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Jingi kōshiki

A Neglected Field of Study

One-sixth of the known works of the *kōshiki* genre belong to the category of *jingi kōshiki*, which make non-Buddhist divinities their central objects of worship and thereby integrate them into Buddhist doctrine and practice. Appearing 210 years after the first works of the genre were composed, this subgenre is not one of the oldest, but it is the category that contains the greatest number of works, a fact that makes this group extremely important for an understanding of the genre of *kōshiki* as a whole. Nevertheless, the study of *jingi kōshiki* has remained the most neglected field of research among those related to *kōshiki*. This article examines specific problems faced when attempting to grasp the character of *jingi kōshiki*, while maintaining a steady focus on the development of the genre as a whole.

KEYWORDS: Buddhist rites—*kōshiki*—*honji suijaku*—Meiji—*shinbutsu bunri*

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JINGI KŌSHIKI 神祇講式 comprise one of the four major varieties of *kōshiki* 講式 in addition to those for buddhas—*kōshiki* about bodhisattvas (62 works), devas (56 works), *jingi* 神祇 (64 works), and patriarchs (52 works)—that together account for more than 60 percent of the entire corpus. *Jingi kōshiki*, *kōshiki* dealing with divinities, are part of a Buddhist tradition also found in other regional manifestations of Buddhism that attempts to integrate non-Buddhist elements into Buddhist doctrine and practice. Such efforts are well evident in Indian Buddhism, and also an important part of Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism.

There are strong intertextual relations between *jingi kōshiki* and other “pure” Buddhist *kōshiki* that make it extremely important to study *jingi kōshiki* as an integral part of the whole genre. *Jingi kōshiki* were a major part of everyday practice in Buddhist temples in medieval and premodern times, up to the Meiji Restoration, during which most forms of combinatory worship were deliberately abolished. As a result, most temples were prohibited from practicing rites that were now declared as “Shinto.” Ritual texts were destroyed or relocated. Complex religious sites were dismembered. In some cases, however, the actual unity of these parts remain evident even today.

The effect of this politically inspired separation was destructive. Many of the ritual texts were lost or destroyed and those that remain cannot easily be linked to the original environment where they were used. Only some of the great temples such as Daigoji Sanbōin 醍醐寺三宝院 or Shōren’in 青蓮院, which stood under the protection of the imperial family, maintained their scriptures untouched and have kept them sealed to the present. But more disastrous than the physical destruction of sculptures, pictures, and texts was the intellectual impact of the state’s orders. Buddhist scholars started to ignore their own tradition, a tradition that can be traced back over a span of eight hundred years or more. What escaped the destruction became the object of a nationalistic reinterpretation by self-proclaimed Shinto scholars, who consistently ignored the Buddhist context. The only appreciable result of their studies is the sporadic publication of ritual texts that would otherwise not be accessible.

The sub-genre of *jingi kōshiki* reveals much about the inclusive nature of Japan’s premodern Buddhist tradition, as well as the textual formation and locally embedded performances of the *kōshiki* genre as a whole. In this article I will not solve all problems concerning *jingi kōshiki*. My aim is to give a survey of the genre and the problems entailed in it, and to show how this variety is linked to *kōshiki* as a whole. I will try to define and to date the subject, then explain the

major sources and show its practice in the present time. In the last part of the article, I will question some of the problems that are not peculiar to *jingi kōshiki*, but to *kōshiki* (as texts) as a whole: the relation between the texts and lay organizations, between the texts and art objects, and the intertextual relation between different *kōshiki*.

Defining Jingi kōshiki

What are *jingi kōshiki*? No one has defined the term, but there are two systematic approaches, which differ slightly depending on how *jingi kōshiki* are viewed. One approach, as reflected in the *Kōshiki Database* (GUELBERG 1997–2016), defines *jingi kōshiki* as works with a non-Buddhist spiritual or spirit entity (divinity) as their central object of worship (*honzon* 本尊). These are divinities that were typically integrated into the Buddhist practice as a manifestation—*suijaku* 垂迹 (manifest traces) or *keshin* 化身 (avatars)—of a buddha, bodhisattva, deva, or *vidyā-rāja* (wisdom kings; Jp. *myōō* 明王). Devas and *vidyā-rājas* are mostly of non-Buddhist origin, but this point is not a matter of concern for Japanese Buddhism as they were already integral parts of the system when Buddhism was imported from China and the Korean peninsula.

It is quite important to note that this definition says nothing about the location or origin of the central object of worship. Entities that medieval people called *kami* were not limited to those of Japanese origin. Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232), for example, was quite conscious of selecting three *kami* from different countries—Byakkō 白光 from India, Zenmyō 善妙 from China, and Kasuga 春日 from Japan—as the guardian deities of his temple, Kōzanji 高山寺. The guardian deity of Miidera 三井寺, Shinra myōjin 新羅明神, guarded Ennin 円仁 (ca. 793–864) on his journey back from China and is, as the name indicates (Shinra = Silla), of Korean origin. A similar case is the guardian deity of Daigoji, Seiryū (or alternatively Seiryō) Gongen 青龍権現, which was brought by Kūkai 空海 (774–835) back from China. According to the *Daigoji engi* 醍醐寺縁起, the deity revealed in the year 902 that she, a daughter of the dragon king Sāgara, had once lived as a blue dragon in the temple of Kūkai's teacher Huiguo 惠果 (746–805). After receiving the precepts from Kūkai, she followed him and guarded him on his way over the sea. Seiryū Gongen was worshipped in several *kōshiki*, the oldest work dating to the late thirteenth century. Some of the *kami* are wanderers who move back and forth between several lands. For example, in the *Kasekison nōke kōshiki* 嘉石尊能化講式 [373],¹ a text published in 1864 by the temple Dōunji 洞雲寺 in Ichigaya 市ヶ谷 (now Tokyo), the story is told of

1. All references to *kōshiki* by bracketed numbers such as “[373]” are to the entry numbers in my *Kōshiki Database*; see <http://www.f.waseda.jp/guelberg/koshiki/datenb-j.htm> (GUELBERG 1997–2016).

a powerful stone that had been brought back from Sakhalin and presented to the temple by Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正 (1562–1611). According to the *kōshiki*, Yoshitsune fled from his enemies to the Ezo territory of Sakhalin, transformed his spirit into a local deity on Mt. Kamui, the “tree-walnut deity” (*kigurumigami* 木久留美神), and then had his body travel to Mongolia to become the great king of the Mongolians, Genghis Khan. Over the ages the tree turned into a powerful stone (*reiseki* 靈石). Despite the clear fictional nature of these narratives, these accounts became real to devotees on the ground. This kind of belief conflicted with the ideological agenda of the nationalistic reinterpretation that was widespread during the early Meiji years; even today it is seen as a kind of folklore, not as a religion.

