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Copying for the Kami

The Manuscript Set of the Buddhist Canon held by Matsuno'o Shrine

The nearly-complete set of the Buddhist canon dedicated to the chief clansmen—and kami—of the Hata clan at Matsuno'o Shrine in Kyoto, Japan, hand-copied during the mid-twelfth century and kept on site until the late nineteenth century, and only "rediscovered" by researchers in the early 1990s, provides a distinct example of what manuscript cultures can teach us in today's digital age. The Matsuno'o Shrine Canon is of great value for researchers of premodern religious literature in Chinese because it contains very early and significantly different versions of many canonical Buddhist scriptures that had already been canonized through numerous printed editions by the twelfth century in China and neighboring kingdoms. Also, the narrative of its ownership and provenance in Japan during the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries will be insightful for those investigating the crossroads between sectarianism, iconoclasm, and religious violence in the modern age.

keywords: Matsuno'o (Matsuno) Shrine—old Japanese canons—medieval Shinto—copying scriptures—Shinto-Buddhist syncretism

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On 23 August 1993, Buddhist scriptures copied on behalf of the Grand Shrine at Matsuno'o 松之尾大社—more commonly pronounced Matsuo—in Kyoto, Japan, were rediscovered on the second floor of the treasury house (*hōzō* 宝蔵) that sits at the back of a stone garden at Myōrenji 妙蓮寺 (a Hokkeshū 法華宗 temple), located today just west of Horikawa *dōri*, not far from Doshisha University's Shinmachi campus. Despite damage from water, humidity, insects, rats, and dust, 3,545 rolls (*kan* 巻) of mostly hand-copied scriptures were found along with sacred works (*shōgyō* 聖教)—including several distinctive copies of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Myōhō rengekyō* 妙法蓮華経, T. 262/Z. 148)—copied by the gentleman who had put the scriptures in the treasury house in 1857: Shimada Yasaburō 嶋田弥三郎.[1] Shimada was apparently a prominent lay devotee at Honnōji 本能寺 (the temple where Oda 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-Soka Gakkai-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 (Takeda 2009). The reason I say these scriptures were rediscovered in 1993 is because the Matsuno'o shrine scriptures (*Matsuno'o-sha issaikyō* 松尾社一切経) were first discovered in the treasure house of Myōrenji in 1967, when the stone garden and storehouse were undergoing repairs.

The set of Buddhist scriptures copied both at and on behalf of the *kami* 神 enshrined at Matsuno'o within the treasury house at Myōrenji, comprise one of only eight (or nine) extant old Japanese manuscript Buddhist canons (*Nihon kosha issaikyō* 日本古写一切経) that are considered reliable copies of Nara era (710–794) or eighth-century editions (Ochiai 2009).[2] Like the far better-known collections from the Imperial Household Agency's collection from the Shōsōin 正倉院 in Nara, the Shōgozō 聖語蔵, as well as the collections from Nanatsu-dera 七寺

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1. See Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, eds. (1997, 33). Shimada Yasaburō had another name: Yoshitada 義忠.

2. There are eight extant manuscript sets of the Buddhist canon (一切経) in Japan, which include: Nanatsu-dera, Chūsonji 中尊寺, Kōshōji 興聖寺, Saihōji 西方寺, Natori jingūji 名取新宮寺, Ishiyamadera 石山寺, Matsuosha, and Shōgozō 聖語蔵.

and Kongōji 金剛寺, in Nagoya and Osaka, respectively, the Matsuno'o shrine scriptures are an invaluable resource for the investigation of the textual transmission of canonical and extra-canonical East Asian Buddhist literature because the greater part of this collection can be dated to the late Heian period (a.k.a. Insei period 院政期 [Cloistered Rule epoch], ca. 1068–1156 or 1086–1192).[3] Even though I have yet to actually see it, what initially alerted me to the existence of this collection is the fact that it is one of only three of the old Japanese manuscript canons that contains roll seven of the apocryphal (*gikyō*, *weijing* 偽経, or *yijing* 疑経) *Chinese Book of the Hero's March* (*Shoulengyan jing*, *Shuryōgongyō* 首楞厳経, T. 945)—also known as the pseudo- or larger- **Śūraṃgama-sūtra*—, or the *Book of the Buddha's Crown or Sinciput* (*Foding jing*, *Bucchōkyō* 仏頂経), in good condition.[4] But the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures provide far more than just another valuable resource for East Asian Buddhist philological research. Because 1,238 of the 3,545 extant rolls have colophons (*okugaki* 奥書), we now know of: (a) the presence of at least three vowed canons (*gankyō* 願経) contained within the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures copied during the twelfth century; (2) the fact that Shinto priests (for example, Kannushi 神主, Negi 祢宜, and Gonnegi 権祢宜) from the Hata clan 秦氏 copied or sponsored these Buddhist scriptures; and (3) that for roughly seven hundred years the shrine functioned as a [Shinto] shrine-[Buddhist] temple complex or multiplex (*miyadera*).[5] A significant number of rolls were lost between 1647 and 1854 because when forty-five rolls were apparently repaired at Hōnenin 法然院 in 1631, a catalogue was compiled

3. On the Shōgozō, which contains the oldest material once housed within the Shōsōin in Nara, see Lowe (2014a; 2012a). See also Iida (2012) and Sakaehara (2011). It is worth noting here that the entire contents of the Shōgozō are currently available on 10 DVDs released by Kunaichō Shōsōin Jimusho Shozō Shōgozō Kyōkan 宮内庁正倉院事務所所蔵聖語蔵経巻 (Tokyo: Maruzen 丸善, 2000–) for between ¥900,000–¥1,400,000 (approx. $8,000–$14,000 USD) *per* DVD. On Nanatsu-dera, see Ochiai et al. (1991).

Because of the pioneering work conducted by the Academic Frontier Project of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies 国際仏教学大学院大学学術フロンティア実行委員会 (ICPBS) in Tokyo, directed by Ochiai Toshinori, which has digitized approximately 1,206 texts in 5,500 rolls, primarily from the Kongōji collection (dated to 1086–1192) and more recently from Nanatsu-dera as well, the Kongōji collection is perhaps the best known of the old Japanese manuscript canons. See for example Ochiai (2007) and Lowe (2014b).

4. See Keyworth (2014). The reason why my focus concerns roll seven is the presence of the *White Canopy of the Buddha's Crown or Sinciput* (*Baisangai zhou*, *Byakusangaishu* 白傘蓋呪, **Sitātapatra-dhāraṇī*), **Śūraṃgama* or *Hero's March Spell* (*Lengyan zhou*), or simply *The Spell of the Buddha's Crown or Sinciput* (*Foding zhou*, *Bucchōshu* 佛頂呪) (Gakujutsu Furontia Jikkō Iinkai 2006; Z. 0502). On the title "pseudo-*Śūraṃgama*," see Benn (2008, 57–58, esp. 58, note 2.), which provides a recent, up-to-date synopsis of scholarship concerning the fabrication of the **Śūraṃgama-sūtra*/*Shoulengyan jing*.

