The Karmic Origins of the Great Bright Miwa Deity

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A Transformation of the Sacred Mountain in Premodern Japan

Anna Andreeva

Mt. Miwa 三輪, situated in the southeastern corner of the Yamato plain in what is now Nara prefecture, is one of Japan's most important cultic sites. Both *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 and *Kojiki* 古事記 describe the "kami of Miwa" as being a deity closely connected to Izumo and feared by early Yamato rulers. After the kami of Ise was adopted as the imperial ancestor, however, Mt. Miwa appears to have declined in importance. In the medieval period the sacred site at the foot of the mountain was revived and transformed into a leading religious authority. In that process of transformation a text entitled *Miwa daimyōjin engi* 三輪大明神縁起 (The Karmic Origins of the Great Bright Miwa Deity; also referred to below as the *Engi*) plays a remarkable role. An essentially Buddhist term, *engi* 縁起 (Sk. *pratīya-samutpāda*) is most commonly translated as a "(story of) karmic origins." Sakurai Tokutarō 桜井徳太郎 was one of the first scholars to discuss such texts in comprehensive detail.[1] Conventional *engi* often explain the relationships of a native deity, cultic site, or ritual to the teachings and practices of Buddhism, thus establishing firm foundations for the

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[1] Sakurai et al. 1975.

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propagation of the theories of *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 (original ground and manifest trace). Leaning toward a broader view of what may belong to the category of *engi*, Sakurai, in his introduction to a collection of shrine and temple *engi*, has pointed out that there may be several types of such texts.[2] While some *engi* can clearly be viewed as literary or artistic productions, others can simultaneously be interpreted as political statements outlining certain links between cultic sites, religious figures, practices, doctrines, and rituals in preference to others. This broader, more inclusive view of *engi*, as well as consideration of the circumstances in which such texts may have been produced, undoubtedly enhances our interpretation and understanding of these texts.

The story of the *Miwa daimyōjin engi* outlines a vision of the new identity of this ancient sacred site and offers innovative explanations of its importance. As a text, this *engi* is central to the Miwa tradition of kami worship, recording a wealth of theories and ideas about Mt. Miwa and the deity venerated at the Ōmiwa shrine that were in circulation during the medieval period.[3] More importantly, this text seems to have appeared around the time when kami sites were becoming objects of intense attention from within the Buddhist milieu and "therefore needed to represent themselves, to themselves, in a different manner and to then inform potential pilgrims and devotees of the visions they rested on."[4] In offering a reinterpretation of the Ōmiwa deity and ancient legends associated with it along the lines of contemporaneous Buddhist logic, this text is a good example of the major features of so-called medieval Shinto.[5]

In the history of Japanese religions, *Miwa daimyōjin engi* is often categorized as an example of the "Shinto of Two Parts" (Ryōbu Shinto 両部神道).[6] In this tradition, the worship of local kami was based on the understanding that the cultic sites where the said kami were enshrined were in fact physical manifestations of the Two Part Mandala (*ryōkai mandara* 両界曼荼羅) of esoteric Buddhism, namely, the Womb Realm (*taizōkai* 胎蔵界) and the Diamond Realm (*kongōkai* 金剛界).[7] Broadly

[2] Sakurai et al. 1975, pp. 445–78, particularly, pp. 449–52.

[3] Historical sources on which the investigation for this article and translation is based render the name of the deity residing on Mt. Miwa in two ways: Ōmiwa 大三輪 (or Miwa) and Ōmiwa 大神. These names will be used interchangeably throughout the introduction and translation.

[4] Grapard 1992, p. 39.

[5] On the notions of "Shinto," discussions of the term's application, and further research see the introduction to JJRS 29:3/4 (2002), special issue "Tracing Shinto in History"; Teeuwen 2002 in the same issue; and *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 16 (2006–2007), special issue "Rethinking Medieval Shinto."

[6] The term Ryōbu Shinto, or rather, *ryōbu shūgō shintō* 両部習合神道, "combinatory kami worship (based on the Two Part Mandala)," was first coined by Urabe no Kanetomo 卜部兼倶 (1434–1511) in his *Yuiitsu shintō myōbō yōshū* 唯一神道名法要集. Allan Grapard suggests that this category was conceived by Kanetomo in order to describe the combinatory worship of buddhas and kami among shrines and temples. Alternatively, the same type was referred to as "the teachings of the four great masters" (*shidaishi shoi* 四大師所意) of Japanese Buddhism. For Kanetomo, of course, these masters were Saichō 最澄, Kūkai 空海, Ennin 円仁, and Enchin 円珍, to whom many combinatory texts about kami were attributed during the medieval period (Grapard 1992, p. 50).

[7] The teachings of esoteric Buddhism, *mikkyō* 密教 (Ch. *mijiao*), sometimes referred to as the

speaking, this text demonstrates how the combinatory world of medieval Japan functioned: by representing sacred sites as mandalas, by playing with the meaning of words, and by associating well-known facts about the physical world with secret tenets of esoteric Buddhist teachings.[8]

Not simply highlighting the importance of Mt. Miwa alone, *Miwa daimyōjin engi* upon closer investigation reveals the mountain's connections with other cultic sites. For example, the deity and the sacred site of Miwa are either connected to or juxtaposed with the deities, sites, or practices associated with cultic institutions at Murō 室生, Yoshino 吉野, Ise, and Hiei 比叡.[9] The referential framework of this *engi* is also far-reaching, as it draws its sources from the realm of oral transmissions; Hindu, Chinese, and Japanese lore; esoteric Buddhist theories; and important Buddhist scriptures and rituals, as well as the intricate world of mountain religion and pilgrimage (*shugen* 修験).[10] In this, the *Engi* exemplifies intellectual as well as religious perspectives; it offers a variety and richness of means of expression while demonstrating the range of the doctrinally and geographically diverse traditions that were available to religious practitioners in premodern Japan.

The earliest version of *Miwa daimyōjin engi*, which in its current form is written in kanbun with the occasional use of Sanskrit, may have been composed in the late thirteenth century. From its colophon it appears that the *Engi* was copied several times throughout the late medieval period.

The initial authorship of this text is often attributed to the Saidaiji lineage (Saidaiji-ryū 西大寺流). The compilers, educated Buddhist monks with a strong interest in esoteric Buddhism and kami worship, based the *Engi* on local lore, old maps, legends, and theories about the deity of Ōmiwa that they had collected. In addition, while working on their compilation, the authors of the *Engi* borrowed widely from the practices and teachings of other religious groups—most likely the semi-itinerant practitioners and monastic lineages participating in the mountain pilgrimages that

East Asian variation of Tantric Buddhism (Sk. Vajrayana), were introduced to Japan and initially systematized by Kūkai (774–835). Esoteric Buddhist discourse played a major role in the foundation and development of the Shingon 真言 and Tendai 天台 schools as well as in court politics and daily life in premodern Japan. For more on the establishment of the Shingon tradition and Kūkai's role in this process, see Abé 1999. Regarding the iconography of the Two Part Mandala, see Snodgrass 1988. The Ryōbu Shinto tradition still needs further study, although it has been a recent topic of discussion in Western scholarship (see Teeuwen 2000 and Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003).

[8] Many of these principles have been outlined elsewhere. For examples, see the works by Allan Grapard on sacred space, the Sannō 山王 cult, and *Keiranshūyōshū* 渓嵐拾葉集 (Grapard 1982; Grapard 1987; and Grapard 1998), and the introduction to the paradigm of *honji suijaku* in Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003.

[9] This article refers to both the Hie 日吉 shrines and the monastic complex of Mt. Hiei, as well as to the central protective deity of Mt. Hiei, Hie Sannō 日吉山王. The blurred distinction between these two place names is just one example of the great linguistic fluidity that exists in the literature of the cultic sites.

[10] I use the terms "mountain religion," "mountain pilgrimage," "Shugendō," and "Shugen" interchangeably in this article to indicate the veneration of sacred mountains. These terms are not

proliferated in Murō, Yoshino, Ise, and Hiei during the medieval period. The priests of Byōdōji 平等寺 (a temple in the vicinity of Mt. Miwa), where this text was finally copied in the mid-sixteenth century, were the last in a line of collective authors who may have contributed to its contents. It is this version on which my analysis and the translation that follows are based.[11]

In addition to giving a brief introduction to the history of worship of Mt. Miwa, this article will examine several key features from among the vast array of concepts, strategies, and devices employed by the medieval Japanese religious specialists who created a new vision of this sacred mountain. It will also propose some ideas regarding the way the sacred was imagined by these clerics and devotees and "sold" to the audience of potential worshippers and donors in medieval Japan.

The Sacred Site

Ritual activities on the slopes of Mt. Miwa are thought to have begun as early as the Kofun period (ca. third century–538). One might suppose that these activities included veneration of the three *iwakura* 岩倉 rock sites located on the mountain slopes—Okitsu 奥津 (far), Nakatsu 中津 (middle), and Hetsu 辺津 (near)—but no records of such prehistoric worship have survived.[12]

Several important deities were enshrined on Mt. Miwa and in its vicinity. The deity Ōnamuchi no Mikoto 大己貴命, the "Great Name Possessor" (also known as Ōkuninushi 大国主, the Great Land Owner),[13] was hailed by both *Kojiki* and *Nihon*

used to represent any organized forms of Shugendō, such as, for example, Tōzanha 当山派, which emerged as a fully formed institution much later during the Edo period.

[11] It appears that from the mid-sixteenth century onward the *Engi* provided a foundation for several other texts concerning the origins of Mt. Miwa and its deity, including *Miwayama engi* 三輪山縁起 from ca. 1552 (ST *Jinja hen* 神社編, vol. 12, pp. 121–28) and *Miwa daimyōjin gojintoku monogatari* 三輪大明神御神徳物語 (ST *Jinja hen*, vol. 12, pp. 129–34), which is not dated but is most likely post-seventeenth century. These later texts, mostly written in kana and kanji—although the *Miwayama engi* also used Sanskrit—indicate that by the mid-sixteenth century the *Engi* had entered a wider circulation. The oldest known handwritten manuscript of the *Engi*, with colophon dated 1318, appears to be in the collection owned by Miyaji Naokazu 宮地直一 (1886–1949), who taught at Kokugakuin and Tokyo Imperial University. The Miyaji manuscript corresponds to a version of the *Engi* recorded in *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従. It was also copied into a collection entitled *Miwa sōsho* 三輪叢書, commissioned by the Ōmiwa shrine in 1928. The current translation is based on the text of *Miwa daimyōjin engi* found in ST *Jinja hen*, vol. 12, pp. 95–103.

[12] The earliest source describing the worship on these sites is *Ōmiwa no kami sansha chinza shidai* 大三輪神三社鎮座次第 (The Order of Enshrinement of the Three Shrines of Ōmiwa; ST *Jinja hen*, vol. 12, pp. 3–13), thought to have been compiled by the Ōmiwa *kannushi* 神主 priests in the late Kamakura period. It states that the Okitsu rock site is dedicated to Ōmononushi 大物主, the Nakatsu site to Ōnamuchi 大己貴, and the Hetsu site to Sukunabiko 少名彦. These sites survive today; two of them can be visited on a pilgrimage route to the mountain peak. The Okitsu rock area remains off-limits to visitors, and photographing any of the three sites is prohibited.

[13] The name Ōnamuchi was recorded in a variety of other ways: Ōanamuji 大穴牟遅, Ōnamochi 大名持, and Ōanamochi 大穴持. This deity, credited with creation of the land, is also identified by several other names, such as Yachihoko no Kami 八千矛神, Ashihara no Shikoo 葦原醜男,

shoki as a descendant of Susanoo 須佐之男 and creator of the land, or the subcelestial world. In these records Ōnamuchi often appears accompanied by a dwarf deity, Sukunabiko 少名彦 (Little Name Lad). Originally the deities of Izumo, these gods were most likely of continental origin.[14]

Both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* include episodes in which Ōkuninushi (in *Nihon shoki,* Ōnamuchi) is met by his own spirit arriving from beyond the sea with a request to be enshrined at "Mt. Mimoro 三諸" in Yamato, thereby becoming the deity of Ōmiwa (Ōmiwa no kami 大三輪之神).[15] Both sources contain variant records chronicling Ōkuninushi's agreement to cede control over the Izumo area to the deities of Yamato,[16] thus indicating that the enshrinement of Izumo kami in Yamato may have been part of a political pact between the two areas.

The deities enshrined on Mt. Miwa were associated with an early power center in the southern Yamato basin[17] and received special treatment from the early Yamato rulers. For example, official records mention a deity appearing as a mysterious visitor presenting himself to the daughter of a local chieftain, only to reveal his true form as a snake living on Mt. Miwa.[18] This deity, Ōmononushi 大物主 (Great Spirit Possessor), played a central role at the court of Emperor Sujin 崇神 and was regarded by the Yamato kings as protective but fearsome.

The chronicles of Sujin's reign in *Nihon shoki* describe in great detail how the disgruntled Ōmononushi caused a nationwide plague, thus threatening Sujin's political position as a ruler. The deity's wrath was only appeased by the appointment of a man called Ōtataneko 大田田根子 as Ōmononushi's chief master of worship.[19] Ōtataneko, who was found in Izumi and subsequently brought to Yamato by imperial request, came to be hailed as a founder of the Ōmiwa family lineage (Ōmiwa no kimi 大三輪君) and its *kannushi* 神主 priests.

Ōmononushi, and Ōkunidama no Ōkami 大国魂大神, to list a few. On the compilation of early Japanese records and political circumstances surrounding their creation, see Isomae 1999.

[14] *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Izumo fudoki* 出雲風土記 (NKBT 2, pp. 93–256) indicate that in ancient times Izumo was an important area. As its maritime proximity to the Korean peninsula played a key role in facilitating contacts between Japan and continental East Asia, it was a place where myths and cults imported from the continent were of great historical significance. On the basis of these records, James Grayson argues that the deity Susanoo, as well as other deities including Ōkuninushi, may have had Korean roots (Grayson 2002, pp. 466–69).

[15] *Kojiki*, pp. 107–109 (English translation, Philippi 1969, pp. 115–17); and *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, p. 130 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, p. 61).

[16] *Kojiki*, pp. 120–25 (Philippi 1969, pp. 129–36); and *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, pp. 150–52 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 80–81).

[17] There are several large *kofun* 古墳 tombs in the immediate vicinity of Mt. Miwa. These are traditionally ascribed to early Yamato rulers such as Sujin 崇神 and Suinin 垂仁.

[18] *Kojiki*, pp. 181–83 (Philippi 1969, pp. 203–204); and *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, pp. 246–47 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 158–59). The myth is usually referred to as the "divine marriage of Miwa." *Nihon shoki* uses a slight variation.

[19] *Kojiki*, pp. 180–81 (Philippi 1969, pp. 201–202); and *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, pp. 240–42 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 152–55).

The Book of Divine Names (*Jinmyōchō* 神名帳)[20] of the *Engishiki* 延喜式 ritual code (927)reports that the shrine at the foot of Mt. Miwa was registered as the "Ōmiwa Ōmononushi" 大神大物主 shrine of the Shikinokami 城上 district in Yamato. The same record mentions that there were other shrines in the vicinity of the mountain, including Himukai 日向, Anashi 穴師, Makimuku 巻向, and Sai 狭井.[21] These shrines, although in close proximity, were registered in *Engishiki* separately and were therefore not considered part of the same divine landscape at that time.

The Ōmiwa shrine was dedicated to the "august benign spirit" (*nikimitama* 和御魂) of Ōmononushi. The same book of *Engishiki* recorded that the "turbulent spirit" (*aramitama* 荒御魂) of Ōmiwa was installed at the nearby shrine of Sai. The Sai shrine was also dedicated to the spirit of Ōmononushi's daughter Himetataraisuzuhime 媛蹈五十鈴媛, who, according to *Nihon shoki*, became the spouse of the first human emperor, Jinmu 神武.[22]

Mt. Miwa was considered sacred (*kamunabi* 神奈備) from early times because it was thought to be the body of the deity (*shintaizan* 神体山). The Ōmiwa shrine itself had no building, only a dedication hall (*haiden* 拝殿) and a torii gate guarding the entrance to the mountain. From the records in *Nihon shoki* and *Engishiki*, it is most plausible that the Ōmiwa deity was worshipped as a plague deity and *tatarigami* 祟神, that is, a kami capable of inflicting a curse or grave misfortune. This veneration was given some legitimacy by the imperial court, as the Ōmiwa shrine was included in the middle tier of the *nijūnisha* 二十二社, the Twenty-Two Shrine system sponsored by the court.[23] The deity of Ōmiwa, revered for its connections to the imperial mythology, rose in rank within the court over the years.[24]

The shrine had several annual festivals. One of the most important was the Chinkasai or Hanashizume no matsuri 鎮花祭, the Pacification of Flowers, which was held in the third month of each year at both the Ōmiwa and Sai shrines.[25] The origins of this festival went back to a legend in *Nihon shoki* reporting how Ōtataneko alleviated the above-mentioned plague during the time of Emperor Sujin by worshipping the Ōmiwa deity. In addition, the Festival of the Great Deity, Ōmiwasai 大神祭, was held in the eleventh month of each year.[26] This celebration was a symbolic reminder that the Ōmiwa deity had been the guardian of the imperial family since prehistoric times.

The records in *Nihon shoki* claim that some of the Ōmiwa family initially opposed the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century, possibly for political reasons.[27]

[20] The ritual code stipulating the protocol of kami worship sanctioned by the imperial court.

[21] *Engishiki*, p. 300 (Bock 1972, vol. 2, p. 120).

[22] *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, pp. 130, 212–13 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 61–62, 132).

[23] For more on the Twenty-Two Shrine system, see Grapard 1988.

[24] According to *Sandai jitsuroku* 三代実録, the Ōmiwa deity was granted the provisional first rank (*ju ichii* 従一位) in Jōgan 貞観 1 (859). OJS 1, pp. 182–83.

[25] *Engishiki*, pp. 28–29 (Bock 1972, vol. 1, p. 73).

[26] *Engishiki*, p. 53 (Bock 1972, vol. 1, p. 90).

