ninkan's affairs appearing in the *Chūyūki* provide a harsh exchange of words among officials concerning the preceptor Ninkan's sacred manuscripts. The *Chūyūki* entry for the fourteenth day of the second month of the second year of Eikyū notes that Sōjitsu 宗實 (fl. twelfth century) stated that documents of the preceptor Ninkan later came into the possession of the Bureau of Government Officials (*kebiishichō* 検非違使庁). Sōjitsu does not know why Daigoji was required to send the documents (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:264). The *Chūyūki* entry for the twenty-first day of the second month of the second year of Eikyū says that Sōjitsu said, documents of the preceptor Ninkan were placed under a monk of Daigoji (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:268). The *Chūyūki* entry for the twenty-ninth day of the second month of the second year of Eikyū notes that Jōdō 盛道 (fl. twelfth century), Myōken 明兼 (fl. twelfth century), Yūjō 有定 (fl. twelfth century) said, Myōken and Yūjō were dispatched to return documents of the preceptor Ninkan to Daigoji (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:270). The *Chūyūki* entry for the first day of the third month of the second year of Eikyū says that Myōken returned the preceptor Ninkan's documents to Daigoji where his place was uninhabited. Myōken and Yūjō both sealed these documents in a box painted with a dragon and came back (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:270). The *Chūyūki* entry for the fourth day of the third month of the second year of Eikyū says that Jōdō said that no one came to the preceptor Ninkan's place where Myōken and Yūjō were dispatched to place documents of the preceptor Ninkan (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:271). Subsequent entries of the *Denryaku* and the *Chūyūki* show that Minister of the Left (Minamoto no Toshifusa), General of the Middle Morotoki (Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時, 1077-1136), Moroshige (Minamoto no Moroshige 源師重, fl. twelfth century), were allowed to be present for their duties at the court, whereas they did not attend court after the preceptor Ninkan's sentence (It appears in the entry for the eighth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Eikyū (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:130) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:367). Thus, the preceptor Ninkan's incident affected political and religious affairs. This event reveals the extent of Shirakawa's control of court affairs.

Chūyūki entry for the fourteenth day of the fourth month of the second year of Eikyū states that Sōjitsu 宗實 (fl. twelfth century) announced that the exiled preceptor committed suicide on the twenty-third day of third month of the second year of Eikyū.[106] The subsequent *Chūyūki* entry for the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Taiji 太治 (1129), however, notes that Ninkan had not returned, even though seventeen years had already passed since Ninkan was sentenced to exile in Izu Province.[107] One further possibility, however, could be related to the fact that yin-yang masters sometimes changed their names several times so as to conceal their whereabouts or to avoid bad luck. At least one text suggests that Ninkan, as a yin-yang master, changed his name to Rennen 蓮念 and became active as an astrologer in the Kantō area.

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that while further research is necessary in order to fully understand the historical character Ninkan and his role in the development of the Tachikawa-ryū, Ninkan, rather than being seen as the founder of "heretical" Tachikawa-ryū, was viewed by his contemporaries principally as a monk with deep knowledge of yin-yang thought and practices who famously cursed an emperor and died in exile. Crucially, however, although he was accused of seeking to destroy the nation and seen as an evil conspirator, Ninkan was never accused of spreading heretical teachings or engaging in the types of sexual practices that modern scholarship has asserted were at the centered of Tachikawa-ryū praxis.

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106 *Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:294.

107 Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141) heard nothing from the preceptor Ninkan, whereas the previous descriptions state that the preceptor Ninkan committed suicide (*Chūyūki* 6. ZST 14:61).

III. Other Names on the Lineage Chart

In order to better understand Ninkan's association with divination practices, in the remaining pages of this chapter I will examine in detail the careers of several of the figures listed in the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu*. Most significantly, the astrological and divinatory practices associated with prolonging one's predetermined lifespan—practices that proved to be extremely popular among medieval Tendai monks—drew on and contained elements of both Daoism and esoteric Buddhism.[108] In this section I will focus on Miyoshi Kiyoyuki, Nichizō, and Jōzō, three masters appearing in the genealogy of Hidenaga's Sinister Divination-Transmission that engaged in divinatory praxis concerned with seeking knowledge of the future.

A. Divination Masters

1. Miyoshi Kiyoyuki

The first of these figures, Miyoshi Kiyoyuki 三善清行 (847-918), was a scholar of the Chinese classics who was born in Japan but of continental stock. He was active at court during the reigns of Emperors Uda 宇多天皇 (867-931; r. 887-897) and Daigo 醍醐天皇 (885-930; r. 897-930)—two rulers who placed great importance on the use of era names as tools to combat the gradual decline in the efficiency of the *ritsuryō* system that characterized the latter half of the Heian period. In this context, Kiyoyuki proposed initiating a calendrical revolution

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[108] *Shōyūki* 小右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957-1046), entry for the eighth day of the seventh month of the first year of Shōryaku 正暦 (990) notes, "Divination of the preceptor Gizō 義蔵 (fl. eleventh century) suggests that although Fujiwara no Sanesuke had a serious disease, he would get better. Also, there seemed to be some curse on Sanesuke, but he will not recover from it" (*Shōyūki*. DNKS 1:224). Moreover, the *Shōyūki* entry for the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Shōryaku 正暦 (990) says, "The divination of the preceptor Gizō revealed that misfortune and trouble are brewing" (*Shōyūki*. DNKS 1:236).

whereby the era name was periodically changed independent of the status of the ruler upon throne. After combing through historical records in search of omens and precedents, Kiyoyuki developed a calendrical theory based upon the so-called boar-rooster revolution (*shinyū kakumei* 辛酉革命).[109] He proposed that, due to the cyclical nature of the Chinese sexagenary calendrical cycle that was commonly used across pre-modern East Asia, every 360 years there would be a major "revolution" in which the cycle would come full circle and then begin anew. Such a moment, Kiyoyuki suggested, was fraught with danger and required special counter-measures including, notably, the adoption of a new era name during the year of the boar-rooster—the final year of the old cycle. Kiyoyuki's argument carried the day, and on the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the fourth year of Shōtai 昌泰 (901), a boor-rooster year, the Shōtai era name

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[109] *Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 1. SZKT 11:6. Murayama Shūichi draws our attention to a degeneration of the yin-yang theory in accordance with the *ritsuryō* system in the mid-Heian period. Shūichi Murayama, *Nihon onmyōdōshi sōsetsu* (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1981), 102-109. The *Gonki* 権記, the diary of Fujiwara no Yukinari 藤原行成 (972-1028), entry for the third day of the second month of the third year of Kankō 寛弘 (1006) notes as follows: "A note written on the back [of the *Gonki*] says, I (Kamo no Taihei 賀茂泰平) have the honor to inform you that: the second day of this month, the date of fishguts pig (*kinotoi* 乙亥), at the time of tiger. There was an earthquake – the lunar motion of the Legs mansion, one of the twenty-eight mansions of the Chinese constellation, [C. Kuixiu; J. Keishuku 奎宿]. The *Kinken tenmonroku* 謹儉天文録 (Record of Prudent Astrology) says that the shaking of the earth is the disturbance of the people. The *Kyōbōyōsen* 京房妖占 (Divination of Clusters of Calamities in the Capital) says that although the spring shakes the earth, the year is not successful. The *Tenchizuishōshi* 天地瑞祥志 (Record of Auspicious Omens of Heaven and Earth) and Buddhist Scriptures (*naikyō* 内経) say that an earthquake during the second month will occur on the thirtieth day. It also says that to shake the earth in the lunar motion of the Legs mansion signifies three things: (1) a huge war will break out, (2) the land of the realm will be damaged, and (3) a visitor will become strong while a sovereign becomes weak. In addition, it says that to shake the earth in the beginning of the month will bring damage to a merchant. Buddhist Debate (*nairon* 内論) says that to shake the earth in the lunar motion of the Legs mansion indicates that it due to agitation of the earth the rains will not fall. Rivers will dry out and wheat will not be harvested. Emperor and vassals alike will be subject to misfortune. The *Zatsusaiisen* 雑災異占 (Divination of Extraordinary Calamities) says that the occurance of an earthquake indicates the impending demise of a princess. People will starve due to their purchases of precious things. The *Tōhōsakusen* 東方朔占 (Calendrical Divination of the East) says that an earthquake during the second month implies that the country will not be successful. A prolonged war will bring great misfortune to the court. I wish to relate with my deepest respect the aforementioned descriptions concerning earthquakes. The third day of the second month of Kankō. Taihei 泰平" (*Gonki*. SHG 3:51).

under Emperor Daigo's rule was duly changed to Engi 延喜 due to the year of boar-rooster (*kanototori* 辛酉).[110] Given the importance of the calendar for the organization of virtually all court activities and rituals, the impact of Kiyoyuki's proposal would have extended to virtually every courtier at the capital.

For our purposes, however, this episode is perhaps most important for what it shows us about Kiyoyuki's—and by extension, the court's—worldview. In advancing his argument, Kiyoyuki cited three reasons or precedents: 1) the appearance of a rare comet that appeared the previous fall (the third year of Shōtai: 900), 2) the continuous appearance of Canopus (C. *laorenxing*; J. *rōjinsei* 老人星) since the previous fall, and 3) a precedent in which Emperor Kōya 高野天皇 (Emperor Kōken 孝謙天皇 who was later named Emperor Shōtoku 称徳天皇: 718-770; r. 764-770) changed the era name from the ninth year of Tenpyō hōji 天平宝字 (765) to the first year of Tenpyō jingo 天平神護 (765).[111] The courtier Kiyoyuki thus appears

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[110] Kiyoyuki concluded that the fourth year of Shōtai 昌泰 (901)—the sixty years of celestial path cycle with a remainder of one, the year of pig rooster revolution, when Emperor Tenji 天智天皇 (626-671; r. 668-671) ascended to the Imperial Throne two hundred forty years ago—was the figure multiplication of *yon-roku* (two hundred forty years) year that political upheaval might possibly occur. Kiyoyuki learned about this new calendrical system and the pig rooster revolution from the *Book of Changes* (C. *Yi jing* 易経) in the *Isho* 緯書 (C. *Weishu*). According to Kiyoyuki's interpretation in the aforementioned manuscript, the celestial path is particularly close: sixty years (*rokukō* 六甲; C. *liujia*) equal one unit (*ichigen* 一元; C. *yiyuan*), while the multiplication of *yon-roku* 四六[元] (four times sixty years, which is two hundred forty years) and *ni-roku* 二六[元] (two times sixty, which is one hundred twenty years) intersect; seven units 七元 (seven times sixty years, which is four hundred twenty years) have three changes whereas there is the multiplication of *san-shichi* 三七[元] (three times seventy, which is two hundred ten); twenty-one units 廿一元 (twenty-one times sixty, which is one thousand two hundred sixty) come to one span 一蔀 (*ichihō*; C. *yibu*); the total is one thousand three hundred twenty years [which one thousand two hundred sixty (one span) and sixty (one unit) are one thousand three hundred twenty] (*Kakumei kanmon*. GR 26:195).

[111] *Kakumei kanmon*. GR 26:198-199. Regarding the second reason, according to the *Fusō ryakki* entry for the eighteenth day of the eleventh month of the third year of Shōtai 昌泰 (900) Canopus's appearance is an omen of revolt (*Fusō ryakki* 23. SZKT 12:171). With respect to the third reason in the Kiyoyuki's explanation, the change in era name was based on the attempt by a retainer named Fujiwara no Nakamaro 藤原仲麻呂 (706-764) to capture power from Emperor Kōken and Dōkyō 道鏡 ([?]-772) (*Kakumei kanmon*. GR 26:199). Through the *Nihon Kiryaku* shows that the change in era name was carried out, it seems that changing era

to have been steeped in not simply in the Chinese philosophical and historical classics, but also, and perhaps primarily, in Chinese astrology.[112] In other words, Kiyoyuki provides an excellent example of how knowledge of Onmyōdō principles and practices could lead directly to power and influence in Heian Japan.

Although he was certainly not the first or only such figure to rise to fame in this way, his ability to directly affect the way that the court selected reign names meant that he made an indelible impression upon his fellow courtiers—so much so, in fact, that he eventually was transformed into a figure of legend in later court literature. Kiyoyuki's influence, however, did not stop there, as the intellectual (and ideological) groundwork that he laid for his calendrical theories became the established paradigm for the court for the next several hundred years, everything from solar and lunar eclipses to court ceremony came to be understood within his theory of calendrical revolution.

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names regardless of demise or abdication of the Imperial Throne had become accepted practice at court. As the *Nihon kiryaku* entry for the sixteenth day of the second month of the first year of Ōwa 応和 (962) notes, due to the year of pig rooster the era name was changed from Tentoku 天徳 to Ōwa (*Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 4. SZKT 11:81).

112 The change in era name had become standard practice. During Emperor Shirakawa's regime, a change in era name in accord with Kiyoyuki's motif occurred at least three times: 1) the era name was changed from Jiryaku 治暦 to Enkyū 延久 on the thirteenth day of fourth month of the fifth year of Jiryaku 治暦 (1069) (*Suisaki*. ZST 8:143), 2) the ear name was changed from Eihō 永保 to Ōtoku 応徳 due to *kanoene* revolution (*kanoene kakumei* 甲子革命) on the seventh day of the second month of the fourth year of Eihō 永保 (1084), and 3) the era name was changed from Ōtoku to Kanji 寛治 on the seventh day of the fourth month of the fourth year of Ōtoku 応徳 (1087). Descriptions of *kanoene* revolution appear in the *Shōyūki* entry for the nineteenth day of the twelfth month of the third year of Jian 治安 (1023) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 6:249) (*Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:38). The *Fusō ryakki* says, "Two thousand thirty-two years has been already passed after Sakyamuni entered Nirvana. Emperor Shirakawa was following a precedent for religious affairs set during the regime of Emperors Uda and Daigo. Although Tokoro asserts that the main reason to change the era name was to radically change public sentiment, the incident suggests that the court vassals were required to devote themselves to supporting the emperor (*Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12:325). Isao Tokoro, *Miyoshi Kiyoyuki* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1970), 96. Through the late Kamakura the occasions for a change of era outlined by Kiyoyuki became the basis for subsequent prayers for celestial changes, including solar and lunar eclipses, and for determining the best time for religious rituals and rites (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 9: 123-130).

2. Nichizō

A second figure from the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu* closely associated with Miyoshi Kiyoyuki was the cleric Nichizō Shōnin[113] 日蔵上人 (or Dōken Shōnin 道賢上人; 905-985[?]), who is referred to in a small number of medieval sectarian sources. An annotation to the section of astrological and divinatory masters of the *Nichūreki* 二中歴 (Record of Two Cyclopedias), for instance, contains the following reference to Nichizō: "It is said from the legend of the three branch families of the Zenshōkō 善相公 (Miyoshi Kiyoyuki) that a pupil [of the Zenshōkō] Nichizō was from Daigoji.[114]" Although it is not clear whether, as some have argued, Nichizō was actually Kiyoyuki's relative (or even his younger brother)[115], this passage clearly affirms that Nichizō was initiated into Kiyoyuki's divination transmission. Further information about Nichizō can also be found in the twelfth-century Buddhist historical record *Gyōrinshō* 行林抄 (Record of Forest Inhabited by Religious Practitioners), which relates that Nichizō arbitrated a scholarly discord between astrologers Hōzō 法蔵 (fl. tenth century) and yin-yang master Kamo no Yasunori 賀茂保憲 (917-977) when a dispute arose concerning the dates and ways for

113 A lineage chart entitled *Honchō denpō kanjō shishi sōshō kechimyaku* 本朝伝法灌頂師資相承血脈 (Blood Lineage of Initiation Rituals of Japanese Buddhist Teachings) appearing in the *Daigoji monjo* 醍醐寺文書 (Historical Documents of Daigoji) shows that Nichizō, another name for Dōken, was of retired Emperor Uda's lineage. *Daigoji monjo* 279. Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, *Dainihon komonjo: iewake dai jūkyū daigoji monjo no ichi* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1969), 370. His name appeared in the lineages of Dharma-master Kanren 寛蓮 (i.e., Tachibana no Yoshitoshi 橘良利, fl. tenth century), who placed himself at the service of the retired Emperor Uda, and Dharma-master Shinjaku 眞寂 (886-927, aka Tokiyo Shinnō 斉世親王), who took a daughter of Sugawara no Michizane as his wife. Abe "Honchō Shingon denpō kanjō shishi sōshō kechimyaku," 27.

114 *Nichūreki*. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Nichūreki* 3 (Tōkyō: Yagi Shoten, 2001), 110.

115 Shūichi Murakami, *Tenjin goryō shinkō* (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1996), 127-132. Shūichi Murakami, *Henbō suru kami to hotoke tachi: Nihonjin no shūgō shisō* (Kyōto: Jinbun Shoin, 1990), 138-150. Murakami denies that Nichizō was Kiyoyuki's relative.

performing prayers for Emperor Murakami's 村上天皇 (926-967; r. 946-967) birth star.[116] Both of these texts, when taken together with the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu*, strongly suggest that Nichizō was a divination (or astrological) master in much the same manner as Miyoshi Kiyoyuki.

Further depictions of Nichizō appear in medieval Buddhist *setsuwa,* such as the fourteenth-century Buddhist historical record *Genkō Shakusho*[117] 元亨釈書 (Buddhist Historical Accounts of Genkō Era), the twelfth-century Buddhist-Daoist tale *Honchō Shinsenden*[118] 本朝神仙伝 (Accounts of Japanese Immortals), the twelfth-century Buddhist tale *Konjaku Monogatari*[119] 今昔物語 (Anthology of Tales from the Past), the thirteenth-century Buddhist tale *Uji Shūi Monogatari*[120] 宇治拾遺物語 (Collection of Tales from Uji), and *Shasekishū*. For example, one entry of the *Shasekishū* (entitled "*The Matter of the Man Who Did Not Know the Path to Death*") reads as follows:

> After the demise of the emperor Daigo, Nichizō Shōnin secluded himself in a *shō* cave from the sixteenth day of the fourth month of the fourteenth year of Jōhei 承平 (934). At the time of mouse (11 am to 1 pm) of the first day of the eighth month of same year, he was near death. On the thirteenth day of same month, he was brought back to himself and told of his experience in the other world. The emperor Daigo was seated inside of a house with a thatched roof surrounded by four iron mountains, four or five *jō* (fifty to sixty feet high). The emperor said, "I was a son of Dharma-Emperor Kanpyō 寛平 (Emperor Uda 宇多天皇, 867-931; r. 887-897). During my reign, I had committed the five serious crimes. Especially for a matter of having exiled Minister Kan (Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真, 845-903), I had heavily

116 T 2409-.76.0458b29 – T 2409-.76.0458c12.
117 *Genkō shakusho*, 9. SZKT 31:142.
118 *Honchō shinsenden*, 29. NST 7:274.
119 *Konjaku monogatari*, 13.9. SNKBT 35:216-218. *Konjaku monogatari*, 14.43. SNKBT 35:363-365.
120 *Uji shūi monogatari*, 11. SZKT 18:207-208.

> suffered from retribution." [Nichizō Shōnin] asked the emperor and empress to free the emperor Daigo from this suffering and retribution. The emperor and three ministers [who had sent Michizane into exile] were squatting on red-hot charcoal, and the Emperor Daigo alone was wearing a robe. The other three were naked. They were lost in tears. [Nichizō] Shōnin saw this and took a formal attitude. [Emperor Daigo said], "In the other world, there was no argument about rank or social status. There were no further question about crimes. Do not show respect me." [Nichizō] Shōnin cried and left the mountain. In front of his eyes, there were four mountains. Prince Takaoka 高岳親王 (799-865[?]) composed a verse expressing his feelings:
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> It is said that when one fall into the infernal regions, he becomes neither Brahmin nor outcasts.[121]

This passage closely resembles a tale from the medieval Buddhist *setsuwa* narrative *Dōken Shōnin Meidoki* 道賢上人冥途記 (Record of Dōken Shōnin's Experience of the Other World; hereafter *Meidoki*) that appears in the section concerned with the fourth year of Tengyō (天慶, 941) in the twelfth-century Buddhist historical record *Fusō Ryakki* 扶桑略記 (Abbreviated History of Japan).[122] In the *Meidoki*, Dōken Shōnin meets Zaō Bodhisattva (Zaō Bosatsu 蔵王菩薩), an incarnation of Sakyamuni, and asks Zaō about how long he would live and what

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[121] *Shasekishū* 8:22. NKBT 85:360-361. This is also famously depicted in Tenjin engi with Nichizō depicted as a shugenja.

[122] *Dōken Shōnin Meidoki* relates Dōken Shōnin's experience of the other world, which began while he was practicing on Kinpusen on the first day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Tengyō, during which time he found that he was suddenly unable to breathe; he subsequently died. Once in the other world, he made a pilgrimage of 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. He met the angry spirit of Sugawara no Michizane 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 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 the 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. For more information, see Takuya Hino "The Daoist Facet of Kinpusen and Sugawara no Michizane Worship in the *Dōken Shōnin Meidoki*: A Translation of the *Dōken Shōnin Meidoki*" *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies* 3:11 (Fall, 2009): 273-305.

teachings he should practice in order to extend his life. The *Meidoki* continues as follows:

> The Bodhisattva then took out a short talisman, wrote eight words on it, and presented it to me (Dōken Shōnin). The characters read as follows: Sun-Storehouse Nine-Nine Year-Month King-Protection. [*nichi-zō ku-ku nen-getsu ō-go*, 日蔵九九、年月王護][123]

Murayama Shūichi points out the significance of this short talisman, which appears to be based upon Daoist practices for extending one's lifespan by "nine times nine," or eighty-one years.[124] He concludes that the concept of nine times nine is based on Onmyōdō thought in which nine is the number of yang poles.[125] The *Meidoki*, which recounts Nichizō's experience on Kinpusen, portrays Nichizō as a Daoist figure who authors astrological and divinatory commentaries aimed at prolonging one's predetermined lifespan.

In addition to all this, hidden within the subtext of this and one further entry from the *Chūyūki* is another intriguing possibility: here we have a narrative centering upon the act of

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123 Hino, *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies* 3:11, 289. The *Meidoki* says: "Sun-Storehouse' (*nichi-zō*, 日蔵) 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]."

124 Murayama, *Tenjin goryō shinkō*, 129-132. Murayama refers to the *Meidoki* entry as follows: "The "sun" (*nichi*, 日) is Mahavairocana (Dainichi, 大日). The "store-house" (*zō*, 蔵) is the Matrix-Storehouse (Taizō 胎蔵). The "Nine-nine" (*ku-ku*, 九九) is [nine times nine, which is] eighty-one. The "year" (*nen*, 年), therefore, is eighty-one years. The "month" (*getsu*, 月) is eighty-one months. The "king" (*ō*, 王) is Zaō. "Protection" (*go*, 護) [indicates] that he is a guardian. By taking refuge in the Mahavairocana Tathagata 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." Hino, *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies* 3:11, 291.

125 Murayama, *Henbō suru kami to hotoke*, 146-150. The passage is based on divination, a practice that prognosticates one's remaining life.

divining someone's lifespan—one of the standard activities of an astrologer.[126] Within the narrative we are also told that Dōken Shōnin, who practiced the teaching of the Matrix-Storehouse, also changed his name to Nichizō. As changing one's name in order to extend one's life was also a common practice among divination experts, it would appear that Nichizō here is being depicted as an astrologer who practiced divination.

3. Jōzō

Another figure from the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu* with strong connections to Kiyoyuki was Jōzō[127] 浄蔵 (891-964), who the eight son of Kiyoyuki. Jōzō became a disciple of the now-ordained retired Emperor Uda 宇多法皇 (867-931; r. 887-897)[128] and received the

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126 It appears in the entry for the twentieth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Chōshō (*Chūyuki* 6. ZST 14:359).

127 Nanri Michiko 南里みち子 (1947-) describes Jōzō as a Buddhist monk who had a profound knowledge of Shugendō and Onmyōdō. Michiko Nanri, "Jōzō hōshi no setsuwa 7: Jōzō to Seimei denshō" *Fukuoka joshi tandai kiyō* 32 (1986): 91-104. Miyake Hitoshi 宮家準 (1933-) asserts that Jōzō was a mountain practitioner who prognosticated others' fortunes by observing celestial fluctuations. Hitoshi Miyake, *Shugendō to nihon shūkyō* (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1996), 156-160.

128 It appears in the entry for the fourth day of the fourth month of the ninth year of Engi (909) and reads as follows: "Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Tokihira 藤原時平 (871–909) passed away at the age of thirty-nine. Due to the emperor and Tokihira's relationship, while the latter was sick ten meditation masters in attendance upon the emperor performed prayers for Tokihira. But due to fear of the angry spirit [of Sugawara no Michizane], they begged to be allowed to cease the performance of these rituals. Then Jōzō was ordered to perform the prayer for Tokihira. In the daytime, the angry spirit of Sugawara no Michizane manifested as a blue dragon appearing from Jōzō's right and left ears. Zenshōkō 善相公 said, "It is unnecessary to remonstrate with Michizane against being possessed by the angry spirit. Due to a sentence concerning exile, by the judgment of the emperor, Jōzō was allowed to perform a ritual in order to control the angry spirit." Jōzō followed his father's instructions and performed the ritual. At this time Minister of the Left Tokihira passed away. Tokihira's wife was a younger sister of the retired Emperor Uda. The next day, the retired Emperor Uda, riding in an ox-drawn carriage, was pleased with Jōzō's progress and explained the reason why Jōzō left his presence. Jōzō was a disciple of the retired Emperor Uda. He deeply rebuked himself for not constantly performing a ritual. He practiced in solitude in Shuryōgen-in 首楞厳院 at Yokokawa 横川 for three years and thus feared that he might be blamed by the emperor during his practice period. On another occasion, Jōzō rang a bell and gathered flowers. People were surprised that smoke from the kitchen at the mountain did not rise; he lived on nothing but air every two days" (*Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12: 178–179).

Buddhist precepts at Mt. Hiei under the instruction of Genshō 玄昭 (fl. tenth century).[129] He appears in medieval historical and Buddhist sources, as the *Ōkagami*, the *Murakami tennō gyoki* 村上天皇御記, the diary of Emperor Murakami 村上天皇 (926-967; r. 946-967), and the *Fusō ryakki*. These texts are particularly notable for our purposes because they reveal the widespread diffusion of celestial divination practices into medieval Japanese religion.

Several clues as to Jōzō's political affiliations can be seen in an entry in the *Ōkagami* for Minister of the Right Yoshimi (Fujiwara no Yoshimi 藤原良相, 813–867). Here Jōzō is portrayed as an eminent monk in the service of the Fujiwara regents:

> The Minister of the Right Yoshimikō 右大臣良相公, the minister was the fifth son of (Fujiwara no Fuyutsugi 藤原冬嗣, 775–826) and had the same mother as (Fujiwara no

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[129] It appears in the entry for the spring of the ninth year of Kanpyō 寛平 (897) and reads as follows: "When the Dharma-name Jōzō, the eighth son of Zenshōkō 善相公 (Miyoshi Kiyoyuki), was seven years old, he had high aims with regards to the three treasures. He thus left a group involved with Confucian literates and secretly followed fellows who revelled in dhuta. He used the lineage of a precious spring as a pillow and laid down on the pine cave of a cloud. To follow the example of mountains and forests indicates that the dharma teaching is on one's mind. Miyoshi Kiyoyuki said to Jōzō, "A pursuit of studying in the three treasures was to manifest religious praxis for oneself. If one's religious praxis was conspicuous, he or she should follow his or her original will." When Jōzō secretly performed the prayer for the protection of dharma in the first month of this year, he was ordered to pick an *ume* flower. He was deeply moved to tears, but did not stop training himself. From that time, the sacred and religious caves were in vain: he had not taken himself there. At the age of twelve, he ascended to the ordination platform and received the precepts. Under the guidance of Genshō 玄昭 (fl. tenth century), he learned three divisions of the great pantheon, various deities, and the distinct teachings. While residing on Mt. Inari 稲荷山 he concealed himself for the protection of the dharma. He gathered flowers and drew water. At Kumano river, he crossed a river by boat, which spontaneously appeared because of his miraculous virtue. Various strange stories of the dharma-master Jōzō were uncountable" (*Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12: 165). Another passage appears in the entry for the third day of the second month of the seventeenth year of Engi (937) and read: "Preceptor Genshō passed away at the age of seventy-two. At that time the preceptor was still alive, he placed himself at the service of Teiji-in 亭子院. While he performed rituals, the spirit of Shinzei 真済 (800–860) manifested in the form of a crane at the smoking. Then, preceptor Genshō took a scoop and put it into the fire. The spirit of Shinzei burned up. After the ceremony held on the last day of the ceremony, the spirit of Shinzei became an angry spirit that bothered people. However, the spirit that became a dwarf descended from the sky. When looking at the figure, the spirit's cheeks filled one with awe. The spirit did not hide their mind. At the same time, a Buddhist monk Jōzō who received the Dharma from the preceptor Genshō performed the prayer for eliminating the spirit of Shinzei. Soon after the rituals, the spirit of Shinzei had stopped descending from the sky. The preceptor Genshō was respectfully impressed by his disciple's miraculous efficacy. He put on the robe and made a bow to Jōzō" (*Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12: 182).

> Yoshifusa 藤原良房, 804–872). He served as a minister for eleven years and was known as Senior First Rank and the Nishisanjō Minister. He commissioned Jōzō Jōgaku 浄蔵定額 (891–964) to receive religious benefits through recitation of the Thousand-Armed Dharani.[130]

Crucially, here we see Jōzō portrayed not only as a monk of the esoteric Tendai school performing prayers for the imperial court, but also as a specialist in religious practices that could counteract impending calamities threatening the Fujiwara clan. A similar passage is found in the *Murakami tennō gyoki* entry for the third day of the twelfth month of the fourth year of Tenryaku 天暦 (950).[131] The *Fusō ryakki* entry for the fifth day of the twelfth month of the eighth year of Tenryaku 天暦 (954), similarly, describes a scene in which Jōzō received the miraculous blessings of buddhas as the result of his prayers for the good roots of buddhahood and bodhisattvahood.[132] When taken together, these references suggest that Jōzō was known not only as an official monk retained by the Heian aristocrats, but also as a monk of miraculous virtue.

Other descriptions of Jōzō's miraculous virtue appear in the *Fusō ryakki* which describes him as a monk who had deep knowledge of astrology and divination. The *Fusō ryakki*

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130 *Ōkagami* 2. SZKT 21 *jō*: 30.

131 The entry reads, "The ceremony for reciting the name of the Buddhas came to a close at night. At light of dawn, while the officiant Jōzō used the monk's staff, the note of a *koto* was heard from the inside of the room with a hanging bamboo blind. While doing the three forms of worship, the head of the Bureau of Palace Storehouses [Minamoto no] Masanobu 源雅信 (920–993) entered the room with one cloth. Court vessels entered the room one after another and enjoyed their time. In accordance with the precedent of the Engi era, after the banquet stipends were granted to each one of vessels" (*Murakami Tennō gyoki*. ZST 1:97).

132 The entry reads, "At the same time of Tenryaku, Buddhist monk Jōzō resided in Yasakaji. At that time robbers entered the Monk's quarters, holding burning torches and drawing their swords. With a single look from Jōzō they were standing. They remained there, still, and remained silent. Without being noticed by anyone, it had taken many hours. At the time before daybreak, Jōzō performed the prayer to the veneration, "You immediately should implore your pardon." Then, the gang of robbers returned to normal. They showed Jōzō every courtesy and left. At the same time, a pagoda of Yasakaji was leaning over. Emperor and vassals came to see Yasakaji. Jōzō said, "Tonight, I am going to make the pagoda straight." They expected him to do so. At night, Jōzō sat on the ground, facing the pagoda, and performed the prayer for making the pagoda straight. At the time of Pig [9 to 11pm] (*i* 亥), a slight wind was blowing. The pagoda was moving. A temple bell was also vibrating and gently pealed. Next day, the pagoda stood straight. The people were delightfully surprised" (*Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12: 227).

entry for the twenty-first day of the eleventh month of the first year of Kōhō 康保 (964) reads as follows:

> A government official monk Jōzō entered nirvana at the age of seventy-four years. At the moment of death, in the early morning, he said, "All I have to do is await the final call. At Higashiyamaungoji 東山雲居寺, I continually kept chanting the *nembutsu* while facing the west. At evening twilight I sat comfortably and was taken away. My secular name was Miyoshi. I came from the west side [of Kyōto]. I was the eighth son of the councilor, the subordinated fourth rank, the governor of the Harima province Kiyoyuki. My mother was a grandchild of Emperor Saga. She had a dream in which a heavenly being entered the inside of her body. When waking from this dream, she realized that she was pregnant. I was born on [the night of] the full moon. I could recognize one thousand characters at the age of four and knew the whole from a single bit of information. After renouncing the secular life, I had a rich talent for various subjects, such as exoteric-esoteric teachings, siddham, wind and string instruments, astrology, divination, edification, medicine, mountain practice, dharani, music, and letters. I studied all without exception. I practiced in solitude on Kinpusen. When leaving the mountain and returning to the capital, I lodged in a dwelling-house of Taji sakashita 丹治坂下 on the way, where a woman was sorrowfully crying. I asked her the reason why she was crying. She told me that her husband had suffered from abdominal pain for three years. Finally, he died of abdomen-related disease. Three days had already passed in which she had been overwhelmed with grief. Immediately, I performed a prayer for her husband. A defiled spirit came out from his abdomen in response to my prayer. The room was filled with the stench of the dead. Her husband was resuscitated." As another story said, Jōzō put on a new clerical robe sent by an unnamed person. When there was a fire, the robe was consumed by fire. Other clothes were not destroyed in the fire at all. The reason was that the robe was sewn by a defiled person. Moreover, while Jōzō performed the prayer for Nan-in Shinnō 南院親王 (Prince Koretada 是忠親王, 857–922) who had an unknown disease, Nan-in Shinō suddenly passed away. Jōzō immediately chanted the fire dharani one hundred eight times. Therefore, Nan-in Shinnō was brought back to life. Jōzō told a half-monk that it was rebirth determined by karma. The effect of the manifesting in Jōzō's miraculous virtue had kept Nan-in Shinnō alive for four days. After the ceremony, Nan-in Shinnō eventually passed away. As another story said, while

> visiting Hase-dera 長谷寺 to serve as a lecturer in the New Year Buddhist ceremony, Jōzō met with a man from Iga Province 伊賀国. Suddenly, the man drew a sword and was frenzied. The temple was involved into a disturbance. Jōzō then put a wish-fulfilling jewel and made a mudra. The madman was tied up to a pillar of a Buddha hall and punished with pounded burdock. By teaching, the man was free from the restraint. A "rare" disease the man had had for years was temporarily cured. The miraculous virtue of Buddhist teaching is incalculable.[133]

This passage reveals two of Jōzō's miraculous abilities: (1) he could divine the time of his death and (2) he had the power to raise the dead. During the rebellion of Taira no Masakado (*Taira no Masakado no ran* 平将門の乱, 940), Jōzō is said to have used divination to predict Masakado's death.[134] The *Fusō ryakki* also includes a story that Miyoshi Kiyoyuki was brought back to life following Jōzō's prayers on his father's behalf.[135] A similar passage pertaining to the resuscitative praxis of Jōzō can also be found in the *Fusō ryakki*.[136] All of this thus again

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133 *Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12: 242.

134 It appears in the entry for the twenty-second day of the first month of the third year of Tengyō (940) and reads as follows: "In order to vanquish [Taira no] Masakado 平将門 ([?] – 940), Buddhist monk of the government temple Jōzō, son of Zenshōkō, performed the Daiitokuhō 大威徳法 (Rituals of the Great Powerful) for the twenty-one days at Shurōgen-in of Enryakuji. For a while, Masakado carrying a bow and an arrow showed himself at night. People saw him and were surprised. However, he took the arrow from his chest and pointed to the east. Eventually he was gone. Jōzō had already realized that Masakado had surrendered. Court aristocrats held the assembly of the recitation of the *Humane King Sutra*. Jōzō became a lecturer of Taikenmon 待賢門 (1101-1145). On that day, there was a riot in Kyōto. The armed assembly of Masakado had just now arrived to Kyōto. Jōzō respectfully said, "They brought Masakado's head today. That word proved to be true" (*Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12: 216).

135 It appears in the entry for the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month of the eighteenth year of Engi 延喜 (938) and reads as follows: "Council Miyoshi Kiyoyuki passed away. Jōzō, son of Miyoshi Kiyoyuki, made pilgrimage to Kumano. In his journey, he wondered whether or not his father could cross the land of the dead. For five days after returning from his trip, while he performed the prayer for his father, Zenshōkō [Miyoshi Kiyoyuki] was brought back to life. Kiyoyuki made a bow to his son. However, one's fate was limited. After seven days, Kiyoyuki finally passed away in the second day of the eleventh month. After he washed his hands and mouth, he faced the west and chanted the *nembutsu*. After his cremation only, his tongue remained" (*Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12: 191).

136 It appears in the entry for the the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month of the twentieth year of Engi 延喜 (920) and reads as follows: "When monk of the T'ang Changxiu 長秀 (J. Chōshū, fl. tenth century) and his father headed for Hashi 波斯 [Persia] together, they were carried slowly by a sea route and eventually reached Tōrotō 燈爐島. While remaining there for several months, his father suffered from chest pains. Unexpectedly, they got on a regular boat and reached Japan. Due to the aggravation of his father's disease, his

reinforces the notion that Kiyoyuki's son Jōzō was seen not only as an eminent court monk, but also as a master of yin-yang practices related to the prognostication and control over people's life spans.

When taken together, the medieval sources concerning Miyoshi Kiyoyuki, Nichizō and Jōzō thus depict a remarkably consistent picture of divinatory masters able to predict the future and control the processes of life and death. More specifically, these depecitions of divinatory masters, which appear in medieval narrative *setsuwa*, reveal the pervasiveness of such masters in the imagination of the literati of the period. This, in turn, suggests the importance of the astrological and divinatory practices under which the elite stratum of mid-Heian-period Japan flourished. It would thus appear that such practices defined the religious activities not only of Ninkan, but also of a significant number of the figures listed in the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu*.

B. Astrological and Divinatory Masters

This section will describe the activities of Ningai, Gihan, and Fujiwara no Michinori. These three figures are of particular note because, like Ninkan, they are included not only in the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu*, but also in a lineage chart of Tendai-affiliated astrological and divinatory masters that appears in the medieval encyclopedia, the *Nichūreki* 二中歷 (Record of

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father was suffering unbearable pain. Chōshū asked the head monk of Tendai school Zōmyō 增命 (843–927) for help as he did not know the cause of his father's illness. Zōmyō said, "There are ten well-known practitioners in my country. Jōzō was the third practitioner of ten well-known Japanese practitioners. I will dispatch him to you." Jōzō came to Chōshū and performed the prayer for curing his father's illness. He chanted dharani one hundred and eight times. Immediately, his father recovered his health. Chōshū was surprised and said, "Buddhist teaching and praxis in T'ang dynasty, close to India, never reached the level of Jōzō religious skills. A sage of a distant island in the east sea has the miraculous virtues of buddhas. Through this experience, I realized that no one's religious skills exceed those of Jōzō" (*Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12: 193–194).

Two Cyclopedias). Examining the activities of the figures from the *Nichūreki* chart promises to both clarify the role of Tendai astrology in the activities of these monks and to shed further light on the importance of yin-yang divination methods for mainstream Buddhist monks of medieval Japan.

1. Onmyōdō and Tendai Astrology

One figure from the *Nichūreki* of particular importance is the tenth-century Tendai monk Nichien 日延. Among the first to point to Nichien's importance was Momo Hiroyuki 桃裕行 (1910-1986), a scholar of calendrical studies who also researched the role of activities of a type of divination master known as *rokumeishi* (禄命師). Momo in particular noted that Nichien, who like all *rokumeishi* used knowledge of birthdates and observations of bodies to predict people's futures, was also involved in astrology.[137] Murayama Shūichi similarly suggests that Nichien, who brought the Tallying with Heaven Astronomical System (*futenreki* 符天暦) to Japan from China in the seventh year of Tenryaku 天暦 (953), was a seminal figure in Tendai astrology.[138] These connections between calendrical divination and astrology are also prominent in the *Nichūreki* which treats *rokumei* studies as distinct from though closely related to

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137 Hiroyuki Momo, *Rekihō no kenkyū ge: Momo Hiroyuki chosekushū dai 8 kan* (Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1990), 46-52. Momo has hypothesized that there were two calendar systems in medieval Japan: the Senmei calendar (*senmeireki* 宣明歴), proposed by the officials, and the Futen calendar (*futenreki* 符天歴), used by astrologers (Momo, *Rekihō no kenkyū ge: Momo Hiroyuki chosekushū dai 8 kan*, 36-39). Calculations of the exact date and time of a lunar eclipse made using both calendars are found on the back of the sheet pertaining to the *Kiuhōnikki* 祈雨法日記 (Diary of Rain-making Rituals) and the *Usuzōshikuketsu* 薄草子口決 (Oral Transmittion of Thin Storybook) (Momo, *Rekihō no kenkyū ge: Momo Hiroyuki chosekushū dai 8 kan*, 40). Two completely different calendar systems seem to have been used to measure time, which led to scholarly debates, many of which occurred in later periods.

138 Shūichi Murayama, *Nihon onmyōdōshi sōsetsu* (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1981), 223-241. As to depictions of Nichien, one entry for the *rokumei* chart appearing in the *Nichūreki* portrays Nichien as a founder of *rokumei* studies.

astrological and divinatory studies.[139] All of this thus suggests that a major portion of medieval Japanese astrological and divinatory studies may have begun within the confines of Tendai doctrine and praxis.

Indications of Tendai astrological and divinatory practices are found in several places in the *Nichūreki*. Two sections listing the names of astrological and divinatory masters in the *Nichūreki* shed light on the guiding principles underlying the chart from the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu*. The *Nichūreki* lists are as follows:

> Astrological Masters
> Hōzō 法蔵 Rigen 利源 Ninsō 仁宗 Ninso 仁祚 Nintō 仁統 Fusen 扶宣 Chūin 忠允 Ryōtan 良湛 Zōmyō 増命 Shōshō 証昭 Genso 彦祚 Nōsan 能筭 Seishō 清昭 Kōshun 恒舜 Kokkū 国空 Songen 尊源 Kensen 賢暹 Keizō 慶増 Ryōyū 良祐 Meisan 明筭 Jinsan 深筭 Nichikaku 日覚[140]
>
> Divinatory Masters
> Gyō 行 Shōun 称雲 Gubō 弘法 Jōkan 貞観 Koken 巨見 Zenka 善家 Nichizō 日蔵 Ningai 仁海 Jōson 成尊 Gihan 義範 Jōzō 浄蔵 Shōan 接安 Ninso 仁祚 Chūin 忠允 Genso 彦祚 Monsan 文賛 Fuson 扶尊 Jinjitsu 尋實 Ekai 恵海 Nichikaku 日覚[141]

These name lists represent a genealogy through which astrological and divinatory practices were transmitted to Nichikaku 日覚 (fl. thirteenth century), an extremely interesting figure who was on the one hand a descendent of Abe no Seimei (安部清明, 921-1005)—perhaps the most famous of all yin-yang masters—and a monk who studied astrology and divination on Mt. Hiei.

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[139] The *rokumeishi* chart notes as follows: Nichien, Fusen 扶仙, Ryōtan 良湛, Nōsan 能筭, Chūshō 忠清, Keizō 慶増 (*Nichūreki*. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Nichūreki* 3, 110).
[140] *Nichūreki*. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Nichūreki* 3, 110.
[141] *Nichūreki*. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Nichūreki* 3, 110-111.

In many ways, Nichikaku thus embodied the closeness of these traditions which appear to have mutually influenced each other for centuries. Nichikaku was well acquainted with astrology and calendrical studies, and he produced a twelve-hour clock in the fourth year of Eikyū (1116). Also of note in this regard is the depiction of the Zenka's 善家 (Miyoshi family 三善家) kinship group as a divination-lineage (*sanka* 筮家) that established a Japanese divinatory tradition. Descriptions in the *Gōdanshō* 江談抄 (Selection of Ōe no Masafusa's Talks) of figures in this line such as the astrological master Genso 彦祚 (fl. twelfth century), a disciple of Nintō 仁統 (fl. twelfth century) indicate that these people were well recognized as students of the way of seeking knowledge of the future and the movements of celestial bodies interpreted as having an influence on human affairs.[142] Given the significant overlap between these two lists and the names that appear on the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu* it would thus seem fair to assume that understanding the activities of the monks from the *Nichūreki* lists could shed substantial light on the early Tachikawa-ryū lineage.

2. Nintō and Ninsō

Two figures of special note in this regard are the astrological masters Nintō and Ninsō 仁宗 (fl. twelfth century) both engaged in annual events of the imperial court. Descriptions of these two masters appear in the section of the calendrical studies of the twelfth-century historical record *Chōya gunsai* 朝野群載 (Collection of the Government and the Public). On the twenty-first day of the second month of the second year of Chōji 長治 (1105), they were

142 *Gōdanshō* 2, 8: SNKBT 32: 36-37.

recognized for their contributions to making new calendars and then assigned as superintendents (*bettō* 別当) of Saidaiji 西大寺.[143] Other accounts of both monks appear in the *Shōyūki* entry for the eighth day of the seventh month of the fourth year of Chōwa 長和 (1015), which notes that "the calendrical scholar [Kamo no] Morimichi 賀茂守道 (986-1030) asked Dharma master Nintō to make a new calendar together, following the precedent of Dharma master Ninsō and his father Kōei 光栄 (fl. eleventh century) having made a calendar together.[144] All of this suggests that rather than attempting to engage in the sinister praxis, these two monks were simply astrological masters involved in making calendars.

Further detailed indications of Nintō's and Ninsō's religious activities appear in the *Shōyūki.* The *Shōyūki* entry for the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the fourth year of Chōwa 長和 (1015) reports that Dharma master Nintō performed a divination that indicated that Sashōkoku 左相国 (Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長, 966-1027) had ill luck on his head, eyes, and legs.[145] The *Shōyūki* entry for the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the third year of Kannin 寛仁 (1019) describes Nintō as an astrologer who designated dog days as particularly auspicious days for moving one's place of residence.[146] This, together with further accounts associating Nintō with the year of boar-rooster revolution[147], suggests that Nintō was most likely

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143 *Chōya gunsai* 15. SZKT 29 *jō*: 383-384.
144 *Shōyūki.* DNKS 4:56.
145 *Shōyūki.* DNKS 4:58.
146 *Shōyūki.* DNKS 5:220.
147 Other depictions pertaining to the astrological master Nintō are found in the *Shōyūki* entry for the twenty-first day of the second year of the first year of Jian 治安 (1021) and states as follows: Nintō and [Kamo no] Morimichi were summoned concerning an inquiry about the boar rooster revolution (*kanototori kakumei* 辛酉革命). I [Fujiwara no Sanesuke] ordered them to look at the collection of accounts and descriptions pertaining to the revolution, which were prepared by Miyoshi Kiyoyuki. It noted as follows: "There were three small revolutions in two hundred forty years while there was one large revolution." It is possible that there are three sixty years small revolutions within two hundred forty years. There was doubt

an astrological and divinatory master retained by Fujiwara no Michinaga.