A second approach for defining this category of *kōshiki* can be seen in the CD-ROM package *Kōyasan kōshiki shū* 高野山講式集 (KŌYASAN DAIGAKU FUZOKU KŌYASAN TOSHOKAN SHOZŌ 2001). The *Kōyasan kōshiki shū* is the greatest Japanese contribution to the field of *kōshiki* studies because it provides us with more than 240² manuscripts and old woodblock prints of works on a wide range of topics. What I classify as *jingi kōshiki* is divided in the *Kōyasan kōshiki shū* into two groups: the *suijaku* group, which contains fifteen works, seven of them dedicated to the guardian deities of Mt. Kōya; and the *jingi* group, which contains eleven works, nine of them with the word *jingi* in their title. It is not entirely clear why dividing the category into two groups was deemed necessary.

In my definition, either name, *jingi kōshiki* or *suijaku kōshiki*, would be appropriate. One work, the first in the *jingi* group (*Gohonji santan shiki* 御本地讃嘆式), is in fact a partial abridgement of the third work in the *suijaku* group (*Kasuga Gongen kōshiki* 春日権現講式). A more interesting question is, what do these approaches include or exclude under their rubrics? The *Kōyasan kōshiki shū*'s *suijaku* group includes a *Hotei kōshiki* 布袋講式, a very old manuscript from the late thirteenth century. Budai 布袋 (Jp. Hotei) was the nickname of the monk Qici 契此, so I have considered him a member of the Buddhist Sangha and placed the *Hotei kōshiki* in the category of eminent monks in the database that I developed. The *Hotei kōshiki* does share some similarities with other *jingi kōshiki*: Hotei had already been transformed into a kind of lucky god and is said to have been an incarnation of Maitreya (Jp. Miroku 弥勒), but these elements can also be found in other works about eminent monks such as Gyōgi 行基 (668–749), Jie Daishi Ryōgen 慈恵大師良源 (912–985), and En no Gyōja 役行者 (seventh century), or laymen who were counted as eminent monks such as Prince Shōtoku 聖徳 (572–622) and Emperor Shōmu 聖武 (701–756). A second work, which I did not include under the term *jingi kōshiki* but that is listed among

2. The editors numbered 234 items, but there are some items that do not contain *kōshiki* but only *kōshiki*-related materials. On the other hand, there are items that contain more than one work.

the *Kōyasan kōshiki shū*'s *suijaku* group, is the *Kakinomoto kōshiki* 柿本講式. This work has the late seventh-century Japanese poet Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂 (ca. 662–710) as its central object of worship, and displays some of the formal elements of a *kōshiki*, but Hitomaro is not related to a Buddha or bodhisattva. *Kakinomoto kōshiki* is a version of a Chinese ceremony in which Japanese literati worshipped Confucius twice a year and wrote Chinese poems, the *sekiten* (also *shakuten*) 積奠. The *kōshiki* elements are used as a literary form to distinguish it from its Confucian counterpart.

Beginnings

It is difficult to determine when a tradition that was destroyed by political forces began because we are left only scattered remains. The oldest examples of *jingi kōshiki* date to the beginning of the thirteenth century. These include texts composed by eminent figures, such as Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213), Myōe, Jien 慈円 (1155–1225), and Sugawara no Tamenaga 菅原為長 (1155–1246). The first three also authored other *kōshiki*, especially Jōkei whose works became models for later generations. Jōkei authored several works about *Kasuga daimyōjin* 春日大明神, the guardian deities of Kōfukuji 興福寺, the temple with which he was affiliated in Nara. While none of these works are clearly datable through colophons, I published a brief research paper in 1995 that established a relative chronology between these works based on internal evidence. I date the *Betsugan kōshiki* 別願講式 to 1195 and the *Kasuga Gongen kōshiki* ten years later. Though not datable with precision, two other *kōshiki* can be dated approximately in between.³ This chronology has become widely accepted. The date of the first work is certain because the *Betsugan kōshiki* was written at the same time as Jōkei's *Kasuga daimyōjin hotsuganmon* 春日大明神發願文 (Vow of the August Deity of Kasuga).⁴ This date—the year 1195—is at present the earliest known example of a *jingi kōshiki* in Japanese history. So based on the documents thus far discovered, it appears that the earliest example of this category of *kōshiki* appeared at the end of the twelfth century, two hundred and ten years after the first appearance of *kōshiki* in Japanese history.

Sources

There are two major sources for *kōshiki*, which are also the two major sources for *jingi kōshiki*, the *Gyosan sōsho* 魚山叢書, and the *kōshiki* materials from Kōyasan Kongōsanmaiin 高野山金剛三昧院. These are our primary sources because, first, they are primary collections, and, second, they are accessible for research. Other

3. See GUELBERG (1995) and some additional material in GUELBERG (2001).

4. FORD (2006) discusses this text in detail.

primary collections such as Kōzanji, Tōji Kanchiin 東寺觀智院, or Daigoji provide only limited access. The largest research collection of *kōshiki* is found at the Research Institute for Japanese Music Historiography, Ueno Gakuen University, which holds more than two hundred items; but it is a secondary collection, which makes it difficult to determine how these texts were used in their original environment.⁵ Because of their accessibility, these two major sources have had a significant impact on our understanding of the genre, but we have to consider that both collections were made for a special purpose that is quite different from the purpose and use of *kōshiki* in other temples.

Gyosan sōsho is a collection of *shōmyō* 声明 materials, compiled by Kakushū Ajari 覚秀阿闍梨 (1817–1883), a specialist of Buddhist vocal music. Kakushū based his collection on previous collections compiled by his predecessors such as Sōen 宗淵 (1786–1859) and built his collection by copying manuscripts, mainly from surrounding temples in Ōhara, northeast of Kyoto. Kakushū's collection includes nearly 190 volumes that are divided into different sections (*bu* 部) and preserved in six boxes named after the sense organs (eye, ear, nose, tongue, and so on). Due to the courtesy of the late Amano Denchū 天納傳中 (1925–2002), I had, in the early 1990s, a chance to examine the “tongue” box, which contains the *kōshiki* section with 131 items in eighteen subsections. The collected data became the starting point for the *Kōshiki Database*.⁶ Kakushū's work dates from his earliest copies of the *Nijūgo zanmai shiki* 二十五三昧式 in 1840 to a late copy of the *Chion kōshiki* 知恩講式 the year before his death in 1882. That means that his work preserves a tradition that existed directly before and during the destruction of the early Meiji years. Most of his texts are in the tradition of Tendai Buddhism, the school to which he belonged; but as a professional musician he was also interested in texts by authors from other schools. For example, the *Chion kōshiki* praises Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), founder of the Jōdo school. And the text whose copying immediately predates it is the *Hōon kōshiki* 報恩講式, praising Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1263), the founder of the Jōdo Shin school. Also in the collection are copies of Myōe's *Shiza kōshiki* 四座講式, *kōshiki* by Kakuban 覚鑊 (1095–1143) and Jōkei, as well as secular works such as the *Kakinomoto kōshiki*. This does not mean that all these texts were performed as daily religious practice; they are instead a kind of musical repertoire. Kakushū appears to have been unconcerned about where and under what conditions these texts were originally used. He has nineteen texts of works in his collection that, according to my definition, would be classified as *jingi kōshiki*. These include six