[27] *Nihon shoki*, vol. 2, p. 152 (Aston 1972, vol. 2, pp. 103–104).

It was inevitable, however, that Buddhist culture would reach Miwa eventually. The accounts in the early setsuwa collections, such as *Nihon ryōiki* 日本霊異記 (787–824), and in the late-Heian collection *Konjaku monogatarishū* 今昔物語集, both very much concerned with the propagation of Buddhist ideology, attributed the foundation of a Buddhist temple in Miwa to a certain *dainagon* 大納言 named Ōmiwa Takachimaro 大三輪高市麻呂, who converted his private residence into a place of worship.[28] This Ōmiwadera 大三輪寺 served as a temple for the Ōmiwa family, and at the same time its clergy came to perform functions for the attached shrine temple (*jingūji* 神宮寺). Other records indicate that the temple was constructed sometime during the Nara period.[29]

It is not clear when or how the Ōmiwa *jingūji* acquired the image of Kannon 観音 (Ch. Guanyin, Sk. Avalokitesvara) that was subsequently installed as its principal Buddhist deity. The details of early worship at Ōmiwadera thus remain unknown. The earliest manifestations of the *honji suijaku*[30] cults may have been based on the association of the deity of Ōmiwa with the Healing Buddha, Yakushi 薬師.[31] Given that the population of southern Yamato considered the Ōmiwa deity to be a protector against disease, it is possible that early combinatory cults at Mt. Miwa were indeed based on the association of this plague deity with healing and merciful deities of Buddhism.

By the mid-Heian period, however, the importance of the intricate relationships between the many deities of Izumo and Yamato descent enshrined independently in the vicinity of Mt. Miwa had declined. Later on, as part of the process of continuous redefinition of the sacred and political realms, and following the development of the *honji suijaku* practice and paradigm (as *Miwa daimyōjin engi* itself testifies), the many divine entities enshrined in the vicinity of Mt. Miwa were merged together into a combinatory deity, Miwa Myōjin 三輪明神, the Bright Miwa Deity. The process of developing these *honji suijaku* correlations and relationships must have been facilitated, at least in part, by a group or a lineage of shrine temple priests, *shasō* 社僧.

Originally, the Ōmiwa shrine temple was largely dependent on the means of the Ōmiwa family and its own landholdings, but by the end of the Heian period these

[28] *Nihon ryōiki* 1:25 (Nakamura 1973, pp. 137–38); and *Konjaku monogatarishū* 20:41; pp. 209–10. These accounts have an apocryphal quality to them. Nevertheless, Ōmiwa Takachimaro seems to have been a historical figure in the time of Empress Jitō 持統 and is mentioned in *Nihon shoki* (vol. 2, pp. 513–14 [Aston 1972, vol. 2, p. 406]) and *Shoku Nihongi* (pp. 13, 18; and OJS 1, pp. 172–73).

[29] The "Record of Monks of the Enryaku Era" (*Enryaku sōroku* 延暦僧録) mentions a certain monk, Jōsan 浄三 (?–770) of Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 in Nara, who came to lecture on esoteric sutras at the Ōmiwa temple in the 750s (*Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō*, pp. 86–87; and OJS 1, p. 258).

[30] The doctrine and practice of "original ground and manifest trace." In premodern Japan it was understood that Japanese kami needed Buddhist salvation and could be manifestations of Buddhist deities. For a recent treatment of the *honji suijaku* paradigm and its functions, refer to the introduction in Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003.

[31] This is in accordance with the previously mentioned *Ōmiwa no kami sansha chinza shidai* (see note 12). ST *Jinja hen*, vol. 12, pp. 12–13.

landholdings had mostly been overtaken by Kōfukuji 興福寺 in Nara. Perhaps to avoid constant encroachments on the Ōmiwa family's shrinking economic base, by 1197 at least one Mt. Miwa temple[32] had become affiliated with the large monastic complex of Tōnomine 多武峯, which was famous for its powerful forces of armed monks and practitioners of mountain religion. At that time, the sacred site at Mt. Miwa had been almost forgotten by the imperial court and wealthy donors and was struggling to survive both economically and as a cultic institution endowed with a special sense of religious power.

From the mid-thirteenth century, however, this suddenly changed. In the 1240s Eizon 叡尊 (1201–1290), of the Saidaiji 西大寺 temple, arrived at Miwa[33] and discovered the former Ōmiwa *jingūji*, which by then had fallen into disrepair. In 1285 Eizon and his disciples restored the temple, renaming it Daigorinji 大御輪寺, the "Great Temple of the August Wheel" (i.e., Ōmiwa), and made it a subtemple of Saidaiji.[34] The head priests of Daigorinji continued to be formally affiliated with Saidaiji from that time onward, an association that lasted until at least the Edo period.

The relationship of the Ōmiwa *kannushi* lineage to the Ōmiwadera head priests is not as straightforward. The lineage chart of the Kose 越 family, one of the shrine's *kannushi* branches, offers little detail on the affiliation of those members who retired and took the tonsure as Buddhist monks.[35] Edo-period sources mention the "shrine family" (*shake* 社家) and "temple monks" (*jisō* 寺僧), but exactly how these groups were related is unclear.[36]

The Saidaiji monks made Daigorinji one of their many bases while maintaining an extensive and elaborate network of subtemples in southern Yamato, Ise, and other provinces. Communications between the Saidaiji-affiliated monks stationed at Mt. Miwa and Ise were undoubtedly a major factor in the recording of *Miwa daimyōjin engi*. (The painting reproduced in figure 1 depicts the shrine and temple structures that existed in the vicinity of Mt. Miwa during the Muromachi period, namely, the Ōmiwa shrine, Daigorinji, and Byōdōji.)

As part of their agenda of restoring and renaming the Buddhist temple at the foot of Mt. Miwa, the Saidaiji monks were apparently responsible for compiling the core of the *Engi*, which serves both to establish the importance of the cultic site at Mt. Miwa and its deity and to interpret it in esoteric Buddhist terms. The *Engi* focuses on

[32] *Tōnomine ryakki* 多武峰略記 mentions that Miwadera 三輪寺 was among its branches (*matsuji* 末寺) at least until 1198 (OJS 1, p. 359). It is unclear precisely which temple this was.

[33] *Kongō busshi kanshin gakushō ki*, pp. 16–17.

[34] *Kongō busshi kanshin gakushō ki*, p. 61.

[35] *Miwa Kōnomiya-ke keifu* 三輪高宮家系譜 (ST *Jinja hen*, vol. 12, pp. 137–55).

[36] Scattered references to the shrine-temple complex of Miwa and its people appear in travelogues and personal notes such as the relatively unknown text entitled *Dōjisshō* or *Dōnichishō* 童曰鈔, which could be translated as "A Brief Account from a Small Child's Eyes" (OJS 2, p. 471). This was compiled by an unknown author during the Kanbun 寛文 years (1660–1670) and preserved in the private collection of Nagashima Fukutarō 永島福太郎 (1913–2008), a historian of the Yamato region.

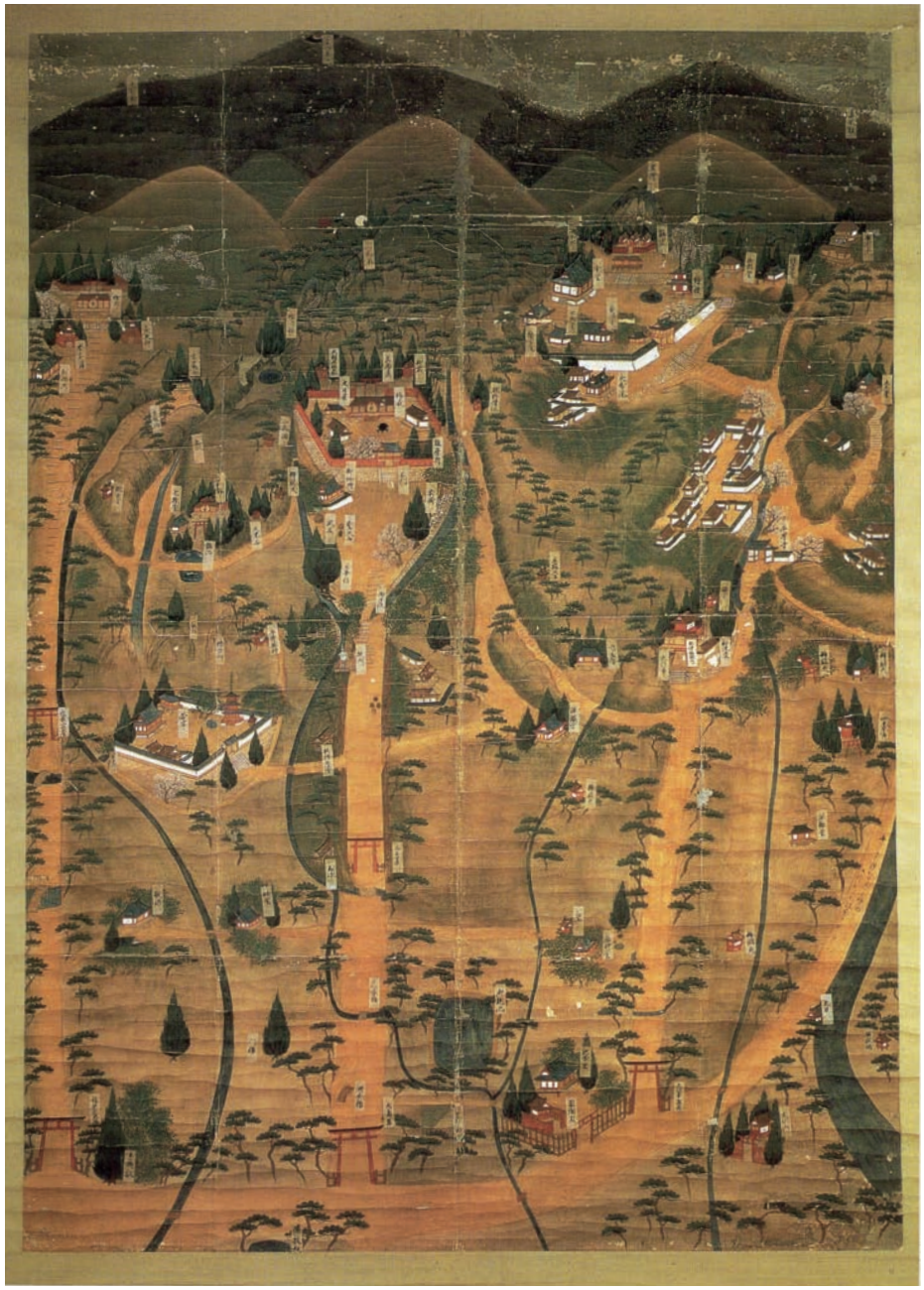

Figure 1. *Miwayama ezu* 三輪山絵図. Courtesy of Ōmiwa Jinja, Nara prefecture. Image reproduced from *Miwaryū Shintō no kenkyū*.

the shrine-temple complex as a whole, and thus not only interprets the history and meaning of Mt. Miwa and the Ōmiwa subshrines, but also focuses in particular on the history of the shrine's temple, Daigorinji, and its status as an icon. It is important to

remember that medieval texts like this *engi* were mostly political productions aimed at creating or preserving a certain aspect of the identity of a sacred place in order to ensure its economic and symbolic survival. *Engi* could also be used as ceremonial texts that were either read out loud during ritual performances or not read at all, but rather venerated as sacred objects.

From the colophon of *Miwa daimyōjin engi* it is clear that the work circulated among the temples affiliated with Saidaiji in the areas of Ise and southern Yamato throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries before returning to Mt. Miwa, where it was finally copied in the mid-sixteenth century by a priest at Byōdōji.[37]

Authorship and Sources

There are certain difficulties in identifying all of the sources, both written and oral, that became the foundation for *Miwa daimyōjin engi*. Several points, however, seem clear. As we shall see from further investigation of the possible routes of transmission of this text, the question of authorship provokes some debate. In all likelihood, though, the initial text of the *Engi* was written by a person or people with a deep knowledge of a variety of Buddhist and kami traditions. Although the *Engi* occasionally identifies its author as a singular voice, the text in fact came out of collective scholarship and a collective authorship. For this reason, references to the "authors" should be understood to mean subsequent contributors; occasionally, however, it is necessary to identify that single voice—the "I" (*ware* 予) that appears in the text—as "the author" of the original version of the *Engi*.[38] That version was subsequently copied and became interwoven into the version of the *Engi* that we are able to read today.

There is little doubt that the *Engi* was in large part recorded by the Buddhist monks connected to Saidaiji. In fact, previous Japanese scholarship has cited the Saidaiji leader Eizon as a possible author of the original version of the text.[39] The cumulative

[37] This temple, Byōdōji, was first founded as a small "separate place" (*bessho* 別所) for esoteric and devotional practice, possibly in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Initially, Byōdōji had no official links to large temples, and the source of the funds used to establish the temple is unknown. It is possible, however, that it was in part set up to lodge monks affiliated with Kōfukuji who traveled eastward to the area of Mt. Murō and further down south to the Yoshino mountain range to practice austerities on mountain pilgrimage circuits (Nishida 1978–1979, vol. 4, pp. 158–318; Tsuji 1979a; Tsuji 1979b; Tyler 1989; and Tyler 1990). It has been suggested that, like many similar places, the *bessho* in Miwa was initially dedicated to the worship of Miroku's Pure Land (*Miroku jōdo* 彌勒浄土; Hiraoka 1981, pp. 85–86) and was a place of congregation for local and semi-itinerant practitioners, or *hijiri* 聖 holy men (Andreeva 2006–2007). By 1558, Byōdōji had expanded into an influential local temple. It was the base of the esoteric Miwa lineage (Miwaryū 三輪流), which had strong links to many other Shugen lineages operating along the eastern rim of the Yamato plain, including those at Kasagidera 笠置寺, Tōnomine, Yoshino, Hasedera 長谷寺, and Murō.

[38] Nishida Nagao 西田長男 suggests that these quotations indicate personal notes by Eizon (Nishida 1961, p. 179).

[39] Nishida 1961; Murayama 1987a; Murayama 1987b; and Sugahara 2005, pp. 101, 111.

evidence surrounding this text does indeed support the theory that the single "I" is Eizon's own voice.

Eizon was versed in both the Vinaya (Ritsu 律) and esoteric Buddhist teachings. He trained at the esoteric temples of Daigoji 醍醐寺 and Ninnaji 仁和寺, but also learned the traditions of old Nara schools such as Hossō 法相. In 1241 he first arrived at Mt. Miwa with a mission to install and consecrate a statue of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Monju 文殊) at the settlement of outcasts (*hinin* 非人).[40] In the years that followed, Eizon and his disciples from Saidaiji traveled from place to place in southern Yamato delivering the bodhisattva precepts (*bosatsukai* 菩薩戒) and preaching the virtues of the Vinaya; they visited Miwa, Hasedera 長谷寺, and Minami Hokkeji 南法華寺 (Tsubosakadera 壺阪寺), among many other sites.[41]

During the years 1270–1280, when Japan faced the threat of Mongol invasions, Eizon made at least three pilgrimages to the great Ise shrines to pray for the pacification of the enemy.[42] He played a major role in constructing the esoteric worship of Ise at Saidaiji,[43] as well as what later became known as the "Shinto of the Two Part Mandala."[44] It is therefore quite likely that segments of *Miwa daimyōjin engi* describing the details of the worship of the imperial deity Amaterasu 天照 were written, if not by Eizon personally, then by someone who followed his religious guidance closely.

Murayama Shūichi 村山修一 has pointed out that one of the original manuscripts on which the *Engi* is based was written in the Mt. Miwa area,[45] and he has attributed the authorship of several sections of the *Engi* to Eizon (specifically, chapters 1 to 5). Murayama makes particular mention of chapters 1, 2, and 3, which present an account of the relationship between the sacred sites at Ise and Miwa.[46] Sugahara Shinkai 菅原信海 suggests that the initial compilation may have taken place between 1279 and 1285.[47]

[40] These events were described by Eizon in his own diary (*Kongō busshi kanshin gakushō ki* 金剛仏子感身学正記) and have been discussed on numerous occasions both in Japanese and Western scholarship (Hosokawa 1987; Groner 2001; Groner 2005; and Andreeva 2006). More on the Saidaiji order's Mañjuśrī project and its approaches to *hinin* appears in Quinter 2007.

[41] *Kongō busshi kanshin gakushō ki*, pp. 16–17.

[42] Eizon went to Ise in Bun'ei 文永 10 (1273), Bun'ei 12 (1275), and Kōan 弘安 3 (1280). These pilgrimages are described in his diary (*Kongō busshi kanshin gakushō ki*, pp. 38–40, 45–47).

[43] The worship of Ise was institutionalized at Saidaiji through the installation of a miniature shrine (*Ise mishōtai zushi* 伊勢御正体厨子) containing the "sacred body of Ise." The *zushi* included two mirrors. Its inner sides displayed the Two Part Mandala written in the Siddham script, representing the two shrines of Ise (Kondō 1985). The outer shrine was symbolized by the Buddha-Eye (*butsugen* 仏眼) Mandala, whereas the inner shrine was represented by a combination of the Aizen Myōō 愛染明王 and Taishō Kongō 大勝金剛 Mandalas. This combination suggests that the *zushi* was created for the protection of the country during the Mongol invasions and may have been inspired by Eizon's knowledge of the esoteric traditions of Ninnaji and the Hossō school of Nara (Nakahara 1998; and Andreeva 2006, p. 366).

[44] Kubota 1973, pp. 348–55.

[45] Murayama 1987b, p. 326.

[46] Murayama 1987b, p. 340.

[47] Sugahara 2005, p. 111.

