On the 'Shintō' Statues of Matsuo Shrine: Tendai Buddhist Rituals, Iconography, and Veneration in Japan and China*

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Abstract: Matsuno'o (Matsuo) shrine possesses some of the oldest statues of *kami* in Japan. A large statue of the male deity Ōyamakui may have been sponsored by Enchin (814–891), thereby illustrating how early we can document connections between the Tendaishū monastic institutions of Enryakuji and Miidera (Onjōji) and Matsuo shrine. In this paper I introduce the statues kept in the Shinzōkan at Matsuo shrine and discuss several key historical documents that tie Matsuo shrine with the Tendai Buddhist establishment in medieval Japan. I also demonstrate how statues of *kami* also now kept in the Shinzōkan speak to the sponsorship of the Matsuo shrine manuscript Buddhist canon by father and son shrine priests (kannushi) Hata no Chikatō and Hata no Yorichika during the twelfth century. Finally, I discuss a colophon from 1558 that shows how the Matsuo *kami*

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shrine-temple complex (jingūji) maintained a special ritual connection to Enchin and the *kami* associated with Miidera through the sixteenth century.

NBZ *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 [Complete Buddhist Works of Japan]. 150 vols. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai 仏書刊行会, 1912–1922. All references are to the rpt. ed., 100 vols. Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木学術財団 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1970–1973).

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏経 [Taishō-era Sino-Japanese Buddhist Canon], 100 vols., eds. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, et al., Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會, 1924–1932. Rpt., Chinese Buddhist Electronic Texts Association 中華電子佛典協會, CBETA Electronic Tripiṭaka Collection 電子佛典集成, Taipei: 1998–2016 or the SAT Daizōkyō Database: http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php?lang=en; accessed May, 2016.

XZJ Rpt. Ed. *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 [Japanese Supplement to the Sino-Japanese Buddhist Canon(s)], 150 vols., eds. Nakano Tatsue, et al., Kyoto: Zokyō shoin, 1905–1912. *Xinbian wanzi xu zangjing* 新編卍字續藏經 [Newly Revised Wan-character edition of the Supplement to the Sino-Japanese Buddhist Canon(s)], Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1968–1978. Rpt., Chinese Buddhist Electronic Texts Association 中華電子佛典協會, CBETA Electronic Tripiṭaka Collection 電子佛典集成, Taipei: 1998–2016.

Z *Zhenyuan xinding Shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 [Newly Revised Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures made during the Zhenyuan-era, *T* no. 2157], comp. 799 or 800 by Yuanzhao 圓照 (d.u.). Nos. follow the Nanatsudera MS in Miyabayashi Akihiko 宮林昭彦 and Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典, 'Zhenyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu Juandi' 貞元新定釋教目錄 29 30 [Newly Revised Catalog of Buddhist Scriptures, Compiled During the Zhenyuan Era (785–805)], in Chūgoku Nihon Kyōten Shōsho Mokuroku 中國日本撰述經典, ed. Makita Tairyō et. al., op. cit., rather than *T* no. 2157.

Titles in Japanese and [reconstructed] Sanskrit in *Taishō* canon follow Paul Demiéville et al., *Répertoire Du Canon Bouddhique Sino-Japonais, Édition De*

Introduction: Matsuo shrine, statues of *kami*, and a Tendai Buddhist ritual network

In 2004, the curatorial staff at Kyoto National Museum launched a special exhibition called, 'The Sacred World of Shinto Art in Kyoto'. Chief among the objects on display was a 'seated male deity' (*danshin zazō* 男神座像) from Matsuno'o (alt. Matsuo) shrine 松尾大社. The statue is 99.6 cm high, was apparently carved from a single block of Hinoki cypress wood, and can be dated to the mid ninth-century according to the consensus reached by art historians.[1] Details provided by the accompanying exhibit catalog describe the statue as a *gohōjin* 護法神, a protector of the Buddhist dharma. It is most likely an image of the male Ōyamakui no kami 大山咋神 (alt. Ōyamagui), who was enshrined at Matsuo alongside his wife, Ichikishimahime no mikoto 市杵島姫命 (alt. Okitsushima), no later than 866 CE (Jōgan 貞観 8).[2] What makes this statue unique is its status as the oldest so-called 'Shintō' statue from Kyoto, as well as the fact that it is the primary—or larger—one in a triad of 'Shintō' statues on display in a building called the Shinzōkan 神像館. This building has been on site at Matsuo Taisha in western Kyoto since 1975, when a major renovation of the shrine precincts was completed. Both the Shinzōkan and three landscape gardens—the *Jōko no niwa* 上古の庭 (Prehistoric Garden), *Kyokusui no niwa* 曲才の庭 (Meandering

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Taishō (Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō) : [Fascicule Annexe Du Hōbōgirin], revised and augmented edition. (Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient, 1978); Lewis R. Lancaster and Sung-bae Park, eds., *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

All dates in this format follow the East Asian lunar-solar calendar unless otherwise noted.

[1] Kyoto National Museum, *Kamigami No Bi No Sekai*, 22, iv; Itō, *Matsuno'o Taisha No Shin'ei*, 83, gives the height as 99.6 cm, whereas the 2004 catalog lists the height as 97.3 cm.

[2] On *gohōjin*, see 'Chingo kokka' 鎮護國家 and, especially, 'Chinju dokkyō' 鎮守読経 in Lévi et al., *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*, 325–28; Kyoto National Museum, *Kamigami No Bi No Sekai*, 210.

Stream Garden), and *Hōrai no niwa* 蓬莱の庭 (Penglai Garden)—designed by Shigemori Mirei 重森三玲 (1896–1975) promote the legendary antiquity of Matsuo shrine as the chief clan shrine (*ujigami* 氏神) for the Hata family. There seems to be scholarly consensus that the Hata clan of wealthy immigrants arrived in Japan from Silla 新羅 (Shiragi), Korea—probably in the Chikuzen 筑前 region of Kyūshū first—by the second half of the fifth-century.[3]

In a study published in 2011 of the 'Shintō statues' (*shin'e* or *mikage* 神影) of Matsuo shrine that are on display within the Shinzōkan, Itō Shirō 伊東史朗, an eminent art historian and current director of the Wakayama Prefectural Museum 和歌山県立博物館, agreed that the 'seated male deity' lent to Kyoto National Museum in 2004 is a statue of Ōyamakui. However, he postulated that it may have been commissioned by Enchin 円珍 (Chishō daishi 智証大師, 814–891), the Tendai 天台宗 Jimon 寺門派 (Temple) patriarch and fifth abbot of Enryakuji 延暦寺 on Mount Hiei 比叡山, before he departed for China in 853.[4] On the contrary, perhaps it is simply a *mishōtai* 御正体 (lit. revered true body) that was enshrined at Matsuo kami shrine-temple complex or multiplex—*jingūji* 神宮寺 (alt. Jinguji 神供寺)—during the ninth-century. This is following eighth-century precedents historical accounts that discuss offerings being made to statues at shrine-temple complexes in the provinces, such as at Iwasahiko jinganji 若狭比古神願寺 (Obama city 小浜市, Fukui prefecture 福井県) during the Yōrō 養老 period (717–724) or Tado jingūji 多度神宮寺 (Kuwana city 桑名市, Mie prefecture 三重県) in 763 (Tempyōhōji 天平宝字 7).[5] Both of Itō's hypotheses are

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[3] Ueda, *Torai No Kodaishi*, 46–47; Como, *Weaving and Binding*, 4–5, 16–17.

[4] Itō, *Matsuno'o Taisha No Shin'ei*, 56–57, 84–85. Still perhaps the most comprehensive study of Onjōji and Enchin is Miyagi and Tendaishū, *Onjōji No Kenkyū*. A more readily available, yet brief discussion of Enchin's travels in China can be found in Yoritomi, *Nicchū O Musunda Bukkyōsō*, 149–60.

[5] Itō, *Matsuno'o Taisha No Shin'ei*, 57–58. For the term 'multiplex', see Grapard, 'Institution, Ritual, and Ideology', as well as his concise discussion in Shively and McCullough, *The Cambridge History of Japan*, chapter 8. Sagai, *Shinbutsu Shūgō No Rekishi to Girei Kūkan*, 17–20 sees a significant difference

tenable because [Jimon-ha] Tendai Buddhist chronicles, contemporary diaries penned by eminent statesmen and scholars, Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062–1141) and Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時 (1077–1136), and medieval historiographical records from the court and Matsuo shrine confirm that Enchin—or his disciples and associates who honored him—venerated Ōyamakui as the ancestral home of the same *kami* worshipped at the main shrine associated with Mount Hiei—or Hiyoshi, as it is pronounced today—shrine 日吉大社, in Ōtsu city 大津市, Shiga prefecture 滋賀県.