In contrast to Nintō, the *Gonki* entry for the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Chōhō 長保 (999) states that Ninsō sent Fujiwara no Nariyuki 藤原行成 (972-1028) an astrological account that explained his fortune.[148] This series of events suggests that perhaps the astrologers were in a position such that they could influence politics at a national level. With regards to the close connection of Ninsō's (and Nintō's) adherents to the Fujiwara clan, Murayama asserts that the astrological masters appearing in the list above were all affiliated with the Nanto schools and Onjōji 園城寺.[149] Considering the prosperity of the medieval temples performing the prayers for the emperor (*goganji* 御願寺), a place where monks associated with Onjōji in particular were engaged in the court rituals, the astrological content of medieval Tendai Buddhism seems to have greatly affected the timing and performance of state rites.

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raised concerning the results of the manner in which the three sixty years small *kanototori* revolutions occurred in two hundred forty years. Therefore, I called all the relevant members to solve the matter. Although they also did not provide correct answers, they thought that the small *kanototori* revolutions were sinister, whereas the small *kanototori* revolutions had never been seen before. It seemed that there were no small *kanototori* revolutions. This year however might come to be considered as an unlucky year due to the fact that it is a *kanototori* year (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 6:13). This passage contains three important themes: (1) Nintō was an astrological master thought to have evolved from his predecessor, Miyoshi Kiyoyuki, (2) the significance of the *kanototori* revolution as an unlucky year was recognized even one hundred years after Kiyoyuki's death, and (3) the people misunderstood Kiyoyuki's intentions pertaining to the *kanototori* revolution. In the *Shōyūki* entry for the twenty-ninth day of the second month of the first year of Jian, officials presented an opinion on the theory propounded by Nintō and his associates and said that bearing in mind that the era name was changed from Tentoku 天徳 to Ōwa 応和 in the sixteenth day of the second month of the fifth year of Tentoku 天徳 (961) due to the *kanototori* year identified as the small *kanototori* revolution, the first year of Jian 治安 (1021) was the large *kanototori* revolution year (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 6:15). The *Nihon kiryaku* entry for the thirteenth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Kannin 寛仁 (1020) notes that Emperor Goichijō 後一条天皇 (1008–1036; r. 1016–1036) invited Nintō and inquired whether or not next year would be the year of boar rooster revolution (*Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 13. SZKT 11:254). The era name was changed from Kannin 寛仁 to Jian 治安 due to the year of boar rooster revolution (*Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 13. SZKT 11:255). Although the change in era name was not carried out at that time due to the difference in opinions among court vassals, the *kanototori* revolution clearly came to be of great significance to political and religious affairs in medieval Japan.

148 *Gonki*. SHG 1:140.

149 Murayama, *Nihon onmyōdōshi sōsetsu*, 225.

3. Ningai

Descriptions of Ningai[150] 仁海 (fl. eleventh century) appear in medieval sectarian and aristocratic writings. These accounts of Ningai portray him as a Buddhist practitioner who used divination to cure illness. One entry in the *Shōyūki* for the second day of the intercalary sixth month of the fourth year of Chōwa 長和 (1015) depicts Ningai performing a divination concerning Sashōfu's 左相府 (Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長, 966-1027) eye trouble to determine whether it was due to a curse. Ningai concluded that there was no curse related to retribution for Michinaga's past actions and that instead medicine was needed to cure his ailments. Accordingly, Michinaga heard the divination and felt better.[151] Another entry in the *Shōyūki* for the fourteenth day of the seventh month of the third year of Jian 治安 (1023) describes Ningai performing a divination concerning Fujiwara no Sukefusa's 藤原資房 (1007-1057) illness. The divination contained three conclusions: (1) Sukefusa had been cursed by trees and demons, for which prayers were of no use, (2) the illness did negatively affect Sukefusa, and (3) changing locations would result in good fortune. Sukefusa then asked Ningai if he had high blood pressure and asked to receive medical treatments. Ningai performed another

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150 Ningai was a monk of Daigoji. The *Gonki* 権記, the diary of Fujiwara no Nariyuki 藤原行成 (972-1028), entry for the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Chōhō 長保 (1002) reports that Ningai served as one of sacred words master (*bon-onshi* 梵音師) in the Buddhist assembly of the recitation for the *Lotus Sutra* (*Gonki*. SHG 2: 204). Soon after the ceremony Ningai served as one of thirteen dharani-reciting participants who performed the eight lecture (*hakkō* 八講) for the late Higashi Sanjō-in 東三條院 (Fujiwara no Senshi 藤原詮子, 962-1002) on the twenty-second day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Chōhō 長保 (1002) (*Honchō seiki* 16. SZKT 9:223). Some time later, Ningai, also known as Ono Sōjō 小野僧正, a disciple of Gangō 元果 (914-995), became the sixty-second head monk of Tōdaiji 東大寺 on the twenty-third day of the sixth month of the second year of Chōgen 長元 (1029) (*Tōdaiji bettō shidai*. ZGR 4:581) and was assigned to the post of head monk of Tōji 東寺 in the fifth year of Chōgen 長元 (1032) (*Tōji chōja bunin*. ZGR 4:640–643). The *Gonki* assumes that Ningai was selected for these elevated positions in recognition of his past service.

151 *Shōyūki.* DNKS 4:46.

divination and said that medical treatments would harm Sukefusa and that simply transferring his residence to another place would be better.[152] These accounts suggest that Ningai played an important role in treating his patrons,[153] and that the effectiveness of Ningai's divination was widely known among medieval court aristocrats. Although modern scholars have tended to describe Ningai as a rain-making master[154], these accounts, together with the appearance of his name in the list of the *Nichūreki,* suggest that he was just as much a divinatory master and astrologer.

Ningai's fame as both a rainmaker and a master of astrological and divinatory praxis in turn suggests that rain-making rituals were also closely associated with divinatory arts. This connection is explained in the *Sakeiki* 左経記, the diary of Minamoto no Tsuneyori 源経頼 (985-1039). The *Sakeiki* entry for the eighth day of the sixth month of the fifth year of Chōgen 長元 (1032) notes:

> The head of the Budget Bureau [Kiyohara] Yoritaka 清原頼隆 (fl. eleventh century) and carpenters who worked at Hōraku-in 豐楽院 said, "Yesterday there was a breeze that was

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152 *Shōyūki.* DNKS 6:183.

153 The *Sakeiki* entry for the fifth day of the fifth month of the third year of Manju 万寿 (1026) notes that Ningai performed the prayer for healing while the emperor Goichijō was sick (*Sakeiki*. ZST 6: 175–176). The *Sakeiki* entry for the twenty-eighth day of the intercalary fifth month of the third year of Manju 万寿 (1026) notes that when the Empress of Emperor Goichijō (Fujiwara no Ishi 藤原威子, 1000–1036) was expecting her first child, Shōshinai Shinnō 章子内親王 (1027–1105), Ningai performed the prayer for Acala and Kannon (*Sakeiki*. ZST 6: 178–179). When Fujiwara no Ishi was five months pregnant, Ningai gave her a silk belly band for well-being (*Sakeiki*. ZST 6: 182). The *Sakeiki* entry for the eighth day of the ninth month of the first year of Chōgen (長元, 1029) notes that while the Empress (Fujiwara no Ishi 藤原威子, 1000–1036) of Emperor Goichijō was expecting her second child, Keishi naishinnō 馨子内親王 (1029–1093), Ningai performed rituals of the one word golden wheel (*ichiji kinrinhō* 一字金輪法) at the Upper Daigo 上醍醐 in order to pray for a safe birth (*Sakeiki*. ZST 6:244–246).

154 The commonly accepted theory among scholars is that Ningai was seen as a rain-making master. The *Nihon kiryaku* entry for the fourth day of the sixth month of the second year of Kannin 寛仁 (1018) notes that Ningai performed rain-making rituals at the court for seven days (*Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 13. SZKT 11:248).

> caught in a shower. In a western direction of Shingon-in 真言院, a recumbent dragon immediately ascended to heaven. Thereafter, the sky was covered with a dismal cloud. A heavy thunderstorm arrived. Recently, the *Ningai sōzu ekizei* 仁海僧都易筮 (Divination of Director of Monks Ningai) stated, "A recumbent dragon was in the bowels of the earth. It indicates no rain.[155]

Although Imai Itaru 今井湊 reveals the relationship between astrological studies and seismology as found in medieval historical sources and notes that the dragon's agitation indicates an imminent earthquake,[156] this passage shows that the dragon was perhaps also related to written supplications for astrolomical change. With the depictions of the dragon's agitation in mind, we might better understand the rain-making ritual, which had been handed down through seven masters[157] of Ningai's Shingon school, as a form of divination rather than as a means of controlling the natural world. These so-called rain-making masters studied the calendar and divination in order to predict when and how it would rain. The *Honchō seiki* entry for the fifteenth day of the sixth month of the second year of Tengyō 天慶 (939) notes that in order to detect the direction from which a sacred response would appear, the Bureau of Yin and Yang was ordered to perform divination while reciting the sutra for rain.[158] These passages clearly show that a rain-making master like Ningai relied upon astrological knowledge as well as divination in order to learn the approximate time and date of rain.

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155 *Sakeiki*. ZST 6:348.
156 Itaru Imai, "Sukuyō jishin uranaikō" *Tenmon·Reki·Onmyōdō* (Tōkyō: Iwata Shoin, 1995), 303-314.
157 *Sakeiki* says, "Seven rain masters were: Kūkai 空海 (774-835), Shinga 真雅 (801-879), Shōbō 聖宝 (832-909), Kankū 寛空 (884-972), Gengō 元杲 (914-995), Genshin 元真 (fl. eleventh century), and Ningai" (*Sakeiki*. ZST 6:347).
158 *Honchō seiki* 3. SZKT 9:36.

4. Gihan, Monsan and Genso

The activities of three more figures from the *Nichūreki* lists – the director of monks Gihan[159] 義範 (1023-1088), Monsan 文賛 (fl. eleventh century), and Genso 彦祚 (fl. eleventh century) – can be traced in the *Sochiki* 帥記, the diary of Minamoto no Tsunenobu 源経信 (1016-1097). The *Sochiki* entry for the eleventh day of the sixth month of the first year of Eihō 永保 (1081) notes that Emperor Shirakawa wondered if it would be possible to predict Ippon no miya's 一品宮 (Sōshinai shinnō 聡子内親王, 1050–1131) fortune.[160] Gihan performed a divination (*ekizei* 易筮) and said that good luck was coming her way. Tsunenobu asked Emperor Shirakawa to seek a second opinion from Monsan, a disciple of Genso. Monsan was invited immediately. Monsan looked at an aspect of Gihan's divination and was asked, "Why does this manuscript of divination indicate luck?"[161] The next day, Monsan annotated the manuscript and brought it to Tsunenobu. The annotation showed that the manuscript of divination foretold her good fortune. Together with the lists of the *Nichūreki*, this incident suggests three points: (1) Gihan, Genso, and Monsan, were skillful divinatory masters, (2) these three masters were teachers and pupils in divinatory studies, and (3) Genso was seen as a divinatory master, rather than as an astrologer. All of this is of immediate importance for our

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159 The *Honchō Shingon denpō kanjō shishi sōshō kechimyaku* 本朝真言伝法灌頂師資相承血脈 (Blood Lineage of Initiation Rituals of Japanese Buddhist Teachings), which was transmitted in the Ninnaji tradition, indicates that director of monks Shōkaku 勝覚 (1057-1129) , a disciple of Gihan, transmitted his teachings to Ninkan (who later changed his name to Renzen 蓮全). Yasurō Abe "Honchō Shingon denpō kanjō shishi sōshō kechimyaku" *Ninnaji shiryō dai yon shu kiroku* (Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku hikaku jinbungaku kenkyu nenpō, 2003), 25. In the second year of Jōryaku 承暦 (1078), Gihan performed the rituals of the Great Peahen for Emperor Horikawa's birth. In the same year, when aristocrats held the Buddhist ceremony at Kinpusen, he rendered distinguished service in the assembly and received a reward (*Sōkō bunin shōde*. ZGR 4:530). These historical events provide with an image of the Daigoji monk Gihan as one who actively served as a protector-monk for Emperor Horikawa 堀河天皇 (1079-1107; r. 1086-1107).

160 *Sochiki*. ZST 5:124.

161 It appears in the entry for the twelfth day of the sixth month of the first year of Eihō (*Sochiki*. ZST 5:124).

study because Gihan was in turn said to be the teacher of Ninkan, the purported founder of Tachikawa-ryū.

Additional information about the divinatory master Gihan can also be found in the *Suisaki* 水左記, the diary of Minamoto no Toshifusa 源俊房 (1035-1121), father of Ninkan, shows that he closely served Minamoto no Toshifusa, one who contributed to the prosperity of the Murakami Genji 村上源氏 family.[162] The *Suisaki* entry for the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the fourth year of Jōryaku 承暦 (1080) relates that Minamoto no Toshifusa felt unwell and asked the preceptor Gihan to perform a divination.[163] The preceptor Gihan gladly consented. The next day, the preceptor Gihan sent the results of his divination to Toshifusa. He had concluded that there is nothing to fear. This account suggests that Gihan was closely associated with the Murakami Genji family. Even more importantly, these accounts draw our attention to the contemporaneous popularity of requesting divination during bouts of illness and the way in which this practice was accepted as a legitimate practice, especially among Daigoji monks.

Further descriptions of Gihan's divinations for the sick appear in the *Suisaki*. The *Suisaki* entry for the twenty-first day of the intercalary eighth month of the fourth year of Jōryaku 承暦 (1080) says, "In the evening, the preceptor Gihan was ordered to perform divination in response to Sakingo's 左金吾 (Saemon no kami 左衛門督: Fujiwara no Sanesue 藤原実季, 1035–1092) worn-out face. The result of the divination will be sent the following

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[162] The *Suisaki* entry for the sixteenth day of the intercalary twelfth month of the fourth year of Jōhō 承保 (1077) says, "The preceptor Gihan just stopped by Minamoto no Toshifusa" (*Suisaki*. ZST 8:79). The *Suisaki* entry for the twenty-third day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Jōryaku 承暦 (1080) says, "In the early morning, the preceptor Gihan came to me (Minamoto no Toshifusa) and spent time chatting with me" (*Suisaki*. ZST 8:110).

[163] *Suisaki*. ZST 8:140.

day."[164] The next early morning, the preceptor Gihan informed me of the results of the divination, which indicated a serious disease."[165] Some time later, Sakingo's health remained poor and Gihan was again invited to perform divination.[166] The next day, Gihan sent the results, which indicated that Sakingo was on the road to recovery.[167] Although many scholars have emphasized Gihan's role as a master of rain-making rituals[168], the aforementioned evidence reveals Gihan's role as a divinatory master.

Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲 (1106-1160, Dharma-name Shinzei 信西), was a late-Heian aristocrat who compiled the *Honchō seiki,* which contains many astrological and divinatory supplications issued by the Bureau of Yin and Yang. The *Taiki* entry for the sixth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Tenyō 天養 (1145) notes as follows: "[Fujiwara no] Michinori predicted the retired Emperor Toba's 鳥羽上皇 (1103-1156; r. 1107-1123) safety."[169] Because the retired Emperor Toba understood the study of astrology,[170] Shinzei enjoyed the fullest confidence of Toba and actively served Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河天皇 (1127-1192; r. 1155-1158). Although scholars tend to describe him as a political failure who provoked the

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164 *Suisaki*. ZST 8:117.
165 *Suisaki*. ZST 8:117.
166 It appears in the entry for the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the fourth year of Jōryaku (*Suisaki*. ZST 8:140).
167 It appears in the entry for the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the fourth year of Jōryaku (*Suisaki*. ZST 8:140).
168 The *Honchō seiki* entry for the tenth day of the eighth month of the first year of Kanji 寛治 (1087) describes the director of monks Gihan performing the rain-making rituals at Shinsen-en 神泉苑 for seven days. The rain came down in torrents while he had performed the rituals before (*Honchō seiki* 21. SZKT 9:279).
169 *Taiki* 5. ZST 23:166.
170 The *Ukaikishō* 宇槐記抄 entry for the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Kyūan 久安 (1148) depicts the fact that Shinzei said that the retired Emperor [Toba] was able to understand the study of Astronomy (*Ukaikishō jō.* ZST 25:178).

civil war of the Heiji era[171] (*Heiji no ran* 平治の乱, 1159), rather than as an influential vassal in the administration of Emperor Goshirakawa, he was often recognized as a monk[172] who had a thorough knowledge of astrology. Several indications of this can be seen in depictions of Shinzei found in the *Imakagami* 今鏡 (Mirror of the Present). In the *Imakagami*, he is portrayed as a man of misfortune who, while not coming from the house of yin-yang studies, was thoroughly acquainted with astrology. All of this suggests that Shinzei, the compiler of the *Honchō seiki*, was thought to be very erudite and in possession of an extensive knowledge of astrology and divination.

Further descriptions of Shinzei's skills pertaining to divination appear in the *Taiki* entry for the first day of the second month of the third year of Kōji 康治 (1144) which records that "[Fujiwara no] Michinori came to talk with me [Fujiwara no Yorinaga] about felicity. I asked him to teach me divination, using the method of trigrams. Michinori gladly consented to my request."[173] The *Taiki* entry for the ninth day of the seventh month of the first year of Tenyō 天養 (1144) reads, "[Fujiwara no] Michinori came to me [Yorinaga] and had a talk on divination using stalks of plants and an imaginary creature (*nue* 鵺) that has a monkey's head, badger's body, tiger's limbs, and snake's tail)."[174] The *Taiki* entry for the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Tenyō (天養, 1144) reads, "In the evening, Councilor Nyūdō Michinori

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171 The *Heiji* rebellion was the result of a dispute about political power between Taira no Kiyomori and Minamoto no Yoshitomo. It created the trigger of establishing a new government of the Taira clan.
172 The *Taiki* entry for the twenty-second day of the seventh month of the first year of Tenyō 天養 (1144) says, "Today, the Councilor [Fujiwara no] Michinori took the tonsure" (*Taiki* 4. ZST 23:126).
173 *Taiki* 2. ZST 23:117.
174 *Taiki* 4. ZST 23:125.

納言入道通憲 came to me [Yorinaga] to talk about divination."[175] Shinzei was often portrayed as a political antagonist to Yorinaga, who provoked the civil war of Hōgen era[176] (*Hōgen no ran* 保元の乱, 1156), although these two seem to have established a teacher-student relationship in divination studies. Shinzei and Yorinaga, both of whom provoked two major civil wars and lost their positions, deeply depended on divination and brought misfortune upon themselves.

This section has examined the lineage chart, which includes the names of divinatory and astrological masters, and their divinatory and astrological practices that appropriated the Tachikawa-ryū teachings. Amino Yoshihiko asserts that the actions of Monkan 文観 (1278-1357), who restored the heretical teachings and practices of the Tachikawa-ryū and its transmission of Ninkan's calendar studies and divination, are inexcusable.[177] Knowing that Ninkan and director of monks Monkan were "inadmissible" monks who propagated the "heretical" teachings and practices of the Tachikawa-ryū as associated with the perverse rituals including skull rituals and the sexual unity between male and female, Miyoshi Kiyoyuki, Ningai, Gihan, Fujiwara no Michinori, and other monks and scholars studying calendrical matters and divination can be said to have been affiliated with the heretical Tachikawa-ryū. The aforementioned astrological and divinatory practices were a medieval Japanese esoteric praxis

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175 *Taiki* 4. ZST 23:136.

176 The *Hōgen* rebellion arose due a succession dispute following the death in the first year of Hōgen (1156) of the retired Emperor Toba. The conflict pitted the retired Emperor Sutoku 崇徳上皇 (1119-1164; r. 1123-1141) against the Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河天皇 (1127-1192; r. 1155-1158). In order to excise control of imperial authority and power, the retired Emperor Sutoku engaged the forces of Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120-1156), Minamoto no Tameyoshi 源為義 (1096-1156), and Taira no Tadamasa 平忠正 ([?]-1156). Emperor Goshirakawa engaged the forces of Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097-1164), Minamoto no Yoshitomo 源義朝 (1123-1160), Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118-1181), and Minamoto no Yorimasa 源頼政 (1104-1180). Sutoku was defeated and exiled to Sayuki Province 讃岐.

177 Yoshihiko Amino, *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū dai rokkan* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2007), 349-390.

common to the many.

IV. Time-Measuring Experts

This section will trace religious activities of the time-measuring experts Sugano Hidechika 菅野季親 (fl. twelfth century) and Sugano Hidenaga 菅野季長 (fl. twelfth century) two more figures that appear in the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu.* One verse of the thirteenth-century *Jikkinshō* 十訓抄 (Record of Ten Instructions) notes that vice-time-measuring master Sugano Hidechika was a divinatory master (*shūki hakase* 周易博士) who plumbed the depths of his field of learning.[178] Although Murayama Shūichi has attempted to clarify the role played by the time-measuring experts[179] (*rōkoku hakase* 漏刻博士), who worked closely with and whose responsibilities overlapped with those of astrologers (*sukuyōshi* 宿曜師) and calendar masters (*san hakase* 算博士),[180] their precise function and activities within the Bureau of Yin and Yang are yet not fully understood.

In light of the presence of two time-measuring experts on the Tachikawa-ryū lineage chart, a proper understanding of the role of such experts promises to shed further light on the early Tachikawa-ryū. Fortunately, within medieval courtier diaries such as the *Kikki* 吉記, the

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178 *Jikkinshō*. Motohiro, Izumi. *Jikkinshō: honbun to sakuin* (Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 1982), 56.

179 Descriptions of time-measuring (*rōkoku* 漏刻) experts first appear in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書記 (Chronicle of Japan). The *Nihon shoki* entry for the fourth month of the tenth year of Emperor Tenji 天智天皇 (671) notes that: "Time-measuring instruments were established. The time-measuring masters ring the hours on the bell" (*Nihon shoki* 27. SZKT 1 *ge*: 299). On the seventeenth day of the twelfth month of the seventeenth year of Engi 延喜 (917), the time was not measured due to the fact that the water of the time-measuring instruments was frozen (*Dai nihon shiryō* 1. DNS 4:945). On the thirteenth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Hōgen 保元 (1157), the time-measuring instruments had been reestablished after they had been destroyed by fire on the fourteenth day of the second month of the second year of Taiji 大治 (1127) (Shiryō Sōran 3,303:369).

180 Murayama Shūichi , *Nihon onmyōdōshi sōsetsu* (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1981), 273-281.

diary of Yoshida Tsunefusa 吉田経房 (1142-1200), however, there are enough references to time-measuring experts to get a general idea of their duties. The *Kikki* entry for the twenty-eighth day of the third month of the first year of Juei 寿永 (1182), for instance, describes a scene in which a time-measuring expert plays an important role in divination. It reads as follows:

> A time-measuring expert came to me [Yoshida Tsunefusa] and secretly conveyed information about a natural disaster in these days: Earthquake—the nineteenth day of this month at the time of the boar; The planet Venus blocks Jupiter—the twenty-first day of the second month of this year at the time of chicken; Earthquake—the twenty-third day of the second month of this year at the time of the boar; The planet Venus blocks Mars—the fourth day of this month at the time of dog.[181]

The time-measuring experts explained that natural disasters, famine, war, and the like are matters of national importance and are a direct result of the moral failings of the ruler. They made a formal statement about the specific date and time for natural calamities that happened, which were recorded for posterity. The *Chōshūki* entry for the nineteenth day of the sixth month of the first year of Hōen 保延 (1135) indicates that time-measuring experts selected auspicious times and days for Buddhist assemblies.[182] The *Sankaiki* 山槐記, the diary of Nakayama no Tadachika 中山忠親 (1131-1195), describes the activities of astrological and calendar masters associated with time-measuring experts.[183] Time-measuring experts, it seems, were court

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181 *Kikki*. ZST 29:278-279.

182 *Chōshūki.* ZST 16:288.

183 Activities of an astrological master appears in the *Sankaiki* entry for the third day of the tenth month of the third year of Jishō 治承 (1179) and reads as follows: "Tonight, implements for the seven stars of the Northern Dipper were sent to the astrological master Keisan 慶算 (fl. twelfth century). I (Nakayama Tadachika 中山忠親) was born in the year of boar. This year is the year of boar. Therefore, in the day of boar of the month of boar, the time of boar, I will perform the meritorious prayer [for my fortune this year]. I will celebrate [my year] toward the direction of boar [north-northwest]. The North Pole and twenty-eight constellations, for the

officials who determined which times and dates would be considered most auspicious.

These general attributes closely accord with descriptions of the time-measuring expert (or divinatory master) Sugano Hidechika[184] that appear in the *Gyokuyō* 玉葉, the diary of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207). The *Gyokuyō* entry for the tenth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Jishō 治承 (1181), for instance, shows that Kanezane invited the time-measuring expert [Sugano] Hidechika to perform a divination (*ekizei* 易筮).[185] The *Gyokuyō* entry for the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Jishō notes that the vice-time-measuring expert Sugano Hidechika, who was accompanied by his son, Sugano Hidenaga 菅野季長 (fl. twelfth century), was summoned by Kanezane to answer questions about five divination matters (*gochōsengoto* 五兆占事).[186] These aforementioned descriptions indicate that Kujō Kanezane was sympathetic to the practice of divinatory rituals, and also that Sugano Hidechika was a largely unknown yin-yang master active in the area of divinatory studies during this period. They also highlight the religious importance of time-measuring studies and divinatory matters in relation to the management of the times and dates considered most auspicious to avoid meeting with misfortune.

Further information concerning time-measuring experts as well as Hidenaga's son

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moment, indicate not to show fear so that I recite spell by guidance with Keisan" (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:298-299). Activities of calendar master appear in the *Sankaiki* entry for the twenty-eighth day of the seventh month of the first year of Angen 安元 (1175) as follows: "Calendar masters calculated years of the emperors' reign by following the rite of divination" (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:68-69).

184 In the *Gyokuyō* entry for the twenty-seventh day of the first month of the fourth year of Jishō 治承 (1180) we read that the yin-yang master and time-measuring expert Sugano Hidechika was promoted to *hōki gon no suke*, junior fifth rank (伯耆権介従五位上) in a ceremony of appointment held at the court (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:353-357).

185 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:502.

186 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:502.

Hidechika can also be found in the *Gyokuyō* entry for the twenty-third day of the eighth month of the first year of Jishō 治承 (1177), which provides detailed descriptions of Hidechika as a time-measuring expert. On the occasion of building a new imperial rite hall, for instance, we are told that the Bureau of Yin and Yang formulated and submitted a proposal for a good date and time to start constructing the new building. Hidechika's role in arranging the date and time reads as follows:

> The Bureau of Yin and Yang
> It is strictly proposed that in order to carry out a new construction for the imperial rite hall, a good date and time are as follows:
> The eighth day of the tenth month, the year of wood dog [*kinoe-inu* 甲戌],
> At the time of the snake, second time [9:30 am], or at the time of sheep [1 to 3 pm],
> The twenty-third day of the eighth month of the first year of Jishō 治承 (1177),
> Vice-time-measuring master Sugano ason Hidechika[187]

This passage suggests that Sugano Hidechika made the divination and then proposed an appropriate time and date for the new construction in order to avoid meeting with misfortune. Similar descriptions appearing in the *Kikki* entry for the first day of the fourth month of the fourth year of Jishō 治承 (1180) show that the Bureau of Yin and Yang proposed an auspicious date and time to conduct a purification ceremony for Kamo Sainai Shinnō 賀茂齋内親王 (Saishi Jōō 斉子女王, fl. twelfth century).[188] All of this again suggests that Sugano Hidechika,

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187 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:95-97.

188 It says, "The Bureau of Yin and Yang. It is strictly proposed that in order to carry out a purification ceremony for Kamo Sainai Shinnō, good date and time are as follows: the twelfth day of this month, the year of wood horse [*kinoe-uma* 甲午], at the time of sheep, second time [13:30], the first day of the fourth month of the fourth year of Jishō (1180), Vice-time-measuring master and *hōki gon no suke* Sugano Hidechika" (*Kikki*. ZST 29:101-106).

as a time-measuring expert, worked closely with officials from the Bureau of Yin and Yang officials and engaged divinatory practices for the purpose of determining auspicious or appropriate times.

Moreover, the *Gyokuyō* entry for the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh month of the first year of Jishō tells of a divination about two hair curls that fell from the head of the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji 東大寺 and a great bell that fell due to an earthquake that occurred on the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of the first year of Jishō. The Bureau of Yin and Yang's proposal by vice-time-measuring master Sugano ason Hidechika and his associates divined that the events at Tōdaiji indicated that a major earthquake will occur and that a prayer for avoiding danger must be performed immediately.[189] This shows that the time-measuring expert Hidechika performed divination to determine favorable times for religious rituals.

Further descriptions of Hidechika pertaining to religious matters performed at auspicious times appear in the *Sankaiki.* The *Sankaiki* entry for the twenty-first day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Jishō 治承 (1180) records messages that were exchanged between Tadachika and Hidechika on the occasion of Nakayama Tadachika's 中山忠親 (1131–1195) new house-moving. It reads as follows:

> Vice-time-measuring expert [Sugano] Hidechika put on his traditional formal court dress and chanted a mystical invocation while walking (*hanbai* 反閇). He was ordered to wear the court suit (that, on the last fourteenth day, when the Regent presented a memorial to the Emperor, I [Nakayama Tadachika], as an imperial messenger, was given it for my stipend). At first Hidechika opened it behind the curtains. There was no dangerous sign, such as a yellow ox or

189 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:111.

the disasters of fire and flood.[190]

This passage is notable for the fact that it again suggests that Hidechika exhibited great talent in yin-yang studies, rather than simply time-measuring studies. He was expected to be a religious practitioner who engaged in observing the rite of purification in a religious ceremony.

Similar passages referring to Hidechika's participation in religious ceremonies can also be found in other *Sankaiki* entries.[191] The *Sankaiki* entry for the twenty-second day of the sixth month of the third year of Jishō (1179), for instance, states that vice-time-measuring expert Sugano Hidechika, while discussing the directions of the images of twelve Buddhist deities carved in a bell of the Bureau of Yin and Yang, demonstrated how to perform a magical rite for controlling people.[192] Murayama Shūichi explains that Five Phases theory (*gogyō shisō* 五行思想) influenced the twelve deities carved in the bell, and that accordingly these twelve deities can

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190 *Sankaiki*. ZST 28:129.

191 The *Sankaiki* entry for the twenty-eighth day of the sixth month of the second year of Jishō 治承 (1178) describes prayers performed for a safe birth while Chūgū 中宮 (Taira no Tokuko 平徳子, 1155–1214), the Empress of Emperor Takakura 高倉天皇 (1161–1181; r.1168–1180), was in the fifth month of pregnancy. In the Buddhist assembly, the star ritual, an esoteric ritual in which one pays homage to one's natal star, was performed by the astrological master Chinga 珍賀 (fl. twelfth century) and astrological master Keisan 慶算 (fl. twelfth century). The preceptor Zengen 全玄 (1113–1192) performed the six letters rituals. As the yin-yang master Abe no Yasushige 安倍泰茂 (fl. twelfth century), the calendar master Kamo no Norihira 賀茂宣平 (fl. twelfth century), and vice-time-measuring expert Sugano Hidechika engaged in their regular work, the purification rituals was carried out three times a day (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:135–140). The *Sankaiki* entry for the fourteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Jishō (1178) depicts the fact that for the sake of Taira no Tokuko's safe birth, seven yin-yang masters carried out the Tai-shan Fu-jun Rituals (*taizan fukun* 泰山府君) at seven sacred places and reads as follows: "With a guidance of seven yin-yang masters, the Tai-shan Fu-jun ceremony was held at seven scared places. Junior officers were left with miscellaneous trifles. Mirrors were delivered to each of sacred places. Court vassals were dispatched to help the religious service at these seven sacred places: Kawai 河合, Mimitogawa 耳敏河, Higashinarutaki 東鳴瀧, Nishinarutaki 西鳴瀧, Matsuzaki 松崎, Iwakage 石陰, Ōikawa 大井河 by the yin-yang master time-measuring expert Sugano Hidechika" (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:148–149).

192 *Sankaiki*. ZST 27:296.

be divided into four phases, fire, metal, water, and wood.[193] He concludes that these four phases informed esoteric Buddhist practices to eliminate natural calamities, especially conflagrations.[194] If we accept this, then it would appear that Sugano Hidechika was not only a time-measuring expert, but also a yin-yang master with a broad range of ritual knowledge who actively engaged in a religious ceremony for the state.

Descriptions of the Hidechika's son, the time-measuring expert Sugano Hidenaga[195] suggest similar associations with divinatory praxis. The *Sankaiki* entry for the twenty-seventh day of the third month of the third year of Jishō 治承 (1179) contains an account of an augury that was performed after fire destroyed the building used for the divinatory rite for the selection of the Ise Saiō 伊勢斎王.[196] Further descriptions of Hidenaga are found in the *Gyokuyō* entry

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193 Murayama, *Nihon onmyōdōshi sōsetsu*, 274-278.

194 Murayama, *Nihon onmyōdōshi sōsetsu*, 279.

195 Descriptions of Sugano Hidenaga appear in the *Heihanki* 兵範記, the diary of Taira no Nobunori 平信範 (1112-1187). The *Heihanki* entry for the thirteenth day of the eleventh month of the third year of Nin-an 仁安 (1168) indicates that the name of Sugano Hidenaga, as senior sixth rank, appears as one of ten junior officer participants in the ceremony of appointment of a local governor at the court (*Heihanki*. ZST 21:212). It becomes clear that Hidenaga was assigned as one of junior administrative officers placed in charge of local government in Ōmi Province (*Ōmi no kuni* 近江国) (*Heihanki*. ZST 21:213). Soon after his appearance in the ceremony, Hidenaga was immediately promoted to the junior fifth rank at the ceremony of appointment at the court on the twentieth day of the eleventh month of the third year of Nin-an (*Heihanki*. ZST 21:217). This shows that in the early days, Hidenaga was better known as a local official than as a time-measuring expert affiliated with the Bureau of Yin and Yang.

196 It reads as follows: "The Bureau of Yin and Yang. [According to] the divination, in the twenty-sixth day of this month, the time of dog, the prayer of performing the divination for Kamo Sanai Shinnō 賀茂齋内親王 was destroyed by fire so that the punishment might be delivered to all sacred places… On the twenty-seventh day of the third month of the third year of Jishō (1179), Senior Officials Sugano ason Hidenga" (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:252-253). Similar descriptions of Sugano Hidenaga, who served the time-measuring expert, appear in the *Sankaiki*. The *Sankaiki* entry for the twenty-sixth day of the third month of the third year of Jishō 治承 (1179) describes a scene in which an imperial messenger is continually dispatched to Itsukushima 伊都岐島 after the birth of Sugano Hidenaga to the Empress of Emperor Takakura, Taira no Tokuko 平徳子 (1155-1214). Hidechika proposed an auspicious date and time to be dispatched. It reads as follows: The Bureau of Yin and Yang. It is proposed that auspicious dates and times to dispatch an imperial messenger to Itsukushima are as follows: The twenty-sixth day of the third month, the year of wood monkey [*kinoe-saru* 甲申] at the time of sheep, second times [13:30]. The twenty-sixth day of the third month of the third year of Jishō (1179). Senior officials Sugano ason Hidenaga. Vice-time-measuring expert Sugano ason Hidechika (*Sankaiki*. ZST

for the fifteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Kenkyū 建久 (1191), which shows that Hidenaga performed the celestial festival.[197] The *Gyokuyō* entry for the fourth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Kenkyū (1191) similarly states that Hidenaga came to Kujō Kanezane with an analysis of his divination concerning matters that would arise in the coming year.[198] Hidenaga made the divination to propose an auspicious time and date for religious events.

In short, Sugano Hidenaga, like his father Sugano Hidechika, perpetuated the Sugano family monopoly on the position of time-measuring expert for the state. The general picture that emerges in the record suggests that the Sugano domination in the time-measuring arena was thought to imbue them with the religious authority to divine auspicious times and dates for the

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27:250–252).

[197] *Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:733. The entry for the fifth day of the eighth month of the first year of Ken-ei 建永 (1206) in the *Sanchōki* 三長記, the diary of Fujiwara no Nagakane 藤原長兼 (fl. thirteenth century), notes that on the occasion of a ritual ceremony to pray for a good harvest (*kinenkoku hōhei* 祈年穀奉弊), in which wands of hemp and paper streamers are offered to kami of at the twenty influential shrines (Ise 伊勢, Iwashimizu 石清水, Kamo 賀茂, Matsuo 松尾, Hirano 平野, Inari 稲荷, Kasuga 春日, Ōharano 大原野, Ōkami 大神, Ishikami 石上, Hirose 広瀬, Tatsuta 龍田, Sumiyoshi 住吉, Hiyoshi 日吉, Ume no miya 梅宮, Yoshida 吉田, Hirota 広田, Gion 祇園, Nifu 丹生, and Kibune 貴布禰). Hidenaga proposed an auspicious date and time for an imperial messenger to be dispatched to these shrines (*Sanchōki*. ZST 31:147–148). It reads as follows: "The Bureau of Yin and Yang (*onmyōryō* 陰陽寮). It is strictly proposed that in order to pray for a good harvest in the time of the *kinenkoku hōhei,* good date and time is as follows: The seventh day of this month, the year of fishtail dragon [*hinoe-tastu* 丙辰], at the time of sheep, second times [13:30], the fifth day of the eighth month of the first year of Ken-ei 建永 (1206),Vice-time-measuring expert, *hōki gon no suke* Sugano ason Hidenaga."

[198] *Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:749. There are two similar depictions pertaining to a set of proposals for an auspicious time and date for the establishment of Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji (*Tōdaiji zokuyōroku zōbutsuhen*. ZZGR 11, 1:196-199) (*Kikki*. ZST 29:208-213). It reads as follows: "The Bureau of Yin and Yang. It is strictly proposed that an auspicious date and time for construction to establish a building at Kōfukuji are as follows: Date and time of setting about logging trees are the twentieth day of this month, the year of wood ox [*kinoto-ushi* 乙丑] at the time of horse, second times [11:30] or at the time of monkey [3 to 5pm]. Date and time of setting up a pillar are the twenty-eighth day of the seventh month, the year of water tiger [*mizunoe-tora* 壬寅] at the time of tiger, second times [3:30] or at the time of dragon [7 to 9pm]. Date and time of setting up a beam and the ridge of a roof are the twenty-eighth day of the seventh month, the year of water tiger [*mizunoe-tora*] at the time of sheep, second times [13:30] or at the time of sheep [1 to 3pm]. The fifteenth day of the sixth month of the fifth year of Jishō (1181), Senior officials Sugano ason Hidenaga, Vice-time-measuring expert, *hōki gon no suke* Sugano ason Hidechika."

performance of virtually any related to court activities or rituals. Detailed descriptions of Sugano family members in their capacity of time-measuring experts at the Heian court show that court vassals at the Bureau of Yin and Yang retained their functions under the Insei government and that their skills were employed for the benefit of court activities and rituals.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the lineage chart *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu* and its representation of the genealogy of a divinatory tradition that has been understood to represent the heretical Tachikawa-ryū teachings. The lineage chart, which includes the names of fifteen divinatory (or astrological) masters, helps us understand the popularization of astrological and divinatory studies during the medieval Japan and reflects three important points: (1) these men were deeply interested in divinatory and astrological studies and (2) these astrological (or divination) masters sought knowledge of the future by their employment of divinatory practices, and 3) the use of such knowledge to place curses upon prominent courtiers and even rulers was a commonly occurring phenomenon during this period. This context strongly supports the view that Ninkan, the purported founder of the Tachikawa-ryū, much like the other figures on the transmission chart, was concerned primarily with divination and astrology in addition to serving as a protector monk for the emperor who performed esoteric rites aimed at such traditional goals as removing political and military obstacles and averting natural disasters. Crucially, there is no evidence that Ninkan—or any of the other figures with whom he was associated on the chart—was a heretical monk who employed yin-yang theories in his promotion of sexual union

between male and female as a practice leading to buddhahood “in this very mind and body.”

Chapter II
The Mutual Independence of Imperial, Religious, and Local Institutions

Introduction

This chapter will examine the relationship between political and religious activity in the cult of Kinpusen 金峯山 during the Insei 院政 period, an era associated with government by retired emperors during the time between the middle and late Heian 平安 period (900-1200). Because this era corresponds to the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu* genealogy of the "sinister way" of astrological and divinatory practices that was discussed in the first chapter, it is of particular note for our purposes. As we shall see shortly, Kinpusen was a site of central importance for abdicated sovereigns seeking to extend their religious and political influence. It was also a key node in the tangled and often contentious relations between the various factions at court, such major Buddhist temples, as Kōfukuji 興福寺, Mt. Kōya 高野山, and Mt. Hiei 比叡山, and local cults that struggled to retain their independence. In addition, Kinpusen was also the site of frequent pilgrimages by Heian court nobles and aristocrats who were attracted to the power of the sacred mountain and its numerous legends of numinous power and immortality. Kinpusen thus represents an ideal microcosm through which to study a host of issues related to religious and political power in the late Heian period. Perhaps most importantly, for our purposes, Kinpusen also served as the residence of such monks as Monkan 文観 (1278-1357), Ninkan's student and the supposed systematizer of the Tachikawa sinister way. As such, understanding the religious dynamics of this mountain promises to shed important light on the background for the development of the Tachikawa-ryū.

One primary source for understanding Kinpusen's role during this period is the *Kinpusen Kanjō nikki*[199] 金峯山灌頂日記 (Record of Initiation Rituals on Kinpusen; hereafter *Kanjō nikki*), a text that was transcribed in the third year of Shitoku 至徳 (1386) by Genhō 賢宝 (1333–1398), the restorer of the "orthodox group of Shingon school (*kogi shingonshū* 古義真言宗)" at Tōji 東寺 and a major anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemicist. The *Kanjō nikki,* written at the time of anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, is a record of Ninkan 仁寛 (fl. twelfth century), the purported founder of the Tachikawa-ryū, and Shōkaku 勝覚 (1057-1129), the head monk of Daigoji 醍醐寺 and the protector-monk (*gojisō* 護持僧) of the retired Emperor Shirakawa, transmitting the Buddhist teachings (*denpō kanjō* 伝法灌頂) to Jōkai 静槐 (fl. twelfth century), the head monk of Kinpusenji 金峯山寺 in the seventh month of the second year of Kashō 嘉承 (1106). The primary aim of the text seems to be to present the details of the ordination of the Dharma-Transmission ritual on Kinpusen and reveal how Daigoji's rituals were transmitted to Kinpusen during the Insei period. In light of the political importance of this rite as well as extremely close connections demonstrated here between Ninkan, Daigoji, and Ninkan's dharma disciple Jōkai, the importance of this text for understanding the Tachikawa-ryū can thus hardly be overstated.

Although the *Kanjō nikki* was included in the collection of sacred teachings of Kanchiin of Tōji, it is not clear when and by whom it was originally written. The text seems to have first been composed by resident monks of Kinpusen between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Later, during the time of Northern and Southern Courts (1336–1392), Genhō and

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[199] *Kinpusen kanjō nikki* Yoshiki Shudō, *Kinpusenji shiryōshūsei* (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2000), 51-54.

others close to Tōji revised the *Kanjō nikki* with the aim of asserting Northern court control (Tōji dominance) over Southern court on Kinpusen. For our purposes, however, what is most important is that whoever authored the text apparently sought to highlight the religious connection between Daigoji and Kinpusen. This connection, in turn, is of great importance for understanding the Tachikawa-ryū's general political situation as well as its connection with Kinpusen.

One further, far broader, aim of this chapter will be to shed light on the religious and political relationship between the capital, major temples, and the local religious centers during the Insei period. In so doing, I shall be responding principally to Kuroda Toshio's 黒田俊雄 (1926–1993) use of the concepts of *ōbō* 王法 ("Imperial law") and *buppō* 佛法 ("Buddhist law") to describe the relationship of mutual dependence between the political and religious institutions in medieval Japan. For Kuroda, this dualistic framework maintained harmony between political and religious authority in the arena of the private estates system (*shōen* 荘園制). He argues that the terms *ōbō* and *buppō*, which appear in an account of the armed conflict that developed between Enryakuji 延暦寺 and Kōfukuji 興福寺 in the *Chūyūki* 中右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141), came to serve as the conceptual basis for protection of the country (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家).[200] Buddhist institutions prayed for the protection of the country and in order to secure boons for not only the emperor but also the common folk. Kuroda details his position as follows:

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[200] It appears in the entry for the eighth day of the fourth month of the fourth year of Ten-ei 天永 (1113) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:275 and 279-280).

> From an overall perspective, Tendai 天台, Shingon 真言, and the Nara schools, as well as yin-yang practices (*onmyōdō* 陰陽道), cults of the kami, and in general all sorts of religious elements, were unified around esotericism to form a greater framework that may be called *kenmitsu bukkyō* 顕密仏教 (exoteric-esoteric Buddhism), a framework within which they developed. … This stage lasted a long time, from the early Heian period, around the beginning of the ninth century, through the latter half of the twelfth century. However, its forms did not fully emerge until the eleventh century, that is, during the period spanning the transition from the Fujiwara regency (967–1068) to the Insei 院政 government (1087–1192). At this stage, formalized doctrine concerning the relationship of the state, or political power, and Buddhism defined the "Imperial law" (*ōbō*) and the "Buddhist law" (*buppō*) as existing in a relationship of mutual dependence and assistance (*ōbō buppō sōi ron* 王法仏法相依論).[201]

Kuroda asserts that the exoteric-esoteric Buddhist framework (*kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制) that constituted the dominant ideology of medieval Japan was organized around a series of esoteric practices such as prayers for averting natural disasters, and that this framework provided the ideological underpinning for the imperial court's political authority. The framework in turn supported and was supported by the mutually dependent relationship of the private estates system and the power block system (*kenmon taisei* 権門体制).[202] Through the medium of these dominant esoteric institutions and elements, the relationship of mutual dependence and assistance between the imperial law and the Buddhist law was formalized and used to control private estates. These estates, in turn, controlled local areas by using Buddhist concepts based on the syncretism of local kami and buddhas (*honji suijaku* 本地垂迹) and monastic networks consisting of head and local temples (*honji to matsuji* 本寺と末寺).

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[201] Kuroda Toshio, translated by Jacqueline I. Stone, "The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law" *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, 3-4, (1996): 274–275.