5. A complete catalogue of these *kōshiki* materials was published in 2006 as one volume of the Nishōgakusha University Twenty-First Century COE Program (see TANAKA 2006).

6. It should be noted that there are further *kōshiki* and *kōshiki*-related materials in other sections, which I have not researched.

works on the guardian deities of Mt. Hiei, three on Kitano Tenjin 北野天神, two on Hakusan Gongen 白山権現, and one work each featuring Ebumi Tenjin 江文天神, the deities of the Taga 多賀 Shrine, Danzan Gongen 談山権現, Kumano Gongen 熊野権現, the deities of Sumiyoshi 住吉, Iwashimizu Hachiman 岩清水八幡, Kasuga Gongen, and *jingi* in general.

The second major source, much older than Kakushū's collection, dates back to the middle of the Muromachi period in the early fifteenth century with some later additions. The collection of Kongōsanmaiin is the core of the 234 items in the above-mentioned *Kōyasan kōshiki shū*. A look at the list of texts shows that the range of works used in other temples of Mt. Kōya is very limited (*Myōjin kōshiki* 明神講式, *Myōe's Busshōe kōshiki* 仏生会講式, *Shiza kōshiki*, and a few others), but this group represents the *kōshiki* commonly used at Mt. Kōya, while the Kongōsanmaiin collection is a special collection built over the centuries by a group of professional musicians. The *Kōyasan kōshiki shū* has fifteen texts in its *suijaku* group, seven of them from Kongōsanmaiin (one of them is, as I noted above, not a *jingi kōshiki* according to my definition). The *Kōyasan kōshiki shū's jingi* group includes eleven texts, seven from Kongōsanmaiin; so we have twenty-five *jingi kōshiki* as a whole, and thirteen that were used at Kongōsanmaiin.⁷

A valuable source is the first item of the *Kōyasan kōshiki shū*: a one-leaf document called the *Shoshiki nikki* 諸式日記 (also *Kōshiki nikki* 講式日記, as named by the editors of the CD-ROM). It is dated Eikyō 6 (1434) and was written by the monk Yūsai 宥濟 (1368–1453). Yūsai is listed as the twenty-fifth abbot (*chōrō* 長老) of Kongōsanmaiin, where he lived from 1428 until his death. The document was expanded by a second hand, perhaps in later centuries. While technically not a diary, Yūsai's document records *kōshiki* titles that he read in the summer of 1434—including several *jingi kōshiki*. An exciting aspect of the list is that most of the works mentioned are extant. At that time, there were three boxes of *kōshiki* at Kongōsanmaiin, and Yūsai's record concerns the content of the first two boxes. On the nineteenth day of the fifth month, he started his reading of the texts in the first box, reading forty-two texts in the forty-nine days up to the seventh day of the seventh month. On that day he started with the second box and read twenty-seven additional works. Although he did not note when he finished his reading, he left space at the end of his document suggesting that he may have intended to go through all three boxes but was perhaps interrupted in his work. The order of Yūsai's reading seems to be random: on the nineteenth day, the day of the goat in the traditional calendar, he began his reading with the *Chūjitsu*

7. There are three additional *jingi kōshiki* in other groups: in the Bodhisattva group, no. 13 contains a *Jizō kōshiki* and a *kōshiki* about the guardian deities of Mt. Kōya as a second text; in the mixed group (*sono ta* その他) there is a *Tenjin kōshiki* as the second text of a manuscript with several *kōshiki*-related texts (no. 22) and the *Chūjitsu kōshiki*, the first text Yūsai read (no. 25).

kōshiki 丑日講式, the “*kōshiki* of the day of the ox,” a *kōshiki* dedicated to the divinities of the Kibune 貴船 Shrine. He did read some works in an orderly fashion. For example, he read all texts related to the *Nijūgo zanmai shiki* in sequence (title numbers 2 to 4), followed by two groups of works on the bodhisattva Kanzeon 觀世音 (title numbers 5 to 9) and on Buddha relics (title numbers 10 to 18). But in other cases, works on the same topic are not found in the same group. Examples include texts devoted to Maitreya (title numbers 23, 24, and 37), the *Lotus Sutra* (second box, title numbers 14 and 19), and Mt. Ṛḍhrakūṭa (second box, title numbers 20, 22, and 25). At times, Yūsai links works of different content because of their similar titles. For example, the *Hōon kōshiki* (title number 28) is a biographical text on Hōnen, but *Chūshū hōon kōshiki* 中宗報恩講式 (title number 29) is a history of the Consciousness-Only school of Buddhism in India, China, and Japan. The scribe responsible for the second hand utilized Yūsai’s record as a catalogue to check the old manuscripts. For some titles, he notes that a manuscript is missing, for example, a *Waka kōshiki* 和歌講式 (second box, title number 4), a *Kashō daishi kōshiki* 嘉祥大師講式 (second box, title number 15), a *Hachimān kōshiki* 八幡講式 (second box, title number 12), a *Sannō kōshiki* 山王講式 (second box, title number 18), and one of the three *Sanki kō* 三婦講 (title numbers 25 to 27). For some titles, he indicated with numbers that there was more than one manuscript of the same text, and he gave alternative readings (outer title instead of the inner title). This unknown scribe also used the remaining blank space on the left to record other works in possession of Kongōsanmaiin that had not been recorded by Yūsai, such as the two *Benzaiten kōshiki* 弁財天講式 manuscripts, one from 1622 and the other from 1668. The same calligraphy as that seen in these amendments can also be seen in other manuscripts from Kongōsanmaiin, some with a stamped seal on the cover by one Kuri Shōun 久利性畔 (1873–1939), who—as the date of the seals show—sorted and repaired his library in the summer of 1918.