This is possible, given the fact that by 1285 Eizon and his lineage were firmly established at Miwa and had renovated the old Ōmiwa *jingūji*.[48] Nishida Nagao 西田長男 gives a slightly later date for the compilation: between 1285 and 1290.[49]

The contents of the *Engi* imply that numerous sources were consulted before and during its compilation. For example, the author reveals that while recording his text (which he admits elsewhere is only an abridged version of the sources he read), he relied on "ancient records and current practice" (*koki narabi ni genzai no koto* 古記並現在之事), "certain records" (*kibun* 記文), and secret oral "transmissions of men of old" (*korō kuden* 古老口伝 or *korō hiden* 古老秘伝).[50]

One of the major sources for the *Engi* is the corpus of orally transmitted lore describing the age of the gods (*kamiyo* or *jindai* 神代). Some of these legends were recorded in the eighth-century official histories *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. But in the medieval period, many more such legends specific to each cultic site emerged and gained wide circulation. Such texts are now known as "medieval *Nihongi*."[51] The authors of the *Engi* were aware, for example, of the Ise Watarai 伊勢度会 traditions and esoteric theories and legends regarding kami that circulated at Mt. Hiei and on the Shugen circuits of Yoshino. These references cannot always be traced with precision, but their existence does demonstrate the extent to which the process of intellectual cross-fertilization of sacred sites had taken place in medieval Japan.

The lore pertaining to Miwa must always have been well known, as some of it (for example, the legend of Ōmiwa Takachimaro) had been recorded in Buddhist setsuwa collections such as *Nihon ryōiki* and *Konjaku monogatarishū*. The authors of the *Engi* also had access to several written and pictorial sources that had been preserved at the old Ōmiwa *jingūji*. These included records of the "origins of the Buddhist temple of this shrine" and "the temple's oral transmissions and old records," as well as a "mandala" (*zue mandara* 図絵曼荼羅) from which the author of the original version of the *Engi* is said to have selected several key elements. If such a mandala ever existed, its exact details and current whereabouts remain unknown.[52]

A detailed study of this text reveals that the authors were familiar with many Buddhist scriptures. They were acquainted with the teachings of the old Nara schools such as Hossō, Kegon 華厳, and Kusha 倶舎 and, to an even greater degree, with those of esoteric Buddhism. They were also well versed in Buddhist iconography and

[48] *Kongō busshi kanshin gakushō ki*, p. 61.

[49] Nishida 1961, p. 184.

[50] For more on the notions and meaning of *korō kuden*, see studies by Saitō Hideki 斉藤英喜 (Saitō 1988) and Komine Kazuaki 小峰和明 (Komine 1988).

[51] The phenomenon of "medieval *Nihongi*" (*chūsei Nihongi* 中世日本紀) was first described by Itō Masayoshi 伊藤正義 in his seminal article on the theories found in *Taiheiki* 太平記 that were produced by the Urabe lineage (Itō 1972). See also Abe 1985 and Abe 1995.

[52] Kageyama Haruki 景山春樹 has mentioned several pictorial sources related to the Ōmiwa shrine; the oldest of them (shown in figure 1), however, dates back only to the Muromachi period. It is not clear which of these would have corresponded to the Daigorinji Mandala (Kageyama 1961).

were particularly discerning with regard to the iconographic details of the Two Part Mandala and its more creative interpretations.

The compilers of *Miwa daimyōjin engi* were undoubtedly aware of the classic scriptures of Tendai 天台 (Ch. Tiantai), such as "The Great [Practice of] Stopping and Contemplating" (Ch. *Moho-chih kuan* 摩訶止観, Jp. *Maka shikan*),[53] and issues pertinent to medieval Buddhist discourse. Among these were teachings related to "inherent enlightenment" (*hongaku* 本覚) and approaches to the problem of acquiring "enlightenment with this very body" (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成仏), ideas that were broadly contemplated and debated within the Buddhist world at the time. In sum, the presence of these diverse ideas and concepts indicates that *Miwa daimyōjin engi*, a text about a local kami and its site of enshrinement, was founded on expertise in exoteric and esoteric traditions going back to India and China and on an intimate knowledge of Japan's native deities and their traditions of worship.

Routes of Transmission

Nishida Nagao has suggested that part of the original manuscript included the notes of a certain Jōonbō Shōnin 浄音房性忍. Originally from Kawachi, Jōonbō was a former head priest of Daigorinji and a disciple of Eizon. His name is among the ranks of priests who took the bodhisattva precepts at Saidaiji.[54] The authors of the *Engi* recorded excerpts from "the secret oral transmissions of [many generations] of the Ōmiwadera (or Daigorinji) head priests" (*Daigorinji bettō jūdai sōden hiketsu* 大御輪寺別当重代相伝秘訣). It is possible that at least some of those transmissions came from this Jōonbō, an otherwise enigmatic figure who may simply have been in charge of the temple's manuscript box at the time.

The *Engi* may have been written down as a result of the continuous exchanges that took place, after Eizon's death, between monks of Saidaiji affiliation in the Kusube 楠部 area of Ise stationed at Koshōji 弘正寺 and those at Mt. Miwa's Daigorinji.[55] This implies that if Eizon was indeed the author of the original manuscript, completed between 1279 and 1290, one of the *Engi*'s subsequent copyists may have been a member of the Saidaiji lineage who had access to Eizon's writings. One possible contributor to the colophon dated 1318 is Kakujō 覚乗 (ca. 1285–1357),[56] a Saidaiji monk who was involved in esoteric networks both at Ise and Miwa and who was a key figure in the emergence of an esoteric movement later referred to as the "Shinto

[53] T 46: 1–140.

[54] Nishida 1961, p. 179.

[55] Itō 1993.

[56] Kubota 1964, pp. 316–17. Kubota's argument appears in contrast with Nishida's earlier suggestion that, as written in the colophon, the contributor was a certain Kakugen 覚源 (Nishida 1961, p. 183). Little is known of Kakugen, and there is no other evidence confirming his existence. The 1318 colophon remains a source of much puzzlement, because it states that it was copied from "the original manuscript" of the founder of Kōshōji, who is described as "Kōshōji kaizan oshō" 弘正寺開山和尚. This title has usually been attributed to Eizon, who died in 1290.

of the Miwa lineage" (Miwaryū Shinto 三輪流神道).[57] Such educated Saidaiji priests recorded the local Miwa lore, incorporating some of the religious theories that circulated at Byōdōji and surrounding cultic sites at the time the *Engi* was compiled.

The text was copied several times throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at small chamber halls and *betsuin* 別院 temples, most of which were affiliated with Saidaiji and situated at Ise and Nara. There the text was most likely transmitted together with other items during ritual exchanges, possibly along with other texts related to esoteric discourse on kami, before finally making its way back to Miwa in the sixteenth century. Even though the precise sources cannot be traced, at some point in the transmission—perhaps fairly late—the sections connecting Miwa to the cultic sites of Mt. Hiei were added to the *Engi*.

Of particular note in the colophon is the signature of the monk Dōshō 道祥 (1348–ca. 1429), also known as Torii Masayoshi 鳥居正匡 (and sometimes as Arakida Tadaoki 荒木田匡興). Originally a *kannushi* priest from the Arakida 荒木田 family, Dōshō must have been familiar with the Saidaiji order at Kōshōji, which was within walking distance of the inner shrine of Ise. In his later years, he resided at a small *bessho* in the Izō Kanbe 伊雑神戸 area of Ise, along the coast of the Shima 志摩 peninsula. That area had many esoteric and Shugen-affiliated temples, which throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries became a site of intense ritual and intellectual exchanges between practitioners vying for revelation of secrets concerning the powers of kami.

Dōshō was very interested in the so-called *Nihongi* lore described above. He collected many such transmissions featuring kami and esoteric deities, recording them as a "Verbatim Account of the *Nihon shoki*," *Nihon shoki shikenbun* 日本書紀私見聞 (1429).[58] *Miwa daimyōjin engi* presented a stunning new version of events, which, it claimed, was based on the "Age of the Gods" section that appears in both *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*; perhaps that was why Dōshō copied the *Engi* in 1420. He was a figure to whom such a text would have been immensely appealing.

The text next resurfaced in 1509—only ninety years later—at Daianji 大安寺, an old Buddhist temple in the Asuka 飛鳥 area of southern Yamato. This temple, too, was under the patronage of Saidaiji. It is perhaps no surprise that monks affiliated with this temple had access to the *Engi*. The text may have come to Daianji along with many others from Ise as part of intellectual exchanges between the monks residing in the vicinity of the great Ise shrines and other Saidaiji subtemples located throughout the country. The *Engi* was copied once again in 1523 by a certain Jisshū 実

[57] Kakujō is often mentioned in connection with the production and circulation of other esoteric texts about kami such as *Tenshō daijin kuketsu* 天照大神口決 and possibly *Bikisho* 鼻帰書, both produced in the mid-fourteenth century at Ise (Itō 1993, pp. 87–89; and Teeuwen 2000, p. 111). His name also appears in several "blood lineage charts" (*kechimyaku* 血脈) of the Miwa lineage, thus indicating his possible involvement in its activities (Kubota 1964, pp. 314–15; Itō 1993, pp. 84–85; and Sugahara 1996, pp. 232–39, in particular, p. 237).

[58] Kondō 1964. The first annotated edition of this text was published in 2004 by a team of scholars working on the subject of medieval kami worship at Kōgakkan.

秀, of whom nothing is known. It was not until 220 years after the 1318 manuscript of *Miwa daimyōjin engi* was initially compiled that a copy finally arrived back in Miwa. It was then copied again in 1558 by the monk Ryūken 隆堅 of Byōdōji. Judging by his location, Ryūken must have belonged to the local Miwa lineage, which was famous for its prowess in secret practices of Shugen and esoteric Buddhism. This raises an interesting query about Ryūken's possible motivation and the meaning of the *Engi*'s return and recopying for the Miwaryū of Byōdōji.[59]

The creation of the *Engi* provided, presumably for the first time, a unified narrative with a single vision of the sacred site at Miwa. The ideas about Miwa and its deity existed in multiple disparate voices embodied by different groups of people: the imperial court, the Ōmiwa shrine lineage, the *kike* 記家 scribes at Mt. Hiei, local folk, and the semi-itinerant monks and mountain religion practitioners traveling among the sacred sites of Nara, Yoshino, Tōnomine, Miwa, Murō, and Ise. The Saidaiji lineage did most of the work of collecting the material and recording the *Engi*, but it was only in the mid-sixteenth century, following several important historical developments, that *Miwa daimyōjin engi* assumed the form in which it survives today.

Contents and Strategies of Interpretation

This text, divided into nine chapters and a colophon, brings together an elaborate vision of Mt. Miwa and its deity as seen through the prism of diverse doctrines and practices of esoteric Buddhism. What does the *Engi* tell us, and how?

The first three chapters of the *Engi* focus on the sacred site of Miwa in its entirety and on the mountain itself. These chapters are mostly concerned with demonstrating the profound connections of Miwa to Ise, and it is primarily these connections that form the basis for establishing and explaining Miwa's preeminence. Further, through the use of certain strategies typical of medieval discourse, such as wordplay, numerical equations, and logical reasoning inherent in esoteric Buddhism, the *Engi* interprets the sacred site at Miwa as manifesting important elements of esoteric Buddhist doctrine.

The opening chapter, entitled "On the Origin and Traces of Tenshō Daijin 天照大神," was written following the author's visit to the "Shrine to the Wind" (*kaze no miya* 風の宮), the boundary, near the inner shrine of Ise, beyond which Buddhist priests were not allowed. At the heart of this chapter is a discussion of the "original ground and manifest traces" (*honji suijaku*) of the imperial deity Tenshō Daijin. While demonstrating a formidable expertise in a variety of readings of Buddhist doctrine and notions, this first chapter explains the meaning of the name of the imperial ancestor, its original form in heaven, and its two subsequent manifestations on earth—at Ise and at Miwa.

[59] The Miwa lineage at Byōdōji may have been struggling at the time due to the dearth of documents regarding the origin of the sacred site at Miwa. Most of Byōdōji's own manuscript collection was destroyed in a suspicious fire following an internal squabble in the 1460s.

The chapter does so by revealing that the imperial deity Amaterasu (or, as named in the text, Tenshō Kōtaijin 天照皇大神) is, in fact, a manifestation of the esoteric buddha Dainichi 大日 (Sk. Mahāvairocana). We are told that this cosmic deity, who is also described as Dainichi, "King of the Heavenly Golden Wheel [Cakravartin], Illuminating All Things" (*tenkin rinnō kōmyō henshō Dainichi [no] son* 天金輪王光明遍照大日尊), manifests itself in Japan in the form of the kami enshrined at Ise and Miwa. This original buddha (*honji* 本地) has three bodies: the "Corresponding Body" (*ōjin nyorai* 応身如来), the "Reward Body" (*hōjin nyorai* 報身如来), and the "Dharma Body" (*hosshin nyorai* 法身如来). These three bodies represent the so-called three points (*santen* 三点): principle (*ri* 理), wisdom (*chi* 智), and compassion (*hi* 悲). These tripartite concepts, in turn, are further explained as expressing the "real nature of existence" (*shinshō* 真性), "illuminating wisdom" (*kanshō* 観照), and "attaining the practice [of buddhahood]" (*shijō* 資成). As for Dainichi's "trace" manifestations (*suijaku* 垂迹), these appear to be engendered by three different kami: Amaterasu in heaven, Miwa Myōjin dwelling on Mt. Miwa in the province of Yamato, and the imperial deity Kōtaijin residing on Mt. Kamiji 神路 in Ise. The next chapter, "On the Two Places [Where] the Deity Is Enshrined," briefly describes the exact location of the two physical sites of Ise and Miwa, where Amaterasu was enshrined.

The third chapter, entitled "On the Order of Precedence of the Great Deity of Ise and Miwa," contains the most striking statement in the *Engi*. This is by far the longest and most complex single chapter in this compilation. Whereas the first chapter lays out the foundations of the principal *honji suijaku* relationships (those between Dainichi and the kami of Ise and Miwa), the third chapter evidently seeks a confirmation of these relationships in oracular knowledge at Ise. Here, the *Engi* creates a systematic metaphoric relationship between Mt. Miwa and certain important Buddhist notions by "constructing the landscape of this mountain as a transcendental abode of buddhas and bodhisattvas," in a manner similar to that seen at other sacred mountain areas such as Ōmine 大峰 or Kunisaki 国東.[60] It does so by employing several types or strategies of argumentation typical of many medieval *engi* texts.[61]

The first type can be described as the "medieval *Nihongi* strategy." Citing the corpus of oral and written traditions concerning the age of the gods, *Miwa daimyōjin engi* introduces several myths attributed to the authoritative canon of *Nihon shoki*, but with significant alterations. Take, for example, the scene in which the deity Ōnamuchi encounters a mysterious spirit and asks it where it wishes to live. This episode invokes a famous quotation from *Nihon shoki*, which in the *Engi* is modified with spectacular consequences. The original *Nihon shoki* passage refers to the deities Ōnamuchi and Sukunabiko creating the land of Izumo.[62] After Ōnamuchi creates the land and repairs its wild and imperfect parts, he proclaims:

[60] Grapard 1982, pp. 210–11; and Grapard 1989, pp. 171–80.

[61] Grapard 1986; Grapard 1989, pp. 182–84; and Grapard 1998, pp. 64–66.

[62] *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, p. 130.

> "It is I, and I alone, who now governs this Land. Is there perchance anyone who could join with me in governing the world?" Upon this a Divine radiance illuminated the sea, and all of a sudden here was something that floated toward him and said: "Were I not here, how could you subdue this Land? It is because I am here that you have been enabled to accomplish this mighty undertaking." Then Ōnamuchi no kami inquired, saying: "Then who are you?" It replied and said, "I am thy guardian spirit, the wondrous spirit." Then said Ōnamuchi no kami: "True, I know therefore that you are my guardian spirit, the wondrous spirit. Where do you now wish to dwell?" The spirit answered and said: "I wish to dwell on Mount Mimoro in the province of Yamato." Accordingly Ōnamuchi no kami built a shrine in that place and made the spirit go and dwell there. This is the God of Ōmiwa.[63]

However, in *Miwa daimyōjin engi* it is the imperial ancestor Amaterasu (Tenshō Kōtaijin) who asks to live on Mt. Miwa in Yamato. Therefore, the third chapter of the *Engi* introduces an entirely new protagonist participating in this famous dialogue, while referring to *Nihon shoki* for a legitimizing effect:

> In *Nihongi* it says, "Ōnamuchi no Mikoto spoke to Tenshō Kōtaijin and said, 'Now, where do you wish to live?' She replied, 'I wish to live on Mt. Miwa in the Land of Yamato.'"

By implanting Amaterasu in this part of the narrative, the *Engi* creates a new set of ideas about the priority of the Miwa deity in the realm of kami, making it clear that this deity is much older than Amaterasu. The *Engi* establishes the legitimacy of this newly acquired meaning through the use of this seemingly precise quotation from *Nihon shoki*.

Secondly, to further its claims of Mt. Miwa's supreme position in the kami realm, the *Engi* employs the argument of chronological precedence. For example, it asserts that since the descent of the Miwa deity to earth happened in the age of the gods, whereas Amaterasu was enshrined at Ise only during the reign of the human emperor Suinin 垂仁, it is obvious that Miwa Myōjin is the "original" (*honji*) and that Amaterasu is the "trace" (*suijaku*). The priority given to the age of the gods is undisputed, and a new pecking order is thus firmly established.

The third strategy of argumentation seen in chapter 3 explains the superiority of Mt. Miwa over the sacred site of Ise by using elaborate puns and wordplay, association, and numerical equations to interpret the geography of Miwa in solely Buddhist terms.[64] The Chinese characters historically used to record the mountain's name, Miwa, vary, but the sole version that occurs in *Miwa daimyōjin engi* contains the component "three" (*mi* 三) and can be translated as "three wheels," *miwa* 三輪. The *Engi* makes constant strategic use of this component by connecting it to crucial Buddhist notions. For example, another name for Mt. Miwa, Mt. Mimuro (which can be translated as "August Cave," *mimuro* 御室), or its close phonetic equivalent, Mimoro, seen in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, is transcribed in the *Engi* as Mimuro 三無漏 (a place of dwelling

[63] Translation modified from Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 60–61.