[202] Kuroda asserts that the exoteric-esoteric system declined in the Warring States period (1467–1568). Kuroda Toshio, *Ōhō to buppō: chūseishi no kōzu* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2001), 12.

Kuroda, however, failed to demonstrate the dominance of esotericism in local regions, where the *ōbō-buppō* system was successfully used to rule the local. His depiction of the *honji suijaku* phenomenon of bodhisattvas manifesting themselves as local deities in order to assert the authority of the imperial court over local populations ignores the political independence and religious specificity of the local areas and their cults. When the government shifted from a reliance on Confucianism and *ritsuryo* regulations to a reliance on esoteric rituals to run state affairs, the imperial court lost much political authority and credibility. The imperial court gradually developed its ability not only to advance its own interests in matters of imperial succession but also with regard to the selection of monks for clerical posts within the court.

Being amply supplied with private estates from the imperial court, religious institutions intervened actively in political and religious affairs at the capital. Local areas began to possess more independent political and religious systems. This process began to develop successfully in the regime of Emperors Uda 宇多天皇 (867-931; r. 887-897) and then flourished during the regime of Emperor Shirakawa 白河天皇 (1053-1129; r. 1072-1086). Accordingly, Heian esotericism deconstructed the fundamental principles of the Japanese religious framework and replaced them with an ideological pluralism, which rested on a new dynamic whereby religious elements of disparate origins (e.g., Buddhist, Daoist, shamanistic) existed within the same system and were accorded relatively equal value. Having equal status, these elements were not arranged in a hierarchy according to their origins but rather mixed and mingled, a process that resulted in the aforementioned pluralism.

In this chapter, I seek to introduce and analyze the relationship between political and

religious activities of the court, temples, and mountain-dwelling practitioners during the Insei period. My argument will proceed in four stages. In the first section, I will examine the political and religious developments during the reigns of Emperors Uda and Daigo 醍醐天皇 (885-930; r. 897-930) in relation to the developments on Kinpusen. In the second section, I will examine the private estates (*shōen* 荘園) and Enshūji 円宗寺, a private temple at which prayers for the emperor were perfomed (*goganji* 御願寺) during the reign of Emperor Gosanjō 後三条天皇 (1034-1073; r. 1068-1072). In the third section, I will examine religious affairs related to Hosshōji 法勝寺 during Emperor Shirakawa's time. Finally, in the fourth section, I will focus on contemporaneous political and religious activities on Kinpusen.

I. Emperors Uda's and Daigo's reign

A. Political Affairs

This section will examine religious and political developments during the reigns of emperors Uda's and Daigo that were of direct importance for understanding Kinpusen. Motoki Yasuo 元木泰雄 (1954-) has recently argued that Emperor Uda's regime was the origin of "familial politics" (*miuchi seiji* ミウチ政治) in which the imperial family began to supersede established *ritsuryō* paradigms through which the government was run by a small group of clans that were eligible for the regency.[203] Motoki claims that this shift meant that literati such as Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903) came to be excluded from governmental positions and that Michizane, who was exiled to Dazaifu 大宰府, was thus an early victim of Heian

[203] Yasuo Motoki, *Inseiki seijishi kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2000), 37-46.

"family politics."[204] Setting aside the important question of whether the Heian literati were actually victims, Motoki's theory is of great interest because it provides a coherent framework for understanding how the imperial court and literati came to act independently of each other in both political and religious matters during this period.

Regarding the period of court rule, numerous scholars such as Sakamoto Tarō[205] 坂本太郎 (1901-1987), Takeuchi Rizō[206] 竹内理三 (1907-1997), Ishimoda Shō[207] 石母田正 (1912-1986), Ōtsuka Tokurō[208] 大塚徳郎 (1914-2002), Hashimoto Yoshihiko[209] 橋本義彦 (1924-), Tokoro Isao[210] 所功 (1941-), and Morita Tei[211] 森田悌 (1941-), have all proposed that the Dharma-Emperor Uda[212], in an attempt to eclipse the power of the regent branch of the Fujiwara family and their major temples (*kenmon* 権門), began to administer political affairs by himself (*shinsei* 親政) with the assistance of his court retainers. Because the *ritsuryō* system had become established even at the local level, people in peripheral regions expected the local enforcement of this new imperial politics, which was supposed to overcome the intensifying political crisis. One of distinctive features of emperors Uda's and Emperor Daigo's regimes in this view was that a principle of action emerged that sought to undertake "positive" efforts to

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204 Motoki, *Inseiki seijishi kenkyū*, 40.
205 Tarō Sakamoto, *Sugawara no Michizane* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962), 86-88.
206 Rizō Takeuchi, *Takeuchi Rizō chosakushū: dai rokkan insei to heishi seiken* (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1999), 44-114.
207 Shō Ishimoda, *Ishimoda Shō chosakushū dai rokkan* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 11-214.
208 Tokurō Ōtsuka, *Heian shoki seijishi kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1969), 3-21
209 Yoshihiko Hashimoto, *Heian no kyūtei to kizoku* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1996), 36-119.
210 Isao Tokoro, *Miyoshi Kiyoyuki* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1970), 168-176.
211 Tei Morita, *Heian jidai seijishi kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978), 189-226.
212 Emperor Uda, a devotee who became a Buddhist monk in the second year of Shōtai 昌泰 (899), was one of the most important Emperors to think of Kinpusen as the land of Maitreya Bodhisattva. He received the Dharma transmission at Tōji 東寺 and taught at Ninnaji 仁和寺, a temple thay he established in the fourth year of Ninna 仁和 (888) as a place for him to perform prayers.

bring people of talent even from outside established corridors of power.[213]

Seen in this light, Miyoshi Kiyoyuki 三善清行 (847-918)—an official discussed at length in chapter one—was representative of the Heian literati who supported direct administration of Emperors Uda and Daigo. Support for this view can be seen in the *Iken jūnikajō* 意見十二箇条 ('Request Consisting of Twelve Clauses'), a lengthy political manifesto that Miyoshi submitted to Emperor Daigo in the fourteenth year of Engi 延喜 (914). In the text, Miyoshi noted that "A path to reign over a country is the source of wisdom. A way to obtain the wisdom is the basis of a school."[214] Tokoro Isao, focusing on the corruption of local government officials, asserts that the difficulty of maintaining a system of land distribution in the *ritsuryō* code (*handenshujuhō* 班田収授法; 701) promoted the growth of private estates owned by aristocrats and temples and led to the failure to restrict the expansion of private estates.[215] Kiyoyuki clearly thought that exclusive "family politics" should come to an end so that the right person should be given the appropriate position. One example pertaining to the policy was the unprecedented promotion of the outsider Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903) to the position of Minister of the Right by Emperors Uda and Daigo.

Because Michizane was a member of the literati who succeeded in working his way up from the bottom, he enjoyed the fullest trust of Emperor Uda. Sakamoto highlights two of Michizane's prominent administrative moves: 1) support for the abolition of the imperial embassies to China (*kentōshi* 遣唐使) in the sixth year of Kanpyō 寛平 (894) and 2) support

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213 Emperors began to administer political affairs by themselves (*shinsei* 親政) with the assistance of their court vassals.
214 *Iken jūnikajō*. GR 27: 122.
215 Tokoro, *Miyoshi Kiyoyuki*, 51-70.

for the reconstruction of the local tax administration system.[216] In Sakamoto's view, Emperor Uda wanted to ban the Fujiwara family from politics and restore the ideal of the nation as one governed in accordance with codes of laws and conduct (*ritsuryō* 律令).[217] It was in this context that Uda undertook the radical step of asking Sugawara no Michizane to become the chancellor.

As to Michizane's rapid promotion, the *Fusō ryakki* entry for the eleventh day of the tenth month of the third year of Shōtai 昌泰 (900) suggests that Kiyoyuki sent a letter to Michizane that reads as follows:

> When I [Miyoshi Kiyoyuki] pursued my studies at a place far away from my home, I studied divination. Most humbly and with proper formalities, I divined that the next year would be the year of pig rooster (*kanototori* 辛酉), the time when revolutionary changes occur. …Allow me to say most humbly that Sonkō 尊閤 [Sugawara no Michizane] started from Kanrin 翰林 [a family of learning] and rose to end up as *kaii* 槐位 [minister]. …Allow me to say humbly that [Michizane] should understand this achievement and acknowledge the advance.[218]

In spite of this text, there is little consensus as to the nature of relations between Michizane and Miyoshi Kiyoyuki. Tokoro Isao assumes that Kiyoyuki was aware of the imminent danger Michizane was facing and urged Michizane to resign the rank of Minister of the Right immediately due to the provocative nature of his promotion.[219] Tokoro works from the supposition that Kiyoyuki and Michizane were constantly feuding with each other, rather than having a relationship of teacher and student in government service.[220] Murayama Shūichi

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216 Sakamoto, *Sugawara no Michizane*, 86-97.
217 Robert Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 255-270.
218 *Fusō ryakki* 23. SZKT 12:170-171.
219 Tokoro, *Miyoshi Kiyoyuki*, 79.
220 Tokoro Isao, *Sugawara no Michizane no jitsuzō* (Kyōto: Rinkai Shoten, 2002), 60.

suggests that Kiyoyuki was actually involved in a political coup in which Fujiwara no Tokihira 藤原時平 (871-909) evicted Michizane from his position as Minister of the Right (*udaijin* 右大臣).[221] Regardless of the exact nature of their relationship, for our purposes perhaps the most important point is that both scholars made a significant mark upon the political and religious events of the period.

Michizane, however, did not maintain his position on political affairs. Emperor Uda eventually abdicated after he was defeated by political competition with Fujiwara no Tokihira.[222] Michizane was exiled to Dazaifu 大宰府 (modern-day, Fukuoka Prefecture 福岡県) on the fourth day of the second month of the first year of Engi 延喜 (901)[223] where he died a miserable death. Shortly thereafter, Michizane was believed to have become an angry spirit that could bring natural disasters and unusual deaths to many people, including (or perhaps especially) the aristocrats who took part in Michizane's exile. Some years later, in order to pacify the angry spirit of Sugawara no Michizane, Emperor Ichijō 一条天皇 (980-1011; r.986-1011) granted the late spirit of Michizane the Senior First Rank, Great Prime Minister (*shōichii dajō daijin* 正一位太政大臣) on the twentieth day of the intercalary tenth month of the fourth year of Shōryaku 正暦 (993).[224] Subsequently, Miyoshi Kiyoyuki himself used his divination skills to establish worship of Sugawara no Michizane as a thunder deity (*tenjin* 天神). This worship entailed political and religious representations relevant to the development of the Tachikawa-ryū's role in the cult of Kinpusen.

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221 Shūichi Murayama, *Tenjin goryō shinkō* (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1996), 96-99.
222 Michizane was also defeated by political competition with imperial officials such as Fujiwara no Kiyotsura 藤原清貫 (867-930) and Taira no Mareyo 平希世 ([?]-930).
223 *Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 1. SZKT 11:6.
224 *Honchō seiki* 12. SZKT 9:169. *Shōyūki.* DNKS 1:284.

All of this is of tremendous importance for understanding both the role of Kinpusen and the development of the Tachikawa-ryū. Most obviously, perhaps, given Miyoshi Kiyoyuki's prominent position in early Tachikawa-ryū genealogies, these events highlight the degree to which early Tachikawa-ryū figures occupied mainstream positions at even the pinnacles of power. Perhaps even more importantly, however, Emperor Uda, at least in part in response to Michizane's transformation into a fearful *goryō*-type spirit, began to undertake pilgrimages to Kinpusen. As the medieval Japanese Buddhist narrative *Dōken Shōnin Meidoki* 道賢上人冥途記 (Record of Dōken Shōnin's Experience of the Other World) makes clear, Kinpusen was seen at the time as an important site for pacifying the realm and angry spirits.[225] Descriptions of people entering Kinpusen in relation to the pacification of Michizane's angry spirits can be found in historical writings. Teisū 貞崇 (866-944), one of ten meditation masters of Tōji 東寺, entered Kinpusen and met with Michizane's angry spirits at Tōji.[226] Yōshō 陽勝 (869-[?]), a monk of the Tendai school, acquired the great power of spirit-penetration on Kinpusen and climbed up Kinpusen to pacify Michizane's angry spirits in the fall of the first year of Enchō 延長 (923).[227] Jōzō 浄蔵 (891-944) of Enryakuji, a son of Miyoshi Kiyoyuki, pacified Michizane's angry spirits.[228] As is evidenced in numerous medieval Japanese Buddhist and literary illustrations, Uda, who engaged in worship of Michizane's, helped establish Kinpusen as a center for the pacification of Michizane's angry spirit.

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225 *Dōken Shōnin Meidoki*. *Fusō ryakki* 25. SZKT 12:219-222.
226 *Honchō kōsōden* 47. DNBZ 84:654. *Fusō ryakki* 25. SZKT 12:223.
227 *Kokon chōmonju* 2. SZKT 19:31. *Fusō ryakki* 23. SZKT 12:172, 195.
228 *Fusō ryakki* 23 and 25. SZKT 12:167-224.

B. Religious Affairs

During Emperor Uda's reign, the new imperial politics (*shinsei*) was based on pacification of the entire realm through the veneration of buddhas and the kami of heaven and earth. Ōtsuka discusses the initial stage of the *shinsei* that led to increased religious observance.[229] This took many forms, forms that were determined by the court. The imperial vows and ideal of exercising benevolent rule over the imperial estates took the form of religious ceremonies and affairs managed directly by the imperial order which was based on Chinese Five Classics. A mid-Heian anecdote from the *Gōdanshō* 江談抄 suggests that Emperor Uda learned the *Book of Changes*.[230] In order to accomplish an imperial aspiration in which "Wise lord dealt with various national matters and determined policy with sacred thoughts,"[231] he held religious rites and rituals regularly. One example was the daily or yearly rites devoted to the four quarters, heaven, earth, and kami (*shihōhai* 四方拝). Since the regime of Emperor Uda, the purification rituals had become the standard of New Year's rites among the emperors, aristocrats, and ordinary people. These are often mentioned in historical records and aristocratic diaries.

Another manifestation of Uda's ritual orientation can be seen in a number of pilgrimages that he undertook to Kinpusen.[232] These pilgrimages had at least two central motivations. First, Kinpusen, or the "Peak of Gold[233]," came to hold great religious significance

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229 Ōtsuka, *Heian shoki seijishi kenkyū*, 105.
230 *Gōdanshō* 6,50. SNKBT 32:239..
231 *Gōdanshō* 1. GR 27:554.
232 After the abdication from the throne, Emperor Uda visited Kinpusen three times, once in the first year of Shōtai 昌泰 (898), a second time in the third year of Shōtai (900), and a third time in the fifth year of Engi 延喜 (905) (*Fusō rakki* 23. SZKT 12:169-176).
233 Heather Blair examines the religious and political history of Kinpusen by closely analyzing mid-Heian courtiers' diaries and Buddhist tale literature. Heather Blair, Peak of Gold: Trance, Place and Religion in Heian Japan (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2008).

due to the five-phases theory. Kinpusen is located to the west of Ise, the site of the central shrine of the imperial ancestral cult. In the five-phases schema west corresponds with the metal phase, and metal was believed to be particularly apotropaic. This association between the metal phase and Kinpusen underpinned imperial pilgrimages to Kinpusen, which were undertaken in the hope of protecting the country from disasters and calamities. Second, Uda in fact prayed for his own fortune and rebirth on Kinpusen, which he also apparently visited in order to maintain a connection with the spirit of Michizane. Kinpusen became an important place where unresolved individual and social problems were resolved through the heavenly protection of Zaō Gongen 蔵王権現, the guardian of "gold mines" who presided over the secrets of good health, long life, and worldly success. Crucially, imperial pilgrimages to Kinpusen also played vital role in leading Heian courtiers to become devotees of the region's local buddhas and deities.

Eventually, even members of the regent branch of the Fujiwara family, such as Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1027) and Fujiwara no Yorimichi 藤原頼通 (992-1074), began to visit Kinpusen in order to avert calamities and the miserable deaths that befell them, and to dispatch their appointed monks from Kōfukuji.[234] In order to control the sacred mountain of Kinpusen, the Heian imperial court built private temples (or shrines) and

[234] The visit of Fujiwara no Michinaga in the fourth year of Kankō 寛弘 (1007) included a large-scale ceremony and was very well attended because the pilgrimage to Kinpusen was for the purpose of praying for good health, long life, and worldly success throughout this unlucky year. He visited many temples on Kinpusen and offered many copies of sutras, including the *Lotus Sutra*, the *Pure Land Sutra*, and the *Maitreya Sutra,* for twelve days. He made handwritten copies of sutras and buried sutra-tubes in order to gain merit for his worldly success. Also, Michinaga thought much of Kinpusen as he prayed for the everlasting prosperity of his descendent and family. Because of the growing belief that the angry spirit of Michizane caused natural disasters and miserable deaths in the Heian imperial court, Michinaga was afraid of the angry spirits (*onryō* 怨霊) and asked Buddhist monks to pacify Michizane's spirit with the help of Zaō Gongen (*Midō kanpakuki*. DNKMK 1:222-229) (*Shōyūki*. DNKS 10:32-35).

began dispatching superintendents (*kengyō* 検校) who kept an eye on religious activities at Kinpusen.[235] Kinpusen was a sacred mountain controlled primarily by the imperial court and became a place for prayers for the Emperor. The imperial court seems to have been influenced by devotion to Maitreya Bodhisattva (*miroku bosatsu* 弥勒菩薩)[236], the future Buddha who is the savior of the world to come, and, more importantly, by ideas of immortality that were latent in contemporaneous views of rebirth in Tuşita Heaven among Buddhist practitioners in China and Japan.

1. Maitreya Worship, Kinpusen and Ninnaji

Another aim of Heian imperial and aristocratic pilgrimages to Kinpusen was the belief

[235] The earliest known superintendent appointed by the Emperor Uda who made a pilgrimage to Kinpusen and donated irrigated rice field (*shōen* 荘園) in the seventh month of the third year of Shōtai 昌泰 (900) was the great Dharma-master Joken 助憲大法師, who performed esoteric rituals for the protection of the country (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家) on Kinpusen under the direct orders of Emperor Uda. (*Kinpusen zakki*. ND 38:473). Although no superintendents appear in the historical records after Joken, the imperial court continued to dispatch Buddhist monks and officials as imperial messengers (e.g., in the regime of the Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇, 885-930; r.897-930), Ishizaki Shōnin 石崎上人 was sent to offer eight copies of the *Lotus Sutra*. In the regime of the Emperor Murakami 村上天皇 (926-967; r.946-967), Shinku Shōnin 心空上人 (fl. tenth century) was also sent to offer sixteen copies of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Kinpusen zakki* ND 38:473) until the next appointment of a superintendent, who ended up being the Dharma-master Zōsan 蔵算法師 (fl. tenth century), appointed by the Emperor Ichijō 一条天皇 (980-1011; r.986-1011) in the third year of Chōtoku 長徳 (997), who belonged to Ninnaji and became a preceptor (*ajari* 阿闍梨) and performed repentance rituals to the healing Buddha. These imperial messengers were not appointed as the residential superintendents, but the continuity of dispatches of these messengers from the imperial court emphasizes the control that Kinpusen maintained in the close relation between the emperors and monks from the temples. In early times, these Buddhist monks, who belonged to Daigoji and Ninnaji, under the strong influence of the imperial court continued to be very active on Kinpusen. Although the Fujiwara clan began to have a great influence on political and religious affairs, the Emperors Uda, Daigo, and Murakami remained directly engaged in political affairs.

[236] Maitreya Bodhisattva is the bodhisattva who will become the next buddha after Sakyamuni and who currently resides in Tuşita heaven, one of the heavenly realms in Buddhist cosmology and a place where bodhisattvas who will become buddhas in their future lives reside until the time when they descend to save all sentient beings in this world. Maitreya Bodhisattva preaches to the future buddhas, training them through sermons. 5,670 million years after the passing away of the Buddha, Maitreya Bodhisattva will attain Buddhahood and save all sentient beings in this world.

that Kinpusen, a sacred place where Maitreya Bodhisattva resided or had descended and that visiting there provided the same merits as being reborn in Tuşita Heaven. This hints at interactions between notions of ascent to the heavenly realm of Matreya's Tusita heaven, and Daoist messianism in the form of Maitreya's descent as the next Buddha, i.e., the world savior. Japanese scholars have tended to assume that the development of belief in being reborn in a "Pure Land" was influenced by the belief in the degeneration of Dharma[237] (*mappō* 末法).[238] They suggest that devotion to Maitreya Bodhisattva is often described using two motifs: the cult of Maitreya's ascent[239] and that of Maitreya's descent.[240] On the one hand, seeing this world as impure, people looked for salvation to Maitreya Bodhisattva, who was seen as a world savior who would ascend to the Tuşita Heaven with all sentient beings. On the other hand, however, people also thought of Maitreya Bodhisattva as one who would descend to this impure world for the sake of all sentient beings. For our purposes, however, what is most important is that, in either case, people wished to obtain benefits for longevity in order to attain rebirth either in

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[237] According to Chinese ans Japanese source texts, Buddhism is divided into three ages of the Buddha's Dharma after the final nirvana of the Buddha: 1) the true Dharma, 2) the semblance Dharma, and 3) the degenerate Dharma. During the true Dharma, a period of about 500 to 1,000 years after the death of Sakyamuni, doctrines, practices, and enlightenment exist. During the semblance Dharma, a period of about 500 to 1,000 years after the true Dharma, Buddhist doctrines and practices still exist. Buddhist enlightenment, however, does not exist. During the degenerate Dharma, the period after the semblance Dharma, it was believed that the power of the teachings of the Buddha declined, and one is able to practice and attain enlightenment. Only sutras remain. The ideology of three ages had a strong influence on the teachings of Pure Land Buddhism and became popular in China and Japan. In China and Japan, the difficulty of attaining enlightenment was increasingly stressed.

[238] Fusao Kōno, *Heian makki seijishi kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1979), 119-129.

[239] In the cult of Maitreya's ascent, people wish to be born in Tuşita heaven before the coming descent of Maitreya Bodhisattva.

[240] The cult of Maitreya's descent proposes that Maitreya Bodhisattva will descend from Tuşita Heaven to this world, preach three sermons under the Dragon Flower Tree, and lead all sentient beings to attain Buddhahood. During the first sermon under the Dragon Flower Tree, Maitreya Bodhisattva will lead 9,600,000,000 people to attain enlightenment, 9,400,000,000 people in the second meeting, and 9,200,000,000 people (Skt. arhan) in the third meeting. This cult, moreover, developed the subsequent theory that one can become the reincarnation of Maitreya Bodhisattva without Maitreya's descent.

Tuşita Heaven or in a particular place in this world, such as Kinpusen.[241]

It is important to note that since Emperor Uda's regime, political policies proportionate to various unpredictable calamities of heaven and earth[242], such as shooting stars, solar and lunar

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[241] Japanese Buddhist scholars have addressed these two models of Maitreya's cult in relation to the growing belief in the degeneration of the Dharma from the fourth to eleventh centuries in China and Japan. The commonly accepted theory among them is that the growing belief in the degeneration of the Dharma was systematized in China during the sixth to seventh centuries and contributed to the development of the desire for rebirth in Tuşita Heaven among the elites and Buddhist monks in China and Japan. The historian Hayama Takusu has argued for the significance of the different view of the Pure Land in devotion to Maitreya Bodhisattva, focusing on the religious continuity of Buddhist teachings and practices between Chinese and Japanese Buddhists in relation of devotion to Maitreya Bodhisattva. Miyata Noboru has demonstrated that the form of devotion of Maitreya Bodhisattva differed according to the differing receptions and transmissions of Buddhism in different societies. Concerning the cult of Maitreya Bodhisattva within the East Asian textual studies, he has developed two basic motifs: 1) Maitreya's ascent, derived from *Sutras on the Ascent of Maitreya Bodhisattva* (C. *Mile shangsheng jing*), translated into Chinese by Juqu Jingsheng of the Liu Song dynasty, which teaches that the Buddha predicts that Maitreya Bodhisattva will ascend to Tuşita Heaven in twelve years and 2) Maitreya's descent, derived from *Sutras on the Descent of Maitreya Bodhisattva* (C. *Mile xiasheng jing*), translated into Chinese by Zhu Fafu (230?-316) in 303, which teaches that the Buddha predicts that Maitreya Bodhisattva will descend from Tuşita Heaven into this world in 5,670 million years in order to save the Buddha's disciples. Hayami Takusu, *Miroku shinkō* (Tōkyō: Hyōronsha, 1971), 22-28. Miyata Noboru, "Types of Maitreya Belief in Japan" in *Maitreya, the Future Buddha* ed. Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 174-176.

[242] Descriptions of various calamities of heaven and earth during the Emperor Uda's regime can be found in the *Nihon kiryaku* entries for: (1) the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month of the third year of Ninna 仁和 (887) (earthquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenhen* 20. SZKT 10:530), (2) the sixth day of the ninth month of the third year of Ninna (887) (earthquake) *(Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:530), (3) the eleventh day of the ninth month of the third year of Ninna (887) (odd clouds) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:531), (4) the fourteenth day of the ninth month of the third year of Ninna (887) (earthquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:531),(5) the fifth day of the tenth month of the third year of Ninna (887) (earthquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:531), (6) the fourteenth day of the tenth month of the third year of Ninna (887) (earthquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:531), (7) the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month of the third year of Ninna (887) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:531), (8) the eighth day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Ninna (888) (floods) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:532), (9) the second day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Ninna (888) (snow) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:532), (10) the tenth day of the second month of the first year of Kanpyō 寛平 (889) (earthquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:533), (11) the first day of the third month of the first year of Kanpyō (889) (earthquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:533), (12) the sixth day of the eighth month of first year of Kanpyō (889) (falling comet) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:534), (13) the twentieth day of the eighth month of first year of Kanpyō (889) (earthquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:534), (14) the first day of the sixth month of the second year of Kanpyō (890) (earthquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:536), (15) the sixteenth day of the sixth month of the second year of Kanpyō (890) (earthquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:536), (16) the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month of the second year of Kanpyō (890) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:536), (17) the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month of the second year of Kanpyō (890) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:536), (18) the thirtieth day of the eighth month of the second year of Kanpyō (890) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:536), (19) the first day of the ninth month of the second year of Kanpyō (890) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:536), (20) the second day of the ninth month of the second year

eclipses, earthquakes, droughts, and inundations, were interpreted as evil omens, rather than as harbingers of expanded and positive political policies. Morita Tei has further hypothesized that this inclination may have been closely related to well-founded concerns about changing weather

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of Kanpyō (890) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:536), (21) the third day of the ninth month of the second year of Kanpyō (890) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:536), (22) the fourth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Kanpyō (890) (earthquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:536), (23) the twenty-ninth day of the third month of the third year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:537), (24) the second day of the fifth month of the third year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:537), (25) the third day of the fifth month of the third year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:537), (26) the fourth day of the fifth month of the third year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:537), (27) the seventh day of the fifth month of the third year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:537), (28) the eighth day of the fifth month of the third year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:537), (29) the ninth day of the fifth month of the third year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:537), (30) the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the third year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:537), (31) the fifth month of the third year of Kanpyō (891) (droughts) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:538), (32) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:538), (33) the twenty-fifth day of the eleventh month of the third year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:538), (34) the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:539), (35) the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the fourth year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:539), (36) the first day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:539), (37) the fourteenth day of the eighht month of the fourth year of Kanpyō (891) (droughts) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:539), (38) the fourth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:540), (39) the twenty-third day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:540), (40) the third day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:540), (41) the tenth day of the eleventh month of the fourth year of Kanpyō (891) (earthquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:540), (42) the twenty-sixth day of the eleventh month of the fourth year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:540), (43) the fifth day of the twelfth month of the fourth year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:540), (44) the twenty-third day of the twelfth month of the fourth year of Kanpyō (891) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:540), (45) the twenty-ninth day of the first month of the fifth year of Kanpyō (892) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:540), (46) the fifth day of the second month of the fifth year of Kanpyō (892) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:540), (47) the twenty-ninth day of the second month of the fifth year of Kanpyō (892) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:540), (48) the eleventh day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Kanpyō (892) (invasion) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:541), (49) the twenty-fourth day of the third month of the sixth year of Kanpyō (893) (celestial changes) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:542), (50) the ninth day of the sixth month of the sixth year of Kanpyō (893) (floods) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:542), (51) the fourth day of the second month of the eighth year of Kanpyō (895) (earhquake) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:544), and (52) the ninth day of the fifth month of the eighth year of Kanpyō (895) (floods) (*Nihon kiryaku zenpen* 20. SZKT 10:544).

patterns during the ninth and tenth centuries.[243] Seen in this context, the court's well-known enthusiasm for rain-making rituals as well as its general attitude to celestial omens may perhaps have stemmed from concerns about the fact that a serious decline in governmental control was accompanied by a series of celestial calamities. Crucially, for our purposes, this conjunction of circumstances ultimately led Emperor Uda to develop a new strategy for seeking divine assistance – upon abdicating he established his retired residence at Ninnaji 仁和寺, where he began to hold Buddhist assemblies that later led to the formation of one of the most influential of all esoteric Buddhist schools.[244] Thus from its inception, Ninnaji—a temple closely associated with several of the earliest members of the purported Tachikawa lineage—played a vital role in performing prayers for the angry spirits that were believed to have brought natural disasters and unnatural deaths to the Heian people.

2. Kinpusen, Michizane and Dreams

The growing belief in the angry spirit of Sugawara no Michizane, which often appears in medieval religious and literary illustrations such as the *Dōken Shōnin Meidoki* and *Tenjin emaki*, must be taken into account in any consideration of the manner in which theories about religious practices were influenced by Buddhist-Daoist intellectual trends. The tenth-century text *Kujōdono yūkai* 九条殿遺誡 (Admonitions to Fujiwara no Morosuke's descendants), for

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243 Tei Morita, *Heian jidai seijishi kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978), 64.

244 The *Nihon kiryaku* entry for the twenty-sixth day of the third month of the fourth year of Engi 延喜 (904) states that the retired Emperor Uda first established an assembly of monks for chanting and the presentation of food offerings in an octagonal hall of Ninnaji (*Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 1. SZKT 11:9). A month after the establishment of Buddhist assembly, on the twenty-first day of the intercalary third month of the fourth year of Engi, the thirty-seven honored ones in the Diamond-realm mandala were enshrined to the octagonal hall of Ninnaji (*Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 1. SZKT 11:9).

instance, contains a teaching of Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880-949). Because Tadahira was a younger brother of Fujiwara no Tokihira, who was thought to have been killed by a curse of Michizane, one can imagine that this topic was of great concern to him. The text reads as follows:

> On the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month of the eighth year of Enchō 延長 (930), when lightening struck the Seiryōden 清涼殿, imperial officers were lost. Since I venerated the Three Treasures of Buddhism in my mind, [a curse] is absolutely not worth worrying about. Major Counselor Kiyotsura 大納言清貫 [Fujiwara no Kiyotsura: 867-930] and Secretary of the Right Mareyo 右中弁希世 [Taira no Mareyo: d. 930] usually did not follow Buddhist teachings and had been already struck by misfortune. For this reason, taking refuge in the truth is enough to avoid the various calamities.[245]

This admonition highlights the tremendous threat of Michizane, who had been pacified by the nine expedient methods in the esoteric Buddhist framework and whose power encouraged Morosuke's descendants to take refuge in the Three Treasures of Buddhism. The Fujiwara sought to understand the reasons behind Michizane's transformation into an angry spirit so as to guarantee their future prosperity and avert various calamities.

Another piece of evidence indicating how the court attempted to pacify the angry spirit of Michizane can be found in the *Hyakurenshō* entry for the twentieth day of the intercalary tenth month of the fourth year of Shōryaku 正暦 (993). It shows that the social and physical upheavals, which were believed to be court appointments caused by the ill will of the angry spirit of Sugawara no Michizane were expiated by Buddhist rituals in a dream and reads as follows:

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[245] *Kujōdono yūkai.* GR 27:137.

According to a dream of the Great Minister of the Center's [Fujiwara no Michikane 藤原道兼 (961–995)], the title of Prime Minister was bestowed on Kan Jōshō 菅丞相 [Minister Sugawara no Michizane]. The *Shōyūki* 小右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957-1046), says, "On the fourth day of the second month of the fifth year [of Shōryaku], an imperial messenger of Anrakuji 安楽寺 was informed that there was an oracular verse." The *Shōyūki* entry for the sixth day [of the second month of the fifth year of Shōryaku] says, "the Prime Minister of the Center was told that this was ordered as follows: a dream [Fujiwara no Michikane had] the day before yesterday announced that the title of the Prime Minister would be bestowed on Kan Jōshō (Sugawara no Michizane). Therefore, this morning [Michikane] told the Chancellor [Fujiwara no Michitaka 藤原道隆 (953–995)] about it. I [Emperor Ichijō 一條天皇 (980–1011; r.986–1011)] thoroughly considered the fact that the title of Prime Minister was bestowed upon the Great Minister of the Left [Fujiwara no] Tokihira 藤原時平 (871–909). Now, does Michizane want to hold [the same title as Tokihira]? At this, the Great Minister of the Center was deeply moved (*kannō* 感応)." The *Shōyūki* entry for the fourteenth day [of the second month of the fifth year of Shōryaku] says, "Director of monks Kanshu 観修 (945–1008) came and said, "When a Buddhist assembly was held to perform rituals for a lady-in-waiting of the Prince, a daughter of the Great Minister of the Right Naritoki [Fujiwara no Naritoki 藤原済時 (941–995)], the angry spirit suddenly appeared and said 'I am the spirit of Kujō Jōshō 九條丞相 [Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (909–960)]. While I was alive, when I participated in a Buddhist service, or when I sought a sinister way, I hoped for the prosperity of my descendants. This wish was fulfilled. It was my deep desire to ruin the grandchild of Ono no miya Taishōkoku 小野宮大相國 [Chancellor Fujiwara no Saneyori 藤原実頼 (900–970)]. At that time, however, the *onmyō* practices were fully performed, so I had to wait for sixty years to fulfill my wish for the extermination of Ono no miya's descendents. When the opportunity again presented itself, I received terrible suffering because I had not abandoned my wish. I had no chance to remove this suffering. When a grandchild of the Ono no miya shōkoku 小野宮相國 was to be worn born, I aimed toward the mother`s womb and interrupted the childbirth. To begin with, I resolved to wait for another sixty years by concentrating my will and preserving my life. This was not long. At that time, the sinister way could now be performed for two years. It is difficult to control this practice after [only] two years. Also the lady-in-waiting [of the Prince] was already pregnant and had become sick. As

> one who wished to exterminate the [child`s] paternal line, I have heard about their concerns and learned about ancient matters. How can you try to take precautions against this [and intervene in] this family discord?" The director of monks [Kanshu] said [to the Prince], "Erect a statue of Daiitoku immediately and become a devout believer in Daiitoku."[246]

This passage is remarkable for a number of reasons; here we see that people used religious rituals to provide the context for the oracular verses recited by a bodhisattva or deity. We also see the general Mahayana belief that religious vows could cause bodhisattvas to transfer their limitless merit to suffering followers. What I would like to stress here, however, is the importance of dream practice for understanding the religious mentality of this age. Here we see that in order to subdue the angry spirit of Michizane or to lift a curse on one's body, the *Daiitokutenhō* 大威徳天法 (Rituals of the Great Powerful), performed in a dream, was a means for attaining Buddhist merits that lead followers to Buddhahood.[247]

Though seldom studied as such, dream practice—which I define as religious practice which takes place during or as a result of a dream—was an extremely important element in medieval Buddhist-Daoist praxis. Daoist practices performed in accordance with dreams often

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[246] *Hyakurenshō* 4. SZKT 11:8. The passage originated in similar descriptions appearing in the Shōyūki entry for the fourteenth day of the intercalary tenth month of the fourth year of Shōryaku (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 1:288-289). As the dramatic development in a medieval Buddhist-Daoist praxis is revealed, the aforementioned passage includes one particular theme of great importance, which is dream practice.

[247] Descriptions of *Daiitokitenhō* performing the prayers for illness are as follows: (1) When Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880-949) was critically ill in the waning years of his life, Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (909-960) asked a monk to perform the Great Powerful Rituals in order to pray for the cure of Tadahira on the fourteenth day of the second month of the third year of Tenryaku 天暦 (949) (*Kyūreki*. DK 9:12), (2) Fujiwara no Tadazane asked the preceptor Ninkei 仁慧 (1175-1247) to perform the Great Powerful Rituals (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:220), and (3) the preceptor Kiyo 快譽 (fl. twelfth century) performed the Great Powerful Rituals for Minamoto no Shishi 源師子 (1070-1149) while she was sick on the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month of the second year of Kashō (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:199). The aforementioned passage originated in similar descriptions appearing in the *Shōyūki* entry for the fourteenth day of the intercalary tenth month of the fourth year of Shōryaku (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 1:288-289).

appear in medieval Japanese historical and literary sources. The earliest account of dream practice related to Kinpusen is found in the *Rihōōki* 吏部王記, the diary of Shigeakira 重明親王 (906-954). This text presents an image of Kinpusen as a sacred mountain. The *Rihōōki* entry for the fourteenth day of the second month of the second year of Jōhei 承平 (932) reads as follows:

> Referring to the meditation master Jōsū 貞崇 (866–944), the transmission of the old teacher of the sacred place called Kinpusen (*Kinpusen shinku no korō sōden* 金峯山神區之古老相伝) says:
> Once upon a time, there was [a place] called Kinpusen in China where Kongo Zaō bodhisattva 金剛蔵王菩薩 resided. The mountain, which was in a place in the northern sea where immortals dwelt, crossed the sea [to Japan]. It was therefore said that the mountain was Kinpusen. In the mountain, there was a valley called Akodani 阿古谷, a place where religious practitioners performed the religious practice of self-abandonment. There were eight dragons. In ancient times, there was a youth called Ako 阿古 who served a monk of Motogangōji 本元興寺. He was a bright youth. At the sutra-reading exam, his master was in charge of Ako's exam. Although Ako had already passed his exam, he was not allowed to be ordained in spite of the fact that other disciples were ordained. He had experienced the torment of hell twice. Then, Ako had hard feelings against his master and jumped off a cliff in the valley. At this very instant [his body] transformed into the body of a dragon. After hearing of this incident, his master was deeply moved and went to the valley to see Ako. Although Ako already had the body of a dragon, his head retained a human face. He was eager to kill his master. Because of the protection of [Kongō Zaō] bodhisattva, however, the dragon was crashed under a rock that collapsed. Thus, the master was saved from [Ako's] attempt to kill him.
> In the Jōgan era 貞観 (859–877), Dharma-teacher Kankai 観海 (dates unknown) came to the valley to see the body of the dragon. In Kankei's dream, the dragon earnestly told Kankai, "Tomorrow morning, I will show my figure." At the time of the first light of day from heaven, [the sky] had become overcast with clouds and hail had begun to fall. The head of a rising dragon was seen. Its height was nearly two *jō* [about six meters]. It was a one-headed,

> eight-bodied [dragon]. Kankai offered a prayer: "I made eight copies of the *Lotus Sutra* and offered one to each of the eight bodies. I approach and eliminate your suffering so that you do not harm me." Yet, the dragon made him spit out his spirit and continued to harm to his body. Kankai had a mortal fear of the dragon and felt displeased in mind and body. He took refuge in the bodhisattva's teaching and wished to make a copy of the *Lotus Sutra*. Then, the sky completely clouded over and fog [rolled in]. The location of the dragon was unknown. After a while, the clouds and the fog cleared away. Surprisingly, the body of the dragon he saw manifested as the central worthy of Kinpusen [Kongō Zaō Gongen]. Kankai felt blessed and made a copy of the *Lotus Sutra* as he made a vow. He faithfully made offerings [to Kongō Zaō Gongen]. He asked Dharma-master Zenyū 善祐 (dates unknown) to be a lecturer. The Dharma-master Zenyū firmly declined to accept the offer. As he fell into a state of dreaming, the bodhisattva said, "Now, I ask you not to continually decline the offer. You should recite the *Lotus Sutra* at least up to the second of the twenty-eight chapters of the Han edition." Zenyū became fully aware of the dream and accepted the offer as the bodhisattva explained it. After having he had recited the second of the twenty-eight chapters of the *Lotus Sutra*, the Sutra was caught in a strong wind and completely disappeared. Now only one of the eight copies of the *Lotus Sutra* remained.[248]

This passage represents an episode in which a religious practitioner had a dream on Kinpusen and through it received boons from Zaō Gongen. The account reveals Kinpusen's role as a center for religious praxis on a number of levels. The appearance of a dragon in one's dream was prophecy that natural disasters and calamities would strike. Making pilgrimages to Kinpusen for the purpose of encountering the dragon and acquiring spiritual powers was seen as a means to solving not only problems of the nation, but also individual woes.[249] More broadly, this anecdote

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[248] Yoneda Yusuke and Yoshioka Masayuki, eds. *Rihōōki* (Tōkyō: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1974), 60. Another version of the story is founded in the second volume of the *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集 (Collection of Tales of All Ages) (*Kokon chomonjū* 2. NKBT 84:60).

[249] The *Denryaku* entry for the second day of the ninth month of the fifth year of Kōwa 康和 (1103) notes that due to a bad dream, Tadazane confined himself in his house (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:233). In addition, the yin-yang master Abe no Yasunaga 安倍泰長 (fl. twelfth century) performed divination of Minamoto no

is also illustrative a further aspect of dream practice: dreams seem to have been particularly sought for in the context of religious pilgrimages. Dream practice was seen as an important vehicle for obtaining visions of bodhisattvas or deities that rarely if ever appeared to the conscious mind.

Perhaps not surprisingly, religious dreams were soon sought after by lay people as well as professionals. One entry of the *Ōkagami* 大鏡 (Great Mirror) for Chancellor Kaneie [Fujiwara no Kaneie 藤原兼家 (929–990)] tells a story of dreaming as a type of Daoist praxis that proved to be extremely popular among the Heian aristocrats. It reads as follows:

> They tell me there were wonderful dream interpreters and shamanesses in those days. While the Horikawa Regent Kanemichi [Fujiwara no Kanemichi 藤原兼通 (925-977)] was at the peak of his power, Kaneie suffered the pain of being relieved of his official positions. Meanwhile a certain person had a dream in which, to his amazement, swarms of arrows went speeding eastward from the Horikawa 堀河 Mansion to land on the Higashisanjō 東三条 Mansion. Coming from a quarter for which Kaneie had no liking, it seemed an ominous visitation, so the man reported it to Kaneie, who anxiously consulted a dream interpreter. "The dream was excellent," the interpreter said. "It shows that the government of the realm will pass to your house, and that all the people who now wait on Kanemichi will soon be coming to you. "What he predicted was precisely what happened. A remarkable shamaness was also active at the time, someone who was said to be a medium for the young Kamo deity. People called her the reclining shamaness because she always spoke from a prone position. Kaneie called her into his mansion one day, asked some questions, and found the answer perfect. Since her statements about the present and past were accurate, he saw no reason to distrust her predictions – and, sure enough, first one and then another came true.[250]

Shishi's 源師子 (1070-1149) dreams twice, once on the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the first year of Eikyū 永久 (1113) and again on the eighteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Eikyū (1114) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:55) (*Denryaku.* DNKD 4:126). These descriptions show that a result in one's dreaming life affected one's fate in waking life.

[250] McCullough, *Ōkagami*, 163. *Ōkagami* 4. SZKT 21 *jō*: 109–111.

This passage suggests that the assessment of personal fortunes based on dream analysis proved to be very popular among medieval aristocrats. Religious specialists' advice concerning dreams brought one's wishes, experienced in a dreaming state, into the fold of one's waking life. In other words, dream interpretation focused not on whether the dream was good or bad, but rather on how to interpret the manner in which the "non-real" experienced in the dream will come to fruition in one's "real" life. In this manner, dreams turned out to be not so much true as real. Thus the late-Kamakura encyclopedia *Shūgaishō* 拾芥抄 (Record of Easy Facility) sets out inauspicious dates where it is forbidden to reveal one dream for fear that relating them would lead to misfortune.[251] Instructions appearing in the recitation section of the *Shūgaishō* state that one should recite a mystical invocation regardless of whether a dream was good or bad.[252] Similar descriptions of the recitation of mystical invocations in relation to dream-visions of the Buddha appear in the eleventh-century *Onorokujō* 小野六帖 (Instructions for the Oral Transmission of Ono-ryū), composed by Ningai.[253] This text makes clear that the power of dreams lay in their ability to foretell future fortunes or to realize one's goals.

Such dreams captivated people's imaginations and helped them to make sense of Buddhist and Daoist religious imagery. One tale in the *Shasekishū* (entitled "*Concerning being*

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[251] *Shūgaishō* 3:38. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko, 251. Days for not telling one's dream are: the days of goat-monkey and of dog of the first month; the days of pig-rooster and of snake-monkey of the second month; the days of rooster and of monkey-dog of the third month; the days of rabbit and of goat-pig of the fourth month; the days of pig-rabbit and of rat-horse of the fifth month; the days of horse-pig and of rat-snake of the sixth month; the days of rabbit-snake and of dragon-rat of the seventh month; the days of rat-dragon and of tiger-pig of the eighth month; the days of pig and of tiger-dragon of the ninth month; the days of snake and of dragon of the tenth month; the days of the goat and of monkey-dog of the eleventh month; and the days of pig and of horse-goat of the twelfth month.

[252] *Shūgaishō* 1:19. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko, 22-23.

[253] *Onorokujū* 4.T2473_.78.0091a13.

highly reverent toward kami") reads as follows:

> Long ago [1081] Miidera was burned down by monks from Enryakuji, and nothing remained of halls and pagodas, monks' quarters, Buddhist images, or sutras. The monks were dispersed through the fields and mountains, and the Miidera became a completely uninhabited temple. One of the monks made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the illustrious god Shira and spent the night there. In a dream he saw the bright deity push open the doors of the shrine. Because the god appeared to be in a very good humor, the monk in his dream made bold to address him. "When I consider your august vow to protect the Buddhist teachings of this temple and think how profound must be your sorrow at what has been completely lost, why is this not reflected on your countenance?" "How could I not feel grieved?" replied the god. "But even so, it pleases me that this incident should give rise to a genuine desire for enlightenment in even a single monk. One can always restore the halls, pagodas, images and sutras if one has the money. But it is the man aspiring to Buddhahood, though one in ten million, who is to be valued highly." It is related that the monk awoke from his dream pondering how wondrous was the divine will, and developed a sincere desire for enlightenment. The divine will, which delights in men awakening the desire for enlightenment and entering upon the True Way, does not vary regardless of the deity. Nor does it seem to be in conformity with the will of the gods for us to pray for the things of this life – poverty and prosperity being determined by one's actions on former lives. It is shameful simply to petition the gods and buddhas for good fortune in this world; in fact, it is stupid. One ought to direct this same amount of merit from religious practice toward the attainment of perfect wisdom. And even if he receives no sign from the gods, he should continue to pray for a genuine desire for enlightenment.[254]

A dream is a series of imaginary events that one experiences in one's mind but also involves the ocular organs and functions in so far as sight in waking life is a prerequisite to dreamtime vision. In accordance with descriptions of dreams that appear in Buddhist and Daoist texts, such as the

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[254] Robert E. Morrel*, Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1985), 87-88.