5. See Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji (1997, 290) and on the four copying periods (see below) and Nakao (1996).

listing 4,712 rolls in 1647.[6] Seen from a broader perspective, the chronicle of the ownership and provenance of this collection during the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries ought to prove insightful for researchers investigating the crossroads between sectarianism, iconoclasm, and religious violence in the modern, digital age.

How this collection of Buddhist scriptures got into the hands of Shimada in 1857 remains a mystery, for the moment. According to Matsuno'o Shrine records (*Sendai hinamiki* 先代日次記), however, on 31 March 1854 (Kaei 嘉永 7.3.3) the scriptures were removed from a building—that was onsite within the shrine complex until it was demolished in 1871 (Meiji 4)—called Venerable Place for Reciting (or Reading) Scriptures (Godokyōjo 御読経所) (Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji (1997, 33). A Muromachi era (1337–1573) map reveals that the Godokyōjo stood within the shrine compound where today people have their vehicles blessed (*kuruma no harai*). Prior to 1871, Matsuno'o Shrine in western Kyoto was not merely a Shinto shrine but a shrine-[Buddhist] temple complex or multiplex. The Muromachi era map also reveals two other interesting structures: a three-storied stupa (or pagoda, *sanjū no tō*) is located in what seems like the center of the multiplex; and toward the upper-left corner, just to the right of Tsukuyomi jinja 月読神社 (alt. *Tsukiyomi*)—a sub-shrine (*massha* 末社) of Matsuno'o still today—are four structures identified as a *jingūji* 神宮寺. According to Sagai Tatsuru (2013), by the ninth century, shrines dedicated to Buddhist deities—*jingūji*—were located within the grounds of medieval *miyadera* (officially designated as *shikinaisha* 式内社), whereas *chinjusha* 鎮守社 (tutelary or protective, *chingo* 鎮護, shrines) within Buddhist monastic compounds (*qielanshen* 伽藍神, lit. "gods of the *saṃghārāma*") were structures to enshrine the kami.[7] Shrine records indicate that these *jingūji* (alt. *jinguji* 神供寺) were 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, a Kamakura-era (1185–1333) "hidden" (*hibutsu* 秘仏) statue of the bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha (Xukongzang pusa, Kokūzō bosatsu 虚空蔵菩薩),

6. See *Matsuno'o-sha miyadera issaizōkyō mokuroku* 松尾社宮寺一切蔵経目録 in Kyoto National Museum (2015, 104–105), and Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji (1997, 32).

7. For the term "multiplex" see Grapard in Shively and McCullough (1999, chapter 8). Sagai (2013, 17–20) sees a significant difference 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*). 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.

was removed and may have been donated to a cloister at Daigoji 醍醐寺.[8] *Kawara* 瓦 (roof tiles) inscribed with Sanskrit Siddhaṃ letters from the *jingūji* have also been excavated at the site. Given this context it may not be surprising to learn that a significant number of the scriptures and commentaries contained within the Matsuno'o Shrine canon are stamped with the medieval designation for this collection: *Matsuno'o issaikyō no uchi* 松尾一切経の内; it is probably instructive that we find neither the *kanji* for shrine nor temple. The Godokyōjo that retained these scriptures was demolished because of the kami and buddhas separation order (*shinbutsu hanzenrei* 神仏判然令)—often referred to as *shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離—that had been issued in 1868 by the newly-formed constitutional government; Allan Grapard (1984) aptly described the outcome of this edict as "Meiji Japan's ignored Cultural Revolution."

Practical Manuscript Canon: Collated Editions Within the Matsuno'o Shrine Scriptures

Over the past three decades, access to and awareness of old Japanese Buddhist canons or collections of scriptures (the literal meaning of *issaikyō*) has stimulated new areas of research and raised previously uncharted questions within the fields of Buddhist studies and East Asian religions.[9] Chief among the list of heretofore unchartered inquiries are questions that shift the focus from what a text (or edition) might mean in terms of doctrine or orthopraxis to how manuscripts were understood and used by specific communities within particular historical, geographic, and institutional settings. As Imre Galambos and Sam van Schaik recently wrote about a manuscript from Dunhuang:

> [T]he study of manuscripts is, whether implicitly or explicitly, also a study of materiality. When we study a manuscript we must take into account the circumstances of its creation. These include individuals who created it, as well as the wider social norms that allowed it to come into being. We must also

8. Itō (2011, 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 (1993, 198–200). Of special attention is the Shingonshū temple devoted to Ākāśagarbha veneration—Hōrinji 法輪寺—nearby in Arashiyama; this temple was founded by Hata clan members and was once known as Kadonoidera 葛井寺.

9. Funayama (2014, 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 period (420–589), "collected scriptures" (*zhongjing*, *shukyō* 衆経), 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 (618–907) government. See below concerning Japanese "canons" in the Nara and Heian periods.

consider the physical elements that had to come together to produce the manuscript, including the paper, ink, and writing implement.[10]

Like the better known Nanatsu-dera and Kongōji canons, the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures also expose a practical canon on the ground from the late Heian period through the early Edo era (1603–1868) that monastics may have actually referred to, instead of printed editions from China or Korea.

The point of convergence between investigating the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures in terms of questions pertaining to what a manuscript text (or edition) might be able to tell us about doctrinal or ritual matters and how manuscripts were understood and used by specific communities may lie within the context of my theory that a large number of manuscripts within this collection were either copied at or brought to the shrine from Tendai institutions, which were the most powerful complexes in medieval Japan.[11] The Kongōji and Nanatsu-dera collections hail from Shingon institutions. As Bryan Ruppert has duly noted, the lion's share of premodern Japanese Buddhist manuscripts—canonical and extracanonical—reflect Shingon or established Buddhist institutions in Nara.[12] I am particularly interested in manuscripts from Bonshakuji 梵釈寺, an Ōbaku-shū 黄檗宗 [Zen] temple today in Higashi-Ōmi, located southeast of Ōtsu, in Shiga Prefecture. Saichō 最澄 (Dengyō Daishi 伝教大師, 767–822) converted it into a Tendai temple in the ninth century; by the early twelfth century, Bonshakuji functioned as a branch temple (*matsuji* 末寺) of Onjōji 園城寺 (alt. Miidera 三井寺). Bonshakuji and its well-known Nara era manuscript Buddhist canon were destroyed in 1163, when monks from Enryakuji 延暦寺 on Mt. Hiei 比叡山 set fire to Bonshakuji, illustrating the extent to which sectarian enmity between the Sanmon-ha 山門派 and Jimon-ha 寺門派 Tendai traditions had escalated.

The 1,238 scrolls with colophons that are reproduced in Nakao Takashi (1996) represent 340 titles out of 1,211 in this (mostly manuscript) canon. Yet approximately 215 out of 340 titles with colophons were copied from Bonshakuji manuscripts. What is more astonishing is that Bonshakuji manuscripts were copied to produce these scriptures by all three (or four) vowed canons within this collection, discussed below, from the late eleventh century until the temple's destruction in 1163. Table 1 provides an outline of many of the sources used to copy the Matsuno'o scriptures.

Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures were also obviously copied from a wide range of sources, most interesting of which, at least to me, are two other shrines: Kamo

10. Imre Galambos and Sam van Schaik (2012, 5–6) cited in Lowe (2014b), whose work I closely echo here.

11. A good source concerning the power and influence of the [rival] Tendai institutions in medieval Japan is Adolphson (2007).

12. Citing Ruppert (2010, 140); see Lowe (2014b).

TEMPLE / CLOISTER / SHRINE	LOCATION (TODAY)	INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION
Bonshakuji 梵釈寺	Shiga	(a) Enryakuji, (b) Miidera
Fushimi [Inari] 伏見	Kyoto	Shingon
Tōyōzasu gobō 東陽座主御房	Hieizan	Enryakuji
Miidera 三井寺	Shiga	Miidera
Hieizan Tōdōin Minamidani Kōenbō 比叡山東塔院南谷香縁房	Hieizan	Enryakuji
Hieizan Saitōin Minamidani Sekirinbō 比叡西塔院南谷寂林房	Hieizan	Enryakuji
Hieizan Saitōin Higashidani Tōrinbō 比叡西塔院東谷東林房	Hieizan	Enryakuji
Hieizan Saitōin Higashidani Zenkenbō 比叡西塔院南谷善見房	Hieizan	Enryakuji
Hieizan Saitōin Kitatani Kurodani Seiryūji 比叡山西塔院北谷黒谷青龍寺	Hieizan	Enryakuji
Tendaisan Yokawa Shōkyōshu 天台山横川勝境殊	Hieizan	Enryakuji
Yoshiminedera 善峯寺	Kyoto	Enryakuji
Kamogegyosha 賀茂下御社	Kyoto	-
Ōmikuni Kamōgun mikuriya Kōfukuji 近江国蒲生郡御厨広福寺	Shiga	Enryakuji
Kōryūji 広隆寺	Kyoto	Shingon
Ōyamazaki Enmyōji 大山崎円明寺	Nagaokakyō 長岡京	Shingon
Hōonzō 報恩蔵	?	?
Hōshōji 法勝寺	Kyoto	n/a
Kiyomizudera 清水寺	Kyoto	Hossō 法相宗
Zenkōin 善光院	Nara	-
Jizōin 地蔵院	?	?

TABLE 1. Working list of scriptoriums used to copy the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures.[a]

[a] NAKAO and HONMON HOKKESHŪ DAIHONZAN MYŌRENJI (1997, 47) and my own cautious reading of the *Okugakishū* 奥書集 (198–290); this table forms a working list. Note that some of the locations seem erroneous in practice, but I am following the colophons.

and Fushimi Inari shrines. Given the institutional support Tendai Buddhists received during the tenth to twelfth centuries, it does not seem unusual to see copies made from libraries within all three areas of Enryakuji (East Pagoda [Tōdō 東塔], West Pagoda [Saitō 西塔], and Yokawa [横川]), particularly from cloisters affiliated with abbots (*bō* 房). Nor should it surprise anyone familiar with the prolific scripture copying efforts during the eighth century in Nara to find at least one cloister's manuscript collection represented: Zenkō cloister 善光院 of Hokkeji 法華寺.[13]

The colophons of the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures also speak to the fact that copies were made at three sites within the medieval shrine (*miyadera*) precincts: the Godokyōjo, and at Buddhist temples called Kannonji 観音寺 and Myōhōji 妙法寺. By the mid- to late-Heian period in Kyoto and Nara (ca. 1050), in particular, shrines and larger Buddhist monasteries owned large estates known as *shōen* 荘園. The set of scriptures at Matsuno'o testify to the political and economic influence the shrine and its patrons wielded in the Kadono District (Kadono no koori 葛野郡) of Yamashiro [no kuni] Province 山城国, which roughly corresponds to Nishigyōku and southern Ukyōku (wards) today, and could certainly be considered the home region of the Hata clan. Matsuno'o Shrine is purported to be the oldest shrine in Kyoto: Hata no Imiki no Tori 秦忌寸都理 established Matsuno'o Shrine in 701 (Taihō gannen 大宝元年) (Ueda 2013, 54–55). Matsuno'o Shrine is located just west of the Katsura river in Nishigyōku. It was ranked one of the upper seven (or top) shrines in a list of twenty-two (*nijūnisha* 二十二社) that received support from the imperial lineage during the first half of the [medieval] Heian period—and retained distinction as a first rank, imperial shrine (*kanpei taisha* 官幣大社), when so-called State Shinto (*Kokka Shintō* 国家神道) was institutionalized in 1871.[14]

There seems to be scholarly consensus that the Hata clan of well-to-do immigrants arrived in Japan—probably first in the Chikuzen 筑前 region of Kyushu—by the second half of the fifth century from Silla, Korea (Ueda 2013, 4–5, 16–17). 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 clans 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 (260–

13. Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji (1997, 64–70). For general information on Hokkeji, see Meeks (2010).

14. See Grapard (1984 and 1988).

210 BCE, r. 220–210 BCE, Qin state).[15] 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 was used either during the early Heian era or in the nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries when State Shinto jargon prevailed (UEDA 2013, 47–48).

Hata clan members had asserted considerable influence within the Kadono area long before the capital was moved to Heiankyō 平安京 in the late eighth century. Hata no Miyatsuko no Kawakatsu 秦造河勝 had 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 Ukyōku). Hata clan members are also responsible for founding many of the most prominent shrines in Kyoto—Kamigamo 上賀茂, Shimogamo 下鴨 Shrines, Fushimi Inari Taisha 伏見稲荷大社, Iwashimizu Hachimangū 石清水八幡宮, and, of course, Matsuno'o Shrine.[16]

It is, nevertheless, my contention that the majority of the Matsuno'o Shrine canon consists of canonical texts from Jimon and Sanmon Tendai libraries of manuscripts, most notably from Bonshakuji (Jimon or Miidera), even though it would appear that Hata clan members were particularly well connected with Kūkai 空海 (Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, 774–835) and his nascent Shingon School 真言宗 during the ninth and early tenth centuries.[17] As the political and economic influence of the Tendai tradition ensconced atop Mt. Hiei rose and its ritual masters (*ācārya*, *ajari* 阿闍梨) became increasingly prominent following their pilgrimages to Tang China (618–907), Hata clan members (who, according to the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures, were designated priests by the end of the eleventh century) seem to have shifted their institutional affiliation to confirm alliances with both Enryakuji and Miidera.[18] Art historical evidence I address below substantiates legendary connections between Matsuno'o Shrine and the Jimon Tendai patriarch Enchin 円珍 (Chishō Daishi 智証大師, 814–891; in China 853–858). Deep and abiding connections between other Hata clan shrines (and

15. See also COMO (2008, 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.

16. COMO (2009, 20–21). Hata no Irogu 秦伊侶具 established Fushimi Inari Taisha; see for example UEDA (2013, 55–58).

17. ŌWA (1993) is especially interested in establishing institutional connections between Hata clan members and Shingon School *ācārya*.