[64] Similar strategies appear in the construction of the Sannō cult at Mt. Hiei (Grapard 1987, pp. 217–20).

of the Three Pure Buddhas). We are told that it is a representation of the Three Part (*sanbu* 三部) Mandala and a manifestation of the "Land of Tranquil Light where the Three Buddhas reside" (*sanbutsu shojū no jakkōdo* 三仏所住之寂光土). Moreover, within the framework of discourse created by this strategy, Mt. Miwa itself embodies the main deity of esoteric Buddhism, the cosmic buddha Dainichi, who is actually composed of three buddhas in one body (*sanbutsu ittai* 三仏一体).

In the third chapter, the actual geographical realm of Mt. Miwa is therefore reinterpreted along the lines of esoteric Buddhism, producing in effect a new version of the sacred and secret geography of this ancient kami site. This type of strategy, widely seen in other medieval texts, has been previously described as "mandalization."[65] According to such an interpretation, the physical landscape of a sacred place corresponds to certain parts of a mandala. In the *Engi*, Mt. Miwa is presented as proof that all physical phenomena are in fact manifestations of the absolute and universal truth as it is understood in the teachings of esoteric Buddhism. The text also offers an exposition of the non-duality (*funi* 不二) between outward appearance and its hidden meaning; Mt. Miwa's version, however, actually consists of "three parts" (*sanbu*).

Yet another strategy employed in this chapter of the *Engi* is the use of Sanskrit syllables. The two rivers in the vicinity of Mt. Miwa where the Miwa deity is said to reside are represented not by their actual names, but by the two syllables *ram* and *vam*.[66] The actual site of Mt. Miwa is indeed surrounded by two rivers—Makimuku in the north and Hase 長谷 in the south. The use of Sanskrit "seed" syllables (or what passed for such), a long tradition in itself, is often encountered in the writings of medieval Japanese monks. *Vam* is used to represent Mahāvairocana, and in some cases, *ram* stands in for the tantric deity Acala (Fudō Myōō 不動明王, the "Immovable One"). Both these deities are prominent actors in the Womb Realm Mandala. The aforementioned Sanskrit syllables could also be seen as a symbolic representation of "wisdom-water" (*chisui* 智水) and "wisdom-fire" (*chika* 智火), the agents utilized in esoteric meditation and purification rituals. In the case of the *Engi*, these syllables were probably chosen because they were similar in shape to the physical appearance or curves of the rivers within Miwa's natural landscape. Even though the use of all these strategies in the compilation of the *Engi* is not entirely unique, the combination of the local lore and the way it is reinterpreted offer a vision of a kami site that is specific to the cultural and historical locale of Mt. Miwa.

The fourth chapter is brief and is entitled "On the Precincts of the Shrines of the Two Great Deities." Its main purpose is to point out the significance of the taboo on Buddhist attendance and worship at Ise, as well as the absence of such a prohibition at Mt. Miwa. From the authors' viewpoint, this naturally serves to highlight the particular and advantageous openness of Mt. Miwa to the teachings of Buddhism in their entirety.

[65] Grapard 1982; Moerman 1997; and Moerman 2006, pp. 76–91.

[66] For more on the passage in which these syllables appear, see Andreeva 2006.

The next four chapters of the *Engi* draw explicitly on the secret oral transmissions of Daigorinji head priests. Even though the opening part of the text probably reflects some of the interests of the Daigorinji lineage, their input is far more prominent in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters. These are entitled, respectively, "On the Shape of Mt. Mimuro," "On the Origins (*honji*) of the Various Shrines," "On the Shrine's Buddhist Temple (*jingūji*), Ōmiwadera," and "On the Significance of the Kannon Image in Ōmiwadera."

These chapters, which constitute the greater part of the *Engi*, concentrate on the interpretation of the sacred mountain and its neighboring shrines, the origins of the shrine temple, and the temple's main image. Here, the *Engi* not only demonstrates systematized relationships between the shrines in the vicinity of the mountain and aligns the kami enshrined there with the buddhas and bodhisattvas of esoteric mandalas, but also, for the first time, delivers a unified and coherent theory regarding the ancient cultic site of Mt. Miwa.

The fifth chapter, on the shape of Mt. Mimuro, describes Mt. Miwa from a mandalic perspective. Some of the points regarding the mandalization of the mountain were presented in the third chapter, but this part of the *Engi* adds new elements, citing the secret oral transmissions of Daigorinji head priests. The centerpiece of this image is a three-layered installation of the Three Part Mandala, which is both a representation of non-duality and a manifestation of the cosmic buddha "Dainichi of Three Bodies in One." According to the *Engi*, the first layer of this mandala is represented by the physical landscape of Mt. Miwa, its rivers and ridges, which taken together manifest the Womb Realm, the Diamond Realm, and the area in between called the "ridge of Non-Duality" (*funi [fuji] no o* 不二尾). The mandala's second layer is represented as a combination of the "Buddha Section" (*butsubu* 仏部), the "Diamond Section" (*kongōbu* 金剛部), and the "Lotus Section" (*rengebu* 蓮華部); as a whole, these can be interpreted as the Three Part Mandala.

The third and final layer of this multidimensional construct is represented by a combination of three deities: Buddha-Eye Buddha-Mother (Sk. Buddalocāni, Jp. Butsugen Butsumo 仏眼仏母), One-Syllable Golden Wheel (Ichiji Kinrin 一字金輪), and Thousand-Armed Avalokitesvara, Bodhisattva of Mercy (Senju Kannon 千手観音). This triple combination is rather unusual and may have been a specific arrangement that was recorded in the *Engi* for a particular reason.[67]

[67] See also note 130 in the translation that follows this introduction. The deities Butsugen Butsumo and Ichiji Kinrin were venerated at Mt. Hiei and became a subject of serious cultic devotion among the Buddhists familiar with the Tendai esoteric tradition, although their worship was not restricted to that particular school of thought. For example, these gods are mentioned in the writings of the prominent medieval poet and Tendai archbishop (*daisōzu* 大僧都) Jien 慈円 (1155–1225). Jien describes a dream he had in 1203 about the three sacred regalia and their importance for a legitimate imperial succession (see the translation of Jien's record in Abé 1999, pp. 363–64, and the discussion based on it in Grapard 2002, pp. 137–42). Grapard further points out that the combination of these two deities appears in the "consecration of the wheel-king" (*rinnō kanjō* 輪王灌頂), a form of the

The fifth chapter also includes another revelation from the Daigorinji lineage, describing the arrangement of deities enshrined in several auxiliary shrines at the foot of Mt. Miwa as the "eight avatars" (*hassho gongen* 八所権現)—a composition similar to that of the central dais of the Womb Realm Mandala, also called the Lotus Section. This discussion continues into the sixth chapter. Here, the *Engi* describes how the kami installed at eight shrines surrounding Mt. Miwa correspond to their original traces, the deities of the Diamond and Womb Realms. The general layout of this arrangement corresponds to the central dais of the Womb Mandala in the form of an eight-petal lotus, as depicted in the fifth chapter. The sixth chapter, too, is dedicated to bringing together a coherent vision of the shrine-temple complex at Miwa in its entirety.

The seventh and eighth chapters of *Miwa daimyōjin engi* describe the origins of the Ōmiwa shrine temple (*jingūji*) and its principal image of the Eleven-Headed Kannon (Jūichimen Kannon 十一面観音). These chapters are based on a famous legend in *Kojiki* about the divine marriage of the deity Ōmononushi with Ikutamayorihime 活玉依毘売, the daughter of a local chieftain.[68]

> There was a young man . . . who suddenly came at midnight. They loved each other and became man and wife. After they had been married a short time, the maiden became pregnant. Her father and mother, thinking it strange, put their queries to her. . . . Desiring to know [who] this man [was], [they] instructed their daughter: "Scatter red clay by the bed. Thread hemp yarn to a needle and sew it onto the hem of his garment." She did as instructed.
>
> The next morning, when they looked, the yarn attached to the needle passed through the keyhole of the door and went outside. There were only three rolls of the yarn left. . . . When they followed the yarn, the path went to Mt. Miwa and left off at the shrine of the deity. This is how it was known [Ōtataneko] was the child of a deity. Because there were three rolls of yarn left over, the name of the place is Miwa. This Ōtataneko no mikoto is the ancestor of the *kimi* 君 of Miwa.[69]

In the *Engi* the unnamed child of the deity Ōmononushi appears to be protected by his father. The deity reveals itself as a large snake and licks the child's back (or chest), leaving a golden mark that says, "The Master of Great Things, of Upper First Rank, the Great Deity, Outstanding [for its services in the matters of state]" (*shō ichii daimyōjin kun ittō Ōmono no nushi* 正一位大明神勲一等大物之主). According to *Sandai jitsuroku* 三代実録, the Ōmiwa deity was indeed awarded the provisional first rank, *ju ichii* 従一位, in Jōgan 貞観 1 (859),[70] but the *Engi* implies that such an event

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Buddhist enthronement ritual said to have first been performed by Amoghavajra (Grapard 2002, p. 138). A single statue of Ichiji Kinrin was the center of cult worship at Chūsonji 中尊寺 in Hiraizumi 平泉, as the compelling study by Mimi Yiengpruksawan has shown (Yiengpruksawan 1991).

[68] *Kojiki*, pp. 181–83.

[69] Translation modified from Philippi 1969, pp. 203–204. *Kojiki*, p. 161 (Philippi 1969, pp. 178–79), also has another version of this story, the tale of Seyadatarahime 勢夜陀多良比売 and the red-painted arrow. *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, pp. 246–47 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 158–59), cites the story of the marriage of Ōmononushi and Yamatototobimomosohime 倭迹迹日百襲姫.

[70] OJS 1, pp. 182–83.

took place in prehistoric times. Following these developments, the local chieftain (the prince's grandfather) retires from the world and converts his home into the Buddhist temple Ōmiwadera.

To assuage the prince's longing for his dead mother, the kami of Mt. Miwa then transforms itself into a man and presents his son with an image of his merciful mother. The prince offers his thanks to the deity in a ritual. He attends the shrine wearing white robes not unlike those of *kannushi* priests, or the garb worn by the Shugen practitioners of the nearby Tōnomine-Yoshino mountain range:

> He would appear with a white parasol hat and white-feathered arrows, wearing shin guards made of summer wool and riding on a white speckled horse. Many years [passed] in that way. When he reached his teens, he secluded himself for a long time in a cell at Ōmiwadera and did not come out again. This was the first example of someone transforming himself into a "living image" and entering the state of *samadhi* in the land of Japan (*Yamato no kuni shōjin nyūjō no hatsu* 日本国生身入定之初).

The image in question was that of the Eleven-Headed Kannon, which was the principal image of Ōmiwadera from at least the Heian period. The *Engi* then goes on to say that the prince's remains were discovered by none other than Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子, the hero of Buddhist propagation discourse. This narrative purports to predate a famous story about Shōtoku Taishi and the Yumedono 夢殿 Kannon at Hōryūji 法隆寺 and again implies that Miwa, the sacred mountain of ancient Japan, was already the scene of such momentous events—the first of their kind—in prehistoric times.

The material presented from the fifth to the eighth chapters of the *Engi* clearly shows that the Ōmiwadera priests and other religious specialists and practitioners played an active role not only in reinterpreting the ancient kami site that was ritually and symbolically protected by their temple, but also in forging meaningful *honji suijaku* relationships between the enshrined kami and buddhas to construct, in effect, a physical manifestation of a Pure Land. The monks of Saidaiji lineage may be credited with compiling the *Engi* and possibly adding another interpretive layer to its subject matter. More importantly, however, in recording the old theories and almost inaudible voices of Mt. Miwa, they have left us invaluable and detailed evidence showing the unfolding of intellectual and religious history in premodern Japan.

The ninth and final chapter of the *Engi* is entitled "On the Miraculous Deity (*reijin* 霊神) of Miwa and Hie Sannō 日吉山王 Being the Same Body (*dōtai* 同体)." This is the most puzzling chapter of all. Within the context of the *Engi*, this chapter serves to establish a relationship between the deities installed in the shrines of Hie 日吉 and Miwa (as well as the precedence of the latter over the former), in a manner comparable to the relationship between Ise and Miwa seen earlier in the first three chapters. It also adds a new element, the deity known as Daikoku Tenjin 大黒天神, to this multilateral equation.

Some scholars have argued that this chapter of *Miwa daimyōjin engi* may have been added later.[71] Indeed, this episode seems to be rather exceptional. With its underlying

[71] Murayama 1987b, p. 338.

meanings hinting at the preeminence of Miwa Myōjin over the deities of Yoshino and its dominant position within the sacred compound of the Hie shrines and on Mt. Hiei, this part of the *Engi* may have been inserted to appeal to the Tendai establishment, or perhaps to the groups of Shugen practitioners affiliated with Tendai temples who were familiar with the esoteric thought and practices of Taimitsu 台密.[72]

The ninth chapter tells the story of the great patriarch of Japanese Tendai, Saichō 最澄 (767–822), who is faced with the dilemma of finding a powerful deity willing to become the protector of Mt. Hiei. He first asks Katte 勝手 and Komori 子守, the deities of Yoshino, who refuse and advise him to ask the great kami of the north (i.e., to the north of Yoshino). Saichō then goes to Mt. Miwa and is at last able to procure an agreement with a powerful kami to be installed on Mt. Hiei. Katte and Komori, central to the ritual discourse of the Yoshino-Tōnomine Shugen circuit, are given a polite reason for being passed over, and Saichō is credited with establishing strong and flourishing bonds between the deities of Miwa and the Tendai school. Here, *Miwa daimyōjin engi* makes yet another powerful claim regarding the supreme position of the kami of Miwa, whose status must therefore match that of the deities installed in the two shrines at Ise and of the protective deities of Mt. Hiei.

The *Engi* provides a crucial link between the sacred sites of Miwa and Hiei by citing the "fact" that Miwa Myōjin manifested itself to Saichō as Daikoku Tenjin (also known simply as "Daikoku") while holding a branch of the *ayasugi* 綾杉 tree. Ōmiwa's large *ayasugi* trees, a famous part of the shrine landscape, were described in poetry and court diaries. More importantly, Daikoku Tenjin was one of the deities revered by the Tendai school,[73] as well as by the Saidaiji lineage.[74]

The remainder of the ninth chapter is dedicated to questions and answers regarding the identity of Daikoku Tenjin, its relation to Miwa Myōjin, and its efficacy in protecting the state and the emperor just as well as Amaterasu. One striking feature of this complicated chapter is a reference to a myth of Hindu origin, namely that of King Kalmāsapāda (Hansoku 班足), who in order to ascend the throne had to kill a thousand kings and present their heads to the god Mahākāla (Makakara 摩訶迦羅).[75] It is understood that Mahākāla—originally a graveyard deity strongly associated with death rites, and by extension with the world of the unseen—is a powerful esoteric figure who came to be venerated in India, China, and Japan, eventually manifesting

[72] Murayama Shūichi also explores this possibility in his discussion of the connections of Miwa to Tendai mountain practices at Tōnomine (Murayama 1987a, p. 289).

[73] Daikoku Tenjin is mentioned numerous times in texts such as *Keiranshūyōshū*. Regarding Mahākāla and Daikoku worship in East Asia, see also Iyanaga 2002, particularly pp. 556–57, which deals with the existing traditions of Daikoku worship both at Mt. Hiei and Miwa.

[74] Eizon, for instance, was credited with writing a manual on the specifics of the Daikoku Tenjin incantations.

[75] Iyanaga Nobumi mentions the story of Kalmāsapāda in relation to esoteric enthronement rituals (*sokui kanjō* 即位灌頂) and draws parallels between the worship of Mahākāla/Daikoku and the veneration of *dākinī* demons in medieval Japan (Iyanaga 2002, pp. 139–51; and Iyanaga 2003, pp. 150–52).

itself at Miwa. The last sequence of this section asserts that Daikoku Tenjin (also a manifestation of Miwa Myōjin) is at least as powerful as Amaterasu in protecting the rulers of the country. In closing, the *Engi* states that the three shrines of Ōmiya 大宮 in the vicinity of Mt. Hiei (where Miwa Myōjin was indeed enshrined as the bodhisattva Hosshuku 法宿) are in fact the three sacred places of Mt. Miwa. As Sugahara Shinkai has helpfully pointed out, the theory that the deities of Miwa and Hie Sannō (Sannō Gongen 山王権現) are one and the same can be seen in several medieval collections produced at Mt. Hiei, including *Yōtenki* 耀天記, *Sange yōryakki* 山家要略記, and *Keiranshūyōshū* 渓嵐拾葉集.[76] Thus it seems that corresponding theories connecting the deities of Hie and Miwa also circulated at Mt. Hiei and were well known there.

To complicate matters further, the writings produced at Mt. Hiei also describe a typically Tendai theory of the "sameness" of Sannō and Amaterasu.[77] However, as many of these texts remain difficult to date with precision, it is unclear which sacred site produced which theory first. Perhaps even asking such a question is fruitless.

The Principal Buddhist Notions Seen in the Engi

The inclusion of the ninth chapter highlights the range of Buddhist ideas brought into play by the compilers of *Miwa daimyōjin engi*. The whole text has frequently been brought up as an example of the so-called Ryōbu Shinto tradition, but it soon becomes apparent that the proposed labels often do not work.

For example, throughout this text we see the repeated use of the notions of non-duality (*funi*). For esoteric Buddhists, this was a fundamental concept underlying the relationship between all phenomena of the natural world and the higher cosmic world of divinities; it played an important role in the understanding of the nature of reality through the teachings of *mikkyō*. As conceived in *Miwa daimyōjin engi*, these notions of non-duality are made up not only of two parts (*ryōbu*), but three (*sanbu*).

This implies a much broader definition of the category of Ryōbu Shinto, offering a form of conceptualization flexible enough to embrace not only the so-called twofold pattern, stemming directly from the application of the Two Part Mandala so often used within the Tōmitsu 東密 environment, but also the threefold pattern that was widely invoked in Tendai esoteric circles. In this respect, *Miwa daimyōjin engi*, like many other medieval combinatory texts discussing kami, defies any attempt at a sectarian definition of it. The reason for this is simple: in medieval Japan such sectarian divisions rarely existed.

