Page numbers for figures and maps are in italics; plates are cited by number and appear in the insert following p. 186.

Abe *bessho* (Mt. Abe), 107, 110111 Abe clan, 67 Abedera (Abe Monjuin), 67, 110 n11,

147-48

- Abhidharmakośa bhāṣya, 144; Abhidharmic treatises, 149, 184, 221
- abhişeka (Buddhist initiation, Jp. kanjō), 6–7; in early modern Japan, 299–301; esoteric, 107–8, 131–32, 145, 167–68, 212, 243–47; into kami secrets, 13, 36, 200, 239, 243–59, 265–80, 291–96; as ritual healing, 112119; of various buddhas, 295. See also *denbō kanjō*; *jingi kanjō* (also *shintō kanjō*); *jumyō kanjō*; mantra; Miwa-ryū, *jingi kanjō*; mudra; *Nihongi kanjō*; *Reiki kanjō*; *shintō kanjō*; *sokui kanjō* (enthronement ritual)
- abstinence palace (*saigū*): in Hase, 83; on Mt. Mimoro, 48
- Age of Gods (*Jindai no maki*), 9; and Amaterasu, 29n58; and Jihen, 14n25; in *jingi kanjō*, 264–66, 280, 295; medi-

eval transmissions on, 36, 43, 247, 261, 266–67, 272, 287; in *Miwa daimyōjin* engi, 191–92, 200–203

Aizen Myōō, ix, xv, 8, 13, 35; Aizen fire ritual (Aizen myöö no goma) at Ise, 180, 189; Aizen Hall (Aizen do), 165, 188, 263; Aizen Kongō, 162; and Amaterasu, 210, 290, 308; arrow shooting (tenkyū), 163, 170; and Daigoji Kongōōn, 284, 308; in *Datō hiketsu shō*, 225–29, 234-38, 240, 245; and Eizon (Saidaiji), 161-69, 188n35; five-finger length (goshiryō), 163; mandala, panel from Ise mishōtai zushi (Saidaiji), 186, 188-89, pl. 6; and Japanese rulers, 25, 163-64, 235n31; and kami, 173, 241–45, 250-54, 306-8; and kami iconography, 281, 286-91; and medieval commentaries on the Yugikyō, 135n88, 164, 169-70, 210, 225-27; and Miwa-ryū, 241-45, 252-53, 256-57; ritual during the Mongol invasions, 169–73, 189; and Ryōga ajari, 122n47; the Saidaiji

Aizen Myōō (continued)

statue of, 155, 172, pl. 1; in the *sanson gogyō* ritual, 211, 219, 237136; as a serpent, 235–36, 238–40, pls. 7a–b; as the Sanskrit syllable *hūm* (also *hhūm*), 170–73, 235–40, 250–53, 266, 27815, pl. 2; two-headed (*ryōzu*), 138, 163, 165; in the *Yugikyō*, 162–66, 187129, 235, 237. See also Denbu Aizen (Peasant Aizen) ritual; non-elite Buddhist practitioners

ajari (also Shingon *ajari*): from Daigoji, 122–24, 144; at Ise, 31, 180–81; at Miwa, 242; at Murō, 93n64; *ōajari*, 181; Shintō *ajari*, 264, 265–66

ālayavijñāna (store-consciousness), 192–93

altar: esoteric, 115; *jingi kanjō* altar, 164, 251–54, 278–79, 290–92; Miwa-ryū, *jingi kanjō* altar, 264, 278–79, 290–92; *ryōbu mitsudan* (the altar of the two mandalas), 131–32; shrine, 207; yogic (Ise), 181, 189

Ama no Iwato. See Heavenly Cave

Ama no nuhoko. *See* spear, heavenly (*ama no nuhoko*)

- Amaterasu (Tenshō Daijin), 8-10, 14n24, 17, 96, 221n7, 246; and Aizen, 188–89, 210, 218; in Ise kanjō, 246-55; and Japanese rulers, 25-27, 28-36, 45-48, 59-60, 170, 305-6; as Kannon, 290; and local deities, 183n19, 199; as Mahāvairocana (Jp. Dainichi), 8-9, 181, 190-91, 229, 291, 308; the meaning of name, 191, 198; in medieval Shinto rituals, 218, 239, 246-47, 264-65, 290; in medieval transmissions on the Yugikyō, 210; as Memyō bosatsu, 291; at Miwa, 262, 309; in Miwa daimyōjin engi, 191, 203; in *Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō*, 290–91, 293-95; as a serpent, 229-34, 246-55, 290; and three divine regalia, 268 - 69
- *amateru kami*, 17. *See also* kami (Japanese deities)

amatsukami, 68, 289, figs. 7.2a-g. See also kami (Japanese deities) Amida (Sk. Amitābha), 3, 120, 161, 171, 223, 304 Amino Yoshihiko, 73n2, 218 Amitābha. See Amida Amoghavajra, 5n6, 122n48, 133-34, 144, 177n4 An Shigao, 19n35 Anashi Shrine, 60, 67, 74. See also Ōmiwa Shrine ancestral deities, 16-17, 22. See also kami (Japanese deities) Annen, 139, 210, 225, 282n60 appropriation of kami: through Aizen imagery, 234-45, 253-55; by Buddhists, 24-30, 68-69, 185, 200, 210-11, 213, 217–20, 307–8; through esoteric rituals, 246-55; by the Yamato court, 18, 47-50, 52-53, 67-71 arable land: creation of, 45n17; owned by the Ōmiwa Shrine, 76 araburu kami (volatile deities), 22, 30, 35, 223, 232-33 arahitogami, 18 Arakida (Inner Shrine of Ise), 28-29, 32-33, 176, 181, 187-88; Chikamichi, 175; Nobusue, 187-88 aramitama, 35, 59. See also nigimitama aristocratic diaries, 31, 87-88, 143n6, 263n16, 270n13, 275n45 Asabashō (Shōchō), 237, 291n75 Asama, Mt. (Ise), 33, 178–79, 194, 198; and kami, 286-87 Asamayama Shrine, 178–79. See also Asama, Mt. ashura, 85 assemblage, 5, 7, 10-15; of esoteric deities, 186; of kami iconography, 282, 306-7; as means of creating new ideas, 173-74, 194-95, 224-32, 244-45, 303; medieval Shinto as, 276-77, 297, 306-7 Asuka capital, 39, 40, 42, 57, 59, 66, 83,

Aizon

Atsuta Shrine, 151 Avalokiteśvara. See Kannon

ban rongi (Buddhist debate), 31 bees, 58, 285n70 beggars, 89. See also hinin; icchantika Ben'ichisan hōju anchisho no koto, 92 Ben'ichisan nenbun dosha sōjō, 90, 92–93. See also Murō, Mt. bessho, 12, 33, 101, 105-6, 110, 119, 123-25, 139, 217. See also Abe bessho (Mt. Abe); Miwa bessho (Byōdōji); Senjuin Besson zakki, 237 Bikisho, 35n76, 183, 199, 221, 232, 248n60, 259; and kami iconography, 281n57. See also Tenshō Daijin giki; Tenshō Daijin kuketsu bikuni. See nuns biwa hōshi, 270-71 blacksmiths, 57, 263, 301. See also carpenters; metallurgy Bodai, Mt. (Ise), 32, 176-77 bodaishin. See enlightened mind Bodaishinron, 133, 144, 225 bodhisattva: Buddhist deities and kami as, 20, 25, 30, 63, 65, 85-87, 96, 148, 150, 155n43, 161, 201n66, 221, 290-91; the path of, 145-47, 149, 165 bodhisattva precepts (bosatsu kai), 66, 108, 123, 153, 156–58, 176n2, 206n74. See also Eizon (alt. Eison); Saidaiji; Vinaya bonnō. See worldly passions bonnō soku bodai (worldly passions are equivalent to enlightenment), 165, 224, 236, 308 bosatsu kai. See bodhisattva precepts Brahma's Net Sutra (Ch. Fanwang jing,

- Jp. Bonmokyō), 154; at Ise, 176n2, 177 branch shrines (massha), 76
- branch temples (*matsuji*), 76, 84, 90, 97, 133, 169, 239, 272n40; Byōdōji as, 129, 300; Daigorinji as, 159, 190; of Saidaiji, 159-60, 162, 198, 258; of Saidaiji in Kantō, 171. See also temples

breath, 172, 235, 244 Buddha-eye Buddha-mother (Butsugen Butsumo), 185-87, 195, 208-10 Buddhism, 3-4; acculturation in Japan, 19, 22; debates (*ban rongi*), 31; Mahāyāna Buddhism, 3, 111, 191140, 204-5, 224-26, 231-32, 234, 245n53; protection of the state, 68-69, 73, 84, 169-70, 177, 187; secret buddhas (*hibutsu*), 24; sutra copying, 176–77. See also esoteric Buddhism (mikkyō); non-elite Buddhist practitioners Buddhism, at Ise: 179-80, 184-90; Buddhist canon at, 177-78, 188; Buddhist imagery at, 179, 191; Buddhist taboo at, 29, 31-32, 34, 179 Buddhist beliefs: buddhahood, 13; cosmology, 85; kami rituals, 189 Buddhist clergy, appointments of (politics), 77 Buddhist cults: at Miwa, 63, 66–68, 196; at Murō, 91 Buddhist *gathā* verse, 251, 252, 293 Buddhist hells, 22. See also Dairokuten Maō; Enmaten (King of Hell); madō Buddhist iconography: Aizen Myöö, 162-63, 165, 237; Aizen, Daishō Kongō, and Butsugen Butsumo, 187n29; Dragon King, 113, 222-23; kami, 234, 251, 280-89, 306-7; Mt. Sumeru, 222-23; sun imagery in depictions of Aizen, 162–63, 171–72; syllable hūm (also *hhūm*), 171-73, 227, 235, 239-40. See also Mahāvairocana Buddhist sculptors: Hosshōji, 125; Saidaiji, 161n55, 165 Buddhist temples, at Ise: Dengūji, 29; Enmyōji, 183, 189, 230; Futaiji, 189; Kōshōji, 182-83, 189, 198; Rendaiji, 29; Sekidera, 198, 199n61; Sengūin, 33-34, 198; Tengakuji, 29, 32 Butsugen Butsumo Mandala, panel from Ise mishōtai zushi (Saidaiji), pl. 5 Butsuryūji (Murō), 90, 115

Byōdōji. See Miwa bessho (Byōdōji)

cakravartin (tenrin jōō), 6, 26, 191, 198n57 capital of Japan: early capitals, 42. See also Asuka (capital); Heian (capital); Nara (capital) carpenters, 263, 301 Castells, Manuel, 11 cast-iron-pot merchants (nabe uri) 263, 301. See also blacksmiths; metallurgy Celestial Status, 269, 269n29 Chien (Sekidera monk), 198-99 chijin godai. See five earthly deities chikaeshi no tama (ten divine treasures), 285. See also kami iconography childbirth, 87-88, 269n30. See also reproductive metaphors chinju, 20. See also protective deities Chinkasai (alt. Hanashizume no matsuri; "Pacification of the Flowers," Ōmiwa Shrine festival), 60–61, 65 Chōgakuji (Yamato), 145, 150, 157 Chōgen (Tōdaiji monk), 31, 179n10, 180n10 Chopstick Grave (kofun-style tomb), 41, 50 Chūin-ryū (Mt. Kōya), 121, 124; Chūin shōsōzu, 124; at Miwa, 277 Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (Yixing), 145, 149 conceptual metaphor, 232, 239-40, 306 - 7conceptual tool, 3, 232–33, 239–40, 307 - 8contemplation, 172; esoteric deities, 241, 252, 287; mandalas, 208; on one's own nature (*jishōkan*), 232; of practice hall (*dōjōkan*), 226–27, 279; Sanskrit syllables, 172, 227, 245; serpent Amaterasu, 250, 290; three contemplations in Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō, 293 creation of land (kunizukuri): deities, 45-47, 60-61; of Japan, by Izanagi and Izanami, 203, 210, 287 crossroads (chimata), 57-58, 152-53; intersection of pilgrimage routes, 78-90, 158

Dai chido ron: and three poisons, 224 Daidenbōin (Mt. Kōya), 137, 139, 169n71, 252

Daigoji (Kyoto), 20, 27–29, 31, 134–36, 164; dissemination of esoteric knowledge, 168, 173; esoteric texts on Aizen, 138n100; in Hitachi, 272n40; Ise, 179, 199, 231, 271; Kiyotaki Shrine, 144; Kongōōin, 131, 139, 164, 217, 242, 277n49; Miwa *bessho*, 130n71; Miwa *bessho* (Byōdōji) in the Edo period, 298–302; mountain ascesis at Kinpusen, 100n89; non-canonical imagery, 237n36; rainmaking, 220, 283–84; Rishōin, 283n63; Sanbōin, 69n95, 92, 93, 217; Sanbōin Goryū (Kantō), 133; Suiten worship, 283–84; Tōzan Shugendō, 100n89, 111, 211n88, 298

Daigorinji (Ōmiwa *jingūji*), 66, 159, 167, 190, 194–96, 200–203, 217, 262–63; *bettō*, 277, 301; Denbu Aizen, 244; Eleven-Headed Kannon, 63–64, 89, 202, 290, 302; *jingi kanjō*, 258n3, 265n19, 274–79; kami iconography, 280–89; before the Meiji Restoration, 298; during the Muromachi period, 261–64; separation of kami and buddhas, 301–2. *See also* Eizon (alt. Eison); Miwa, Mt.; Miwa *bessho* (Byōdōji); *Miwa daimyōjin engi*; Ōmiwa Shrine; Saidaiji

Daihan nehangyō, 244, 245n53

Daijingū sankeiki (Shōkai), 188

Daijingū sankeiki (Tsūkai), 32, 33n73, 179

Daijō gishō (Huiyuan), 225

- Daijōin (Kōfukuji). *See* Kōfukuji (aka Yamashinadera)
- Daijōin jisha zōjiki (Jinson et al.), 263n16, 274–75. See also Kōfukuji (aka Yamashinadera); Miwa bessho (Byōdōji)
- Daijōsai (Ōnie no matsuri), 269