In this paper, I examine this ninth-century statue of Ōyamakui from Matsuo shrine and its connection to Enchin within three broader contexts. First, this statue, alongside more than a dozen other statues now preserved within the Shinzōkan, and one which was exhibited in 2004 at Kyoto National Museum but is not currently kept there, are almost certainly material cultural evidence of a medieval religious system whereby monastics from the Jimon branch of the Tendai order organized and maintained a network of offerings to deities at prominent, so-called 'Shintō' shrines in Kyoto. These offerings were, in turn, integrated into the ritual calendar of Onjōji (Miidera) and its sub-temples. Second, the case of these statues from Matsuo shrine are even more significant because of the fact that one out of eight extant, mostly hand-copied, twelfth-century Japanese manuscript Buddhist canons was copied on behalf of the *kami* of Matsuo shrine and its six sub-shrines (*keigai sessha* 境外摂社). Third, these statues, the connections to Enchin, and the verifiable evidence we have that Matsuo was one of the most prominent *kami* shrine-temple complexes in medieval Japan begs the question: can we find anything in the evidence from medieval Japan that might tell us

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between the notions of a *jingūji* and a *miyadera*. He thinks that *jingūji* functioned in contradistinction to *chinjusha*. *Chinjusha* were shrines dedicated to *kami* on the grounds of eighth-century Buddhist temples, whereas *jingūji* were shrines to Buddhist deities on the grounds of medieval eighth-century shrine complexes (*shikinaisha* 式内社). By the ninth-century, however, what Grapard and others have called shrine-temple multiplexes (as in the twenty-two in the *Engi shiki*, see below) or *miyadera* developed.

more about Chinese—or Sinitic—East Asian Buddhist art and how non-Buddhist deities may have been worshipped by Buddhists on the continent?[6]

In the first section, I provide a brief introduction to the history of Matsuo shrine as one of twenty-two official shrines (*shikinaisha* 式内社) that received 'oblations' (*hanpei* 班幣) from the imperial lineage during the [medieval] Heian period (794–1185) and retained distinction as a first rank, imperial shrine (*kanpei taisha* 官幣大社) when State Shintō (*Kokka Shintō* 国家神道) was institutionalized in 1871.[7] Next, I provide a brief synopsis of the contents of the Matsuo Buddhist canon, which was safeguarded on site for nearly 700 years. In the second section, I introduce two twelfth-century statues from Matsuo shrine that address institutional connections between a chief sponsor of the Matsuo shrine canon, Hata no Yorichika 秦頼親, and Onjōji, as well as particular colophon from a scripture in the canon vowed in 1558. This colophon shows that the Matsuo *kami* shrine-temple complex maintained a special, ritual connection to Enchin, in particular, through the sixteenth-century. In the third section, I address the probability that Enchin sponsored the statue of Ōyamakui in the ninth-century through an investigation not only of several [Taimitsu 台密] Tendai sources that specifically address Matsuo and other Kyoto shrines, but also in contrast to the Matsuo statue of Ōyamakui with the image of a deity Enchin is, perhaps, most famous for enshrining at Onjōji: Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神. Finally, I consider whether or not it seems plausible to associate the

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[6] On the term 'sinitic', rather than Chinese, Buddhism to signify the fact that Koreans, Japanese, Vietnamese, and some Tibetans and Central Asian Buddhists used Chinese language Buddhist scriptures and ritual manuals, see Buswell, *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, 3–4.

[7] The word 'oblation' is borrowed from Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan*, 110–11. Kuroda, 'Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion'; Kuroda, *Nihon Chūsei No Shakai to Shūkyō*; Kuroda, 'The Discourse on the Land of Kami (*Shinkoku*) in Medieval Japan'; 'The Development of the Kenmitsu System as Japan's Medieval Orthodoxy'; Kuroda and Gay, 'Buddhism and Society in the Medieval Estate System'; and Ueda, *Kodai Kokka to Shūkyō*.

medieval religious system that connects Onjōji (and Jimon branch sub-temples) with ritual acts at shrines in Kyoto with Enchin's experiences in Tang (618–907) China between 853–858.

Because much of what I have to say in this paper concerns Enchin and the Jimon—or Temple—branch, as opposed to the Mountain (Sanmon-ha 山門派) branch, of the Tendai tradition of Japanese Buddhism, let me offer two points of introduction before we turn to the subject of Matsuo shrine, its 'Shintō' statues, and its Buddhist canon. First, although his diary is nowhere near as well known today within and beyond Japan, nor as rich with details about daily life in Tang China, as Ennin's 円仁 (Jikaku daishi 慈覚大師, 793/794–864), among the eight, well known Japanese pilgrims who traveled to Tang China, Enchin may very well be the most prolific.[8] Four catalogs, or records, of books he saw or read in Chinese libraries during the ninth-century are attributed to Enchin (Table 1):

TABLE 1 Enchin's Catalogs of Books in Chinese Monastic Libraries.[9]

	Title	Length	Date	Source in *NBZ*/*T* no.
1	*Kaigenji gūtoku kyōsho ki mokuroku* 開元寺求得經疏記目錄 (Catalog of Scriptures and Commentaries collected from Kaiyuan monastery [Fuzhou]) (alt. *Kaigenji guhō mokuroku* 開元寺求法目録)	1 roll	Friday, October 27, 853 (Dazhong 大中 7.9.21)	Vol. 95, no. 863, 252 *T* no. 2169

[8] Enchin's diary, of sorts, is *Gyōrekisho* 行歷抄: *NBZ* vol. 72, no. 572, 188–92. Ennin's diary is *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記 (Record of a Pilgrimage to Tang China in Search of the Dharma), translated in Reischauer, Ennin's Travels in Tang China; Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*. The eight Japanese pilgrims to Tang China include: (1) Saichō 最澄 (Dengyō Daishi 傳教大師, 767–822); (2) Kūkai 空海 (Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, 774–835); (3) Jōgyō 常暁 (d. 867); (4) Engyō 円行 (799–852); (5) Ennin; (6) Eun 恵運 (798–869); (7) Enchin; and (8) Shūei 宗叡 (809–884).

[9] Abé, *Chūsei Nihon No Shūkyō Tekusuto Taikei*, 202.

2	*Fūkushū Onshū Taishū gūtoku kyōritsuronsho ki gaishotō mokuroku* 福州溫州台州求得經律論疏記外書等目錄 (Catalog of Sūtras, Abhidharma, Śāstras, and Commentaries from [Kaiyuan temples] in Fuzhou, Wenzhou, and Taizhou) (alt. *Fūkushū Onshū Taishū guhō mokuroku* 福州溫州台州求法目録)	1 roll	854 (Dazhong 8)	Vol. 95, no. 865, 253–56 *T* no. 2170
3	*Seiryūji guhō mokuroku* 青龍寺求法目録 (Catalog of Searching for Scriptures at Qinglong monastery [Chang'an])	1 roll	Wednesday, December 4, 855 (Dazhong 9.10.21)	Vol. 95, no. 865, 257–58 *T* no. 2171
4	*Chishō daishi shōrai mokuroku* 智証大師請来目録 (Catalog of Books Enchin Brought Back to Japan)	1 roll	Wednesday, June 29, 858 (Dazhong 12.5.15)	*T* no. 2173
5	*Nihon biku Enchin nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本比丘圓珍入唐求法目錄 (Catalog of Scriptures Found [in China] by Japanese Bhikṣu Enchin)	1 roll	859 (Tenan 天安 3)[10]	Vol. 95, no. 866, 259–64 *T* no. 2172

Precisely which books Enchin returned to Japan with and used when he instructed both lay and monastic disciples about how to apply the latest continental Buddhist rituals to the veneration of Indian, Chinese, and indigenous Japanese deities, is a matter of considerable controversy within Japanese Buddhism. This is because the status of the transmission of 'orthodox' ritual manuals (*kalpa* or *vidhi*; *giki* 儀軌) of esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō* 密教) is a fundamental matter for both branches of the Tendai tradition, as well as for the various branches—and offshoots—of the Shingonshū 真言宗.[11] For the purposes of

[10] This text contains *Kokuseiji guhō mokuroku* 國清寺求法目錄 [Catalog of Scriptures Found at Guoqing monastery (Mount Tiantai)], 1 roll, and has the date 857 (Dazhong 11).

[11] Cf. Chen, *Making and Remaking History*; Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*; Abé, 'Scholasticism, Exegesis, and Ritual Practice' for the overall gist of how exegetical Japanese Buddhists conceived of their tradition as represented by Gyōnen

this research project, however, there is little evidence to suggest that esoteric ritual manuals were utilized to venerate the *kami*—or statues—of Matsuo and other shrines. Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures (and commentaries) form the corpus of texts used in rituals to these deities.

The second matter fit for a preamble of sorts relates to one of the central themes of this journal: the transmission of Buddhism, and the formation of Buddhist studies, in Europe. Some of the most relevant data available in English was published by Professor of Japanese at Leiden, Marius W. de Visser, in his landmark 1935 book, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sutras and Commentaries in Use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D. and their History in Later Times*.[12] His work is regarding the extent to which ritual offerings at more than 3,000 shrines in the registry of official deities (*jinmyōchō* 神名帳) ven-

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Daitoku 凝然大德 (1240–1321) in the *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要 (Guiding Essentials of the Eight Sects) of 1268. The *Hasshū kōyō* describes the basic tenets of the eight schools (*shū*) of Japanese Buddhism: (1) *Kusha* 倶舎 (Abhidharma); (2) *Jōjitsu* 成實 (Teachings of the *Tattvasiddhi-śāstra*); *Ritsu* 律 (Vinaya); (4) Hossō 法相 (Yogācāra); (5) Sanron 三論 (Madhyamaka; Three Treatises); (6) Tendai; (7) Kegon; and (8) Shingon. Missing, of course, are the so-called 'New Buddhism' Pure Land movements and Zen. And chief among all these 'schools' is the application of *mikkyō giki*. Bielefeldt, 'Kokan Shiren and the Sectarian Uses of History', especially 305. On the *Hasshū kōyō*, see Pruden, 'The Hasshu Koyo by the Scholar Monk Gyonen (1240–1321)'. The best translation [into modern Japanese] of the *Hasshū kōyō* is Kamata, 'Chūgoku Bukkyōshi Jiten'.