It is important for an understanding of the *Shoshiki nikki* to see not only what Yūsai recorded, but also to see what he left out. He did not record any of the works one would expect from a monk living on Mt. Kōya. It is highly doubtful that Yūsai was unaware of these “usual” works. His reading of sixty-nine *kōshiki* during the three months of the summer of 1434 was an exceptional practice, something like a crash course in Buddhist vocal music. In the manner of Kakushū, Yūsai also included in his list this-worldly works such as the *Waka kōshiki* (perhaps identical with the work [304]) and the *Ongaku kōshiki* 音楽講式 ([3061]). Although he did not include the guardian deities of Mt. Kōya whose *kōshiki* are classified as *jingi kōshiki*, he did include guardian deities of other temples and shrines. Examples include: Kibune (title number 1: the *Chūjitsu kōshiki*), Kitano 北野 (title number 35: the *Tenjin kōshiki* 天神講式), Yoshino Kinpusenji 吉野金峰山寺 (second box, title number 6: the *Zaō kōshiki* 藏王講式), Kōfukuji/Kasuga

(second box, title number 7: the *Gohonji santanshiki*, title number 11: the *Betsugan shiki*; title number 16: the *Gongen kōshiki* 権現講式), Usa 宇佐 (second box, title number 12: the *Hachiman kōshiki*), Mt. Hiei (second box, title number 18: the *Sannō kōshiki*), and Atsuta 熱田 (second box, title number 23: the *Atsuta myōjin kōshiki* 熱田明神講式). Seven of these nine *jingi kōshiki* are extant and included in the *Kōyasan kōshiki shū*.

Mansai, A Medieval Practitioner of kōshiki

The most explicit source on the use of *kōshiki* in the ritual context of a religious institution is the diary of the high-ranking Shingon cleric Mansai 滿濟 (1378–1435). His diary, the *Mansai jugō nikki* 滿濟准后日記, is a sizable document—forty-nine volumes written in the author’s hand—and a well-known primary source for the politics of the early Ashikaga 足利 shogunate, reflecting the fact that Mansai was adopted by the third shogun Yoshimitsu 義滿 (1358–1408) and became a spiritual leader and political adviser for two later shoguns, Yoshimochi 義持 (1386–1428) and Yoshinori 義教 (1394–1441).⁸ But Mansai’s diary is more than a source of political history. It contains several hundred records of performances of *kōshiki* between the year 1413 and the last record three and a half months before his death in 1435. Most other medieval sources provide only the titles of the performed works (as in the above-mentioned *Shoshiki nikki*), but Mansai sometimes commented on the performers, authors, and structure of the works.

Mansai came from an aristocratic family of high-ranking court nobles. His father, Imakōji Motofuyu 今小路基冬 (1341–1382), died when Mansai was only five years old, so his older brother Morofuyu 師冬 adopted him. Due to the good relations between Morofuyu’s wife and the wife of the shogun Yoshimitsu, Mansai was later adopted by Yoshimitsu, who promoted the career of his protégé. At the age of eighteen, Mansai became abbot of one of the main temples in Daigoji, the Sanbōin, and in the same year (1395), was promoted to the post of the abbot (*zasu* 座主) of Daigoji.

The records of Mansai’s *kōshiki* practice change over time. In the first five years of the preserved records, he seems eager to record all of his performances, even the regular rites that were performed every month. In later records, these monthly events are rarely noted. In the years 1426 and 1427, some rites, such as the *Higan shari kō* 彼岸舍利講 and the *Shiza kō*, are described in great detail, just like the regulations that are usually called *hossoku* 法則 (procedures). A standard monthly program included the following rites:

8. An edition of the *Mansai jugō nikki* in two volumes can be found in *Zoku gunsho ruiju hōi*, vols. 1 and 2 (see ŌTA 1928).

- for the first three days of a month, Mansai performed a *Seiryū kō* 清瀧講
- on the twenty-fourth day he performed a *Jizō kō* 地藏講
- on the twenty-fifth day he performed a *Tenjin kō* 天神講
- on the last day of the month, on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, he performed a *Shari kō* 舍利講

The earliest records detail this standard program. In later years, Mansai added a *Bishamon kō* 毘沙門講 to the rites of the first day of the month. Most of these rites have something of a private character as they were performed at Mansai's residence.

Half of the regular rites held by Mansai, including the *Tenjin kō* and the *Seiryū kō*, can be classified as *jingi kōshiki*. The *Tenjin kō* was performed with court music as a so-called *kangen kō* 管絃講 and was accompanied by a dance performance. Sometimes the rite was followed by a contest of writing poems to entertain the deity (*hōraku* 法樂), the deified Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903). The *Tenjin kō* was usually performed at Hōshin'in 法身院, a temple adjacent to the imperial palace. Mansai called Hōshin'in "the *monzeki* in the capital" (*kyō monzeki* 京門跡). It was a training site (*dōjō* 道場) for monks, but also—due to its location—a place to communicate with the court and Bakufu. The shogun even used the Hōshin'in for the changing of clothes. These performances of the *Tenjin kō* were also open to the broader public.

Mansai provides no detailed description of a *Seiryū kō*, but we can surmise that the three-day rite included a reading of one of the extant *Seiryū kōshiki* 清瀧講式 (there are two different works that can both be dated back to the mid or late thirteenth century). A third *jingi kōshiki*, mentioned several times in the *nikki*, is the *Gosha kō* 五社講, a rite for the five shrines in Ise 伊勢, Iwashimizu, Kasuga, Kitano, and Daigoji. In the early records from the years 1413/1414 (Ōei 20), Mansai mentions the rite on different days, specifically the twenty-first and twenty-seventh day of the eighth month of Ōei 20 (1413) or the 28th day of the ninth month of Ōei 21 (1414). In later accounts, starting with the year 1419, the rite is always performed on the eighteenth day of various months—for example Ōei 26/9/18 (1419), Ōei 31/1/18 (1424), Ōei 34/6/18 (1427)—but the last record in 1432 mentions that the eighteenth day is the start of a five-day rite, namely on Eikyō 4/5/18. Three times it is mentioned that the rite was performed at the Kongōrin'in 金剛輪院, a subtemple of Daigoji erected by Tsūkai 通海. The Kongōrin'in is also the place where the above-mentioned *Higan shari kō* was performed. But on other occasions it is not clear where the rite was performed, and on Ōei 21/9/28 (1414) the rite was definitely performed at another location, Omuro.⁹ The record of this Omuro performance also mentions that the rite was accompanied by

9. Omuro 御室 may be a placename or/and a nickname for Eijo Hōshinnō (1362–1437), who lived at the Ninnaji Omuro.

wind instruments like *fue* 笛 (flute), *shō* 笙 (mouth organ), and *hichiriki* 篳篥 (a double-reed instrument). The record of Eikyō 3/3/18 (1431) states that the *kōshiki* text used in this rite was written by Tsūkai. Tsūkai is known as the author of a *Seiryū Gongen kōshiki* 清滝権現講式, written in 1297 ([259]), so it is quite possible that he wrote a second work on a similar theme. No manuscript of the two extant types of *Gosha kōshiki* mentions Tsūkai as the author, but he could well be the author of a work [260] that in its five parts describes the shrines of Amaterasu 天照, Hachiman, Kasuga, Tenjin, and Seiryū.