Senzatsu zen-aku gōhōkyō 占察善悪業報經 (Divination Sutra on the Effects of Good and Evil Conducts; C. *Zhanzha shan e yebao jing)*[255] and the *Kanmuryōjubutsukyōgisho* 觀無量壽佛經義疏 (Commentary to the Sutra of the Contemplation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life; C. *Guan wuliangshoufo jing yishu*)[256], this passage clearly illustrates Buddhist practices referred to as either *muchū kenbutsu* 夢中見仏 (seeing the Buddha in dreams) or *mujō kenbutsu* 夢定見仏 (seeing the Buddha in meditation).[257] In the manner of *muchū kenbutsu*, one obtains the image of buddha and kami either while sleeping after religious praxis or while attaining a state of perfect selflessness. In the manner of *mujō kenbutsu*, buddha and kami are manifested while one is training at a Buddha hall. Considering similar passages appearing in the same tale of the *Shasekishū*[258]*,* these methods for dreaming appear to have been common practices designed to allow the practitioner to obtain religious signs confirming the correctness of their religious activities. It would also appear that the Buddhas and kami who appeared in such dreams were also thought to grant virtue and strength for the pursuit of enlightenment. Just as there existed no clear boundary between the surreality of dream experiences and the reality of waking life, dreams, as a means of seeing the Buddha, dealt with the aspect of teaching that leads to the initial

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255 *Senzatsu zen-aku gōhōkyō.* T0839_.17.0904b06-T0839_.17.094b17.

256 *Kanmuryōjubutsukyōgisho.* T1754_.37.0290a16-T1754_.37.0290a17.

257 Kawato Masashi, *Nihon no yume shinko* (Tōkyō: Tamagawa University Press, 2002), 100. Kawato suggests that seeing the Buddha in dreams is part of "dreaming *samādhi*."

258 Morrel, *Sand and Pebbles*, 90. It says, "But later Inari addressed him as follows: 'In accordance with the injunction of Hiyoshi Daimyōjin, I must take back the token that I gave you earlier.' 'The Hiyoshi deity has no intention of helping me himself,' said Kanshun in his dream, 'and he even has an injunction against my receiving favors elsewhere. I don't understand.' Again the deity spoke. 'I am just a minor god and it is not for me to decide. Hiyoshi is an illustrious deity and has informed me, 'this time Kanshun will escape from the cycle of birth-and-death. His material prosperity would become an obstacle to his spiritual progress, and he would find it difficult to attain release. Consequently, I do not comply with any request whatever, and I grant him nothing.' So I must take back the token.' At this the monk recognized the great compassion of the deity, and, still in dream, was filled with graditude."

enlightenment-inspired presupposition that humans initiate the vow to realize their possession for the eternity of the buddha-nature (the original enlightenment).

Buddhist-Daoist dreams of medieval Japan, on the other hand, were believed to have curative properties that allowed the dreamer to recover even after having reached the boundary between life and death. This was because the so-called dream festival was thought to remove the unconscious impurities associated with secular affairs.[259] One entry in the *Shasekishū* explains different accounts of dream implication as a religious praxis and notes as follows:

> An affair appearing in one's dream is a phase that does not contain pleasure and distress. A secular affair that occurs to us as a state of enlightenment is all a dream. To delight in a life, to bewail a death, to enjoy a meeting, and to sorrow a separation is a mind that does not realize that these deeds are all a dream. One whose mind is not shaken by all these affairs is, that is, one who enters the gate of emptiness.[260]

For medieval religious practitioners, dreams were an important part of their religious attainment and spiritual experience, either a religious sign that confirmed the correctness of their activities or as a source of religious strength that enabled them to pursue their practice. In this regard it is notable that the aforementioned passage does not provide a clear distinction between life and death but rather shows the borderlessness between life and death: here practitioners can cross the boundary between this world and other world. Here we are also told that to dream—a religious practice not easily accomplished—was to enter the gate of emptiness and to create a sense of

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[259] The *Azuma kagami* entry for the sixteenth day of the fifth month of the first year of Bunō 文応 (1260) depicts the fact that a dream festival was held while the Kamakura shogunate was sick (*Azuma kagami* 49. SZKTA 4: 741). The *Taiki bekki* entry for the sixth day of the first month of the sixth year of Kyūan (1150) depicts the fact that a dream festival was held due to the cause of the disturbance (*Taiki bekki*. STT 2: 252).
[260] *Shakekishū* 9. NKBT 85: 82.

being connected both to this world and the other world.

In short, Emperors Uda and Daigo administered political affairs directly during their reigns in an attempt to eclipse the expanding power of the regent branch of the Fujiwara clan. Toward this end, they made efforts to advance court vassals to a higher position. By hiring people of talent even from non-Fujiwara clans, Emperor Uda and Daigo attempted to rule over the capital and the provinces. The adoption of new religious-political policies was part of an attempt to create regular court rituals associated with the pacification of the entire realm through the veneration of bodhisattvas, deities, and nature. This devotion to heaven and earth in turn led to the establishment of pilgrimages to certain mountains and the further development of the cults of Sugawara no Michizane and dream practice. With the popularization of Buddhist and Daoist rituals, these rituals gradually spread to provincial regions. This, along with the growth of relationships between the capital-based temples, major family temples, and provincial temples, contributed to the religious and political independence of Kinpusen. Any attempt to accurately understand the religious and political independence of Kinpusen as a local religious institution, the system of land distribution created by Emperor Gosanjō, which expropriated Fujiwara's property, must be examined.

II. Emperor Gosanjō's reign

A. Political Affairs: *Shōen*

This section will examine a system of land distribution called private estates (*shōen* 荘園) owned by the imperial court, aristocrats, and temples or shrines during Emperor Gosanjō 後

三条天皇 (1034-1073; r.1068-1072) reign. One aim of this section is to better understand how political administration of Emperor Gosanjō brought about a fundamental change in the manner by which private estates in local areas related to the court. Opinions on the political savvy of Emperor Gosanjō are diverse among Japanese scholars. The earliest studies of Emperor Gosanjō's political administration were conducted by three scholars of Japanese political history. Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎 (1914-1998) established a commonly accepted theory that Emperor Gosanjō attempted to reduce private estates, which formed the economic base of the Fujiwara clan.[261] Ishimoda Shō argued that Emperor Gosanjō had been primarily concerned with establishing his political power.[262] Takeuchi Rizō, on the other hand, concluded that Emperor Gosanjō did not attempt to get the better of the Fujiwara clan, with the result that the political authority of the imperial court became strong.[263] For these scholars, the fundamental question was how to best elaborate the distinctive elements of the medieval political system in terms of the relationship between the emperor and Heian aristocrats.

More recent scholarship, however, has taken different paths. Motoki Yasuo 元木泰雄 (1954-) has sought to delineate the type of Fujiwara family politics that resulted in the Fujiwara regency's domination of the court.[264] Maki Michio 槇道雄 (1957-) claimed that although Emperor Gosanjō's deserved credit for his contribution to the readjustment of the private estate system that was executed during Fujiwara no Yorimichi's administration, the distinguishing characteristics of Emperor Gosanjō's regime are more difficult to see as compared with the

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261 Tatsusaburō Hayashiya, *Kodai kokka no kaitai* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō University Press, 1955), 201-213.
262 Tadashi Ishimoda, *Kodai makki seijishi josetsu* (Tōkyō: Miraisha, 1964), 351-367.
263 Rizō Takeuchi, *Nihon no rekishi* 100 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1956), 69.
264 Motoki, *Inseiki seijishi kenkyū*, 65-90.

regime of Emperor Goreizei 後冷泉天皇 (1025-1068; r.1045-1068).[265] Kuroda Toshio elaborated a theory that, prior to the reign of Emperor Goshirakawa, the fact that the court in principal espoused a theory of land control based on Confucian ideology had resulted in the imperial house and the court administration plotting and scheming for control of land revenues up to the reign of Emperor Goshirakawa.[266] For our purposes, perhaps what is most important in the work of each of these scholars is that each has in his own way demonstrated the distinguishing feature of the Heian period, namely, that private estates were central elements in the political tactics of the age.

In the late Heian period, Emperor Gosanjō ceased relying solely on the Fujiwara regency for administrative advice as he sought to transform this system.[267] Emperor Gosanjō set out to distinguish clearly between private estates (*shoen*) and imperial lands in an attempt to overcome the Fujiwara's political hold over the court.[268] Gosanjō's most important effort in this regard occurred in the first year of Enkyū[269] 延久 (1069) with the establishment of the Records Office of Private Estates (*kirokushōenkenkeijō* 記録荘園券契所), an office where officials

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265 Michio Maki, *Insei jidaishi ronshū* (Tōkyō: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1993), 104-106.

266 Kuroda, *Ōhō to buppō*, 98, 104.

267 Sakamoto Shōzō has demonstrated that while Fujiwara no Michinaga and his son Yorimichi enhanced their prosperity of the Fujiwara clan, emperors could not consult political issues with other officials privately. Sakamoto Shōzō "「Gozen no sadame」no shutsugen to sono haikei" *Shigaku kenkyū* 186 (1990): 1-20. Several Japanese scholars have argued that Emperor Gosanjō carried out a radical reform of political administration and established a new political function, the so-called "good politics of Enkyū (*enkyū no zensei* 延久の善政)." The reason is because he did not have a maternal relation with the Fujiwara clan. Tomoyasu Katō, eds. *Nihon no jidaishi 6: Sekkanseiji to ōchōbunka* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002), 88-90.

268 In the first year of Enkyū 延久 (1069), Emperor Gosanjō issued the readjustment order for the *shōen* system and prohibited the establishment of a new *shōen* after the second year of Kantoku 寛徳 (1045). He also issued the order that the detailed documents of the gross estates held by the Heian aristocrats be produced (*Heian ibun*, 1039 and 1041. HI 3:1060-1065).

269 *Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11: 31. Emperor Gosanjō's readjustment order for the *shōen* system was given on the twenty-third day of the second month of the fifth year of Jiryaku 治暦 (1069) (*Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12: 307).

investigated the private estates obtained by improper means and had these estates confiscated. In order to insure the success of this project, Emperor Gosanjō assigned his most trusted vassals to the highest positions in this Office.

Gosanjō's efforts, however, led to a change in the means by which the Fujiwara managed their property. The activities of the Records Office ultimately led to an increasingly prominent role for local litigation in the medieval Japan. Gosanjō's efforts eventually led to the confiscation of Fujiwara property as the court sought to reverse the weakening of the state's financial base. In the process, Emperor Gosanjō also managed to weaken the Fujiwara's political hold over the court. The *Gukanshō*[270] 愚管抄 states:

> At the time when Fujiwara no Norimichi 藤原教通 (997-1075) became head of the Fujiwara clan and was called Dainijō, during the time of Enkyū, there was a dispute between the estates held by the Fujiwara temple [Kōfukuji], and the provincial governor [of Yamato region]. This became a matter of serious concern. The dispute was being discussed in the presence of Emperor [Gosanjō]. If the decision [of Emperor Gosanjō] inclined to the governor's claim, Norimichi, as the head of the Fujiwara clan, would be disgraced. Norimichi willingly asked for the Emperor's judgment. Although he was awaiting the will of kami, he then resigned his position. Aristocrats of the Fujiwara clan were astonished [at what Norimichi had done] and clammed up. Thereafter, Fujiwara no Chikatsune 藤原親経 (1151-1210), the Middle Counselor, called a great Confucian scholar, and claimed that if the decision was inclined to the Yamashinadera's [Kōfukuji] claim, monks of Kōfukuji would hold the Buddhist assemblies and increase their efforts in prayer for the protection of the country.[271]

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[270] *Gukanshō* written by Jien 慈円 (1155-1225) in the second year of Jōkyū 承久 (1220) is a historical record. The author was the younger brother of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207), the sixth son of Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097-1164).

[271] *Gukanshō*. NKBT 86:195-198. Here I consult the contemporary English translation written by Delmer M. Brown and Ichirō Ishida, *The future and the past: a translation and study of the Gukanshō, an interpretative history of Japan written in 1219* (Berkeley: University of Califiornia Press, 1979), 79.

This passage of the *Gukanshō* reveals the author Jien's 慈円 (1155-1225) support of the Fujiwara clan. The text concludes that the social disturbances and chaos after Emperor Toba's reign, such as the so-called *Hōgen* rebellion[272] of 1156 and *Heiji* rebellion[273] of 1159, resulted in the rise of warrior houses and political discord among rapidly promoted vassals and the conflict of succession to the imperial throne.[274] Jien's description appears destigned to show that Norimichi, the successor of Fujiwara no Yorimichi 藤原頼通 (992-1074), protected Kōfukuji from Emperor Gosanjō even as the ruler took the initiative in asserting imperial court control vis-à-vis the Fujiwara clan. Jien here appears to be suggesting that the decisive cause of decline of the Fujiwara clan's political authority within the imperial court was that as possession of

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272 The *Hōgen* rebellion occurred due to a difference of opinion pertaining to the right of succession to the Imperial Throne on the death in the first year of Hōgen (1156) of the retired Emperor Toba, a fratricidal struggle between the retired Emperor Shutoku 崇徳上皇 (1119-1164; r. 1123-1141) and Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河天皇 (1127-1192; r. 1155-1158). In order to excise control of imperial authority and power, the retired Emperor Shutoku engaged the forces of Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120-1156), Minamoto no Tameyoshi 源為義 (1096-1156), and Taira no Tadamasa 平忠正 ([?]-1156). Emperor Goshirakawa engaged the forces of Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097-1164), Minamoto no Yoshitomo 源義朝 (1123-1160), Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118-1181), and Minamoto no Yorimasa 源頼政 (1104-1180). Emperor Sutoku was defeated and exiled to Sayuki Province 讃岐.

273 The *Heiji* rebellion was, due to a dispute about political power, a fratricidal struggle between Taira no Kiyomori and Minamoto no Yoshitomo. It created the trigger of establishing a new government of the Taira clan.

274 *Gukanshō*, NKBT 86: 340. As Jien states, "There is a saying that 'in a well-governed state the government seeks men to fill its offices, but that in a chaotic state men seek offices.' At the present time there are 10 Senior Counselors. And we have 50 or 60 Third Rank officials, although there were only about 10 until the death of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa [in 1192]. The number of Captains of the Palace Gate Guards and Imperial Police is not now fixed. If we look at the list of appointments made at installation ceremonies, we will find no list with less than 40 new Captains of the Palace Gate Guards or Imperial Police. The total number holding such appointments has reached 1000. A person seeking an office will make inquiries of an attendant and present him with a bribe. In case he approaches a man or woman who serves the Retired Emperor as a 'personal minister,' he will have no trouble getting what he wants. It is unthinkable that the practice has gone so far. Since we have really entered the age of Final Dharma—a bad age in the final reigns when soldiers have risen to positions of power in the state—my only wishes are: (1) that Retired Emperor [Go-Toba], remembering a little of Principles, will rouse himself and ask why these things have happened and then consider this question: 'Why should we fall into the hands of these evil spirits and vengeful souls so easily?"; and (2) that the men and women serving the Retired Emperors as 'personal ministers' will rouse themselves a little." For more information, see Delmer M. Brown and Ichirō Ishida, *The Future and the Past: a Translation and Study of the Gukanshō, an Interpretative History of Japan Written in 1219*, 221-224.

Fujiwara lands and people came directly under Emperor Gosanjō's rule, ruinous discord broke out within the Fujiwara clan.

Similar descriptions of political conflict between Emperor Gosanjō and Norimichi can also be found in the *Zokukojidan* in a section concerned with the Emperor Gosanjō's policies.[275] Although the policies of Emperor Gosanjō caused serious damage to the political and financial base of the Fujiwara clan in the imperial court and at the same time influenced control of local territories and people, the relative power relations between two were not reversed because Emperor Gosanjō was unable to control territorial disputes that emerged between the Fujiwara and local populations. The loss of imperial credibility and authority during the chaos of Japan's medieval wars was the inevitable result of the decline of power of the Fujiwara family, one of the so-called gates of power (*kenmon* 権門) in Kuroda Toshio's framework.

B. Religious Affairs: Enshūji

This section will demonstrate the significance of religious affairs for Emperor Gosanjō, who established a private temple for the purpose of performing prayers for the emperor (*goganji* 御願寺) in an attempt to organize a system of Buddhist assemblies and gain control of the religious policies of the court. During his reign Emperor Gosanjō quit seeking support through religious rites and rituals from the regulated, government-funded temples and instead began to

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[275] *Zokukojidan* 1-33. SNKBT 41:641-642. *Zokukojidan*, which was composed in the seventh year of Kenpō 建保 (1219), is a Kamakura *setsuwa* collection in three parts that contain one hundred eighty-five stories. In summary, Emperor Gosanjō did not have a maternal relation with the Fujiwara clan and carried out a new political function determined by him. As to the appointment of provincial governor in relation to the reestablishment of Kōfukuji, he refused the Fujiwara clan to be appointed. Therefore, Norimichi and other Fujiwara aristocrats were displeased and walked out from the council. Consequently, Emperor Gosanjō's decision was inclined to the Norimichi's claim.

establish Imperial religious authority in his own way. On the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Enkyū 延久 (1070), he dedicated Enmyōji[276] 円明寺 (later changed the name from Enmyōji to Enshūji 円宗寺 in the third day of the sixth month of the third year of Enkyū), a private temple for performing prayers for the emperor[277] (*goganji* 御願寺), which was also an imperial residence where emperors went after abdicating the throne.[278] The prayer for the construction of Enshūji appearing in the *Fusō ryakki* explains the purpose of the erection of Enshūji as follows: "This temple was built for the purpose of prolonging the Buddhist doctrine and for the lasting tranquility of the country, and for the purpose of understanding the three treasures."[279] Another prayer written by Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111) similarly says, "For the purpose of contributing people's wealth and the perpetuation of good deeds, Enshūji was established."[280]

Enshūji also seems to have functioned as a center linking major imperial temples so they could operate in a more coordinated manner. The *Fusō ryakki* says that "On the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month of the fourth year of Enkyū, *goganji* were established at

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[276] Enshūji was one of four major private temple performing prayers for the emperor, which were built in and around Ninnaji (*shienji* 四円寺). The other of four major emperor's temples were: Enyūji 円融寺, temple for Emperor Enyū's 円融天皇 (959-991; r.969-984) built on the twenty-second day of the third month of the first year of Eikan 永観 (983); Enkyōji 円教寺, temple for Emperor Ichijō 一条天皇 (980-1011; r. 986-1011) built on the twenty-second day of the first month of the fourth year of Chōtoku 長徳 (998); and Enjōji 円乗寺 for Emperor Gosuzaku 後朱雀天皇 (1009-1045; r. 1036-1045) built on the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month of the third year of Tengi 天喜 (1055). Superintendents (*kengyō* 検校) of four major private temples were assigned by Ninnaji.

[277] Hiraoka Jōkai 平岡定海 (1923-) has asserted that private temples performing prayers for the emperor in the Heian period also performed prayers for the salvation of departed spirits. Hiraoka Jōkai "Shienjikō 四円寺考" *Kodaishi ronsō* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978), 470.

[278] *Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:32.

[279] *Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12:309.

[280] *Enshūji gobutsudō kuyōganmon*. Yamazaki makoto *Gōtotokunagon ganmonshū chūkai* (Tōkyō: Hanawa shobō, 2010), 113.

Enryakuji, Miidera, and Tōji and preceptors were sent to each of the three temples.[281]" Moreover, the *Honchō seiki* entry for the seventh day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Kyūan 久安 (1148) reveals the fact that a national ceremony for the anniversary of Gosanjō's death was held at Enshūji just after the Buddhist assembly of the eight lectures on the *Lotus Sutra* (*hokke hachikō* 法華八講).[282] Thus the "imperial" temples, which were centered upon Ninnaji, were given enhanced religious functions as "family temples" with expanded influence on political authority over religious activities at the expense of the bloated governmental institutions of the gate (*kenmon* 権門) and mountain (*sanmon* 山門).

In order to increase the level of imperial authority over religious activities, Emperor Gosanjō was extremely active in expanding the scale of activities of his private temples during his short regime, which lasted only from the fourth year of Jiryaku 治暦 (1068) to the fourth year of Enkyū (1072). Buddha halls dedicated to constant meditation practice and initiation rituals were built on the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of the third year of Enkyū (1071), at a ceremony that was conducted in the ruler's presence.[283] On the thirtieth day of the fourth month of the fourth year of Enkyū (1072), a jeweled pagoda and Buddhist statues were in turn dedicated to the sutra hall of Enshūji.[284] The *Fusō ryakki* states that the initiation ritual halls were places for esoteric Buddhist rituals controlled by the Shingon school.[285] With the exception of the initiation and ritual halls, however, all halls and events were dominated by the Tendai school. Thus, in an attempt to amalgamate esoteric and exoteric schools at Enshūji, Gosanjō

281 *Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12:312.
282 *Honchō seiki* 34. SZKT 9:618.
283 *Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:32.
284 *Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:33.
285 *Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12:310.

made an effort to achieve a new form of religious institution administered by the imperial order.

Emperor Gosanjō lost no time in holding Buddhist assemblies at Enshūji. When he visited Enshūji in the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Enkyū, Enshūji began to hold *saishō-e*[286] 最勝会, a Buddhist ceremony in which Tendai monks expounded the *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō* 金光明最勝王経 (*Sutra of Golden Light*; C. *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing*) and prayed for the tranquility of the country and the aversion of calamities. They also held a *hokke-e* 法華会, a Buddhist ceremony in which Tendai monks expounded the *Lotus Sutra* to pursue goodness and to conduct religious services for souls before their departure.[287] The *Fusō ryakki* entry for the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Enkyū also notes that "in spring, the *Sutra of Golden Light* is read to pray for the everlasting prosperity of the country. In autumn, the suchness of the *Lotus Sutra* is explained."[288] Events such as these suggest that, although the religious functions of the *saishō-e* and the *hokke-e* were intentionally separated for different purposes, the Tendai monks were in more dominant position in religious services.

Emperor Gosanjō worked towards other innovations as well. Among the most important of these was his revision of the Buddhist ordination system. The earliest monk who was assigned to lecture in these Buddhist assemblies was the preceptor Raizō[289] 頼増 ([?]–1078), a monk of Miidera, who had debated Buddhist logic with Raishin 頼真 (1151-1186)

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286 S*aishō-e* at Enshūji, one of the three major northern Buddhist assemblies in Kyōto (*hokkyōsan-e* 北京三会), were held annually in the fifth month.

287 *Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:33.

288 *Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12:309.

289 Raizō, from Tango (modern-day, Kyōto Prefecture), was a Tendai monk who performed the medicine kings rituals in the time when the Prince came down with smallpox.

of Kōfukuji.[290] Soon after the Buddhist assembly, the preceptor Raizō was successfully elected to the position of senior preceptor.[291] Soon it was commonly understood that being assigned as a lecturer at the Buddhist assemblies at Enshūji was the first major hurdle on the road to a successful career in the Buddhist hierarchy.

This incident also shows that Gosanjō had two serious considerations with regard to Miidera. First, monastic adherents of Chishō Daishi's[292] 智証大師 (Enchin 円珍: 814–891) lineage protested Shōhan's[293] 勝範 (996–1077) appointment as the head monk of the Tendai school in the fifth month of the second year of Enkyū (1070).[294] The *Imakagami* 今鏡 (Mirror of the Present) contains references to political and religious cooperation between Gosanjō and Shōhan.[295] On the twenty-first day of the eleventh month of the second year of Enkyū (1070), the senior preceptor Chōen[296] 長宴 (1016–1081), the head monk (*bettō* 別当) of Gangyōji 元慶寺 who was affiliated with the same lineage as Shōhan, performed a *shitennōhō* 四天王法 (Rituals of Four Heavenly Kings)[297] following a series of earthquakes.[298] Accordingly, Gosanjō

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290 *Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12:311-312. *Genkō shakusho* 25. SZKT 31:381. *Nenchū gyōji hishō*. GR 6:493.
291 *Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12:312.
292 Enchin was the fifth head monk of Enryakuji and the first head monk of Onjōji. He went to T'ang to learn exoteric and esoteric Buddhist teachings in the third year of Ninju 仁寿 (853) and then returned from T'ang in the second year of Ten-an 天安 (858). He brought many esoteric teachings back to Japan and made a great contribution to the development of esoteric Buddhist teachings within the Tendai school.
293 Shōhan was a learned monk who studied cessation and observation (*shikan*) as taught in the Tendai school. He received the Dharma initiation from Kōgei 皇慶 (977–1049) and was appointed the thirty-third head monk of Enryakuji in the second year of Enkyū 延久 (1070).
294 *Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12:308-309
295 Hiraoka Jōkai. "Shienjikō" *Kodaishi ronsō* vol 3 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978), 480-484.
296 Chōen, one of Kōgei's disciple, was a Tendai monk who composed the *Shijū jōketsu* 四十帖決 (Forty Sheets of Promises), the record of the Tendai school written in the fourth year of Eishō 永承 (1049).
297 *Shitennōhō* is an esoteric ritual of the four heavenly gods, who protect the universe in Buddhist cosmology, to eliminate various calamities and bring good prosperity to the realm. It was performed at a critical moment in Japan's history. On the twenty-fifth day of the first month of the third year of Tengyō 天慶 (940), this ritual was performed during the rebellion of Taira no Masakado 平将門.
298 *Shohōyōryakushō*. ZGR 25 *ge*: 211. *Shitennōhōki*. ZGR 26 *jō*: 103-104.

vigorously supported Shōhan and Enryakuji's claim.

Second, Emperor Gosanjō suspended judgment on a request to hold a Buddhist ordination ceremony at Onjōji on the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of the second year of Enkyū (1070)[299]. Later, on the nineteenth day of the second month of the second year of Eihō 永保 (1082), a new regulation was implemented requiring that monks of Enryakuji and Onjōji be appointed to take turns lecturing at the two Buddhist assemblies of Enshūji.[300] Incidents such as this are important because they strongly suggest that Gosanjō exercised greater religious authority than the Fujiwara clan in such matters as designating monks to the highest posts in the Buddhist hierarchy. This process was further accelerated on the twenty-ninth day of eleventh month of the fourth year of Enkyū (1072), when preceptors were dispatched to newly established *goganji* on Mt. Hiei, Onjōji, and Tōji.[301]

Although Emperor Gosanjō seems to have agonized over how to deal with discord between Enryakuji and Onjōji, in the end he brought the Nanto and Tendai schools over to his way of thinking, namely, that religious institutions existed in order to support the imperial government. It is important to note that descriptions of the two Buddhist assemblies held at Enshūji underscore its prominence among the emperor's temples that served to maintain the tranquility of the country,[302] which in turn suggests its importance to the Buddhist rank system

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299 *Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:32

300 *Nenchū gyōji hishō*. GR 6:494.

301 *Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12:312. The *Fusō ryakki* says, "Emperor Shirakawa and court aristocrats held a service for the Emperor Gosanjō's *goganji*, Kongōju-in 金剛寿院 of the Tendai school (*Fusō ryakki* 30. SZKT 12:318).

302 "On the fifteenth day of the second month of the first year of Kashō 嘉承 (850), Ennin 円仁 (794–864) and ten monks of Jōshin-in 定心院 [of Enryakuji 延暦寺] were ordered to perform the ritual of the eight-word dharani of Manjusri at Jijuden 仁寿殿." "On the twenty-second day of the second month of the first year of Kashō, the head monks of various schools were invited to lecture on the *Lotus Sutra* for three days

in which senior monks of aristocratic origin flourished.[303]

In brief, as residences for emperors post-abdication, private temples for ex-emperors served essentially as "family temples (*ujidera* 氏寺)" of the emperor during the medieval period.[304] This development helped eclipse the power of the regent branch of the Fujiwara family and their major temples (*kenmon*). This is related to two different phenomena: 1) the political function peculiar to the Heian *insei*, namely, that the retired emperors had the power to appoint the next emperor, cabinet ministers, and officials, and 2) the religious function of the *insei*, namely, the reired emperors' hosting of Buddhist ceremonies that in large part determined monastic advancement and appointment of rank and also were aimed as averting various calamaities. This latter aspect potentially called into question the reigning emperor's legitimacy. The establishment of private temples for emperors also allowed the court to increase the number and size of imperial *shōen* owned by the emperor, which in turn restored many Fujiwara-private estates to imperial control and helped restrain the political and religious power of the Fujiwara. More importantly, the imperial territory and surge in imperial authority decentralized the Fujiwara monopoly on agricultural lands and created a system whereby religious institutions of disparate origins existed within the same system and were accorded relatively equal status.

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at Seiryōden 清涼殿" (*Shoku nihonkōki* 20. SZKT 3:235-236).

303 "On the eighth day of the first month of the first day of Jōgan 貞観 (859), lecturers at these three Buddhist assemblies [*gosai-e* 御斎会 at Daigokuden 大極殿, *yuima-e* 維摩会 at Kōfukuji 興福寺, and *saishō-e* 最勝会 at Yakushiji 薬師寺] were promoted to superintendent monks" (*Sandai jitsuroku* 2. SZKT 4:15).

304 "Hosshōji was established as a temple to hold many Buddhist assemblies such as a *daijōe* and honored as an imperial temple (*kokuō no ujidera* 国王の氏寺)"(*Gukanshō* 2. NKBT 86: 104). Similar passage can be found in the *Gukanshō* entry for Emperor Toba and says, "Hosshōji, as an imperial temple, was established at Shirakawa" (*Gukanshō* 4. NKBT 86: 206).

III. Emperor Shirakawa's Regime: Hosshōji

This section will examine religious policies of Gosanjō's successor, Emperor Shirakawa. During Shirakawa's regime, Shirakawa continued his father's policy of distinguishing between the private estates (*shoen*) and imperial lands,[305] and attempted to reverse the religious control of the court by the Fujiwara clan.[306] The establishment of temples performing prayers for Shirakawa between the second year of Jōhō 承保 (1075) and the third year of Eihō 永保 (1083) was the most important measure Shirakawa took against the enlarged power of Mt. Hiei 比叡山, Kōfukuji, and Onjōji. On the eleventh day of the seventh month of the second year of Jōhō, Shirakawa began construction of his private temple.[307] On the thirteenth day of the eighth month of the second year of Jōhō, the ceremony of putting up the ridgepole was held with many aristocrats in attendance, including the Minister of the Left, Fujiwara no Morozane 藤原師実 (1042–1101).[308] The *Fusō ryakki* describes Hosshōji 法勝寺, established with the support of Shirakawa, as an unprecedentedly large temple of magnificent splendor that contained a golden hall filled with Buddhist statues.[309] An octagonal nine-storied pagoda and octagonal hall of the Medicine Buddha were built and were dignified in appearance.[310] These indications suggest the degree to which Shirakawa believed in and relied

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305 "The retired Emperor Shirakawa dispatched a messenger on a post horse and suspended the private estates of the Fujiwara clan" (*Denryaku*. DNKD. 1:74).

306 Tanimori Nigio, *Kebiishi wo chushin to shita heian jidai no keisatsu jōtai* (Tōkyō: Tanimori Sukeo, 1921), 208.

307 *Suisaki*. ZST 8:29.

308 *Fusō ryakki* 30. SZKT 12:317

309 *Fusō ryakki* 30. SZKT 12:319.

310 "On the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of the first year of Eihō 永保 (1081), a main pillar was erected on a pedestal. On the first day of the tenth month of the third year of Eihō (1083), an octagonal nine-storied pagoda and octagonal hall of the Medicine Buddha were built. The head monk of the Tendai school Ryōshin 良真 (1022–1096) was assigned as the senior director of monks" (*Fusō ryakki* 30. SZKT

upon the power of the Three Treasures.

The retired Shirakawa's enthusiasm for Buddhism seem to have become deeper after Fujiwara no Kenshi 藤原賢子 (1057–1084) became his consort. A hall of constant practice was built and dedicated to the late Empress Fujiwara no Kenshi following her death,[311] and on the twenty-second day of the ninth month of the first year of Kanji 寛治 (1087), a national ceremony for the anniversary of Kenshi's death was conducted at Hosshōji.[312] Soon after the establishment of Hosshōji, Shirakawa issued a ban on hunting and fishing.[313] In this manner, Hosshōji, used by Shirakawa to strengthen his political hand, came to be thought of as the family temple of the imperial family. This all goes to show that Shirakawa's approach is more accurately described as a sort of conservative fatalism rather than any kind of reform.

Beginning with this, Shirakawa continued to establish temples performing prayers for the emperor. On the first day of the eighth month of the first year of Jōho 承保 (1074), the northern temple of Ninnaji was transformed into a temple performing prayers for the emperor to which three leaned monks were dispatched.[314] On the twelfth day of the seventh month of the fourth year of Jōryaku 承暦 (1080), Shirakawa ordered that preceptors be dispatched to Mt Hiei, Onjōji, and Kōfukuji.[315] On the twenty-first day of the eighth month of the fourth year of

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12:324-325).

311 The Buddhist hall was established on the eighth month of the second year of Ōtoku 応徳 (1085) (*Fusō ryakki* 30. SZKT 12:325). On the twenty-fourth day of the third month of the fourth year of Taiji 大治 (1129), the assembly of chanting the Buddha name was held at Amitabha hall of Hosshōji for seven days (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:256-258).

312 *Honchō seiki* 21. SZKT 9:284.

313 *Hosshōji kuyōki*. GR 24:249.

314 *Sōgō bunin shōshutsu*. GR 4: 582-589.

315 Descriptions of dispatching the preceptors are as follows: "Five preceptors were assigned to Hōjōji 法定寺, affiliated with Onjōji; three preceptors were assigned to Myōō-in 明王院, affiliated with Mt. Hiei; three preceptors were assigned to the Ichijōji branch temple 一乗寺別院, affiliated with Kōfukuji; five preceptors

Jōryaku, three preceptors were dispatched to Rajaku-in 羅惹院 of Onjōji.[316] On the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Kōwa 康和 (1102), Sonshōji 尊勝寺, a new temple performing prayers for Emperor Horikawa 堀河天皇 (1079–1107; r. 1086–1107), was established.[317] These temples, which were all built by imperial order, illustrate the significance that Shirakawa attached to the project of revising the religious practices of the court.

The occupation of these temples by official monks, which was expected to diminish the political and religious strength of the three major temples, on the other hand, also suggests that the imperial power base had been severely weakened. Seen in this light, the reestablishment of religious authority by Shirakawa came to be extremely important for controlling Mt. Hiei, Onjōji, and Kōfukuji. In the Jōryaku era, Shirakawa began to hold the *daijō-e* 大乗会, ceremonies that were essential for monastic advancement and appointment of rank on Mt. Hiei and at Onjōji.[318] The *daijō-e* included Buddhist assemblies focused on five major sutras, the

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were assigned to Jimyōin 持明院, affiliated with the Tendai school" (*Fusō ryakki* 30. SZKT 12:321-322).

316 *Jimon kōsōki*. ZGR 28 *jō*: 36-37.

317 *Denryaku*. DNKD 1:237.

318 *Fusō ryakki* 30. SZKT 12:320. The *daijō-e*, one of the three major northern Buddhist assemblies in Kyōto (*hokkyōsan-e* 北京三会), were held at Hosshōji in the tenth month once every year. Many descriptions of *daijō-e* at Hosshōji are found in aristocrat diaries and chronicle records. These appear in the entries for: (1) the third day of tenth month of the fourth year of Jōryaku 承暦 (1080) (*Suisaki*. ZST 8:126), (2) the tenth month of the first year of Eihō 永保 (1081) (*Sochik*. ZST 5:129), (3) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Eihō (1083) (*Gonijō moromichiki jō*. DNKG 1:34), (4) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Ōtoku 応徳 (1086) (*Gonijōmoromichiki jō*. DNKG 1:148), (5) the fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Kanji 寛治 (1087) (*Honchō seiki* SZKT 21:284) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:5), (6) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Kanji (1088) (*Sochiki*. ZST 5:156) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:17) (*Gonijōmoromichiki jō*. DNKG 1:214), (7) the eighteenth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Kanji (1090) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:37), (8) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the fifth year of Kanji (1091) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:57) (*Gonijōmoromichiki chū*. DNKG 2:178), (9) the twentieth day of the tenth month of the seventh year of Kanji (1093) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:92),(10) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the eighth year of Kanji (1094) (*Chūyūki* 1.ZST 9:193), (11) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Kahō 嘉保 (1095) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:301), (12) the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Kahō (1095) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:312), (13) the seventeenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Eichō 永長 (1096) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:400), (14) the twenty-sixth day of the eleventh month

of the first year of Shōtoku 承徳 (1097) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:65), (15) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Shōtoku (1098) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:124), (16) the twenty-eighth day of the tenth month of the third year of Kōwa 康和 (1101) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:79), (17) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Kōwa (1102) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:146) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:225), (18) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the fifth year of Kōwa (1103) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:247) (*Honchō seiki* 23. SZKT 9:343) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:290), (19) the fourteenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Chōji 長治 (1104) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:16) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:383), (20) the eighteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Chōji (1105) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:100) (*Chūyūki* 3. ZST 11:63), (21) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Kashō 嘉承 (1106) (*Eishōki*. ZST 8:58), (22) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Kashō (1107) (*Chūyūki* 3. ZST 11:271) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:216), (23) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Ten-ei 天永 (1111) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:180) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:92), (24) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Ten-ei (1112) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:270) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:211), (25) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Eikyū 永久 (1113) (*Denryaku.* DNKD 4:63) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:216), (26) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Eikyū (1114) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:128) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:363), (27) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Eikyū (1115) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:217), (28) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Gen-ei 元永 (1118) (*Denryaku.* DNKD 5:87) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:85),(29) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Gen-ei (1119) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:174), (30) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Taiji 大治 (1128) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:334), (31) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Taiji (1129) (*Chūyūki* 6. ZST 14:122), (32) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the fifth year of Taiji (1130) (*Chūyūki* 6. ZST 14:240), (33) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Chōshō 長承 (1132) (*Chūyūki* 6. ZST 14:342), (34) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Chōshō (1134) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:115), (35) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Hōen 保延 (1135) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:166), (36) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Hōen (1136) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:187), (37) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Hōen (1137) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:209), (38) the ninteenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Kōji 康治 (1142) (*Honchō seiki*. SZKT 9:406), (39) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Kōji (1143) (*Taiki* 3. ZST 23:103) (*Honchō seiki* .SZKT 9:440), (40) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Tenyō 天養 (1144) (*Taiki* 4. ZST 23:131) (*Honchō seiki*. SZKT 9:453), (41) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Kyūan 久安 (1145) (*Honchō seiki*. SZKT 9:462), (42) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Kyūan (1146) (*Honchō seiki* 31. SZKT 9:505), (43) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Kyūan (1147) (*Honchō seiki* 33. SZKT 9:578), (44) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the fifth year of Kyūan (1149) (*Honchō seiki* 37. SZKT 9:702), (45) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the sixth year of Kyūan (1150) (*Honchō seiki* 38. SZKT 9:731), (46) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Ninpei 仁平 (1151) (*Honchō seiki* 40. SZKT 9:790), (47) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Ninpei (1152) (*Honchō seiki* 44. SZKT 9:839), (48) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Ninpei (1153) (*Heihanki*. ZST 18:212) (*Honchō seiki* 47. SZKT 9:885), (49) the tenth month of the first year of Kyūju 久寿 (1154) (*Taiki* 11. ZST 24:138), (50) the twenty-first day of the twelfth month of the second year of Kyūju (1155) (*Heihanki*. ZST 19:63), (51) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Hōgen 保元 (1156) (*Heihanki*. ZST 19:146), (52) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Hōgen (1157) (*Heihanki*. ZST 19:268) (*Jinshaki*. ZST 22;211), (53) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Nin-an 仁安 (1167) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 26:16), (54) the eighteenth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Nin-an (1167) (*Heihanki*. ZST 20:334), (55) the seventeenth day of the twelfth month of the third year of Nin-an (1168) (*Heihanki*. ZST 21:259), (56) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Kaō 嘉応 (1169) (*Heihanki*. ZST 22:105) (*Jinshaki*. ZST 22:236), (57) the fourteenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Angen 安元 (1175) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:481), (58) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Angen (1176) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:615), (59) the twenty-fourth day of the

Flower Sutra, the *Great Collection Sutra*, the *Great Chapter Wisdom Sutra*, the *Lotus Sutra*, and the *Nirvana Sutra*. The *daijō-e* 大乗会 at Hosshōji was sometimes postponed when it coincided with a *daijō-e* 大嘗会, the first imperial ceremony (*niinamesai* 新嘗祭) to be carried out following the accession of a new emperor.[319] In this case, the Buddhist rite was regularly held at Hosshōji sometime in the twelfth month of the same year.[320] Although Kōfukuji, which held the *yuima-e* 維摩会, had formerly controlled the monastic advancement and appointment of monks

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eleventh month of the third year of Jishō 治承 (1179) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:303), (60) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Jishō (1180) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 28:130), (61) the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Juei 寿永 (1184) (*Kikki*. ZST 30:88), (62) the fourteenth day of the twenlfth month of the second year of Bunji 文治 (1186) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:306), (63) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of sixth year of Kenkyū 建久 (1195) (*Sanchōki*. ZST 317), (64) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the eighth year of Kenkyū (1197) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 1:57), (65) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Shōji 正治 (1199) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 2:235), (66) the eighteenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Shōji (1199) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 2:43), (67) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Shōji (1200) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 2:318), (68) the thirtieth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Shōji (1200) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 2:178), (69) the twenty-third day of the intercalary tenth month of the second year of Kennin 建仁 (1202) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 3:212) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 3:381), (70) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the third year of Kennin (1203) (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 1:327), (71) the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Genkyū 元久 (1204) (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 1:396), (72) the fifth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Ken-ei 建永 (1206) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 6:127), (73) the twenty-second day of the eleventh month of the second year of Jōgen 承元 (1208) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 5:43), (74) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Jōkyū 承久 (1219) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 5:197), (75) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Karoku 嘉禄 (1225) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 6:1), (76) the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Karoku (1225) (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 2:458), (77) the twelfth month of the first year of Antei 安貞 (1227) (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 3:79), (78) the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the second year of Antei (1228) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 2:27), (79) the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the fourth year of Kangen 寛元 (1246) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 8:327), (80) the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Shōgen 正元 (1259) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 9:84), (81) the twentieth day of the twelfth month of the fourth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1267) (*Kichizokuki*. ZST 30:194) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 10:7), (82) the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month of the fourth year of Bun-ei (1267) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 10:71), and (83) the seventh day of the twelfth month of the third year of Shōan 正安 (1301) (*Kichizokuki*. ZST 30:412).

[319] Evidence can be found in the *Honchō seiki* entry for the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Kōji 康治 (1142) (*Honchō seiki* 25. SZKT 9:395). The *daijō-e* was held two days after the day that it was supposed to have been held at Hosshōji.

[320] Evidence can be found in the *Honchō seiki* entry for the nineteenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Kōji 康治 (1142) (*Honchō seiki* 25. SZKT 9:406).

at Mt. Hiei and Onjōji,[321] Shirakawa separated the ceremony for promoting monks at Mt. Hiei and Onjōji from the *yuima-e*.[322]

Emperor Shirakawa also sponsored a handful of impressive Buddhist assemblies with large numbers in attendance at Hosshōji. One of the most famous Buddhist assemblies held at Hosshōji (as well as Tōdaiji 東大寺 and Enryakuji) was the Buddhist service in which one thousand monks chanted the scriptures (*sensō dokyō* 千僧読経). The *Humane Kings Sutra* and the *Kannon Sutra* were considered the most effective religious texts for ensuring the tranquility of the country. For example, the Enryakuji *sensō dokyō* assembly in which the *Humane King Sutra* was chanted was carried out as a response to disturbances in the country.[323] The Tōdaiji *sensō dokyō* ceremony in which the *Kannon Sutra* was chanted was held due to a raging epidemic.[324] Kan Masaki asserts that since the first *sensō dokyō* of Hosshōji was held on the sixth day of the tenth month of the first year of Tennin 天仁 (1108),[325] the number of times this

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[321] *Yuima-e* was one of the three major Nara-centered Buddhist assemblies (*nankyōsan-e* 南京三会). Kōfukuji held *yuima-e* in the tenth day of the tenth month once every year.

[322] Three days after the Buddhist assembly, in the presence of Emperor Shirakawa, the preceptor Senkyō 暹教 (fl. twelfth century) was successfully promoted to the position of senior preceptor (*Fusō ryakki* 30. SZKT 12:320).

[323] It occurred on the sixth day of the third month of the first year of Kōwa 康和 (1100) (*Honchō seiki* 22. SZKT 9:302).

[324] It occurred on the twenty-seventh day of the fifth month of the first year of Kōwa 康和 (1100) (*Hochō seiki* 22. SZKT 9:305).