Daikoku, 161, 207n77

Dainichi. See Mahāvairocana

Dainichikyō. See Mahāvairocana Sūtra

Dairokuten Maō, 221n7; in Miwa-ryū *jingi kanjō*, 294, 295n82 Daishō Kongō, 186-87, 290n74. See also esoteric deities Dakiniten, 35 Danzan Shrine, 95 Datō hiketsushō (Gahō), 135, 137n97, 173n81, 225-27, 251 Denbōe, 119 Denbōin-ryū, 120, 124, 137 Denbo kanjo (Buddhist initiation, abhișeka), 112; Rendōbō Hōkyō, 131, 243n50 Denbu Aizen (Peasant Aizen) ritual, 219, 234-45, 251-57, 286-87, 290, 306-8. See also Aizen Myöö; Ise kanjö; Miwa-ryū, jingi kanjō denbu no sō (peasant monk), 240-41 dhārāņī (ritual), 111 Dhārāņī Sutra of Six Gates, 66 dharma appeasement (*hōraku*), 32, 33n73; ceremony, 177; Denbu Aizen ritual at Miwa, 244; facilities at Ise, 179n10, 180-81; facilities at Miwa, 262 dharma assembly $(h\bar{o}e)$, 158 dharma body (Sk. dharmakāya, Jp. hōtai, alt. hosshin), 120, 149, 166, 172, 191140, 193, 226–27; in *jingi kanjō*, 252 Dharmaguptaka vinaya, 154. See also Shingon Ritsu; Vinaya dharma nature (*hossho*), 235–36, 245 divination, 17, 53, 61, 67, 71, 106, 111, 113-14, 184, 220, 267; on tortoise shell, 268 divine fields (*shinden*; also *shinpo*), 75, 77 divine marriage (shinkon), 49-50, 200-201, 306 divine mirror (naishi dokoro), 267; in Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō, 295 divine power (jintsū), 282. See also jinzūriki divine seal (shinji), 267, 269; in Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō, 295. See also three divine regalia (sanshu no jinki; also imperial

divine sword (hoken), 267; Kusanagi, 268; loss of, 270; in Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō, 294-95 divine wind, 181, 189 Dōhan (Mt. Kōya), 135n85, 137, 210, 227n20 Dōmyō (Hasedera), 83 donation of lands and shiki rights to temples and shrines, 75-77, 98n78, 155 Donissho, 263n15 doshū (low-ranking monks), 81–82, 97, 100n89, 105-6, 125. See also Kōfukuji (aka Yamashinadera); non-elite Buddhist practitioners Dragon Cave (Ryūketsu; also a dragon cave [ryūketsu]): at Mt. Kasagi, 208; at Mt. Murō, 90, 93, 112 dragon deities, 35, 63, 71, 86, 90-92, 111-15, 202, 219–23; dragon kings (*ryūo*), 93, 111-15, 220-29; as imperial sword decoration, 269n30; at Ise, 231; straw dragons, 113, 283. See also Denbu Aizen (Peasant Aizen) ritual; Ise shrines; Kyōen (Miwa Shōnin); Murō, Mt.; Nāga-kings; Seiryū Gongen (Daigoji); serpent deities (kami); Zennyo Ryūō (Dragon King; also as a female deity) Dragon King's daughter, 112n19, 233n29; and Kyōen, 223n10. See also Lotus Sutra, Devadatta chapter Dragon King's Palace, 115n27, 221-23 Dragon King's pointy claw, 112, 114-16, 171n77 dream incubation, 31, 144, 267; Jien's dream, 270

Eiga monogatari, 86-87

Eizan Bunko (temple archive), 3; Denbu Aizen ritual documents, 236n35, 238 Eizon (alt. Eison), 142; Aizen worship, 165–66, 172, pl. 1; family, 143–44; at Miwa, 150–51, 154, 157–58; at Miwa and Hasedera, 153; pilgrimages to Ise, 175–79; possible authorship of *Miwa daimyōjin engi*, 196; rainmaking at

regalia)

Eizon (alt. Eison) (*continued*) Shinsen'en, 284n65; *Yugikyō*, 165– 67, 177. *See also* Ninshō (Saidaiji); Saidaiji

elite pilgrimage. See pilgrimage

engi literature, 84–86, 89, 241, 307; Asama, Mt., 287; Saidaiji, 197–210

Engishiki, 18, 45, 58–60, 68

enlightened mind (*bodaishin*), 251–52

- enlightenment. See esoteric enlightenment (sokushin jöbutsu, enlightenment with this very body)
- Enmaten (King of Hell), 226–27, 277n50. *See also* Dairokuten Maō

Enmyōji (Ise), 183, 198, 258

Enmyōji engi, 230, 248n60

- Ennin, 148, 169n71, 204n68, 225
- En no Ozunu, 94, 97; in medieval Miwa, 263
- Enryaku gishikichō, 28
- Enryakuji (Mt. Hiei), 20, 33, 204n68, 207–8. *See also* Hiei, Mt.; Onjōji; Mudōji; Tendai lineages
- Enshō Shōnin (Tōdaiji), 107, 131, 187n31 epidemics (plague), 47, 60, 65, 85, 163
- esoteric Buddhism (mikkyō), 3, 8, 24–27, 34-36, 92-95; Aizen rituals, 162-63, 172-73; at Ise, 179, 180; Kakuban, 120-22, 124, 136; and kami, 184, 207, 224-29, 239–45; and Kōfukuji monks, 80, 90-92, 94; as a "miraculous cure," 144; at Miwa, 190-95, 203-13; private rituals, 149, 163-64; and mountain austerities (shugen), 95, 100-101; Saidaiji, 145-74, 183-90; Shugendō at Daigoji, 100n89; temples, 134-40, 232. See also Daigoji (Kyoto); Kakuban; Kōfukuji; Kōya, Mt.; Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage); Murō, Mt.; Ninnaji; non-duality (funi); non-elite Buddhist practitioners; Ono branch of Shingon; *Rishukyō*; ritual; taimitsu (Tendai esoteric tradition); temple networks; threefold/tripartite pattern; Tōji (Kyoto); Yugikyō esoteric concepts, transferred to, 224,

257, 265, 307-8; medieval Shinto iconography, 284-90, 306-7; medieval Shinto rituals, 293-97; misinterpretation of, 136. See also appropriation of kami; non-elite Buddhist practitioners, criticism of esoteric deities. See Aizen Myöö; Buddhaeye Buddha-mother (Butsugen Butsumo); Daishō Kongō; Ichiji Kinrin; Māhavairocana; Sonshō esoteric enlightenment (sokushin *jōbutsu*, enlightenment with this very body), 109, 112, 116–24, 135, 218–19, 236-37, 240, 245, 252, 306; and medieval rulership, 293, 296; in Miwa-ryū Shintō, 296-97, 299; See also Annen; esoteric Buddhism; Kakuban; Kūkai; Kyōen (Miwa Shōnin); non-elite Bud-

- esoteric lineages, 26–27, 217, 243, 254; in Ise, 259; at Murō, 92–94. *See also* esoteric Buddhism
- esoteric purification, 99, 108, 194n50 esoteric Vinaya. *See* Shingon Ritsu. *See*
- also Saidaiji; temple networks
- esoteric wisdom (*gochi*), 166, 172; diadem of five wisdoms, 293

exorcism, 95, 106, 108

dhist practitioners

eye-opening ceremony (*kaigen*): of Eleven-Headed Kannon at Hasedera, 126; of Mañjuśrī at the *hinin* lodge, 150; of the Sanskrit syllable mandala, 162

Fahua wenju (Zhiyi), 191140

- Faxiang (Hossō), 66, 67, 92; and esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō*), 78, 80, 90–92, 116; Jōkei, 149; monks, 85, 91; Miwa *bessho*, 155–56; three bodies, 191140; *Yugikyō*, interpretations of, 186; *Yuishiki*, 127, 156147
- Festival of the Five Dragons (aka Onmyōdō Festival of the Five Dragons). See *Goryūsai*
- fire purification (goma). See purification

five agents (Ch. *wuxing*, Jp. *gogyō*; Chinese correlative system), 17, 120, 184

five earthly deities (*chijin godai*), 265n19, 280. *See also* seven heavenly deities (*tenjin shichidai*)

five grains and five medicines (*gokoku goyaku*), 187–88

five viscera (Ch. *wuzang*, Jp. *gozō*), 120

Flower Garland Sutra (Ch. Huayan jing, Jp. Kegonkyō), 148, 192; Chinese commentaries on, 205n71; and three poisons, 224. See also Huayan (Kegon) four elements (Indian correlative sys-

tem), 244

four heavenly kings (*shiō*, *shitennō*), 143 fragrant medicines (*kōyaku*), 65

fudoki (local gazetteers), 16, 42, 44, 45n17

Fudō Myōō, 35, 211, 223n12, 234, 241; shugen pilgrimage on Mt. Miwa, 262. See also Aizen Myōō; wisdom deities, wisdom kings

Fujiwara family, 26, 69, 71, 73, 76, 84– 86, 98, 100; Fujiwara Kamatari, 95– 96; Fujiwara no Michinaga 76, 80, 98; Fujiwara no Senshi (Michinaga's sister), 87; regents, 163; women and Hasedera pilgrimage, 86–87

fuko (residential units), 76n5. *See also* land administration fundraising (*kanjin*), 126, 130, 146, 196 Furu Shrine, 42, 95, 150; in *Miwa-ryū*

jingi kanjō, 295 Fusō ryakki, 70, 83n25, 143

Gaoseng zhuan (Biographies of Eminent Monks), 19, 230n25 Gangōji, 91, 148 Gangōji garan engi narabi ni ruki shizaichō, 58 ganmon (religious vow), 162–63 -gata (sub-lineage), 168. See also -ryū (lineage); temple lineages (general

designation) gen (miraculous results), 95, 99, 106, 111. See also exorcism; Kyōen (Miwa

Shōnin); mountain austerities (including shugen, or Shugendo; shugen temples) Genji monogatari, 87, 89n50 Genkō shakusho (Kokan Shiren), 106-7, 117n34 Genpei War, 96, 97, 269-70. See also warfare, in the Yamato region Genpin Sōzu, 80 Genpin's Hut (Mt. Miwa), 81n18, 257, 262, 267, 302 Genpishō (Jitsuun), 69n95, 136, 157n49, 173n81. See also Jitsuun (alt. Jichiun); Ōmiwa Shrine; Yugikyō gōchō (local proprietors), 76. See also land administration Go-Daigo tennō, 199n59, 261n9; and imperial regalia, 271; and Miwa, 272-73 Go-Fukakusa tennō, 32 goganji (temple of the imperial wish), 84. See also temples gohō zenjin, 20. See also protective deities Goji monju juhō, 147. See also Mañjuśrī (Jp. Monju) gojisō (protective monks), 25–27, 91, 180 Gokurakuji (Kantō), 171, 176. See also Ninshō (Saidaiji); Saidaiji goma (fire purification). See purification gongen (local deity), 30n65. See also Sanbu Gongen (Mt. Kōya); Sannō Gongen (Mt. Hiei); Seiryū Gongen (Daigoji); Zaō Gongen (Kinpusen) Go-Reizei tennō, 25, 70n97 Gorin kujimyō himitsushaku (Kakuban), 120 Goryūsai (Festival of the Five Dragons, aka Onmyōdō Festival of the Five Dragons), 93, 113, 283 Go-Saga tennō, 179-80 Go-Sanjō tennō, 25-27, 70n97 goshintai (the sacred body of the deity), 23. See also Ise mishōtai zushi Go-Shirakawa tennō, 164 Go-Toba tennō, 270

Go-Uda tennō, 180-81, 199n60 Goyuigō (attr. to Kūkai), 115-16 granary. See mikura Grapard, Allan, 4, 6, 11116, 76-77, 96174 Great Wisdom Sutra, 31-32, 68; on Mañjuśrī, 148; at Miwa, 69, 111, 262; offering to Ise, 176-78, 181; offering to the shrines, 170; and three poisons, 224 Great Wisdom assembly (daihannyae), 176 Gumei hosshinshū (Jōkei), 30 gumonji hō (perfect memory), 33. See also ritual Gyōki bosatsu, 111n17, 147-48 Gyokuyō (Kujō Kanezane), 31, 61n72, 270N31 Gyōnen (Kegon), 107, 131 Hachiman (deity), 20, 49n30, 170. See also Iwashimizu Hachimangū (shrine), Usa Hachimangū (shrine, northern Kyushu) hachi no hire (ten divine treasures), 285-86. See also kami iconography Haguro Shugendō, 247. See also mountain austerities (including shugen, or Shugendo; shugen temples) haiden (prayer hall), 190, 193, 262. See also Ōmiwa Shrine Hanashizume Shrine (Miwa), 262. See also Ōmiwa Shrine, festivals Harima Province, 44, 52, 83, 151, 158 Hase (area, aka Hatsuse), 39, 40, 41, 78, 79, 82-89, 91, 105, 117, 124, 125 Hase [river], 39, 40, 42, 57. See also Yamato (Province), landscape Hasedera (Yamato Province), 6, 77, 79, 82-89, 113, 171n77; bettō, 84, 91; branch temple of Kōfukuji Daijōin, 84, 263; as Buzan (traditional appellation), 83; Hasedera dōban Hokke sessō zu, 83; Haseyamadera, construction of, 83; hinin, 153; jingi kanjō altar, 290–92; kami iconography, 280–90; Ken'yo (ca. 1820s), 301; Miwa blacksmiths,

263n16; Miwa-ryū ritual documents, 245, 257–58, 264n17, 275–80, 290–91, 300; Miwa shōnin, 277; pilgrimage, 86-89, 105, 140; revival, 208 Hasedera engi mon, 83-84, 86 Hasedera Kannon, 85-86; attendant deities (Sekishō Dōji and Dragon King Nanda [Nanda Ryūō]), 85–86 Hasedera Kannon genki, 89 Hasedera shitō kinkan gonjō, 84-85, 171n77 Hashihaka (Chopstick Grave), 41, 50. See also kofun (tombs) Hata clan, 20 Hatsuse road (also Hase road), 56, 90. See also roads healing, 24, 60-61, 63-66, 71, 85, 87, 92-93, 95; ritual, 123-24 heart-mind (human mind), 227–28, 231; as a lotus, 297. See also heart-pillar heart-pillar (shin no mihashira), 223, 231. See also heart-mind; Sumeru, Mt. Heavenly Cave (Ama no Iwato), 180, 264; Shintō injin, 236n35. See also Amaterasu hebi no hire (ten divine treasures), 286. See also kami iconography Heian capital, 25-27, 82, 95. See also capital of Japan Heiji Rebellion, 164 Hibara Shrine (Mt. Miwa), 59, 82n23, 203, 210, 262 hibutsu (secret buddha), 24 Hiei, Mt., 4, 6, 72, 92, 95, 187n29, 195, 233, 261, 293, 307; and Kōfukuji monks, 90-91, 92; and Miwa, 197, 204-7; Miwa-ryū ritual documents, 257, 259n4, 267 Hie shrines, 72, 206-7 Himetatara Isuzu-hime, 46 Himiko, 41, 49n31. See also Wa polity (early Yamato polity); Wei zhi himorogi, 17 Himuka Shrine (Mt. Miwa), 48, 59. See also sun worship