In the above, we have seen Mansai as a practitioner of *kōshiki*. We also learned that the *Tenjin kō* was open to the broader public. Other rites that we know about—two kinds of *Shari kō*, a *Jizō kō*, and a *Bishamon kō*, which were “pure” Buddhist rites, and the two *jingi kōshiki*—were limited to the members of his temple. There is no evidence that Mansai distinguished between these two kinds of *kōshiki*; *jingi kōshiki* were an essential part of his practice.

Monastic Confraternities and jingi kōshiki: The Case of Jien (1155–1225)

To perform a *kōshiki*, it is necessary to assemble members of a group who are organized in a *kō*, of which there are two types: closed groups with a limited number of members and groups open to new or interchangeable members. The first type binds its members with a contract that specifies the goals of the *kō* and the duties and rights of its members. To remind the members of their duties, the reading of the contract was part of the regular (often monthly) rite.

Only one fully documented contract of a *kō* is currently extant, that being the contract for the members of the oldest *kō* in Japanese history, the *Nijūgo zanmai*. It exists in two versions, a first draft from the year 986 (Kanna 2/9/15) and a slightly revised and enlarged version from the year 988 (Eien 2/6/15). The contract includes the following regulations:

- Each meeting starts with a lecture on a commentary on the *Lotus Sutra*.
- After the lecture, the contract is read aloud to remind the members of their duties.
- Through the night, the members practice the invocation of the name of Amida, a reading of the short *Amida Sutra*, and a transfer of merit: the reading of one of the six parts of the *kōshiki* text. This practice continues until dawn.

Following these detailed regulations for the monthly meeting, the contract lists additional rules, such as:

- Members are obliged to help each other, especially in case of sickness and on their deathbeds. Violations of the rules result in expulsion from the *kō*.

- Membership is limited to twenty-five members, and new members are admitted only when a current member dies or is expelled.

While later medieval *kō* organizations may not have been as stringent in maintaining a strict membership, the *Nijūgo zanmai* clearly served as a model for later organizations. Jien, son of the regent Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097–1164) and younger brother of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207), was a fervent practitioner of the *Nijūgo zanmai*. In 1183, Kanezane and his wife attended a *Nijūgo zanmai* that Jien practiced with eight of his disciples at Hosshōji 法性寺, the family temple of the Kujō erected by Tadamichi. Kanezane noted in his diary *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 on Jūei 2/8/15 (1183) that Jien had already practiced the *Nijūgo zanmai* for a long time in his own residence (Itō 1974, 309–10). In later years Jien fixed the practice of the *Nijūgo zanmai* as one of the monthly rites that were performed at the Daisenpōin 大懺法院, a temple where he lived after 1208. Four years before his death, in 1221 (Jōkyū 3/8/1), Jien wrote his last will and requested that a *Nijūgo zanmai* be practiced as his memorial rite (*tsuizen kuyō* 追善供養). An anonymous and undated commentary on the *Lotus Sutra* and *Amida Sutra* written for Jien's *Nijūgo zanmai* shows us that Jien followed the original regulations in detail.¹⁰

Not only was Jien a fervent practitioner, but he also possessed administrative skills that allowed him to become the first person in Japanese history to be named the abbot (*zasu* 座主) of the Tendai school on four different occasions. During his first tenure in the office (1192–1196), Jien started a new *kō* association designed to improve scholastic learning and to bring together the feuding factions of his community—3,000 monks, as he always stressed.¹¹ In Jien's time, the late-Heian and early-Kamakura periods, most of the large temples suffered from internal conflicts of interest from competing monastic factions. In addition to this mediating function, Jien saw the *kō* as a tool for establishing new organizational patterns as well as for fundraising. In 1195/6, he initiated the *Tendai kangaku kō* 天台勸学講, a one-week workshop on Tendai scholarship, funded by a large annual donation of one thousand *koku* 石 by Shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝. The program was structured over six days with lectures on commentaries of the *Vimalakirti Sutra* and *Nirvana Sutra* and esoteric rites performed on the last seventh day. These events took place in the Daijōin 大乘院, a subtemple in the Mudōji 無動寺, which had been erected by his brother Kanezane and then served as Jien's residence. The one hundred members, divided between forty leaders (*sendatsu* 先達) and sixty general members (*kōshu* 講衆), were chosen according to their ability, not by birth or rank. Nevertheless, as

10. A commentary on the *Amida Sutra* from an undated manuscript by the Tōdaiji monk Shūshō 宗性 was edited by SATŌ Tetsuei (1979, 481–82).

11. At the same time, Jōkei could only count 1,300 monks in the Kōfukuji community.

shown below, the distribution of posts reflected the power relations on Mt. Hiei in Jien's time with the Eastern and Western pagodas dominating:

Eastern pagoda (Tōtō 東塔)	<i>sendatsu</i> 18, <i>kōshu</i> 28
Mudōji	<i>sendatsu</i> 2, <i>kōshu</i> 2
Western pagoda (Saitō 西塔)	<i>sendatsu</i> 12, <i>kōshu</i> 18
Yokawa 横川	<i>sendatsu</i> 7, <i>kōshu</i> 12

The *Tendai kangaku kō* was held from the first to the seventh day of the tenth month. The forty leaders were divided into two groups, which alternately led the session for a day. The leaders were older monks who had already served as *rishsha* 堅者 (examinee), meaning that they had already defended at the public scholastic debate. The sixty general members were younger scholastic monks (*gakusō* 学僧) who were divided into six groups, with ten members in each group. Each group, composed of one lector, five questioners, and four arbiters, was in charge of the lecture for one day. The leaders, twice the number of active members for a single day, helped the younger ones through the ritual procedures. It was not scholarship alone which made the *Tendai kangaku kō* an attractive event. All participants were paid in a fixed way: fifteen *koku* for each leader, five *koku* for each general member, and one hundred *koku* for the head of education. Further donations of silk and cotton were used to pay the priests who led the esoteric rites on the seventh day.