18. An incomplete list of Tendai (and two others, Chōnen and Chōgen) pilgrims to Tang and Song (960–1279) China includes: Ennin 円仁 (794–864), in China 838–847; Enchin (814–891), in China 853–858; Chōnen 奝然 (983–1016), in China 983–986; Nichien 日延 (d.u.), in China 953–957; Jakushō 寂照 (alt. 寂昭, 962–1034), in China 1000–death; Jōjin 成尋 (1011–1081), in China, 1072–death; and Chōgen 重源 (1121–1206), in China 1167–1168. See SAITŌ (2006) and YORITOMI (2009). In English, see REISCHAUER (1955); BORGEN (1982 and 2007); BROSE (2006).

temples) to the Shingon tradition—and, perhaps, the presence of the bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha as the central image at the *miyadera* onsite at Matsuno'o before 1864—testify to institutional associations with the two primary esoteric traditions in medieval Japan. Given the prominence Tendai and Shingon esoteric preceptors seem to have had in late Heian and Kamakura era Japan, what seems striking to me is the scarceness of esoteric scriptures, commentaries, and ritual manuals (*kalpa* or *vidhi*, *giki* 儀軌) beyond the compilation of the Chinese catalog *Zhengyuan xinding shijiao lu* 貞元新定釈教録 (Newly revised catalog of Buddhist scriptures made during the Zhengyuan-era [785–805], abbreviated *Zhengyuan lu*, comp. ca. 799 or 800 by Yuanzhao 円照 [Enshō, fl. 778], T. 2157) within the Matsuno'o Shrine canon that we typically associate with this Buddhist tradition.[19]

When I mentioned earlier that the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures are organized according to the *Zhengyuan lu* and contain 1,211 titles in exactly 3,545 rolls I left out at least four texts that are not catalogued in the *Zhengyuan lu*, and another that can be found neither in Dunhuang manuscripts nor in the Taishō or Korean canons. The last several texts in the Matsuno'o Shrine canon include: (1) *Foming jing* 仏名経 (*Butsumyōkyō*); (2) *Daji xukongzang pusa suowen jing* 大集大虚空蔵菩薩所問経 (**Gaganagañja-paripṛcchā*, *Daishū daikokūzō bosatsu jomonkyō*, T. 404); (3) *Jin'gangding jing piluzhena rulai zishou yongfashen lichen wen* 金剛頂経毘盧遮那如来自受用法身礼懺文 (*Kongōchōkyō birushana nyorai jishu yūhōshin reisanmon*, T. 878); and (4) 仏頂法竟従此已下明諸仏法 (*Bucchō hōtsui jūshi ige myōshobutsuhō*). The first resembles T. 464 and Z. 1167, but the Matsuno'o and Kongōji editions are significantly different from that one. The other three appear to contradict what I just said about a dearth of esoteric ritual manuals in this set of scriptures. The **Gaganagañja-paripṛcchā* suggests a text with which to bolster rituals to the central Ākāśagarbha statue in the former Matsuno'o *miyadera* Buddha Hall, whereas the other two translations attributed to Amoghavajra (Bukong, Fukū 不空, 705–774) (T. no. 878 and the extra-canonical ritual manual devoted to the Buddha's crown or sinciput [*Buddhoṣṇīṣa*]) suggest esoteric

19. In the conventional Sino-Japanese esoteric Buddhist traditions, Yixing 一行 (Ichigyō, 673–727), born Zhang Sui 張遂 in Henan Province 河南省, is counted alongside Śubhakarasiṃha (Shanwuwei, Zenmui 善無畏, 637–735), Vajrabodhi (Jin'gangzhi, Kongōchi 金剛智, 671–741), and Amoghavajra (705–774) as the only preliminary Chinese exponent of the innovative secret teachings that reached China during the reign of the august Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (685–762, r. 712–756). Esoteric scriptures certainly include the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (*Dari jing*, *Dainichikyō* 大日経, T. 848), which sets forth the womb mandala (**garbhadhātu*, *taizangjie* 胎蔵界), and the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra* (*Jin'gangding jing*, *Kongōchōkyō* 金剛頂経, T. 866), which presents the diamond mandala (**vajradhātu*, *jin'gangjie* 金剛界). The latter is much more fully developed in the translations supervised by Amoghavajra (*Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧伝 5, T. 2061, 50.732c7–733c24). Yixing's *magnum opus* is the first and primary commentary to the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, the *Commentary on Mahāvairocana Becoming a Buddha* (*Dapiluzhena chengfo jingshu*, *Daibirushanabutsu jōbutsu kyōsho* 大毗盧遮那成仏経疏, T. 1796).

ritual veneration of some sort must have been practiced by monastics at Matsuno'o *miyadera* at some point in time. The fact that these translations are not in the *Zhengyuan lu* is significant because it suggests they are later attributions to Amoghavajra's impressive oeuvre. Given the penetration of esoteric Buddhist practices within the Tendai traditions by the late twelfth century, however, one might expect to see more significant inclusion of either esoteric ritual manuals or treatises that affirm devotional practices to achieve rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land (*Sukhāvatī*, *Gokuraku* 極楽) such as Genshin's 源信 (942–1017) *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集 (Essentials for rebirth in the Pure Land). We see almost no traces of Pure Land texts in this set of scriptures, just as we see virtually no indication of special veneration of the *Lotus Sutra*—at a time when archaeological remains from the period sometimes suggest that late Heian-era Japanese could never satisfy a need to copy this venerable East Asian Buddhist scripture.[20]

Vowed Scriptures: What was Copied for the kami at Matsuno'o Shrine, and Locating Texts

If my hypothesis regarding Bonshakuji as a primary source for the scriptures contained within the Matsuno'o Shrine canon can be substantiated then another evaluation of these scriptures may very well be in order that speaks directly to a primary consideration for anyone who utilizes so-called digital editions of medieval East Asian religious literature. Two historical precedents lie directly behind the profusion of digital—or electronic—religious texts in Chinese today, in China, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. First, just as in premodern times, the better part of actual electronic texts are copies of specific Buddhist scriptures, many of which explicitly promote the benefits of copying or distributing them to monastics, lay followers, and those who possess political power. Second, the merit accrued from copying or distributing these ostensibly Buddhist scriptures is rarely—if ever—confined to pious Buddhists or those whose religious orientation can be considered unequivocally Buddhist. Already by the turn of the ninth century in Japan it had become widespread practice to vow copies of either Xuanzang's 玄奘 (Genjō, 602–664) behemoth translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Daihannya haramitta kyō* 大般若波羅蜜多経, T. 220) in 600 rolls, or collections of the "canon" (*issaikyō*) to protect the state, avoid or cure plagues, and placate irate indigenous deities—notably at prominent shrines as well.[21] In other words, Buddhist scriptures were and still are copied on behalf

20. Art exhibitions of manuscript sutras and ritual paraphernalia are replete with examples of copying the *Lotus Sutra* more than almost any other scripture; see Nara National Museum (2015, 82–83) for *ippongyō* 一品経 copies of the *Lotus* from Kunōji in the eleventh century.