[325] *Denryaku*. DNKD 2:314–315. Many descriptions of holding the *sensō dokkyō* assemblies at Hosshōji can be found in the aristocrat diaries and chronicle records. These appear in the entries for: (1) the sixth day of the tenth month of the first year of Tennin 天仁 (1108) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:314–315), (2) the fourth day of the sixth month of the first year of Ten-ei 天永 (1110) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:91) (*Eishōki*. ZST 8:118), (3) the nineteenth day of the first month of the second year of Ten-ei (1111) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:126) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:10), (4) the seventeenth day of the fifth month of the second year of Ten-ei (1111) (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:38-39) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:47), (5) the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the third year of Ten-ei (1112) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3: 243) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:174), (6) the twentieth day of the first month of the first year of Eikyū 永久 (1113) (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:93-94) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:13), (7) the twentieth day of the second month of the second year of Eikyū (1114) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:88) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:267), (8) the eleventh day of the seventh month of the third year of Eikyū (1115) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:172), (9) the thirteenth day of the second month of the fifth year of Eikyū (1117) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 5:11), (10) the twenty-first day of the

second month of the first year of Gen-ei 元永 (1118) (*Chūyūki* 5.ZST 13:34), (11) the twenty-third day of the eighth month of the first year of Gen-ei (1118) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 5:75), (12) the twenty-sixth day of the second month of the second year of Gen-ei (1119) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:114), (13) the thirteenth day of the second month of the first year of Taiji 大治 (1126) (*Eishōki*. ZST 8:197), (14) the twelfth day of the third month of the fourth year of Taiji (1129) (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:249) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 14:31), (15) the twenty-fourth day of the second month of the fifth year of Taiji (1130) (*Chūyūki* 6. ZST 14:168), (16) the twenty-first day of the first month of the first year of Chōshō 長承 (1132) (*Chūyūki* 6. ZST 14:278), (17) the seventeeth day of the intercalary fourth month of the first year of Chōshō (1132) (*Chūyūki* 6. ZST 14:310), (18) the seventeeth day of the first month of the second year of Chōshō (1133) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:12), (19) the twenty-sixth day of the third month of the third year of Chōshō (1134) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:94), (20) the fifth day of the third month of the fourth year of Chōshō (1135) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:135), (21) the fifth day of the second month of the first year of Hōen 保延 (1135) (*Chōshūki*. ZST 17:253), (22) the twenty-ninth day of the first month of the second year of Hōen (1136) (*Chōshūki*. ZST 17:315) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:177), (23) the twenty-eighth day of the first month of the third year of Hōen (1137) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:194), (24) the seventeenth day of the first month of the fourth year of Hōen (1138) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:213), (25) the ninth day of the second month of the first year of Kōji 康治 (1142) (*Taiki*. ZST 23:62) (*Honchō seiki* 24. SZKT 9:362), (26) the twenty-seventh day of the second month of the second year of Kōji (1143) (*Honchō seiki* 26. SZKT 9:422), (27) the twenty-second day of the second month of the second year of Tenyō 天養 (1144) (*Taiki* 5. ZST 23:145) (*Honchō seiki* 28. SZKT 9:449), (28) the sixth day of the fifth month of the second year of Tenyō (1144) (*Taiki* 5. ZST 23:151), (29) the seventeeth day of the second year of the first year of Kyūan 久安 (1145) (*Honchō seiki* 29. SZKT 9:458), (30) the sixth day of the fifth month of the first year of Kyūan (1145) (*Honchō seiki* 29. SZKT 9:460), (31) the third day of the intercalary tenth month of the first year of Kyūan (1145) (*Honchō seiki* 29. SZKT 9:463), (32) the twelfth day of the third month of the second year of Kyūan (1146) (*Honchō seiki* 30. SZKT 9:478), (33) the eighteenth day of the fourth month of the third year of Kyūan (1147) (*Taiki* 7. ZST 23:208) (*Honchō seiki* 32. SZKT 9:543), (34) the tenth day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Kyūan (1148) (*Honchō seiki* 34. SZKT 9:618), (35) the ninteenth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Kyūan (1149) (*Honchō seiki* 35. SZKT 9:656), (36) the ninth day of the second month of the sixth year of Kyūan (1150) (*Taiki* 9. ZST 24:10), (37) the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the sixth year of Kyūan (1150) (*Taiki* 9. ZST 24:26), (38) the twelfth day of the second month of the first year of Ninpei 仁平 (1151) (*Taiki* 10. ZST 24:69) (*Ukaikishō chū.* ZST 25:193) (*Honchō seiki* 39. SZKT 9:754), (39) the twentieth day of the second month of the second year of Ninpei (1152) (*Honchō seiki* 41. SZKT 9:810), (40) the twentieth day of the third month of the third year of Ninpei (1153) (*Honchō seiki* 45. SZKT 9:852), (41) the twenty-sixth day of the second month of the fourth year of Ninpei (1154) (*Heihanki*. ZST 18:242), (42) the first day of the second month of the second year of Kyūju 久寿 (1155) (*Heihanki*. ZST 18:300), (43) the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the third year of Kyūju (1156) (*Heihanki*. ZST 19:103) (*Jinshaki*. ZST 22:205), (44) the twenty-fifth day of the second month of the second year of Hōgen 保元 (1157) (*Heihanki*. ZST 19:174), (45) the twenty-third day of the third month of the second year of Nin-an 仁安 (1167) (*Heihanki*. ZST 20:183) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 26:4) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:3) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:28) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:12), (46) the twentieth day of the fifth month of the third year of Nin-an (1168) (*Heihanki*. ZST 21:76), (47) the twenty-eighth day of the fifth month of the first year of Kaō 嘉応 (1169) (*Hyakurenshō*. SZKT 11:84), (48) the tenth day of the third month of the fifth year of Jōan 承安 (1175) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:437), (49) the twenty-eighth day of the sixth month of the second year of Angen 安元 (1176) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:589), (50) the twenty-third day of the ninth month of the second year of Jishō 治承 (1178) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:176), (51) the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month of the third year of Jishō (1179) (*Heihanki*. ZST 22:33) (*Hyakurenshō*. SZKT 11:98) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:287) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:281), (52) the twenty-fourth day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Jishō (1180) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 28:114) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:429), (53) the thirteenth day of the third month of the second year of Juei 寿永 (1183) (*Hyakurenshō*. SZKT 11:108) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:599), and (54) the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month of the first year of Kennin 建仁 (1201) (*Hyakurenshō*. SZKT 11:131) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 3:27).

Buddhist assembly was held at Tōdaiji and Enryakuji decreased dramatically.[326] These data show that at this time the religious authority to order rites and rituals for the protection of the country had shifted from the Fujiwara clan to Shirakawa.

Shirakawa's individual will significantly influenced the organizing of rites and rituals for the country and also the appointment of lectures on the occasion of Buddhist assemblies. During Emperors Shirakawa and Horikawa's regimes, the major superintendent monk Eien[327] 永

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326 Kan Masaki 菅真城 has provided a synopsis of all Buddhist services of one thousand monks chanting sutras from the mid to late-Heian period. Kan asserts that until Emperor Shirakawa's demise, the assembly was held at Hosshōji, this being a reflection of Emperor Shirakawa's centralization of his religious authority. Masaki Kan "Inseiki ni okeru butsuji unei hōhō – sensō godokkyō wo sozai to shite" *Shigaku kenkyū* 215 (1997): 1–21.

327 Eien was one of eight major superintendent monks of Kōfukuji. He became the *bettō* of Kōfukuji in the second year of Hōan 保安 (1121). Kan has also pointed out the close relationship between Eien and Emperors Shirakawa and Horikawa. Kan "Inseiki ni okeru butsuji unei hōhō – sensō godokkyō wo sozai to shite" *Shigaku kenkyū* 215: 17–20. On the twenty-eighth day of the intercalary third month of the fourth year of Ten-ei 天永 (1113), the service for the complete Buddhist cannon lectured by Eien was held at Hosshōji (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:100-101). Through descriptions of Eien's contribution to the court in the second year of Jōhō 承保 (1075) can be founded in the *Gyokuyō* entry for the twenty-seventh day of the eleventh month of the third year of Jishō 治承 (1179) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:317), Eien was a well-known monk of Hossō school in terms of a controversy of religious authority with Tendai at Hosshōji. In addition, descriptions of Eien as one of significant assembly-monks who played a role in helping the regime of Emperor Shirakawa also appear in the *Chūyūki* entries for (1) the eighteenth day of the intercalary first month of the first year of Shōtoku 承徳 (1097) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 10:15), (2) the twenty-ninth day of the third month of the first year of Shōtoku (1097) (*Chūyūki i* 1. ZST 10:42), (3) the nineteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of Shōtoku (1098) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:89), (4) the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month of the second year of Shōtoku (1098) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:104), (5) the seixteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Shōtoku (1098) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:120), (6) the tenth day of the second month of the fifth year of Kōwa 康和 (1103) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:262), (7) the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of the fifth year of Kōwa (1103) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:291), (8) the first day of the twelfth month of the first year of Chōji 長治 (1104) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:390), (9) the fourteenth day of the first month of the second year of Ten-ei 天永 (1111) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:8), (10) the twenty-seventh day of the third month of the second year of Ten-ei (1111) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:31), (11) the twenty-ninth day of the seventh month of the second year of Ten-ei (1111) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:61), (12) the seventh day of the eighth month of the second year of Ten-ei (1111) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:64), (13) the twenty-third day of the eighth month of the second year of Ten-ei (1111) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:72), (14) the fourth day of the twefth month of the second year of Ten-ei (1111) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:101), (15) the seventeenth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Ten-ei (1111) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:107), (16) the twenty-fourth day of the second month of the third year of Ten-ei (1112) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:135), (17) the tenth day of the fifth month of the third year of Ten-ei (1112) (*Chūyūki* 4. 12:159), (18) the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of the third year of Ten-ei (1112) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:178), (19) the eighteenth day of the eighth month of the third year of Ten-ei (1112) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:185), (20) the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month of the third year of Ten-ei (1112) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:196), (21) the

縁 (1048–1125), a monk of Kōfukuji, was often assigned to the post of Dharma lecturer, a post responsible for implementing Buddhist services for the emperor. The director of monks Zōyo[328] 増誉 (1032–1116), a monk of Onjōji and protector-monk of emperors Horikawa and Shirakawa, and the Dharma-master Gyōson[329] 行尊 (1055–1135), a monk of Onjōji who later became the protector monk of Emperor Toba, sometimes recited scriptures or performed rituals at ceremonies to pray for the welfare of the emperor and nation.[330] The *Denryaku* reports that Eien, as an official government monk, was dispatched to Nara in order to exhort resident monks of Kōfukuji not to create a disturbance.[331] One of the reasons why Shirakawa found Eien helpful was that Eien could act as a mediator in interactions between Shirakawa and the Fujiwara clan. The Buddhist assembly held at Hosshōji was an opportunity to raise monks loyal to him to a

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twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month of the third year of Ten-ei (1112) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:243), (22) the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the second year of Eikyū 永久 (1114) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:330), (23) the fourteenth day of the first month of the first year of Gen-ei 元永 (1118) (*Chūyūki* 5. 13:8), and (24) the twenty-second day of the fifth month of the first year of Gen-ei (1118) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:61).

328 Zōyo was the thirty-ninth head monk of the Tendai school. He was assigned as an official monk in the second year of Kōhei 康平 (1059). When Emperor Shirakawa made pilgrimages to Kumano in the fourth year of Kanji (1090), he was appointed as the superintendent of Kumano. He became the superintendent of Tenōji 天王寺 in the eighth year of Kanji 寛治 (1094) (*Sōkan bunin* 55. ZR 4:555–561). He performed the Great Ritual of Power and Virtue (*daiitokuhō* 大威徳法) praying for seven shrines on the eighteenth day of the first month of the third year of Eihō 永保 (1083). On the twentieth day of the first month of the fourth year of Ten-ei (1113), the assembly of one thousand monks for chanting the sutra was held at Hosshōji. In the night, Zōyo performed the esoteric service at court (*jimoku mizuhō* 除目御修法), rituals which ceased various calamities, especially for personal misfortune (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:93-94).

329 Gyōson was the forty-fourth head monk of the Tendai school and the protector-monk of Emperor Toba. He served as guide (*sendatsu* 先達) for the Emperor Toba's pilgrimages to Kumano.

330 *Chōshūki*. ZST 16:38-39. On the twentieth day of the first month of the fourth year of Ten-ei 天永 (1113), the *sensō dokkyō* assembly was held at Hosshōji. As Dharma lecturer Eien made offerings to a painting of the eleven-faced Kannon. At court, Dharma-master Gyōson served as a Dharma lecturer and held a service for the painting of the eleven-faced Kannon and one hundred volumes of the *Heart Sutra*. For thirty days, Gyōson, Gyōshō 行勝 (1049‐1124), and Kōi 公伊 (1051–1134), all who were affiliated with Onjōji, made offerings to the one hundred volumes the *Heart Sutra* in three shifts of ten days each (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:93-94).

331 It appears in the entry for the eighteenth day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Kōwa 康和 (1102) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:147).

higher position or rank in the Buddhist hierarchy.[332] Shirakawa thereby secured the right to assign monks to the major administrative posts at Mt Hiei, Onjōji, and Kōfukuji, which resulted in armed conflict between Kōfukuji and Enryakuji,[333] although Shirakawa attempted to maintain a balance between the three major temples by distributing power somewhat evenly among them.

A similar case in which Shirakawa maintained the balance of power between the major three temples can be found in the thirty-lectures (*sanjūkō* 卅講) at Hosshōji[334] in which two

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[332] At the assembly, Kanjō 寛助 (1057–1125) was promoted to director of monks. Shunkaku 俊覚 (1057–1103) was also promoted to superintendent monk (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:10–11).

[333] It occurred on the sixteenth day of the fourth month of the first year of Eikyū 永久 (1113) (*Honchō seiki*. SZKT 9:900).

[334] The ceremony of the thirty-lectures was conducted in the presence of Emperor Shirakawa. Descriptions of holding the thirty-lectures at Hosshōji appear in the aristocrat diaries and chronicle records. The thirty-lectures appears in the entries for: (1) the twenty-first day of the fifth month of the second year of Ten-ei 天永 (1111) (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:39-40) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:144‐145) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:48), (2) the first day of the sixth month of the second year of Ten-ei (1111) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:51), (3) the fifth day of the sixth month of the third year of Ten-ei (1112) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:235) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:167), (4) the twenty-first day of the fifth month of the second year of Eikyū 永久 (1114) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:308), (5) the second day of the eleventh month of the first year of Gen-ei 元永 (1118) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 5:89), (6) the twenty-second day of the eleventh month of the second year of Gen-ei (1119) (*Chōshūki*. ZST 16:182) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:183), (7) the first day of the fifth month of the first year of Hōan 保安 (1120) (*Chūyūki* 5.ZST 13:228), (8) the third day of the fifth month of the second year of Taiji 大治 (1127) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:307), (9) the tenth day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Taiji (1129) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 14:53), (10) the first day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Taiji (1130) (*Chōshūki*. ZST 17:12) (*Chūyūki* 6. ZST 14:198), (11) the ninth day of the fifth month of the first year of Tenshō 天承 (1131) (*Chōshūki*. ZST 17:112), (12) the fourth day of the fifth month of the first year of Chōshō 長承 (1132) (*Chōshūki*. ZST 17:137–139) (*Chūyūki* 6. ZST 14:311), (13) the first day of the fifth month of the second year of Chōshō 長承 (1133) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:39), (14) the first day of the fifth month of the third year of Chōshō (1134) (*Chōshūki*. ZST 17:197) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:100), (15) the first day of the fifth month of the first year of Hōen 保延 (1135) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:146), (16) the third day of the fifth month of the second year of Tenyō 天養 (1145) (*Taiki* 5. ZST 23:151), (17) the second day of the fifth month of the third year of Kyūan 久安 (1147) (*Taiki* 7. ZST 23:209), (18) the tenth day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Kyūan (1148) (*Honchō seiki* 34. SZKT 9:619), (19) the first day of the fifth month of the second year of Nin-an 仁安 (1167) (*Heihanki*. ZST 20:200) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:31) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:51), (20) the first day of the fifth month of the third year of Nin-an (1168) (*Heihanki*. ZST 21:72), (21) the first day of the fifth month of the first year of Kaō 嘉応 (1169) (*Heihanki*. ZST 22:30), (22) the first day of the fifth month of the second year of Kaō (1170) (*Heihanki*. ZST 22:159) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:99), (23) the first day of the fifth month of the second year of Jōan 承安 (1172) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:199), (24) the first day of the fifth month of the second year of Jishō 治承 (1178) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:120), (25) the first day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Jishō (1180) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 28:90) (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 1:4), (26) the first day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Jishō (1181) (*Kikki*. ZST 29:195), (27) the first day of the fifth month of the second year of Genryaku 元暦 (1185) (*Kikki*. ZST 30:143) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:80), (28) the first day of the

head students and ten other students from each of the three major temples—Mt. Hiei, Kōfukuji, and Onjōji—participated in a lecture on the *Innumerable Meanings Sutra* and the *Lotus Sutra*. Ten senior monks serve as observers and judges.[335] The students and senior monks selected from Mt. Hiei, Kōfukuji, and Onjōji participated in the ceremony for a period of five days. These assemblies, besides demonstrating the existence of a strong individual connection between Shirakawa and Eien, suggest that Shirakawa deprived Kōfukuji of religious authority and power and that he attempted to gain control over the politics of clerical appointment at Mt. Hiei and Onjōji. It is also important to note that in an attempt to guarantee the prosperity of Hosshōji as the center for Mahāyāna Buddhism in Japan, Shirakawa withheld support for the Fujiwara family and instead focused on making the central government more effective.

One final byproduct of this process lay was Shirakawa's increasingly prominent role as mediator between competeing factions: as Shirakawa centralized political and religious authority in his own hands, he exercised increasing degrees of control over provincial religious centers (such as Kinpusen) and the conflicts between such centers. Mikael Adolphson has convincingly

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fifth month of the first year of Shōji 正治 (1199) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 1:254), (29) the first day of the fifth month of the second year of Shōji (1200) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 2:281), (30) the first day of the fifth month of the second year of Kennin 建仁 (1202) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 3:344), (31) the first day of the fifth month of the third year of Kennin (1203) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 4:251), (32) the first day of the fifth month of the first year of Jōkyū 承久 (1219) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 5:164), (33) the first day of the fifth month of the first year of Jōō 貞応 (1222) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 5:248), (34) the first day of the fifth month of the first year of Kangi 寛喜 (1229) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 2:60), (35) the first day of the fifth month of the third year of Kangi (1231) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 3:10), (36) the first day of the fifth month of the first year of Jōei 貞永 (1232) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 4:79), (37) the first day of the fifth month of the first year of Tenpuku 天福 (1233) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 7:1), (38) the first day of the fifth month of the third year of Ninji 仁治 (1242) (*Heikoki*. ZST 32:183), (39) the first day of the fifth month of the third year of Kangen 寛元 (1245) (*Heikoki*. ZST 33:98), (40) the first day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Kangen (1246) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 8:271), and (41) the first day of the fifth month of the tenth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1273) (*Kichizokuki*. ZST 30:329).

[335] Major superintendent monk Eien 永縁大僧都 and the preceptor Kakushin 覚心阿闍梨 participated in the thirty lectures.

argued for the significant role of Emperor Shirakawa in arbitrating and influencing the outcome of religious disturbances among religious institutions.[336] Protests carried out by major temples occurred frequently during the mid-Heian period. For instance, an armed conflict between Kōfukuji and Tōnomine 多武峯, concerning a dispute over the latter's estate, developed from the time that Zōga 増賀 (917–1003), a monk of Mt. Hiei, took up residence at Tōnomine.[337] Within a month after the conflict had begun, one hundred monks of Tōnomine journeyed to the capital where they protested to the superintendent about the tyrannical behavior of Kōfukuji.[338] In a similar vein, the prolonged armed struggle between Mt. Hiei and Onjōji increased in intensity. On the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the fifth year of Eihō 永保 (1084), followers of Onjōji obstructed the proceedings of a festival at Hiei shrine.[339] Two months later, followers of Mt. Hiei set fire to Onjōji.[340] This armed conflict between Mt. Hiei and Onjōji continued over the years, but was controlled to some extent by armed government officials (*kebiishi* 検非違使).[341] This reveals a rapid decline in the religious authority of the *yuima-e* within the imperial court and a worsening of the religious relationship between the imperial court,

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336 Mikael Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 75-124.

337 There was an armed dispute between Kōfukuji and Tōnomine on the fifth day of the third month of the fifth year of Jōryaku 承暦 (1081) (*Fusō ryakki* 30. SZKT 12:322).

338 This protest was carried out on the twenty-fifth day of the third month of the fifth year of Jōryaku (*Sochiki*. ZST 5:120).

339 *Fusō ryakki* 30. SZKT 12:322–323.

340 *Fusō ryakki* 30. SZKT 12:323. *Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:37.

341 Armed government officials were dispatched to control the dispute between Mt. Hiei and Onjōji twice, once on the first day of the eighth month of the fifth year of Jōryaku and again on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month of the fifth year of Jōryaku. On all matters concerning the armed action on Mt. Hiei on the fourteenth day of the ninth month of the fifth year of Jōryaku, the armed government official captured followers of Onjōji twice, on the fourteenth day of the ninth month of the fifth year of Jōryaku and again on the twenty-second day of the tenth month of the fifth year of Jōryaku (*Suisaki.* ZST 8:155–157).

the Fujiwara family, and the Fujiwara temple of Kōfukuji.[342]

All of this strongly suggests that with the implementation of the political and religious policies of the Gosanjō and Shirakawa the imperial court unambiguously regained their political and religious authority from the Fujiwara clan and established the *goganji* as the new Buddhist centers for monastic advancement and appointment of rank for Mt. Hiei and Onjōji. Crucially, however, the rapid changes in political and religious affairs produced unforeseen results in local areas that possessed religiously and politically independent systems during the medieval period. How these results affected the development of Kinpusen will be the subject of the following section.

IV. The Power of the Mountain

A. Imperial Pilgrimages to Kinpusen

This section will explore the religious and political significance of abdicated sovereigns in the cult of Kinpusen. I will in particular focus upon the activities of Daigoji, Kōfukuji, and resident monks of Kinpusen. The initial stage of modern scholarship about Kinpusen was undertaken by Japanese folklorists. Miyake Hitoshi 宮家準 (1933-), a pioneer of the study of Shugendō, who has argued for the significance of popular Buddhism in mountainous regions, focusing on the shamanistic elements of sacred pilgrimages to Kinpusen.[343] Royall Tyler, similarly, has argued for the significance of mountain-practitioner movements, focusing on

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342 A thousand followors of Kōfukuji came to the capital and protested against plans to hold the *daijō-e* at the imperial court (*Honchō seki*. SZKT 9:327).

343 Hitoshi Miyake, *Shugendō to nihon shūkyō* (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1996), 43-68.

the relationship between Kōfukuji and Kinpusen.[344] Shudō Yoshiki 首藤善樹 asserts that Daigoji helped to establish esotericism at Kinpusen during the latter's formative years.[345] Recently, Heather Blair has examined the political and economical significance of Kinpusen, a site of religious signficance that played a role in the so-called gates of power structure as described by Kuroda Toshio.[346]These studies demonstrate that the cult of Kinpusen and its relationship with abdicated sovereigns were important elements in the religion of the period. Rather than seeking to determine the origins of Japanese mountain ascetism that is a common feature of these scholars' works, however, in this section I shall emphasize the importance of Daoist practices at Kinpusen.

During Emperor Uda's reign, the practice of making pilgrimages to sacred mountains and temples was closely related to the localization of aristocratic and Buddhist institutional power during the period. Such power was manifested through the performance of prayers for spirits before buddhas and local kami. Pilgrimages such as those made to pray for the emperor (e.g., to Hosshōji[347]) and those made to Mt. Kōya[348] and Mt. Kumano[349] indicate the subduing

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344 Royall Tyler, "Kōfukuji and Shugendō" *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16, no 2-3 (1989): 144. He discusses the establishment and development of Kinpusen under the strong influence of Kōfukuji.

345 Yoshiki Shutō, *Kinpusenji shiryōshukei* (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2000), 624.

346 Blair, *Peak of Gold: Trance, Place and Religion in Heian Japan,* 1-10.

347 Since Teishinai Shinnō 禎子内親王 (1013-1094), the first daughter of Emperor Shirakawa, inclined to ill health, Emperor Shirakawa had begun common practice of making pilgrimages to Hosshōji. Many descriptions of Emperor Shirakawa's pilgrimages to Hosshōji are found in aristocrat diaries. These appear in the entries for: (1) the eighth day of the first month of the first year of Eichō 永長 (1096) (*Chūyūki*. DNKC 2:43), (2) the twelfth day of the first month of the first year of Eichō (1096) (*Chūyūki.*DNKC 2:45), (3) the nineteenth day of the second month of the first year of Eichō (1096) (*Chūyūki.* DNKC 2:51), and (4) the twenty-third day of the sixth month of the first year of Eichō (1096) (*Chūyūki.* DNKC 2:55). Teishinai Shinnō passed away in the seventh day of the eighth month of the first year of Eichō (1096) (*Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:43). Due to his first daughter's demise, Emperor Shirakawa took the throne. (*Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:43).

348 Emperor Shirakawa made pilgrimages to Mt. Kōya three times, once on the twenty-second day of the second month of the second year of Kanji 寛治 (1088) (*Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:39), a second time on the seventeenth day of the second month of the fifth year of Kanji (1091) (*Fusō rakki*, 30. SZKT 12: 332), and a

power of the emperor. The *Nihon Sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代實録 (The History of the Three Reigns of Japan) entry for the first day of the second month of the fifth year of Jōgan 貞観 (863) relates that yin-yang masters and court officials were dispatched to Kinpusen for the purpose of performing imperial rites.[350] Heian court aristocrats, vassals, and official monks were involved in the emperor's pilgrimages to mountains and temples. Imperial and aristocrat pilgrimages to sacred mountains and temples helped weaken the influence of powerful court clans and facilitated the emperor's political and economic control over religious institutions. Kinpusen presents us with one example in which emperors began to dispatch their own "official" superintendents of Kinpusen that were affiliated neither with Kōfukuji nor with the Fujiwara clan.

Kinpusen, as a "golden peak" sacred to Daoist devotees, was seen as a boundary zone between the secular world and other world, and was thus neither purely secular nor purely religious in the eyes of Heian aristocrats.[351] Accordingly, Emperor Shirakawa built the Three Treasures pagoda hall (*sanhōtōin* 三宝塔院) in the third year of Jōhō 承保 (1076) and in the

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third time on the fourth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Taiji 大治 (1127) (*Kōyasan gokō oideki*. ZGR 28 *jō*: 292–293).

[349] Many descriptions of making pilgrimages to Mt. Kumano appear in the chronicles. These appear in the entries for: (1) the twenty-second day of the first month of the fourth year of Kanji 寛治 (1090) (*Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:40), (2) the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Eikyū 永久 (1116) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:263), (3) the seventh day of the intercalary ninth month of the first year of Gen-ei 元永 (1118) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 5:81), (4) the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month of the second year of Gen-ei (1119) (*Chūyūki.* DNKC 4:122), (5) the third day of the tenth month of the first year of Hōan 保延 (1120) (*Chūyūki.* DNKC 5:64), and (6) the thirteenth day of the second month of the third year of Taiji (1128) (*Chūyūki*.DNKC 6:32).

[350] *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 7. SZKT 4:105.

[351] Passage for the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month of the third year of Chōhō 長保 (1001) notes that "In the morning, [Fujiwara no] Korehiro 藤原惟弘 (fl. eleventh century) came to me [Fujiwara no Yukinari] and said, 'Last night, I had a dream of making pilgrimages to Kinpusen and then obtaining a golden belt and sword. This is a prophesy of my good fortune to come" (*Gonki*. ZST 4:209).

third year of Jōryaku 承暦 (1079) he built a Buddha hall at Ishizōji 石蔵寺, which became a temple for prayers for the emperor on Kinpusen. Emperor Shirakawa chose the temple's head monk from among the resident monks of Kinpusen and dispatched six monks from the imperial court.[352] He asked them to pray and make offerings for the progress of the country, the suppression of epidemics, and the prosperity of his descendants. In the eleventh month of the third year of Jōryaku, he sent three imperial officials to hold a religious service at the Buddha hall of Ishizōji and one government official (*kebiishi* 検非違使) to keep an eye on the religious activities at Kinpusen.[353] These visits of government officials from the imperial court represented the legitimization and control of Kinpusen by judicial and military powers based in the capital. In so doing, Emperor Shirakawa emphatically demonstrated that Kinpusen was under the direct control of the imperial court.

After Emperor Shirakawa abdicated the throne in favor of Prince Taruhito 善仁親王 (Emperor Horikawa), the retired Emperor Shirakawa continued to wield political power and make offerings to Kinpusen under the protection of, and with funds supplied by, the imperial court. Kinpusen was seen as a sacred mountain where Zaō Gongen manifested himself as the guardian of Japan.[354] The retired Emperor Shirakawa and members of the imperial court made pilgrimages to Kinpusen twice, once on the second day of the seventh month of the sixth year of

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[352] *Chōshūki, 2*. ZSTC 2:197-200.

[353] On the twelfth month of the fourth year of Jōryaku 承暦 (1080), Emperor Shirakawa asked Buddhist monks to perform fire rituals for invocation for five hundred days at the hall of Ishizōji. On the eighth month of the second year of Eihō 永保 (1082), he donated the rice field in Ogura 小倉 district, Kii 紀伊 Province (*Kinpusen sōsōki*. ND 37:366) (*Kinpusen zakki*. ND 38:473).

[354] *Gonijōmoromichiki chū*. DNKG 2:168.

Kanji 寛治 (1092)[355] and a second time on the twenty-first day of the eleventh month of the seventh year of Kanji (1093).[356] The preceptor Kōsan 高算 (fl. eleventh century), a monk of Kinpusen, was awarded the title of Dharma Master for his service during the first pilgrimage.[357] These pilgrimages were based on a precedent: the pilgrimage of the retired Emperor Uda in the fifth year of Engi 延喜 (905).

The pilgrimages of retired Emperor Shirakawa involved detailed protocol that served to highlight the importance of the event. On the thirtieth day of the fourth month, he and his wife began to undergo religious purification in preparation for pilgrimage to Kinpusen and abstained from eating meat and fish.[358] Twenty people close to retired Emperor Shirakawa also prepared for the pilgrimage to Kinpusen.[359] On the second day of the seventh month, the retired Emperor and his followers left from the capital and made their way to Kinpusen.[360] One further incident served to underscore the numinous power of the mountain: on the tenth day of the seventh month, the retired Emperor Shirakawa suddenly suffered from some sort of heart condition at the foot of Kinpusen. Shirakawa's life was saved, however, by a senior monk of Kinpusen who performed incantations and healing.[361] Incidents such as this further served to spread the fame of the mountain even as underscored the importance of imperial pilgrimages to help maintain "diplomatic" relations at the boundary zone between the secular world and the other world.

Not content to leave anything to chance, Emperor Shirakawa also established a set of

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[355] *Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:41. *Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:228. *Gonijōmoromichiki chū*. DNKG 2:272.
[356] *Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:42.
[357] *Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:229.
[358] *Chūyūki.* DNKC 1:130-131.
[359] *Chūyūki.* DNKC 1:131.
[360] *Fusō rakki*, 30. SZKT 12: 332.
[361] *Chūyūki.* DNKC 1:143.

rules governing of imperial pilgrimages to Kinpusen. On the thirteenth day of the seventh month, he reached the summit of Kinpusen and immediately prepared for religious services.[362] After a lamp was hung before the Buddha, he offered a hundred copies of the *Lotus Sutra*, copies of the *Five Great Mahayana Sutras* (*kondei gobu daijōkyō* 金泥五部大乗経) in gold ink, and a gold-painted *Lotus Sutra* copied in gold ink by the retired Emperor Shirakawa himself (*kondei ofude hokkekyō* 金泥御筆法華経). He then held religious services in which a hundred monks performed rituals and chanted sutras in the hall of Ishizōji.[363] After the services, retired Emperor Shirakawa granted the monks one hundred monastic robes.[364] He stayed at Tōnanin 東南院, the pilgrims' lodgings on the peak of Kinpusen. On the seventeenth day of the seventh month, retired Emperor Shirakawa and his followers returned to the capital and held a purification ceremony at the river at Nijō 二条.[365] The elaborate nature of these rites further suggests both Shirakawa's deep devotion to Kinpusen and Kinpusen's religious importance to the imperial court. Shirakawa's pilgrimages not only had a great impact on the popularization of Buddhism in the provinces of the Kii peninsula but also created a form of Buddhis-Daoist worship based on a systematic development of amalgamation of buddhas and local deities.

The imperial pilgrimages to Kinpusen resulted in court-influence on rules directly made and maintained by resident-monks of Kinpusen. Further evidence of the political importance of Kinpusen at this time can be seen in an entry from the *Shasekishū* entitled a "*Matter of Yoshino*

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[362] People who remained at the court performed religious purification during retired Emperor Shirakawa's three-day ascent of Kinpusen, from the eleventh to the thirteenth day of the seventh month (*Chūyūki.* DNKC 1:142).
[363] *Fusō rakki*, 30. SZKT 12: 332.
[364] *Fusō rakki*, 30. SZKT 12: 332.
[365] *Chūyūki.* DNKC 1:143

Shugyō who Lived a Solitary Life." This text suggests that the activities of the *shugyō* 執行, who oversaw all political and religious affairs, became very active in the area of Kinpusen at roughly the same time that the retired Emperor Shirakawa began making his pilgrimages.[366] At this time the retired Emperor Shirakawa named the Kinpusen *shugyō* from among the resident monks of Kinpusen. Following the direct orders of Emperor Shirakawa, monks of Kinpusen began to manage religious and political activities by themselves so that they identified themselves as an independent group outside of the control of powerful monastic centers such as Kōfukuji and Mount Kōya. The *Chōshūki* 長秋記, the diary of Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時 (1077-1136), entry for the sixth day of the fifth month of the third year of Chōshō 長承 (1134), discusses the details of the appointments of Kinpusen *shugyō* as follows:

> The earliest appointed *shugyō* was Kōsan, one of the three senior monks of Kinpusenji, who performed rituals for healing related to the Medicine Tathagata and who had helped to establish the Buddha hall at Ishizōji. When Kōsan passed away in the third year of Kahō 嘉保 (1096), Keisan 経算 (fl. twelfth century), Kōsan's disciple, took over the *shugyō's* position, but he was dismissed as *shugyō* by the retired Emperor Shirakawa because he gave refuge to a murderer who was avoiding capture. While Keisan was placed under house arrest, Eikyū 永久, the first rank monk of the Three Treasures pagoda hall at Ishizōji, appointed by the retired Emperor Shirakawa, became the *shugyō*. A few years later, when Keisan was forgiven for his offenses, he was much talked about among the monks of Kinpusenji 金峯山寺 for his reappointment as the *shugyō*. They had conflicting views and split into two groups. In order to avoid further conflicts among them, the retired Emperor Shirakawa declared that Keisan would be reappointed *shugyō* after Eikyū passed away. However, Keisan suddenly passed away before his reappointment. Accordingly, Eikyū decided to resign his position in favor of Ninshun 仁春 (fl. twelfth century), Keisan's younger brother. Yet most monks of Kinpusen

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366 *Shasekishū* 10:2. NKBT 85:

> supported Shinsen 信暹 (fl. twelfth century) as nominee for the position of *shugyō*. Eikyū and the other monks discussed the matter at length and eventually decided that Eisan, Kōsan's disciple, should become the fourth *shugyō*. In the second year of Chōshō 長承 (1134), Eisan became ill and decided to resign his position in favor of Ninshun. He asked for the emperor's approval and Emperor Toba accepted Ninshun as the fifth *shugyō* in the following year.[367]

This entry is notable for its depiction of the degree to which the monks of Kinpusen succeeded in taking control of their own religious and political affairs. Semi-independent control of religious regulations and decisions was established under the auspices of the Emperors Shirakawa, Horikawa, and Toba. In this way, to the extent that Kinpusen did rely on external sources for its financial stability, it relied not on Kōfukuji, with which it was in a *honji-matsuji* relationship, but rather on the imperial court.

This autonomy was further enhanced by repeated religious fundraising campaigns (*kanjin* 勧進) that became established in the Heian period as a means by which funds were secured to construct and repair temples, shrines, and public utilities. Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦 (1946-) argues that the earliest example of a *kanjin*-funded temple bell was a temple bell of Kinpusen contributed by *kanjin*-monk Dōjaku 道寂 (fl. twelfth century) in the seventh year of Hōen 保延 (1141).[368] The name of the Kinpusen *shugyō* Ninshun also appears in the inscription of the temple bell.[369] All of this suggests that *kanjin*, together with imperial support, was an important factor that helped Kinpusen maintain its autonomy. As we shall see shortly, these resources were especially important in light of attempts by Kōfukuji and Mount Kōya to

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367 *Chōshūki* 2. ZST 17:197-200.
368 Fumihiko Gomi, *Inseiki shakai no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Yamakawa Shuppan, 1984), 207-213.
369 Gomi, *Inseiki shakai no kenkyū,* 211.

bring the mountain within their spiritual domains.

B. Kinpusen as an Independent Religious Institution

This section will examine the development of Kinpusen as an independent religious institution that was frequently in conflict with Kōfukuji and Mt. Kōya. As Kinpusen became independently powerful during the Insei period, it began to exercise its authority in the political and religious arenas in the capital. Such activities may have resulted in a case of arson at Kinpusen on the tenth day of the tenth month of the seventh year of Kanji 寛治 (1093), Kinpusen caught fire.[370] This incident is generally regarded as the result of a long-term conflict between *honji* 本寺 and *matsuji* 末寺 (main and branch temples). When the Director of Monks Jōzen 貞禅 (1042-1095), a monk of Kōfukuji, was appointed as *kengyō* of Kinpusen by the Fujiwara clan in the seventh year of Kanji (1093),[371] he was prevented by the monks on Kinpusen from entering the mountain and assuming the *kengyō* position. According to a declaration submitted on the sixth day of the third month of the eighth year of Kanji (1094), Dharma Master Kōsan, who had been appointed as the *shugyō* by retired Emperor Shirakawa, and his followers on Kinpusen refused to become a matsuji of Kōfukuji.[372] Thus, Kinpusen twice came into conflict with Kōfukuji, once in the seventh year of Kanji (1093) and again in the first year of Kahō 嘉保 (1094).[373] These two instances of discord point to the complicated struggle for power between Kōfukuji supported by the Fujiwara clan and Kinpusen supported by

370 *Chūyūki.* ZST 9:91. *Gonijōmoromichiki ge*. DNKG 3:104.
371 It appears in the entry for the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of the seventh year of Kanji (1093) (*Chūyūki.* ZST 9:93).
372 *Chūyūki.* ZST 9:127.
373 *Gonijōmoromichiki ge*. DNKG 3:119.

the retired Emperor Shirakawa.

After the sudden death of Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062-1099) in the sixth month of Jōtoku 承徳 (1099), the frequency with which Kōfukuji came into conflict with the other temples and then presented direct petitions to the imperial court rapidly increased. The *Denryaku* entry for the first day of the fifth month of the third year of Kōwa 康和 (1101) notes that while resident monks of Kinpusen disturbed peace and order, the resident monks of Kōfukuji attempted to travel to Kinpusen in order to keep an eye on religious activities there.[374] Accordingly, Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078–1162), as head of the Fujiwara clan, had to control conflicts between the resident monks of Kinpusen and the monks of Kōfukuji.[375] These accounts are important because they suggest that the Fujiwara had suffered a serious loss of political authority not only with regards to the religious affairs of Kōfukuji, but also with regards to the religious affairs of the general Nanto area as well.

Thereafter, religious struggles for power between Kōfukuji and Kinpusen continued without interruption. The *Denryaku* entry for the twenty-ninth day of the third month of the second year of Eikyū 永久 (1114) notes that due to concern about an appointment of a Kinpusen superintendent, resident monks of Kōfukuji headed for Kinpusen.[376] The *Chūyūki* entry for the sixth day of the fourth month of the second year of Eikyū (1114) states that the rupture between Kōfukuji and Kinpusen became uncontrollable.[377] During the reign of Emperor Toba, Kinpusen again became embroiled in conflict with Kōfukuji in the third month of the

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374 *Denryaku*. DNKD 1:51.
375 *Denryaku*. DNKD 1:52.
376 *Denryaku*. DNKD 4:94.
377 *Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:290.

first year of Taiji 大治 (1126). These instances resulted from disagreements about the Kinpusen *kengyō* and *bettō* (*shugyō*)'s control of the religious and political affairs on Kinpusen.

Another major cause of troubles between Kinpusen, Kōfukuji, Tōnomine, and Mt. Kōya, was conflicting claims on private estates (*shōen*) that served as sources of income. From the seventh month of the first year of Kyūan 久安 (1145) until the fourth month of the second year of Kyūan (1146), tensions arose between Kinpusen and Kōfukuji over rice and vegetable fields in the Uchi district of Yamato Province 大和国宇智郡. The *Hochō seiki* notes that the resident monks of Kinpusen attempted to capture Minamoto no Morotō nyūdō 源師任入道 (fl. twelfth century), a son of Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時 (1077-1136) with the result that a local governor of Yamato Province, Fujiwara no Yorikane 藤原頼金 (fl. twelfth century), took up arms against the resident monks of Kinpusen.[378] Morotō's double donation of his rice and vegetable fields to both Kōfukuji and Kinpusen was a result of the armed conflict between these temples. Shinjitsu 信實 (fl. twelfth century), the head of Kōfukuji, took resident monks of Kōfukuji in his company and headed to Kinpusen twice, once on the twelfth day of the seventh month of the second year of Tenyō 天養 (1145)[379] and again on the thirteenth day of the ninth month of the second year of Tenyō (1145).[380] These incidents show that Kinpusen extended the area of its religious and political authority over large areas of Yamato Province. Eventually, Kōfukuji acknowledged Kinpusen as an independent mountain supported by the imperial court. This influence on the Heian court lasted until the end of the era of abdicated sovereigns (ca.

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[378] It appears in the entry for the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month of the second year of Kyūan (1146) (*Honchō seiki* 30. SZKT 9:488).
[379] *Taiki* 5. ZST 23:156.
[380] *Taiki* 5. ZST 23:157.

1150).

At the beginning of the Kamakura period, Kinpusen further increased its political and religious activities. An entry in the *Inokuma Kanpakuki* 猪隈関白記, the diary of Konoe Iezane 近衛家実 (1179-1243), states that a conflict between Kinpusen and Tōnomine 多武峯 broke out in tenth month of the first year of Jōgen 承元 (1207).[381] The *kengyō* of Kinpusen, Shin-en 信円 (fl. thirteenth century), heard that Kinpusen *shugyō* Shunken 春賢 (fl. thirteenth century) planned to invade Tōnomine in due course and in response ordered government forces (*kebiishi* 検非違使) to subdue the conflict. Soon after the suppression by the *kebiishi*, Kinpusen and Tōnomine both submitted a petition to the court. Though the court message was conveyed to both Kinpusen and Tōnomine, temple buildings were reduced to ashes by the residence monks of Kinpusen on the fifth day of the second month of the second year of Jōgen 承元 (1208).[382] Over two hundred temples buildings were completely destroyed. Subsequently, ten meditation masters of Tōnomine submitted a written petition to the court and requested that a government army be dispatched to Kinpusen.

Accordingly, the Kinpusen *shugyō* Shunken was summoned to appear in the capital and cross-examined by the court. Shunken and his associates responsible for the incident were charged with the destruction of Tōnomine's property on the twenty-fifth day of the intercalary fourth month of the second year of Jōgen 承元 (1208).[383] Shunken and seven followers were sentenced to exile. The Kinpusen *kengyō* Shin-en was also removed from his position. These

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381 It appears in the entry for the twenty-sixth day of the first month of the second year of Jōgen 承元 (1208) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 4:156-166).
382 *Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 4:158-159.
383 *Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 4:202.

decisions were conveyed to the superintendent (*bettō* 別当) of Kōfukuji by the head of the Fujiwara clan. On the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month of the second year of Jōgen 承元 (1208), Jitsuson 實尊 (fl. thirteenth century), a disciple of Shin-en, who was a son of Fujiwara no Motofusa 藤原基房 (1145-1231), was promoted to the position of *kengyō* of Kinpusen.[384] After the new appointment of the *kengyō* Jitsuson, Shunken and seven followers who were exiled were summoned to Kinpusen on the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the second year of Jōgen 承元 (1208).[385] Although we can only speculate on this point, these indications pertaining to the struggle with Tōnomine suggest not only the religious and political independence of Kinpusen, but also give a strong impression of medieval Kinpusen as a "heretical" place where people with "a strange appearance" resided.

Kinpusen became institutionally independent due to a struggle it had with Mt. Kōya over its borders. In the *Meigetsuki* passage for the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month of the first year of Karoku 嘉禄 (1225), Shinjakubō 心寂房 (fl. thirteenth century), a medical-monk[386] who was the son of Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241), told Teika that that Zaō hall of Kinpusen, having been destroyed by an armed struggle between resident monks of Kinpusen and monks of Mt. Kōya, had been rebuilt by a local governor of Yamato

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384 *Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 5:17.

385 *Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 5:20.

386 Meigetsuki kenkyūkai, "「Meigetsuki」(Jishō yonen) wo yomu," *Meigetsuki kenkyū: kiroku to bungaku* 4, (1999): 62-63. This text allows us a glimpse of monks' activities, including treating contagious diseases, and also draws our attention to Japanese medieval aristocrats who received Buddhist precepts as a means of curing themselves. In addition, Hattori demonstrates that these advanced medical techniques, which were brought to Japan from Song China, were used by non-official medical monks (such as Shinjakubō, Kūtaibō 空体房, and Konrenbō 金蓮房) to cure Fujiwara no Teika. Toshiyoshi Hattori, *Kamakura jidai igaku shi no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964), 54– 68.

Province.[387] The context for this rebuilding of the Zaō hall of Kinpusen by a local governor was the widely-held perception of resident-monks of Kinpusen as "evil" monks who could not restrain themselves and had an antagonistic relationship with the monks of Mt. Kōya. In addition, the *Meigetsuki* notes that imperial decisions concerning the destroyed Zaō hall of Kinpusen had not been made during the eighty days that Mt. Kōya monks were in the capital submitting the matter to the court some seventeen times.[388] Furthermore, a messenger, director of monks Jōki 定喜律師 (fl. thirteenth century) who was a disciple of Jōgō 定豪 (fl. thirteenth century), was dispatched to Kantō in order to attempt a resolution of the discord between Kinpusen and Mt. Kōya.[389] All of this suggests that, backed by overwhelming political and religious power from the emperors, Kinpusen attempted to establish itself as a new institutional power.

In summary, Kinpusen became a very large independent religious and political institution which often had the ear of the imperial court. The aforementioned chain of religious and political events reveals three aspects of medieval Kinpusen: 1) the residence monks of Kinpusen independently appointed the *shugyō*, 2) Kōfukuji, which attempted to draw Kinpusen into a *honji-matsuji* relationship, maintained only economical control of Kinpusen, and 3) the imperial court had control over the appointment of the *kengyō* on Kinpusen. These aspects reveal the mutual independence of the capital, the family temple, and the local.

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387 *Meigetsuki*. KKM 3:432-433.

388 It appears in the entry for the twelfth day of the eighth month of the second year of Karoku 嘉禄 (1225) (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 3:533).

389 It appears in the *Meigetsuki* entries for (1) the thirteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Karoku 嘉禄 (1225) (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 3:544) and (2) the seventeenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Karoku (1225) (*Meigetsuki.* KKM 3:545).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the relationship between political and religious activities of the court, temples, and mountain-dwelling practitioners during the Insei period. This period corresponds to the rise of divinatory practices explained in the first chapter. Although during this period emperors began to administer political affairs alone (*shinsei* 親政), with only the assistance of court vassals in the re-appropriation of private estates from the imperial court, the period also saw a rise in the intervention of religious institutions in court affairs. Local areas thus began to possess politically and religiously independent systems in medieval Japan.