5.Andreeva, Assembling Shinto.indd 374

hinin (outcasts), 89, 146, 151-52, 237; at Hasedera, 153; shuku (lodge), 149-50, 152, 201n66. See also beggars; Eizon (alt. Eison); icchantika; Ninshō (Saidaiji) Hirosawa branch of Shingon, 133, 235, 239. See also Ono branch of Shingon Hishō kuketsu (Kyōjun), 135 Hishō mondō (Raiyu), 283n63 Högen Rebellion, 164 Hōjō clan, 171, 187; Sanetoki, 171; Tokiyori (Saimyōji nyūdō), 187n30 Hokke hō. See Lotus ritual Hokke yuishiki hannya sankanshō (Sōshō), 120 Hōkyōshō (Kōban, ca. 1283), 130-31, 242n48 Hōkyōshō (Yūkai, 1375), 132-35 holy men (shōnin, hijiri), 6, 11, 13, 15, 27, 31, 35, 83, 91n56, 101, 105–17, 166; in Ise, 27, 28-36, 179; in Miwa, 277. See also Kōya, Mt., hijiri; Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage); Miwa shōnin; non-elite Buddhist practitioners Honchō kōsōden yōmonshō, 66n87 hongaku shisō (inherent enlightenment), 4, 193, 280n55, 306 honjibutsu (original Buddha), 25, 190 honji suijaku, 3, 9, 22–23, 30, 63, 91, 94, 189-90, 223-24, 304; inverted (han honji suijaku), 276-77, 291, 296-97; at medieval Miwa, 196-97; re-conceptualization by esoteric Buddhists, 218-19, 231, 233-34, 246-47, 307-8; separation of kami and buddhas, 301-2 honpushō (originally unborn, unproduced), 241 honzon (principal deity), 226; Denbu Aizen, 235, 238, 242, 290; Eleven-Headed Kannon, 64 hōraku. See dharma appeasement (hōraku) Hōryūji (Yamato Province), 221-23 hospices (hiden), 146 hosshō (dharma quality, dharma nature), 30, 245

Hōzanji, 285-90. See also Ikoma, Mt. (Yamato Province); kami iconography Huayan (Kegon), 66, 148, 205, 206n74. See also Flower Garland Sutra (Ch. Huayan jing, Jp. Kegonkyō) Huiguo, 115n27 Huizhao, 156 human body, 173; as Amaterasu, 293, 296; as a casket, 244; as Dainichi, 296; as a serpent body, 245; as a stupa, 120; as a vessel of ignorance, 245 human mind (consciousness), 172, 231; as a kami, 252. See also ālayavijñāna; heart-mind Ibuki, Mt., 219 icchantika, 121, 151. See also hinin Ichidai no mine engi, 208–9. See also engi literature; Miwa daimyōjin engi; Kinpusen himitsuden Ichiji Kinrin, 195, 208-10, 290n74. See also esoteric deities ichinomiya (first shrine of Yamato), 18, 73,77 ignorance (mumyo), 121, 224-26, 228-29, 236; human body, 245; and kami, 280n55 Ikoma, Mt. (Yamato Province), 39, 40, 139; Chikurinji, 147–48, 258; Hōzanji, 280, 302 iku no tama (ten divine treasures), 285. See also kami iconography Ikutamayori-hime, 50-51 immortals, 97 imperial messengers: to Miwa, 69, 262; to the twenty-two shrines, 71-73 increasing merit, 163 Inner Shrine of Ise (naikū), 21, 28, 32-33, 176-77; Eizon's visit to, 187-88; Kaze no miya (Shrine to the Wind), 191n39; as a lotus and a golden snake in Ise kanjō, 247–48; in Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō, 295; as Taizōkai, 185-90, 231-32. See also Ise shrines; Outer Shrine of Ise (gekū)

insects, 220; kami, 233-34, 285. See also dragon deities; serpent deities (kami) Insei rule, 77. See also rulers of Japan (tennō) invisibility of kami, 23-24, 31n67, 49-50, 287. See also visualization of kami Ippen, 124n51 Ise Jingū Bunko (archive of the Ise shrines), 3; Denbu Aizen, 236n35, 238; Nihongi Miwa-ryū, 276n47. See also Eizan Bunko (temple archive); Kanazawa Bunko (temple archive) Ise kanjō, 36, 219, 306-8; at Tōji, 247-55, 259-60, 293n81 Ise kanjō kirikami, 231n26, 247-48 Ise mishōtai zushi, 184-89, 290n74, pls. 3-6. See also Aizen Myöö; Denbu Aizen (Peasant Aizen) ritual; esoteric concepts, transferred to; Ise shrines; Saidaiji Ise nisho daijingū shinmei hishō (Watarai Yukitada), 182 Ise pilgrimage, 28–36; esoteric monks, 180-81; hijiri, 27-36; in Miwa daimyōjin engi, 190-91; Shingon clergy, 28-36; Tendai lineages, 28–36; Tōdaiji monks, 28-36. See also sacred sites, networks; temple networks Ise ryōgū jakei daiji, 248–49. See also Ise shrines; serpent deities (kami) Ise Shintō, 179, 199; and Chinese classics, 182, 229, 30512 Ise shrines, 4, 11, 21, 27-36, 45, 48, 62, 69, 70, 305; Aizen fire ritual, 180; clergy and Denbu Aizen, 244; deities, 188, 191; dualistic pattern, 185–90, 206, 232; and Hase, 83, 96; horaku (dharma appeasement) facilities, 179n10, 180-81; Kaze no miya (Shrine to the Wind), 180, 191n39; as Kongōkai and Taizōkai, 181, 183, 185-90, 231; Miwa daimyōjin engi, 197-200; Mizukaki fence, 31; networks, 199, 305; offering of sutras to the deities, 32; Reiki kanjō, 258n3; Saidaiji order, 170, 182–200, 230;

Sakadono, 180; Sekidera, 21, 35, 180n10, 198; Sengūin, 33–34, 35; serpent deities, 230–32. *See also* Inner Shrine of Ise (*naikū*); *Ise mishōtai zushi*; Outer Shrine of Ise (*gekū*)

Ise shrines, Buddhism at: canon, 177– 78, 188; imagery, 179, 191; taboo, 29, 31–32, 34, 179. *See also* Buddhist temples, at Ise

Isonokami, 76

Isuzu River (Ise), 28, 191139, 194. See also Mimosuso River (Ise)

Ittekishō, 133–34. See also jakyō (perverse teachings); Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin); non-elite Buddhist practitioners, criticism of; Yūkai

Iware road, 95. See also roads

Iwashimizu Hachimangū (shrine), 68, 117, 169, 176, 189, 235

Izakawa Shrine, 61, 74. See also Ōmiwa Shrine

Izanagi, 203, 210; at Ise, 248, 287, *289*, 290. *See also* seven heavenly deities (*tenjin shichidai*)

Izanami, 203, 210; at Ise, 248, 287, 289, 290. See also seven heavenly deities (*tenjin shichidai*)

Izumi Province, 51-52, 57

- Izumo, 43–47, 58–59, 61, 241. See also Laudatory Prayer of the Chieftain of Izumo
- Izumo no kuni fudoki (alt. Izumo fudoki), 44–45
- *jakkōdo* (land of tranquil light), 192–93, 212n91
- *jakyō* (perverse teachings), 132n79, 133– 34. *See also* Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin); non-elite Buddhist practitioners, criticism of; Yūkai

Jātaka tales, 221–23

jewels (curved gems, *magatama* beads), 41, 267; in medieval Shinto iconography, 285–86; in *Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō*, 295–96. *See also* mirror; spear,

heavenly (ama no nuhoko); sword; three divine regalia (sanshu no jinki; also imperial regalia) Jianzhen (Ganjin), 66, 145-46 Jibu Risshi, 198–99 Jichihan, 129 Jihen, 14, 199n59, 261, 271; and kami iconography, 284, 286 Jikken (alt. Jitsugen; of Daigoji Kongōōin), 131, 135, 137; and Miwa shōnin, 137n97, 173, 242-43; and rain prayers at Shinsen'en, 284. See also Daigoji (Kyoto); Kōban; Nyojitsu (Kamo Shōnin); Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin) Jindai no maki. See the Age of Gods *jingi* cult, 18, 28, 60n66, 61, 67–71. See also kami; Shinto Jingikan (Bureau of Kami Affairs), 18, 28. See also kami jingi kanjō (also shintō kanjō), 7, 36, 200, 243, 245, 246-55; as assemblage, 310; Miwa-ryū, 256-57, 264-68, 275-80, 290-97; Shintō kōmyō kanjō, 277; threefold pattern, 260; and visualization of kami, 282. See also Ise kanjo; Nihongi kanjō; Reiki kanjō *jingi kanjō* altar, 254, 278–79, 290–92. See also altar Jingi kanjō Miwa-ryū nijūyon tsū, 245n54 *jingūji* (shrine temple), 19–20, 34, 62–63, 66, 90-91, 157-59, 176, 183n20 Jingū kōgo, 49n31 Jinmu tennō, 46, 50, 59, 267, 268n25 Jinnō shōtōki (Kitabatake Chikafusa), 14n25, 271n37, 273 Jinson (Kōfukuji Daijōin), 263n16, 274, 275n45 jinzūriki, 191140. See also divine power (jintsū) jitō (land steward): at Miwa, 129 Jitō tennō, 17, 29n58, 43, 47, 56, 62, 83. See also rulers of Japan (tenno); Sun line (Yamato ruling house)

Jitsuun (alt. Jichiun), 69n95, 135n85, 136, 173 Jiun Sonja, 107n4 jōgakuji, 69. See also temples Jōjūji (Kyoto), 176-77 Jōkei (Gedatsubō), 30, 117, 125-28, 148-49; and kami, 223; and Miwa bessho, 156 Jōsan (Miwa), 66 jūhachidō kegyō, 144. See also ritual Juhō yōjinshū (Shinjō), 138–39 Jūichimen [Kannon] jinju shingyō, 85. See also Kannon (Avalokiteśvara); Lotus Sutra Jūjūshinron (Kūkai), 225 jumyō kanjō, 243, 247. See also abhişeka (Buddhist initiation, Jp. kanjō) Kagerō nikki, 87, 89n50

kaigen. See eye-opening ceremony (*kaigen*)

Kairyūōji (Nara), 155. See also Saidaiji Kajūji (Kyoto) 3, 93–94, 113122, 115–16, 122147, 136, 180–81

Kakuban, 117, 118–25, 135n85, 137, 194n50, 210–11; esoteric enlightenment, 218, 252n68; innovations, of, 120–21; and Kōya *hijiri*, 120; and Miwa *shōnin*, 108, 117, 122–25; *sokushin jōbutsu* verse, 121–22; *Yugikyō* transmissions, 121–22

Kakugenshō (Rendōbō Hōkyō), 136–39, 169, 173n81, 257; inherent enlightenment, 252; three poisons, 243; three syllables, 251n64. *See also* Kakuban; Kōya, Mt.; Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage); Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin); Yūgen

Kakujō (Saidaiji), 197–200, 230–31, 258–60

Kakuzenshō, 237

kami (Japanese deities), 9, 90, 218–19; *amatsukami*, 68; appropriation by Buddhists, 185, 200, 210–11, 213, 217– 19, 307–8; and Aizen imagery, 234–45, 253–55; at Daigorinji, Hasedera, and

kami (Japanese deities) (continued) Hōzanji, 280-90; esoteric Buddhists, 219; kunitsukami, 68; local kami, 30, 90; oracles, 31, 49n30, 51, 56n54, 267; overseas deities, 16, 17n31, 20, 43-46, 59; plague deities (ekijin), 48, 65; provincial shrines, 68; in the Reikiki, 183, 271-72, 275; as serpents, 232-45, 248-50; shrine building, 45; *tatarigami*, 59; visualization as Aizen, 226-27, 236; visualization of (Ise shrines), 185-90, 230; women, 47-51; worship as affairs of state, 18, 68-70. See also Amaterasu, gongen (local deity); invisibility of kami; Kasuga deity; Miwa daimyōjin engi; Sannō Gongen (Mt. Hiei); Seiryū Gongen (Daigoji); seven heavenly deities (tenjin shichidai); Shinto; three divine regalia (sanshu no jinki; also imperial regalia); women; Zaō Gongen (Kinpusen)

kami iconography, 35n77, 234–46, 251, 280–97. *See also* Aizen Myōō; Daigorinji (Ōmiwa *jingūji*); Denbu Aizen (Peasant Aizen) ritual; Hasedera (Yamato Province); Hōzanji; Miwaryū (Miwa lineage); Ninnaji (Kyoto)

Kamiji, Mt. (Ise), 191, 194

Kamitsu michi (Upper road), 42, 153. *See also* roads

Kamo, 46, 59, 67, 68

Kanaya (Miwa), 153; blacksmiths, 263. See also metallurgy

Kanazawa Bunko (temple archive), 3, 84, 93n66, 114, 115n26, 240n43; Denbu Aizen, 236n35, 238, 241–42; *Ise kanjō*, 247; *Jāh-Jāh shidai*, 210; Miwa-ryū, 257; Miwa-ryū *Yugikyō* commentaries, 136–38. *See also* Eizan Bunko (temple archive); Ise Jingū Bunko (archive of the Ise shrines); Shinpukuji (Ōsu Bunko; Nagoya)

Kanbotsu bodaishinshū, 156

kanbutsu (sprinkling of Buddha statues), 61, 70

Kanekuni hyakushu kashō (Urabe Kanekuni), 260-61 kanji (alt. kandaiji, governmentsponsored temple), 98, 143. See also temples Kanmu tennō, 81, 93. See also rulers of Japan (tennō) Kannon (Sk. Avalokiteśvara), 3, 25, 223, 304; Amaterasu as a manifestation of, 290; Eleven-Headed Kannon, 29n61, 64; Hasedera, 85-89, 126; Miwa, 63, 64, 83, 89, 202, 302; Nyoirin Kannon, 170, 211; Saidaiji, 143; Thousand-Armed Kannon, 88n46, 195, 208 Kantō ōkanki, 146, 171n75. See also Eizon (alt. Eison); Ninshō (Saidaiji) Kasagidera (also Mt. Kasagi), 30, 39, 79, 80, 111, 117, 124–27; in *engi* literature, 208-9; and Miwa, 129, 211 Kasanui (Yamato Province), 28, 47-48, 59, 203 Kashikone (seven heavenly deities), 286-87, 289. See also kami iconography Kasuga deity, 30, 81; worship at Hasedera, 84, 86; at Ise, 189n36; at Miwa, 262 Kasuga gongen genki emaki, 24, 81 Kasuga Shrine, 69, 71, 73–76, 126; *shōnin* at, 129, 157. See also Kōfukuji (aka Yamashinadera) Katsuragi, Mt., 39, 40, 56, 59, 80, 96, 99, 111, 221–22. See also Yamato Katsuragi hōzanki Kaze no miya (Shrine to the Wind). See Ise shrines, Kaze no miya (Shrine to the Wind) Kebiishi, 152 kechimyaku (blood lineage chart), 130, 139–40, 256; Miwa-ryū, 258n4 Kegon. See Huayan Kehi Shrine, 19 *keibyaku* (proclamation to the deities): Aizen, 165–66; Kūkai, 226

Keiranshūyōshū (Kōshū), 206–7, 228–29, 233–34

kengyō (temple administrator), 98, 100.