21. The first "vowed" set of copied scriptures in Japan is associated with a project Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (r. 724–749) initiated as an apparently filial act to honor Emperor Monmu 文武天皇

of—and dedicated (or vowed) to—deities (kami in the case of Japan) by donors who may, in all likelihood, have little interest in promoting devotion to Buddhist religious ideals *per se*. In the case of the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures, 438 of the 600 rolls of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* are extant, of which 34 have valuable colophons that tell us these rolls were copied at or vowed to the shrine as early as 1058 until at least 1427.

Based on what the colophons can tell us about the copying of these scriptures it is clear that the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* is not the only scripture that received considerable attention by the shrine priests (*shasō* 社僧) at Matsuno'o. It does appear, however, that either the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* was often used in rituals between ca. 1059 and 1427 or, perhaps, it was read as a practical canon on site. Before I discuss approximately thirty other scriptures with significant colophons that may be surprising to scholars of late Heian-period Japanese Buddhism and religion (or contemporaneous developments on the continent in China or Korea) let me briefly explain how the scriptures are organized. But first, let me place them in greater context. The contents of cave no. 17 (the so-called Library Cave of the Mogao Grottoes 摸高石窟, near Dunhuang 敦煌, in Gansu Province, China), which was probably closed around 1006 and discovered by Western and Japanese archaeologists during the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries, are quite well known even beyond the academe. However, significant attention by scholars outside Japan to old Japanese manuscript Buddhist canons has not been commensurate with the Dunhuang materials.[22] This is surprising because these manuscripts may very well be the closest textual witnesses we have to show what Tang Chinese or Silla Korean Buddhist manuscript texts might have actually looked like. This is because most of the scriptures contained within seven of the eight (perhaps nine) extant manuscript sets of the Buddhist canon

(r. 697–707) in 728 (Jinki 神亀 5); the collection is known as the *Nagayaō gankyō* 長屋王願経. Empress Kōmyō 光明皇后 (Kōmyō kōgō, alt. Tōsanjō 藤三娘, 701–760) is, of course, the most celebrated patron of *gankyō* projects in Nara Japan. Lowe (2014a) evokes twenty copied canons during the Nara period, as does Miyazaki (2011). For an excellent summary of the practice of copying the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* or *issaikyō* on behalf of shrines' kami (and buddhas or bodhisattvas) see Nara National Museum (2015), which cites the Six National Histories, *Rokkokushi* 六国史, that 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]. See for example Allan Grapard's discussion (in Shively and McCullough 1999, 518–22).

Sagai (2013), in particular, devotes considerable attention to the particular practice of offering copies of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* at shrines.

22. Robson (2012, 326); see footnotes 28 and 29. See for example Lowe (2014a, 287) and Ochiai et al. (1991). On the date 1006 for Dunhuang, see Rong (1999–2000).

in Japan appear to have been copied from Nara era or eighth century editions. The reason why eighth century manuscripts are so valuable is because, as Kyoko Tokuno has pointed out, "The content and organization of all successive canons from the late Tang period on were based on this catalog, the only major difference being the addition of later translations and compositions."[23] The catalog Tokuno refers to is the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釈教録 (Catalog of Buddhist scriptures made during the Kaiyuan era [713–741], abbreviated *Kaiyuan lu*, T. 2154), which was compiled by Zhisheng 智昇 (Chishō, ca. 700–740) in 730. The *Zhengyuan lu*, which old Japanese manuscript canons reflect, closely mirrors the organizational structure of the *Kaiyuan lu*.

What is immediately conspicuous about the contents of old Japanese manuscript canons—and Japanese manuscript editions of both the *Kaiyuan lu* and *Zhengyuan lu* as well—is that they do not mirror what can be found in printed canons. It is by now well known that the most obvious problem with printed scriptures is that these editions date from the tenth century (974–983 *Shuban dazangjing* 蜀版大蔵経)—at the earliest. The Taishō canon, as is also well known, is primarily based on the second edition of the Korean (Koryŏ) canon, which was printed at Haein-sa between 1236 and 1251. Even though it provides considerably more material from the so-called Rock-Cut canon at Fangshan 房山石経 that preserves about 1,300 rolls carved during the Tang dynasty, the recently published Chinese Buddhist canon (*Zhonghua dazangjing* 中華大蔵経 *Hanwen bufen* 漢文部分) is not much more reliable.[24] Therefore, it adds up that old Japanese manuscript canons—Kongōji, Nanatsu-dera, and Matsuno'o Shrine, to name three—do not have quite as many texts as the Taishō or *Zhonghua dazangjing* editions of the *Zhengyuan lu* postulate they should. Instead of 1,258 titles in 5,390 rolls, the Nanatsu-dera edition of the *Zhengyuan lu* has 1,206 titles in 5,351 rolls. The Nanatsu-dera edition of the *Kaiyuan lu*, which is 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.[25] The Matsuno'o Shrine canon has less than a thousand titles—closely reflecting the Nanatsu-dera *Zhengyuan lu*—but only 3,545 rolls are extant.[26] It has been suggested that rather than reflecting earlier editions of the contents of continental

23. Tokuno (1990, 52–53) cited in Lowe (2014b, 230). See also Storch (2014).

24. For more on these extra-printed materials, see Lancaster (1989). Ledderose (2004; 2014) and Ledderose et al, eds. (2015) certainly provide stunning new material for consideration.

25. On Genbō and other Tang-era pilgrims to China, see Yoritomi (2009, 24–27).

26. See Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji (1997, 299–312), which list the contents according to the *Zhengyuan lu*. Note that Nakao's numbers are slightly different (typically by 1–3) from those listed in Gakujutsu Furontia Jikkō Iinkai (2006): for example, T. 945 is Z. 499 in Nakao and 502 in the ICPBS catalog.

Z. NO.	T. NO.	SINO-JAPANESE TITLE	SKT. TITLE
001	220	*Dabore boluomiduo jing* / *Daihannya haramitsukyō* 大般若波羅蜜多経	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*
002	223	*Mohe bore boluomi jing* / *Makahannya haramisukyō* 摩訶般若波羅蜜経	*Pañcaviṃśatisāsrikā-māhā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*
0027	251	*Mohe bore boluomiduo xinjing* / *Maka hannya haramitta shingyō* 摩訶般若波羅蜜多心経	*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra*
0029	253	New Translation *Heart Sutra*	same
0042	310	*Da baoji jing* / *Daihōshakkyō* 大宝積経	*Mahāratnakūṭa*
0046	324	*Huanshi renxian jing* / *Genshinin gengyō* 幻士仁賢経	**Bhadra-māyā-kāra-vyākaraṇa*
0069	397.12	*Dafangdeng daji rizangfen* / *Daihōdō daishū nichizōbunkyō* 大方等大集日蔵分経	**Sūryagarbha-vaipulya-sūtra*
0070	397.14	*Dafangdeng daji yuezang jing* / *Daihōdō daishū gachizōbunkyō* 大方等大集月蔵分経	**Candragarbha-vaipulya- sūtra*
0095	278	*Dafangguangfo huayan jing* / *Daihōkōbutsu kegongyō* 大方広仏華厳経 (60 巻)	*Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*
0096	279	New Translation (80 巻)	same
0135	374	*Daban niepan jing* / *Daihatsu nehangyō* 大般涅槃経	*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*
0138	376	*Daban nihuan jing* / *Daihatsu naiongyō* 大般泥洹経	same
0141	187	*Fangguang dazhuangyan jing* / *Hōkō daishōgongyō* 方広大荘厳経	**Lalitavistara*
0151	474	*Weimojie jing* / *Yuimakitsukyō* 維摩詰経	*Vimalakirtinirdeśa-sūtra*
0157	157	*Beihua jing* / *Hikekyō* 悲華経	**Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka-sūra*
0158	665	*Jin'guangming zunshengwang jing* / *Konkōmyō saishō ōkyō* 金光明最勝王経	*Suvarṇaprabhāsa-uttamarāja-sūtra*
0159	664	*Hebu jin'guangming jing* / *Gōbu konkōmyōkyō* 合部金光明経	same