During the late Heian period, major temples such as Onjōji, Kōfukuji, Mt. Hiei, and Mt. Kōya received many benefits from aristocratic Heian families and, through this process, came to control many *shōen*. Consequently, they began to exercise their religious and political authority in the capital. Following political and religious orders issued by the imperial court and *gangoji*, Kinpusen became a center of power and secured semi-independence over its own religious and political affairs. This conceptual framework of political and religious affairs appeared in two flourishing peaks, once in the regimes of Emperor Uda and Daigo and again in the regimes of Emperors Gosanjō and Shirakawa.

CHAPTER III
Kanmon (勘文), Star Worship (*hoshiku* 星供), and Divining the Future (*miraichi* 未来智)

Introduction

Throughout Japan's medieval period, the regular execution of religious rites served as one of the most important means by which the imperial house promoted the central position and prominence of the court. One of the best examples of this strategy can be seen in the purification ritual of the four quarters (*shihōhai* 四方拝). This rite was closely associated with the mystical invocation—*kyū kyū nyo ritsu ryō* 急々如律令 (C. *jijirululing*)—a Daoist spell which, when written on a talisman and used in the proper ritual setting, was thought to be able to eliminate noxious, disease-causing vapors. Takigawa Masajirō 滝川政次郎 (1897–1992), an early pioneer in the study of the purification rituals of the four quarters, argued that this short talismanic spell, which appeared as the end of a longer spell according to Han-dynasty ritual protocol, was used for purposes of political legitimization and was adapted to Daoist teachings developed during the Wei and Jin dynasties.[390] Murayama Shūichi 村山修一 (1914-2010), a scholar of yin-yang studies, has further explored how such Daoist talismans as well as other ritual tools used by yin-yang masters were introduced into Japan's shugendō tradition 修験道.[391] In a more recent study, Yamazato Junichi 山里純一 (1951–) has provided an account of the dissemination of talismans and yin-yang formulae from the islands south of Satsuma, in the

[390] Seijirō Takigawa, *Ritsuryō no kenkyu* (Tōkyō: Tōkō Shoin, 1931), 72–75 in *furoku* section.
[391] Shūichi Murayama, *Nihon onmyōdōshi sōsetsu* (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1981), 95-97.

Ryūkyū 琉球 islands, and throughout China and Korea.[392] For our purposes, among the most common points of convergence in the work of each of these scholars has been their emphasis upon the pan-Asian span of this type of religious thought that was based on purification rituals of the entire realm throughout the veneration of heaven and earth.

Another phenomenon that grew in importance during this period was the practice of recording events for the purpose of the production of calendars and the inter-generational transmission of teachings. Yamashita Katsuaki 山下克明 (1952-) asserts that observance of calendars first became popular among the elite and then spread to the population at large.[393] Similarly, Yuasa Yoshimi 湯浅吉美 (1957-), a scholar of Japanese calendrical studies, has shown that Buddhist calendrical pratices were extremely popular among Kamakura-period aristocrats and warriors, as can be seen in works such as the *Gyokuyō* and *Azumakagami*.[394] Momo Hiroyuki 桃裕行 (1910-1986), a pioneer of Japanese calendrical studies, points out that notable examples of Heian courtier diaries associated with the calendar, such as the *Midokanpakuki* 御堂関白記, the diary of Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1027), and the *Suisaki* 水左記, the diary of Minamoto no Toshifusa 源俊房 (1035–1121), contained detailed supplementary information provided by astrological treatises on zodiac signs, celestial events, and constellations that were based on the traditional Chinese calendar (*guchūreki* 具注歴).[395] Momo further argues that a central figure in the initial stage of development of calendrical studies was Nichien 日延 (fl. tenth century), a mid-Heian period Tendai monk who

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[392] Jun'ichi Yamazato, "Kyū kyū nyo ritsu ryō kō" *Nihon tōyō bunka ronshū* 5 1993-03:1-18.
[393] Katsuaki Yamashita, *Heian jidai no shūkyō bunka to onmyōdō* (Tōkyō: Iwata Shoin, 1996), 225.
[394] Yoshimi Yuasa, *Reki to tenmon no kodai chūseishi* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009).
[395] Hiroyuki Momo, *Rekihō no kenkyū jo: Momo Hiroyuki chosakushū* 7 (Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1990), 68–85.

brought the Tallying with Heaven Astronomical System (*futenreki* 符天暦) to Japan from China in the seventh year of Tenryaku 天暦 (953).[396] Subsequently, the practice of recording of events in calendrically-orient diaries came to be gradually adopted by medieval aristocrats.

In addition to the examples provided by Momo, other medieval diaries, such as the *Inokuma Kanpakuki* 猪隈関白記, the diary of Konoe Iezane 近衛家実 (1179-1243), and the *Minkeiki* 民経記, the diary of Fujiwara no Tsunemitsu 藤原経光 (1212-1274), can also be shown to be examples of *guchūreki*. These diaries represent private procedures for the transmission of knowledge that were formulized separately as annual events by each aristocrat. Most likely from this time, calendar students among the so-called Buddhist astrologers, especially in the Tendai school, started engaging scholarly debate with a calendar master in the Bureau of Divination, who studied the Tang Lunar Calendar (*chōgyō senmyōreki* 長慶宣明暦). The discovery of disparities between the celestial measurements of Buddhist astrology and yin-yang studies in turn led to further textual production as individual accounts were maintained through written transmissions within familial and intellectual lineages.

Interactions between Buddhist astrological studies and yin-yang studies soon had a great impact on the popularization of Buddhist astrological practices and teachings among the Heian and Kamakura court nobles. Kuroda Toshio has even claimed that in this sense Japanese religion as a whole came to be enveloped in Daoism even before Buddhism had completely penetrated medieval Japan.[397] Although Kuroda primarily portrays "Shinto" as "Japanese folk religion" in a Daoist framework, it is noteworthy that medieval Japanese Buddhist rituals and

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396 Momo, *Rekihō no kenkyū jo*, 54–55.
397 Kuroda, *Ōbō to buppō*, 72–73.

teachings were equally pervaded by Daoist elements.

One illustration of the degree to which Daoist elements penetrated Buddhist discourses can be seen in the writings of Jien 慈円 (1155-1225), the head monk of the Tendai school and a younger brother of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207). In the *Gukanshō*, Jien notes that people of the day commonly aspired to be sages who could foretell the future. He writes:

> When a truly wise man really comprehends the great power of these Principles, he will know developments before they occur and without the slightest mistake—like one who is able to know the feelings of others and to predict the future. By such comprehension, all wise men—beginning with Confucius and Lao Tsu (the "sages" of China)—have spoken of events before they took place. Even in this deteriorated age a slightly intelligent person will be able to do likewise if he thinks and reflects about things. We hear that a state in which such men are used will be governed well, but that when the state is taken over by persons who are not like that, and who only handle matters with which they are immediately confronted, the state will simply be subjected to deterioration that leads to destruction.[398]

This passage is of note not only for its suggestion that the pursuit of superhuman knowledge of the future (*tashinchi to miraichi* 他心智と未来智) was a common goal of medieval aristocrats, but also because it hints that such practices were further seen as stepping stones on the path toward immortality.[399]

In this chapter, I shall examine how astrological practices came to be formalized as annual and daily events for the purpose of gaining knowledge of the future. I shall argue that the

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[398] Delmer M. Brown and Ichirō Ishida, *The future and the past: a translation and study of the Gukanshō, an interpretative history of Japan written in 1219* (Berkeley: University of Californnia Press, 1979), 144-145.

[399] The *Honchō seiki* entry for the twelfth day of the third month of the fifth year of Kyūan 久安 (1149) contains a story about a court noble who became infuriated at a difference in the result of divinations conducted by Kamo no Ken-ei 賀茂憲栄 (fl. twelfth century) and Abe no Yasuchika 安倍泰親 (1110-1183) (*Honchō seiki* 35. SZKT 9:635).

astrological practices accepted generally by medieval nobles provide important clues that allow for a new perspective on the Tachikawa-ryū, which was closely associated with practices aimed at predicting future events. I shall particularly focus on the *hoshiku* 星供, a religious ceremony to pay homage to one's natal star and the seven stars of Northern Dipper. Because this rite was particularly associated with the Tachikawa-ryū, it offers an important point of entry into the Tachikawa-ryū's numerous teachings and practices that were rooted in Chinese astrology and divinatory practices. In my analysis of these ritual traditions, I will argue that such astrological practices were the central activities of those Buddhist monks traditionally associated with the Tachikawa-ryū.

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, I will examine the purification rituals of the four quarters, a common rite among Heian and Kamakura court nobles. One aim of this section will be to better understand the vital role of the Fujiwara clan in transmitting the purification rituals of four quarters through successive generations. Second, I will take a close look at rituals for the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, which became extremely popular among the medieval aristocrats. Finally, I will address *kanmon* 勘文, a procedure by which calendars were made and teachings were transmitted from one generation to the next. I shall argue that such written opinions concerning the relationship between the imperial rites and celestial phenomenon, which were proposed by court literati and astrologers, were a common means of political persuasion during the period.

I. Purification Rituals of the Four Quarters

By the middle of the tenth century, the political power of the Fujiwara clan at the Heian court had resulted in their domination of ritual affairs at court. Fujiwara no Morosuke[400] 藤原師輔 (909–960), who was the second son of Fujiwara no Tadahira[401] 藤原忠平 (880–949) and the grandfather of Fujiwara no Michinaga, not only paved the way for over a century of Fujiwara regency politics, but also created a basis for court rites and practices that were transmitted from one generation to the next. In his *Kujō nenjūgyōji* 九条年中行事 (Record of Morosuke's Schedule of a Regular Annual Event), Morosuke gave an account of the tenth-century aristocratic events of the year, which was supplemented and informed by information gathered from the Chinese lunar calendar. To the extent that Heian aristocrats participated in political affairs, ancient rites and religious practices were inseparably linked to each other; courtier diaries describe in detail the imperial rites and practices and the important role they played in establishing standards of behavior at court.

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400 Fujiwara no Morosuke was a mid-Heian aristocrat who established foundations for Fujiwara prosperity as the family eligible for regents (*sekkan-ke* 摂関家). He was first appointed to the council in the fifth year of Jōhei 承平 (935) as the subordinated fourth rank of the lower class. During Emperors Suzaku 朱雀天皇 (923–952; r.930–946) and Murakami's 村上天皇 (926–967; r.946–967) reigns, he was appointed Major Counselor in the fifth year of Tengyō 天慶 (942) and later Great Minister of the Right in the first year of Tenryaku 天暦 (947) (*Kugyō bunin*. SZKTK 1:180–198).

401 Fujiwara no Tadahira was the "founder" of the flourishing Fujiwara regent family, which established a political system quite different from the previous system in which government was under direct imperial administration and was centralized in line with the *ritsuryō* codes (although the previous system contained a precedent, namely, the regent who enjoyed the privilege of being able to recommend individuals for promotion to governorships). In the third year of Shōtai 昌泰 (898), he had the first appointment as the consultants who were Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade. Then, he was appointed Major Counselor in the eleventh year of Engi 延喜 (911) and later Great Minister of the Right in the fourteenth year of Engi (914). Furthermore, he was successfully appointed Regent in the eighth year of Enchō 延長 (930), Prime Minister in the sixth year of Jōhei 承平 (936), and Chancellor in the fourth year of Tengyō 天慶 (941). Accordingly he remained in power until the third year of Tenryaku 天暦 (949) and his major contributions was to maintain political stability during the regimes between Emperors Daigo and Murakami (*Kugyō bunin*. SZKTK 1: 156–190).

One of the best-known examples of Fujiwara domination of imperial rites and religious practices is the ritual purification of the four quarters (*shihōhai* 四方拝). This rite, which was closely associated with the worship of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper and in which the emperor pays respect to the deities in all quarters, first appears in the *Uda Tennō gyoki* 宇多天皇御記, the diary of Emperor Uda 宇多天皇 (867-931; r. 887-897) from the third year of Ninna 仁和 (887) until the ninth year of Kanpyō 寛平 (897). The *Uda Tennō gyoki* entry for the nineteenth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Ninna (888) notes that Emperor Uda began to worship the four quarters every morning based on the notion that Japan was a land of the kami.[402] The *Uda Tennō gyoki* passage for the first day of the first month of the second year of Kanpyō 寛平 (890) reads as follows: "As to the ritual purification of the four quarters, facing the direction of the Qian 乾, [Emperor Uda] worshipped the kami of the earth and the five stars."[403] This strongly suggests that Emperor Uda deeply respected the ritual protocols of this world, particularly those of the stars affiliated with his birth, which were believed to determine one's destiny.

Later, the ritual of the four quarters, which involved the use of Daoist talismans, came to be seen as an imperial rite for the purpose of expressing profound gratitude to heaven based on the theory of the five phases (*gogyō* 五行).[404] This outlook was rooted in the belief that, as long

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402 "My country is the land of kami. For that reason, I worship the four directions and all kami classified as small, medium, large, heavenly, or earthly. Now I have started the worship and kept up it" (*Uda Tennō gyoki*. ZST 1:7).

403 *Uda Tennō gyoki*. ZST 1: 15.

404 The five phases (wood, fire, earth, metal, and water) contain at least two principles of compatibility and rivalry: each one generates another one and, conversely, each one controls another one. It does not exist with a vague idea of these phases cooperating with each other but rather shows a clear correlation between the five phases. The compatibility between the five phases can be described as follows: wood generates fire; fire generates earth; earth generates metal; metal generates water; and water generates wood. On the contrary, the

as the ruler assists in the regular ordering of the five phases, Heaven would support the ruler. Should the ruler act out of order, however, it would assume that Heaven would cause calamities and great confusion. In the regime between Emperor Saga 嵯峨天皇 (786–842; r.809–823) and Emperor Uda, however, Kūkai 空海 (774–835) systematically introduced esoteric Buddhism to Japan. This in turn led to a transformation of much of the court's ritual calendar, with the result that this rite came to be incorporated as part of the imperial New Year celebrations. Abe Ryūichi has argued that Shingon *mikkyō* fundamentally altered the social order of the Heian aristocracy under the *ritsuryō* system of goverance.[405] It would thus appear that the introduction of esotericism during the Heian period provided new ideological platforms which may have hastened the decline of the old *ritsuryō* system.

Further information about the ritual of the four quarters can also found in the *Kyūreki* 九暦, the diary of Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (909–960), and the *Saikyūki* 西宮記, a record of imperial rites and rituals written by Minamoto no Takaakira 源高明 (914–982), both of which are of great value to our understanding of political and religious affairs during the mid-Heian period. The *Saikyūki* entry for the first day of the first month notes that the worship of the four directions was carried out at the imperial court during the reigns of Emperors Suzaku and Murakami.[406] *Kyūreki* entries for the first day of the first month of the first year of Tenryaku 天暦 (947) and of the second year of Tenryaku (948) note that during the hour of the tiger,

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rivalry between the five phases can be described as the following; water controls fire; fire controls metal; metal controls wood; wood controls earth; and earth controls water.

405 Ryūichi Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 4-5.

406 *Saikyūki*. *Kunaichō shoryōbu hon-eiin shūsei* 5: 5.

Fujiwara no Morosuke carried out the worship of the four directions.[407] In addition, a lost diary of Morosuke, the *Kyūreki itsubun* 九暦逸文 (Missing Diary of Fujiwara no Morosuke), states that after people worshipped the four directions, they worshipped the Perfect Virtue (*daishōgun* 大将軍) during the hour of the rabbit.[408] Thus, although worship of the four directions was originally an imperial rite, during the mid-Heian period many people knew of and employed its established protocol.

The ritual purification of the four quarters drew the attention of a large number of people. Additional descriptions of the worship of the four directions of heaven and earth as associated with the ritual purification of the four quarters appear in various chronicles, such as the *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 (Abbreviated Japanese Annuals), the *Murakami Tennō gyoki* 村上天皇御記, the Diary of Emperor Murakami, and the *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 (Mirror of the East), and in a mid-Heian textbook of verses for the education of young men entitled *Kuchizusami* 口遊 (Verses for a Child). In the *Nihon kiryaku,* references to this worship appear in the entries for the first day of the first month of the seventh year of Engi (907),[409] the first day of the first month of the tenth year of Engi (910),[410] and the first day of the first month of the fifteenth year of Engi (915).[411] Because the eight trigrams in the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易経) indicate that the direction of Qian (the all Yang trigram) is in the direction of heaven, in the purification ceremony held on New Year's Day, the emperor was associated with the Yin and made obeisance to the deities of heaven in all directions. The basis of the imperial rituals was that the interaction

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407 *Kyūreki*. DNKK 9:2 and 7.
408 *Kyūreki itsubun*. DNKK 9:229.
409 *Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 1. SZKT 11:11.
410 *Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 1. SZKT 11:14.
411 *Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 1. SZKT 11:18.

of yin and yang mutually created and sustained all things in the mortal realm.

In both the *Murakami Tennō gyoi* and the *Azuma kagami*. the ritual purification of the four quarters appears to have been conceived in a multi-faceted manner. Thus the *Murakami Tennō gyoi* entry for the first day of the first month of the first year of Ōwa 応和 (962) notes, "As to the ritual purification of the four quarters, two platforms were prepared. One was to worship an imperial tomb,"[412] while the later *Azuma kagami* contains a story in which the emperor's order that the ritual purification of the four quarters be performed resulted in rainfall.[413] Through the merging of elements of different religions and cultures, this ritual was eventually systematized as an annual observance that was carried out as an imperial ritual of purification.[414]

Detailed instructions of the ritual purification of the four quarters systematized as an annual observance are first found in the *Kuchizusami*, compiled by Minamoto no Tamenori 源為憲 ([?]-1011) in the first year of Tenroku 天禄 (970), for Fujiwara no Sanenobu 藤原誠信 (964-1001). The text instructs the reader as follows:

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412 *Murakami Tennō gyoki.* ZST 1:126.

413 It appears in the entry for the fifth day of the sixth month of the second year of Kenpō 健保 (1214) (*Azuma kagami* 22. SZKTA 2:712).

414 Indications that the ritual purification of the four quarters was continually carried out during the Kamakura period are found in the *Hyakurenshō* entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the second year of Hōji 宝治 (1248) (*Hyakurenshō* 16. SZKT 11:224), (2) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kenchō 建長 (1250) (*Hyakurenshō* 16. SZKT 11:228), (3) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kenchō (1251) (*Hyakurenshō* 16. SZKT 11:230), (4) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Kenchō (1252) (*Hyakurenshō* 16. SZKT 11:233), (5) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Kenchō (1253) (*Hyakurenshō* 16. SZKT 11:235), (6) the first day of the first month of the seventh year of Kenchō (1255) (*Hyakurenshō* 17. SZKT 11:242), (7) the first day of the first month of the first year of Kōgen 康元 (1256) (*Hyakurenshō* 17. SZKT 11:244), (8) the first day of the first month of the first year of Shōka 正嘉 (1257) (*Hyakurenshō* 17. SZKT 11:247), and (9) the first day of the first month of the second year of Shōka (1258) (*Hyakurenshō* 17. SZKT 11:249).

When one is being invaded, one should pass beyond mortal life over my body. When one is being cursed, one should pass beyond mortal life. When one is being faced with the threat of calamities and risks, one should pass beyond mortal life. When one is disconcerted, one should pass beyond mortal life. When another is arguing with one, one should pass beyond mortal life. When one is being cursed, one should pass beyond mortal life. One should eliminate all kinds of diseases and cultivate oneself. One should not have afflictions simply do as one pleases. Quickly, quickly in accordance with the statutes.[415]

One should wake up at the time of tiger, second time [3:30 am]. First, one makes one's way toward a good direction of eight diagrams. Next, one follows the way of the heaven [and praises heaven five times, facing the direction of the west]. After washing one's hands, one immediately faces the Gyokujo 玉女 and venerates her. Next, one venerates a chalice, which is found in front of the Gyokujo, if one wishes to venerate the various deities. Thereafter, one venerates her again. After that, facing the direction of the north, one holds one's hands over one's ears and taps the back of one`s head three times. Then, one chants the name of stars affiliated [with one's birth]. One puts one's hands together and places one's hands on one's forehead. Accordingly, one chants the mystical invocation. Thereafter, one thoroughly venerates the seven stars of the Northern Dipper twice and the particular star affiliated with one's birth seven times. Next, facing the direction of the north, one venerates the pole star. Next, facing the direction of the south-west, one venerates the earth. Moreover, one venerates four directions. One venerates the east in order and respectfully venerates twice. Next, one venerates in order the celestial deities Jupiter (*taisai* 大歳), the Great General (*daishōgun* 大将軍), Yearly Virtue (*toshitoku* 歳徳), the Heavenly Path (*tendō* 天道), Heavenly Virtue (*tentoku* 天徳), Lunar Virtue (*gettoku* 月徳), Heavenly Unity (ten-ichi 天一), the Great White (*taihaku* 大白), the Travelling Year (*yūnen* 遊年), the Life-Giving Pneumas (*shōki* 生気), the Divine Tortoise (*bejjin* 鼈神), one`s tutelary deities (*ujigami* 氏神) and tombs.[416]

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415 The mystical invocation states as follows: *zokukōshichū* 賊寇之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *dokumashichū* 毒魔之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *kiyakushichū* 危厄之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *dokukeshichū* 毒氣之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *gohyōkuzetsushichū* 五兵·口舌之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *gokirokugaishichū* 五危·六害之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *hyakubyōjuyushoyokuzuishin* 百病除愈所欲隨心, *kyūkyūnyoritsuryō* 急々如律令.

416 *Kuchizusami.* Yōgaku no kai ed, *Kuchizusami chūkai* (Tōkyō: Benseisha, 1997), 41-45.

This passage highlights the vertical notion of the mythical invocation, which recalls the heavenly and earthly deities at the New Year in which the emperor pays respect to these deities in four quarters. It corresponds to two differing conceptions pertaining to the ritual purification of the four directions of heavenly and earthly deities: if viewing this world as impure, 1) people looked to one star affiliated with one's birth, which subdues one's destiny, for the extension and purification of life and 2) people thought that the heavenly being, whose life is immeasurable, has appeared as a provisional manifestation (i.e. Gyokujo) which brings one's fortune. The basic principle underpinning these two models is that people wish to eliminate noxious vapors and pass a year without incident.

The ritual purification of the four quarters also appears in the *Gōshidai*[417] 江次第 (Orders of Ōe family), a record of ancient rites and practices that was composed by Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111) in accordance with a request of Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062-1099). The first chapter of the *Gōshidai* gives detailed instructions about the ritual purification of the four quarters that includes the imperial rites whereby the emperor prayed to the star associated with his own fate. All of this thus strongly suggests that the ritual purification of the four quarters contained numerous elements associated *onmyōdō* practices related to the search for health and longevity.

By Ōe's time, however, the ritual purification of the four quarters had come to be a popular rite that was practiced by numerous Heian aristocrats. Descriptions of aristocrat ritual

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417 *Gōshidai* (or *Gōkeshidai* 江家次第), a record which makes a detailed explanation of annual and temporary courtesies of the Heian court, consists of twenty-one fascicles (the sixteenth and the twenty-first are missing). Volumes 1–11 contain the annual observance. Volume 12 contains shrine affairs. Volume 13 contains temple affairs. Volumes 14 and 15 contain accession affairs. Volumes 16–21 contain temporary affairs.

purification often appear in courtier diaries, such as the *Shōyūki* 小右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957-1046),[418] the *Sakeiki* 左経記, the diary of Minamoto no Tsuneyori 源経頼 (985–1039),[419] the *Chūyūki* 中右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Minetada 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141),[420] the *Suisaki* 水左記, the diary of Minamoto no Toshifusa 源俊房 (1035–1121),[421] the *Eishōki* 永昌記, the diary of Fujiwara no Tametaka 藤原為隆

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[418] Descriptions of the rituals of the four quarters appear in the *Shōyūki* entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the first year of Eien 永延 (987) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 1:111), (2) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Shōryaku 正暦 (993) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 1:249), (3) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Chōtoku 長徳 (999) (*Shōyūki*. DNKS 9:93), (4) the first day of the first month of the second year of Chōhō 長保 (1001) (*Shōyūki*. DNKS 9:93), (5) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kankō 寛弘 (1004) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 2:83), (6) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Kankō (1006) (*Shōyūki*. DNKS 9:93), (7) the first day of the first month of the eighth year of Kankō (1010) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 2:159), (8) the first day of the first month of the second year of Chōwa 長和 (1013) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 3:61), (9) the first day of the first month of the third year of Chōwa (1014) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 9:93), (10) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Chōwa (1016) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 4:115), (11) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kannin (1019) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 5:94), (12) the first day of the first month of the first year of Jian 治安 (1021) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 6: 1), (13) the first day of the first month of the third year of Jian (1023) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 6:126), (14) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Jian (1024) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 7:1), (15) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Manju 万寿 (1027) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 7:186), (16) the first day of the first month of the second year of Chōgen 長元 (1029) (*Shōyūki*. DNKS 8:118), (17) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Chōgen (1031) (*Shōyūki*. DNKS 8:205), and (18) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Chōgen (1032) (*Shōyūki.* DNKS 9:93).

[419] Descriptions of the ritual purification of the four quarters appear in the entry for the thirtieth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Kannin 寛仁 (1018) (*Sakeiki.* ZST 6:75).

[420] Descriptions of the purification rituals of the four quarters are found in the *Chūyūki* entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kanji (1088) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:11), (2) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kanji (1089) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:22), (3) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Kanji (1090) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:29), (4) the first day of the first month of the sixth year of Kanji (1092) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:62), (5) the first day of the first month of the seventh year of Kanji (1093) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:243), (6) the first day of the first month of the eighth year of Kanji (1094) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:110), (7) the first day of the first month of the first year of Eichō 永長 (1096) (*Chūyūki* 1. ZST 9:317), (8) the first day of the first month of the second year of Shōtoku 承徳 (1098) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:72), (9) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Kōwa 康和 (1002) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:144), (10) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kashō 嘉承 (1107) (*Chūyūki* 3. ZST 11:166), (11) the first day of the first month of the first year of Tennin 天仁 (1108) (*Chūyūki* 3. ZST 11:308), (12) the first day of the first month of the second year of Eikyū 永久 (1114) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:245), (13) the first day of the first month of the first year of Gen-ei 元永 (1118) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:2), (14) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Taiji 大治 (1130) (*Chūyūki* 6. ZST 14:142), and (15) the first day of the first month of the second year of Chōshō 長承 (1133) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:3).

[421] It appears in the entry for the first day of the first month of the second year of Eihō (永保, 1082) (*Suisaki*. ZST 8:175).

(1070–1130),[422] the *Denryaku* 殿暦, the diary of Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078–1162),[423] the *Tokinoriki* 時範記, the diary of Taira no Tokinori 平時範 (1054-1109),[424] the *Taiki* 台記 and the *Ukaikishō* 宇槐記抄, both of which are diaries of Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120‐1156),[425] the *Heihanki* 兵範記, the diary of Taira no Mobunori 平信範 (1112–1187),[426] the *Sankaiki* 山槐記, the diary of Nakayama Tadachika 中山忠親

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422 Descriptions of the ritual of the four quarters are founded in the *Eishōki* entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the second year of Chōji 長治 (1105) (*Eishōki*. ZST 8:2) and (2) the first day of the first month of the first year of Taiji 大治 (1127) (*Eishōki*. ZST 8:184).

423 These descriptions appear in the entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kōwa 康和 (1100) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:13), (2) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kōwa (1101) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:39), (3) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Kōwa (1104) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:181), (4) the first day of the first month of the first year of Chōji 長治 (1105) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:278), (5) the first day of the first month of the second year of Chōji (1106) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:36), (6) the first day of the first month of the first year of Kashō 嘉承 (1106) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:117), (7) the first year of the first month of the third year of Kashō (1108) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:269), (8) the first day of the first month of the second year of Tennin 天仁 (1108) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:2), (9) the first day of the first month of the third year of Ten-ei 天永 (1112) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:196), (10) the first day of the first month of the first year of Eikyū 永久 (1113) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:2), (11) the first day of the first month of the second year of Eikyū (1114) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:77), (12) the first day of the first month of the third year of Eikyū (1114) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:144), (13) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Eikyū (1115) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:207), and (14) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Eikyū (1116) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 5:2).

424 *Tokinoriki*. "Shiryō shōkai Tokinoriki Shōtoku sannen haru" *Shiryōbu kiyō* 14 (1963):100.

425 Descriptions appear in the entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kōji (1143) (*Taiki* 2. ZST 23:81), (2) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kōji (1144) (*Taiki* 2. ZST 23:111), (3) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kyūan 久安 (1146) (*Taiki* 6. ZST 23:169), (4) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kyūan (1147) (*Taiki* 6. ZST 23:196) (*Ukaikishō jō*. ZST 25:166), (5) the first day of the first month of the seventh year of Kyūan (1151) (*Taiki* 10. ZST 24:52) (*Ukaikishō chū*. ZST 25:183), (6) the first day of the first month of the third year of Ninpei 仁平 (1153) (*Ukaikishō ge*. ZST 25:210), (7) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Ninpei (1154) (*Taiki* 11. ZST 24:106), and (8) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1268) (*Kichizokuki*. ZST 30:197).

426 It appears in the entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the second year of Ninpei 仁平 (1152) (*Heihanki*. ZST 18:54), (2) the first day of the first month of the third year of Ninpei (1153) (*Heihanki*. ZST 18:169), (3) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Ninpei (1154) (*Heihanki*. ZST 18:225), (4) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kyūju 久寿 (1155) (*Heihanki*. ZST18:292), (5) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kyūju (1156) (*Heihanki*. ZST 19:66), (6) the first day of the first month of the second year of Hōgen 保元 (1157) (*Heihanki*. ZST 19:157), (7) the first day of the first month of the third year of Hōgen (1158) (*Heihanki*. ZST 20:1), (8) the first day of the first month of the second year of Nin-an 仁安 (1167) (*Heihanki*. ZST 20:142) (*Jinshaki*. ZST 22:218), and (9) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Nin-an (1169) (*Heihanki*. ZST 21:288).

(1131–1195),[427] the *Meigetsuki* 明月記, the diary of Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241),[428] the *Gyokuyō* 玉葉, the diary of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207),[429] the *Inokuma kanpakuki* 猪隈関白記, the diary of Konoe Iezane 近衛家実 (1179-1243),[430] the

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[427] It appears in the entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kyūju (1156) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 26:46) and (2) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Hōgen (1159) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 26:84).

[428] It appears in the entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the first year of Jōgen 承元 (1207) (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 2:2), (2) the first day of the first month of the first year of Jōgen (1208) (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 2:57), and (3) the first day of the first month of the first year of Kenpō 建保 (1213) (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 2:130).

[429] It appears in the entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kaō 嘉応 (1170) (*Gyokuyō*. KK 1:71), (2) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kaō (1171) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:121), (3) the first day of the first month of the third year of Jōan 承安 (1173) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:273), (4) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Jōan (1174) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:337), (5) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Jōan (1175) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:411), (6) the first day of the first month of the second year of Angen 安元 (1176) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:499), (7) the first day of the first month of the third year of Angen (1177) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:1), (8) the first day of the first month of the second year of Jishō 治承 (1178) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:125), (9) the first day of the first month of the third year of Jishō (1179) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:239), (10) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Jishō (1180) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:334), (11) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Jishō (1181) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:457), (12) the first day of the first month of the second year of Juei 寿永 (1183) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:588), (13) the first day of the first month of the third year of Juei (1184) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:1), (14) the first day of the first month of the second year of Genryaku 元暦 (1185) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:61), (15) the first day of the first month of the second year of Bunji 文治 (1186) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:133), (16) the first day of the first month of the third year of Bunji (1187) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:309), (17) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Bunji (1188) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:474), (18) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Bunji (1189) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:543), (19) the first day of the first month of the sixth year of Bunji (1190) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:585), (20) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kenkyū 建久 (1191) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:645), (21) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kenkyū (1192) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:775), (22) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Kenkyū (1193) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:815), (23) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Kenkyū (1194) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:855), (24) the first day of the first month of the sixth year of Kenkyū (1195) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:894), (25) the first day of the first month of the seventh year of Kenkyū (1196) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:914), (26) the first day of the first month of the eighth year of Kenkyū (1197) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:929), (27) the first day of the first month of the ninth year of Kenkyū (1198) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:930), (28) the first day of the first month of the tenth year of Kenkyū (1199) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:935), and (29) the first day of the first month of the second year of Shōji (1201) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:936).

[430] Descriptions of the purification rituals of the four quarters appear in the entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the eighth year of Kenkyū (1197) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 1:1), (2) the first day of the first month of the ninth year of Kenkyū (1198) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 1:71), (3) the first day of the first month of the tenth year of Kenkyū (1199) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 1:147), (4) the first day of the first month of the second year of Shōji 正治 (1200) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 2:47), (5) the first day of the first month of the third year of Shōji (1201) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 2:193), (6) the first day of the first month of the first year of Kennin 建仁 (1201) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 2:335), (7) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kennin (1202) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 3:85) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki.* DNKIK 3:319), (8) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kannin (1203) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 4:1) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 4:226), (9) the first day of the first month of the second year of

Minkeiki 民経記, the diary of Fujiwara no Tsunemitsu 藤原経光 (1212-1274),[431] and the *Heikoki* 平戸記, the diary of Taira no Tsunetaka 平経高 (1180–1255)[432]. For example, the *Gonki* 権記, the diary of Fujiwara no Yukinari 藤原行成 (972–1028) notes, " At dawn, I [Fujiwara no Yukinari] worshipped one of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, the four directions, heaven and earth, my parents' tomb and the local deity."[433] Descriptions of the ritual in the *Taiki* suggest that such celestial worship required auspicious dress, and thus regular garb was not allowed to be worn while performing this ritual.[434] The *Gyokuyō* entry for the twenty-third day of the second month of the fourth year of Kenkyū 建久 (1193) refers to an unusual use of this ritual: Kanezane performed the purification rituals of the four quarters after an imperial messenger was dispatched to make offerings to the Kasuga deity (*kasuga heihaku* 春日幣帛).[435] Given the sheer number of textual references that we have for the rite, it would thus appear that although the ritual was always conceived of in the context of the lucky and unlucky

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Jōgen 承元 (1207) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 4:138), (10) the first day of the first month of the first year of Kenryaku 建暦 (1211) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 5:107), and (11) the first day of the first month of the first year of Jōō 貞応 (1222) (*Inokuma Kanpakuki*. DNKIK 5:217).

431 Descriptions of the purification rituals of the four quarters appear in the entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the second year of Karoku 嘉禄 (1226) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 1:139), (2) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kangi 寛喜 (1230) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 2:127), (3) the first day of the first month of the third year of Kangi (1231) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 2:158), (4) the first day of the first month of the first year of Tenpuku 天福 (1233) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 6:2), (5) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Kangen 寛元 (1246) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 8:236), and (6) the first day of the first month of the fourth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1267) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 9:166). .

432 It appears in the *Heikoki* entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the second year of En-ō 延応 (1240) (*Heikoki*. ZST 32:16) and (2) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kangen 寛元 (1244) (*Heikoki*. ZST 32:249).

433 *Gonki* SHG 2:189. Descriptions of the ritual of the four quarters appear in the *Gonki*. These appear in the entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the third year of Chōhō 長保 (1001) (*Gonki*. SHG 2: 77), (2) the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Kankō 寛弘 (1008) (*Gonki*. SHG 3:164), and (3) the first day of the first month of the seventh year of Kankō (1010) (*Gonki*. SHG 3:226).

434 *Taiki* 9. ZST 24:2. It appears in the entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the sixth year of Kyūan (1150) and (2) the first day of the first month of the seventh year of Kyūan (1151).

435 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:828

days of the Chinese calendar,[436] the ritual purification of the four quarters became a common religious practice among medieval aristocrats.

As the ritual purification of the four quarters came to be popularly practiced during the medieval period, the procedures for practicing the rite appear to have been standardized. Detailed instructions for the ritual purification of the four quarters can be found in the Kamakura-period courtier diary *Heikoki*. The *Heikoki* entry for the first day of the first month of the second year of Gangen 寛元 (1244) instructs the reader as follows:

> The Ritual of the Four Quarters
> Facing the north, one chants the name of stars affiliated [with one's birth],
> The Star of the Ravenous Wolf (Sirius) (*tanrōsei* 貪狼星)
> The Divine Child of the Director of Rarities (*shikishinshi* 司希神子)
> Bowing twice, reciting a mystical invocation. Bowing twice.
>
> When one is being invaded, one should pass beyond mortal life over my body. When one is being cursed, one should pass beyond mortal life. When one is being faced with the threat of calamities and risks, one should pass beyond mortal life. When one is disconcerted, one should pass beyond mortal life. When another is arguing with one, one should pass beyond mortal life. When one is being cursed, one should pass beyond mortal life. One should eliminate all kinds of diseases and cultivate oneself. One should not have afflictions simply do as one pleases. Quickly, quickly in accordance with the statutes.[437]
>
> Next praise Heaven, facing the direction of the dog and boar [*inui* 戌亥: northwest]

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[436] These cancellations occurred in the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Jiryaku 治暦 (1069) and the seventh day of fourth month of the fourth year of Ōtoku 応徳 (1087) (*Nenchū gyōji hishō*. GR 6:472).

[437] The mystical invocation states as follows: *zokukōshichū* 賊寇之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *dokumashichū* 毒魔之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *kiyakushichū* 危厄之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *dokukeshichū* 毒氣之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *gohyōkuzetsushichū* 五兵口舌之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *gokirokugaishichū* 五危六害之中, *kadogashin* 過度我身, *hyakubyōjuyushoyokuzuishin* 百病除愈所欲隨心, *kyūkyūnyoritsuryō* 急々如律令.

> Next praise the earth, facing the direction of the sheep and monkey [*hitsujisaru* 未申: southwest]
>
> Next praise the four quarters, the two tombs, the Chief Commanders in west, the Kingly aspect, the Heavenly Unity in the direction of dog and boar, Venus, Ise 伊勢, Hachiman 八幡, Kamo 賀茂, Kasuga 春日, Ōharano 大原野, Hiyoshi 日吉, Yoshida 吉田, Gion 祇園, and the myriad shrines.
> To the tombs and shrines, respectfully bow twice
> According to the circumstances concerning where the Heavenly Unity temporarily resides in Heaven.[438]

In these instructions one first chants the names of stars affiliated with one's birth and then bows to the earth and heaven before and after the recitation of the mystical invocation. Similar instructions appear in the *Record of Mystical Invocation*-section of the *Nichūreki*, a Kamakura-period encyclopedia based on the *Shōchūreki* 掌中歷 (Record of Knowledge in Hands) and the *Kaichūreki* 懐中歷 (Record of Knowledge in Pocket),[439] in one section in the *Shōchūreki,*[440] and in the first section of annual events in the *Shūgaishō*[441] 拾芥抄 (Record of Easy Facility), a late-Kamakura-period encyclopedia. The *Nichūreki* includes the instructions of the *Kujō nenjūgyōji* and the *Gōshidai* and shows that ordinary people showed reverence and adoration for the four heavenly and earthly directions during the hour of the rabbit [5am to 7am], whereas court aristocrats performed the purification rituals of the four quarters during the hour of the tiger [3am to 5am].[442] In the *Nichūreki,* the rituals of the four quarters were treated as part of

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438 *Heikoki*. ZST 32:249-250.
439 *Nichūreki* 9. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Nichūreki* 2, 158-170.
440 *Shōchūreki*. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Nichūreki* 3 (Tōkyō: Yagi Shoten, 2001), 156.
441 *Shūgaishō* 1. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Shūgaishō* (Tōkyō: Yagi Shoten, 1998), 6-9 and 112.
442 *Nichūreki* 9. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Nichūreki* 2, 159.

mythical invocation section. The *Shūgaishō* in turn instructs ordinary people to worship the Perfect Virtue after showing reverence and adoration for the four quarters during the hour of the rabbit [5am to 7am].[443] Regarding the aforementioned instructions of annual events, the *Shūgaishō* divides the rite into two sections: 1) the purification rituals of the four heavenly and earthly directions and 2) the purification rituals of the four quarters. The former accounts include the recitation of the mystical invocation and the instructions to the effect that one should chant the names of stars affiliated with one's birth and bow to the earth and heaven. The latter accounts contain the ritual instructions which refer to the *Gōshidai* and the *Kujō nenjūgyōji.* Similar descriptions appearing in the *Nichūreki* and the *Shūgaishō* depict the notion of ritual simplification that the instructions of the *Gōshidai* and the *Kujō nenjūgyōji* pertaining to the purification rituals of the four quarters combined at the end the late-Kamakura period.

Accounts appearing in the *Azuma kagami* also demonstrate the popularity among Heian and Kamakura-period aristocrats of the star festival in which one worshipped one's birth stars.[444] One line found at the end of the mystical invocation is *kyū kyū nyo ritsu ryō* 急々如律令 (C. *jijirululing*), the Daoist talismanic spell (or charm) which, as we have already seen, is often used to eliminate noxious vapors and appears in courtier diaries as well as historical sources. In this way, the purification rituals of the four quarters and the associated mystical invocation both began as aristocratic affairs that subsequently spread and were used by

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443 *Shūgaishō* 1. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko, 9.

444 *Azuma kagami* 16. SZKTA 2:555. Descriptions of Minamoto no Yoriie 源頼家 (1182-1204) performing the prayer for his star appear in the entries for (1) the sixth day of the third month of the first year of Shōji 正治 (1199) (*Azuma kagami* 16. SZKTA 2:557) and (2) the eighth day of the sixth month of the first year of Shōji. Similar descriptions of the star festival appear in the *Azuma kagami* entries for (1) the fourth day of the second month of the first year of Kenryaku 建暦 (1211) (*Azuma kagami* 19. SZKTA 2:655) and (2) the second day of the sixth month of the first year of Kenryaku (1211) (*Azuma kagami* 19. SZKTA 2:657).

non-aristocrats for the same reasons that they were used by aristocrats.

A. Talismanic Spells

The short talismanic spell "Quickly, quickly in accordance with the statutes!" appears as a "closing spell" in the Daoist text *The Spirit Spells of the Abyss* (*Dongyuan shenzhou jing* 洞淵神呪経; hereafter the *Spirit Spells*).[445] This talismanic spell appears no less than forty-sixth times in the *Spirit Spells* and in at least four different forms, e.g., *jijirutaishangkouchiluling* 急急如太上口勅律令 and *jijiyirutaishagluling* 急急一如太上律令. In addition, a narrow strip of wood (*mokkan* 木簡) on which the short talismanic spell was written in the seventh or eighth century was discovered at Iba 伊場 (modern-day, Hamamatsu city, Shizuoka Prefecture 静岡県浜松市) and may provide some important information about the use of Daoist spells as "closing words."[446] The *Nichūreki* suggests that the short talismanic spell was recited when practicing acupuncture and moxibustion. When someone experienced a fit of sneezing or on the

[445] *Dongyuan shenzhou jing*. This text confirms that the Daoist master Kouqianzhi 道士寇謙之 (365-448), who received a revelation from Laozi and refashioned the title Celestial Master, considered the Emperor Taiwu 太武帝 (408–452; r.423–452), the third Emperor of Northern Wei, as the Perfect Lord Li Hong, a savior of the world to come. There are two extant redactions of the Spirit Spells of the Abyss: 1) the Spirit Spells of the Excellent Abyss (C. *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing*) consists of twenty volumes of manuscripts in Seitō dōzō 正統道蔵 (C. *zhengtongdaocang*) and 2) the Spirit Spells of the Abyss (C. *Dongyuan shenzhou jing*) consists of twenty-six volumes of manuscripts in Dunhuang. It is still unclear by whom and when the Spirit Spells was written. The commonly accepted theory among scholars is that the first half of the Spirit Spells was composed in or around the fifth century from the Eastern Jin 東晋 (317–420) until Liu-Sung dynasties 劉宋 (420–479). The second half of the Spirit Spells was written sometime before the beginning of the Sui 隋 (581–618) dynasty. The preface to the Spirit Spells states that Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–932), a learned scholar of Chinese literature, edited the Spirit Spells and wrote the preface over a ten-year period during the early tenth century (915–925). The Spirit Spells explains that various calamities that happened within daily life among ordinary people during the fourth and fifth centuries were caused by demons, it explains that these calamities could be averted by conducting Daoist services for the Spirit Spells, and it contains instructions on how to conduct these services. Toshiaki Yamada and Noboru Yusa, *Taijō dōen shinshukyō goi sakuin* (Tōkyō: Shōundō Shoten, 1984).

[446] Yasuaki Kikuchi, "Iba to tsu" *Iba mokkan no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1981), 62–63.

inauspicious day when the heavenly dog meteor descends to the human realm in order to eat, the talismanic spell was immediately recited.[447] Such use of the spell is in accordance with the literal meaning of the talismanic spell for the ritual purification of the four quarters—*kyū kyū nyo ritsu ryō*—which is "to follow the regulation quickly." It seems that in East Asia this spell was thought of as the appropriate closing verse for all Daoist-type spells.

Other evidence of this short talismanic spell appears in the *Chōshūki* 長秋記, the diary of Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時 (1077-1136). The *Chōshūki* entry for the fifth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Taiji 大治 (1130) reads as follows:

> The placing of the talisman on the house during the festival on the fifth day of the fifth month, was the concern of the yin-yang master [Kamo no] Ieyoshi 賀茂家栄 (1066-1183). One day, Ieyoshi said, "During the hour of the fiery horse on the fifth day of the fifth month, I wrote a red talisman and sent it to court aristocrats and the imperial family. However, the use of the talisman has not been identified. Although diaries and previous texts offered few remarks on the red talisman, Gen Shōkō 源相公 [Minamoto no Moroyori 源師頼 (1068–1139)] indicated that [one should] put the red talisman around one's neck, just like a good-luck charm to ward off calamities. At night, the letter of ten characters is given to one's descendants. Yet some [in the line of the Koga clan 久我氏] considered staying until midnight to be unnecessary. The letter reads as follows: The letter was written in cinnabar on reddish pink paper. *kyū kyū nyo ritsu ryō* 急々如律令.[448]

This passage contains two important themes. First, the red talisman had been used for a long time as an amulet to avert various calamities, the manner in which the red talisman was to be used had

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[447] *Nichūreki* 9. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Nichūreki* 2, 158-165.Takigawa also points out that the talisman was recited after sneezing. Takigawa, *Ritsuryō no kenkyu,* 75 in *furoku* section.

[448] The fifth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Taiji (1130) includes an illustration of the talisman (*Chōshūki*. ZST 17:12).

not been clearly defined. Writing or holding the red talisman could bring people merit for good life and prosperity for their descendants. In addition to the aforementioned concept of removing hardships, the *Azuma kagami* entry for the fourth day of the fifth month of the third year of Kangi 寛喜 (1230) describes two kinds of talisman that allow one to avert epidemics for the sake of the populace and peace throughout the realm.[449] By the merit acquired through the talisman, one could resolve individual and social problems.