See also Kinpusen, Mt.; Kōfukuji (aka Yamashinadera)

- *kenmitsu taisei* (exo-esoteric system), 75n7. See also *kenmon* (power blocks); Kuroda Toshio
- *kenmon* (power blocks), 76–77. *See also* Kuroda Toshio
- Kenna (Shōmyōji), 172
- Kiin (Shōmyōji), 136, 210
- *kike* scribes, 233. *See also* Hie shrines; Hiei, Mt.; Sannō Gongen (Mt. Hiei)
- Kinpusen, Mt., 39, 40, 78, 79, 80, 82, 86, 94, 97–101, 105, 108, 117, 124, 307; Kinpusenji *bettō*, 98; in medieval Shinto, 260; sutra burials, 98; threefold/ tripartite pattern, 212–13. *See also* mountain austerities (including *shugen*, or Shugendō; *shugen* temples); sacred sites, networks; temple networks
- Kinpusen himitsuden, 208, 212
- *Kinpusen kengyō shidai*, 100. *See also* Kōfukuji (aka Yamashinadera)
- *kirikami* (cut-paper initiation certificates), 36, 234, 238, 259; *Shintō kirikami*, 247n58; *Yugi kirikami*, 121–22, 124, 164. *See also* "seals of trust" (*injin*)
- *kishin* (donations of land), 76. *See also* land administration

Kitabatake Chikafusa, 14, 199n6o, 271, 273

- Kitano tenjin emaki, 24
- Kiyomihara Palace, 83. See also Sujin tennō; rulers of Japan (tennō)
- Kizuki Shrine (Izumo), 44, 59. *See also* Ōnamuchi; Susanoo
- Kōban, 130–31, 136–39, 242, 253. See also Jikken (alt. Jitsugen; of Daigoji Kongōōin); Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage); Nyojitsu (Kamo Shōnin); Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin); Yugikyō
- Kōfukuji (aka Yamashinadera), 30, 67, 71–77, 79, 80, 84, 97, 117; as administrator of Miwa *bessho*, 130n71, 263, 274–75; *bettō*, 73, 81; Daijōin, 77, 84, 92;

domination of Yamato Province, 73-77, 125; esoteric Buddhism, 80, 90–92; governor of Yamato Province, 76-77; high-ranking monks, 80–81, 90–91, 92; and Kasuga shrine, 76; low-ranking monks (doshū), 81-82, 97, 100n89, 105-6, 125; at Mt. Miwa, 80-81, 97; mountain austerities (shugen), 78, 86, 90-101, 111n17, 125-27, 140; sub-temples in Murō, 90-92, 105; violent protests, 157 Kōfukuji Higashi Kondō (Eastern Golden Hall, also Tōkondō), 97, 100–101, 105; and Miwa, 125-26 Kōfukuji sōjō (Jōkei), 30 Kōfukuji zōyaku menchō, 77 kofun (tombs), 41 Kogo ruiyōshū (Jihen), 284 Kōgū osan tōjitsu shidai, 269n30 Kojidan, 81n18, 113-14, 153 Kojiki, 16, 42, 43-44, 46, 50, 59, 266 Kokan Shiren, 106 Kōken (alt. Shōtoku; female ruler, not to be confused with Shōtoku Taishi), 84, 142. See also rulers of Japan (tenno) Kokinshū, 81. See also waka poems kokubunji, 69. See also temples kōmyō kanjō, 277; shintō kōmyō kanjō, 277. See also abhişeka (Buddhist initiation, Jp. kanjō); jingi kanjō (also shintō kanjō) Kongōbuji (Mt. Kōya), 20, 120. See also Kōya, Mt. Kongō busshi Eizon kanjin gakushōki

- (Eizon), 144–58, 170–71, 176–79 *Kongōchōkyō*, 208 Kongōkai (Diamond World), 5, 13, 34, 122n47, 123, 131–32, 162n56, 172; and Denbu Aizen, 241; and esoteric enlightenment, 236; in *Ise kanjō*, 247– 50; Ise shrines, 176, 181, 185, 231–32; mandala, panel from *Ise mishōtai zushi* (Saidaiji), pl. 3; as part of three sections, 195, 203, 260; and twelve deities, 282. *See also* non-duality (*funi*);
 - Taizōkai (Womb World); threefold/

Kongōkai (Diamond World) (continued) tripartite pattern; two mandalas (ryōbu, alt. ryōkai mandara) Kongōshōji (Mt. Asama), 33 Konjaku monogatarishū, 62, 153 Korea: envoys to Asuka, 57; prehistoric migration from, 44-46, 48, 66; prince as a hostage, 58 Korō kojitsuden (Watarai Yukitada), 179 Kose Shrine family (Ōmiwa), 69n95, 96, 196, 265n19; and Southern Court, 273 kōshiki (doctrinal lectures), 155 Koshikidake, 247. See also mountain austerities (including shugen, or Shugendō; *shugen* temples) Kōshin (deity), 277, 281 Kōshōji (Ise), 182-83, 198 Kōya, Mt., 20-21, 111, 119-20, 122147, 123, 164, 217, 307; Denbu Aizen, 238; Eizon, 144; hijiri, 124, 130, 135–36; Ise kanjō, 247; Miwa-ryū ritual documents, 257-59 kuden (oral transmissions), 115–16, 145, 239, 242-43, 307. See also kirikami (cut-paper initiation certificates); kuketsu; "seals of trust" (injin) Kujō Kanezane, 31, 270n31 Kūkai, 24, 26n54, 27, 81, 92-93, 94n69, 114-16, 121, 133, 139, 169n71; and Eizon, 144-45; and esoteric enlightenment, 218; the human body, 225; in medieval Miwa, 263 kuketsu (oral transmissions), 235. See also Bikisho; kuden (oral transmissions); Reikiki (alt. Tenchi reikiki); Tenshō Daijin kuketsu Kumano, 34, 80, 111; resident monks (nagatoko), 124, 137 Kuni no Satsuchi (seven heavenly deities), 280n56, 281n57, 284-86, 288. See also seven heavenly deities (tenjin shichidai); Toyokumunu (seven heavenly deities) Kuni no Tokotachi (seven heavenly

deities), 258n4, 281n57, 282n59;

kunitsukami (earthly deities), 68. See also kami (Japanese deities) kuni vuzuri (transfer of land), 268; in medieval Shinto, 265 kunizukuri (creation of land; also deities), 45-47, 60-61. See also Izanagi; Izanami; seven heavenly deities (tenjin shichidai) Kuroda Toshio, 4n4, 75n7, 303-4. See also kenmitsu taisei, kenmon (power blocks) Kusunoki Masashige, 273 Kyōe (Saidaiji), 146, 158. See also Eizon (alt. Eison); Ninshō (Saidaiji); Saidaiji Kyōen (Miwa Shōnin), 94n69, 106–17, 211-12; and Dragon King's daughter, 223n10; and *Ise kanjō*, 254, 256; during the Edo period, 298-302; and Jōkei, 129, 132, 139–40, 156–57; in medieval Miwa, 263; and Miwa-ryū Shintō, 258n4, 260-61. See also Miwa bessho (Byodoji); non-elite Buddhist practitioners; Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin); temple networks

imagery, 284-86, 288. See also kami

iconography

land administration, 76–78. See also *fuko* (residential units); *gōchō* (local proprietors); *jitō* (land steward); *kishin* (donations of land); Kōfukuji (aka Yamashinadera), governor of Yamato Province land of the sun (*nichiiki*), 26, 177

Latour, Bruno, 12

Laudatory Prayer of the Chieftain of Izumo, 45, 58–59

legitimation strategies, 8, 25–27, 36, 123; compilation of *engi* records, 159; divine regalia imagery, 293–97; divine regalia transfer, 271; the founding of temple lineages, 129–30, 139 living image (*shōjin*), 150, 162, 201

local gazetteers. See *fudoki*

local kami, 30, 90; as Aizen Myōō, 226-

-

27; and esoteric Buddhists, 219. See also kami (Japanese deities) "Lotus Part," 195, 209, 260 Lotus Ritual (*Hokke hō*), 212

- Lotus Sutra, 83, 85, 88, 112119, 113–14, 220–23; Chinese Tiantai commentaries on, 205; Devadatta chapter, 112119; Kannon chapter, 88; recitation at Ise, 180n10, 181; and three poisons, 224; Treasure Stupa chapter, 83, 192– 93; worship and study, 127–28 Lotus World, 192
- Lotus wonu, 192
- low-ranking monks, 76, 81; Kinpusen, 98; Köfukuji, 97. See also döshü (lowranking monks); mandö (low-ranking monks); non-elite Buddhist practitioners; zenshü (meditation monks; aka zensö)
- madō (path of demons), 123. See also Buddhism; Buddhist hells
- Mahāvairocana (Jp. Dainichi), 8–9, 14n24, 25–27, 35, 116, 121, 149, 161; as Aizen, 165; as Amaterasu, 191, 229, 291; *Dainichi* [*no*] *hongoku* (radiant land of Dainichi), 26–27, 308; in Ise, 189–90; in kami imagery, 281n57; in medieval Shinto, 260, 290; as the Miwa and Sannō deities, 206–7; three bodies of, 190–91, 203–5, 212, 236
- Mahāvairocana Sūtra (Ch. Darijing, Jp. Dainichikyō), 5, 13, 145, 239; Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (Yixing), 145, 149; at Mt. Kasagi, 208
- Mahāyāna. See Buddhism
- Maitreya. See Miroku
- Makimuku River, 39, 40, 41
- Makura no sōshi (Sei Shōnagon), 88, 277n50
- malevolent spirits, 49, 58, 68–69; Ryōgen's ghost, 112n19, 117; Kakuban's ghost, 123–24; northeastern direction, 296
- *mandō* (low-ranking monks), 98, 100n89. See also *dōshū* (low-ranking monks);

non-elite Buddhist practitioners, zenshū (meditation monks; aka zensō) Mañjuśrī (Jp. Monju), 147-49, 161, 201n66; as Buddha-mother, 148–51; in Dragon King's Palace, 221–23, 222; hall at Miwa, 262; hand-painted scrolls, 150; Hannyaji Mañjuśrī, 150-51; as a hinin, 152, 237 mantra, 117, 120, 123, 238; mantra master (shingonshi), 180 Man'yōshū, 58, 82n23 mappō (last age of the Buddhist dharma), 8, 22, 145, 161, 166, 169; and kami, 224, 304 medicinal herbs, 60, 154. See also Ōmiwa Shrine, festivals medicine container (yakko), 66n86 medieval conceptualizations of kami, 174; at Ise, 178, 224, 232-45, 302, 307. See also esoteric concepts, transferred to; kami (Japanese deities); Shinto medieval Nihongi, 266-67, 276, 290-91, 296, 307-8. See also Bikisho; kuden (oral transmissions); Nihongi Miwaryū; Tenshō Daijin kuketsu meditation, 99, 111, 144, 252; in "three parts," 212; treatises on, 127-28, 244. See also contemplation; samādhi Meijaku (or Myōjaku; aka Oki nyūdō Meijaku), 122–24. See also Kakuban Meiji Restoration, 3-4, 63, 281, 301-2 Memyō bosatsu (Aśvagoṣa), 291 Mesuriyama (kofun tomb), 41 metallurgy, 44, 57. See also blacksmiths; cast-iron-pot merchants (nabe uri) Mikasa, Mt., 30, 95 miko (female shamans), 50, 144; at Ise shrines, 188 mikura (granary), 262 Mimoro, Mt., 45, 50-51, 57, 151. See also Miwa, Mt.; Ōmiwa Shrine Mimosuso River (Ise), 32, 194 mimuro (alt. muro): as a cave or sacred space, 90; "Three Pure [Ones]," 192 Minamoto no Yorichika, 76

- Miroku (Sk. Maitreya), 3, 33, 96–98; at Mt. Kasagi, 208–9; at Miwa, 156; at Saidaiji, 143; Tușita Heaven (Pure Land), 126–28, 143
- Miroku nyorai kannō shōsō (Sōshō), 127
- Miroku nyorai kechien shibunshū, 127–28. See also Miwa bessho (Byōdōji); Sōshō (Tōdaiji); Zenninbō Jōshin (Miwa Shōnin)
- mirror: bronze, 41; at Ise, 180, 267; in medieval Shinto iconography, 286; in *Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō*, 295, 296; octagonal (*yata no kagami*), 59, 296; as substitutes for kami, 178–79, 280, 287. *See also* jewels (curved gems, *magatama* beads); kami iconography; sword; seven heavenly deities (*tenjin shichidai*); three divine regalia (*sanshu no jinki*; also imperial regalia) *Mitsu no kashiwa denki*, 183, 229
- Miwa, Mt., 4–5, 7, 10–13, 15, 28, 36, 39, 40, 41–43, 47, 50, 58–59, 72, 79, 80–82, 86, 94–96, 99; Buddhist cults, 63, 66–67, 68, 196; in the Edo period, 298–302; *emishi*, 151; and Kinpusen, 99, 105, 275; in *Miwa daimyōjin engi*, 191–92, 203; and Murō, 80, 91, 108–19; in the Muromachi period, 261–64; and Saidaiji lineage, 158–60, 257n2; separation of kami and buddhas, 301–2; the Southern Court, 273; and Tendai, 197, 204– 6; as three mandalas, 208–9, 260; as three wheels, 195, 206–7; and Tōnomine, 96–97, 123, 125
- Miwa bessho (Byōdōji), 12, 105–6, 118, 123, 140, 141, 309; abhişeka rituals, 167–68, 200, 212, 267, 294–97; Aizen worship, 235–49; Byōdōji Daichiin, 126–28, 263, 275; Byōdōji fire, 257, 274, 298; Byōdōji Henshōin, 298; Byōdōji in the Muromachi period, 262–64; Denbu Aizen, 238, 242–44, 257; dragon kings worship, 140; esoteric practices, 165, 167, 173n81, 257, 266–67; the founding of, 125–30; as *jingūji* to Ōmiwa Shrine,

129-30, 275; and Kasagidera, 129, 156-57; and Kōen (Saidaiji), 155-56; library, 126-27; medieval Miwa cult, 196; Miroku statue and worship, 127-28, 140, 156; *Miwa daimyōjin engi*, 196, 211; Pure Land worship, 140; and Saidaiji lineage, 154-57; scholar monks and meditation monks, 274-75; Zenninbō Jōshin (Miwa Shōnin) 107, 127–28, 138–39. See also Daigorinji (Ōmiwa *jingūji*); Kyōen (Miwa Shōnin); Miwa, Mt.; Miwa shōnin; Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage); Miwa-ryū Shintō; Ōmiwa Shrine; Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shonin); sacred rocks (iwakura); serpent deities (kami); Zenninbō Jōshin (Miwa Shōnin); Renkakubō Kōen