Z. NO.	T. NO.	SINO-JAPANESE TITLE	SKT. TITLE
0160	624	*Dunzhentuoluo suowen rulai sanmei jing* / *Tonshindara shomon nyorai sammaikyō* 伅真陀羅所問如來三昧経	**Drumakiṃnararāja-paripṛcchā*
0164	660	*Baoyu jing* / *Hōukyō* 宝雨経	*Ratnamegha-sūtra*
0165	658	Same title	same
0250	560	*Laomunü liuying jing* / *Rōmonyo rokueikō* 老母女六英経	**Mahallikā-paripṛcchā*
0312	427	*Bajixiang shenzhou jing* / *Hachikichijō shinjukyō* 八吉祥神呪経	**Aṣṭabuddhaka*
0334	1060	*Qianshou qianyan guanshiyin pusa guangda wuao dabeixin tuoluoni jing* / *Senjusengen kanzeon bosatsu kōdai emman muge daihishin daranikyō* 千手千眼観世音菩薩広大無礙大悲心陀羅尼経	**Nīlakaṇṭhaka-dhāraṇī*
0502	945	*Shoulengyan jing* / *Shuryōgongyō*	**Śūraṃgama-sūtra*
0668	1509	*Dazhidulun* / *Daichidoron* 大智度論	**Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa-śāstra*
0790	33	*Hengshui jing* / *Gōsuikyō* 恒水経	
0949	496	*Dajiaye benjing* / *Daikashō hongyō* 大迦葉本経	
1072	1545	*Apidamo dapiposha lun, Abidatsuma daibibasharon* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論	*Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra*
1073	1559	*Apidamo jushe shilun* / *Abidatsuma kusha shakuron* 阿毘達磨倶舎釈論	*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-śāstra*

TABLE 2. Rough outline of some copied scriptures. Compiled from NAKAO and HONMON HOKKESHŪ DAIHONZAN MYŌRENJI (1997), 364–542.

[Kaiyuan or Zhengyuan era] Buddhist canons these old Japanese manuscript editions of the *Kaiyuan lu* and *Zhengyuan lu* expose the composition of Nara era manuscript canons. According to Bryan Lowe, "Almost every canon produced in the Nara period had a different composition from that that preceded it and those that followed it" (Lowe 2014b, 235).

By the late Heian period this situation seems to have changed because the extant old Japanese manuscript scriptures, copied from Nara manuscripts, seem to closely resemble one another. It also appears that, in addition to the well-established practice of copying the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* for accruing merit to acquire so-called this-worldly benefits (*genze riyaku* 現世利益) discussed above, shrine priest-monastics copied and vowed the following preliminary list of scriptures (see TABLE 2).

I have not chosen this list of scriptures quite as randomly as it might first appear. Let us first consider the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-śāstra* (T. 1559; Z. 1073). We possess colophons for five rolls (18–22). Rolls 18 and 19 were copied on 17 August 1140 (Hōen 保延 4.7.10) and vowed to the shrine by Chief Shrine Priest [Kannushi] Hata no Yorichika 秦頼親 on 7 December 1141 (Eiji 永治 1.11.8). They had been copied at Bonshakuji.[27] The *Daikashō hongyō* (T. 496; Z. 949), on the other hand, was copied on 9 August 1117 (Eikyū 永久 5.7.11) by Fujiwara Yorimori 藤原頼盛 and vowed to the shrine by Hata no Yorichika's father, Chief Priest [Kannushi] Hata no Chikatō 秦親任, a third rank aristocrat (Sukune 宿禰), as well as the Chief Priest of Tsukuyomi jinja, Hata no Aimasa 秦相真, and other family members.[28] For a third example, let us consider the **Sūryagarbha-vaipulya-sūtra* (T. 397; Z. 069). Of the nineteen rolls with colophons, ten were vowed by Hata no Yorichika and copied by scribes active during the period when he vowed scriptures, ca. 1131–1142; of these, five were copied at Bonshakuji in 1141 (rolls 3–5, 7, and 9), and roll 1 was copied from the manuscript collection held by Fushimi Inari Taisha. Parallel rolls were vowed by a prominent monastic (likely the abbot) at Myōhōji, located in a southern valley of Matsuno'o *miyadera* (Minamidani 松尾南谷) by the name of Ryōkei. Seven rolls were copied by another monk at Myōhōji named Ryōkan 良寛 during the third through eighth lunar months in 1165 (Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji 1997, 216–17:

27. Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji (1997, 274–75: nos. 1058–1059). Copyists listed: Shūhan 寿範 and Ryōhan 良範.

28. Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji (1997, 270: no. 991). 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.

SPONSOR	DURATION	AFFILIATION	CHIEF COPYISTS
Hata no Chikatō 秦親任	1115–1119	Chief Shrine Priest 神主	珍秀, 西詣, 中原雅遠, 範快, 有範, 藤原頼盛, 惟仁, 隆尊
Hata no Yorichika 秦頼親	1131–1142	Chief Shrine Priest	宗清, 実永, 静厳, 長暹, 朝慶, 園城寺次官阿闍梨, 睿運, 増喜, 林秀, 僧某
Ryōkei 良慶	1159–1174	Abbot, Matsuo Minamidani Myōhōji 松尾南谷妙法寺	良仁, 良厳, 俊増, 良喜, 辯喜, 豪有, 良寛, 清涼寺僧

TABLE 3. Three-vowed canons. NAKAO and HONMON HOKKESHŪ DAIHONZAN MYŌRENJI (1997, 46).

nos. 203–221). TABLE 3 lists the three principal vowed scripture copying projects represented within the Matsuno'o Shrine canon.