Second, the talisman was used as a spell, not unlike those used in esoteric rituals to pacify and subdue evil spirits. The passage for the first day of the first month of the second year of Jōho (1075) in the *Gōshidai* shows that worship of the four directions was carried out even when the imperial court was defiled.[450] While conducting the worship of the four directions at the first day of the year, the phrase *kyū kyū nyo ritsu ryō* 急々如律令, written on the talisman, was chanted after reciting the name of one of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper. The talismanic spell was formalized for use at the point of transition between seasons. These accounts give us an idea of the history of celestial ceremonies, which constituted a formal expression of reverence for heaven and earth.

In light of this we can now put forward several tentative conclusions regarding the development of the worship of the four directions in Heian and Kamakura Japan. As we have already seen, the purification ritual of the four quarters was closely associated with the mystical invocation—*kyū kyū nyo ritsu ryō*—a short talismanic spell of Daoist origins that was written on a talismans in order to eliminate noxious vapors. The ritual was first understood as part of the

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449 *Azuma kagami* 28. SZKTA 3:106-107.
450 *Gōshidai* 2. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Gōshidai* 2 (Tōkyō: Yagi Shoten, 1996), 11-15.

imperial rites for venerating the deities of the four quarters. By the late Heian period, however, it had been transformed into a popular ritual that utilized the talisman to resolve individual and social problems. Key to this process was the simplification of ritual procedures such as chanting the name of one of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper as well as the invocation of the talismanic spell.

II. Protocols and the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper

One key figure for the dissemination of religious protocols pertaining to worship of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper was Fujiwara no Morosuke. The *Kujōdono yūkai*[451] 九条殿遺誡 (Admonitions to Morosuke's Descendants), generally thought to be written by Morosuke between the first year of Tenryaku 天暦 (947) and the fourth year of Tentoku 天徳 (960), is a record in which Morosuke left his descendants suggestions for daily living and wrote about his attitudes towards his court duties. The text thus provides us with an important description of the ritual protocols that were originally handed down from the regent Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880-949). This text provides detailed instructions for daily living, which emphasizes the importance of the yin-yang theory (*onmyōdō* 陰陽道) more than Buddhist and Confucian teachings. Because later descendants of the Fujiwara clan frequently referred to the instructions of the *Kujōdono yūkai* concerning matters of religious rites in their diary lives,[452] the *Kujōdono yūkai* proved to be of great influence and a well-known text among Heian aristocrats.

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451 *Kujōdono yūkai* is a record of admonitions to Fujiwara no Morosuke's descendants and consists of one fascicle. The aim of this text is to establish the Morosuke's teachings (*kujōryū* 九条流) as the aristocratic rites within the Fujiwara clan.

452 *Shōyūki*. DNKS 8:85.

The *Kujōdono yūkai* shows that Heian aristocrats and literati formulated a set of rules based on the time and direction according to yin-yang theory and acted within this strictly regulated framework. The initial instructions of the *Kujōdono yūkai* based on the yin-yang theory read as follows:

> First one wakes up and then chants the name of one of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper [affiliated with one's birth] seven times - a faint sound. The seven stars are: Greedy Wolf (*tonron* 貪狼) in the year of Rat; Great Gate (*komon* 巨門) in the year of Ox and Boar; Good Fortune (*rokuzon* 禄存) in the year of Tiger and Dog; Civil Song (*bunkyoku* 文曲) in the year of Rabbit and Rooster; Pure Virtue (*ranchō* 廉貞) in the year of Dragon and Monkey; Military Song (*bukyoku* 武曲) in the year of Snake and Goat; Destroyer of Armies (*hagun* 破軍) in the year of Sheep. Next, one takes a mirror and looks at oneself in it and then looks up today's fortune on the calendar. Next, one uses a toothpick and washes one's hands while facing to west. Then one chants the name of a Buddha and prays to the kami, holding daily living in high respect. Next, one writes one's diary [entry] for the previous day (If many things happened, one records within the day). Next one has rice, combs one's hair (one combs one's hair once in three days. Do not comb your hair everyday), and then polishes one's nails (one polishes one's fingernails on the day of the Ox and polishes one's toenails on the day of Tiger). Next one fixes a day and washes oneself (once in five days). [A date for] auspicious bathing is that (the *Record of the Yellow Emperor* says: bathing on the first day of every month, one's life will be shortened. Bathing on the eighth day [of every month], one's life will be extended. [Bathing on] the eleventh day [of every month,] one will be a sensible man. [Bathing on] the eighteenth day [of every month,] one will be robbed. [Bathing on] the day of Horse, one will lose one's charm. [Bathing on] the day of Boar, one will be ashamed. Do not bathe on a bad day. Bad days are the unlucky days of the Tiger, Dragon, Horse, and Dog.[453]

This passage shows that Heian aristocrats such as Morosuke worshipped the stars of the Northern Dipper that determined his destiny in order to foster good health, longevity, and worldly success.

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[453] *Kujōdono yūkai*. GR 27:136.

The worship of the seven stars of Northern Dipper must be understood in the context of the celestial movement of seven stars (sun, moon, Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus, and Mercury) according to Chinese astrology. Negoro Shōjin 根来昭仁 (dates unknown) asserts that the initial stage of the worship of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper worship can be found in the descriptions carved in two seven stars sword of Hōryūji 法隆寺 and Shitennōji 四天王寺, that were probably produced in seventh-century Japan.[454] The use of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper for time-measurement (such as in the *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語; Tales from the Past)[455] tale entitled "*Affairs on the Establishment of Kōfukuji*" shows that the seven stars of the

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[454] Shōjin Negoro. "Jōdai ni okeru hoshigata montō ni tsuite" *The Chisan gakuhō* 33 (March 1970): 123–128.

[455] The time-measuring system was a way of subduing people's activities of daily living. While the ancient time-measuring system used water clocks (*rōkoku* 漏刻) managed by a time-measuring expert (*rōkoku hakase* 漏刻博士) in the Bureau of Ying and Yang (*onmyōryō* 陰陽寮) – time was measured by the flow of water into or out of a vessel – the common time-measuring system in use during the medieval Japan was celestial observation, particularly of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper. One tale in the *Konjaku monogatari* reads as follows: "At the completion of the two-years construction of Buddha halls, there was a ceremony in the second day of the third month of the third year of Eishō 永承 (1048). The head of the [Fujiwara] clan, the court aristocrats, and generals all solemnly participated in the ceremony. The official [of the ceremony] was the director of monks Myōson 明尊 (971-1063) of Miidera 三井寺 (i.e., Onjōji 園城寺). Five hundred monks, who were invited to the ceremony, joyfully listened to music and devoted themselves to the writing of poetry. On the day of the ceremony at the time of the Tiger, when the Buddha statues were carried [to the Buddha hall], they were unable to look at the stars due to an overcast sky threatening rain. It was not possible to determine the correct time. The yin-yang master Abe no Tokichika 安倍時親 (dates unknown) said, "It is impossible to look at the stars due to the cloudcover. What is the method for time measurement? There is no help for it." Although there was no wind, a four or five *jō* rift appeared in the cloud cover over the temple. The seven stars of the Northern Dipper were out. Accordingly, with the result of the celestial measurement, it was the half time of tiger. [Monks of Kōfukuji] took delight in carrying the Buddha statues [to the Buddha hall]. After the appearance of the stars from the cloudy sky, the sky immediately became covered with clouds. This was also one an unusual event. (*Konjaku monogatari* 12:21. SNKBT 35:137). Another version of this story is found in the thirteenth century *Kohon setsuwashū* 古本説話集 (Collections of Old Narrative Texts). It says, " On the day of the ceremony at the time of tiger, when the Buddha statues were carried [to the Buddha hall], due to a cloudy night with a treat of rain, they were unable to look at the stars. One said, 'What is a method for the time measurement?' In the night sky devoid of wind, a four or five *jō* rift appeared in the cloud cover above the temple. The seven stars of the Northern Dipper were brightly shining. Accordingly, the time was measured. It was the half time of tiger. [Monks of Kōfukuji] took delight in carrying the Buddha statues [to the Buddha hall]. After this event, the sky was immediately covered with clouds and became dark. This was an unusual event" (*Kohon setsuwashū ge* 47. SNKBT 42:454). *Fusō ryakki* depicts the fact that about one thousand people, including Fujiwara no Yorimichi 藤原頼通 (992–1074), participated in the ceremony (*Fusō ryakki* 29. SZKT 12: 290). In the seventh day of the fifth month of the third year of Chōryaku 長暦 (1039), Director

Northern Dipper were thought of as a figure used to determine the date of one's death. It would thus appear that by the mid-Heian period the seven stars of the Northern Dipper were seen as a vital link between time-measurement and the extension of life.

Evidence for the initial stages of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper worship is found in the early Heian chronicle *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 (Abbreviated Japanese Annuals). The *Nihon kiryaku* entry for the first day of the first month of the eighth year of Engi 延喜 (908) notes that in the seventh year of Kanpyō 寛平 (896), the ritual purification of one star affiliated with the seven stars of the Northern Dipper was performed because the ritual purification in the morning by courtiers was cancelled due to snow and rain.[456] The ritual was seen as a sacred practice that purified the mind. Acknowledging their days' predetermined fortune as dictated by the calendar and having purified their minds, aristocrats could avoid misfortune and making mistakes at court.

The later literati Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111) produced a concrete manual giving the aforementioned instructions pertaining to the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, which appears in the first chapter of the *Gōshidai* 江次第 (Orders of Ōe family).[457] The *Gōshidai* describes the rituals of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper as follows:

> Next, facing the north, one venerates the star affiliated with one's birth and then chants the name of star affiliated with one's birth seven times.

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of Monks Myōson served as a vinaya-master when Jōtōmon-in 上東門院 (Fujiwara no Akiko 藤原彰子, 988–1074), Emperor Ichiō's wife 一条天皇 (980–1011; r.986–1011), took the tonsure. Accordingly, the Fujiwara clan took Myōson into their Buddhist service. In the eleventh day of the eighth month of the third year of Eishō (1048), he, as head monk of Onjōji, was appointed as the twenty-ninth head monk of the Tendai school. However, three days later, he resigned the position (*Fusō ryakki* 28 and 29. SZKT 12: 284 and 290).

[456] *Nihon kiryaku kōhen* 1. SZKT 11:12.

[457] *Gōshidai* 2. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Gōshidai* 2 (Tōkyō: Yagi Shoten, 1996), 11-15.

Greedy Wolf (*tonron* 貪狼) in the year of Rat
Great Gate (*komon* 巨門) in [the year of] Ox and Boar
Good Fortune (*rokuzon* 禄存) in [the year of] Tiger and Dog
Civil Song (*bunkyoku* 文曲) in [the year of] Rabbit and Rooster
Pure Virtue (*ranchō* 廉貞) in [the year of] Dragon and Monkey
Military Song (*bukyoku* 武曲) in [the year of] Snake and Goat
Destroyer of Armies (*hagun* 破軍) in the year of Sheep.[458]

The account of the ritual purification of the four quarters appearing in the *Gōshidai*, which constitutes the first official instructions for imperial rites and rituals, must be separated from the aforementioned descriptions composed by Fujiwara no Morosuke, who admonished his descendants to learn the model for private use. Masafusa intended to include in the ritual purification an oath of allegiance to the emperor, a figure who was identified with the Pole Star and, alternatively, as the Buddhist ruler of stars, Miraculous Light bodhisattva (Myōken Bosatsu 妙見菩薩). The seven stars of the Northern Dipper were guardians who were often substituted for the seven luminaries (*shichiyō* 七曜) of Daoist systems or for the seven buddhas (*shichibutsu* 七佛) of the Buddhist framework. With the development of Buddhist-Daoist syncretism, Masafusa helped establish a set of prayers for the protection of the emperor's rule and the prolongation of the emperor's life. As a result, the ritual purification of the four quarters grew in popularity among Heian court aristocrats.

Masafusa, who served as a lecturer for Emperors Gosanjō, Shirakawa, and Horikawa, appears to have developed his model as part of a broader Daoist-oriented ideology of learning

458 *Gōshidai* 2. Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko hen, *Gōshidai* 2, 12.

based on the Sung model. Kawaguchi Hisao[459] 川口久雄 (1910-1993) and Fukazawa Tōru[460] 深沢徹 (1953-) have demonstrated that Masafusa was deeply interested in Buddhist-Daoist praxis. Further evidence for this can be seen in the twelfth-century Japanese narratives (*setsuwa* 説話) in *Chūgaishō* 中外抄 (Selection of Internal and External) and *Gōdanshō* 江談抄 (Selection of Masafusa's Talks). Both of these texts record stories in which Masafusa proposed a change in the era name and foretold others' lifespans by utilizing celestial practices based on the twenty-eight constellations and seven luminaries and the seven stars of the four quarters. In addition to all this, the *Suisaki* entry for the twelfth day of the second month of the fourth year of Jōhō 承保 (1077) states that a written supplication for divination proposed by Masafusa (*Masafusa ekizei kanmon* 匡房易筮勘文) says, "The divination results suggest [that one should] behave cautiously. Although one's illness is serious, the path to becoming a man of virtue is the way to extinguishment."[461] All of this strongly suggests that Masafusa followed the earlier Buddhist-Daoist motifs that were set forth by Miyoshi Kiyoyuki even while he was actively involved in the practice of divination.

Further descriptions of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals appear in the *Taiki*, a twelfth-century courtier diary composed by Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120-1156), who was central to late-Heian period Sung studies and who played an important role in Japanese court life—both religious and political—during this period. Entries from this text show that Yorinaga thought of the rituals of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper as drawing upon the

459 Hisao Kawaguchi, *Ōe no Masafusa* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1968), 279-324.
460 Fukazawa, *Chūsei shinwa no rentanjutsu*, 63-164.
461 *Suisaki*. ZST 8:40.

model of the Daoist immortal, who was depicted as obtaining an eternally abiding spirit. The *Taiki* entry for the seventh day of the sixth month of the first year of Kōji 康治 (1142) also notes that although Yorinaga, following the common usage, wished to worship the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, he gave up performance of the rituals due to his loss of spirit following his sisters' death.[462] The *Taiki* thus not only indicates the manner in which Yorinaga, a devotee of advanced learning of the Sung dynasty, performed the rituals of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, but also demonstrates that the seven stars of the Northern Dipper were regarded as Daoist elements that contained magical power.[463] Not surprisingly, we also see throughout the text that Yorinaga devoutly decided upon the course of his daily living by following the regulations set by celestial movements.

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462 *Taiki* 2. ZST 23:69.

463 Descriptions appear in the entries for (1) the fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of Kōji 康治 (1142) (*Taiki* 2. ZST 23:74), (2) the twenty-second day of the eleventh month of the first year of Kōji (1142) (*Taiki* 2. ZST 23:78), (3) the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of the first year of Kōji (1142) (*Taiki* 2. ZST 23:79), (4) the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Kōji (1142) (*Taiki* 2. ZST 23:79), (5) the seventh day of the fifth month of the second year of Kōji (1143) (*Taiki* 3. ZST 23:88), (6) the eighth day of the fifth month of the second year of Kōji (1143) (*Taiki* 3. ZST 23:88), (7) the ninth day of the fifth month of the second year of Kōji (1143) (*Taiki* 3. ZST 23:88), (8) the seventh day of the sixth month of the second year of Kōji (1143) (*Taiki* 3. ZST 23:91), (9) the twenty-second day of the eleventh month of the second year of Kōji (1143) (*Taiki* 3. ZST 23:104), (10) the twenty-second day of the first month of the third year of Kōji (1144) (*Taiki* 4. ZST 23:116), (11) the eighth day of the fourth month of the third year of Kōji (1144) (*Taiki* 4. ZST 23:120), (12) the ninth day of the fourth month of the third year of Kōji (1144) (*Taiki* 4. ZST 23:120), (13) the twenty-second day of the fourth month of the third year of Kōji (1144) (*Taiki* 4. ZST 23:121), (14) the eighth day of the tenth month of the first year of Tenyō 天養 (1144) (*Taiki* 4. ZST 23:129), (15) the ninth day of the tenth month of the first year of Tenyō (1144) (*Taiki* 4. ZST 23:130), (16) the tenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Tenyō (1144) (*Taiki* 4. ZST 23:130), (17) the twentieth day of first month of the second year of Tenyō (1145) (*Taiki* 5. ZST 23:143), (18) the twenty-sixth day of the second month of the second year of Tenyō (1145) (*Taiki* 5. ZST 23:146), (19) the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Tenyō (1145) (*Taiki* 5. ZST 23:159), (20) the twenty-eighth day of the tenth month of the second year of Tenyō (1145) (*Taiki* 5. ZST 23:160), (21) the twenty-second day of the twelfth month of the second year of Tenyō (1145) (*Taiki* 5. ZST 23:167), (22) the nineteenth day of the first month of the second year of Kyūan (1146) (*Taiki* 6. ZST 23:171), (23) the twenty-eighth day of the third month of the third year of Kyūan (1147) (*Taiki bekki* 2. ZST 24:205), (24) the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of the third year of Kyūan (1147) (*Taiki* 6. ZST 23:218), (25) the seventh day of the third month of the fourth year of Kyūan (1148) (*Taiki* 8. ZST 23:248), and (26) the twentieth day of the seventh month of the first year of Ninpei (1151) (*Ukaikishō chū*. ZST 25:198).

A. Diaries and the Stars

Celestial movements also represented an essential link between the calendar and people's activities of daily living. Thus on the unlucky day *gejikinichi* (下食日), the heavenly dog meteor (*tenkōsei* or *tengusei* 天狗星) was said to descend to the human realm to eat, thereby rendering the day inauspicious. One example of this type of belief appears in the *Sakeiki*. The head of the Budget Bureau [Kiyohara] Yoritaka 清原頼隆 (fl. eleventh century) warned against making offerings to the kami on the nineteenth day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Chōgen 長元 (1031) due to the fact that this was a day of decline.[464] It was also the day when a hundred *kami* ascended to heaven. He insisted that the prayer for a rich harvest should not be carried out on the day of decline. This incident is indicative of the degree to which calendrical considerations permeated even the most mundane concerns of the court: here we see the head of the Budget Bureau changing the date on which resources were to be expended simply in order to avoid an inauspicious day.[465]

Similar cases are not hard to find. To give but one more example, the *Sakeiki* entry for the tenth day of the third month of the fifth year of Chōgen (1032) states, "The head of the Budget Bureau [Kiyohara no] Yoritaka says that the next day is an unlucky day (*gohinbi* 五貧日). People who go to work on this day violate the law of the king and commit a crime. They also do not fortunate. Many similar cases have recently occurred around me. I am very afraid of the taboo day."[466] Here Yoritaka's concern to prevent meetings on the *gohinbi* was most likely

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464 *Sakeiki*. ZST 6:280.
465 *Shōyūki.* DNKS 3:238.
466 *Sakeiki*. ZST 6:333. Similar descriptions can be found in the *Sakeiki* entry for the twelfth day of the fourth month of the fifth year of Chōgen 長元 (1032) (*Sakeiki*. ZST 6:337).

rooted in the belief that the day in question was associated with fire, the second of the five phases. Since this element was in turn believed to cause aggression and impulsive behavior, meetings were to be avoided.[467] Here again we see that the calendar and five phases thought had a profound impact upon the patterns by which Heian courtiers organized their daily lives.

Further detailed indications of how people acted on inauspicious days can be found in the *Kujōdono yūkai*, which contains detailed instructions for applying time regulations in order to avoid misfortune. The *Kujōdono yūkai* states:

> One wakes up in the early morning and looks at oneself in a mirror. First, one tries to gauge one's physical conditions from one's face and body. Then one looks at the book of the calendar and reads today's fortune. One puts all events of the year down on the aforementioned calendar and looks at the calendar everyday. First one knows the day's event and prepares for it before the event. One puts yesterday's official affairs on the aforementioned calendar before one forgets it. However, as to official affairs of importance and emperor's whereabouts, one records them separately for preparation afterwards.[468]

The importance of entering events into their diary was two-fold: (1) political authorities sought to maintain imperial events and protocols for the protection of the country and (2) religious authorities recorded imperial events and protocols for future reference. After the collapse of a centralized government based on the criminal and administrative codes (*ritsuryō* system) in the tenth century, knowledge and techniques cultivated by officials were popularized and issued from the court. Endō Motorō 遠藤基郎 (1963-) asserts that the study of calendars in the imperial court flourished among aristocrats, especially between the tenth and fifteenth

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[467] It appears in the entry fot the fourth day of he fifth month of the fifth year of Chōgen (*Sakeiki*. ZST 6:341).
[468] *Kujōdono yūkai.* GR 27:136.

centuries.[469] Yamashita Katsuyuki argues for the pervasiveness of the calendar in Heian aristocratic society.[470] The calendar of regular events was continually revised and updated with the changing times and as the values of the Heian aristocrats changed and diversified. At some point in the medieval period, this habit of recording matters spread to the common classes.[471] It is suggestive of something much deeper: namely, that the use of the calendars written in *kana* was most likely pervasiveness among females as well as males, commoners as well as courtiers, during Japan's medieval period.[472]

III. Wisdom for Perceiving the Intentions of Others and for Foretelling the Future

A. Astrological Accounts

Written opinions about the imperial rites pertaining to celestial phenomena (*sukuyō*

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469 Motorō Endō asserts that the records that contain the calendar of regular events, which was produced by the Heian aristocrats, were written between eleventh and fifteenth centuries. Endō Motorō "Enjū gyōji ninshiki no henkan to 'gyōji rekichō'" *Chūsei seiritsuki no seiji bunka* (Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1999), 220.

470 Yamashita, *Heian jidai no shūkyō bunka to onmyōdō*, 249-259.

471 The oldest existing calendar written in *kana* is a manuscript copied in the second year of Karoku 嘉禄 (1226) on the back of the *Shunki* 春記, the diary of Fujiwara no Sukefusa 藤原資房 (1007–1057). The other is a manuscript copied in the second year of Antei 安貞 (1228) on the back of the *Minkeiki* 民経記, the diary of Hirohashi Tsunemitsu 広橋経光 (1212–1274). Kokushi daijiten henshū iinkai, eds. *Kokushi daijiten 3* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 448–449.

472 The widespread adoption of recording individual-life events on the calendar appears in the early thirteenth century *setsuwa* collection *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 (Collection of Tales from Uji). A tale entitled the title of "*Order for the Calendar Written in Kana* (*kanagoyomi* 仮名暦)" reads as follows: Once upon a time, there was a conceited wife of an unnamed person. She received some paper from someone and said to a young monk, "Please write the calendar in *kana* on the paper." The monk told her that nothing was easier, and put it down in writing. At the beginning, he wrote in detail, e.g., "good day for *kami* and Buddha," "unlucky day," and "evil-fortune day." While writing near the end, he scribbled in writings like "day for no eating" and "day for heavy-eating." Although the wife thought that it was an unusual calendar, she did not have doubts about its sloppiness. She thought that there must be a story behind the calendar and followed it without any doubts. One day, [she saw the calendar.] It said, "Do not go to the toilet." She thought that all sorts of things happen, though she said, "How come?" A number of days passed [like this]. During a long series of days of evil-fortune when the calendar said "do not go to the toilet," she endured it for two and three days. Finally, when she feared she could endure it no longer she held her buttocks between her right and left hands. Saying only "Be patient!" she writhed in pain and drifted into unconsciousness (*Uji shūi monogatari jō* 76. SNKBT 42: 139-140).

kanmon 宿曜勘文) and astronomical changes[473] (*tenpen kanmon* 天変勘文) from the mid-Heian period to the Kamakura period were submitted to the emperor and council aristocrats by court officials who specialized in four studies: the study of textual production (*kidendō* 紀伝道), the study of Confucian philosophy (*meikeidō* 明経道), the study of legislation (*meihōdō* 明法道), and the study of divination (*sandō* 算道). Momo Hiroyuki asserts that there were also four kinds of celestial proposals for imperial rites: (1) a written account of one's life span (*seinen kanmon* 生年勘文), (2) a written account of one's age at death (*gyōnen kanmon* 行年勘文), (3) a written account of solar eclipses (*nisshoku kanmon* 日食勘文), and (4) a written account of lunar eclipses (*gesshoku kanmon* 月食勘文).[474] Descriptions of celestial accounts (e.g. solar and lunar eclipses), such as those of Nakahara no Morotō 中原師遠 (1070–1130) and Abe no Muneaki 安倍宗明 (fl. twelfth century), can be found in the *Denryaku*.[475] These four kinds of

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[473] The entry for the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the third year of Kenpō 建保 (1215) states that due to celestial changes, written opinions for the imperial rites were submitted to the Kamakura shogunate (*Azuma kagami* 22. SZKTA 2:718).

[474] Momo, *Rekihō no kenkyū ge,* 131–162.

[475] These indications appear in the *Denryaku* entries for (1) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:161), (2) *Denryaku*. DNKD 1:163, (3) the twenty-sixth day of the ninth month of the first year of Chōji 長治 (1104) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:13), (4) the twenty-sixth day of the ninth month of the first year of Chōji (1104) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:13), (5) the twentieth day of the tenth month of the first year of Chōji (1104) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:17), (6) the eighth day of the eleventh month of the first year of Chōji. (1104) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:19), (7) the ninth day of the eleventh month of the first year of Chōji (1104) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:19), (8) the fifteenth day of the intercalary second month of the second year of Chōji (1105) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:61), (9) the tenth day of the third month of the second year of Chōji (1105) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:66), (10) the nineteenth day of the eighth month of the second year of Chōji (1105) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:91), (11) the twenty-fourth day of the eighth month of the second year of Chōji (1105) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:91), (12) the sixth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Chōji (1105) (*Denryaku.* DNKD 2:104), (13) the ninth day of the first month of the first year of Kashō 嘉承 (1106) (*Denryaku.* DNKD 2:120), (14) the fifth day of the third month of the first year of Kashō (1106) (*Denryaku.* DNKD 2:132), (15) the twenty-seventh day of the third month of the first year of Kashō (1106) (*Denryaku.* DNKD 2:136), (16) the seventh day of the intercalary tenth month of the second year of Kashō (1106) (*Denryaku.* DNKD 2: 241), (17) the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Ten-ei 天永 (1111) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:193), (18) the seventeenth day of the seventh month of the first year of Eikyū 永久 (1113) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:45), (19) the first day of the eighth month of the first year of Eikyū (1113) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:47), (20) the nineteenth day of the fourth month of the second year of Eikyū (1114) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:97), (21) the twenty-eighth day of the fourth month of the second year of

written accounts were submitted by astrological masters who worked for the emperor and court aristocrats.[476] Accounts by court officials, frequently refer to the results of past divinations and shed light on the designs of such dignitaries as the retired Emperor Shirakawa and Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078–1162), two men who rode roughshod over their rivals in pursuit of their own interests. The primary purpose of these written accounts of celestial changes was to produce a horoscope on the basis of the patron's date of birth.

At the same time, written accounts that used astrology to divine one's fortunes also hinted at the possibility of changing one's misfortune, especially the time of one's death. Instances of astrological accounts for one's miseries are found in the *Minkeiki* 民経記, the diary of Fujiwara no Tsunemitsu 藤原経光 (1212-1274). The entry for the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1267), for example, reads as follows:

> Today, the astrological master Ninken 任憲 (fl. thirteenth century) came to me [Tsunemitsu] and spoke to me as follows: "Zenshōkoku [前相国: Saionji Kinsuke 西園寺公相; 1223-1267] probably died a natural death. I [Ninken] predicted his death with a written account of one's age at death this year. The account showed that there was a possibility of Kinsuke's death during the hour of the rabbit [5 to 7 am] or the rooster [5 to 7 pm] on the day of ox sheep [the twelfth day] of the tenth month. Although Shōfu [相府, Kinsuke] behaved prudently through summer and autumn, he felt fine and began to travel to Suita 吹田 [modern-day, Ōsaka Prefecture 大阪県] or Arima 有馬 [modern-day, Hyōgo Prefecture 兵庫県] this month. In Arima, in the sixth day, a day of wood sheep, his condition took a sudden change for the worse during the hour of the rooster [5 to 7 pm]. On the twelfth day, the day of wood ox, he passed

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Eikyū (1114) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:99), (22) the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month of the second year of Eikyū (1114) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:118), and (23) the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month of the second year of Eikyū (1114) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:118).

[476] Entry for the twenty-seventh day of the first month of the eighth year of Kenkyū shows that Dharma-master (astrological master) Chinga 珍賀 (fl. thirteenth century) brought a written account of a lunar eclipse (*Inokuma kanpakuki*. DNKIK 1:4).

> away during the hour of the rabbit [5 to 7 am]. Although this sudden affair was an unexpected incident, [it occurred as easily as] putting the palms of my hands together in prayer I heard that he visited Arima for the hot springs.[477]

This passage shows that Dharma-master Ninken was also an astrologer who predicted Kinsuke's misfortune based on the relative movements of nine luminaries: the Sun (Skt. Ādiya), the Moon (Skt. Sōma), Mars (Skt. Angāraka), Mercury (Skt. Budha), Jupiter (Skt. Bṛhaspati), Venus (Skt. Sukra), Saturn (Skt. Sanaiscara), the spirit (Skt. Rāhu; J. *ragoyō* 羅睺曜), and the comet (Skt. Ketu; *keitoyō* 計都曜). Ninken's predictions appear to have been rooted in the belief that these luminaries represent the subduing agents of one's fate. Such predictions about the date and time of a given individual's death proved to be in great demand in Heian court circles, and people who accurately make such predictions—as Ninken claimed to have done with regard to Kinsuke's illness and eventual death—readily found support at court and were regarded as accomplished celestial masters.

The aforementioned account, proposed by Ninken, was classified as a celestial account of one's age at death, rather than as an astrological account of solar and lunar eclipses. Momo claims that Ninken had recourse to the Tallying with Heaven Astronomical System (*futenreki* 符天暦), which, as we have already noted, was brought to Japan by the Tendai monk Nichien 日延 (fl. tenth century) in the first year of Tentoku 天徳 (957).[478] The Futen calendar was a source

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[477] *Minkeiki*. DNKM 10:36-37. Moreover, the *Minkeiki* entry for the twelfth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1267) notes that "When Kōshō [公相, Kinsuke] went to a hot spring in Arima, his condition became very severe on the seventh day. On the ninth day, He came back to the capital. I heard that he was in a critical state (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 10:30-31). Another entry of the *Minkeiki* for the sixth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Bun-ei, reports that "Saionji Saneuji 西園寺実氏 (1194-1269) and Kinsuke came back to the capital from Arima (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 10:3).

[478] Momo, *Rekihō no kenkyū ge,* 170.

of astrological studies most relevant to understanding the relationship between celestial movements and one's fate. The calendar of nine luminaries, which predict one's fortune with the written accounts for one's age at death, was largely affected by the doctrinal content of the Tendai school and recognized the use of preventive predictions as precautions against the misfortunes that could befall people. The methods of nine luminaries (and the seven stars of the Northern Dipper), particular to a celestial location of the spirit and the comet, were employed to obtain foreknowledge on the occasion of celestial changes such as solar eclipses, lunar eclipses, and comets.

B. Solar and Lunar Eclipses

Eclipses in which the sun was obscured by the moon or the moon appeared darkened as it passed into the earth's shadow were celestial phenomena that often troubled people in medieval Japan. Descriptions of solar and lunar eclipses are found in historical records and courtier diaries such as the *Suisaki*[479] 水左記, the *Eishōki*[480] 永昌記, and the *Denryaku*. These sources all indicate that it was essential to hold Buddhist astrological rituals and ceremonies at the time of solar and lunar eclipses because it was widely believed these eclipses were deeply implicated in the occurrence of various calamities and people's life spans. A record of solar

[479] Descriptions of a lunar eclipse appear in the *Suisaki* entries for (1) the fourteenth day of the fourth month of the seventh year of Kōhei 康平 (1064) (*Suisaki*. ZST 8:6), (2) the fourteenth day of the intercalary twelfth month of the fourth year of Jōhō 承保 (1078) (*Suisaki*. ZST 8:79), and (3) the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the fifth year of Jōryaku 承暦 (1081) (*Suisaki*. ZST 8:161).

[480] Descriptions of a solar eclipse are founded in the *Eishōki* entries for (1) the first day of the seventh month of the first year of Kashō 嘉承 (1106) (*Eishōki*. ZST 8:42), (2) the first day of the twelfth month of the first year of Kashō (1106) (*Eishōki*. ZST 8:61), and (3) the eleventh month of the second year of Kashō (1107) (*Eishōki*. ZST 8:93).

eclipses appearing in the *Denryaku* entry for the first day of the fourth month of the second year of Kōwa 康和 (1100) reads as follows:

> Due to solar eclipses, I [Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実, 1078–1162)] did not proceed to the imperial court. During a solar eclipse, I avoided going out. After the eclipse, I opened the door facing the east behind me. …Six monks chanted dharani and performed the prayers for the star Honored Victor and five monks recited the sutras.[481]

The *Denryaku* entry notes that during lunar eclipses Tadazane avoided going out[482] and performed prayers. At the same time, a Buddhist assembly for the recitation for the *Sutra of Great Wisdom* was ordered.[483] At the time of solar eclipses, Buddhist monks were required to recite passages of either the *Sutra of Medicine King* or the *Sutra of Great Wisdom*.[484] Similar cases in which Buddhist monks recited either the *Sutra of Great Wisdom* or the *Sutra of Medicine King* at the time of lunar eclipses are found in the *Denryaku*.[485] The *Denryaku* also contains a

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481 *Denryaku*. DNKM 1:22.

482 These appear in the *Denryaku* entries for (1) the sixteenth day of the third month of the fourth year of Kōwa 康和 (1102) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:22), (2) the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Chōji (1105) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:110), and (3) the fifteenth day of the second month of the first year of Eikyū 永久 (1113) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:17).

483 Descriptions of chanting the sutras while a solar eclipse and a lunar eclipse appear in the *Denryaku* entries for (1) the fifteenth day of the second month of the first year of Chōji 長治 (1104) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:197-–199), (2) the first day of the seventh month of the first year of Kashō (1106) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:145), (3) the first day of the twelfth month of the first year of Kashō (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:162), (4) the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month of the third year of Ten-ei (1112) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:254), (5) the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the first year of Eikyū (1113) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:44), and (6) the fourteenth day of the first month of the second year of Eikyū (1114) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:80).

484 These appear in the *Denryaku* entries for (1) the first day of the twelfth month of the first year of Kashō (1106) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 1:293), (2) the first day of the third month of the first year of Eikyū (1113) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:19), and (3) the first day of the seventh month of the third year of Eikyū (1114) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:171).

485 These appear in the *Denryaku* entries for (1) the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the first year of Chōji (1104) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:7), (2) the sixteenth day of the sixth month of the second year of Chōji (1105) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 2:80), (3) the fifteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Tennin (1109) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:52), (4) the fourteenth day of the ninth month of the second year of Ten-ei (1111) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:171), and (5) the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Eikyū (1115)

rare case in which Buddhist monks recited the *Sutra of Humane Kings* during a lunar eclipse.[486] Thus, many medieval courtier diaries and historical sources reveal a religious connection between Buddhist rituals and celestial events.[487] Since the reign of Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701-756; r. 724-749) until the late-medieval period, reciting these sutras on the occasion of solar and lunar eclipses was an accepted court rite.[488] The recitation of the *Humane King Sutra* in this context is of particular note because, as Murayama Shūichi has pointed out, a Buddhist assembly

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(*Denryaku*. DNKD 4:242).

[486] It appears in the entry for the sixteenth day of the third month of the second year of Ten-ei 天永 (1111) (*Denryaku*. DNKD 3:138).

[487] Descriptions of reciting Buddhist sutras in the time of a celestial events appears in the historical entries for (1) the first day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Kōhō 康保 (967) (*Honchō seiki* 8. SZKT 9:121), (2) the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the first year of Chōji 長治 (1104) (*Chūyūki* 2. ZST 10:372), (3) the fourteenth day of the ninth month of the second year of Ten-ei 天永 (1111) (*Chūyūki* 4. ZST 12:77), (4) the first day of the fourth month of the second year of Gen-ei 元永 (1119) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:122), (5) the first day of the tenth month of the first year of Hōan 保安 (1120) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:255), (6) the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the second year of Taiji 大治 (1127) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:305), (7) the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Taiji (1127) (*Chūyūki* 5. ZST 13:332), (8) the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the first year of Chōshō (1132) (*Heihanki*. ZST 18:2), (9) the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the second year of Chōshō (1133) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:55), (10) the first day of the intercalary twelfth month of the third year of Chōshō (1134) (*Chūyūki* 7. ZST 15:119), (11) the first day of the twelfth month of the second year of Kōji 康治 (1143) (*Honchō seiki* 27. SZKT 9:442), (12) the first day of the fourth month of the fourth year of Kyūan 久安 (1148) (*Honchō seiki* 34. SZKT 9:611), (13) the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the third year of Ninpei 仁平 (1153) (*Honchō seiki* 47. SZKT 9:890), (14) the fourteenth day of the seventh month of the first year of Ōhō 応保 (1161) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 26:194), (15) the first day of the fourth month of the second year of Nin-an 仁安 (1167) (*Heihanki*. ZST 20:188), (16) the fourteenth day of the second month of the third year of Nin-an (1168) (*Heihanki*. ZST 21:7), (17) the first day of the fifth month of the second year of Kyūju 久寿 (1155) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 26:27), (18) the fifteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of Kyūju (1155) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 26:29), (19) the fourteenth day of the fourth month of the fourth year of Jōan 承安 (1174) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:366), (20) the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the fifth year of Jōan (1175) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:440), (21) the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Kenkyū 建久 (1190) (*Gyokuyō.* KKG 3:641). (22) the sixteenth day of the first month of the ninth year of Kenkyū (1198) (*Meigetsuki*. KKM 1:57), (23) the fourteenth day of the fourth month of the second year of En-ō 延応 (1240) (*Heikoki*. ZST 32:49), and (24) the sixteenth day of the first month of the second year of Kangen 寛元 (1244) (*Myōkaiki.* ZST 33:166).

[488] *Ranshōshō*. GR 26:310. It also appears in the *Kichizokuki* entries for (1) the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month of the fourth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1267) (*Kichizokuki*. ZST 30:166-167), (2) the first day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Bun-ei (1267) (*Kichizokuki*. ZST 30:167-168), (3) the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the fifth month of Bun-ei (1268) (*Kichizokuki*. ZST 30:235), and (4) the sixteenth day of the sixth month of the tenth year of Bun-ei (1273) (*Kichizokuki*. ZST 30:344-345).

of the recitation for the *Humane King Sutra* was held at the Bureau of Yin and Yang in the eighth day of the third month of the first year of Tenryaku 天暦 (947).[489]

In addition to concerns about the importance of eclipses as omens of individual or national fortunes, medieval historical sources such as the *Sakeiki* and the *Azuma kagami* also suggest that a close relationship was thought to exist between eclipses and rainmaking. The *Sakeiki* entry for the tenth day of the third month of the first year of Chōgen 長元 (1028), for instance, strongly suggests that solar and lunar eclipses could bring about rain. The text reads as follows:

> [Kiyohara no] Yoritaka Mahito (清原頼隆真人, 979–1053) came closer to me [Minamoto no Tsuneyori 源経頼, 985–1039)] and said, "Due to the elimination of calamities, as foretold by the celestial master Shōshō 證昭 (fl. eleventh century), it will rain within three days or seven days after solar and lunar eclipses.[490]

This passage contains two important themes: (1) it was believed that solar and lunar eclipses could either bring about or prevent calamities and (2) the religious credibility of celestial studies was superior to the Bureau of Yin and Yang. It also reveals the high degree of reliance that court officials placed on celestial studies. Moreover, one story of the *Azuma kagami* describes a scene in which the yin-yang masters and Buddhist monks competitively performed prayers for rain during lunar eclipses. The Buddhist monks were granted gold and the yin-yang masters were given swords, with the result that all their prayers and miraculous virtues were seen to be causes

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489 Shūichi Murayama, *Nihon onmyōdōshi sōsetsu* (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1981), 126.
490 *Sakeiki*. ZST 6:214.

of the subsequent rain.[491] It would thus appear that by the medieval period the absence as well as the presence of solar and lunar eclipses had become a matter of concern for the court.

Further complicating this picture, medieval courtier diaries note that lunar eclipses sometimes did not occur when expected due to inaccurate calculations by the Bureau of Yin and Yang. The *Shōyūki* entry for the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the fourth year of Chōgen 長元 (1031) notes the concern that arose when no consensus could be reached concerning an upcoming eclipse due to discrepancies of interpretation among calendrical and astrological schools.[492] The *Denryaku* entry for the fourteenth day of the eighth month of the fifth year of Kōwa 康和 (1103) similarly shows that although Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078-1162), in preparation for the onset of extraordinary events, began performing prayers two days prior to the predicted advent of a lunar eclipse. The eclipse, however, did not occur on the expected day even in response to six monks reciting sutras.[493] Soon after the incident, the *Denryaku* portrays a scene in which Tadazane reprimanded government officials for their carelessness. These indications suggest that the absence of lunar eclipses on the expected date and time proposed by court officials was itself interpreted as a possible omen portending serious, even life-threatening, misfortunes. Celestial events were thus a constant concern for mid-Heian aristocrats, especially for the Fujiwara clan, who promoted worship of celestial change because these celestial events were thought to be harbingers of "good" natural phenomena.

Further descriptions concerning the failure of celestial phenomena to appear can be

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491 The story appears in the entries for (1) the seventh day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Kenchō 建長 (1252), (2) the eighth day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Kenchō, and (3) the eleventh day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Kenchō (*Azuma kagami* 42. SZKTA 4:522).

492 *Shōyūki.* DNKS 9:7.

493 *Denryaku*. DNKD 1:228.

found throughout medieval courtier diaries.[494] The *Minkeiki* entry for the fourteenth day of the fourth month of the third year of Kangi 寛喜 (1231) relates that celestial prayers for lunar eclipses were cancelled because all the court scholars except for the specialists in calendrical studies, estimated that lunar eclipses would not occur on that date.[495] Descriptions of scholarly disputes between practitioners of calendrical and divinatory studies concerning whether or not a solar eclipse would occur are also detailed in several medieval historical sources.[496]

Mishaps such as these often produced tangible effects in the political life of the period. Serious errors in predicting the time of solar and lunar eclipses were thought to be a matter of grave national concern. Descriptions of scholarly debates between court officials appear in the chronicle *Hyakurenshō*.[497] One entry of the *Hyakurenshō* in particular describes a disagreement between practitioners of calendrical studies (*rekidō* 暦道) and divination studies (*sandō* 算道) on the first day of the first month of the second year of Ōhō 応保 (1162). It reads as follows:

> As to solar eclipses, there was a debate between the calendrical studies [group] and the divination studies [group]. Court nobles compared the proposals of two studies and asked them questions. Summaries [of the two proposals indicate that] the calendar (the first day of the year) was not revisable. However, due to being the first day of the year, a seasonal festival was carried out on the second day of the year. A record said, "My question: there is always an

494 The same incident is found in the *Denryaku* entry for the sixteenth day of the eleventh month of the fifth year of Eikyū (*Denryaku*. DNKD 5:57).
495 *Minkeiki*. DNKM 3:71-77.
496 Descriptions of scholarly debates between the calendar and celestial masters appear in the entries for (1) the first day of the first month of the second year of Kōji 康治 (1143) (*Honchō seiki* 26. SZKT 9:411) and (2) the first day of the tenth month of the fifth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1268) (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 10:97).
497 Descriptions of scholars' discord between the celestial and calendar studies appear in the *Hyakurenshō* entries for (1) the fourteenth day of the second month of the third year of Eikyū (1115) (*Hyakurenshō* 5. SZKT 11:50), (2) the fifteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of Chōkan 長寛 (1164) (*Hyakurenshō* 7. SZKT 11:78), and (3) the fourteenth day of the second month of the fourth year of Nin-an 仁安 (1169) (*Heihanki*. ZST 21:330).

> upheaval seven days before a solar eclipse of making up for spring. Why? Answer: there is a star that exterminates the light in the seven stars [of the Northern Dipper]. This is a secret matter. Ordinary people do not know this secret. This is a matter that has been orally transmitted.
> [Years of] solar eclipses in the first day of the year:
> The ninth year of Enryaku 延暦 (790), the fourth year of Shōtai 昌泰 (901), the eighth year of Engi 延喜 (908), the eleventh year of Engi (911), the eighteenth year of Engi (918), the nineteenth year of Engi (919), the twentieth year of Engi (920), the third year of Tengyō 天慶 (940), the fourth year of Chōryaku 長暦 (1040), the fourth year of Eishō 永承 (1049), the second year of Kōhei 康平 (1059), the fourth year of Jiryaku 治暦 (1068), the third year of Jōhō 承保 (1076), the second year of Kōji 康治 (1143), and the third year of Ninpei 仁平 (1153).
> [Years of] solar eclipses in the second day of the year:
> The Jōhei 承平 (932) and Tengyō 天慶 (939).[498]

This passage reveals that the astrologers (*sukuyōshi* 宿曜師) of Buddhist schools established superiority vis-à-vis the calendar master of the Bureau of Yin and Yang. The reason for this superiority lay in the fact that the astrologers had imported a new calendrical system from Song China that employed a calendar year divided according to the phases of the moon, but adjusted in

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[498] *Hyakurenshō* 7. SZKT 11:76. Similar descriptions of scholarly debates between Buddhist astrologers and Bureau of Yin and Yang (Onmyōryō) calendrical masters in an entry for the first day of the twelfth month of the second year of Kōji 康治 (1143) in the *Hōnchō seiki*. It suggests that Tendai astrological practices were superior to the calendrical studies of the Bureau of Yin and Yang. The description reads as follows: "At the time of rabbit [5 to 7am], fourteen-fifteenths of a solar eclipse occurred in accordance with the annotation of the calendar. In addition, the clouds cleared away while we could not see an external circle of the sun. In a short time, the [total] solar eclipse would occur. Court aristocrats and the retired Emperor Toba were very careful to act in accordance with a written supplication provided by the astrological studies [department]. Furthermore, various prayers for the solar eclipse were performed; the retired Emperor Toba asked one hundred-twenty mountain-dwelling Tendai monks, who devotedly attained the path of Buddhist practice, to single-mindeldy recite the *Daihannya haramittakyō* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (Skt. Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra; C. *Da bore boluomiduo jing*) for three days at Tokuchōju-in 得長壽院. The recipients of the imperial order performed prayers for the solar eclipse and were provided with vegetarian food and short sleeved [clothing]. At the same time, court aristocrats held the *sensō dokyō* ceremony at Enryakuji. Court vassals did not participate in the assembly due to the fact that it was a ceremony conducted by Buddhists. Because of all this, the [total] solar eclipse did not occur. In other words, it was the miraculous efficacy of the three treasures (*Honchō seiki* 27. SZKT 9: 442).

average length to fit the length of the solar cycle. Because of this, the Buddhist astrologers produced more detailed and accurate calculations. The *Gyokuyō* entry for the first day of the eleventh month of the fourth year of Shōan 承安 (1174) points to a similar dispute that arose when Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207) noticed that the proposed dates for lunar eclipses differed between the calendrical and divination studies.[499] Accounts such as these thus clearly indicate that although a gap in the understanding of what would happen led to great confusion in the wielding of political power by the aristocratic class, the calendrical and divination studies were integral to imperial rites that established the religious relationship between the court and nature as well as the political control between the court and peripheral regions.