- Miwa daimyōjin engi, 159–60, 190– 213, 259, 307; three points (santen), 241n44. See also Amaterasu; Eizon (alt. Eison); Ise shrines; Miwa bessho (Byōdōji); Sannō Gongen (Mt. Hiei); Saidaiji
- Miwadera (Ōmiwa *jingūji*), 62–63, 66, 71; Eleven-Headed Kannon, 89; restored by Saidaiji, 157–59, 190; and Tōnomine, 97. *See also* Daigorinji (Ōmiwa *jingūji*) Miwa no Mimoro Shrine, 48, 50
- Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage), 7, 12, 106, 130– 31, 139–40, 187n29; early modern revival, 298–302; *jingi kanjō*, 245, 250– 51, 254, 257–58, 265; *jingi kanjō shiki mandara*, 279; late medieval developments, 275–80, 290–97; in medieval Japan, 260–61; *Nihongi Miwa-ryū*, 276, 290–91; and Tachikawa-ryū, 242. *See also* Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin); Zenninbō Jōshin (Miwa Shōnin)
- *Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō* altar, 291–92. *See also* altar
- Miwa-ryu jingi kanjō injin hiketsu, 300
- Miwa-ryū Shintō, 4, 8, 10, 106, 219, 256– 302; early modern revival, 107n4, 256– 57, 264, 265–66, 293n79, 298–302; gap in the sources, 256–57, 275–76; late

medieval documents, 275–80, 290–97; regional spread, 265–66, 272n40, 298– 99; rituals for professionals and artisans, 263–64

Miwa-ryū Shintō genryūshū, 293n79

Miwa-ryū Shintō kuketsu, 300

Miwa *shōnin*, 149, 156, 160, 169, 173, 208– 11, 242–43, 253–57, 277, 309–10. *See also* Miwa *bessho* (Byōdōji); non-elite Buddhist practitioners

Miwa shōnin gyōjō, 107–17, 223110, 258; re-used in the Edo period, 300

Miwa shōnin gyōjōshō, 107, 109–17; re-used in the Edo period, 300

Miwa *shuku* (*hinin* lodge), 89, 150–51, 157; the Mañjuśrī service, 153, 201n66

Miwayama Byōdōji Kyōenkan shōnin betsuden, 107n4, 300

Miwayama ezu (Map of Mt. Miwa), 261– 64, pl. 8

mizukaki fence (Ise shrines), 31

Mizukaki Palace (Sujin, Yamato ruler), 47, 60

mobility: of deities, 43–44; of esoteric knowledge, 160, 167–69, 173, 217–18, 257; of esoteric knowledge on kami, 239, 243–44, 257, 305–6; historic migration between Korea and Japan, 6–7, 27, 32–34, 66–67, 89, 151, 158; of holy men, monks, and mountain ascetics, 90–91, 94, 97, 209–10; transfer of kami concepts into the Buddhist discourse, 267, 293–97, 305–6

Mohe zhiguan (Zhiyi), 191140, 244, 245153

Mongol invasions, 4, 33; Aizen ritual,

169–73, 176–77, 218; Buddhist services, 189. *See also* pacification

Monju. See Mañjuśrī

Monkan Gushin, 212–13, 253

- Monmu *tennō*, 84. *See also* rulers of Japan (*tennō*)
- Montoku jitsuroku, 65
- monzeki, 77, 130n71, 168. See also Kōfukuji (aka Yamashinadera); Ninnaji (Kyoto)

mother, 149–51, 153, 201

mountain ascetics (*genja*, *shugenja*, *yamabushi*), 6, 11, 13, 33, 35, 90–91, 93–101, 123; at Ise, 194

mountain austerities (including *shugen*, or Shugendō; *shugen* temples), 20, 33, 36, 78; *shugen* networks in Yamato, 79, 90–91, 94–101, 112–15, 124–26, 140, 156; on Mt. Miwa, 208, 262; in Yamato and Kantō, 240, 305. See also *shugen* pilgrimage routes

mountain lily, 60–61. *See also* Ōmiwa Shrine, festivals

moxa, 60. *See also* Ōmiwa Shrine, festivals

Mudōji, 95. *See also* Hiei, Mt.; Kinpusen, Mt.

- mudra, 117, 120, 238; the eight-petal lotus (hachiyōin), 250; in Ise kanjō, 248–49, 259–60; the closed-stupa (heitōin), 250; the outer five-pronged vajra (ge gokoin), 250; the stupa (tōin), 121, 123; the three-part stupa (sanbu tōin), 212, 259–60, 265; in Reiki kanjō, 278. See also abhișeka (Buddhist initiation, Jp. kanjō); jingi kanjō (also shintō kanjō)
- Mujū Ichien, 107, 117
- Murō, Mt., 6, 11, 39, 40, 78, 79, 82, 105, 108, 111-19, 124, 125; Mt. Ben'ichi, 90-94; Buddhist cults, 91; Butsuryūji, 90, 115; esoteric Buddhism at, 92–94, 217; Kanazawa Bunko ritual documents, 171n77; Kōfukuji monks at, 90-92; and Kyōen, 108–16, 223n10; Mt. Nyoi, 90; Murō Shrine temple (*jingūji*), 90; Murō Zenji (Shūen), 91, 93n64; Murōji bettō, 92; Purging the Serpents (hija *hō*), 226n19, 243; rainmaking, 220, 281n58, 283; Ryūketsu Shrine, 90, 94, 112–14, 223n10; sanson gogyō hō, 211; Shōshin (Mt. Ikoma), 139. See also dragon deities; Miwa bessho (Byōdōji); serpent deities (kami); Zennyo Ryūō (Dragon King; also as a female deity) Mutsu Province, 89

Nagahara Keiji, 73n2, 151-52 Nāga-kings, 113; Nanda (Hasedera), 86; Nanda and Upananda (Tamamushi zushi, Hōryūji), 221–23, 222 nagatoko. See Kumano Nakatomi harae, 34 Nakatomi harae kike, 34 *Nakatomi harae kunge*, 34, 183, 22014, 295n82. See also purification Nakatsu michi (Middle road), 42, 86. See also roads Nara capital, 39, 40, 95. See also capitals of Japan; Nara temples Nara National Museum (Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan), 83, 176n2, 286n65 Nara temples, 40, 65, 66, 81, 90-91, 111, 142-43, 148; *hijiri* from Nara, 180n10 Negoro, Mt., 120, 210-11. See also Kakuban nenbutsu: himitsu nenbutsu, 120; practice, 106; practitioners, 30n65, 130. See also Ippen; non-elite Buddhist practitioners; Pure Land nigimitama, 45-46, 59. See also aramitama; Ōnamuchi Nihongi kanjō, 247, 295n83. See also jingi kanjō (also shintō kanjō); Reiki kanjō Nihongi Miwa-ryū, 276, 290–91. See also Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage); medieval Nihongi Nihon kiryaku, 69. See also Nihon shoki Nihon ryōiki, 87-88, 97 Nihon shoki (Nihongi), 9, 14, 16, 28-29, 36, 42-58, 62, 83; emishi in Miwa, 151; in *jingi kanjō*, 264–65; kami, 219–20, 287; medieval lectures on, 261; medieval reinterpretation, 266-67, 287; in Miwa daimyōjin engi, 191, 202. See also the Age of Gods, medieval Nihongi Nijō, Ladv, 32 Nijō, Mt. (Yamato Province), 39, 40 Ningai (Ono branch of Shingon), 240-41, 283 Ninigi (divine grandchild), 268 Ninkan (Tachikawa-ryū), 132, 242

384

Ninmyō tennō, 84. See also rulers of Japan (tennō) Ninnaji (Kyoto), 3, 27, 29, 78; clerics administrating Hasedera, 84; denboe at, 119, 134, 164, 218; Denbu Aizen, 290; kami initiations (*jingi kanjō*), 239, 248-49; medieval Shinto imagery, 239, 248-49, 265n19, 295n83; Prince Shūkaku, 29, 164 Ninshō (Saidaiji), 146-50, 154-55, 201n66; Gokurakuji, 171, 176; and Yugikyō, 167 nirmāņakāya, 191n40, 259–60. See also "three bodies [of Tathāgata] in one" (sanshin soku ichi; sanshin nyorai) Niu Myōjin, 20. See also gongen (local deity); kami (Japanese deities) non-duality (funi), 34, 172, 236-37, 306; Denbu Aizen, 241n44; dual pattern (*funi jini*, "not two, yet two"), 194–95, 205; dual pattern (ryōbu funi), 250; in Ise kanjō, 248, 250; of kami and buddhas, 304; at Mt. Miwa, 209; in Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō, 293; threefold pattern of (sanbu funi), 195, 203-5. See also Kongōkai (Diamond World); Ryōbu Shintō (also ryōbu shūgō shintō); Taizōkai (Womb World); threefold/tripartite pattern; two mandalas (ryōbu, alt. ryōkai mandara) non-elite Buddhist practitioners, 8, 96, 166; biwa hōshi, 270-71; bonbu (unenlightened beings), 228–29; common folk, 96, 166; countryside priests, 139-40, 155-56, 228-29; criticism of, 132-37, 228–29, 242; and divine regalia, 271-72; as inventors of medieval Shinto, 254-57; lay practitioners (artisans, merchants, women), 263-64; and mobility of esoteric knowledge, 217–18, 240–41, 244; and medieval Shinto rituals, 247; Miwa shōnin, 106-17, 120, 133–35, 140; peasant monk, 240–41; role in assembling new forms of worship, 304-6; Shinshū (Nabari),

297. See also *jakyō* (perverse teachings); Yūgen

norito, 58. See also Engishiki; Izumo no kuni fudoki (alt. Izumo fudoki)

- nuns: *bikuni*, 27; in early Japan, 57; at Ise, 32, 179; flogged at Miwa, 57
- Nyoi, Mt. (wish-fulfilling mountain), 90. See also Murō, Mt.
- nyoi hōju (wish-fulfilling gem), 92–93, 112n19, 114–16, 171n77; Denbu Aizen, 240–41; in kami iconography, 285–90; in sanson gogyō hō, 211, 213. See also jewels (curved gems, magatama beads) Nyoirin Kannon. See Kannon
- Nyojitsu (Kamo Shōnin), 131–32, 242, 253, 284. *See also* Kōban, Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage); Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin)
- nyūbu (mountain entry), 100, 106. See also mountain austerities (including shugen, or Shugendō; shugen temples)

ōbō buppō, 27. *See also* rulership Oda Nobunaga, 207

- offerings (*ku*): to the Buddhist deities, 87, 98; kami (*jinku*), 283–84; Suiten, 282n60; of sutras to the deities of Ise, 32. *See also* Ise shrines; Buddhism; Buddhism, at Ise
- Ōga family, 20, 49n30; Ōga women, 51, 56. *See also* Ōmiwa family

ōkami (Great Deity), 44. See also kunizukuri (creation of land; also deities)

Oki Islands, 122, 124

okina (old man), 188n35, 286. See also kami iconography

Ōkuninushi, 28n56, 43–46. *See also* Izumo; Ōmononushi; Ōnamuchi; Ōmiwa deity

 Ōmine, 31, 33, 79, 80, 98–99, 105. See also mountain austerities (including shugen, or Shugendō; shugen temples); sacred sites, networks; Shugendō; shugen temple networks
Ōmiwa cult, 49, 59, 196, 202

- Ōmiwa deity, 45–46, 49–50; getting first rank, 70n98; as Mahāvairocana, 193, 309; Miwa Daimyōjin, 112, 188n33, 191, 193, 206, 282; as part of esoteric mandala, 203; as plague deity (*ekijin*), 153; as a serpent, 201–2
- Ōmiwa family, 56–58, 62, 65, 67–71; Kose shrine family, 69n95, 96, 196, 265n19; in *Miwa daimyōjin engi*, 200– 203; Ōmiwa *asomi* Takachimaro, 56, 62; Ōtataneko, 52–53, 201–2; and the Southern Court, 273; Takamiya family, 196, 265n19; Toranushi (court physician), 65
- Ōmiwa land estates: Iwata no shō, 77, 81, 157; owned by Kōfukuji, 77, 81; Tōdaiji Tōnan'in, 105n1
- Ōmiwa no kami sansha chinza shidai, 63–65, 207n77, 265n19
- Ōmiwa Shrine, 12, 15, 45–46, 59; Denbu Aizen ritual, 244; esoteric writings at, 136, 173n81; festivals, 60-61, 65, 69; *haiden* (prayer hall) 190, 193, 262; hinin, 153, 263; Ise kanjō, 247; kannushi lineage, 52-53, 201-2; and Kasuga shrine jitō, 129; lands overtaken by Kōfukuji, 73-77, 105n1; medieval shrinetemple complex, 261-64; modern collection of historic sources, 257; nunneries, 262n14; Ōtataneko, 52-53, 201-2; permanent buildings, 191, 193, 261-63; and the Southern Court, 272–73; temple priests (*shaso*), 209, 261–63; torii, 261–62. See also Anashi Shrine; Chinkasai (alt. Hanashizume no matsuri; "Pacification of the Flowers," Ōmiwa Shrine festival); Hanashizume Shrine (Miwa); Himuka Shrine (Mt. Miwa); Izakawa Shrine; Mimoro, Mt.; Sai Shrine; Saigusa matsuri (Three Herbs Festival); Tsunakoshi Shrine Omodaru (seven heavenly deities), 286-
- 87, 289. See also kami iconography Ōmononushi, 28n56, 49, 57n57, 59, 200n64, 201, 308; as a serpent, 220.