[12] In English, see Lowe, 'Contingent and Contested'; Lowe, 'Buddhist Manuscript Cultures in Premodern Japan'; and Keyworth, 'Copying for the *Kami*'. On Japanese scholarship on this topic, see Sagai, *Shinbutsu Shūgō No Rekishi to Girei Kūkan*, 105–10. Six National Histories, *Rokkokushi*, were sponsored by Fujiwara clan members and include: (1) *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 [prehistory to 697; comp. 720]; (2) *Shoku nihongi* 続日本紀 [697–791, comp. 797]; (3) *Nihon kōki* 日本後紀 [793–833, comp. 840]; (4) *Shoku Nihon kōki* 続日本後紀 [833–850, comp. 869]; (5) *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsuroku* 日本文徳天皇実録 [850–858, comp. 879]; and (6) *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 [858–887, comp. 901].

Note that the earliest extant edition of *Engi shiki* we have is the Kongōji edition of *Engishiki jinmyōchō* 延喜式神名帳, dated 1127; Torao, *Engishiki*, 225.

erated at official shrines in *Engishiki* 延喜式 (Procedures of the Engi Era [901–923, comp. 927 utilized after 967]), and Buddhist scriptures, 'all the sūtras' (*issaikyō*), and spells—or *dhāraṇī* (*tuoluoni* or *zongchi*, *darani* 陀羅尼 or *sōji* 總持)—were read or chanted in front of or for the *kami* (*shinzen dokyō* 神前読経) to alleviate natural and man-made disasters and to bolster the imperial and aristocratic clans. Not only did de Visser pay ample attention to matters of state protection Buddhism (*Chingo kokka* 鎮護國家), but he also provided the most thorough summary in English of the history of offerings of 'all the sūtras' from 651 to 1323.[13] He even stated, 'From the beginning of the twelfth century the *Issaikyō* festivals were often held in Shintō sanctuaries (Hiyoshi, Kumano, Iwashimizu, Gion, Kamo).'[14] His study remains among the most valuable in any European language for references to how Enchin, in particular, played a prominent role in promoting Tendai rituals—and orientated doctrines at debates and lectures—within the ritual system of Heian Japan.[15]

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[13] De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 605–15.

[14] De Visser, 611–12. Funayama, *Butten Wa Dou Kanyaku Sareta No Ka*, 11–12, makes an important distinction between the East Asian Buddhist terms meaning 'all the collected scriptures' (*yiqie jing*, *issaikyō*), which he posits can be traced to the Taihe 太和 [3] reign period (ca. 479) of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534) and in use during the Northern and Southern dynasties (420–589), 'collected scriptures' (*zhongjing*, *shukyō* 衆經), used more prominently in southern China from the mid-sixth century on, and 'canon' [referring to the *tripiṭaka*] (*da zangjing*, *daizōkyō*), which was applied by the Tang government.

[15] De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 442, 46, 47, 531, 600, 93, 94. De Visser's study helps clarify terms including *kyōsan* 慶讃, 'to praise respectfully', along with *rakugyō* 落慶 or *rakusei* 落成 mean something like 'praise and offering on account of the completion of newly built or repaired temples' (II:609). His study pays close attention to the 'Three Works protecting the state', the *Lotus Sūtra*; *Book of Benevolent Kings* (*Z* no. 21, *T* no. 245); and *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* (*Z* no. 158, *T* no. 665) and the debates/festivals involving these scriptures. Cf. Sango, 'Buddhist Debate and the Production and Transmission of Shōgyō'; Sango, *The Halo of Golden Light*. De Visser's study is strikingly absent in her research on a very similar topic.

Matsuo shrine and the Matsuo Shrine Canon

Matsuo shrine is one of the oldest shrines in Kyoto. Hata no Imiki no Tori 秦忌寸都理 established the shrine in 701 (Taihō gannen 大寶元年).[16] According to the early ninth-century genealogical compendium, *Shinsen shōjiroku* 新撰姓氏録 (Newly Compiled Records of Kinship Groups, ca. 814–815), which was apparently compiled on behalf of the royal lineage in order to distinguish between immigrant—or barbarian (*shoban* 諸藩)—clans, those that claimed ancestral ties to the royal lineage (*kōbetsu* 皇別), and those that can simply be classified with native heritage (*shinbetsu* 神別), the Hata clan primogenitor in Japan, Uzumasa no Kimi no Sukune 太秦公宿禰, could claim to have been thirteen generations removed from the first emperor of China: Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 (260–210 BCE, r. 220–210 BCE Qin state).[17] Ueda Masaaki refers to immigrant clans, including the Hata, in his research as *toraisha* 渡来者—or *kowatari* 古渡—or even naturalized citizens (*kikajin* 帰化人) in an attempt to utilize less jingoistic terminology than the early Heian era or in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when State Shintō jargon prevailed.[18] Herman Ooms proposed the term 'allochthonous' for clans like the Hata.[19]

By the turn of the eighth-century, the Kadono district (Kadono no koori 葛野郡) of Yamashiro [no kuni] province 山城国, which roughly corresponds to Nishigyōku 西京区 and southern Ukyōku 右京区 (wards) today, could certainly be considered the home region of the Hata clan. Hata no Miyatsuko no Kawakatsu 秦造河勝 founded the first Buddhist temple in the region—a Hata clan temple—in 603, known today as Kōryūji 広隆寺 (alt. Uzumasadera 太秦寺, Kadonodera 葛野寺, or Hata no Kimidera 秦公寺, in the Uzumasa district of

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[16] Ueda, *Torai No Kodaishi*, 54–55.

[17] Ueda, 47–48; Como, *Shōtoku*, 15–16. Of the 1,182 kinship groups discussed in *Shinsen shōjiroku*, 326 clans—including the Hata, of course—were deemed immigrants or barbarians, whereas 335 could claim royal connections. Another 404 were 'just' natives.

[18] Ueda, *Torai No Kodaishi*, 46.

[19] Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics*, chapters 1–2.

Ukyōku). Hata clan members appear to have owned much of the land in Yamashiro [no Kuni] when the decision was made to establish the new capital of Heiankyō in the late eighth-century. This would explain why many of the most prominent shrines in Kyoto—upper and lower Kamo 加茂 (alt. 鴨), Fushimi Inari 伏見稲荷, Iwashimizu Hachimangū 石清水八幡宮, Matsuo—and several Shingon temples (such as Kōryūji and Hōrinji 法輪寺) have deep ties to the Hata clan.[20]

By the time *Engi shiki* was compiled during the tenth-century, Matsuo shrine was ranked among the top tier shrines that received offerings from the court. It also appears that all seven of the top-ranked shrines listed in *Procedures of the Engi Era*—Ise 伊勢, Iwashimizu [Hachimangū], Kamo, Matsuo, Hirano 平野, Fushimi Inari, and Kasuga 春 (the only one in Nara, and not Kyoto)—were actually *kami* shrine-temple complexes or *jingūji* with buildings to keep and read or recite scriptures, called [Go]dokyōjo [御]読経所. Therefore, It makes sense that a significant number of the scriptures and commentaries contained within the Matsuo *kami* shrine-temple complex canon are stamped or sealed with the medieval designation for this collection: Matsuno'o issaikyō no nai 松尾一切經の内. It is probably instructive that we neither find the *kanji* for *kami* shrine (*sha* 社 or *gū* [*miya*] 宮) or [Buddhist] temple (*tera* 寺).

Compared with old Japanese manuscript Buddhist canons, which we know a lot more about and are comparatively easy to access, such as the Nanatsudera 七寺 (Nagoya) or Kongōji 金剛寺 (Ōsaka) canons, the Matsuo shrine canon seems incomplete. Whereas the Nanatsudera canon consists of 4,954 rolls and the Kongōji canon has about 4,500 rolls, despite significant damage from water, humidity, insects, rats, and dust, only 3,545 rolls (approximately 825 separate titles) of the Matsuo shrine canon survive today.[21] The Matsuo canon is unusual because of the number of colophons (*okugaki* 奥書). The Nanatsud-

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[20] Como, *Weaving and Binding*, 20–21. Hata no Irogu 秦伊侶具 established Fushimi Inari Taisha, cf. Ueda, *Torai No Kodaishi*, 55–58.

[21] A significant number of rolls were apparently lost between 1647 and 1854 because when 45 rolls were repaired at Hōnenin 法然院 in 1631, a catalog was compiled listing 4,712 rolls in 1647: *Matsuno'o-sha miyadera issaizōkyō mokuro-*

era canon has 378 rolls with colophons (158 separate titles) with dates or marginalia and the Kongōji canon has about 230 rolls (103 titles) with colophons.[22] In contrast, the Matsuo shrine canon has 1,236 rolls (approximately 345 titles) with colophons that provide dates, collation information, scribes' names, and evidence to why both *kami* priests (*kannushi* 神主, *negi* 禰宜, etc.) and Buddhist monastics copied scriptures at sacred sites across the Kinki 近畿 region and beyond to be recited before the *kami* of Matsuo shrine-temple complex.[23]

On August 23, 1993, Buddhist scriptures copied on behalf of Matsuo *kami* shrine-temple complex were rediscovered on the second floor of the treasury house (*hōzō* 宝蔵) that sits at the back of a stone garden at Myōrenji, a Hokkeshū temple. Today, this temple is located just west of Horikawa dōri 堀川通, not far from Dōshisha university's Shinmachi campus 同志社大学新町. Despite significant damage and deterioration, 3,545 rolls of mostly hand-copied scriptures were found along with sacred works (*shōgyō* 聖教)—including several distinctive copies of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua jing*, *Myōhō rengekyō* 妙法蓮華経, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Z* no. 146/*T* no. 262)—copied by Shimada Yasaburō 嶋田弥三郎, the gentleman who put the scriptures in the treasury house in 1857.[24] In 1997, Professor Nakao Takashi 中尾堯, from Risshō university 立正大学, and a team

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ku 松尾社宮寺一切蔵経目録. Kyoto National Museum and Consortium of Buddhist Universities and Colleges in Kyoto, eds., *The Eastward Expansion of Buddhism*, 104–05, and Nakao and Myōrenji, *Kyōto Myōrenji Zō 'Matsuosha Issaikyō' Chōsa Hōkokusho*, 32.