Unfortunately, Jien's wish did not come to pass. During the five years after he resigned his post as the head of the Tendai school, his pedagogic program eroded quickly. It was not long before the monks on Mt. Hiei divided the 1,000 *koku* of yearly income without practicing the *kō*. Jien reestablished the *Tendai kangen kō* during his second stint as Tendai *zasu* (1201/2), and in 1208 he fixed the rules and regulations for further generations and established a scholarly program that operated for the next ten years.¹² We do not know if a *kōshiki* was read at the *Tendai kangaku kō* as it is not described in the regulations. But in the *Jie daishi kōshiki* 慈惠大師講式, a later work written in 1213 in praise of Ryōgen, Jien expresses his wish that the *Tendai kangaku kō* would last until the reappearance of the future Buddha Maitreya.¹³

Jien not only performed *kōshiki*, but he also authored several works in the genre. We have information about nine of his *kōshiki*; for five of them, it is even possible to know their contents. Three works are about eminent monks of his own school: Ryōgen (*Jie daishi kōshiki*), Ennin (*Jikaku daishi kōshiki* 慈覺大師講式), and Zengen 全玄 (1113–1192; *Jōbodai kōshiki* 成菩提講式). The exact same

12. See *Mon'yōki*, 上 12, pages 13a–15b; the scholarly program is on page 13c.

13. See [201]–121/2. Jien's holographic manuscript of the text, dated Kenpō 2/7 (1214), was bought by the Historiographical Institute and is edited with a facsimile in *Dai Nihon shiryō* 1/22 (TŌKYŌ TEIKOKU DAIGAKU BUNGAKUBU SHIRYŌ HENSANGAKARI 1983, 231–36).

number of works belongs among the *jingi kōshiki*. These include the *Jūzenji kōshiki* 十善師講式, written before his second period as Tendai *zasu*, that is, before 1201, the *Jinushi Gongen kōshiki* 地主權現講式, written in 1209, and an undated *Sannō kōryakushiki* 山王講略式.

The *Jūzenji kōshiki* is a work that appears to reflect Jien's personal belief.¹⁴ Jūzenji 十禪師 is one of the seven main shrines of Mt. Hiei; five of the seven have bodhisattvas as their original stage (*honji* 本地). Jien argues that Jizō 地藏, the original stage of Jūzenji, is the closest bodhisattva to Śākyamuni Buddha and, thus, superior to the other four bodhisattvas: Miroku 弥勒, Kannon 觀音, Monju 文殊, and Fugen 普賢 (line 41 sequence). Three of these bodhisattvas are *honji* for four other shrines, so just as Jizō surpasses the other bodhisattvas, Jūzenji surpasses Shōshinji 聖真子, Ōhachiōji 大八王子, Kyakunin 客人, and Sannomiya 三宮. This logic cannot be found in other sources.

The second work, the *Jinushi Gongen kōshiki*, was written in 1209 (Jōgen 3/8/6), after Jien's third stint as head of the Tendai school and after he had fixed the rules and regulations for the *Tendai kangaku kō*. The *Jinushi Gongen kōshiki* addresses not only Jinushi Gongen 地主權現, the guardian deity of the Konpon Chūdō 根本中堂, the main building of Mt. Hiei, as its central object of worship, but also Jūzenji as a second and Daigyōji 大行事 as a third object. Daigyōji is a deity dressed like a monk with a monkey mask whose shrine belongs to the middle seven shrines of Mt. Hiei. The original stage of Jinushi is Yakushi Nyorai 藥師如來 and that of Daigyōji is Bishamonten 大行事毘沙門天. Because there are three objects of worship, both parts of the *kōshiki* devoted to the original stages and the manifestations are followed by three hymns, one for each object of veneration.

In moving from the *Jūzenji kōshiki* to the *Jinushi Gongen kōshiki*, Jien makes an effort to broaden his personal devotion to include other objects of worship so that the rite can be accepted by other groups within the community of monks. This is particularly evidenced by his inclusion of the guardian deity of the main hall, which is the central institution for all monks on Mt. Hiei. His final step was the *Sannō kōryakushiki*, which, although not dated, is most likely the last of the three *jingi kōshiki* authored by Jien. Jūzenji has become the sixth of the seven main deities. The list of minor deities has also been enhanced: Shimohachiōji 下八王子 (identified with Kokūzō Bosatsu 虛空藏菩薩), Ōji 王子 (identified with Monju Bosatsu 文殊菩薩), and Hayaō 早尾 (identified with Fudō Myōō 不動明王) have been added, but, just as in the *Jinushi Gongen kōshiki*, Daigyōji (identified with Bishamonten) is the main deity among the minor ones.

There is only fragmentary information about how Jien used these *jingi kōshiki*. In a document dated 1225 (Karoku 1/5/23) in which he transferred his

14. YAMAGUCHI (2008) gives a survey of all the related materials with the exception of the *Jūzenji kōshiki*.

rights to his disciples, he notes which rites should be held at the Shijōkōdō 熾盛光堂, a hall for esoteric rites for the protection of the state that Jien had erected in 1206. He designated that four *kōshiki* should be practiced every month: a *Jie daishi kō* on the third day in commemoration of Ryōgen, a *Jinushi Gongen kō* on the eighth day, a *Jikaku daishi kō* on the fourteenth day in commemoration of Ennin, and a *Jūzenji kō* on the twenty-fourth day (*Kachō yōryaku* 55/1, *Tendaishū zensho* vol. 16, 305b). In 1224 (Gennin 1/12/20), Jien had started a “new” *kō* to worship the Jūzenji deity, a smaller group with thirty auditors who were lectured in front of the Jūzenji Shrine; the term “new” *kō* means that there had been earlier forms of this assembly.¹⁵

Jingi kōshiki and Lay Associations: Danzan Shrine

It is a much repeated hypothesis that great temples like Enryakuji 延暦寺 and Kōfukuji used their respective *jingi kōshiki* (in these two cases, the *Sannō kōshiki* and the *Kasuga kōshiki*) to control the peasants on their estates. Up to the 1970s, *kō* organizations, originally composed of groups with common religious goals, were an essential part of community life in rural societies. For example, a very popular form of *kō* between the seventeenth and the early twentieth century were pilgrimage groups (*daisankō* 代参講) such as the Ise *kō* 伊勢講, in which the members pooled their savings to allow one member to make a pilgrimage to the shrines at Ise. Other *kō* associations were organized to hold regularly (monthly) rites.