Ōmononushi (*continued*) See also Miwa, Mt.; Ōkuninushi; Ōmiwa deity; Ōnamuchi

Ōnakatomi clan, 28–29, 32, 178, 181, 244

Ōnamuchi, 43–46, 51, 59–61, 220, 241, 268; as Dairokuten Maō, 295n82; in medieval Shinto, 264–65, 297, 309. *See also* Izumo; Miwa, Mt.; Ōkuninushi; Ōmiwa deity; Ōmononushi

Ōnara, 66. *See also* Korea; mobility, historic migration between Korea and Japan

- "one body, three names." *See* "three bodies [of Tathāgata] in one" (*sanshin soku ichi*; *sanshin nyorai*)
- Onjōji, 20, 33–34, 187n29, 271. *See also* Enryakuji (Mt. Hiei); Hiei, Mt.; Mudōji; *taimitsu* (Tendai esoteric tradition); Tendai lineages

Onmyōdō, 93, 267; festivals, 93; *Goryūsai* (Onmyōdō Festival of the Five Dragons), 93, 113, 283

onmyōji (yin-yang diviners), 27, 34, 93, 113, 220

- Ono branch of Shingon, 93, 113n22, 115–16, 121, 133, 233–35; Denbu Aizen, 240–41; and Miwa *shōnin*, 277; role in assembling medieval kami worship, 306; Suiten worship, 283–84. *See also* Daigoji (Kyoto); Hiei, Mt.; Hirosawa branch of Shingon; *taimitsu* (Tendai esoteric tradition); Tōji (Kyoto)
- *Ono Kōbō yonjū chō no ketsu*, 233–34 oracles (by kami), 31, 49n30, 51, 56n54,

267

ōshi kanjō, 293, 296. *See also* Miwa-ryū Shintō

Ōtataneko, 52–53, 201–2. See also Nihon shoki (Nihongi); Ōmiwa Shrine; Sujin tennō

Ötomabe (seven heavenly deities), 286, 289. See also kami iconography

Ōtonoji (seven heavenly deities), 286, 289. See also kami iconography Outer Shrine of Ise (*gekū*), 21, 28, 32, 36, 177; clergy visiting Miwa, 244n52; as Kongōkai, 185–90, 231–32; as a stupa and a white snake in *Ise kanjō*, 247– 48; the Watarai library, 181. *See also* Inner Shrine of Ise (*naikū*); Ise shrines; Toyuke (aka Toyouke); Watarai (Ise) Owari Province, 30, 82, 91, 151 *oyashiro kanjō*, 258. See also *Ise kanjō*,

jingi kanjō (also shintō kanjō), Nihongi kanjō, Reiki kanjō

pacification: of disease and disaster, 47, 52, 60–61, 69–70, 73; of Izumo by Yamato, 45, 58–59, 61–62; of malevolent forces (*kōbuku*, *chōbuku*), 163, 189; of Mongols, 169–70, 177, 187–89

"Pacification of the Flowers." See *Chinkasai* (alt. *Hanashizume no matsuri*; Ōmiwa Shrine festival)

pagoda. See temple pagoda

patronage of shrines and temples, 8, 73, 84, 93, 98, 179, 263, 271

Peacock Sutra, 115, 177

Peasant Aizen. See Aizen Myöö; Denbu Aizen (Peasant Aizen) ritual; kami iconography; Yugikyö

peasant monk. See denbu no sō

- pilgrimage, 6, 15, 73, 78–80, 79, 204, 396; elite pilgrimage, 86, 98, 124, 143; to Hasedera, 86–89, 105, 153; to Ikoma, 147; to Ise, 28–36, 175–83, 187–88, 190– 92; to Kinpusen, 80, 97–101; to Miwa, 244, 262; Miwa as a stopover, 88–89, 94, 95, 99, 141; to Mt. Murō, 90, 94, 109, 110–12, 114; to Ōmine-Yoshino, 97–100, 105, 117; by proxy, 87; to Tōnomine, 94–97. *See also* sacred sites, networks; temple networks
- plague deity (*ekijin*), 48, 65. *See also* epidemics (plague)

pollution (*kegare*), 152, 233, 236-37

portable shrine (*zushi*): Aizen (Saidaiji), 170–71; at Ise (Futaiji), 189–90; *Ise mishōtai zushi* (Saidaiji), 184–89, 232,

290n4; at Kasagidera, 30; *Tamamushi zushi* (Hōryūji), 221–23, 222

precepts: Eizon and the emperor, 178; at Ise, 176n2; *samaya*, 91, 166; Vinaya, 142–43, 145, 153, 166

primeval chaos (konton), 229

- principle (*ri*), 172, 194, 226, 293. *See also* wisdom (*chi*)
- prolonging life (enmei), 163

protection of the state, 68–69, 73, 84, 169–70, 177, 187

- protective deities, 48, 67–69; Aizen and Daishō Kongō, 187; dragon kings, 221– 22; at Miwa, 263. See also *chinju*; *gohō zenjin*
- protective monks. See *gojisō* (protective monks)

provincial shrines, 68; temples, 85

public paddies (*ōyake no tehata*), 77. See also land administration

- Pure Land, 22; imagery, 106; at Mt. Kōya, 119–20; Kegon interpretation of, 192; monks, 9112, 36, 233; origin in pollution, 236; scholar-monks at Ise, 272 purging disasters (*sokusai hō*), 163
- Purging the Serpents (*hija hō*), 93, 115n29, 226–27; in *Kakugenshō*, 243. *See also* Denbu Aizen (Peasant Aizen) ritual; serpent deities (kami)
- purification, 23, 32, 82, 83, 99, 108, 194n50, 220, 267, 278; esoteric purification, 99, 108, 120, 194n50; fire purification (*homa, goma*), 111, 119, 120, 189n36; *gomadokoro* (Ōmiwa Shrine), 262; "internal" (*uchi goma*), 232, 251–52, 280; in Miwa-ryū rituals, 280

rai disease (leprosy), 151

rainmaking, 24, 62–63, 71, 86, 90, 108; control of rain, 219–20; esoteric rituals (*shōuhō*), 93, 105, 113–16, 282; in Ono branch of Shingon, 283–84

Raiyu, 283–84

Reiki kanjō, 36, 239, 247, 258, 274; in Miwaryū Shintō, 275–80, 296

- *Reikiki* (alt. *Tenchi reikiki*), 9–10, 35, 183; divine regalia, 271–72; and kami imagery, 281, 284–86, 291n75, 294–97; lectures on, 261; in Miwa-ryū ritual documents, 276–80
- relics, 70, 73, 161; as Aizen and kami, 226–27
- Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin), 107, 131–40, 160, 169, 200; and acquisition of esoteric knowledge, 169n71, 173, 186n25, 208, 212, 242–44, 252; commentaries on *Yugikyō*, 133–39, 169, 173n81, 173n83, 187n29, 210, 251n64, 253; and Jikken (Daigoji Kongōōin), 137n97, 173, 242, 284; medieval Miwa cult, 196; Mañjuśrī worship, 149; medieval kami worship, 196, 257; and Tachikawa-ryū, criticism of, 132–34, 242; in Urabe writings, 260–61. *See also* Kyōen (Miwa Shōnin); Miwa *bessho* (Byōdōji); Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage)
- Renkakubō Kōen (Kairyūōji, Saidaiji), 155; and Miwa *bessho*, 156; in Miwaryū ritual documents, 245, 257n2; and *Yugikyō*, 167. *See also* Miwa *bessho* (Byōdōji); Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage)
- reproductive metaphors: "five stages of the embryo in the womb" (*tainai goi*), 121, 134, 138; Mañjuśrī as a mother (*hannya Monju tainai*), 149; "merging of two roots" (*nikon kyōe*), 134; "red and white" (*shakubyaku wagō*), 251n64, 290; placenta, 252–53. See also childbirth; Rishukyō; Yugikyō
- Rikanbō Keijitsu (Chōgakuji), 150. See also Eizon (alt. Eison); Mañjuśrī (Jp. Monju); Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage); Ninshō (Saidaiji); Saidaiji
- *Rishukyō*, 5, 13, 122147, 133–34, 137, 170; copies at Ise, 177; in medieval Japan, 253
- Rishushaku (Amoghavajra), 122n48, 134 Ritsuen sõhõden, 198

ritual: gumonji hō (perfect memory), 33; jūhachidō kegyō, 144. See also abhișeka (Buddhist initiation, Jp. kanjō); esoteric deities; jingi kanjō (also shintō kanjō); sanson gogyō hō

ritual knowledge, cross-fertilization of, 164, 217–18, 234–37, 239

ritual maps (*sashizu*), 254, 264–65, 279n54 roads. *See* Hatsuse road; Iware road;

- Kamitsu michi (Upper road); Nakatsu michi (Middle road); Shimotsu michi (Lower road); Yamanobe no michi (Mountain Road); Yoko ōji (Great Horizontal Road)
- roadside offerings (*michiae*), 58n63. *See also* crossroads (*chimata*)
- *rokudō*. See six realms of transmigration (*rokudō*)
- *Ruijū jingi hongen* (Watarai Yukitada), 182, 271n37, 285n68
- Ruijū sandaikyaku, 67
- rulership, 13, 25–27, 46–48; new concepts of, 59, 273–74; symbols of in medieval Japan, 264–65, 267, 271–72, 290, 294–97
- rulers of Japan (*tennõ*), 6, 17n32, 18, 25–29, 42, 70, 77, 81, 83–84, 92–93; decrees to send esoteric monks to Ise, 179–81; and divine regalia, 267–70; early Yamato court (8th century), 17, 20, 41–43, 46–49, 56–59, 62, 68, 74, 83, 268; Insei rule, 77, 163; receiving precepts from Eizon, 177; Southern Court, 14n25, 207n77, 212, 270–74; split branches, 253–54, 271; *See also* Go-Daigo *tennõ*; Go-Shirakawa *tennõ*; Go-Toba *tennõ*; Jinmu *tennõ*; Shirakawa *tennõ*; Shõmu *tennõ*; Suiko *tennõ* (also Kashikiyahime); Suinin *tennõ*; Sujin *tennõ*
- ryōbu mitsudan (altar of two mandalas), 131–32. See also altar; two mandalas (ryōbu, alt. ryōkai mandara)
- Ryōbu Shintō (also *ryōbu shūgō shintō*), 4–5, 9–10, 22, 35, 183n20, 184; at Ise, 198–99; at Miwa, 203–4, 309; theories, 22014

Ryōchi Tokugyō (Yamashinadera/ Kōfukuji), 97 Ryōga *ajari*, 122–24. See also *ajari* (also Shingon *ajari*) Ryōgen (Tendai prelate), 112n19 Ryōhen (Tendai monk), 261; and kami

imagery, 281157 Ryōyo Shōgei (Pure Land monk), 272; and kami imagery, 281157, 284166 -ryū (lineage), 130, 168. See also -gata

(sub-lineage); temple lineages (general designation)

- Ryūketsu (Dragon Cave) Shrine, 90, 94, 112–14, 223110. *See also* Dragon Cave (Ryūketsu); dragon deities; serpent deities (kami)
- sacred landscape, 159, 193, 203–13, 239; human body, 120, 232, 237; Katsuragi, 221; Mt. Miwa, 261–64; transformation of, 217

sacred rocks (*iwakura*), 16, 23, 63–64; three rocks at Miwa, 200–201, 261–64

sacred sites: contact between Ise and Miwa, 197–98; contact between Miwa and Mt. Ikoma, 280–81; in situ, 11– 13; networks, 11–13, 33–34, 90–91, 95, 108, 111, 114–15, 124–26, 158, 183n19, 307; Ōmiwa shrine-temple complex, 261–64

Saichō, 24, 91, 92, 204, 207n77

Saidaiji: Aizen Hall, 188–89; Denbu Aizen, 238; esoteric cults, 161–62; *Ise mishōtai zushi*, 184–90, 232; at Miwa, 141–42, 257–58; network and expansion, 154, 159–60, 190; network in Ise and Kantō, 169–70, 171, 175, 182–90, 231, 305; order, 128–29; summer retreats, 155; temple, 141–74; Vinaya scriptures, 154, 258. *See also* Eizon (alt. Eison); *Kakujō* (Saidaiji); Ninshō (Saidaiji); Sen'yū (Saidaiji) *Saidaiji chōro daidai myō*, 197–98 *Saidaiji den'en mokuroku*, 155 *Saidaiji shizai rukichō*, 142–43

saigū. See abstinence palace Saigusa matsuri (Three Herbs Festival), 61. See also Ōmiwa Shrine, festivals; Sai Shrine Saikyōji (Mt. Hiei), 257, 258n4, 267 Saionji family, 177-78 Sai Shrine, 59, 65-66, 76, 262. See also Ōmiwa Shrine Sakadono (Ise shrines), 180 Sakurai Chausuyama (kofun-style tomb), 41 Śākyamuni, 148, 223; in Dragon King's Palace, 221n7; painting at Ise, 176; at Saidaiji, 155 salvatory techniques, 8, 116, 173-74, 218-19, 236, 304, 307-8 samādhi, 201, 226, 253n68 samaya precepts, 91, 166. See also Vinaya precepts sambhogakāya, 191n40. See also "three bodies [of Tathāgata] in one" (sanshin soku ichi; sanshin nyorai) samsāra, 19. See also six realms of transmigration (rokudo) Sanbu bugyōki, 204n68 Sanbu gogyō himitsu kanjō injin, 212. See also non-duality (funi); threefold/ tripartite pattern Sanbu Gongen (Mt. Kōya), 210-11; Sanbu, whale bones as ritual offerings, 283n64; Suiten, 283. See also Daigoji (Kyoto); esoteric Buddhism; Kongōbuji (Mt. Kōya); Kūkai; Ninnaji (Kyoto); Ono branch of Shingon; taimitsu (Tendai esoteric tradition); temple networks; Tōji (Kyoto); threefold/tripartite pattern Sandai jitsuroku, 70n98 Sannō Gongen (Mt. Hiei), 206n74, 210-11, 228-29. See also Hiei, Mt.; threefold/ tripartite pattern; "three sages" (Mt. Hiei)

Sanskrit syllables (Siddham), 120; Aizen as the Sanskrit syllable *hhūm*, pl. 2; *hūm* (also *hhūm*), 171–73, 227, 235,

238–40, 243; as a human body, 245; Inner Shrine of Ise, 248, 250; at Ise, 176, 185-87, 243; in Ise kanjō, 248, 250; mandala (*ryōkai shuji mandara*), 162, 194-95; in Miwa-ryū rituals, 277-78; Outer Shrine of Ise, 248, 250; *rām*, 194, 226; texts with, 144; three syllables (ā, vām, hūm, also hhūm), 238, 248, 250, 278; *vāņ*, 121, 194, 221n7, 243 sanson gogyō hō, 211, 237n36. See also ritual; threefold/tripartite pattern Sarashina nikki, 87 scholar-monks (gakusō, gakuryo), 6, 9n12, 31, 98, 134; at Mt. Kōya, 173; at Miwa, 274–75. See also Sōshō (Tōdaiji) "seals of trust" (injin), 234, 237, 247, 299, pl. 7a Sei Shōnagon, 88-89, 277n50 Seiryō Genshin (Daigoji Sanbōin), 107n4, 112, 275n46, 298-302. See also Miwa bessho (Byōdōji); Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage) Seiryū Gongen (Daigoji), 20, 223n10; and Suiten, 283. See also kami (Japanese deities) Seizon, 25-27, 34 Sekidera, 21, 33, 35, 180n10, 198-99. See also Inner Shrine of Ise (naiku); Ise shrines, Outer Shrine of Ise $(gek\bar{u})$; temple networks Sekizan Myōjin, 20. See also kami (Japanese deities) self-ordination (jisei jukai), 145. See also Eizon (alt. Eison); Saidaiji; Vinaya Sendai kuji hongi, 50, 266; and divine regalia, 272n39, 284 sendatsu, 99–101, 110; thirty-six temples, 100. See also mountain austerities (including shugen, or Shugendo; shugen temples); Tōzan branch (Tōzanha) of Shugendō Sengūin, 33-34, 35. See also Ise shrines; Sekidera; temple networks Sengūin himon, 183