[22] Ochiai, et al., *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-Dera*; Ochiai, *Kongōji Issaikyō No Sōgōteki Kenkyū*; Ōtsuka, 'Issaikyō Shosha to Butten Mokuroku'.

[23] Nakao, 'Myōrenjizō "Matsuosha Issaikyō" No Hakken to Chōsa'; Nakao and Myōrenji, *Kyōto Myōrenji Zō 'Matsuosha Issaikyō' Chōsa Hōkokusho*; Nakao, 'Jōyō Bunkazai "Matsuosha Issaikyō" No Genpon Kōsei'. All citations to the Matsuo shrine canon follow Nakao and Myōrenji, *Kyōto Myōrenji Zō 'Matsuosha Issaikyō' Chōsa Hōkokusho*.

[24] Nakao and Myōrenji, *Kyōto Myōrenji Zō 'Matsuosha Issaikyō' Chōsa Hōkokusho*, 33. Shimada Yasaburō had another name: Yoshitada 義忠. Mr. Shimada was a prominent lay devotee at Honnōji 本能寺 (the temple where Oda

of researchers from universities in Kyoto published a catalog of the Matsuo shrine scriptures. Because only a handful of the scriptures are readily accessible at Myōrenji, and the rest are in museum and university archives with no digital (or microfiche, as was once rumored) editions of the contents of the Matsuo canon for scholars to utilize, almost no attention has been paid to the Matsuo scriptures.[25]

Colophons from the Matsuo *kami* shrine-temple complex tell us that there were four stages in the process of copying scriptures for the institution:

1. Chief *kami* priests (*kannushi*) and third rank aristocrats (Sukune 宿禰) Hata no Chikatō 秦親任 and his eldest son, Hata no Yorichika, had scriptures copied on behalf of seven shrines administered on site by the Hata clan between 1113.12.11 and 1138.7.10.[26]
2. Between 1139 and 1143, monastics affiliated with the Go-

Nobunaga 織田信長 [1534–1582] had famously been forced to commit suicide), where he came to know Nagamatsu Nissen 長松日扇 (1817–1890), who is regarded as the founder of a pre-Sōka Gakkai 創価学会 -like lay Buddhist *Lotus Sūtra* chanting group devoted to the teachings of Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282) called Honmon Butsuryū-shū 本門佛立宗, coincidentally founded in 1857. Cf. Takeda, 'Nagamatsu Nissen Ni Okeru Kyōka Katsudō No Kenkyū'. Shrine records indicate that the Godokyōjo was destroyed in early 1864 (Bunkyū 文久 4/Genji 元治 1) and the monastics were forced to return to lay life three months later.

[25] I know of only two references in European language publications: Ochiai, Girard, and Kuo, 'Découverte De Manuscrits Bouddhiques Chinois Au Japon', 290.

[26] Nakao and Myōrenji, *Kyōto Myōrenji Zō 'Matsuosha Issaikyō' Chōsa Hōkokusho*, 270. According to *Nihon shoki*, a decree passed in 684 effectively standardized the aristocratic titles clan members could use into a set of eight (*yakusa no kabane* 八色の姓): (1) Mahito 真; (2) Ason 朝臣; (3) Sukune 宿禰; (4) Imiki 忌寸; (5) Michinoshi 道師; (6) Omi 臣; (7) Muraji 連; and (8) Inagi 稲城. Rank 4 (Imiki) was primarily used to denote immigrants (see below), whereas rank 2 (Ason) was primarily awarded to Fujiwara 藤原 and later Taira 平氏 and Minamoto 源氏 clan members. Note the nearly-Daoist meanings for several of these rank titles.

dokyōjo at Matsuo, especially from Enryakuji and Miidera (alt. Onjōji), checked the scriptures vowed by Hata no Chikatō and Hata no Yorichika and added scriptures to the collection.

3. Ryōkei 良慶, the abbot of Myōhōji 妙法寺, a temple in the southern valley 南谷 of the *jingūji* precincts, vowed and added scriptures between 1159 and 1165.
4. Sometime probably during the early twelfth-century, rolls that were bestowed to Kamo shrine(s) as part of a lecture series and ritual offering (*kaikō kuyō* 開講供養) in 1063–1065 from Enryakuji monastics were added to the Matsuo canon.

It is apparent that a significant number of rolls were lost between 1647 and 1854. After 45 rolls were repaired at Hōnenin 法然院 in 1631, a catalog was compiled listing 4,712 rolls in 1647.[27] Table 2 lists the four principal vowed scripture copying projects represented within the Matsuo shrine canon.

TABLE 2 Three Vowed Canons[28]

Sponsor	Duration	Affiliation	Chief Copyists
Hata no Chikatō 秦親任	1115–1122	Chief Shrine Priest (*kannushi*) 神主	Chinshū 珍秀, Seiron 西詣, Nakahara Gaon 中原雅遠, Hanrai 範快, Yūhan 有範, Fujiwara Yorimori 藤原頼盛, Ijin 惟仁, Ryūson 隆尊
Hata no Yorichika 秦頼親	1127–1138	Chief Shrine Priest	Sōsei 宗清, Jitsuei 実永, Seigon 靜嚴, 長暹, Chōkei 朝慶, Onjōji jikan ajari 園城寺次官阿闍梨, Eiun 睿運, Zōki 增喜, Rinshū 林秀, Sōbō 僧某

[27] *Matsuno'o-sha miyadera issaizōkyō mokuroku* in Kyoto National Museum and Consortium of Buddhist Universities and Colleges in Kyoto, eds., *The Eastward Expansion of Buddhism*, 104–05; Nakao and Myōrenji, *Kyōto Myōrenji Zō 'Matsuosha Issaikyō' Chōsa Hōkokusho*, 32.

[28] Nakao and Myōrenji, *Kyōto Myōrenji Zō 'Matsuosha Issaikyō' Chōsa Hōkokusho*, 46; Nakao, 'Myōrenjizō "Matsuosha Issaikyō" No Hakken to Chōsa'.

Collated manuscripts	1139–1143	Enryakuji: Tōdō Minamidani Junkei[bō] 東塔南谷春敬[房] Enryakuji: Tōdō Kōenbō 東塔緣房 Enryakuji: Saitōin Kitajakkōbō 西塔院北寂光房 Enryakuji: Saitōin Tōrinbō 西塔東林房 Miidera Kōryūji Kannonji 観音寺 Nankyō Shin’in 南京新院 Tanshū Asagogun Okudera 但州朝來郡奥寺住僧 Kiyomizudera 清水寺 Shitennōji 四天王寺	Raisen 頼暹, Ringen 林玄, Chūgō 忠豪, Ryōshō 良曉 (Enryakuji), Kenchi 賢智 (Enryakuji), Kanyū 寛裕, **Ryōkei**, Chōjin 朝尋, Sonyū 尊祐, Ryōga 隆賀, Shinkei 深慶, Juhan 壽範, Chūen 忠延, Chōkaku 澄覺 (Miidera), Rinshū 林秀, Gyōjitsu 行実, Jōkan 乘鑑, Ryōhan 良範 (Miidera), Chigyō 智行, Rin’i 林伊
Ryōkei 良慶	1159–1174	Abbot, Matsuo Minamidani Myōhōji 松尾南谷妙法寺	Ryōnin 良仁, Ryōgon/Ryōgen 良嚴, Shunzō 俊增, Ryōki 良喜, Benki 辯喜, Gōyū 豪有, Ryōkan 良寬, Seiryōji monk(s) 清涼寺僧

The latest date that can be assigned to any scroll within the Matsuno’o shrine canon is 1468 (Ōnin 応仁 2. *jun* 閏 10.5), which makes a lot of sense given the widespread destruction of significant parts of Kyoto during the Ōnin war (1467–1477). In 1399 (Ōei 応永 6), and again in 1447 (Bun’an 文安 4), however, a significant number of printed scriptures—some of which appear to be from the first printing of the Chinese canon in 983 [Taipingxingguo 太平興國 8] and presumably brought back to Japan by Chōnen 奝然 [983–1016])—were added to the collection.