The seemingly consistent borrowing of elements that can be identified as classic Tendai notions, such as the "three points" (*santen*), "three wheels" (*sanrin* 三輪), or the Taimitsu interpretation of the Three Part Mandala that we see scattered throughout the text, suggests that the authors of the final version of *Miwa daimyōjin engi* were aware of the multiple traditions produced by esoteric Buddhist temples in Japan and were able

[76] Sugahara 2005, pp. 111–12.
[77] Sugahara 2005, pp. 111–12.

to use them as they saw fit. This raises a concern about how some modern scholars impose labels on religious texts and practices, particularly when the texts themselves reveal diverse and highly nuanced practices of medieval kami worship at specific cultic sites.

Seen in a broader light, the composition of *Miwa daimyōjin engi* remains largely eclectic and satisfyingly ambiguous. The first chapter contains one such example. It is the passage in which the imperial deity Amaterasu is frequently referred to as Cakravartin, the "Wheel-Turning King," who is a manifestation of the cosmic deity Mahāvairocana, the source of Buddhist enlightenment and ultimately a metaphor for all things luminous and hierarchically supreme. The exact provenance of this composite term for the imperial deity used in the *Engi* is unclear, although one could hazard a guess that it was composed of several epithets deemed appropriate to the position of the imperial kami and solar deity ruling the realm. The meaning of Amaterasu's appellation "Dainichi, King of the Heavenly Golden Wheel [Cakravartin], Illuminating All Things," as expounded in *Miwa daimyōjin engi*, may have had its roots in Amoghavajra's definition of the One-Syllable Golden Wheel (Sk. Ekāksara-usnīsa-cakra; Jp. Ichiji Kinrin), or have been related to a famous passage in the *Lotus Sutra* and the subsequent interpretations of these passages in medieval Japanese Tendai. On the whole, however, the exact provenance of this term remains uncertain.

Several concepts, such as the "three bodies of Buddha" (*nirmanakāya, sambhogakāya, dharmakāya*) and "five wisdoms" (*gochi* 五智), and rhetorical expressions (the mountain peak resembling the "eight-petal lotus" and a "three-pronged *vajra*"), employed in the *Engi* appear often in other prominent medieval collections dealing with the promotion of mountains as Buddhist cultic sites. These textual collections originated within the sacred complexes of Mt. Hiei, Ise, Nara, and Yoshino and were rooted in contemporaneous traditions of mountain religion associated with these sites. For example, *Shosan engi* 諸山縁起, a collection of "origin stories" from the Ōmine-Yoshino mountain range in the late twelfth century; *Asamayama engi* 朝熊山縁起 ("The Origins of Mt. Asama at [Ise]");[78] and *Kinpusen himitsuden* 金峰山秘密伝 ("Secret Transmissions of Mt. Kinpusen")[79] all use the aforementioned expressions. Similar phrases can also be seen in works by the *kike* scribes based at Mt. Hiei, such as *Keiranshūyōshū*[80] and *Sange yōryakki*.

As we delve deeper into the intricate network connecting different cultic sites, the use of specific patterns in medieval texts dealing with kami reveals further significance. For

[78] *Asamayama engi* and *Shosan engi* can be found in Sakurai et al. 1975, pp. 77–86 and 89–139, respectively.

[79] This collection of transmissions, origin stories, and Shugendō ritual manuals (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 38, pp. 435–70) is attributed to the controversial monk Gushin Monkan 具真文観 (1278–1357), another member of the Saidaiji lineage. My thanks to Iyanaga Nobumi for bringing this reference to my attention.

[80] *Keiranshūyōshū* in particular contains a wealth of records referring to Mt. Miwa and its deity. For a study of this text in English, see Grapard 1998.

example, the tripartite elements (*sanbu*) appear widely in several *engi* texts dedicated to cultic sites along the eastern rim of the Yamato plain. *Ichidai no mine engi* 一代峯縁起, attributed to the Shugen groups practicing at Mt. Kasagi 笠置 near Nara, contains references to "secret rituals of the Three Mandalas" (*sanbu no hihō* 三部の秘法) and describes this cultic site as a part of the Three Mandalas.[81] Furthermore, *Kinpusen himitsuden* demonstrates that mountain practitioners worshipping Zaō Gongen 蔵王権現 were well aware of the "three buddhas in one body" and the sacred realm corresponding to the Three Mandalas.[82]

Miwa daimyōjin engi gives us a glimpse of forgotten Shugendō pilgrimage routes that may have connected Mt. Kasagi, Mt. Miwa, and Mt. Kinpusen, three sites where many rituals dedicated to worshipping Miroku 弥勒 and Dainichi based on the Taimitsu interpretations of esoteric mandalas were carried out. This is still further proof that Miwa's convenient position at the junction of busy roads and important pilgrimage routes was one of the decisive factors in its becoming saturated with esoteric Buddhist ideas and its subsequent "reinvention" as a pivotal esoteric Buddhist site on a par with the great shrines of Ise and Hie.[83]

Several chapters of the *Engi*, including the one on the origins of the eight Ōmiwa shrines, refer to ideas that were hotly debated in medieval Japanese Buddhism, such as teachings regarding "inherent enlightenment" (*hongaku*)[84] and "enlightenment with this very body" (*sokushin jōbutsu*). These two important notions were widely discussed within the Buddhist establishments of both Tendai and Shingon 真言 at the time and were accordingly raised in *Miwa daimyōjin engi*. For example, the sixth chapter contains the following passage:

> In this way, the original body (*hontai* 本体) of these magnificent deities is composed of the Three Sections (*sanbu*). They are truly subtle and great. Thus we know that the Great Deity of this shrine [Miwa] is the union of the Three Sections [Mandala], and this constitutes its true meaning. Its appearance in the karmic realm (*ehō shōhō* 依報正報) is as grasses and trees and the land itself (*sōmoku kokudo* 草木国土). At the same time, it manifests the unity of the Dharma Body of Buddha and the Land of Eternal and Tranquil Light, where body and mind are one. The meaning of buddhahood in this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu*), as set forth in Shingon and Tendai, and the principle [that] grasses and trees [can] become buddhas (*sōmoku jōbutsu* 草木成仏), are made manifest and become known in the divine land (*reichi* 霊地) [of Miwa].[85]

In essence, the meaning of this passage is that, just as "grasses and trees" all carry the seeds of the esoteric buddha Dainichi's omnipresent body and can become buddhas (*sōmoku jōbutsu*), native deities also dwell in the Dharma. Kami can achieve

[81] Sakurai et al. 1975, pp. 136–38.

[82] *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 38, p. 437.

[83] Andreeva 2006, p. 369.

[84] For more on the concept of *hongaku* and its impact on medieval Japanese Buddhism, see the excellent study by Jacqueline Stone (Stone 1999).

[85] For more on *sōmoku jōbutsu*, see Rambelli 2001.

enlightenment and even become its source. The oracle of the Ōmiwa deity, repeated in the *Engi* several times, says of all grasses and trees—that is, all natural phenomena, including kami—"All is my body, all is my home," thus drawing on one of the most profound currents of thought in medieval Japanese Buddhism, the theory of inherent enlightenment (*hongaku shisō* 本覚思想).

The concept of native kami being a source of such enlightenment was fundamental to medieval Buddhist thinkers. It offered a new way to achieve the ultimate goal of Buddhism, which in the dreadful times of the "latter days of the Dharma" (*mappō* 末法) could otherwise be postponed for many kalpas. This, in turn, led to a broad realization that Japan, dotted as it was with such potent kami sites, was in fact a divine land (*shinkoku* 神国) and was therefore equal in importance to India and China. Seen in this light, the appearance in many medieval texts of this idea of kami as a source of inherent enlightenment represents a new stage in the process of Japan's self-conceptualization, particularly in the aftermath of the political, economic, and symbolic instability that accompanied the Mongol invasions.

How did these esoteric "secret" theories make their way into the *Engi*? It has already been mentioned that the Saidaiji lineage, which had local bases in southern Yamato, Ise, and other areas, was instrumental in recording this text. The original material for the *Engi* was probably acquired with the help of priests from Daigorinji at Miwa and Kōshōji at Ise. These lineages may have indeed been at the center of the compilation of *Miwa daimyōjin engi* precisely because they were actively involved in exchanges with temples at Ise and were also loosely connected to the circuits of Shugendō practice in the areas of northern and southern Yamato. It is possible that the authors of the *Engi* or its subsequent copyists had access to the Taimitsu traditions of Shugen groups who practiced mountain austerities in the Yamato and Ise areas. Alternatively, they might have deliberately incorporated certain popular terminology from Tendai teachings in order to appeal to local practitioners affiliated with Tendai temples. The proximity of Miwa to the mountain ranges of Yoshino and Tōnomine may have been one important means by which esoteric theories propounded by mountain religion ascetics made their way to Miwa.[86] The relationship of Miwa to the temples at Tōnomine,[87] Yoshino, and Murō is also reflected in the *Engi*, albeit in more subtle form than its links to Ise and Hie.

Miwa daimyōjin engi exemplifies not only the construction of a "sacred geography"—something that was once eloquently described as a "patchwork quilt" of sacred sites in premodern Japan[88]—but also represents a dynamic vision of the workings of mandalic and tantric logic based on the association of physical phenomena and abstract esoteric concepts. It is a compelling illustration of a discourse on the

[86] The traditions of Shugendō pilgrimage of Yoshino and Ōmine in the late twelfth century already suggest an overlap between the routes of pilgrimage that must have led to communication between the ritualistic lineages.

[87] See note 32.

[88] Grapard 1982, p. 200.

"economy of the sacred" in medieval Japan. In its description of what is sacred and why, this text creates a vision of Mt. Miwa as a supreme and paramount cultic site. In addition, it highlights the fluidity of esoteric and mythological knowledge and its routes of transmission while shedding light on the process of cross-fertilization of intellectual and religious traditions produced at multiple sacred sites. The *Engi* may display tools and mechanisms that were typically employed in the construction of medieval religious texts, but ultimately it serves as an example of unlimited creativity in the conceptualization of sacred sites in premodern Japan and the diversity of these sites' strategies for survival.

The Karmic Origins of the Great Bright Miwa Deity

Translated by Anna Andreeva

1. On the Origin and Traces of Tenshō Daijin 天照大神

This great deity has two forms [gates], an origin and a trace. Now, by referring both to ancient records and current practice, I am able to reveal their meaning. First, the origin (*honji* 本地).

One day in a certain month of a certain year, while on a seven-day pilgrimage [to Ise], I prayed that I might know the meaning of the august name of the Great Imperial Deity who Illuminates the Heavens (Tenshō Kōtaijin 天照皇太神).[89] Early in the morning of the seventh day, the final day of my vow, I went to the shrine [on the other side of the river],[90] and there, standing in the undergrowth, I proclaimed my sincere devotion and prayed, whereupon from further up the river, where the shrine seemed to be, came a voice from the sky, saying,

"The primary meaning is Dainichi, King of the Heavenly Golden Wheel, Illuminating All Things (*tenkin rinnō kōmyō henjō Dainichi son* 天金輪王光明遍照大日尊)."[91]

[89] These characters, which represent the imperial deity Amaterasu, could also be read "Amaterasu Sumera Ōkami." It is difficult to assert with confidence that this particular reading was indeed used in the *Miwa daimyōjin engi* 三輪大明神縁起, and this can, of course, affect the interpretation. I have therefore decided to use the reading "Amaterasu" when describing the imperial deity as the mysterious spirit in heaven equated with the esoteric buddha Dainichi 大日 and "Tenshō Kōtaijin," "Kōtaijin" (the Imperial Great Deity), or "Tenshō Daijin" when referring to Amaterasu in the context of Ise.

[90] Assuming that the author (possibly Eizon 叡尊) is on a pilgrimage to Ise, it is possible that the "shrine" (*goten* 御殿) here might have been the "Shrine to the Wind," *kaze no miya* 風の宮, across the Mimosuso 御裳濯 river. This was the closest approach that Buddhist priests were allowed to make to the inner shrine.

[91] Although I was unable to find any other instances of the full use of this term, a similar compound can be seen in numerous descriptions of the One-Syllable Golden Wheel (Ichiji Kinrin 一字金輪). For instance, in *Kongōchō kyō ichiji kinrinnō yuga issai jisho nenju jōbutsu giki* 金剛頂経一字頂輪王瑜伽一切時処念誦成仏儀軌 (T 51:322a22–23)—"Ritual Procedure of Becoming Buddha through Recitation, Anytime, Anywhere, by the Yoga of the One-Syllable Wheel-Turning King from the Vajraśekhara" (for this gloss see *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*)—brought to Japan by Ennin 円仁 and Enchin 円珍, there is a term "The Body of Tathagata, King of the Golden Wheel, Illuminating All Things" (*kinrinnō henshō nyoraishin* 金輪王遍照如来身); see also *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 83.

Hearing these divine words, I hastened to make acknowledgment and left. *Ten* 天 (meaning heaven), *shō* 照 (meaning Bright Wisdom Illuminating All Things), and *son* 尊 (meaning Dainichi); in these three stages, *ten* is the "Corresponding Body" (*ōjin nyorai* 応身如来), *shō* is the "Reward Body" (*hōjin nyorai* 報身如来), and *son* is the "Dharma Body" (*hosshin nyorai* 法身如来).[92] [They] are said to be the "three points" (*santen* 三点) of principle (*ri* 理), wisdom (*chi* 智), and compassion (*hi* 悲),[93] namely, the "real nature of existence" (*shinshō* 真性), "illuminating wisdom" (*kanshō* 観照), and "attaining the practice [of buddhahood]" (*shijō* 資成).[94] Therefore you should know that this is the august name by which Dainichi, the Three Bodies in One (*sanshin sokuichi no Dainichi* 三身即一之大日) is called. This summarizes the meaning of the "origin."

Next, the "traces" (*suijaku* 垂迹). The name differs, depending on which of three places [one is speaking about]. In heaven its name is Amaterasu. After its divine descent to earth, it went to two different places. At Mt. Miwa 三輪 in the province of Yamato it is called the Great Bright Deity of Ōmiwa (Ōmiwa Daimyōjin 大神大明神),[95] and at Mt. Kamiji 神道 in the province of Ise it is called the Great Imperial Deity, Kōtaijin 皇太神.[96] Thus one may know that it is one body with three names

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This passage is also reminiscent of a part of the *Threefold Lotus Sutra* (*Bussetsu kan fugen bosatsu gyōhō kyō* 仏説観普賢菩薩行法経; T 9:392c15–17; English translation modified from Stone 1999, p. 25, modified from Katō et al. 1975, p. 362) that reads, "At that time the voice in space will speak these words [to the mediator]: Shākamuni is called Vairocana, Illuminating All Things, and that Buddha's dwelling place is called Ever-Tranquil Light." The reference to the Land of Ever-Tranquil Light (*jōjakkōdo* 常寂光土) appears in the *Engi* a few passages later (see note 108).

[92] *Ōjin nyorai* (Sk. *nirmānakāya*) is the body of a buddha manifested to correspond to the different needs and capacities of living beings. *Hōjin nyorai* (Sk. *sambhogakāya*) is the body of a buddha received as the result of meritorious practices. *Hosshin nyorai* (Sk. *dharmakāya*) is the body of the ultimate reality, the buddha who transcends personality and is identical with *shinnyo* 真如 (*tathatā*) or thusness, suchness, the true form of things, reality.

The *Engi* employs the classic *Moho-chih kuan* 摩訶止観 theory of Three Buddha Bodies in One, *sanshin sokuichi* 三身即一, which is well known in Mahāyāna Buddhism (T 46:1–140). Stone suggests that concepts of the three bodies were already developed by Chinese commentators such as Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597) and Yixing 一行 (683–727). These concepts became transmitted in the Japanese Tendai 天台 school by Saichō 最澄 and Ennin (Stone 1999, pp. 26, 184–85). Medieval esoteric Buddhist texts on kami referred to them widely.

[93] These three categories closely resemble the concept of the three points derived from classic Tiantai Buddhism as it was developed in China. The third one, however, seems to deviate from the standard definition of the three points, which are usually represented by principle (*ri*), wisdom (*chi*), and matter (*ji* 事).

[94] These concepts also seem to be an importation from classic Tiantai.

[95] From the Buddhist perspective, the term *myōjin* 明神 could be translated as "bright deity," a kami that represents the illuminating efficacy of the Buddhist Dharma in the manner of a *rājā* king, *myōō* 明王 (*Kōsetsu bukkyōgo daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1596). This term was used for local kami along with another, *gongen* 権現, or "provisional manifestation." The latter is usually interpreted as a Mahāyānic concept of the "manifestation of *dharmakāya* as buddhas and bodhisattvas in order to save sentient beings" (*Kōsetsu bukkyōgo daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 516).

[96] Here, "Kamijiyama," usually written with the characters 神路山, represents the inner shrine of

(*ittai sanmyō* 一体三名). I believe that of these, the august name Tenshō [Amaterasu] appears in *Nihongi* 日本紀. In this book it says that two deities

> together gave birth to the Sun Deity and named it Ōhirumenomuchi 大日霊貴. This child, truly luminous and bright, illuminated every corner of the world (*rokugō* [or *rikugō*] 六合).[97] Therefore the two deities said in great delight: "Although our children are numerous, none of them has been equal to this wondrous infant; it is not fitting [for this child] to stay in this land for long. We should promptly send her to Heaven and entrust her with [authority over] Heavenly Matters." In that age Heaven and Earth were not yet far from each other, so they sent her up to Heaven by the Heavenly Pillar.[98]

This is the meaning of the name Tenshō [Amaterasu] that they gave her.

2. On the Two Places [Where] the Deity Is Enshrined

Tenshō Kōtaijin resides in the vicinity of the Mimosuso 御裳濯 river in the foothills of Mt. Kamiji in the village of Uji 宇治 in the Watarai 度会 district in the province of Ise. The Great Miwa Deity resides in the vicinity of the two rivers of *ram* and *vam* of Mt. Mimuro 御室 in the Shikinokami 城上 district in the province of Yamato.