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 太平興国 8), presumably brought back to Japan by Chōnen 奝然 (983–1016)—were added to the collection. The majority of the Matsuno'o Shrine canon, however, consists of four sets of scriptures dedicated to Hata clan kami or before the shrine by separate, eminent donors during the twelfth century. Hata no Chikatō and his son, Hata no Yorichika, had scriptures copied and vowed them over a period of 23.5 years, which lasted from 1115 (Eikyū 3.2.30) until 1119 (Gen'ei 元永 1.12) and 1130 (Tenshō 天承 1.6) to 1138 (Hōan 保安 4.7), respectively. In addition, Hata no Yorichika and several associates had 64 rolls of the *Mahā-ratnakūṭa* or *Heap of Jewels Sutra* (T. 310; Z. 0042) copied during the first six days of the new year, 1139 (Hōan 5); it is unclear why he redoubled his energies again in 1141–1142. The fourth set of scriptures was dedicated by Ryōkei between 1159 (Heiji 平治 1. *jun* 閏 5) and 1174 (Jōan 承安 4.6). I have yet to locate any particularly helpful sources regarding Ryōkei, but I am almost certain he was initially an eminent monk at Miidera in the late twelfth century, before taking up residence within the Matsuno'o *miyadera* complex (at Myōhōji).[29]

29. SHIBA and TONAMI (2010, 78). See also WAKABAYASHI (2012, 127–28) and MCMULLIN (1984). On *sōhei*, see ADOLPHSON (2007, chapter 7).

Two Hata clan shrine priests—Hata no Chikatō and his son, Hata no Yorichika—vowing a set of Buddhist scriptures closely reflecting the contents of the late eighth century Chinese *Zhengyuan lu* catalog during the twelfth century in Kyoto seems to reflect established patterns of utilizing particular Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures to dedicate merit to transfer to or appease indigenous Japanese deities. Even if we only consider the colophons for rolls of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* dedicated at Matsuno'o during the late eleventh century then it looks like the vowing was intended to affect the next-life trajectory of kami and shrine patrons through the six realms of rebirth. Although Rolls 124, 143, 146, 191, and 197 predate the known Hata clan sponsors by a few decades (1063: Kōei 康永 6.9.11), they tell us these particular rolls were vowed to rescue kami-patrons from rebirth as hungry ghosts (*preta*, *gaki* 餓鬼). Rolls 203, 205, 208, and 252, on the other hand, were dedicated on Kōei 7.8.9 (1064) to rescue kami and patrons from rebirth as beasts (*tiryagyoni-gati*, *chikushōdō* 畜生道). Perfection of Wisdom literature has certainly been well established to serve this purpose across East and Central Asia for centuries. But what are we to make of the other scriptures that have colophons with fruitful information, suggesting these were of particular importance to the sponsors and donors? Even though I am well aware of the problems with ascertaining exactly what *shōgyō* might consist of in medieval Japan raised by Brian Ruppert and Bryan Lowe, I find Asuka Sango's recent work (2012) insightful in terms of what she suggests about the use of non-esoteric *shōgyō*.

In short, *shōgyō* is a category of literature, although typically not copies of actual scriptures *per se* that medieval Japanese "scholar-monks" (*gakuryo* 学侶 or *gakushō* 学生) produced and transmitted to establish the authenticity of their doctrinal knowledge, ritual techniques, and cloisters (*inge* 院家) (Sango 2012, 242). *Shōgyō* played a particularly significant role in the legitimation of esoteric lineages within the large Shingon (for example, Tōji 東寺, Daigoji 醍醐寺, Ninnaji 仁和寺) and Tendai (for example, Enryakuji and Miidera) monasteries, but Sango's research suggests they may have been of equal importance to proponents of the so-called exoteric lineages (Nanto or Nara monasteries, for example, Kōfukuji 興福寺 [Hossō-shū 法相宗] and Tōdaiji 東大寺 [Kegon-shū 華厳宗]) rendered in oppositional terms by Kuroda Toshio's 黒田俊夫 pairing of *kenmitsu* in *kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制 (Sango 2012, 243–44). Until the mid-eleventh century, the principal venue that allowed scholar-monks to sanctify their authority was state-sponsored debates called the Three Nara Assemblies (*nankyō san'e* 南京三会): the Yuma-e 維摩会 at Kōfukuji; the Saishōe 最勝会 at Yakushiji 薬師寺; and the Misaie 御斎会 within the imperial palace in the eighth century. Emperor Go-Sanjō 御三条 (1043–1073; r. 1068–1072) established a new triad within Heiankyō. Because the Nara assemblies had been dominated by Hossō monastics, Tendai exegetes were especially instrumental in convincing the emperor to

create a new venue in which they could compete (SANGO 2012, 247–48). Is it possible that Ryōkei, in particular, sponsored scriptures at Myōhōji—within the Matsuno'o *miyadera* estate—that can be considered indicative of his exegetical debate aspirations during the 1160s and early 1170s? Ryōkei sponsored ten rolls of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, sixteen rolls of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, nine of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāsrikā-māhā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, and twenty rolls of the **Mahāvaipulya-mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra* (T. 397; NAKAO and HONMON HOKKESHŪ DAIHONZAN MYŌRENJI 1997, 61–63). Given Ryōkei's status as a Buddhist monk it might make sense to make such a surmise. But evidence of sponsoring or vowing scriptures more relevant to exegetical study is far more easily assigned to Hata no Yorichika than to Ryōkei.

What might it mean if a Shinto shrine priest (Kannushi) sponsored the copying of particular East Asian exegetical texts? The question arises because Hata no Yorichika sponsored rolls 72 and 81–90 of the *Dazhidulun* with the same colophon: Hōen (1140) 4.6.27 *Onjōji jikan ajari* 園城寺次官阿闍梨, vowed by Kannushi Hata no Yorichika. He also sponsored rolls 81, 84, 85, 89, 90, and 92–100 of Xuanzang's translation of the *Abhidharmamahāvibāṣā-śāstra* (*Apidamo dapiposha lun*, *Abidatsuma daibibasharon*; T. 1545; Z. 1072) with the date Hōen 4.7.10 (1140). Could these rolls confirm that he read them to participate in state-supported debates in Heiankyō or Nara? My guess is that this supposition is pushing the envelope of what we can reasonably garner from colophons and circumstantial evidence. Since I am not aware of any ritual applications for exegetical commentaries such as the *Dazhidulun* or *Abhidharmamahāvibāṣā-śāstra*, two alternate interpretations might be applicable. First, scholars need to be far more careful than we often are with regard to teleological assumptions about what East Asian Buddhist literature remained relevant with the passing of time. Another way of framing my earlier question could have been: why wouldn't a Shintō Kannushi make use of Buddhist commentarial literature at a time when we typically assume their focus ought to have been trained on either esoteric ritual manuals or contemporaneous, indigenous, and popular depictions of Amitābha's Pure Land (for example, *Ōjōyōshū*)? Second, if hereditary Kannushi found it important enough to sustain a complete set of the Buddhist scriptures (*issaikyō*)—possibly a "practical canon" as mentioned earlier—then it stands to reason that they may have read or used certain important pieces of Buddhist commentarial literature, which would certainly include both the *Dazhidulun* and *Abhidharmamahāvibāṣā-śāstra*. Whatever else Hata no Yorichika's sponsoring of commentaries has to tell us, it appears that, at the very least, we need to rethink not only how religious literature was used by premodern East Asians but also what it was that they used in the first place.