What is immediately conspicuous about the contents of Old Japanese manuscript canons—as well as Japanese manuscript editions of both the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (Kaiyuan lu Record of Śākyamuni’s Teachings, Compiled During the Kaiyuan Era [713–741], *Z* no. 1183/*T* no. 2154, comp. 730) and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao lu* 貞元新定釋教録 (Newly Revised Catalog of Buddhist Scriptures, Compiled During the Zhenyuan Era [785–805], *Z* no. 1184/*T* no. 2157, comp. 800)—is that they do not parallel the contents of the printed

canons.[29] By now, it is well known that the most obvious problem with printed scriptures is that these editions date from the tenth-century (980's *Shuban dazangjing* 蜀版大藏經) at the earliest. The *Taishō* canon is primarily based on the second [extant] edition of the Korean [Koryŏ] Canon 高麗藏再雕版, which was printed at Haein-sa 海印寺 between 1236–1251. Even though it provides considerably more material from the so-called Rock-Cut Canon at Fangshan 房山石經, which preserves about 1,300 rolls carved during the Tang dynasty, the recently published Chinese Buddhist canon (*Zhonghua dazangjing* 中華大藏經 *Hanwen bufen* 漢文部分) is not much more reliable.[30] Therefore, it adds up that Old Japanese manuscript canons—such as Kongōji, Nanatsudera, and Matsuo shrine—do not have quite as many texts as the *Taishō* or *Zhonghua dazangjing* editions of the *Zhenyuan lu* postulate they should. Instead of 1,258 titles in 5,390 rolls, the Nanatsudera edition of the *Zhenyuan lu* has 1,206 titles in

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[29] Tokuno, 'The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures', 52, says the *Kaiyuan lu* 'is generally regarded as the single most important bibliographical catalogue in terms of the role it played in the history of East Asian Buddhist canonical publications'. She adds: 'The content and organization of all successive canons from the late-Tang period [ninth through tenth centuries] on were based on this catalogue...; especially significant is its influence on the printed editions of the canon...since these became the basis for later canons produced not only in China but also elsewhere in East Asia'. Tokuno, 'The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures', 52–53, 71, 97, 98; Storch, *The History of Chinese Buddhist Bibliography*, 28–29, 116. Tokuno cites an entry in the thirteenth-century *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 40, which says: 'The 5,048 rolls [that the catalog contained] became the established number for the canon': *T* no. 2035, 49: 374c3–5. She also points out that the *Xu Zhenyuan shijiao lu* said the *Kaiyuan lu* circulated widely and continued to do so during the four courts of emperors Xuanzong 玄宗 (r.712–756), Suzong 肅宗 (r.756–762), Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779), and Dezong 德宗 (r.779–805): *T* no. 2158.55:1048.a23–26.

[30] Lancaster, 'The Rock Cut Canon in China'; Ledderose, 'Changing the Audience'; Ledderose, Tsai, and Sun, *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China*; and Ledderose, *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China*, certainly provides stunning new material for consideration.

5,351 rolls. The Nanatsudera edition of the *Kaiyuan lu*, which was copied from a manuscript dated to 735 (Tenpyō 天平 7) and was brought back to Japan by Genbō 玄昉 (d. 746; in China: 718–735), has 1,046 titles in 5,048 rolls, in contrast to the *Taishō* edition with 1,076 titles in the same number of rolls.[31] The Matsuo shrine canon closely reflects the Nanatsudera *Zhenyuan lu*, but, again, only 3,545 rolls are extant. It was suggested that rather than reflecting earlier editions of the contents of continental [Kaiyuan or Zhenyuan era] Buddhist canons, these Old Japanese manuscript editions of the *Kaiyuan lu* and *Zhenyuan lu* expose the composition of Nara era (710–784) manuscript canons. According to Bryan Lowe: 'Almost every canon produced in the Nara period had a different composition from those that preceded it and those that followed it'.[32]

Returning to the material evidence of the Matsuo canon and preservation of it on site at Matsuo shrine, I am still researching the ritual schedule (*nenchū gyōja* 年中行事) of the shrine during the medieval period. A Muromachi era (1392–1573) map—displayed at the 2004 Kyoto National Museum special exhibition on Shinto Art—reveals that within the shrine compound, where today there is a parking lot and people have their vehicles blessed (*kuruma no harai* 車の祓い), the Godokyōjo once stood. It may also be significant to note that on the same map we find a three-storied *stūpa* (*sanjū no tō* 三重塔) in what seems like the center of the multiplex. Toward the upper left corner of the map, just to the right of Tsukuyomi jinja 月読神社 (alt. *Tsukiyomi*)—a sub-shrine of Matsuo still today—are four structures identified as a *jingūji*. Shrine records indicate that the premodern *kami* shrine-temple complex was destroyed in early 1864 (Bunkyū 文久 4/ Genji 元治 1) and the monastics were forced to return to lay life three months later. It also appears that the principal image (*honzon* 本尊) was either a Kamakura era (1185–1333) 'hidden' (*hibutsu* 秘仏) statue of the bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha (Xukongzang pusa, Kokūzō bosatsu 虚空藏菩薩), which was removed and possibly donated to a cloister at Dai-

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[31] On Genbō and other Tang-era pilgrims to China, see Yoritomi, *Nicchū wo Musunda Bukkyōsō*, 24–27.

[32] Lowe, 'Contingent and Contested', 233–36.

goji 醍醐寺, or it was a statue of Mahāvairocana (Da Piluzhena fo, Daibirushana butsu 大毗盧遮那佛) within a Dainichidō 大日堂.[33] *Kawara* 瓦—roof tiles—inscribed with Sanskrit Siddhaṃ letters (*shittan* 悉曇字 or *bonji* 梵字) from the *jingūji* were also excavated at the site.

Twelfth Century Statues from Matsuo Shrine and 1558 Colophon to the [Mahāyāna] **Pravāraṇa-sūtra*

Our shrine is also celebrated because twenty-one of the oldest single-block, Hinoki cypress wood statues of the *kami* of Matsuo (and sub-shrines) still exist today and are preserved on site within the Shinzōkan. There are three large statues: one older and one younger male: Ōyamakui, the chief *kami* of Matsuo; and one female: Ichikishimahime no Mikoto. The deities seem to be seated in the half-lotus position (*hankafuza* 半跏趺坐) and are almost certainly *mishōtai*. Literally 'revered true bodies' usually found in the form of drawings or mirrors evoking combinatory devotion to [Japanese or native] *kami* and [Indian and continental] buddhas and bodhisattvas (*shinbutsu shūgō*), as mentioned earlier, Itō Shirō believes that the larger Ōyamakui statue was commissioned by Enchin before he departed for China in 853.[34] Itō is less confident about the second,

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[33] Itō, *Matsuno'o Taisha No Shin'ei*, 61–62, citing *Matsuno'o jinjaki* 松尾神社記 2 says it was given to Myōrenin at Daigoji 醍醐寺妙蓮院. On the significant connections between Hata clan temples and shrines to Ākāśagarbha rituals—and primarily the Shingon tradition—see Ōwa, *Hatashi No Kenkyū*, 198–200. Of special attention is the Shingonshū temple devoted to Ākāśagarbha veneration—Hōrinji 法輪寺—nearby in Arashiyama 嵐山; this temple was founded by Hata clan members and was once known as Kadonoidera 葛井寺. Sagai, *Shinbutsu Shūgō No Rekishi to Girei Kūkan*, 55–56, proposes that a Dainichidō was the principal image on site. Sagai, *Shinbutsu Shūgō No Rekishi to Girei Kūkan*, 305–10, suggests that Kamo 賀茂/鴨 shrine had a Dokyōjo with *honzon* 本尊 of Samantabhadra and a Gomadō 護摩堂 with, of course, Fudō Myōō 不動明王.

[34] Sagai, *Shinbutsu Shūgō No Rekishi to Girei Kūkan*, 55–59. Sagai gives the date 1013 (Chōwa 長和 2); cf. 55–56.

younger Ōyamagui *mishōtai*, but he is convinced that the female statue is Ichikishimahime no Mikoto.[35]

Two of the smaller eighteen *kami* statues are of particular interest because they bear inscriptions that tell us that Hata no Yorichika—one of the primary sponsors of the Matsuo scriptures between 1127–1138—had them commissioned by named artisans whom Itō thinks are Buddhist monastics. During the late Heian period, there were seven shrines administered by Matsuno'o. In addition to Matsuo, where Ōyamakui and Ichikishima are enshrined, Tsukuyomi shrine (which we encountered on the Muromachi era map) and Ichitani 櫟谷 (alt. Ichidata) shrine comprised the three chief medieval shrines of Matsuo *kami* shrine-temple complex.[36] Munakata-sha 宗像社, Sannomiya-sha 三ノ宮社, Koromode-sha 衣手社, and Shidai shinsha 四大神社 round out the list to make seven sub-shrines.[37] Hata no Yorichika commissioned a statue of Okitsushimahime no Mikoto 奥津嶋姫命, the *kami* of Ichitani-Munakata shrines. A difficult to decipher inscription on a female statue of Okitsushimahime no Mikoto bears the date 1143 (Kōji 康治 2) for when this statue was commissioned. Part of the inscription lists Hata no Yorichika's name as the sponsor.[38] Another female statue of one of the *kami* of Matsuo's sub-shrine, Sannomiya, has an inscription that is even more difficult to read. It lists Hata no Yorichika as the sponsor, but does not include a date. Itō suggests that this statue was enshrined in 1127 (Daiji 大治 2) or perhaps during the period when Hata no Yorichika sponsored scriptures,

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[35] I follow readings provided by a free pamphlet available at Matsuo Taisha, *Rakusaisō ujigami jōzō soshin Matsuosan* 洛西総氏神醸造祖神松尾さん [Head Clan Temple in Western Kyoto to the Ancestral Deity for Brewing (Saké)]. For alternate readings, see Como, *Weaving and Binding*, 42; Ueda, *Torai No Kodaishi*, 67.

[36] Como, *Weaving and Binding*, 88, 164, points out that the Hata clan moved the Moon Deity to Tsukuyomi-sha by the Nara period.