3. On the Order of Precedence of the Great Deity of Ise and Miwa

In "The Age of the Gods" in *Nihongi* it says, "Ōnamuchi no Mikoto 大己貴命 spoke to Tenshō Kōtaijin and said, 'Now, where do you wish to live?' She replied, 'I wish to live on Mt. Miwa in the Land of Yamato.'"[99] We therefore know that the descent of the Miwa Deity happened in the age of the gods. The enshrinement of Tenshō Daijin

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Ise (*naikū* 内宮). The term Kōtaijin, the Imperial Great Deity, was used to refer to the deity of the inner shrine from at least the early ninth century. One of the first recorded examples of this term, along with the tenth-century *Engishiki* 延喜式, was the protocol for rituals at the Ise shrines, *Kōtai jingū gishikichō* 皇太神宮儀式帳, written by the Arakida 荒木田 lineage in 804. The term Kōtaijin is likely to have been used in medieval writings as well. For a discussion of the medieval use of this term at Ise, and the character *kō* in particular, see Teeuwen 1996.

[97] In the Daoist tradition, the term *rokugō* [or *rikugō*] referred either to "six directions" (north, south, east, west, up, and down) or "six calendrical periods" as outlined in "Regulations of Time" in *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (*Dao jiao da ci dian*, p. 106). Here, it means "the whole world."

[98] The quoted passage closely follows the text of the "Age of the Gods" section of *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (vol. 1, pp. 86–87). I have therefore interpreted this passage of the *Engi* according to Aston's translation of *Nihon shoki* (Aston 1972, vol. 1, p. 18). Note that Aston identifies Amaterasu as female. The explanatory note in the original *Nihon shoki* text clearly gives the reading of the name Ōhirumenomuchi, while giving two additional names, Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大神 and Amaterasu Ōhirume no Mikoto 天照大日霊尊, as alternative versions. As far as the *Engi* is concerned, it is the characters representing "Great Light" or Dainichi that are of importance here.

[99] The *Nihon shoki* passage alluded to here actually appears following the account of the creation of the land of Izumo by Ōnamuchi and Sukunabiko 少名彦. *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, p. 130 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 60–61). Amaterasu never appears in the original *Nihon shoki* text. Ōnamuchi asks a mysterious guest where the latter wishes to live. The unknown deity then replies that it wishes to live on Mt. Mimoro 三諸 in Yamato. *Nihon shoki* goes on to explain that this was the origin of the Miwa deity, and gives an account of its lineage.

occurred in the reign of Emperor Suinin 垂仁.[100] The order of precedence is clear. On this basis, the first becomes the origin, the second the trace. This is the first level of origin and trace.

If one relies on [the notions of] the Buddhist Dharma and "ultimate taboo" (*okuimi* 奥忌), which constitute "origin and trace," then again, this Mt. Miwa is the origin. If one relies correctly on the Buddhist Dharma, it will reveal the true aspect; therefore, Mt. Kamiji becomes the trace, because it manifests the taboo against the outer aspect of the Buddhist Dharma.[101]

For this reason, the mountains in both places have different names. At Ise, the sacred mountain is called Kamijiyama [the Mountain of the Divine Way]; at Miwayama it is called Mimuroyama [the Mountain of the August Dwelling]. Mimuroyama is so called because that is the auspicious name of the Buddhist Dharma, the Flower-Store Realm (*kezō sekai* 華蔵世界);[102] this is also the case with Murōyama 室生山.[103] Now, in my opinion, to designate the matters pertaining to that deity with the characters *mimuro* 御室 [the August Dwelling] is a mundane, shallow practice. In short, the merit and potential of the origin correspond to the Three Pure [Ones] (*mimuro* 三無漏).[104] Therefore, it has been said that the peaks are divided into eight [lotus] petals,

[100] This is a reference to the part of the Suinin chronicles in *Nihon shoki* that describes how Amaterasu was enshrined at Ise. *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, pp. 269–70 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, p. 176).

[101] The grammar in this passage is not straightforward, and the *kaeriten* 返点 marks may be misleading. From the overall context, however, it is clear that the authors of the *Engi* treat the taboo regarding the Buddhist Dharma at Ise as an obstacle. They seem to allude to the attraction of Miwa, which, by contrast, does not have such restrictions and can therefore be deemed superior.

[102] The Lotus World (*rengezō sekai* 蓮華蔵世界) is a world represented or imagined in the form of a lotus. In the *Garland Sutra* (*Kegon kyō* 華厳経; T 9:395), it is perceived as the Pure Land arranged according to the wish of Buddha Vairocana. The lowest level of this world is represented by the wind disk, on top of which resides the Sea of Fragrant Water, where a single great lotus floats. The world contained in this lotus is called the Lotus World.

[103] Mt. Murō was one of the mountains where monks affiliated with the Buddhist temples in Nara—mainly Kōfukuji 興福寺—had been practicing austerities since the Nara and Heian periods (Tyler 1990). It is thought that the earliest cultic sites of Murō were dedicated to a water or dragon deity (Tsuji 1970, pp. 7–9; and Gorai 1978, pp. 190–91). Sometime after 1213, with the arrival of Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 and Saidaiji 西大寺 monks from Nara, the *Ryūketsu* 龍穴 Shrine and the temple Murōji 室生寺 became a center of esoteric worship. The Shingon 真言 initiation hall was built there in the early fourteenth century (Fowler 2005). In the medieval period, the sacred sites in the vicinity of Mt. Murō became central to the esoteric kami worship later known as Goryū 御流 (the Shinto of the August Lineage).

[104] The Buddhist term *muro* 無漏 (Sk. *anasrava*) means "no [impure] outflows" and is used to describe elements that are "non-defiled by or unattached to worldly passions" (*Kōsetsu bukkyōgo daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1650). This term figures prominently in the *Kusha ron* 倶舎論 (T 29:1–160) and the *Lotus Sutra*. The *Engi* here seems to be trying to explain that the term *mimuro* sums up the significance of the origin (*honji*), which can be understood as lying in the "three pure elements" or representing "three pure buddhas." In the context of the physical landscape of Mt. Miwa, one could assume that these three elements correspond to the three sacred rock sites (*iwakura* 磐座) positioned along the slopes of the mountain (see p. 248).

and the valley is in the shape of a three-pronged *vajra* (*sanko* 三鈷), which in turn represents the Three Mandalas (*sanbu* 三部).[105] Now this mountain [Miwa] perfectly expresses the merit and potential of the Three Mandalas. Dainichi of the Three Mandalas is enshrined [here], balancing his virtues and aligning his bodies. This is why the Three Pure and Perfect Deities (*muro ton'en sanson* 無漏純円三尊) reside in this place, and why it is called *mimuro* 三無漏, the Three Pure [Ones]. To write it as "the August Dwelling" (*mimuro* 御室) is a mistake.

From the point of view of the active *honji* [Dainichi],[106] the origin attached to this place is called Three Pure [Ones] (*mimuro* 三無漏), and if you summarize where they live, then it is fitting to say "Three Dwellings" (*mimuro* 三室), because it is a Land of Tranquil Light where the Three Buddhas reside (*sanbutsu shojū no jakkōdo* 三仏所住之寂光土).[107]

In the sutra it says, "Shākamuni Buddha is called Vairocana (Birushana 毘盧舎那). Omnipresent in all places, this buddha resides in a place called the Eternal Tranquil Light";[108] such is the meaning. The word "vairo" translates as "Omnipresent in All Places" (*hen issai sho* 遍一切処), and "cana" translates as "Included Treasury" (*ganzō* 含蔵).[109] Shākamuni Buddha is called Vairocana, which means that the Three Buddhas are in one body (*sanbutsu ittai* 三仏一体), and so we get the name *mimuro*, the Three Pure [Ones]. "Omnipresent in All Places" means that this Great Bright Deity (Daimyōjin 大明神) [of Miwa] has grasses, trees, and land (*sōmoku kokudo* 草木国土) as its karmic shape (*eshō* 依正). This is a wondrously profound teaching.

[105] In esoteric Buddhism, *sanbu* is used to refer to the three sections appearing in the Womb Realm (*taizōkai* 胎蔵界) Mandala, namely, the Buddha Section (*butsubu* 仏部), the Diamond Section (*kongōbu* 金剛部), and the Lotus Section (*rengebu* 蓮華部), which together constitute esoteric enlightenment. Alternatively, the same notion could be used to refer to the three mandalas of the Diamond Realm (*kongōkai* 金剛界), the Womb Realm, and the Lotus (*soshitsuji* 蘇悉地). The little-studied Taimitsu 台密 tradition seems to employ the notion of "three parts" when describing the three parts of non-duality, which include the Womb Realm, the Diamond Realm, and the non-dual part of both (*kintai funi* 金胎不二). Although it is difficult to determine exactly which interpretation is invoked in each part of the *Engi*, because the same notion appears several times, in most cases "Three Mandalas" seems suitable.

[106] The meaning of this phrase is unclear. The translation I have chosen is, admittedly, only a speculative suggestion.

[107] The term "Land of Tranquil Light" (*jakkōdo* 寂光土) comes from the "Treasure-Stupa Chapter" (*Hōtōbon* 宝塔品) of the *Lotus Sutra*, which explains that Buddha Shākamuni manifests itself as the "Buddha of Tranquil Light" (*jakkō nyorai* 寂光如来), flanked by the two treasure-buddhas that embody both wisdom and principle (*richi* 理智) and inhabiting a treasure-stupa that is the Land of Tranquil Light (*jakkōdo*). *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1046.

[108] This line is a quotation from the *Lotus Sutra*, mentioned above (notes 91 and 107). In Tendai tradition, the Ever-Tranquil Land is the place where Tathāgata resides (Stone 1999, pp. 185–86).

[109] The term "included treasury" can be understood as a synonym for "store-consciousness" (Sk. *ālaya-vijnāna*), also called the "seed consciousness." It is a concept deriving from the Yogacara (Ch. Yújiā zōng 瑜珈宗, Jp. Yuga) and the "Consciousness-Only" traditions (Ch. *wéishí* 唯識, Jp. *yuishikiron* 唯識論). It is also encountered in the teachings of the Hossō 法相 (Ch. *Faxiang*; "Dharma Characteristics") school.

You should know that the Land of Eternal Tranquil Light, where this buddha dwells, is the meaning of "Three Dwellings" (*mimuro* 三室). When in this compilation [of earlier materials the term] is written as the "August Dwelling" (*mimuro* 御室) [rather than as "Three Dwellings"], it simply follows the usage found in these old treatises. When you know the real meaning, you will understand it is as above. The single name *mimuro* 御室, the "August Dwelling," [thus] possesses two levels, the active and the passive. So profound and extraordinary is the meaning. The old records say: [110]

> The mountain is called *Mimuro* 御室; the peaks are divided into eight [lotus] petals, the valley resembles a three-pronged *vajra*. The mountain is between the two rivers flowing in the north and in the south. The river in the north is called the stream of the syllable *vam*. The river in the south is called the stream of the syllable *ram*. Both streams join together and form the river called Funi/Fuji 下二 [the River of Non-Duality].[111]
>
> Also, since it is a miraculous deity (*reijin* 霊神), during the descent [to earth] there came an oracle that said, "Construct a hall of worship. Reach right to heaven, dig deep into earth, and make it my home. The Omnipresent Dharma Body (*hōtai* 法体), the land of grasses and trees (*sōmoku kokudo*)—all is my body, all is my home. What place is not my home? What grasses and trees are not my body?"[112]

The above-mentioned principles are the deep meaning of [the theories that say that] even grasses and trees can become buddhas (*sōmoku jōbutsu* 草木成仏)[113] and [that] the world of dust is the [Land of the] Tranquil Light (*saba jakkō* 娑婆寂光). Hence, it is clear that the Great Deity of this shrine [Miwa] reveals the essence of the Buddhist Dharma in all its depth. To clarify [this further], the Imperial Deity Amaterasu of the Heavenly Shrine (Tengū Tenshō Kōtaijin 天宮天照皇太神) is the Dharma Body of the Buddha Section. The Great Heavenly Deity of Mt. Miwa (Miwayama Ten-

[110] It is not quite clear what these "old records" are.

[111] The character 下 may be 不 written incorrectly. This quoted passage, again, deals with the representation of a physical landscape in the Siddham script.

[112] It has been suggested that this oracle may have drawn on the passages from *Kojiki* 古事記 and *Nihon shoki* associated with Ōkuninushi 大国主 (particularly those related to the myth of *kuniyuzuri* 国譲り). *Nihon shoki*, however, offers little to substantiate this claim; see the *kuniyuzuri* episode in *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, pp. 138–40 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 68–69). Rather, the structure and contents of this oracle may be more closely derived from *Kojiki*, namely, the plea of Ōkuninushi when he asks to be enshrined in Izumo. *Kojiki*, pp. 123–25 (Philippi 1969, pp. 134–35).

This oracle could also be interpreted as the utterance of a mysterious deity asking Ōkuninushi/Ōnamuchi to enshrine it on Mt. Mimoro in Yamato. *Kojiki*, pp. 107–109 (Philippi 1969, pp. 115–17); and *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, pp. 128–30 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 60–61). Neither of the texts mentioned above goes into much detail with respect to the contents of the oracle. Since this is the case, this oracle may have been the Ōmiwa shrine's own legend, or, in fact, a good example of the "medieval *Nihongi*" legitimizing strategy.

[113] The idea of *sōmoku jōbutsu* or "grasses and trees becoming buddhas" was well known in the Tendai teachings in medieval Japan. It was also a much-discussed concept in Tendai *hongaku* 本覚 thought, which argued about the means of "inherent enlightenment." For more detailed studies see Stone 1999 and Rambelli 2001. Here, in the context of the *Engi*, an effort is made to reinterpret the old legends of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* in accordance with these theories.

jin Daimyōjin 三輪山天神大明神) is the Reward Body of the Diamond Section. The Imperial Deity of the Mountain of Divine Way[114] is the Corresponding Body of the Lotus Section.[115]

It says in [another] old record that the Great Deity Amaterasu is the trace of Kannon (*Kannon suijaku* 観音垂迹).[116] That fits well [as two parts of the seal]. Hence this is respectively [as follows]: The real nature of existence is principle (*ri*); meditation is wisdom (*chi*); and attaining the practice [of buddhahood] is compassion (*hi*).[117] The form of Mt. Miwa is represented as a three-pronged *vajra*. It reveals the divine matters (*onkoto* 御事), so this is the meaning altogether. This theory is a hidden esoteric interpretation. It is the true meaning of esoteric practice (*shugyō* 修行). Although I am greatly in awe, I only record what exists.

"This Mt. Mimuro is also called the sacred spirit of Mt. Miwa. The shrine is not a usual shrine. The trees bind a ring and constitute a shrine. That is why it is called Miwa 三輪 [Three Wheels]."[118]

In my opinion, the ring is made of trees. According to the oral transmissions of men of old (*korō kuden* 古老口伝),[119] the ring is formed of five trees. Now, as for these five trees, according to these old transmissions: "This sacred deity has three sacred trees (*sanreiboku* 三霊木) as its body and five trees as its hall. The three sacred trees are pine (*matsu* 松), cryptomeria (*sugi* 杉), and *sakaki* 榊. The five trees are evergreen oak (*kashi* 橿), *hahaso* 柞 oak, camellia (*tsubaki* 椿), *aogi* 青木, and cherry (*sakura* 桜)." It said in a record[120] that the five trees constituted the shrine's precincts. We clearly know that the ring

[114] The inner shrine of Ise (Kamijiyama Kōtaijin 神路山皇太神).

[115] Here, the "three parts" (*sanbu*) seem to be spelled out clearly as the Three Mandalas (see note 105). This interpretation can be seen widely in other medieval texts dealing with mandalization of sacred mountains, such as *Shosan engi* 諸山縁起, *Yamato Katsuragi hōzanki* 大和葛城宝山記, and *Kinpusen himitsuden* 金峰山秘密伝.

[116] At Miwa, the Eleven-Headed Kannon (Jūichimen Kannon 十一面観音) was the principal image of the shrine *jingūji* 神宮寺, Daigorinji 大御輪寺. The underlying meaning of this passage is, presumably, to incorporate this temple into the sacred landscape envisioned in the *Engi*.

The early theories identifying Kannon and Amaterasu were in circulation among the monks from imperial esoteric temples such as Tōji 東寺 and Ninnaji 仁和寺 by the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries (Itō 1996, pp. 253–58). Similar theories circulated at Hasedera 長谷寺, a temple in southern Yamato that was a center of Kannon pilgrimage from the Heian period onward.

[117] See notes 93 and 94.

[118] The direct source of this quotation is unknown. In its description of the shrine being "not usual," the *Engi* seems to be referring to the idea that the physical body of Mt. Miwa was perceived as a deity and that the mountain itself was considered a "sacred body" (*shintaizan* 神体山); hence the shrine had no main building, only a dedication hall (*haiden* 拝殿). Moreover, the idea of constructing a "hall of worship" from trees is reminiscent of the ancient practice of *himorogi* 神籬, in which a branch of the *sakaki* 榊 tree was used as a temporary site of kami worship.

[119] The source of these transmissions is unknown, but the expression itself appears in many other texts, including *Shosan engi* as well as the writings of Watarai Yukitada 度会行忠 (1236–1305), such as *Korō kujitsuden* 古老口実伝 (ST *Ronsetsu hen* 論説編, vol. 5, pp. 244–69).

[120] The text refers to a certain record, *kibun* 記文.

[mentioned in that record] actually means that the five trees constitute this ring. And I suggest that, fundamentally, "five trees" does not necessarily have to be limited to "five trees"; this is why the oracle says, "My body is already Omnipresent Dharma. What grasses and trees are not my body?" The five trees express the five wisdoms (*gochi* 五智) [of the Diamond Realm];[121] the three trees represent the Three Sections [of the Womb Realm].