Senjuin (Mt. Kōya), 124. See also bessho

Senjūshō, 81

Sen'yū (Saidaiji), 197–98, 200

- serpent: Aizen, 235–45; blue, 231, 238; body (of a deity; *jakei, jashin*), 226–29; white, 231; white snake ritual (*byakuja hō*), 93, 115n29, 171n77. See also Denbu Aizen (Peasant Aizen) ritual; dragon deities; serpent deities (kami); Zennyo Ryūō (Dragon King; also as a female deity)
- serpent deities (kami), 35, 43, 49–50, 71, 93–94, 112, 201–2, 219–29; Aizen, 235–45; Amaterasu, 229–34, 247–49, 290; Denbu Aizen, 245, 290; Hōzanji images, 281–90; of Ise, *249*; serpent symbolism, meaning of, 306–7; Suiten, 281–83
- setsuwa (Buddhist tales), 29, 81n18, 87– 88, 97 107, 113–14, 153, 188n35. See also Konjaku monogatarishū; Nihon ryōiki; Shasekishū (Mujū Ichien)
- seven heavenly deities (*tenjin shichidai*), 265119, 285–90, 288–89; male and female pairs, 286–87. *See also* five earthly deities (*chijin godai*); kami (Japanese deities)
- Seyadatara-hime, 50. *See also* women, divine marriage (*shinkon*)
- Shasekishū (Mujū Ichien), 107, 117 Shichidaiji junrei shiki, 143
- Shiki, Mt. (Yamato), 39, 40, 111
- Shikinokami District (Yamato), 77. See also Yamato (Province), landscape
- Shiki Shrine (Miwa), 60. *See also* Ōmiwa Shrine
- Shimotsu michi (Lower road), 42. See also roads
- *shinamono no hire* (ten divine treasures), 286. *See also* kami iconography
- *shinbutsu shūgō*, 3, 22; and medieval notions of rulership, 274, 296
- Shingon *ajari*, 31; at Ise, 180; *ōajari*, 181; *shintō ajari*, 264, 265–66
- Shingon clergy, 26–27, 31, 92–93, 78. 98; at Ise, 28–36, 180–81; lineages, 132;

mantra master (shingonshi), 180; and Miwa-ryū, 242; Tachikawa-ryū, 132-34, 138n102 Shingon fuhō san'yōshō (Seizon), 25–27 Shingon Ritsu, 111, 145, 165–66; at Ise, 180, 182–83; in Kantō, 171–72, 235. See also Saidaiji; temple networks shinkoku (divine land), 4, 308. See also Mahāvairocana, Dainichi [no] hongoku (radiant land of Dainichi) Shinpukuji (Ōsu Bunko; Nagoya), 30, 130; Ise kanjō, 247; Nihongi Miwa-ryū, 276 Shinra Myōjin, 20. See also kami (Japanese deities) Shinsen'en, 93, 114, 220, 283-84. See also rainmaking Shinshū (Nabari), 275-80, 290-97 Shinto: early kami worship (also *jindo*), 2-9, 15, 16-24, 28-29, 42-43, 47-49, 67, 90; in the Edo period, 298-99; esoteric kami worship, 224-29, 246-47, 239-45; Goryū Shintō, 94n69; Ise Shintō (Watarai), 4, 179, 182, 199; jindō, 22, 90-92, 303-4; jingi cult, 302; kami worship as affairs of state, 18, 68-70; medieval Shinto, 10, 12-13, 246, 260-61, 306-7, 310; Sannō Shintō, 4, 206-7, 210-11, 228; the term, 1-4, 14-15, 260-62, 291n76, 303-10. See also Miwa-ryū Shintō Shintō Ama no Iwato no daiji, 236n35. See

also Heavenly Cave (Ama no Iwato) Shinto clergy (*negi, kannushi*), 6, 8, 13, 34, 62, 67; and Denbu Aizen, 244; at

34, 02, 07, and Denou Alzen, 244, at Ise, 179, 231–33, 305–6; Miwa shrine clergy and Southern Court, 273

- Shintō gobusho (Watarai), 36, 182. See also Arakida (Inner Shrine of Ise); Ise Shintō; Watarai (Ise)
- Shinto icons/imagery. See kami iconography
- shintō kanjō, 13, 200, 246–47, 254, 257–58; institutionalization of, 264; Miwa-ryū, 274, 294–97. See also jingi kanjō (also shintō kanjō)

- shintō kirikami, 36, 247n58; during the Edo period, 299. See also kirikami (cut-paper initiation certificates); "seals of trust" (injin)
- Shirakawa *tennō*, 77. See also rulers of Japan (*tennō*)
- Shōbō (Kinpusen), 97, 100089. See also Kinpusen, Mt.; mountain austerities (including shugen, or Shugendō; shugen temples)
- shōen (land estates), 73–75, 77, 81; Ategawa no shō, 159n54; disintegration of, 168; in the engi literature, 159; hinin (outcasts), employed at, 152. See also Kōfukuji (aka Yamashinadera); Ōmiwa Shrine
- Shōko daitokufu, 147–48. See also Ninshō (Saidaiji); Saidaiji
- Shoku Nihongi, 62n76, 84, 85n32
- Shōmu *tennō*, 83, 85. *See also* rulers of Japan (*tennō*)
- Shōmyōji (Kanazawa Bunko), 171–73, 210, 235n32, 240
- *shōnin/hijiri* networks, 108, 111, 124, 218, 240
- Shōrinji (Miwa), 63, 64, 89, 202, 302
- *Shoryū kanjō* (Hasedera), 132n78, 211– 12, 258n4
- Shosan engi, 99, 111117. See also engi literature; Miwa daimyōjin engi
- Shosha daiji, 247, 264
- Shōshin (Mt. Ikoma), 132, 139; and Miwa bessho, 258
- Shōtoku Taishi, 161, 201–2. *See also* Soga family
- shrine lineages, 9112, 12, 34, 62; and esoteric kami worship, 229, 231–33, 260–61; at Ise, 179–80. *See also* Arakida (Inner Shrine of Ise); Ōmiwa; Urabe (also Urabe-Yoshida); Watarai (Ise)
- shrine temple monks (*shasō*, *kyūsō*), 6, 9n12, 181, 196; at Miwa, 262–63, 275; *shasō rongisho* (shrine temple monks assembly), 262, 275
- Shrine to the Wind (Kaze no miya). See

to the Wind) shugen (also Shugendō). See mountain austerities (including shugen, or Shugendō; shugen temples); Tōzan branch (Tōzanha) of Shugendō shugen pilgrimage routes, 78, 79, 81-82, 86, 90-91, 94-101, 105, 112-15, 140 Shūkaku (Hōshinnō, Ninnaji), 29, 164 Shunge shūgetsu sōshō (Sōshō), 127 Silla, 44, 55, 67, 154, 269n28. See also Korea six realms of transmigration (rokudo), 85,95 Soga family, 53-57, 62. See also Shōtoku Taishi sokui kanjō (enthronement ritual), 25, 199n61, 291-92, 293n79; in medieval Shinto rituals, 295. See also abhiseka (Buddhist initiation, Jp. kanjo); jingi kanjō (also shintō kanjō) sokushin jōbutsu (esoteric enlightenment, buddhahood with this very body), 112, 116-17, 123-24, 135, 218-19, 236, 240, 245, 252, 306; and medieval rulership, 293, 296; in Miwa-ryū Shintō, 296-97, 299; verse (Kakuban's formula), 109, 118–19, 121; and the Yugikyō, 236 Sokushin jõbutsu gi (Kukai), 116 somoku jobutsu (grasses and trees becoming buddhas), 193 somoku kokudo (all grasses and trees), 193 Song China, scriptures and printed works arriving from: 36, 154, 176, 182; tales of monks, 230 Sonokami District (Yamato Province), 61, 144; donated to Kōfukuji, 76-77 Sonshō, 170, 189n36. See also esoteric deities Soshitsuji, 122n47, 208, 212, 250, 260. See also Kongōkai (Diamond World); "Lotus Part"; non-duality (funi); Taizōkai

(Womb World); threefold/tripartite

pattern

Ise shrines, Kaze no miya (Shrine

Sōshō (Tōdaiji), 66n87, 126–28, 131n72 soul (Ch. *hun* and *po*; Jp. *konpaku*), 227

spear, heavenly (*ama no nuhoko*), 267–68, 287, 296–97. *See also* jewels (curved gems, *magatama* beads); mirror; sword; three divine regalia (*sanshu no jinki*; also imperial regalia)

star cults, 72, 184, 207, 267

sudden enlightenment (certificate, *injin* of), 123, 144. *See also* esoteric enlightenment (*sokushin jõbutsu*, enlightenment with this very body) Sue clay ware, 65n85, 66n86

suffering, 19, 66, 152, 224. See also saṃsāra; six realms of transmigration (rokudō)

Suijini (seven heavenly deities), 286, 289. See also kami iconography

Suiko *tennō* (also Kashikiya-hime), 17n32, 54–55, 57, 269n29. *See also* rulers of Japan (*tennō*)

Suinin *tennõ*, 28, 48, 191, 193, 200, 268, 269n28, 269n29. *See also* rulers of Japan (*tennõ*)

Suiten (esoteric deity), 281–83; and kami, 283. *See also* esoteric deities; Ono branch of Shingon; rainmaking

Sujin *tennō*, 17, 28, 47, 49, 60. *See also* rulers of Japan (*tennō*)

Sukunabiko, 45, 60–61, 65. *See also* Izumo; Ōnamuchi

Sumeru, Mt., 221–23, 222, 231–32

Sumiyoshi Shrine, 68, 170, 176–77

sun imagery in Buddhist icons: Aizen, 162–63, 171–72. *See also* Mahāvairocana

Sun line (Yamato ruling house), 17–18, 43, 56, 268. *See also* Jitō *tennō*; rulers of Japan (*tennō*); Tenmu *tennō*

sun worship, 47n24, 48

Susanoo, 43–44, 241; and Kusanagi sword, 268; in *Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō*, 295

sutra: burial (Kinpusen), 98; copying, 176–77; offering to Ise, 31, 32, 177, 188; reading of sutras in front of the deities, 68–69; speed reading (*ten-doku*), 31. *See also* Buddhism, at Ise; *Great Wisdom Sutra*

Sutra for Benevolent Kings (Ch. Renwang jing, Jp. Ninnōkyō), 68, 69, 170, 176n2; at Ise, 177; Tiantai commentaries on, 205

Sutra of the Guiding Principle. See Rishukyō

sword, 267–68; in medieval Shinto iconography, 285–89; presented to newborn royal heir, 269n30; treasure sword of a ruler, 290. *See also* jewels (curved gems, *magatama* beads); mirror; spear, heavenly (*ama no nuhoko*); three divine regalia (*sanshu no jinki*; also imperial regalia)

Tado jingūji garan engi narabi ni shizaichō, 90

Tado Shrine, 19n36, 91

taimitsu (Tendai esoteric tradition), 164, 186n28, 195, 204–5, 210, 211n91, 225, 250n62, 282n60

tainai goi (five stages of embryo in the womb), 121, 253. *See also* reproductive metaphors

- Taishi kanjō, 291–92. See also abhişeka (Buddhist initiation, Jp. kanjō); jingi kanjō (also shintō kanjō); Miwa-ryū Shintō
- Taizōkai (Womb World), 5, 13, 34, 122n47, 123, 131–32, 162n56, 172; and Denbu Aizen, 241; and esoteric enlightenment, 236; at Ise, 176, 181, 185, 231–32; in *Ise kanjō*, 247–50; mandala, panel from *Ise mishōtai zushi* (Saidaiji), pl. 4; as part of three sections, 195, 203, 260; and twelve deities, 282. *See also* Kongōkai (Diamond World); nonduality (*funi*); Soshitsuji; threefold/ tripartite pattern
- Takakura, Mt. (Ise), 33. *See also* Ise shrines Takamiya Shrine family (Ōmiwa Shrine), 196, 265n19; and Southern Court, 273.

See also Kose Shrine family (Ōmiwa); Ōmiwa Shrine; shrine lineages

Tamamushi zushi (Hōryūji), 221–23, 222, 231

- *taru no tama* (ten divine treasures), 285. *See also* kami iconography
- *tatarigami*, 59. *See also* kami (Japanese deities)
- tax exemption, 77. *See also* land administration; *shōen* (land estates)
- temple administration, 80, 84, 91, 98
- temple archives, 2–3, 30, 32, 130, 240n43, 254. See also Eizan Bunko (temple archive); Ise Jingū Bunko (archive of the Ise shrines); Kanazawa Bunko (temple archive); Kōya, Mt.; Ninnaji (Kyoto); Ōmiwa Shrine collection; Shinpukuji (Ōsu Bunko; Nagoya)
- temple construction: Kōshōji in Ise, 182– 83; of Miwa *bessho*, 125; Saidaiji, 142– 43, 146; in Yamato and other provinces, 83, 90–92, 98
- temple lineages (general designation), 5, 8, 9112, 11, 121, 164, 204, 217, 239, 274, 287; esoteric at Ise, 36, 179–80; at Miwa, 12, 267, 274; at Murō, 93–94. *See also* Daigoji (Kyoto); Enryakuji (Mt. Hiei); Kōfukuji (aka Yamashinadera); Kōya, Mt.; Shingon clergy; Tendai lineages; Zen lineages
- temple networks, 78, 79, 81–82, 108, 217– 18, 240, 307; Ise and Miwa, 197–98, 231, 244, 305; Miwa *bessho* and Kasagidera, 139, 141; Mt. Kōya and Kumano, 137; Saidaiji, 154, 158–59, 169–70; Saidaiji in Kantō, 171–72, 235n32. *See also* sacred sites, networks
- temple pagoda, 91, 143; Ōmiwa *jingūji*, 158–59; Saidaiji, 149

temple restoration, 158-60, 196

temples (general designation): branch of Saidaiji, 159–60, 162; branch temples (*matsuji*), 76, 84, 90, 97; Daigorinji as branch of Saidaiji, 190; *kenmon*, 76–77; of Saidaiji in Kantō, 171. See also *jōga*-

kuji; kanji (alt. kandaiji, governmentsponsored temple); kokubunji Tenchi reiki furoku, 285. See also Reikiki (alt. Tenchi reikiki) Tenchi reikiki. See Reikiki (alt. Tenchi reikiki) Tendai lineages, 24; and Butsugen Butsumo, 187n29, 195n51, 209n81; at Ise, 28-36; and kami, 72, 204; Sanbu Gongen, 210-11; and Suiten, 282n60; Tiantai, 27n55, 36, 98, 187n29 ten divine treasures, 272n39, 284-86. See also three divine regalia (sanshu no jinki; also imperial regalia) tenjin shichidai. See seven heavenly deities (tenjin shichidai) Tenji tennō, 42. See also rulers of Japan (tennō) Tenmu tennō, 17, 43, 56, 62. See also Jitō *tennō*; rulers of Japan (*tennō*) Tenshō Daijin giki, 35n76. See also Bikisho Tenshō Daijin kuketsu, 183, 199, 232, 259; and kami imagery, 281n57. See also Bikisho tendoku. See sutra, speed reading (tendoku) Thousand-Armed Kannon (Senju Kannon). See Kannon

"three bodies [of Tathāgata] in one" (sanshin soku ichi; sanshin nyorai), 191, 204, 206, 236