[37] See Itō, *Matsuno'o Taisha No Shin'ei*, 68–69.

[38] The reconstructed inscription in Itō, *Matsuno'o Taisha No Shin'ei*, 72, provides: 櫟谷/康治二季/二月十一日已巳/始之奉造/願主本神主頼親/請造并開眼備後講師延尊.

1131.6.16–1138.5.29.[39] What strikes Itō is how these two images seem to match the style in terms of composition and for the dedicatory inscriptions we see for contemporaneous Buddhist statuary.

It appears the curatorial staff at Kyoto National Museum made a significant error in the 2004 catalog with regard to the tenth statue on display, a 'twelfth-century, Heian era, seated female statue' from Matsuo shrine.[40] Itō's 2011 study provides pictures and a transcription of the inscription on the base of the statue with the date 1741 (Kanpō 寛保 1). He also confirmed that it was commissioned by the chief shrine priest (*negi* 禰宜) of Tsukiyomi shrine.[41] Even though the inscription tells us it was commissioned nearly 600 years after the other two statues of female *kami* for Ichitani-Munakata and [Matsuo] Sannomiya shrines Hata no Yorichika had commissioned during the 1130s and 1140s, probably by [Tendai] Buddhist artisans, the image of a female *kami* of Tsukiyomi shrine shows that similarities between Buddhist and 'Shintō' statuary persisted well into the Edo period (1603–1868).

The large 'seated male deity' of Ōyamakui and the erroneously dated 'seated female deity' (*joshin zazō* 女神座像) from Tsukiyomi shrine were not the only objects from Matsuo shrine at the 2004 exhibition at Kyoto National Museum. Another twelfth-century, Heian period statue of Gozu Tennō 牛頭天王 (Ox-Headed Guardian), which is not, incidentally, in the Shinzōkan, today, was also on display.[42] The

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[39] Itō, *Matsuno'o Taisha No Shin'ei*, 72, 85.

[40] Kyoto National Museum, *Kamigami No Bi No Sekai*, 34–35, 214.

[41] Itō, *Matsuno'o Taisha No Shin'ei*, 71–73, 85. Sekai and Ueda, *Kyōto Jinken Rekishi Kikō*, 192, informs us that a preface to *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (720), by Abe omi no Kotoshiro 阿部臣事代, tells us that the offerings (*tatematsu* 奉) were presented to the *kami* of Tsukiyomi shrine as early as they were to the *kami* of Matsuo main shrine: the deity named in the preface is Uta no Arasuda wo 歌荒槻田.

[42] Kyoto National Museum, *Kamigami No Bi No Sekai*, 29, 212–13, iv., says that Gozu Tennō, or the Ox-Headed Guardian, is a deity who figures prominently in so-called Shintō-Buddhist 'syncretism' (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合), and is seen as both a heavenly guardian deity of Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada-ārāma in India (Gion [shōja] tenjin 祇園精舎天神) and a manifestation of the indigenous Japanese god of sea and storms, Susano'o no mikoto 素戔嗚尊.

only other object from Matsuo shrine was the fifteenth-century, Muromachi era map of the Matsuo shrine precincts (*Matsuno'o Taisha ezu* 松尾大社絵図), which I mentioned before.[43] The map and statues of Gozu Tennō and the [mistakenly dated] 'seated female deity' provide substantial evidence to substantiate my earlier suggestion that Matsuo shrine was not merely a 'Shintō' shrine during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, but instead a *jingūji*, or shrine-[Buddhist] temple complex or multiplex. Other examples of fifteenth-century Kyoto *jingūji* maps on display at the 2004 exhibit included Gion shrine (*Gionsha ezu* 祇園社絵図, actually dated 1332 [Gentoku 元徳 3]),[44] Kitano Tenmangū (*Kitanosha ezu* 北野社絵図),[45] and the two Kamo shrines (*Kamo wakeikazuchi jinja ezu* 賀茂別雷神社絵図 and *Kamo mioya jinja ezu* 賀茂御祖神社絵図).[46] The Gozu Tennō statue speaks to another type of deity venerated at Matsuo shrine, which I discuss below.

Before we turn to an examination of the connections between Matsuo shrine, the shrine statues, and Enchin, which includes consideration of several types of deities—continental (India and Sino-Korean) and Japanese—within the sphere of Jimon-ha Tendai ritual practices, let me briefly introduce one sixteenth-century colophon from the collection of Buddhist scriptures vowed to Matsuo that tells the story of the original [Buddhist] substance of a principal kami and an intimate encounter with Enchin. Roll 2557 of the Matsuo canon has a colophon dated 1558/8/21 for a copy of the [Mahāyāna] **Pravāraṇa-sūtra* (*Xinsui jing, Shinsaikyō* 新歳経, *Z* no. 995/*T* no. 62), which speaks of the last day of the summer or rains retreat.[47] The substance of the colophon reads as follows:

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[43] Kyoto National Museum, *Kamigami No Bi No Sekai*, 88, 231.

[44] Kyoto National Museum, *Kamigami No Bi No Sekai*, 84, 229.

[45] Kyoto National Museum, *Kamigami No Bi No Sekai*, 85, 229–30.

[46] Kyoto National Museum, *Kamigami No Bi No Sekai*, 86, 230 and 87, 30.

[47] See Matsuda, 'Sucoien Korekushon No Shinsaikyō Dankan Ni Tsuite', for a discussion of the provenance of a manuscript copy of the 'Mahāyāna' version of this scripture in the Schøyen collection from Khotan, which may very well fall into Funayama's second category of apocryphal of fake scriptures.

The story of the original [Buddhist] substance of the eminent *kami* (plural) of this shrine.

From ancient times until now, informed people have been unaware that Chishō daishi (Enchin) prayed and made a vow [to the deities of Matsuo shrine]. In response, a deity visited him in a dream, audibly chanting scriptures (or this scripture?). Already having passed through ten, minor (or intermediate) eons (*antarā-kalpa*) before accomplishing the Buddhist path (*mārga*), when he heard the eminent *kami* [of the river] chanting *Namu Daitsuchisho butsu nyorai*, he offered a *futotama* (alt. *futodama*) and proclaimed, '*Kami* must acknowledge that the twenty-first is Chishō daishi's birthday.'

At that time, Ākāśagarbha bodhisattva also proclaimed *Namu Daitsuchisho butsu nyorai*.

Eiroku 1/8/21 for the preservation of all the scriptures held by the abbot of this place

Shikoku Hasuikedanibō Gyōjūn's collection of scriptures, on the occasion of the Mushibarai.

[Copied] for peace for all under heaven and the Six bodhisattvas.

当社明神御本地事,
自往古存知之人無之,然智證大御祈誓
御夢想アリ,明神經唱テ言ク
過十小劫已及得成佛道ト,于時大師明神江
南无大通智勝佛如來ト御唱アリテ拝シ玉フト云云
神必由申侍云ヘリ、又智證大師誕生之
時,虛空ヨリ南无大通智勝佛如來御唱アリトイヘリ,
Eiroku 永禄元年 (1558) 8.21 為惣代經所当住持
四國蓮池谷坊僧堯順一切經虫払只獨也,
為天下安全,六觀菩薩也

A *mushibarai* is an occasion for airing sacred treasures. This colophon, which extols recitation of Buddha Great Universal Excellence's (Mahābhijñājñānābhibhū-buddha) name, from chapter twenty-seven of the *Lotus Sūtra*, commemorates an enduring connection between Matsuo *kami* shrine-temple complex to the legendary fame of Enchin, who may have commissioned the *mishōtai* of Ōyamakui for Matsuo in the ninth-century. It also suggests that this shrine main-

tained close affiliation with Miidera long after the scriptures were copied, in large part from originals held by a famous Miidera branch temple and scriptorium called Bonshakuji 梵釈寺.[48] Furthermore, the colophon testifies to the fact that Matsuo *kami* shrine-temple complex developed its own sub-shrines in other regions of Japan, on Shikoku, in Kōchi prefecture 高知県. We also learn that, long after the initial vowing of scriptures by Hata clan priests during the twelfth century, these scriptures retained their prestige as the object of veneration and even aired on special occasions.

Enchin and the Ninth Century Matsuo Shrine Statue of Ōyamakui and Shinra Myōjin[49]

If we compare the composition of the 'Shintō' statues I have presented in this paper thus far from Matsuo shrine with perhaps the most famous guardian deity statue, legendarily associated with Enchin, Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神, I am struck by how different these deities look. To begin with, the *kami* statues from Matsuo seem to resemble peaceful Buddhist deities—bodhisattvas or buddhas. Shinra Myōjin, on the other hand, seems idiosyncratically 'alien' and wild: the sort of deity who could ward off pestilence. If, indeed, Shinra Myōjin is a manifestation in Japan as a guardian deity of Miidera of the King

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[48] *T* no. 262, 9: 22b19–c9, in Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, roll eight, chapter 27. Bonshakuji is the late Heian era name for a prominent temple complex that was once on the eastern slope of Mount Hiei and originally called Sūfukuji 崇福寺. Although there is no mention of the connection to Bonshakuji, see Kim, 'Transcending Locality, Creating Identity', 45–56. It and its well-known Nara era manuscript Buddhist canon were destroyed in 1163, when monks from Enryakuji on Hieizan set fire to Bonshakuji, illustrating the extent to which sectarian enmity between the Sanmon and Jimon Tendai traditions had escalated.