Again, in a record it says, "The daughter of the Takeichihara *dainagon* 武一(二)原大納言,[122] to avoid her father's suspicion, attached a thread to the hem of the garments worn by the noble who visited her every night. The garment's hem pulled the thread, and only three divided swirls [of it] (*miwake* 三和気) were left. For this reason it was called [the] Miwa [Deity]."

Now, I believe that this mountain can only be called the Mountain of Radiant Light, Kōmyōzan 光明山. In the oral transmissions of men of old it says, "This Mt. Mimuro sometimes gives off a golden radiance, which shines from within. This phenomenon is similar to when the moon is about to rise in the east on the sixteenth or seventeenth day. It is as if a great light appears in the sky, and it stays like this for many hours, or for the whole night, or for two or three nights in succession. Regarding the fact that sometimes this radiance appears, the natives of this region and people of the neighboring areas [all] say that Mt. Mimuro emits divine radiance. But this light is now no longer."

Above is the meaning of the name "Mt. Mimuro."

The two rivers of Tenshō Daijin: one is the River of the Cleansed Garment, Mimosusogawa. It flows deep from the mountains; both rivers join in front of the shrine. The second is the River of Fifty Bells (Isuzugawa 五十鈴川). It flows deep out of the Mountain of the Divine Way [Kamijiyama], joins with Mimosusogawa, and becomes one river [where] both streams merge. Beyond that stream is all Mimosusogawa.

The reason why it is called Mimosusogawa is as follows. Long ago, the daughter of Emperor Suinin, Yamatohime no Mikoto 大和姫尊, humbly received the august body of the Great Deity's Shrine [Amaterasu]. After wandering through lands and places she arrived at this place, and the hem of her garment (*mimosuso* 御裳須曾) was soiled. Because she washed and cleansed it in this river, [it is called] Mimosusogawa, the River of the Cleansed Garment.[123]

[121] The five wisdoms of Buddha. In esoteric Buddhist tradition, the five enlightenment wisdoms employed by Dainichi Nyorai are called the *gochi nyorai* 五智如来.

[122] In the ST edition of the *Engi*, this corresponds to the sequence 武一(二)原大納言; the second character is most likely a copying mistake. The *Engi* cites the famous legend of the divine marriage of Ōmiwa that appears in *Kojiki*, pp. 181–83 (Philippi 1969, pp. 203–204). *Kojiki* leaves the identity of the girl's parents obscure. The ST editors suggest that the main protagonist of this episode be identified as "a Fujiwara." If the third and fourth characters are omitted, however, the sequence in the text could be read as "Takeichi *dainagon*" 武一大納言. This name could be a variant of "Takaichi" 高市, in which case the episode would fit well with the story of Ōmiwa Takachimaro 大三輪高市麻呂 converting his residence into what became Ōmiwadera 大三輪寺.

[123] The account of Yamatohime's journey to Ise during the time of Emperor Suinin appears in

As for Isuzugawa, deep in the Mountain of the Divine Way [Kamijiyama], long ago five hundred mountain hermits (*sennin* 仙人) practiced austerities, sitting in lines and repeatedly performing services with bells. For this reason, this river is called the River of Five Hundred Bells (Isuzugawa 五百鈴河).

The next are the rivers of the Great Bright Miwa Deity. These are again two rivers, which are called the Rivers of Non-Duality, *ram* and *vam*. These rivers flow deep out of Mt. Mimuro, wind around the mountain to the south and north [of it], and emerge to the west, in front of the Great Bright Deity, [where] they become one river. The form is like the one depicted on a mandala (*zue mandara* 図絵曼荼羅). In the secret transmissions of men of old (*korō hiden* 古老秘伝) it says, "These two rivers are *ram* and *vam*, the Rivers of Non-Duality (Fuji/Funikawa 不二川). The river in the north is called *vam*; the river in the south is *ram*. The place where they merge is Fujikawa, the River of Non-Duality." To clarify, this is the working of principle and wisdom, which is the union of the Three Sections (*sanbu wagō* 三部和合), where the Non-Dual is made of Two (*funi jini* 不二而二).[124] One must truly revere and have utmost belief [in such matters].

4. On the Precincts of the Shrines of the Two Great Deities

The manner of enshrinement of Tenshō Daijin cannot be spoken of openly. Buddhist monks may not see it. Since nothing can be done about it, I shall omit the explanation [of Ise] here.[125]

As for the manner of enshrinement of the Great Miwa Deity, although it is awesome, since you beseech and thirst [for an answer], I will give a rough outline of it as it exists at present, based on the secret teachings of men of old.[126]

5. On the Shape of Mt. Mimuro

In the secret oral transmissions (*hiketsu* 秘訣) of [many generations] of the Ōmiwadera (or Daigorinji) 大御輪寺 head priests it says:

Nihon shoki, vol. 1, pp. 269–70 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 176–77). The story of the origin of the name Mimosusogawa appears in the medieval text *Yamatohime no mikoto seiki* 大和姫命世記 (p. 22). The source of the legend about Isuzugawa is less clear. *Yamatohime no mikoto seiki*, pp. 15–17, describes how Yamatohime established temporary shrines in the vicinity of Isuzugawa. The Isuzugawa legend in *Miwa daimyōjin engi*, however, may be more related to the description of Mt. Asama 朝熊, situated in the vicinity of the inner shrine of Ise. It was one of the important mountains in the Ise Shugen circuit, and the legend of the mountain hermits fits in with this well. See *Asamayama engi* 朝熊山縁起 in Sakurai et al. 1975.

[124] This is another example of the use of the tripartite pattern to represent non-duality. One could argue that this passage is reminiscent of the Taimitsu interpretation of the Three Part Mandala, whereby the "Non-Dual is made up of Two [Not Two, Yet Two]" (see note 105).

[125] This passage refers to the famous taboo on Buddhist attire and speech in the precincts of the great Ise shrines.

[126] The original text may be corrupt. My translation here is based on a consideration of the various options and of suggestions offered by other scholars.

> This mountain is a peak that lies in between the two rivers, *ram* and *vam*. The mountain to the north of the river *vam* is called the ridge of the Womb Realm; the mountain to the south of the river *ram* is called the ridge of the Diamond Realm. In between these Two Realms, the whole mountain is called the ridge of Non-Duality (*funi [fuji] no o* 不二尾). Again, at the place where the two rivers merge, there is a road to the west of the bridge, which is called the Six Paths [of transmigration] *(rokudō* 六道).[127]

One must know that the ridge of the Womb Realm in the north is the Buddha Section, therefore it is the Buddha-Eye (Butsugenson 仏眼尊).[128] The ridge of the Diamond Realm in the south is the Diamond Section; therefore it is the One-Syllable Golden Wheel (Ichiji Kinrin 一字金輪).[129] The ridge of Non-Duality in the middle is the Lotus Section (*rengebu* 蓮花部), that is, the Thousand-Armed Kannon (Senju Kannon 千手観音).[130] The form of this mountain is utterly profound and mysterious in every detail.

I think [these are] the three places where Tenshō Daijin resides. In the heavens it is the Land of Eternal and Tranquil Light (*jōjakkōd*o 常寂光土); in Miwa it is the Land of True Retribution (*jippōdo* 実報土); and on the Mountain of Divine Way [Kamijiyama] it cohabits with the Worldly Realm (*dōkyo sabakai* 同居娑婆界). [The fact that it] lives on the Mountain of Divine Way [Kamijiyama] reveals the divine merit of salvation of the worldly realm. The totality of the three places together is the Land of Tranquil Light. It corresponds to the mandala in all details. As for the method of composition [drawing the plan] of Ōmiwadera/Daigorinji,[131] the commentary by the former head priest Jōonbō 浄音房 in his own hand says:

[127] Although the source of these transmissions remains unclear, the *Engi* seems to indicate that the Daigorinji priests were aware of notions describing the tripartite nature of non-duality (see note 105). An earlier translation of this passage appears in Andreeva 2006, p. 368.

[128] This is a reference to the Buddha-Eye Buddha-Mother (Sk. Buddhalocani, Jp. Butsugen Butsumo 仏眼仏母). This deity resides in the Henchiin 遍智院 Section of the Womb Mandala and is also known as a manifestation of Buddha Dainichi. It is not clear why this deity is chosen to embody the Womb Realm here.

[129] The One-Syllable Golden Wheel (Sk. Ekāksara-usnīsa-cakra) is a deity that represents one of the Five Usnīsa Buddhas (*go butchō son* 五仏頂尊) embodied by the Sanskrit syllable *bhrūm*, uttered by Buddha Dainichi when he entered the highest level of *samadhi.*

[130] The notion of these three deities presiding over each part of the Three Part Mandala is somewhat puzzling. The closest example of a tradition invoking these deities in a similar combination may be that of Tsubosakadera 壺阪寺, also known as Minami Hokkeji 南法華寺, a temple in Yamato near the Asuka-Yoshino 飛鳥吉野 area. The principal image of this temple is a statue of the Thousand-Armed Kannon. The temple also has the Ichiji Kinrin Mandala, which employs Butsugen Butsumo, among its treasures. Originally one of the Hossō temples in the medieval period, Tsubosakadera became connected to the Saidaiji lineage of Eizon (*Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 599–600). Alternatively, the notion could be an interpretation transmitted by mountain ascetics who were practicing in the area around Mt. Miwa.

[131] In the original text, the character sequence 図相公 may be a copyist's mistake for *zugumi no hō* 図組法, which I translate as "the method of composition [drawing the plan] of Ōmiwadera/Daigorinji." The remainder of this section refers to the content of the commentary.

(This secret transmission passed down to Shōnin 性忍 in the twenty-ninth generation.)[132]

In the old records it says that "Mt. Mimuro of this shrine [Miwa] does not lack anything in all four directions. The peaks are divided like the eight-petal lotus, and the valley resembles a three-pronged *vajra*. The deities who reside at the base [of that mountain] are called the Eight Avatars (*hassho gongen* 八所権現). The deities who dwell in these mountains all are father and mother, brothers and sisters of Tenshō Daijin. Therefore they take the form of various buddhas of the Two Part Mandala (*ryōkai mandara* 両界曼荼羅).[133] The eight places are Ōmiwa 大神, Himukai 日向, Amemasu 雨増, Wakamiya 若宮, Kamutakara 神宝, Hibara 檜原, Hanashizume 華鎮, and Miko no miya 御子宮."[134] Some records also add the Eight Princes of Tashiro 田苗 and so altogether name nine separate shrines.

6. On the Origins (honji) of the Various Shrines[135]

In the north there is Dainichi of the Diamond Realm (Kongōkai Dainichi 金剛界大日); in the south there is Dainichi of the Womb Realm (Taizōkai Dainichi 胎蔵界大日); and in the middle there is Non-Dual Dainichi (Funi Dainichi 不二大日). In the north there is the Great Hibara Deity (Hibara Daimyōjin 檜原大明神)—that is, Izanagi 伊邪那岐 and Izanami 伊邪那美; in the south there is the Great Ōmiwa Deity—that is, Tenshō Daijin. This is the explanation that makes the fundamentals clear.

Another theory says that "north is Yakushi 薬師, south is Shaka 釈迦 (Shāka[muni]), the middle is [A]mida 弥陀. Yakushi—that is male, the Fourth Prince, the great Ise shrines; Shāka[muni]—that is female, the Third Prince, the Amemasu shrine; [A]mida—that is the First Prince, the Himukai shrine."[136]

As for the Eight Avatars, there is yet another theory: "The Eight Avatars [are] Izanagi—that is, Dainichi; Izanami—that is, Hōdō 宝幢[137] or Yakushi; Amemasu—that is, Kaifuke 開敷花[138] or Hōshō 宝生[139]; Himukai—that is, Amida; the Daijin—that is, Tenkuon

[132] Jōonbō Shōnin (ca. 1300) was a Saidaiji-affiliated priest who managed Daigorinji in the late thirteenth century, when the Saidaiji lineage was active around Mt. Miwa, propagating the Vinaya precepts, rebuilding temples and roads, and constructing hospices for *hinin* 非人.

[133] Here the *Engi* again invokes a vision wherein Mt. Miwa (the sacred body of Dainichi) is surrounded by Eight Avatars (the *suijaku*), thus corresponding to the central dais of the Womb Mandala in its *honji* representation.

[134] The concept of *hassho gongen*, or Eight Avatars, may be reminiscent of the enshrinement of the "Eight Princes" (*hachiōji* 八王子) of the *Lotus Sutra* at Mt. Hiei 比叡. On a broader scale, however, it is a typical means of constructing the sacred landscape that is seen widely in medieval texts dealing with kami worship.

[135] Here the compilers of the *Engi* are discussing the significance of the auxiliary shrines of Ōmiwa, including Hibara, Himukai, and Hanashizume (the Sai 狭井 shrine).

[136] The provenance of the theory associating Yakushi with the great Ise shrines is unclear.

[137] Sk. Ratnaketu, the buddha residing in the east of the Womb Mandala.

[138] Or Kaifukeō 開敷華王 (Sk. Samkusumitarāja), the buddha residing in the south of the Womb Mandala.

[139] Sk. Ratnasambhava, the buddha residing in the south of the Diamond Mandala.

天鼓音[140] or Shākamuni; Kamutakara—that is, Kannon; Wakamiya—that is, Miroku 弥勒; Hanashizume—that is, Monju 文殊; and Tashiro—that is, Fudō 不動."[141]

I personally think that in general the presence of these magnificent deities, the shape of the landscape, and the appearance of the shrine correspond to each and every sign or aspect. Altogether [it] embodies the divine working of the Three Sections (*sanbu*), that is the Five Sections (*gobu* 五部).[142] The Three Sections and the One Section (*ichibu* 一部) mean that the extended and abbreviated explanations are different. The One is the shortest, [whereas] the Five are the most open. The "two methods" have the "extended" [abundant] (*han* 繁) and "abbreviated" (*ryaku* 略) meanings. The Three Sections in the middle also encompass above and below.[143] For this reason their merit and potential are profound, and the salvation [they provide is] complete.

In this way, the original body (*hontai* 本体) of these magnificent deities is composed of the Three Sections (*sanbu*). They are truly subtle and great. Thus we know that the Great Deity of this shrine [Miwa] is the union of the Three Sections [Mandala], and this constitutes its true meaning. Its appearance in the karmic realm (*ehō shōhō* 依報正報) is as grasses and trees and the land itself (*sōmoku kokudo*). At the same time, it manifests the unity of the Dharma Body of Buddha and the Land of Eternal and Tranquil Light, where body and mind are one. The meaning of buddhahood in this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成仏), as set forth in Shingon 真言 and Tendai 天台, and the principle [that] grasses and trees [can] become buddhas (*sōmoku jōbutsu*), are made manifest and become known in the divine land (*reichi* 霊地) [of Miwa].[144]

In the oral transmissions of men of old it says, "The last of the Heavenly Deities created the Middle Land of the Reed Plain (*ashihara no nakatsu kuni* 葦原中国). [They] descended from heaven to this mountain, first interacting as male and female, yin and yang (*danjo on'yō* 男女陰陽), and created the world of grasses and trees. After that, the land was called the Land of Kami (*shinkoku* 神国). The deity was called the Great Deity of Ōmiwa 大神. When the two gods Izanagi and Izanami once again

[140] Or Tenkuraion 天鼓雷音 (Sk. Divyadundubhimeghanirghosa), the buddha residing in the north of the Womb Mandala.

[141] The arrangement of Buddhist deities described here seems to be a fusion of the deities of both the Womb Realm and the Diamond Realm, whereas the general layout corresponds to the central dais of the Womb Mandala, thus representing an eight-petal lotus.

[142] This is among the most arcane passages in the *Engi*; while interpretations vary, the Japanese here is probably referring to the sacred landscape of Mt. Miwa.

[143] This passage is difficult to interpret. One of the possibilities I would suggest is that the Three Sections represent the three parts of the Womb Mandala; the Five Sections, those of the Diamond Mandala; and the One Section, the part that enshrines Dainichi Nyorai—which is central to both. Thus, again, a kind of three-dimensional vision of non-duality is created. In this case, the *Engi* is trying to explain that there are at least two ways to approach this concept: a short, abbreviated explanation and a more in-depth doctrinal teaching. Such an approach would fit well with the doctrine of "expedient means," *hōben* 方便, wherein the Buddhist doctrine is administered to practitioners according to their individual capabilities.

[144] Due to the uncertain context (for instance, the exact interpretation in this case of the notion of the Three Sections), this passage can be analyzed in a variety of ways.

passed [the divine matters] to the rightful heir, they lived in the Hibara palace. That rightful heir, among the three places of this great shrine (*ōmiya* 大宮), is the first, the Great Deity of Ōmiwa. What is now called the Great Shrine of Ise (Ise Daijingū 伊勢太神宮) refers [as well] to this Great Deity (*daijin* 太神)."[145]

7. On the Shrine's Buddhist Temple (jingūji 神宮寺*), Ōmiwadera*

This temple was the first Buddhist facility constructed in the ninety-ninth year of the reign of Emperor Suinin, the eleventh human [sovereign]. At the time there was a certain Takeichihara *dainagon* 武一(二)原大納言.[146] He had one daughter. The deity of this [Ōmiwa] shrine was secretly making his way every night to make love with this woman, who eventually bore a male child. Both the parents of the woman as well as all others [high and low] were suspicious and asked her the reason. The daughter, to resolve her own and others' suspicions, took a fine thread and attached it to the hem of [her lover's] garment, and sought to know where the thread led. It entered directly into the middle of the three places, the altar of the great shrine (*ōmiya no shadan* 大宮之社壇).[147] At that time they first learned that it was the Great Deity (*jinmyō* 神明) [of Miwa]. Afterward, following a request of the *dainagon*, [the deity] manifested itself in the form of a large snake and licked the prince's back (some legends say that it

[145] The issue of the correct reading of the characters 大神 (or 太神) presents a problem in this section. Depending on what reading one follows—*ōkami* (great deity) or *ōmiwa* (the great deity of Miwa)—the main subject of the sentence, and thus the protagonist of the text, changes radically, as does the interpretation.