Kuroda Satoshi is the only scholar who has attempted to prove the relationships between the temples and shrines and the rural communities based on *jingi kōshiki*. Kuroda focused on Tōnomine 多武峯, a branch temple of Enryakuji/Mudōji that was located in the northeastern corner of the Nara plain, a region that was otherwise completely controlled by Kōfukuji. Kōfukuji claimed a leadership role as the family temple of the Fujiwara clan, founded by Kamatari 鎌足 (614–669). On the other hand, Tōnomine claimed to be Kamatari’s burial place, at whose grave guards paid by the head of the clan were stationed.¹⁶ At the Tōnomine temple, which was renamed Danzan 談山 Shrine during the first years of the Meiji era, a Kamatari cult developed over the centuries and, in 1463, the monks requested one of their leaders write a *jingi kōshiki* praising Kamatari as the “avatar of Danzan” (*Danzan Gongen kōshiki* [243]).

Kuroda, a historian who is also interested in art history, has examined two main groups of sources for the *kō* as a rite. One group of sources are the

15. The *Shin raihai kō ki* in *Mon’yōki* is a short report on this new assembly; see *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzōbu* (T [zuzō] 12, 16a–b).

16. The identification of the Abuyama 阿武山 burial mound as the actual grave of Kamatari was one of the archaeological sensations of the twentieth century.

sculptures and picture scrolls of Kamatari that may have been used as the central objects of worship for the rite (KURODA 1998, 114). He has considered five wooden sculptures and about one hundred paintings, 40 percent of them in “Tōnomine mandala” style with Kamatari sitting in the center top and his two sons, Fuhito 不比等 (659–720) and Jōe 貞慧 (643–665), standing as guardians in front of him. The second group of sources is the group of manuscripts of the *kōshiki*. Relying in part on earlier research by Kashiwagi Kiichi, Kuroda listed twenty-one manuscripts, from the oldest dated 1463 to recent copies from 1943. That represents a great number of manuscripts for a single *jingi kōshiki*—in comparison, there are only about ten copies of Jōkei’s *Kasuga Gongen kōshiki*. The manuscripts can be divided into four groups: six copies are held by major temples of the same Tendai school in Kyoto and on Mt. Hiei (Hanjūin 般舟院, Shōren’in [2], Eizan Bunko 叡山文庫, Jitsuzōbō Shinnyozō 実藏坊真如藏, and Kakushū’s *Gyosan sōsho*); two copies, now in the Tenri library, were originally in the possession of the Yoshida 吉田 family, a family of shrine priests in Kyoto who in the late medieval and early modern periods tried to take control of most of the shrines in the Kinki area; and ten copies are held by the Tōnomine or by people in the surrounding villages. A fourth group is difficult to evaluate: two manuscripts from the sixteenth century in subtemples of Mt. Kōya and another copy in the possession of the library of Tōdaiji 東大寺. Through ascetics who practiced in the mountains of the Kii peninsula, Mt. Kōya had a strong bond to the region, and up to the early seventeenth century there existed enclaves (*bessho* 別所) of monks from Mt. Kōya at nearby Mt. Yoshino. The connection between Tōdaiji and Tōnomine (both rivals of Kōfukuji) has to be reconsidered.

Kuroda, who has collated the oldest manuscript from 1463, contends that there are no substantial differences between the texts, but he has made a regrettable error: he has not explained what kinds of manuscripts were held by the surrounding villages. To read a *kōshiki* text that has been recorded in *kanbun* (the 1463 copy is one example of this kind), people need special training. The three copies in the possession of Tōnomine, now Danzan Shrine, were used by monks, but how were the other seven texts used? In recent research, YOSHIKAWA et al. (2011) have provided an answer for two of the texts. If a lay community was in possession of a *kanbun* style text, they had to wait for a wandering monk who was able to read the text for them. However, at least one of the texts used at Yatori 八釣, Asuka 明日香 village, which is labeled “P” (a copy with a colophon from the year 1621) by KURODA (2002, 66), has complete *katakana* glosses for all Chinese characters, so even a layperson could read the text. A completely glossed text, or one step further, a *kana* version of a *kōshiki* (called *nobegaki* 延書), can be read by anyone who is able to read the basic syllabary. The existence of such texts suggests that the laity performed or participated actively in performances of such *kōshiki*.

The Last Living Tradition: Kōya Myōjin kō

In most cases, the destruction of the early Meiji years divided temples and shrines. Shrines and the deities worshipped were renamed if their original names sounded too Buddhist, and scriptures and sculptures were destroyed or moved to surrounding temples. The only Buddhist temple where *jingi kōshiki* have remained essential parts of the rites is Kōyasan Kongōbuji. That Kongōbuji remained a Buddhist temple—the new Wakayama prefecture had already made plans to transform the whole place into a shrine called Hironori 弘法 Shrine—was partly through the lobbying activities of Shaku Unshō 釋雲照 (1827–1909), who spent the first two years of the new era in Kyoto and Tokyo petitioning the government and the Meiji emperor. Kongōbuji lost control over the Amano 天野 shrine on the pilgrim route between Hashimoto 橋本 and the main gate in the hills above. The Amano Shrine was “purified” of its Buddhist elements and renamed Niutsuhime 丹生都比売 Shrine. But the shrines within the precincts of the temple, especially the guardian shrine on the west side of the inner core of the main buildings, were left untouched.

This shrine and its hall for worship, the Sannōin 山王院, both date from the sixteenth century (the shrine from 1522, the Sannōin from 1594). There are several forms of worship of the guardian deities. The worshipers, all the head priests of the sub-temples in the precincts, are organized in a confraternity (*kō* 講) called the Myōjin Kō 明神講. The monthly gatherings of the Myōjin Kō are also used for informal decisions about internal temple affairs, but there is a brief reading of the introductory part (*hyōbyaku* 表白) of the *Myōjin kōshiki* 明神講式 at each *Sannōin tsukunami monkō* 山王院月次問講, a ritualized scholarly debate that is held on the sixteenth day of each month and that—according to the temple tradition—was started in 1407.

A complete *Myōjin kō* as a performed ritual with a *kōshiki* at its center comprises the following parts:

- two Chinese hymns (*Ungabai* 云何唄 and *Sange* 散華)
- the *kōshiki* text, written by Shōso 尚祚 of the Shinnan'in 心南院 (?–1245) and augmented by Yūkai 宥快 (1345–1416)
- a *saimon* 祭文 (consecration), which is said to have been written around 1317/1318 by the monk Shingyō 真慶 of Kongōsanmaiin
- two Sanskrit hymns (*Shichi bongo* 四智梵語 and *Shinryaku bongo* 心略梵語)
- a final Chinese hymn on Śākyamuni's eight stages to enlightenment (*Kikyō kango* 吉慶漢語)

This rite is today mostly used for educational purposes because the singing of the hymns, the *kōshiki* text, and the *saimon* are parts of the training program for young monks. For this reason there exist several recordings of the *Myōjin kōshiki*. The *Myōjin kōshiki* is the only living *shōmyō* tradition of a *jingi kōshiki*.