C. Affairs of Debates on the Calendar

The lunisolar calendar introduced from China was a calendar that was based on astronomical calculations. It included a solar year and a number of lunar months. It also contained information about the positions of solar and lunar eclipses in relation to planetary circulation.[500] As based on the period of waxing and waning of the moon, a lunar month

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499 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 1:388. Another entry for the twelfth day of the eighth month of the second year of Bunji appearing in the *Gyokuyō* suggests that when scholarly controversy arose between astrologers Chinga 珍賀 (fl. twelfth century) and Shōichi 性一 (fl. twelfth century) concerning the time of lunar eclipses, the yin-yang masters of calendar studies [Kamo no] Katsunori 賀茂宣憲 (fl. twelfth century) and [Kamo no] Sainori 賀茂濟憲 (fl. twelfth century) gave their approval to Chinga's opinion (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:254). Similar descriptions of a debate between the calendar and celestial studies in relation to serious concerns about solar and lunar eclipses can be found in the *Gyokuyō* entries. These indications appear in the *Gyokuyō* entry for the tenth day of the sixth month of the fifth year of Bunji 文治 (1188) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:548). There was a solar eclipse; for that reason there was a scholarly controversy between the study of astrology and celestial studies. It appears in the entry for the seventeenth day of the seventh month of the third year of Kōchō (1263) (*Azuma kagami* 51. SZKTA 4:829).

500 A detailed description of a solar eclipse appear in the *Sakeiki* entry for the first day of the third month of the first year of Chōgen 長元 (1029). It says, "The solar eclipse was three fifteenths. It began at 7 in the time

contained on average twenty-nine and a half days. Months were of two types: (1) large months consisting of thirty days and (2) small months consisting of twenty-nine days. These two types of months were alternated. The total days in a year amounted to three hundred fifty four days, while the total days of a solar year were about three hundred sixty-five days. Over three years, the difference comparing with the lunar and solar year system amounted to thirty-three days. This discrepancy lay at the root of numerous errors in predictions that were based upon longstanding calculations. To make up for this gap between the predicted and actual figures, an intercalary month needed to be inserted. When and how to do calendrical intercalation led to frequent disputes between government officials and Buddhist monks.

One of the earliest indications of a gap in astrological calculation concerning the number of days of the next year, proposed by the court officials, appears in the *Honchō seiki* entry for the seventeenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Tengyō 天慶 (938).[501] The court official Ōkasuga no Hironori 大春日弘範 (fl. tenth century) proposed that the following year should be three hundred eighty-three days, a pattern which consisted of the first month (short), the second month (long), the third month (short), the fourth month (long), the fifth month (short), the sixth month (long), the seventh month (long), the intercalary seventh month (short), the eighth month (long), the ninth month (short), the tenth month (long), the eleventh month (short), and the twelfth month (long). The court official and calendrical scholar Katsuragi Tsuneshige 葛木茂経 (fl. tenth century), suggested instead that next year should be three hundred eighty-four days, an arrangement that consisted of the first month (long), the second

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of the tiger and finished at 3 in the time of the rabbit" (*Sakeiki*. ZST 6: 213).

[501] *Honchō seiki* 2. SZKT 9:23.

month (long), the third month (short), the fourth month (long), the fifth month (short), the sixth month (short), the seventh month (long), the intercalary seventh month (short), the eighth month (long), the ninth month (short), the tenth month (long), the eleventh month (short), and the twelfth month (long). Hironori thought the end of the twelfth month of that year should be a water rabbit day, and the first day of the following year should be a wood dragon day. On the other hand, Tsuneshige thought of the end of the twelfth month of this year to be water tiger and of the first day of the first year of next year to be water rabbit. The controversy between the two court officials centered on whether or not a solar eclipse would occur in the first day of the first month of the following year. Incidents such as this indicate the degree to which calendrical concerns affected the entire court: here we see that a dispute of when a predicted eclipse would occur had the potential to throw the court's entire ritual calendar into confusion.[502]

Some time later, a similar scholarly dispute pertaining to calendar intercalation occurred. The *Hyakurenshō* entry for the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month of the fifth year of Eishō 永承 (1050) reads as follows:

> Emperor Goreizei and all upper court aristocrats specified the facts of a disagreement about calendar intercalation that was proposed by the calendar scholar [Kamo no] Michihira, great Dharma-astrological master Shōshō and mathematics scholar [Miyoshi] Tamenaga (三善為長,

[502] Descriptions of further discussions about the calendar intercalation, with which both the calendar scholar [Kamo no] Michihira 賀茂道平 (fl. eleventh century) and Dharma-astrological monk Shōshō 證昭 (fl. eleventh century) were involved, appear in the *Hyakurenshō* entry for the twenty-third day of the fifth month of the third year of Chōryaku 長暦 (1039) (*Hyakurenshō* 4. SZKT 11:20). At that time when Emperor Goreizei 後冷泉天皇 (1025–1068; r. 1045–1068) and all upper court aristocrats participated in the assembly, the calendar proposed by Michihira, which is referred to as the primary "official" method in the Bureau of Divination (*chōgyō senmyōreki* 長慶宣明暦), was adopted as the calendar for social and religious purposes. There seems to be a scholarly disagreement between the results of the two different celestial methods: the Tang Lunar calendar (*chōgyō senmyōreki*) and the Tallying with Heaven Astronomical System (*futenreki* 符天暦), a primarily "private" method of the Buddhist tradition, which mixed Indian with Chinese astrology.

> 1007–1081). Zōmei 増命 (fl. eleventh century) said, "The intercalary month in this year is the eleventh month. The calendar prepared by Michihira is completely mistaken." Then, he brought the great Sung calendar (*daisōreki* 大宋暦) and asserted that the intercalary month is the eleventh month. Shōshō and Tamenaga were ordered to submit a written statement to Emperor Goreizei. Michihira said, "Since the Enryaku era 延暦 (782–806), there has been no mistake, even in one chapter. In the sixth year of Jōhei 承平 (936), the Calendar Bureau experienced a great loss. Although there was a difference between Japanese and Chinese calendars in accordance with precedent, court aristocrats had no further use for a view of a different reign." Therefore, the winter solstice was determined.[503]

This passage reveals that in addition to the most accurate Chinese calendars used by the court, calendars that were unsystematically developed and thus contained many inaccuracies were also of great importance in medieval Japan. As a result, various calendar systems were tested to reduce the possibility of miscalculation. The "Buddhist" calendar in which the celestial masters polished their technical skills came to be of great importance in medieval Japan. As to the gap in astrological calculations related to small and large months in the calendar system, a similar controversy between a calendar master and Buddhist monk appears in the *Chūyūki* entries for the nineteenth day of the second month of the seventh year of Kanji 寛治 (1088)[504] and for the second day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Taiji 大治 (1129).[505] With regard to whether there have been small and large months in the calendar or not, the scholars debated about two traditions that had existed side-by-side.

Scholarly disputes pertaining to solar and lunar eclipses between proponents of

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503 *Hyakurenshō* 4. SZKT 11:24.
504 *Chūyūki* 2. ZST 9:253. An assembly called to discuss changes in divination regulations was held at the residence of the retired Emperor Toba to determine whether there had been solar and lunar eclipses. It appears in the entry for the second day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Taiji (*Hyakurenshō* 6. SZKT 11:57).
505 *Chūyūki* 6. ZST 14:56-57.

astrological and calendar studies occurred many times during the regimes of Emperors Shirakawa and Toba.[506] The *Taiki* entry for the first day of the fifth month of the second year of Kyūan 久安 (1146) says, "the celestial studies suggested that there was a solar eclipse today, while the calendar studies suggested that there was not a solar eclipse today. I [Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長, 1120-1156] dispatched a servant to verify whether or not the solar eclipse had occurred. The solar eclipse occurred as the astrological studies had predicted."[507] It is clear that [greater] credit is due to the scholarly measurements of astrological studies.

Further description of a disagreement between an astrologer and a calendrical scholar is found in the *Chōshūki* entry for the second day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Taiji (1129). The text reads as follows:[508]

> The Great Dharma-Master and astrological master Gensan 源算大法師 (fl. twelfth century), had a dispute with the calendar scholars. Court aristocrats inquired about a divergence of the current year's calendar at the residence of the retired Emperor Toba. According to the calendar, the intercalary seventh month is the small month. Gensan said, "The seventh month was the

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506 Descriptions of the debates between the celestial and calendar studies appear in the *Chūyūki* entries for (1) the first day of the twelfth month of the first year of Kashō 嘉承 (1106) (*Chūyūki* 3. ZST 11:153) and (2) the first day of the fifth month of the first year of Tennin 天仁 (1108) (*Chūyūki* 3. ZST 11:350).

507 *Taiki* 6. ZST 23:177.

508 Passage for the thirtieth day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Taiji notes as follows, "Afternoon, I [Minamoto no Morotoki] visited the retired Emperor Toba. Tō no ben [頭弁: 蔵人頭 kurōdo no tō; head of the Bureau of the Palace Storehouse] also participated in the meeting. According to those involved, Gensan 源算 submitted a proposal for matters concerning the issue of divination. Superintendent [Sanjō Kaneyuki 三条実行, 1080–1162] gave it to [Kamo no] Ieyoshi 賀茂家栄 (1066‐1136) and asked Ieyoshi to submit a letter with a detailed explanation. With the letter, court aristocrats would decide [on matters concerning the issue of divination]." Passage for the first day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Taiji also notes as follows, "Afternoon, I [Minamoto no Morotoki] visited the retired Emperor Toba. Tomorrow, the assembly for formal discussion about the change of the divination regulations would be held in the presence of the retired Emperor Toba. Regent [Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通, 1097–1164], Great Minister of the Middle [Minamoto no Arihito 源有仁, 1103–1147], the Vice Chief Councilor [Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠, 1062–1141], the Superintendent [Sanjō Kaneyuki 三条実行, 1080–1162], and Gen Shōkō [源相公: Minamoto no Moroyori 源師頼, 1068–1139] would be invited. All are people of wide knowledge" (*Chōshūki.* ZST 16:273–274).

large month. The intercalary eighth month was the small month." Gensan and the calendar court scholars both submitted proposals again and again. Great Minister of the Middle [Minamoto no Arihito 源有仁, 1103-1147] asked questions about the study of the calendar on behalf of the retired emperor Toba. Gensan responded to the question informally. The Superintendent [Sanjō Kaneyuki 三条実行, 1080-1162] and government officials did not reach a resolution. [They] then addressed a question to the head of the Bureau of Divination [Kamo no] Ieyoshi 賀茂家栄 (1066-1136). Soon after the question, a proposal by [Kamo no Ieyoshi] was submitted. The Great Minister of the Middle brought the proposal and assembled the limited members of the court aristocracy. Five members chosen from the court were invited. These members were Regent [Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通, 1097-1164], Great Minister of the Middle [Minamoto no Arihito], the Vice Chief Councilor Munetada [Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠, 1062-1141], Superintendent Kaneyuki [Sanjō Kaneyuki], and the Consultant Moroyori [Minamoto no Moroyori 源師頼, 1068-1139]. All dressed in formal robes. Gensen was invited to the office of the Bureau of the Palace Storehouses. The head of Bureau of Divination [Kamo no] Ieyoshi and yin-yang master [Kamo no] Munenori [賀茂宗憲, 1080-1138] [were invited] to the northern side of the residence of the retired Emperor Toba. With the proposal for the study of the calendar, the head of the Bureau of the Palace Storehouses [Minamoto no] Masakane [源雅兼, 1079–1143] addressed a question to Gensan. Gensan's answer was not detailed. He just read the proposal. In addition, [Masakane] addressed a question to Ieyoshi. Because Gensan's oral petition was not clear, the proposal in which all court aristocrats looked over was neither read out nor written as a formal composition. Gen Shōkō [源相公: Minamoto no Moroyori 源師頼, 1068-1139] said, "His [calendrical] calculations must be questioned." [Gensan said,] "The order of numbers was completely reasonable. Concerning the calendar, the account given by the court calendrical scholars is required. As for the constellations and celestial bodies, [the account given by the master of constellations and celestial bodies] is required." [Someone asked] "Did Gensan explain it?" [Ieyoshi answered,] "The skins of a thousand sheep are not like the armpit of one fox. Although Gensan's account was very unusual, it was not acceptable." [Again someone asked] "Did Ieyoshi mention it?" [Ieyoshi replied] "All court aristocrats agreed to the proposal." The retired Emperor Toba also followed the decision made by all court aristocrats. Therefore, the decision was agreed upon. I [Minamoto no Morotoki] later heard that the master Gensan and court scholar [of the Calculation] [Miyoshi] Tameyasu [三善為康, 1049–1139]

> agreed with the decision. Court scholar [of the Calculation] [Odukishi] Masashige [小槻政重, 1093–1144], the fifth rank of officials, [*taifushi* 大夫史], and the astrological master Chinya [珍也, fl. twelfth century] also subscribed to the proposal. The yin-yang master [Kiyohara] Nobutoshi [清原信俊, 1077–1145] was in accord with the house of the calendar. He served as a composer for the retired Emperor Toba. I heard that Gensan took the proposal seriously. Ieyoshi considered the petition important. The Superintendent offered it to the Regent at the meeting. The Great Minister of the Middle took it out and offered it to the Regent.[509]

As to the new calendar intercalation, scholarly polemics between the yin-yang master and astrological master often focused on whether or not the intercalary eighth month should be inserted in the lunisolar calendars to match seasonal phenomena. The officials' responsibility for nonfeasance in relation to the miscalculation of the lunar month, which was condemned by the astrological master Gensan, reveals the constellation and celestial teachings that proved to be so popular among medieval Japanese Buddhist practitioners. Sources such as the *Hyakurenshō,* the *Sankaiki*, and the *Azuma kagami*[510] demonstrate that scholarly discussion between the astrological and calendar studies in relation to the calendar intercalation and celestial events (either solar or lunar eclipses) occurred often and at the highest levels in the medieval Japan.

D. Astrology and Religious Rites

Not surprisingly, given the involvement of the astrological masters at court and at the shogun's headquarters, astrological concerns also came to play a prominent role in the ritual

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509 *Chōshūki.* ZST 16:274.

510 Descriptions appear in the entries for (1) the eighteenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Hōgen 保元 (1156) (*Hyakurenshō* 7. SZKT 11:72), (2) the fifteenth day of the third month of the second year of Nin-an 仁安 (1167) (*Sankaiki*. ZST 27:2), and (3) the first day of the eighth month of the first year of Karoku 嘉禄 (1225) (*Azuma kagami*. SZKTA 3:31).

agenda of the Buddhist clergy.[511] The *Kichizokuki* 吉続記, the diary of Yoshida Tunenaga 吉田経長 (1239–1309), notes that on the occasion of solar eclipses, Buddhist and astrological rituals were both performed with help from the head monk of Tōji, Dōyū[512] 道融 (1224–1281), and four astrological masters—Chinshiki 珍式 (fl. thirteenth century), Chin-i 珍意 (fl. thirteenth century), Ninken 任憲, (fl. thirteenth century), and Kensan 賢算 (fl. thirteenth century)—who were assumed to have performed rituals associated either with the twenty-eight constellations or with the seven celestial bodies.[513] Incidents such as this suggest that there was no clear distinction between (esoteric) Buddhist and astrological rituals as they were performed at temples usually built for the purpose of praying for the health of the emperor and the harmony of the country. Contemporaneous Buddhist astrological masters made the most use of astrological practices to increase the length of the emperor's life.

Well-known examples pertaining to popular astrological praxis during medieval Japan were the Tai-shan Fu-chun Rituals (*taizanfukunhō* 泰山府君法) and the seven stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals (*hokutohō* 北斗法). The *Kichizokuki* entry for the twenty-third day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1267) describes scene in which the astrological master Ninken 任憲 (fl. thirteenth century) performing an eye-opening ceremony for eight statues–the main worthy of T'ai-shan Fu-chun and the main worthies of the seven stars

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511 On the occasion of solar eclipses, the Astrological-Dharma Eye Master Chinyo 珍誉 (fl. thirteenth century) submitted an opinion, stating that that the sun is not eclipsed. It appears in the entry for the first day of the second month of the second year of Gennin 元仁 (1225) (*Azuma kagami*. SZKTA 3:27).

512 Dōyū was the seventy-first head monk of Tōji and later became a superintendent (*bettō* 別当) of Ninnaji. During the Mongol Invasions of 1274 and 1281, he performed the rituals at Tōji twice, once in the ninth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1272) and again in the eleventh year of Bun-ei 文永 (1274).

513 It appears in the entry for the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month of the fourth year of Bun-ei 文永 (1267) (*Kichizokuki*. ZST 30:166-167).

of the Northern Dipper associated with Myōken Bosatsu 妙見菩薩 (Skt. Sudarsana).[514] Many descriptions also exist of religious rituals that related T'ai-shan Fu-chun and Myōken Bosatsu, both of which were main objects of veneration for the Honoring T'ai-shan Fu-chun. Rituals and the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals appear in the *Gyokuyō* 玉葉, the diary of Kujō Kanezane.[515] Knowledge of the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals, performed to prevent celestial calamities, was widespread among medieval aristocrats.[516] All of this suggests that astrological rituals were practiced with regularity and vigor throughout the medieval period.

Further descriptions of celestial calamities in the *Gyokuyō* substantiate the view that medieval court esoteric rituals, such as the Acala Rituals (*fudōmyōōhō* 不動明王法) and the Humane King Sutra Rituals (*niōkyōhō* 仁王経法), were seen as celestial rituals (*tenpenshūhō* 天変修法).[517] One entry in the *Gyokuyō*, for example, describes a scene in which the Humane

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514 *Kichizokuki*. ZST 30:182. The *Azuma kagami* entry for the twenty-second day of the eighth month of the second year of Ninji 仁治 (1241) depicts the fact that statues of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, twenty-eight constellations and twelve zodiacal mansions deities, and the one word golden wheel were enshrined in the newly built Hokuto hall (*Azuma kagami* 34. SZKTA 3:283).

515 Eisho Nasu points out Kanezane's interest in the Honoring T'ai-shan Fu-chun rituals. According to the *Gyokuyō*, Kanezane recorded this practice eighty-nine times in twenty-six years between 1171 and 1196. Eisho also notes that the practice of Taizanfukun-sai often appears in the *Taiki*, the diary of Fujiwara no Yorinaga. Nasu Eisho, "Introduction of the Chinese God of the Dead into Medieval Japanese Culture: A Study of Taizanfukun Rites (Rites Honoring T'ai-shan Fu-chun)," *Asaeda Zenshō Hakase Kanreki Kinenron Bunshū: Bukkyō to Ningen Shakai Kenkyū* (Kyōto: Nagata Bunshōdō), 289. In addition, Kanezane recorded the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals. Ōae Akira, ed., *Gyokuyō jikō sakuin* (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1991), 434-435 and 608.

516 It appears in the entry for the eighth day of the second month of the third year of Bunji 文治 (1187) and read as follows: "From today, the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals, as the prayer for the celestial calamities toward aristocrats, was performed by Dharma master Jitsukei 實慶 (fl. twelfth century). Knowledge of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals as performed the prayer for the celestial calamities was fully recognized among medieval aristocrats, especially by Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:325). It appears in the entry for the eighth day of the second month of the third year of Bunji 文治 (1187) and read as follows: "From today, the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals, as the prayer for the celestial calamities toward aristocrats, was performed by Dharma master Jitsukei 實慶 (fl. twelfth century) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:325).

517 The *Gyokuyō* entry for the seventh day of the twelfth month of the second year of Jishō shows seven celestial calamities concerning a curse on the emperor (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:221-222).

King Sutra Rituals ceremony was held in conjunction with three celestial rituals performed by Buddhist monks: 1) Director of Monks Gyōgyō[518] 行曉 (fl. twelfth century), a monk of Miidera, was ordered to perform the prayers for the Spirit Star (*ragohoshiku* 羅喉星供)[519], 2) Gyōshun 業俊 (fl. twelfth century) was instructed to perform the prayers for Tian-cao di-fu (*tensōchifu* 天曹地府)[520], and 3) Gyōshun performed the prayers for Tai-shan Fu-chun.[521]

The rites, in turn, were seen as essential for the protection of the state. The Spirit Star (*ragosei* 羅喉星; Skt. Rahu) and the Comet Star (*keitosei* 計都星; Skt. Ketu), both of which were affiliated with the nine luminaries, were seen as the stars that provoked celestial calamities, such as solar and lunar eclipses.[522] Astrological rites thus became prominent in medieval court rituals because of their purported ability to pacify uncontrollable spirits associated with unusual or unpredicted celestial phenomena. With the rise of the Kamakura shogunate, the number of such rites performed only multiplied: on the occasion of the appearance of a group of comets, the shogunate ordered that Tai-shan fu-chun festivals be held for one hundred days.[523]

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518 Gyōgyō performed the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals to pray for longevity in the twenty-third day of the ninth month of the second year of Kenkyū 建久 (1191) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:729).

519 Other descriptions of performing the prayers for the Spirit Star appear in the *Gyokyuyō* entry for the second day of the tenth month of the second year of Kenkyū (*Gyokyuyō*. KKG 3:732).

520 The *Azuma kagami* entry for the sixteenth day of the third month of the first year of Kenpō 建保(1213) depicts the fact that the Tian-cao di-fu Festivals (*tensōchifu* 天曹地府祭) were closely associated with a matter of natural disasters (*Azuma kagami* 21. SZKTA 2:677).

521 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:664.

522 The *Minkeiki* entry for the twenty-first day of the tenth month of the third year of Kangi 寛喜 (1231) notes as follows: "The celestial master said, the Comet Star gives rise to natural calamities" (*Minkeiki*. DNKM 3:146).

523 These indications appear in the *Azuma kagami* entries for (1) the thirteenth day of the eighth month of the first year of Jōō 貞応 (1222) (*Azuma kagami* 26. SZKTA 3:4), (2) the nineteenth day of the third month of the first year of Gennin 元仁 (1224) (*Azuma kagami* 26. SZKTA 3:16), (3) the tenth day of the sixth month of the first year of Katei 嘉禎 (1235) (*Azuma kagami* 30. SZKTA 3:153), and (4) the ninth day of the first month of the second year of Katei 嘉禎 (1236) (*Azuma kagami* 31. SZKTA 3:172). Descriptions of which the Tai-shan fu-chun Festivals were performed due to a request from the Kamakura shogunate appear in the entries for (1) the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Jōgen 承元 (1210) (*Azuma kagami* 19.

Over time, the relationship between celestial changes and Court rites became even closer. One entry of the *Gyokuyō* for the twenty-first day of the third month of the third year of Angen 安元 (1177) portrays Kanezane asking the yin-yang master Abe no Tokiharu 安倍時晴 (fl. twelfth century) to perform the prayers for Tai-shan fu-chun and the yin-yang master Abe no Yasushige 安倍泰茂 (fl. twelfth century) to perform the prayers for Tian-cao di-fu. Tokiharu and Yasushige both performed the prayers requested by the extremely anxious Kanezane to avert potential calamities. As a result, the planet Mars (*keikoku* 熒惑), which was thought to bring about terrible calamities, did not violate Beta Virginis (*ushippōsei* 右執法星), which was thought to govern the stars.[524] Moreover, the *Gyokuyō* entry for the twenty-fifth day of the third month of the third year of Angen 安元 (1177) notes that Abe no Yasuchika 安倍泰親 (fl. twelfth century) came to Kanezane and explained that the planet Mars had already violated Beta Virginis since the planet Mars violated Eta Virginis (*sashippōsei* 左執法星), which was also thought to govern the stars.[525] Therefore, in order to eliminate distress, Yasuchika was ordered to perform the prayers for the Great Stars (*hoshi matsuri* 星祭) associated with the planet Mars in

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SZKTA 2:652), (2) the third day of the eleventh month of the first year of Kenryaku 建暦 (1211) (*Azuma kagami* 19. SZKTA 2:659), (3) the sixteenth day of the eighth month of the fifth year of Kenpō 建保 (1217) (*Azuma kagami* 23. SZKTA 2:731), (4) the twenty-second day of the first month of the third year of Jōkyū 承久 (1221) (*Azuma kagami* 25. SZKTA 2:765), and (5) the tenth day of the sixth month of the first year of Katei 嘉禎 (1235) (*Azuma kagami* 30. SZKTA 3:153). This shows that religious understandings of celestial phenomena were transmitted all the way down to the Kamakura shogunate. Descriptions of which the Tai-shan fu-chun Festivals were performed due to a request from the Kamakura shogunate appear in the entries for (1) the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Jōgen 承元 (1210) (*Azuma kagami* 19. SZKTA 2:652), (2) the third day of the eleventh month of the first year of Kenryaku 建暦 (1211) (*Azuma kagami* 19. SZKTA 2:659), (3) the sixteenth day of the eighth month of the fifth year of Kenpō 建保 (1217) (*Azuma kagami* 23. SZKTA 2:731), (4) the twenty-second day of the first month of the third year of Jōkyū 承久 (1221) (*Azuma kagami* 25. SZKTA 2:765), and (5) the tenth day of the sixth month of the first year of Katei 嘉禎 (1235) (*Azuma kagami* 30. SZKTA 3:153).

524 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:25.

525 This incident also appears in the *Gyokuyō* entry for the sixteenth day of the ninth month of the second year of Jishō 治承 (1178) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:176).

the fourth day of the fourth month of the third year of Angen 安元 (1177).[526] Prayers that were performed when Mars violated the stars associated with an individual's fate came to be of great significance to medieval aristocrats.[527] The planet Mars, which corresponds to fire in the Daoist celestial framework, was thought to put curses on people.

Other examples pertaining to the religious relationship between celestial changes and court rites can be found in descriptions of the monk Chisen[528] 智詮 (fl. twelfth century) that appear in the *Gyokuyō*. Chisen was ordered to perform the prayers for Acala (不動明王 *fudō myōō*) for seven days in order to remove anxiety from one's mind.[529] As a subsequent entry shows, Yasuchika issued a strong warning, saying that the planet Mars was in the position of the Supreme Palace Enclosure, one of the Three enclosures in the Chinese constellation system.[530] It was believed that the planet Venus (*kinsei* 金星), which violated Beta Virginis of the Supreme Palace Enclosure, was exhibiting signs of an upheaval.[531] The intellectual curiosity of the aristocratic class drove the literati to explore methods of foreseeing the future and as a result Daoist-esoteric Buddhist teachings and practices were further elaborated in medieval Japan. The

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526 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:26.

527 It appears in the entry for the nineteenth day of the third month of the sixth year of Bunji 文治 (1190) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:601). Other descriptions of performing the prayers for the planet Mars appear in the *Gyokuyō* entries for (1) the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month of the second year of Kenkyū 建久 (1191) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:724) and (2) the first day of the tenth month of the second year of Kenkyū 建久 (1191) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:732).

528 Chisen was a celestial master. In the fourteenth day of the eleventh month of the first year of Juei 寿永 (1182), while lunar eclipses, the preceptor Chisen accompanied by three disciples performed the one word golden wheel rituals (*Gyokuyō.* KKG 2:580). Hiroki Kikuchi asserts that Chisen was seen as a *hijiri* (wondering monk) or *shugenja* (mountain practitioner) of Kumano, who belonged exclusively to Kujō Kanezane. Hiroki Kikuchi, "Goshirakawa inseiki no ōke to jikyōsha" *Meigetsuki kenkyū* 4, (1999): 172–180.

529 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:30. Chisen also performed the prayer for Acala in the twenty-third day of the ninth month of the second year of Kenkyū (*Gyokuyō.* KKG 3:729).

530 It appears in the *Gyokuyō* entry for the tenth day of the fourth month of the third year of Angen (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:30).

531 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 3:403.

intellectual curiosity of the aristocratic class, which sought foreknowledge of unexpected phenomena, clearly stimulated the development of Daoist-esoteric Buddhist teachings and practices that proved to be very popular among the medieval Japanese religious practitioners.

Further descriptions of Chisen's ritual actively contain two motifs: (1) a relationship of deep trust with Kujō Kanezane, who was eagerly interested in celestial practices and (2) the predominance of Chinese celestial practices among the medieval Japanese aristocrats.[532] The aforementioned events point to the relevance of the Chinese constellation system and of Japanese (esoteric) Buddhist practice in medieval court rites. The planet Mars in particular was seen as a portent of trouble, particularly when this volatile planet lay in close proximity to either Beta or Eta Virginis. The planet Mars was believed to be particularly dangerous when it violated an area that was surrounded by the Supreme Place, which was in turn close to the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, i.e., the emperor's celestial counterpart.

The importance of this incident in the Daoist framework of medieval court rites must be understood in the context of eschatological thought, in which the emperor was thought to be faced with the crises of the impending end of the world. The *Gyokuyō* entry for the seventh day of the fifth month of the third year of Angen 安元 (1177) suggests that the planet Mars had come out from the Supreme Place Enclosure.[533] The same entry also predicts that Jupiter would

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[532] The *Gyokuyō* entry for the thirteenth day of the eighth month of the first year of Jishō (1177) describes a scene in which the preceptor Chisen was ordered to perform the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals (*hokutohō* 北斗法) (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:94). In the fifteenth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Jishō, while a moon eclipse, the preceptor Chisen was ordered to perform the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:502). In the eighteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Juei 寿永 (1183), Chisen again performed the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals (*Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:635). These descriptions indicate that the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper Rituals had become customary praxis for the medieval aristocrats to perform the rituals.

[533] *Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:41.

violate the heavenly stars (*tensei* 天星) within a period of a few days so that the action of inheriting the Imperial Throne would be disrupted.[534] The planet Jupiter was also seen as a spirit of misfortune in the Daoist framework and was thought to put curses on all descendants. Jupiter, which was particularly apt to violate the area that was surrounded by the heavenly stars, was thought to pose particularly great problems for the emperor. Yasushige's divination resulted in a recommendation to the emperor to avoid calamities and, at same time, to exercise divine rule over all of national affairs.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the history of court rites and rituals in medieval Japan (900-1200). This chapter highlights three important themes: (1) habitual or customary religious practice, especially the purification rituals of the four quarters with the short talismanic spell *kyū kyū nyo ritsu ryō* and worship of the seven stars of the four quarters, which was a key element of the court's efforts towards centralizing power in its own hands, (2) the writing of diaries as a means of making calendars and transmitting teachings from one generation to the next, and (3) the popularization of Buddhist astrological (or celestial) practices and knowledge, understood as a means to acquiring knowledge about the intentions of others and of being able to predict future events (*tashinchi to miraichi*). A group consisting of senior monks of aristocratic origin performed prayers to the stars for the purposes of centralizing power in the court, thereby establishing authority and removing potential obstacles to the development of the imperial court

534 *Gyokuyō*. KKG 2:41.

and aristocracy. That members of that group were referred to as “astrologers” (*sukuyōshi*), and the group was known as the “Tachikawa-ryū.”

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have argued for a radical re-evaluation of the Tachikawa-ryū's place in Japanese Buddhist history. In large part this monography is organized around a careful examination and reevaluation scholarly descriptions of the Tachikawa-ryū in which this tradition is portrayed as a heretical sect that used skulls and incorporated sexual rites into its practices. These paradigms, I have argued, were the result of historically inaccurate depictions of the Tachikawa-ryū that were in turn the result of an uncritical acceptance of Muromachi-period Shingon anti-Tachikawa-ryū polemics. With this study I pursued two distinct though closely-related goals: first, I have sought to redress the distorted view of the Tachikawa-ryū offered to readers throughout the twentieth century and thereby place this tradition in its proper historical context. In so doing, I claim to have not only clarified the role of this important movement within Japanese religious history, but also to have shed light upon a broad range of issues such as the use of curses, astrology and *onmyōdō* practices in the religious and political life of medieval Japan. Second, and equally importantly, I have also sought to raise a set of methodological and historiographical issues that are of immediate relevance not only for the study of the Tachikawa-ryū, but also for the broader study of Japanese religion. Specifically, it is my hope that I have also shed light on the ways in which modern Japanese scholarship has often reproduced longstanding, but inaccurate, views of Japanese religious history, thus giving prejudices of the past new life in the present. To frame this in more general terms, this dissertation has also underscored the need for further research into the ways in which the categories of heterodoxy and orthodoxy have been used as a means of political and religious

control not only in past ages, but also in the study of contemporary Japanese religion.

Historiography and Heresy

Several of the methodological and historiographical dimensions of this argument were discussed in the introductory chapter, which addressed the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century social and political contexts in which the earliest and most influential Tachikawa-ryū scholars produced their studies. In so doing, I argued that these researchers, like the medieval polemicists on whose work they drew, were in large part products of a particular moment in Japanese religious history.

Much of my discussion in this regard focused on the work of three scholar-monks of the Shingon establishment on Mt. Kōya: Mizuhara Gyōei, Moriyama Shōshin, and Kushida Ryōkō. In their scholarship these three individuals depicted the Tachikawa-ryū as a heretical sect that used human skulls in its rituals and incorporated sexual rites into its practices. These polemics painted the Tachikawa-ryū monks as hermits who not only ate meat and married—thereby violating the Buddhist precepts—but also performed esoteric rituals solely for the purpose of satiating their carnal desires and following what in Freudian theory would be indentified as the "pleasure principle" or the "reality principle." They maintained that the Tachikawa-ryū believed such practices would lead to enlightenment "in this very life and body," thus obviating the need to engage in arduous practice over a period of multiple lifetimes and challenging the fundamental Buddhist soteriological notion that practice is necessary.

As I have shown, Mizuhara, Moriyama, and Kushida studies relied heavily upon the

polemical texts of Yūkai, a Muromachi-period Shingon monk who lived on Mt. Kōya. Yūkai's primary intention, however, was to denounce the activities and doctrinal positions of the "carnal Buddhist monks" of the Tachikawa-ryū, and he lamented that Ninkan's and Monkan's adherents were converting to the Tachikawa-ryū persuasion (which was not in fact the case). Mizuhara, Moriyama, and Kushida took Yūkai's depictions of the Tachikawa-ryū at face value, failing to (or perhaps not wanting to) recognize the polemical agenda motivating his treatises. The picture that thus emerged was the result of three scholar-monks of Mt. Kōya failing to see that the Tachikawa-ryū had been used as a scapegoat within the context of Mt Kōya institutional ideology during the fourteenth century at a time when Mt Kōya was attempting to make a clear distinction between "esoteric" Buddhist teachings taught within "orthodox" stream of the Shingon school (Mt. Kōya) and the "popular esoteric" Buddhist teachings taught within "heterodox" Buddhist institutions (Nara schools and Mt. Hiei).

The work of these three scholars came to constitute the base of Tachikawa-ryū studies during the latter twentieth century. Scholar-monks such as Muraoka Kū and Manabe Shunshō not only built upon this base but also developed a new focus on tantric-Buddhist sexual union. This new generation of scholars emphasized in particular the theoretical relationship and similarity between the doctrine of awakening of Buddhahood in this very body and the metaphysical consciousness of sexual union between male and female as found in Tachikawa-ryū teachings and practices. But their research was based largely on Tokugawa-period iconography, especially Buddhist images depicting sexual union produced during a period characterized by persecution of Christians and a wildly exaggerated, and politically motivated, distinction between the

orthodoxy of Buddhism and the heretrodoxical of all that fell outside of this category. The view produced by later twentieth-century Japanese and anglophone scholars depicted the Tachikawa-ryū as a "sinister religion," that is, as a tradition intellectually organized around esoteric Buddhist theories and practices related to sexual union. Furthermore, this view emphasized the characteristically tantric-Buddhist Tachikawa-ryū assertion that the defiled nature of humans cannot be denied and that therefore actions resulting from that defiled nature must likewise be accepted. In short, the Tachikawa-ryū came to be seen as a threat to established Buddhist standards of morally acceptable behavior.

To help understand the motivation behind these historically distorting studies, I have revealed how the latter twentieth-century scholars under examination, all of whom were loyal to the Mt. Kōya Shingon establishment, were attempting to produce a comprehensive account of Shingon history and doctrine that clearly distinguished and distanced Mt. Kōya orthodoxy from the "heterodox" traditions of Japanese esoteric Buddhism of which the Tachikawa-ryū was said to be an integral part. The need to construct and project an image of doctrinal purity was part of a larger movement by Japanese Buddhists during the Meiji period (1869-1912) and interwar years (1905-1945), during which time Buddhists were often attacked for being superstitious and denounced as a vestige of Japan's past that was hindering Japan's modernization.

Thus, Buddhists had to portray themselves as adherents of a rational, doctrinally-based religion that was free of superstition. While such criticism diminished after 1945, Japanese Buddhists continued to feel a need to discard the ritual aspects of their traditions while emphasizing the abstract doctrine. By blindly reproducing Yūkai's medieval polemical stance,

pre- and post-war twentieth-century scholars were able to affirm what Yūkai had already taken pains to argue: the Tachikawa-ryū was a heterodox form of medieval Japanese esoteric Buddhism. Even when these scholars did admit that the Tachikawa-ryū is a form of Shingon, they argued that it was a degenerate form that had strayed far from the orthodoxy maintained on Mt. Kōya from the time of Kūkai up to the present day. In this way twentieth-century scholars-monks from the Mt. Kōya Shingon tradition used the Tachikawa-ryū as a straw man in order to juxtapose their own orthodoxy and rationality with the superstitious, heterodox ways of the past.

Reconstruction and Recovery

To reconstruct the aforementioned views I have focused specifically on the "real" Tachikawa-ryū, a hitherto unexamined Japanese Buddhist movement that began in the tenth century and later came to be denounced as heretical by mainstream Buddhist institutions. This project divided into three sections each of which focused on a different chronological stage in the development of the Tachikawa-ryū.

In the first chapter, I examined a small number of hitherto-neglected historical texts that provide a new perspective of the Tachikawa-ryū and determined their place within the larger context of Japanese Buddhist doctrinal history. Here I focused upon the relationship between divinatory and astrological studies and the supposedly teachings and praxis of the Tachikawa-ryū that became extremely popular among religious practitioners between the mid-Heian period and the beginning of the Kamakura period (900-1200). Through an extended discussion of the

Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu (Genealogy of Hidenaga's Sinister Divination-Transmission) the lineage chart of the *Hyakurenshō* (Hundred-fold Temperings), in which the name of the preceptor Ninkan appears, I argued for a new understanding of the Tachikawa-ryū as a sub-branch of the Japanese esoteric Buddhist school where astrological masters engaged in practices concerned with predicting future events, rather than "heretical" teachings and praxis. Ninkan and his adherents were medieval astrologers who were perceived as mainstream practitioners of Japanese Buddhism who specialized in astrological and divinatory studies.

Further depictions of Ninkan and many others in his cohort emphasized their active involvement in performing medieval astrological and divinatory practices. By tracing the individual histories and practices of these monks, I sought to shed light on the ways in which medieval Japanese esoteric praxis contained theories centering upon notions of yin-yang, five phases, and astrology. Again and again, in a number of sources from a variety of textual genres, we found that central elements in the practices of all of these figures were such activities as observing the movements of celestial bodies, performing rites to the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, nine luminaries, and twenty-eight constellations, performing divinations for individuals and for the nation, and participating in calendrical debates that increasingly occupied the attention of courtiers and rulers alike. Far from being covert practitioners of the bizarre, these figures were prominent experts on the dominant Daoist-Buddhist cosmological framework of the age that was rooted both in Chinese cosmology and "Indian" esoteric Buddhist conceptions of astrology.

Because there was extremely broad-based support for such astrological and divinatory

praxis in medieval Japanese Buddhism, these figures were also closely associated with the political intrigues and power struggles that were an unavoidable by-product of the court's reliance upon state rites on the one hand, and Heian courtier's insatiable desire to know and then control not only their own futures, but also those of their rivals as well. One further consequence of these astrological and divinatory activities was an increase in the scope of Tendai doctrine and praxis. Many names listed in the medieval lineage charts, such as the *Hidenaga ekijin sōden keizu* and the genealogy of astrological and divinatory masters illustrating in the *Nichūreki* (Record of Two Cyclopedias), were thought of as Tendai-related divination experts who predicted the future by means of calendrical and astrological studies. By the late Heian period, the role expected of astrology and calendrical studies and the effectiveness of these astrologers' skills both were extensively known and accepted among medieval court aristocrats.

In the second chapter, I paid close attention to the unexamined text entitled the *Kinpusen kanjō nikki* (Record of Initiation Rituals on Kinpusen), which highlights religious and political connections between Kinpusen and the Tachikawa-ryū. For much of this discussion, I examined in detail the structure of political and religious activities of the court, temples, and mountain-dwelling practitioners vis-à-vis the cult of Kinpusen during the time between the middle and late Heian period (900-1200), the era that corresponds to the genealogy of the astrological and divinatory practitioners explained in the first chapter. The *Kanjō nikki*, which was written by Genhō of "orthodox" group of Shingon school during the turbulent times of the Northern and Southern Dynasties when the essence of Emperor Godaigo's southern governance in Kinpusen remained strongly in evidence, emphasizes the notion that Kinpusen, a place where

Monkan resided to serve Emperor Godaigo, was a headquarters for the Tachikawa-ryū adherents.

The *Kanjō nikki* is also of note from a historical perspective for its use of the categories of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Such views, I have argued, present with a replication of the ideological distinctions maintained by scholar-monks of medieval Buddhist institutions even as they shed light on the dominance of Heian esotericism in local regions where religious elements of disparate origins often coexisted within the same system. Contrary to Kuroda Toshio's well-known theories concerning the so-called exoteric-esoteric Buddhist framework (*kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制) that purportedly underpinned a medieval political-religious system which supported the imperial court's political authority, I have argued that the growth of local institutions such as Kinpusen during the medieval period rather demonstrates the mutual independence of the capital, major family temples, and local religious systems.

In order to understand the historical context for Kinpusen's development, in this section I began with events from the mid to late Heian period. Here I argued that as emperors and retired sovereigns attempted to eclipse the power of the regent branch of the Fujiwara family, medieval court officials aimed to establish new religious-political policies based on pacification of the realm through veneration of buddhas and the kami of heaven and earth. As Heian rulers increasingly relied on both regularly and occasional religious rites that were associated with devotion to heaven, earth, and mountains, religious pilgrimages to sacred mountains assumed greater political and religious importance. In particular, such pilgrimages afford us with an example of how such religious-political power that contain two significant themes: 1) the increasing importance of imperial estates that were managed directly by the imperial order and 2)

the increasing attention paid to the creation and maintenance of imperial ceremonies and court affairs by emperors. These two motifs, I suggested, were in turn closely related to the power of the local centers such as Kinpusen and the emergence of religious syncretism between buddhas and local deities, which in turn had a strong effect on the popularization of Buddhism in local regions. Accompanying the popularization of Buddhist themes was a similarly growing belief in Daoist ideas and rites related to angry spirits and dream practices.

In the flourishing of (often eschatological) Buddho-Daoist ideologies that developed in local regions, Kinpusen became a place for devotion to Maitreya Bodhisattva. As devotion to Maitreya Bodhisattva—the future Buddha who is the savior of the world to come—came to be influenced by Daoist conceptions of immortality by professional and lay Buddhists, I suggested that the two motifs of Maitreya's ascent and descent were best seen as two motifs that were based on one vertical notion. On the one hand, seeing this world as impure, people looked to Maitreya Bodhisattva, who was seen as a world savior who would ascend to the Tuşita Heaven with all sentient beings, for salvation. On the other hand, people also thought of Maitreya Bodhisattva as one who would descend to this impure world for the sake of all sentient beings. The basic principle underpinning both of these models was the desire to obtain longevity and then rebirth either in Maitreya's Tuşita Heaven located in a particular place in this world—Kinpusen. This phenomenon, I suggested, illustrates the rise in political and religious interactions between the capital and local areas even as it demonstrates that local areas possessed their own politically and religiously independent systems.

Finally, in this chapter I also suggested that as the private temples of emperors and

aristocrats came to exercise their religious and political authority by holding Buddhist assemblies, emperors began to enhance their religious authority by sponsoring rituals at *goganji*, temples that were usually built for the purpose of praying for the health of the emperor and the harmony of the country. Emperors also enhanced their authority at the expense of the Fujiwara by designating monks to the highest posts in the Buddhist hierarchy. As the family temples of the emperor eclipsed the substantial power of the Fujiwara and restored imperial control, these private temples and local institutions thereby attained an even more dominant position in an underlying structure of the medieval political-religious system.

In the third chapter, I demonstrated the fact that the regular performance of religious rites played a important role in promoting the central position and prominence of the court among medieval imperial members and court aristocrats. Yearly court rites, such as the ritual purification of the four quarters, and the recording of special events in diaries that were in turn related to the production of calendars, became very popular first among Heian aristocrats and then subsequently among ordinary people. I argued that the popularization of setting down yearly ceremonies as well as daily events in writing at court stimulated the syncretism between Buddhist astrological studies and yin-yang studies among the Heian and Kamakura court nobles. In order to prevent the various calamities and misfortunes that they believed fate had in store for their patrons, Buddhist astrologers vied with yin-yang masters to acquire the ability to know the intentions of others as well as and knowledge of the future.

In this chapter I paid particular attention to celestial ceremonies pertaining to solar and lunar eclipses as well as the seven stars of the Northern Dipper. These rites, which were

originally given great weight by the Fujiwara, were by the Kamakura period one of the main concerns of a number of the most highly placed monks and officials at court. As the Fujiwara clan systematically formalized religious protocols pertaining to the seven stars of the Northern Dipper worship and precisely new protocols developed that emphasized the regular manner of managing daily activities and the importance of religious instructions pertaining to the yin-yang theory. These practices, and the various rites and diaries that they helped engender, were also seen as useful means for determining the date of one's own death.

More broadly, I have also argued that court-centered celestial ceremonies based on astrological treatises and Chinese calendrical thinking were also regarded as indespensible to avert potential calamities threatening the state or even individuals, and the the at the center of such ceremonies was a group of Buddhist practitioners versed in astrological and divinatory rituals addressed to the stars; it is this group of Buddhist "yin-yang masters" (*sukuyōshi*) that constitute the Tachikawa-ryū.

It is my hope that this dissertation, which is the first English-language work to present a comprehensive overview of the Tachikawa-ryū, has helped clarify its position in Japanese religious history and in so doing filled a major lacuna in our understanding of Japanese Buddhism. Beyond its relevance to Japanese and Buddhist studies, however, it is my further hope that this dissertation, as a case study of religious polemics and the way in which such polemics are often unconsciously incorporated into modern scholarship, may also make a contribution to the larger field of religious studies.

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