[49] I am not an art historian, so please forgive me for making a pronouncement about medieval Japanese guardian-cum-*kami* statues without the proper training to do so.

of Mount Song 嵩山 (Shaolin si 少林寺), in China.[50] Shinra Myōjin's name suggests a Korean orientation.[51] Like Gozu Tennō, he is also associated with Susano'o, the indigenous *kami* of storms and seas. Shinra Myōjin is understood to have been brought to Japan from China by Enchin when he returned from his productive time in the Jiangnan region and at Qinglong si in Chang'an. Christine M. E. Guth, whose research closely follows Itō Shirō's scholarship, as I have done here, concluded that the famous image of Shinra Myōjin, enshrined within the Shinra Zenshindō 新羅善神捨堂 of Miidera and rarely on display, possibly dates from 1052. She examined several eleventh-century Jimon-ha Tendaishū chronicles to show that Tendai monastics already associated Enchin with veneration of Shinra Myōjin as early as the tenth century.[52] In this section, I examine several of these chronicles and come to a slightly different conclusion. It appears Enchin was definitely connected with worshipping several types and examples of *kami* at shrines within the precincts of Miidera (and Enryakuji) and at shrines in Kyoto and across Japan, including, but not necessarily limited to, Shinra Myōjin.

I will confine my discussion here of Enchin and veneration of *kami* statues at shrines to three Buddhist sources: (1) *Enchin den* 圓珍傳 (Biography of Enchin), composed by Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki 三善清行 (847–919); (2) *Onjōji denki* 園城寺傳記 (Transmission Record of Onjōji), composed in the thirteenth-century, *NBZ* 86, no. 786; and (3) *Jimon denki horoku* 寺門傳記補録 (Supplemental Record of the Transmission Record of the Temple Gate Branch), composed by Shikō 志晃 (1662–1720), *NBZ* 86, no. 787.[53] Because

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[50] Faure, 'From Bodhidharma to Daruma', 59–60.

[51] Kim, 'Transcending Locality, Creating Identity', 24–39.

[52] Guth, 'Mapping Sectarian Identity', 112–18.

[53] Andreeva, 'Saidaiji Monks and Esoteric Kami Worship at Ise and Miwa', 361, mentions *Onjōji denki* and some of the terms discussed here, as does Kim, 'Transcending Locality, Creating Identity', 24–30. On the dating of Shikō's compilation, see Miyake, 'Shugendō No Kyōten Keisei to Tendaishū', 33. According to Umehara, *Kyōto Hakken* 9, 57–62, the *Onjōji denki* covers the history of Miidera from 662–1397 and *Jimon denki horoku* covers 888–1302. We know *Jimon denki horoku* was compiled ca. 1394–1428.

there is ample evidence for connections between Matsuo *kami* shrine-temple complex, Miidera and Enchin, in particular, from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries as discussed above, I will work chronologically backwards through these texts. Rolls three, four, and five of *Jimon denki horoku* present information about the *shibyō* 祠廟 associated with Miidera. It may surprise experts in the study of Chinese religion to learn that the primary *cimiao* (ancestral temples in China) at Onjōji are devoted to the two *gohōjin*: the aforementioned Shinra Myōjin and Kishimojin 鬼子母神 (Hāritī). Hāritī is venerated within the Gohō zenshindō 護法善神堂 every year on the sixteenth day of the fourth lunar month.[54] It is in roll five, however, that we find abundant evidence to support my earlier claim of a medieval religious system whereby monastics from the Jimon branch of the Tendai order organized and maintained a network of offerings to deities at prominent, so-called 'Shintō' shrines in Kyoto, which was, in turn, integrated into the ritual calendar of Onjōji (Miidera) and its sub-temples.[55]

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[54] *Jimon denki horoku* 4 *NBZ* 787.86.133a–134b provides a synopsis of Hāritī within various East Asian Buddhist scriptures; 134b–135b copies a short, probably apocryphal, scripture, *Foshuo guizimu jing* 仏説鬼子母経 (*Bussetsu kishimokyō*, Book Spoken by the Buddha on Hāritī, *T* no. 1262); 135b–136a copies another likely apocryphon, the *Fohua guizimu yuan* 仏化鬼子母緣 (*Butsuke kishimo en*, Avadāna Tale the Buddha Converting Hāritī, *XZJ* 57, no. 961: 105b15–106a13), which is available only in Northern Song dynasty Tiantai master Zongxiao's 宗曉 *Shishi tonglan* 施食通覽; 136a–137c reproduces Amoghavajra's (Bukong, Fukū 不空, 705–774) translation of the ritual manual *Dayaocha nühuanximu bing'aizi chengjiufa* 大藥叉女歡喜母并愛子成就法 (*Daiyakushanyo kangimo byōaishi jōkuhō*, Ritual to Achieve the Results [*sādhana*] Yakṣinī Joyful Mother Loving All Her Children, *T* no. 1260); 137c–138a reproduces another ritual manual translated by Amoghavajra, *Helidimu zhenyanfa* 訶梨帝母真言法 [*jing* 経] (*Kariteimo shingonhō* [*kyō*], Ritual of the Mantra for Hāritī, *T* no. 1261). On these rituals from an informed perspective in English, see Hei, 'Hārītī', 8–17. Gozu Tennō can also be seen as a manifestation of Hāritī.

[55] Kim, 'Transcending Locality, Creating Identity', 58–60.

Roll five of *Jimon denki horoku* is devoted to Chinju shinshi 鎮守神祠, or shrines to protective *kami*. Beginning with Mio myōjin 三尾明神 (red, white, and black deities), the landlord clan deity prior to Shinra Myōjin, there is an interesting connection with the Hata clan and *kami* venerated by Miidera monastics. It appears that Hata no Kawakatsu, the Hata clan member to whom the founding of Kōryūji is attributed, and his sons are also associated with the veneration of Mio myōjin as a powerful *ōare myōjin* 大荒明神.[56] Next, there are eighteen *shinshū* devoted to the *garanjin* 伽藍神, or tutelary deities of the monastic compound (lit. gods of the *saṃghārāma*), conveyed in the apocryphal *Book of Buddha Names Recited by Horse-Head* (*Hayagrīva*) *Rākṣasa (Matou luocha foming jing, Battōrasetsu butsumyōkyō* 馬頭羅刹仏名經, *Z* no. 1167/*T* no. N/A).[57] Apparently, when Shinra Myōjin was newly enshrined on site at Onjōji in 860 (Jōgan 貞観 2), the Sannō 山王 shrine, as it was called in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when *Jimon denki horoku* was compiled but was referred to as Hiei shrine earlier (and today), was given a face lift. Ōyamakui is enshrined there. *Jimon denki horoku* reminds the [premodern] reader that Hiei shrine was one of the twenty-two official shrines that received 'oblations' from the imperial lineage during the Heian period.[58] Finally, there were five separate sites in and around Mount Hiei—including two different *miya*—for veneration of Ōyamakui.[59]

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[56] *Jimon denki horoku* 5 *NBZ* 787.86.130c–140a.

[57] *Jimon denki horoku* 5 *NBZ* 787.86.140a–b. The *Butsumyōkyō* has been studied by Kuo Li-ying and received considerable attention when the Matsuo and Nanatsudera scriptures were copied: this scripture is rolls 3509–3520 of the Matsuo scriptures. When the Nanatsudera canon was rediscovered this scripture received considerable attention because a liturgy with this scripture remains an important practice within Shingon temples still today Kuo, 'Sur Les Apocryphes Bouddhiques Chinois'; Kuo, 'La Récitation Des Noms De Buddha En Chine Et Au Japon', 688; Ochiai et al., *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-Dera*; Lai, 'The Chan-Ch'a Ching'.

[58] *Jimon denki horoku* 5 *NBZ* 787.86.140b–141b.

[59] *Jimon denki horoku* 5 *NBZ* 787.86.140141b–141c.

Almost everything I have discussed in *Jimon denki horoku* thus far is not included in the thirteenth century *Onjōji denki*. We do find a much shorter enumeration of the eighteen *garanjin* from the *Butsumyōkyō*, but nearly the entire discussion of Shinra Myōjin, Mio myōjin, and the five distinct shrines to Ōyamakui is absent from this text. What is essentially the same in both chronicles is the discussion of the eight *Myōjin* worshipped at prominent Shintō shrines, mentioned in *Engi shiki*. *Onjōji denki* also has a helpful diagram which maps a *maṇḍala* of the spatial—or cosmographical—relationship between the inner *garanjin* (shrines) and the outer, *kami* shrines.[60] Both texts essentially present the same list of eight *kami* shrine-temple complexes, as seen in Table 3:

TABLE 3 Eight *Kami* Shrines in *Onjōji denki* and *Jimon denki horoku*

	Shrine/Deity	Scripture in ***Onjōji denki***
1	Hachiman	**Vikurvaṇarājaparipṛcchā* (*Zizaiwang pusa jing, Jizaiōbosatsukyō* 自在王菩薩経, *T* no. 420)
2	Kamo	*Book of Benevolent Kings* (*Renwang boreboluomi jing, Ninnō hannya haramitsukyō* 仁王般若波羅蜜経, *Z* no. 21, *T* no.245)
3	**Matsuo**	***Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*[*rāja*]*-sūtra*** (*Jin'guangming zunshengwang jing, Konkōmyō saishō ōkyō* 金光明最勝王経, *Z* no. 158, *T* no. 665)
4	Hieizan Sannō	*Lotus Sūtra*
5	Kasuga	*Diamond Sūtra* (*Jin'gang jing, Kongōkyō* 金剛経, *Vajracchedīka-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, *Z* no. 15, *T* no. 235)

[60] *Onjōji denki* 2 *NBZ* 786.86.61b. Rosenfield and Cranston, 'The Bruno Petzold Collection', 227–28, discusses a nineteenth-century *maṇḍala* of Onjōji, which features many of the deities discussed below. For alternate ways to conceptualize *kami* and the buddhas and bodhisattvas, see Rambelli, 'Before the First Buddha'.