Jingi kōshiki and Intertextuality

As was the case with other *kōshiki*, *Jingi kōshiki* are not just literary works for aesthetic enjoyment but also writings for practical purposes. As texts they belong to the wider genre of *hyōbyaku*, and like other *hyōbyaku* literature there is no copyright on a work. Anyone who wants to write a new work will use older ones as sources for impressive phrasing. For example, a new *Sannō kōshiki* would use extant works on the same subject to describe similar content, but might borrow literary expressions from other *kōshiki*, *hyōbyaku*, or *ganmon*. In most cases, *kōshiki* use other *kōshiki*, which allows us to order them in a relative chronology.

I will demonstrate this technique by using an example that I have already documented in my database: the *Chūjitsu kōshiki*, the “*kōshiki* of the day of the ox,” the first work Yūsai read in his 1434 session.¹⁷ The *Chūjitsu kōshiki* has recently been the object of the research of KANEKO (2013), who has already published a new edition that uses all known manuscripts. Written by the monk Ekyō 惠鏡 (dates unknown) in the year 1258, this *kōshiki* is a major source for study of the belief in the deities of the Kibune shrine in the northern mountains near Kyoto in the thirteenth century.

As evidenced by his work, Ekyō shows a special interest in works written by Jōkei and in court music. In the *Chūjitsu kōshiki*, he starts in his introduction (*hyōbyaku*) by citing lengthy passages from Jōkei’s *Kasuga (Gongen) kōshiki* (the phrase in question is used twice by Jōkei, in his five-part *Kasuga kōshiki* and in his *Kasuga Gongen kōshiki*). Ekyō makes a brief reference to the same work in the first part of the text as he writes on the original stage of Okugozen 奥御前, and later he combines about a half of the text for the third part together with eight citations from Jōkei’s *Betsugan kōshiki* and the *Kasuga Gongen kōshiki*. Such a massive citation may explain why a damaged manuscript like the Tōji *Kanchi’inbon* 東寺観智院本 (two leaves from the beginning are lost) was incorrectly renamed *Kasuga myōjin kōshiki* 春日明神講式. Jōkei’s *Kasuga Gongen kōshiki* was widely known, but I know of only two examples of the use of Jōkei’s *Betsugan kōshiki*: one is by Jōkei himself (he used it in the third part of his *Miroku kōshiki* 弥勒講式, which was written in 1196 (Kenkyū 7/2/10); the date is *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the *Betsugan kōshiki*, and the other is Ekyō’s *Chūjitsu kōshiki*. In the fourth part on music, Ekyō cites passages from two previous works that deal with the same subject: the *Ongaku kōshiki* and the *Myōonten kōshiki* 妙音天講式.

Despite drawing heavily from other sources, Ekyō’s new work is impressive and internally consistent. One reason for this appraisal is that Ekyō had the ability to write Chinese-style texts that were not far removed from the quality of

17. The intertextual relations to other works are not indicated in the standard reprint (*honkoku honbun*) version in my database but in the version showing parallel verses (*tsuiku honbun*) of [339], and the length of parallel text is shown in bold type.

those of his predecessors; thus there is no gap in style between the citations and his own text. Ekyō's interest in court music also explains why his work was read by other musicians (such as Yūsai) who had no direct connection with Kibune Shrine. And the date of his creation is one of the surest points in the chronology of the whole *kōshiki* genre. One intertextual relation requires further study, however. Specifically, one section in the latter half of the first part has parallels with the *Kumano Gongen kōshiki* 熊野権現講式 ([231]). It is possible that Ekyō used the *Kumano Gongen kōshiki* as he used other works by Jōkei, but it could also be the reverse: the *Kumano Gongen kōshiki* author may have used Ekyō's work as his source. To confirm the first possibility, one would have to prove that the *Kumano Gongen kōshiki* was written before 1258. My personal opinion is that the second possibility is more likely, but that can also only be proved by showing that the *Kumano Gongen kōshiki* was written after 1258.

The Origin of Jingi kōshiki

To attempt to elaborate on the origins of a genre without having identified its first example is unreasonable. Nevertheless, I would like to venture a few conjectural possibilities. First, there are “traditional” Buddhist *kōshiki* that include parts that can be counted as *jingi kōshiki*. A famous example is Myōe's *Jūmuji'n shari kōshiki*, a work from the year 1203 (Kennin 3/8/8). In its fifth part about the whereabouts of Buddha relics ([044]–400–481), he writes about a revelation of the Kasuga deities, and the text remarks that there exists a “separate transmission” with more details ([044]–447). Such a separate transmission is found in two edited versions.¹⁸ A difficult point in determining whether the fifth part was originally included in the work is that the oldest manuscript of the *Jūmuji'n shari kōshiki* 十無尽院舍利講式, a copy of which is in the possession of Kōzanji. The manuscript, which dates from the year 1210, is incomplete, lacking the fifth part. It has only the title of the part (*Myōe Shōnin shiryō* 4; KŌZANJI TENSEKI MONJO SŌGŌ CHŌSADAN 1998, 49, 99; line 331), so it may be a later addition.

Some years earlier, in 1200, Jōkei had delivered a lecture in front of the Cloistered Emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽 (1180–1239) about the history of his school and his temple, the *Chūshū hōon kōshiki*. In the fourth part of this work, Jōkei praises the guardian deities, which could be read as a shorter version of a *Kasuga kōshiki* ([294]–153–192; an edition of the text in GUELBERG 2000). These examples illustrate what I have attempted to demonstrate in this article: *jingi kōshiki* are an essential part of the *kōshiki* tradition.

Jingi kōshiki are an important subgenre of *kōshiki* that provides us with concrete information about the premodern amalgamation of a broad array

18. These have been published in the *Myōe Shōnin shiryō* 1 (KŌZANJI TENSEKI MONJO SŌGŌ CHŌSADAN 1971, 237–52 and 257–71).

of divinities (Indian, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese in origin) and their Buddhist counterparts. It is abundantly clear that *jingi kōshiki* played central roles in the ritual lives of premodern clerics and served to strengthen relationships between the clergy and the laity. As ritual texts, they shared many features with other kinds of *kōshiki*, such as a rich intertextuality and an illuminating material culture. Unfortunately, much of this tradition has disappeared due to the dissociation of kami and buddhas in the early Meiji period and only remains alive at Mt. Kōya. *Jingi kōshiki* represent a largely untapped resource that can be fertile ground for further research by scholars of Japanese religions.

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