Here, the *Engi* recalls the episode of the creation of land by Izanagi and Izanami seen both in *Kojiki*, pp. 44–61 (Philippi 1969, pp. 47–58) and *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, pp. 76–87 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 10–18). *Kojiki*, however, only tells of the deities Izanagi and Izanami giving birth to the island of Onogoro 淤能碁呂 and numerous other deities before Izanami dies and Izanagi produces Amaterasu. The corresponding episode in *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, p. 86 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, p. 18) says that after producing the deities of grasses and trees, Izanagi and Izanami produced the Great Deity Amaterasu (Amaterasu no Ōkami 天照之大神). The *Engi* follows the *Nihon shoki* version, but makes the point that it is the Great Deity of Ōmiwa who is, at one and the same time, Amaterasu.

The *Engi* recounts these myths in an extremely compressed form, while deliberately playing with the readings *ōkami/daijin* 大神. Clearly, this is done in order to relate Amaterasu, Izanagi, and Izanami to the sites at Miwa while indirectly referring to the central assertion that the Great Ōmiwa deity and the imperial ancestor Amaterasu are ultimately the same deity.

The Hibara shrine, linked here to Izanagi and Izanami, was also considered to be the site of Kasanui no mura 笠縫邑, where Emperor Sujin 崇神 moved the sacred mirror (i.e., Amaterasu) when he was establishing the rites dedicated to Ōmononushi 大物主 at Miwa. In the following reign the mirror was moved again, this time to Ise. *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1, p. 238 (Aston 1972, vol. 1, pp. 151–52).

[146] As discussed earlier, these characters can also be read as "Fujiwara" (see note 122). This story closely resembles the legends of the divine marriage of Miwa in *Kojiki* and of Ōmiwa Takachimaro in *Konjaku monogatarishū* 今昔物語集. Therefore, I think it is more appropriate to read this name as "Takeichihara," which corresponds to the name Ōmiwa Takachimaro (see note 150 below).

[147] The great shrine, the middle of the three places (*ōmiya sansho no uchi* 大宮三所之内), is the one identified in the previous section.

licked his chest).[148] On the licked spot a golden mark appeared that said, "The Master of Great Things, of Upper First Rank, the Great Deity, Outstanding [for its services in the matters of state] (*shō ichii daimyōjin kun ittō Ōmono no nushi* 正一位大明神勲一等大物之主)."[149]

Now this is [written] on the plaque of the shrine's first torii gate. The *dainagon* retired [from the world] to his own mansion and converted his private residence into a Buddhist temple (*garan* 伽藍). This was Ōmiwadera.[150] The meaning of Miwadera 三輪寺 must be explained separately.

8. On the Significance of the Kannon Image in Ōmiwadera

According to the old records, seven days after the grandson of the *dainagon*, the prince, was born, his mother died. The prince grew up, [but still] grieved greatly, longing for his compassionate mother. He sat on the rock in the middle of the temple and cried and lamented bitterly. In response to the son's love for his mother, [the deity] appeared there in the form of a man, created an image of the compassionate mother, and offered it to the prince. The prince was greatly delighted, and his grief was somewhat assuaged.

Thereafter, the prince would always pay homage to his father's Great Shrine [of Miwa].[151] He would appear with a white parasol hat and white-feathered arrows, wearing shin guards made of summer wool and riding on a white speckled horse.[152] Many years [passed] in that way. When he reached his teens, he secluded himself for a long time in a cell at Ōmiwadera and did not come out again. This was the first example of someone transforming himself into a "living image" and entering the state of *samadhi* in the land of Japan (*Yamato no kuni shōjin nyūjō no hatsu* 日本国生身入定之初).[153] As for his body,

[148] This passage of the *Engi* is based on the famous legend of the divine marriage of Miwa, first recorded in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and then repeated in other premodern texts such as *Konjaku monogatarishū*, as noted above (see note 146). The extended version describing the snake licking the child's back is not seen elsewhere and must have been the Ōmiwa shrine's own legend.

[149] According to *Sandai jitsuroku* 三代実録, the Ōmiwa deity was awarded the provisional first rank (*ju ichii* 従一位) in Jōgan 貞観 1 (859). OJS 1, pp. 182–83.

[150] This passage recalls the legend of a certain Ōmiwa *dainagon* Takachimaro 大三輪大納言高市麻呂, recorded in *Nihon ryōiki* 日本霊異記 1:25; pp. 129–130 and *Konjaku monogatarishū* 20:41; pp. 209–10. Both records say that the Ōmiwa *dainagon* was a courtier in the time of Empress Jitō 持統 who tried to prevent her from proceeding to Ise. *Konjaku monogatarishū* adds that Takachimaro converted his residence into a Buddhist temple and called it Miwadera 三輪寺.

[151] The text refers to the shrine as a *daijingū* 大神宮, which was a commonly used term for the great shrines of Ise, but the same characters might also be read as *Ōmiwa no miya*, "the shrine of Ōmiwa," as I have translated it here.

[152] This description recalls hunting gear (*kariginu* 狩衣); however, the use of white garments is indicative of a ritual context—perhaps the Ōmiwa festival, where the prince, the descendant of the Ōmiwa deity and a member of the Ōmiwa family himself, took the role of a *kannushi* 神主 priest. Murayama Shūichi 村山修一 suggests that this passage describes the attire of the Shugendō practitioners of Mt. Kinpusen 金峰山 in Yoshino (Murayama 1987a, p. 288).

[153] The term *shōjin* 生身, or "living body," in this context seems to indicate that the Ōmiwa prince

nobody knew what [had become of it]. However, when Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 was paying homage to this temple, he opened the door and saw the image, that of the Eleven-Headed Kannon (Jūichimen Kannon 十一面観音). From then on, the people all knew about this Eleven-Headed Kannon.[154] Six hundred and one years passed between the time of Emperor Suinin and the august appearance of Shōtoku Taishi.

9. On the Miraculous Deity (reijin 霊神) of Miwa and Hie Sannō 日吉山王 Being the Same Body (dōtai 同体)

The record says that in olden times Dengyō Daishi 伝教大師 [Saichō 最澄] returned from the Great Tang [China] to our country. When he paid homage to the Katte 勝手 [Winning-Hand] and Komori 子守 [Child Protector] deities of Yoshino 吉野[155] in order to invite them as the protective deities of the Tendai school, those deities declined, saying, "We protect the Law and Teaching of Maitreya (*jishi no kyōhō* 慈氏之教法),[156] so we cannot comply with your request. North of here lives a High and Great Deity. You should go and ask him."

Following this oracle, Saichō paid homage to this [Miwa] Deity. Receiving the prayer, the Great Deity appeared in the form of Daikoku Tenjin 大黒天神,[157] holding a branch of *sugi* [cryptomeria] in his hand, and proclaimed, "Daishi, I will go with you."[158]

Because the Great Deity of this shrine [Miwa] appeared in the form of Daikoku Tenjin when Dengyō [Daishi] invited him [to Hie], the heavenly deity (*tenjin* 天神) who resides in the *ayasugi* アヤ杉 trees in the shrine's precincts might be either an attendant deity (*kenzoku* 眷族) of the Great Miwa Deity, or perhaps his original body (*hontai*);[159] it is unclear (*fushin* 不審) which. However, considering the circumstances,

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transformed himself into a living image of the Eleven-Headed Kannon and in this way entered *samadhi*.

[154] The Eleven-Headed Kannon was the principal image of Daigorinji. Nowadays, a Heian-period statue that is reported to have been the *honzon* 本尊 of the Ōmiwa *jingūji* is kept at Shōrinji 聖林寺, a temple near the entrance to the Tōnomine 大峰 mountain range, having been transferred there following the separation of buddhas and kami during the Meiji period (Antoni 1995).

[155] These are the two deities of the Mikumari 水分 shrine in Yoshino.

[156] This passage seems to highlight the worship of Miroku, a principal element in the practices of Yoshino Shugendō.

[157] The Great Black Heavenly Deity, Daikoku Tenjin, has origins in Sivaic *deva* (Jp. *Tenjin* 天神, Sk. *Devatā*) worship. The *Engi* might be the earliest text reporting a tradition of Daikoku worship at Miwa during the medieval period. Curiously, another text from the Miwa tradition, *Ōmiwa no kami sansha chinza shidai* 大三輪神三社鎮座次第, cited earlier (see note 12), mentions a Daikoku Tenjin image allegedly made and donated by Saichō, which was revered at Miwa as a "transformed body" of Miwa Myōjin, *tōmyōjin no hentai* 当明神之変体 (ST *Jinja hen* 神社編, vol. 12, p. 12).

[158] The legend of Saichō inviting the Miwa deity to be a protector of Mt. Hiei must have been well known, as it is widely seen in medieval Tendai writings such as *Yōtenki* 耀天記 and *Keiranshūyōshū* 渓嵐拾葉集 (1349).

[159] The *Engi* incorporates this passage in order to support the assertion that the worship of Daikoku had existed in Miwa since earlier times. According to Murayama Shūichi, however, this entire chapter is probably a later addition, most likely inserted after the death of Eizon (Murayama 1987b, p. 338).

I doubt that he should be considered an attendant, because the Great Deity of this mountain [Miwa] is Dainichi, the Three Bodies in One (*sanshin sokuichi no Dainichi*), who lives in the land of expedient means (*hōbendo* 方便土), Mimuroyama, delivering worldly benefits (*riyaku* 利益) to sentient beings of the defiled world. In which case the whole body of Dainichi is Daikoku Tenjin.[160] Therefore, when one speaks of Daikoku Tenjin of the *ayasugi* trees, one utters reverently the august name of the Great [Miwa] Deity. The physical manifestation (*jigen* 示現) [in different form] should not be called attendant, nor *daimyōjin*; it is [just] Daikoku Tenjin.

In India it is called Mahākāla (Makakara 摩訶迦羅) [Great General], in Tang it is called Daikoku [the Great Black One]. In the *Commentary to the Guiding Principle Sutra* (*Rishushaku* 理趣釈)[161] it says, "Mahākāla means Great General (*taishō* 大将)." "General" (*shō* 将) means "Unhindered in the Three Worlds" (*sanze mushōgai* 三世無障碍). "Great" means the "Dharma Body of Vairocana, No Place Unchanged" (*hosshin musho fuhen* 法身無所不変).[162] In the oracle of this shrine it says, "My body pervades the Dharma World. What place, what grasses and trees are not my body, are not my home?"[163] The text of the *Commentary to the Guiding Principle Sutra* thus corresponds naturally [like two parts of a seal] and must be revered and praised passionately.

[Someone] asked: "The Great Deity of this shrine is in fact called Daikoku Tenjin. This theory fits all aspects, so it must be believed and accepted. However, [it is said] that Tenshō Daijin is the protective sacred deity of a hundred [generations of] kings.[164] The Great Deity of this shrine is also Tenshō Daijin [Amaterasu]. As this is the case, should Daikoku Tenjin not be relied upon by the king of the state?"

The answer was: "Daikoku Tenjin is a sacred deity revered by many kings. Therefore, the ruling houses in India and China all worship and pay honor to [this deity]. In the *Sutra of Benevolent Kings* (*Ninnōkyō* 仁王経) it says that 'when King Kalmāsapāda (Hansoku 班足) killed a thousand kings, took their heads, and offered them for worship

[160] There is a theory that explains the association of the Miwa deity (also known as Ōkuninushi) with Daikoku Tenjin based on the phonological resemblance of their respective names, 大国 and 大黒. The *Engi*, however, does not make this point explicitly. Iyanaga Nobumi 弥永信美 points out that such an association was likely created after the compilation of the *Engi* (Iyanaga 2002, pp. 562–63).

[161] The commentary referred to is by Amoghavajra (Jp. Fukū 不空; 705–774). T 19:607–17.

[162] In *Rishushaku*, the term that in the *Engi* appears as "Great General" (*taishō*) is actually given as "Great Time" (*daiji* 大時). According to Ian Astley-Kristensen's translation, the term is explained in the extended version of this sutra. Amoghavajra notes that "the significance of the name 'Great Time' is unhinderedness in the three times (*sanze* 三世) on the one hand, and the Dharmakāya of Vairocana (through association with the element *mahā* [great]) on the other" (Astley-Kristensen 1991, p. 159). The different character in the *Engi* seems to indicate that the quotation from the *Commentary to the Guiding Principle Sutra* is specifically mentioned in order to connect it with the Sanskrit name Mahākāla, the Great General.

[163] This is the oracle cited earlier in the *Engi* (see the chapter "On the Order of Precedence of the Great Deity of Ise and Miwa").

[164] This argument refers to a legend that was transmitted as a part of *Nihongi* lore in the medieval period, in which Amaterasu vowed to King Enma 閻魔 to protect one hundred generations of Japanese rulers (Itō 1995).

to the graveyard [deity], the *deva* Mahākāla then desired to raise him to the rank of a king.'"[165] So this is proof. In addition, in the vow of Daikoku Tenjin it says, "Those who revere and worship me will receive the benevolence of kings (*kokuō no aikei* 国王之愛敬) of many lands and will rule ten thousand countries by the blink of an eye."[166] Tenshō Daijin's vow to [oversee and protect] one hundred kings must correctly be known as a vow to revere Daikoku Tenjin.

In the record it says, "The three places of Ōmiya at Hie are the three places (*sansho* 三所) of the Great Shrine of Miwa. In Hie, the three places [are these]: the Dharma Lodge (*Hosshuku* 法宿), the Lotus Platform (*rendai* 蓮台), and the Rightful Heir [True Child] (*shinshi* 真子)."[167]

Having had a dream on the night of the fourth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Bunpō 文保 (1318), I paid homage to the Sacred Deity of Miwa on the second day of the twelfth month of the same year, and on the third day confined myself there for four days. Thereupon, having requested and consulted the origins of the Buddhist temple of this shrine, Ōmiwadera, the temple's oral transmissions and old records, I compiled a selection of the most important elements from them.

Having [consulted] the original manuscript by the founder of Kōshōji (*Kōshōji kaizan oshō* 弘正寺開山和尚), I copied his [record].[168]

Ōei 応永 26 [1419].8.12, I copied this record, humble brush of Kakugen 覚源.

In Ōei 27 [1420], on the last day of the sixth month, *kanoe no ko* 庚之子, when the snakes gather, in the Kahyōtei 花表亭 of Izō Kanbe 伊雑神戸, Kamimura 上村 of Tōshi

[165] The story of King Kalmāsapāda appears in the version of the *Ninnōkyō* known as Amoghavajra's "translation," *Ninnō gokoku hannya haramitta kyō* 仁王護国般若波羅蜜多経 (T 8:840b5–c8). See also the extensive discussion of this legend in Iyanaga 2002, pp. 95–100, 139–48. A brief quotation of this story also occurs in *Keiranshūyōshū* (T 76:633c4–5; and Iyanaga 1999, p. 42). A translation of the original sutra passage is provided in Orzech 1998, p. 247.

[166] Provenance unknown. In a private communication, Iyanaga Nobumi has suggested that this quotation may have been a deliberate allusion to a text related to another Sivaic deity, Mahesvara, entitled "The Essentials of the Ritual of Mahesvara Deva" (*Makeishuraten hō yō* 摩醯首羅天法要; T 21: 340b4–5), which has a similarly worded sentence. This may be a hint that the authors of the *Engi* were aware of a variety of esoteric scriptures dealing with tantric deities. Beyond this point, however, it is unclear exactly how a text on the Mahesvara ritual would have been related to the worship of Daikoku at Miwa.

[167] This, again, is probably a later addition. This paragraph seemingly alludes to the theory of the "three names of the Mountain King," whereby the great deity of Hie Sannō (that is, the deity of Miwa) is referred to as Dharma Lodge, Lotus Platform, and True Child, according to *Myōhō rengekyō* 妙法蓮華経. This theory appears in a number of Tendai texts on kami, including, for example, *Sange yōryakki* 山家要略記 (ST *Ronsetsu hen*, vol. 4, p. 17).

[168] Previous research assumed that the *Engi* was at least partially written by Eizon (1201–1290), who was awarded the posthumous title of Kōshō Bosatsu 弘正菩薩 in 1300 and was a founder of Kōshōji 弘正寺 at Ise. Recent scholarship, however, has suggested that it is more likely that the Saidaiji-affiliated monk Kakujō 覚乗 (ca. 1285–1357) was also instrumental in the recording of the *Engi* (Itō 1993 and Andreeva 2006).

答志 district in Shima 志摩 province, I relied on the original manuscript and copied it. Humble brush of "Dōshō 道祥, seventy-three years old."[169]

On the first day of the eleventh month, the same year [1420], in the monks' quarters at Muryōjuin 無量寿院 of Tōshi district of Shima, paying no concern to being seen by others, I copied the book of Lord Torii (Torii dono 鳥居殿). Shō Biku (少比丘) Jōei 清惠, in summer one year [of Dharma age].

On the last day of the sixth month in Bunshō [Eishō 永正?] 6 [1509?], in Daianji 大安寺 of the Southern Capital [Nara], I copied. Biku Onchō 比丘恩澄, in summer twenty-six years.

In Daiei 3 大永 [1523], after the seventh day of the sixth month, I copied the manuscript of Onchō Daitoku 恩澄大徳. Jisshū 実秀.

In the first year of Eiroku 永緑 [1558], *tsuchinoe* (戊), the last third of the seventh month, Byōdōji Ryūken 平等寺隆堅 copied this record, fifty-two years old.

[169] The area of Izō Kanbe in Shima near Ise was the location of many smaller esoteric temples, one of which was run by Dōshō (1348–ca. 1428). This priest was also known as Torii Masayoshi 鳥居正匡 (and sometimes as Arakida Tadaoki 荒木田匡興) and was one of the Arakida hereditary priests of the inner shrine of Ise. He was, in addition, connected to the Saidaiji lineage at Kōshōji at Ise and became known in the fifteenth century for his collection of Shinto-related texts. His other works include a recently discovered "Personal Verbatim Account of *Nihon shoki*," *Nihon shoki shikenbun* 日本書紀私見聞 (1428), which sheds light on the circulation of medieval *Nihongi* lore and the formation of late medieval Shinto theories (Kondō 1964).

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