"three contemplations" (sankan), 293

three divine regalia (*sanshu no jinki*; also imperial regalia), 13, 254, 261n9, 264– 65, 267, 294–96; as false replica (sword), 271; Jihen, 271n37, 284, 286; in Miwaryū ritual documents, 274, 294–97; in *Nihon shoki*, 268–69; and Pure Land scholar monks, 271–72; *Reikiki*, 35n77, 271–72, 281, 284, 295n83; *Sendai kuji hongi*, 284; and Tendai lineages, 270– 71. *See also* jewels (curved gems, *magatama* beads); kami iconography; mirror; spear, heavenly (*ama no nuhoko*); sword; ten divine treasures

threefold/tripartite pattern, 195-96, 203-13, 308; and Denbu Aizen, 241n44; in Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō, 293, 296 Three Herbs Festival. See Saigusa matsuri "three luminaries" (sanko), 293 three mandalas (also three parts, three sections of a mandala): Denbu Aizen, 241n44; in the *engi* literature, 208; merging the three parts (sanbu wago), 194–95, 204–5; "Three Part Dainichi," 206; secret ritual (sanbu hihō), 208, 212-13. See also non-duality (funi); threefold/tripartite pattern "three names, one body," 227 "three points" (santen; three truths, santei), 191, 204, 212; Denbu Aizen, 241n44 "three poisons" (sandoku), 224–25, 228– 29, 231, 236; in Kakugenshō, 243 "three sages" (Mt. Hiei), 206. See also Sannō Gongen (Mt. Hiei) three torii (Ōmiwa Shrine), 261-62; in Miwa-ryū jingi kanjō, 257n2, 278– 79, 293; in Tendai thought, 207 three worms (sanshi), 277n50 Tiantai, 72, 184, 205, 206n74; theories, 191n40. See also Tendai lineages; Zhanran; Zhiyi Tōdaiji (Nara), 30, 31, 56, 66, 81, 84, 119, 141, 145, 300n86; Chōgen, 31, 179n10, 180n10; in the 8th century, 142; Enshō Shōnin, 107, 131, 187n31; patronage of Hasedera, 84; restoration of the Great Buddha, 30–31; self-ordination at, 145; Sōshō, 126-28, 156, 263; Tōnan'in, 105, 126-28 Tōdaiji Enshō shōnin gyōjō, 107n5, 131 Tōdaiji yōroku, 84 Tōgi (Kinpusen/Yoshino), 108-9, 116, 300 Tōji (Kyoto), 27, 78, 115–16, 119n41, 122n47, 134; *bettō*, 25; *chōja*, 115, 180; Denbu Aizen (Peasant Aizen) ritual, 238; dissemination of esoteric knowledge, 109, 134, 168, 211n89, 217; Hōbodaiin,

247–48, 256, 259–60; at Ise, 180–81, 199; *Ise kanjō*, 218, 247–55; Purging the Serpents ritual (*hija hō*), 226n19, 243; transmissions, 171n77, 180, 238;

twelve deities (*jūniten*), 281n58 Tokoyo, 45. *See also* Sukunabiko

Tokudo Shōnin (Hasedera), 83–84

tombs. See kofun (tombs)

Tōnomine, 6, 39, *40*, 79, 94–97, 117, 123, 307; and Kōfukuji, 95–96; and Miwa, 196, 207–9, 211

Tōnomine ryakki, 96

Tōshōdaiji (Nara), 111

Toyoashira jinpū waki (Jihen), 14n25

Toyokumunu (seven heavenly deities), 280n56, 281n57, 284–86, 288. See also kami (Japanese deities); seven heavenly deities (*tenjin shichidai*)

Toyuke (aka Toyouke), 28, 36; in *Ise kanjō*, 247–48. *See also* Ise shrines; Outer Shrine of Ise (*geku*); Watarai (Ise)

Toyuke no miya gishikichō, 28

Tōzan branch (Tōzanha) of Shugendō, 99n85, 100, 208, 298. *See also* mountain austerities (including *shugen*, or Shugendō; *shugen* temples); *sendatsu*; *shugen* pilgrimage routes; temple networks

transfer. *See* esoteric concepts, transferred to

trees: camphor, 83; enlightenment of (*sōmoku jōbutsu*), 193; grasses and trees (*sōmoku kokudo*), 193; on Mt. Miwa, 151; *sakaki*, 267; as substitute objects (*yorishiro*), 17, 23

Tsubaichi (alt. Tsubakiichi Market, in Miwa), 42, 57–58, 82, 87–90, 153, 263

Tsubaki Market. *See* Tsubaichi (alt. Tsubakiichi Market, in Miwa)

Tsubosakadera, 89, 139

Tsuji Zennosuke, 22n43

Tsūkai (Ise), 32–33, 178–81, 189

Tsunakoshi Shrine, 59. See Ōmiwa

Shrine

Tsushima, 176

Tuoluoni jing (Darani shukyō), 282n60

- twelve deities (*jūniten*), 281158, 282. *See also* Suiten (esoteric deity)
- twenty-two shrines (*nijūnisha*), 18, 22, 68, 70, 73. *See also* kami, worship as affairs of state
- two mandalas (ryōbu, alt. ryōkai mandara), 5, 99, 243n50; and Arakida Nobusue, 187n31; and Denbu Aizen, 241; in *Ise kanjō*, 248; in *Ise mishōtai zushi*, 184–90; rainmaking, 283. *See also* Ise shrines; Kongōkai (Diamond World); non-duality (*funi*); Ryōbu Shintō (also *ryōbu shūgō shintō*); Taizōkai (Womb World)

Uijini (seven heavenly deities), 286, *289. See also* kami iconography

ujidera, 29

Urabe (also Urabe-Yoshida), 9112, 14– 15, 22, 209182, 260–61, 310; Kanekuni, 260–61; Kanetomo, 14–15, 22143, 261, 277, 297, 310; and medieval *Nihongi*, 266, 271; and *ryōbu shūgō shintō*, 221143

Usa Hachimangū (shrine, northern Kyushu), 20, *21*, 49n30, 51, 68

utagaki, 58. See also crossroads (chimata); Man'yōshū; Tsubaichi (alt. Tsubakiichi Market, in Miwa)

Vajrabodhi, 133

vajrasattva (also *kongōsatta, sattva*), 26, 116, 151, 162, 166, 172, 226

Vinaya, 66, 93n64; Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, 155–57; restoration (*kairitsu fukkō*), 141–46, 183; scriptures from China, 154, 155n43; writings at Miwa, 128–29, 139. See also Shingon Ritsu; Saidaiji

Vinaya precepts, 142–43, 145, 153, 166; Eizon to the emperor, 178; at Ise, 176n2

visualization of kami: Aizen, 236; at

Hasedera, Daigorinji, and Hōzanji, 280–90; Ise shrines, 185–90, 230; as serpents, 232–45, 248–50; in *Reikiki*, 271n38. *See also* invisibility of kami; kami iconography volatile deities (*araburu kami*), 22, 30, 35

Wakamiya (Ōmiwa Shrine), 262; *bettō*, 263

Wakan rōeishu, 81

waka poems: in medieval Shinto, 248n61, 251, 252, 293; in *Miwayama ezu*, 262n12

wakō dōjin, 226, 229. See also honji suijaku; shinbutsu shūgō

Wa polity (early Yamato polity), 41

warfare: in the Yamato region, 95–96, 98. *See also* Genpei War; Heiji Rebellion; Hōgen Rebellion

Watarai (Ise), 28–29, 33, 36, 179, 181, 199, 229; Ieyuki, 199, 253, 271, 285n68; and Kakujō (Saidaiji), 259; Tsuneyoshi, 199, 231, 261n9; Yukitada, 179, 181–82

weaving, 44, 50–51, 56–57; Aya weavers, 57; Kure weavers, 57; myths at Miwa, 200–201

- Wei zhi, 41. See also Himiko; rulers of Japan (tenno); Wa polity (early Yamato polity)
- White snake ritual (byakuja hō), 93, 115n29, 171n77. See also dragon deities; Kyōen (Miwa Shōnin); Murō, Mt.; serpent deities (kami); Tōji (Kyoto); Zennyo Ryūō (Dragon King; also as a female deity)
- wisdom (*chi*), 172, 194, 226, 293. See also esoteric wisdom (*gochi*); mandalas (*ryōbu*, alt. *ryōkai mandara*); principle (*ri*); Ryōbu Shintō (also *ryōbu shūgō shintō*)

wisdom deities: and kami imagery, 281; Mañjuśrī, 148–49; wisdom kings, 161– 62, 221–22

Wisdom Heart Sutra, 31, 68. See also sutra

Women: at Hasedera, 86–89; at Ise, 32; and kami, 47–51; and Miwa, 63, 86–89, 301; salvation of, 112–13, 146. *See also* divine marriage (*shinkon*); Himetatara Isuzu-hime; Himito, nuns; Yamatohime; Yamato Totobinomoso-hime

worldly passions (*bonnō*), 224–26, 308. See also *bonnō soku bodai* (worldly passions are equivalent to enlightenment)

Xuanzang, 66, 148n21, 156n47

- Yakushi (Sk. Bhaişajyaguru), 3, 54, 63, 304; at Miwa, 63–65; at Saidaiji, 143
- Yakushiji (Nara), 65, 304
- Yakushi nyorai hongankyō, 65

Yamanobe no michi (Mountain Road), 41–42, 56, 82n22, 95. *See also* roads

Yamato (Province): governor, 76; Kōfukuji, 77; landscape, 39–40, 41–42, 90– 91, 239; mountain temples, 80, 82, 86, 90–91, 94–101; warfare, 95–96, 98, 269– 70. *See also* Genpei War; rulers of Japan (*tennō*)

Yamato-hime, 28, 193–94, 203. See also women

- Yamatohime no mikoto seiki, 271
- Yamato katsuragi hōzanki, 221–22, 223n12, 231. See also Katsuragi, Mt.

Yamato no Ōkunidama, 28, 47. *See also* Amaterasu; kami (Japanese deities)

Yamato Takeru, 295

Yamato Totobimomoso-hime, 49, 51, 200n64. *See also* women

- Yijing (Book of Changes), 184
- *yin-yang*, 17; the five elements as a body, 120, 184, 229. *See also* five agents (Ch. *wuxing*, Jp. *gogyō*; Chinese correlative system); Onmyōdō
- *yin-yang* diviners (*onmyōji*), 27, 34, 93, 113, 220. *See also* Onmyōdō

Yogācāra, 145, 149, 151–52, 156n47; treatises, 145, 192

Yogācārabhumi śāstra, 149, 244; and three poisons, 224

Yogin Sūtra. See Yugikyō

Yoko ōji (Great Horizontal Road), 42, 56, 153. *See also* roads

yorishiro (substitute object), 16–17. See also goshintai (the sacred body of the deity); kami (Japanese deities); mirror

Yoshida Kanetomo, 14, 22n43, 261, 277, 297, 310. *See also* Urabe (also Urabe-Yoshida)

Yoshino, 6, 39, 51, 56, 78, 82, 91, 95, 97– 99, 108, 117, 125, 208, 307; and Ōmiwa Shrine families, 273, 275; Southern Court, 272–73. *See also* sacred sites, networks; *shugen* pilgrimage routes; temple networks

Yuga shiji ron, 245n53. See also Yogācāra; Yogācārabhumi śāstra

Yuga yugi kuden (Rendōbō Hōkyō [Miwa], with comments by Kōban), 136–37. See also *Kakugenshō* (Rendōbō Hōkyō); Miwa *bessho* (Byōdōji); Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin); Yugikyō

Yūgen, 136, 252. See also Kakuban; Kakugenshō (Rendōbō Hōkyō); Kōya, Mt.; Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin); Shingon clergy

Yugi hiyōketsu (Shōshin, Mt. Ikoma), 139n104. See also Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage); Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin); Yugikyō

Yugi kirimon, 121–22, 124. See also Kakuban; Kyōen (Miwa Shōnin); Miwa bessho (Byōdōji); Yugikyō

Yugikyō, 5, 13, 122, 132–35, 139, 265, 290n74, 308; Aizen imagery, 136, 155, 165, 172, 235–37; copies at Ise, 177; Hossō interpretations of, 186; inserted into the Saidaiji Aizen statue, 155, 165–67, 172; *Ise mishōtai zushi*, 186– 87; and kami, 235–49, 253, 265, 308; kuden on Aizen and Amaterasu, 210; medieval commentaries on, 122, 135n89, 139, 169, 173, 187n29, 210, 251n64; medieval transmissions on the (kuden), 164, 168–69, 237; and Miwa practitioners, 132–33, 136–38, 169, 173n81, 173n83, 243; Yogic altar at Ise, 181, 189. See also Denbu Aizen (Peasant Aizen) ritual; non-duality (funi); non-elite Buddhist practitioners; Rishukyō; Shingon clergy; taimitsu (Tendai esoteric tradition)

- *Yugikyō*, text of (numerically by chapter): chapter 2, 136, 251n64; chapter 5, 162, 165, 166n65, 172, 187n29, 210, 236; chapter 7, 173; chapter 8 and Daishō Kongō, 186n28, 187n29; chapter 9 and Butsugen Butsumo, 187n29
- Yugikyō hiketsu (Jitsuun), 135n85, 173n81, 251n64. See also *Genpishō* (Jitsuun); Ōmiwa Shrine; Yugikyō
- Yugikyō kuketsu (Dōhan), 135n85, 173n81, 210. See also Yugikyō
- Yuiitsu Shintō myōbō yōshū (Urabe [Yoshida] Kanetomo), 14n25, 22n43, 277, 297. See also Shinto
- Yūkai, 132–36. See also *Hōkyōshō* (Yūkai, 1375); Kōban; Kōya, Mt.; Miwa-ryū (Miwa lineage); non-elite Buddhist practitioners, criticism of; Rendōbō Hōkyō (Miwa Shōnin)

Yūryaku, 28, 57. *See also* rulers of Japan (*tennō*)

- Zaō Gongen (Kinpusen), 20, 96–97, 212. See also kami (Japanese deities); Kinpusen, Mt.; Kyōen (Miwa Shōnin); Miwa bessho (Byōdōji)
- Zen lineages, 9112, 106–7, 182; at Ise, 181; monks, 164; scholarship, 36, 91156
- Zenninbō Jōshin (Miwa Shōnin), 107, 127–28, 138–39; and Kōen, 155–56; medieval Miwa cult, 196. *See also* Kyōen (Miwa Shōnin); Miwa *bessho* (Byōdōji); Saidaiji
- Zennyo Ryūō (Dragon King; also as a female deity), 111–15, 123n50, 202; *Goryūsai* (Onmyōdō Festival of the Five Dragons), 93, 281n58; in *Kanekuni hyakushu kashō*, 260–61; palace, 115n27, 221–23; pointy claw, 112, 114– 16, 171n77; Suiten, 283–84. *See also* dragon deities; Kanazawa Bunko (temple archive); Kyōen (Miwa Shōnin); Murō, Mt; *nyoi hōju* (wish-fulfilling gem); serpent deities (kami) *zenshū* (meditation monks; aka *zensō*),
- 97; at Byōdōji, 274–75, 277. *See also* non-elite Buddhist practitioners
- Zentsūji (Shikoku), 235
- Zhanran, 205. *See also* Tiantai; Zhiyi Zhiyi, 191140, 205, 244. See also *Mohe zhiguan* (Zhiyi); *Fahua wenju* (Zhiyi); Tiantai
- Zō Ise nisho daijingū hōki hongi, 229. See also Ise shrines; Ise Shintō Zuzōshō, 237