6	Sumiyoshi	*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Daban nihuan jing, Daihatsunaiongyō* 大般泥洹経, 6 rolls, *Z* no. 137, *T* no. 376)
7	Shinra [Myōjin]	*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*Weimojie jing*/*Yuimakitsukyō* 維摩詰経, *Z* nos. 150–51, *T* nos. 474–75)
8	Iwakura 岩座[61]	[Amitāyus] *Contemplation Sūtra* (*Guanwuliangshou jing, Kammuryōjubutsukyō* 觀無量壽経, *Z* no. 223, *T* no. 365)

Onjōji denki provides little more than this list of shrines and the scriptures which are either recited on behalf of each shrine during ritual occasions, or, perhaps, the sort of exegetical expertise monastics might lecture about when they travel to these shrines to make offerings and perform rituals. *Jimon denki horoku*, on the other hand, provides the relevant historiographical data about each shrine and information about why there is a special connection to Miidera monastics.

It is difficult to imagine that any association between one of these *kami* shrine-temple complexes and Miidera could be more significant than the legendary connection between Enchin and the Ōyamakui statue of Matsuo shrine. Not only does *Jimon denki horoku* contain the story of when Enchin visited Matsuo, which we know may have resulted in the commissioning of the larger Ōyamakui statue, but we also have Enchin's biography, which was evidently completed less than ten years after Enchin's death.[62] The substance of the story is as follows:

> During the tenth month of 846 (Jōwa 承和 13), Enchin visited Matsuo shrine and made a vow that on the eighth day of the fifth and tenth lunar months, the head of Hiei shrine would visit Matsuo and give lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Book of Buddha Names*,

[61] This almost certainly refers to a *jingūji* in the northern Iwakura 岩倉 part of northern Kyoto. I am grateful to James Robson for suggesting this site.

[62] Itō, *Matsuno'o Taisha No Shin'ei*, 57. The full title of this biography is *Enryakuji zasu Enchin den* 延暦寺座主円珍傳. Emuseum, '延暦寺座主円珍伝', suggests a date of 902; the manuscript copy dates to 1220.4.20.

> and various other Mahāyāna sūtras. Because he remembered this vow throughout his life, he went [to Matsuo] and gave a lecture to commence the lecture series. They celebrate this occasion at Matsuo during the fourth and eleventh months on the first *shin* 申 day.[63]

One of the copies of a document written by Enchin in 863 (Monday, December 27, 863 [Jōgan 5.11.13]), *Enchin denpō kugen wo kō sōshōan* 円珍請伝法公験奏状案, seems to contain further evidence that because he visited Matsuo on [Saturday] December 4, 840 (Jōgan 7.11.7) and made offerings to the deity enshrined at Hiei shrine and made a vow there, he was visited three times while in China by Ōyamakui.[64]

A little more than a century after Enchin returned from China, apparently motivated to visit Matsuo shrine and deliver lectures there because he was visited by Ōyamakui while looking for books and esoteric Buddhist teaching on the continent, both of the diaries written by Fujiwara Munetada and Minamoto no Morotoki, *Chūyūki* 中右記 and *Chōshūki* 長秋記, respectively, mention strange happenings connected to the statue 'commissioned by Chishō daishi' at Matsuo shrine.[65] Whether or not these eminent statesmen's musing can be viewed as proof that Enchin had the statue of Ōyamakui commissioned upon his return from China and subsequent visit to follow through on his vow to lecture there is, of course, almost impossible to verify. On the one hand, the fact that the larger Ōyamakui statue is considerably older than other statues associated with Enchin (e.g., Shinra Myōjin and a possible image of Fudō Myōō 不動明王 [Acalanātha]), coupled with the noticeably more sublime composi-

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[63] *Jimon denki horoku* 5 *NBZ* 787.86.142a. The Sinitic characters read as follows: 智證大師實錄曰。承和十三年冬十月。和尚為上翊聖主下鎮率土。於松尾明神社發誓願云。願我每年五月八日十月八日。於比叡明神社頭講演法華佛名等大乘經。以為一生之事。自於彼社始修講事。當社祭祀每年四月上申。臨時祭十一月同日. See *Jimon denki horoku* 5 *NBZ* 787.86.142a for corroboration of the text in Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki's biography of Enchin.

[64] *Jimon denki horoku* 5 *NBZ* 787.86.142a, 58.

[65] *Jimon denki horoku* 5 *NBZ* 787.86.142a, 56–58.

tion of the image, certainly seems to suggest the distinct possibility that we are looking at an image from an earlier stage in the development of esoteric Buddhist-inspired art in Japan. On the other hand, everything the Jimon-ha Tendai tradition said about what Enchin learned and obtained in China indicates that the larger Ōyamakui image from Matsuo shrine could not have been commissioned by an advocate or practitioner of esoteric Buddhist rituals. These rituals figure significantly in the catalogs he is given credit for compiling in the monastic libraries of ninth-century Tang China when his relative compatriot, Ennin, seems to have found this task quite challenging, only two decades earlier.

Conclusion: Can We See Continental Connections?

It is clear that connections linking Miidera with Matsuo *kami* shrine-temple complex—as well as its sub-shrines, specifically Tsuki-yomi—became an essential aspect of the collective identity for shrine priests (and monastics) there for several hundred years. The presence of a manuscript Buddhist canon with scores of colophons from the twelfth-century telling us how active Miidera monastics were in the continual process to sustain a hand-copied canon in a climate sometimes as deleterious as Kyoto's can be, as well as the colophon from a 1558 copy of the [Mahāyāna] **Pravāraṇa-sūtra*, indicate the extent to which people associated with Matsuo were invested in maintaining and promoting a connection to the Jimon-ha Tendai patriarch, Enchin, at Matsuo shrine-temple complex. Nearly two dozen twelfth-century statues from Matsuo and its sub-shrines, at least two of which were commissioned by Hata no Yorichika, who also ordered the copying of scriptures and commentaries for the canon his father began, demonstrate that we need to be very careful with the terms we use to describe institutional religious boundaries that are, in all likelihood, far more relevant today than they were during either the ninth or twelfth centuries in Japan. Therefore, I conclude that these are neither 'Shinto' or Buddhist. Neither designation seems to be accurate. However, it is plausible that Enchin did commission the larger Ōyamakui image and thereby initiate perhaps a tradition of

kami-Buddhist statuary at Matsuo shrine. However, it would require far more research into the existing material evidence for the other shrine-temple complexes in Kyoto, such as Iwashimizu, Kamo, and certainly Fushimi Inari, another Hata clan shrine-temple complex tied to Tōji 東寺 and the Tōmitsu esoteric tradition, instead of the Taimitsu, Miidera ritual system.

There are nine other sacred sites mentioned in both *Onjōji denki* and *Jimon denki horoku* not mentioned here because they speak to a subject about which I am unfamiliar and find it difficult to connect with Matsuo and its patronage in the center, Kyoto, from aristocrats and the imperial family. Shugendō 修驗道 and mountain shrine-temples that Miyake Hitoshi wrote about seem to be a world away from the sponsorship described in this paper.[66] It may be worth noting that Fushimi Inari is among the list of eight sites I did not mention. It appears from the texts I read, they are considered peripheral in the sense that they are not located in the capital. Given the surplus of Inari shrines in Japan since the early Edo period, however, it certainly stands to reason that they—and the linkage to the Hata clan Fushimi Inari shrine—may be part of the peripheral—though far from marginal—network of *kami* worship-come-esoteric Buddhist rituals that took shape among the objects and in the contexts I discussed here.

There is one other remaining question which requires further attention and consideration: can we find anything in the evidence from medieval Japan that might tell us more about Chinese or East Asian Buddhist art and how non-Buddhist deities were worshipped by Buddhists on the continent? There can be no question that the evidence we have from Japanese travel accounts in ninth century China stand apart from sources we have from the continent. Is it possible that the images under review here are considerably inspired by continental patterns of non-Buddhist—possibly Daoist or local—religious antecedents? Given how weighty the matter of continental transmission is within the narrative of Tendaishū (and almost all other Japanese Buddhist traditions) historiography, if Enchin was inspired to commission a statue of Ōyamakui after his return from

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[66] See Miyake and Earhart, *Shugendō*; Miyake, 'Japanese Mountain Religion'.

China, or someone else was inspired to have it made because they listened to his lecture(s) at Matsuo *jingūji*, can we view this and the other statues as distinctively Japanese, rather than East Asian? The role protector deities—*chinju kami*, *gohōjin*, *myōjin*, or *myōō*—play in the religious system that closely connects Matsuo with Miidera and the Tendai tradition must have correlations in China and Korea. One point, however, is clear: almost every example I presented here has almost nothing to do with the transmission of esoteric Buddhism within the context of Matsuo *jingūji*. Perhaps our continental sources have something to tell us about how we consider medieval Japanese religion because, in China and Korea during the ninth through the twelfth centuries, as is well known, esoteric Buddhist rituals and lineages of ācārya, *per se*, did not lead or guide the religious professionals as we so often assume they did in Japan.

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