Three Gardens and Twenty-one Shinto Statues: Matsuno'o Shrine Today

I only provide a brief glimpse of the contents of the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures here because this research project is just underway and much work is left to be done in Japan over the next few years, when I will flesh out a great deal more about which scriptures were copied by each sponsor, who copied them, and on what ritual occasions particular scriptures were vowed to the shrine and placed in the Godokyōjo. What I have yet to address in this article, however, is anything about Matsuno'o Shrine today and how this narrative plays out in contemporary Japan. Let me start by telling you that Matsuno'o Shrine is first and foremost renowned as a shrine where saké brewers come to pray for a good product.[30] It appears that this association with saké developed during the early Edo period and became widespread by as late as 1684 (Ōwa 1993, 51–52). In more recent times, the shrine became famous because the influential landscape designer and historian of Japanese gardens, Shigemori Mirei 重森三玲 (1896–1975), oversaw his last creations here in the form of three gardens, completed in 1975, which seem to inspire mythical or perhaps mystical impressions of the shrine for visitors. The first, *Jōko no niwa* 上古の庭 (Prehistoric Garden) celebrates the "holy spirit" (*shinrei* 神霊) enshrined within the sacred rocks—*iwakura* 磐座 and *iwasaka* 磐境—atop Mt. Matsuo, apparently since time immemorial prior to the establishment of the shrine in 701. *Kyokusui no niwa* 曲才の庭 (Meandering Stream Garden), the second garden, is inspired by what Shigemori called a Heian-era style. And the third, *Hōrai no niwa* 蓬莱の庭 (Penglai Garden), draws inspiration from the Kamakura period, and is a tribute to a Chinese concept of a paradise where immortality can be found. It is probably worth mentioning that Chinese often follow pernicious logic when they attribute the discovery and subsequent settlement of Japan to a search party the first emperor of China dispatched to find an elixir of immortality on Penglai, thereby deeming Japanese culture utterly derivative from, and therefore inferior to, Chinese culture and civilization (Gifford 2007, 45). One wonders if, when Shigemori designed the *Hōrai no niwa,* he was inspired by the legendary ancestral connection between Hata clan members and Qin Shi Huangdi recorded in Heian-era chronicles of state-sponsored rituals and procedures?

Shigemori's three gardens, known collectively as the Shōfūen 松風苑 (Pine

30. The connection to saké seems to trace back to Uzumasa Sake no Kimi 太秦酒公, who received the surname in honor of contributions he made to the transfer of silk technology ca. 471. See for example Ueda (2013, 47). *Engishiki jinmyōchō* 延喜式神名帳 (Register of deities in *Procedures of the Engi Era* [901–923], ca. 927) lists twenty *shikinaisha* 式内社 (shrines listed in the *Procedures*) in Kadono District, including Ōsake Shrine 大酒神社, dedicated to Uzumasa no Kimi no Sukune, all of which were supported and/or established by Hata clan members. For the moment, I am relying on data from https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/葛野郡 (accessed 29 June 2015).

Breeze Gardens), were part of an early 1970s renovation project that also included the construction of a special building—the Shinzōkan 神像館—to house twenty-one of the oldest single-block wood statues of kami. The Shinzōkan is located just off the *Kyokusui no niwa* and its contents are, to be candid, magnificent. After I visited the Shinzōkan in July (2015) to meet with the Jinja Honchō 神社本庁-trained custodian and resident expert about the statues I was stupefied. The principal reason for my bewilderment can best be explained by a brief description of the principal kami enshrined at Matsuno'o [and several of its sub-shrines] since the eighth century, and a legendary—though certainly significant for ritual purposes—relationship between the main kami of Matsuno'o—and the Hata clan—with Kamigamo shrines. In his book, *Weaving and Binding: Immigrant Gods and Female Immortals in Ancient Japan*, Michael Como provides a translation of a passage from the kinship record of the Hata clan, *Hata-uji honkeichō* 秦氏本系帳, which was submitted to the court in 879, that involves arrows and the cultic relationship between kami in Kyoto from the late ninth century:[31]

> A Hata woman came to the Kadono river 葛野川 to wash clothes. At that time an arrow came floating downstream. The girl took the arrow and returned home, where she stuck the arrow above the door of her house. The girl became pregnant without any husband and she subsequently gave birth to a boy. Her parents thought this strange and asked her how could this have happened? The girl replied that she did not know. Her parents said, "Even though she has no husband, a child could not have been born without a father. The father must be from among family and relatives or neighbors that frequent our house." They prepared a feast and invited a great crowd of people and then ordered the boy to take a cup and offer it to the man he thought was his father.
>
> The boy did not indicate anyone at the gathering, and instead looked at the arrow above the door. He was then transformed into a thunder god and he burst through the roof of the building and flew off into the sky. Therefore, the god of Upper Kamo shrine is called [Kamo] Wake no Ikazuchi no kami 賀茂別雷命. The god of Lower Kamo shrine is called [Kamo] Mioya no kami 御祖神. The arrow above the door was the Matsuno'o shrine Daimyōjin 松尾大明神 [great bright deity]. Thus the Hata worship the gods in these three places.
>
> (Translation adapted from Como 2009)

I am afraid that, although generous with his time and patience, the resident expert did not cite precisely the same passage. But he did tell me during a lengthy discussion that the principal male statue in the Shinzōkan depicts Ōyamagui no kami 大山咋神 (alt. Ōyamakui), the chief kami of Matsuno'o, and

31. Como (2006–2007, 23) gives 879. He notes that the *Hata-uji* (he reads *Hatashi*) *honkeichō* is preserved in part within the tenth- (or eleventh-?) century *Honchō gatsuryō* 本朝月令 (ca. 930–946).

the other two of three large statues depict the two kami at Kamigamo shrines. Ōyamagui is seen as a grandchild of Susano'o 須佐之男 (the storm god) and related to foodstuffs as well as a mountain deity venerated onsite and on Mt. Hiei at Hiyoshi (or Hiei) Taisha 日吉大社, referred to later in the Edo period as Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō 山王一実神道 (see, for example, Sugahara 1996). What left me dumbfounded after the meeting was that I had read a study published in 2011—and for sale at the Shinzōkan—by the current Director of the Wakayama Prefectural Museum 和歌山県立博物館, Itō Shirō 伊東史朗, devoted entirely to the statues within the Shinzōkan that presents a completely different account of these statues. First, because the kami—one older male (Ōyamagui), one younger male (probably another statue of Ōyamagui), and one female—are obviously seated in the half-Lotus position (*hankafuza* 半跏趺坐), they are almost certainly *mishōtai* 御正体, literally "revered true bodies," usually found in the form of drawings or mirrors, indicative of the combinatory devotion to [Japanese or native] kami and [Indian and continental] buddhas and bodhisattvas (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合).[32] Itō postulates that the larger Ōyamagui statue was commissioned by Enchin, the Jimon patriarch and fifth abbot of Enryakuji [for a short time], before he departed for China in 853 (Itō 2011, 56–57 and 84–85). He is less confident about the second, younger, Ōyamagui *mishōtai*, but he is convinced that the female statue is Ichikishima Hime no Mikoto 市杵島姫命 (alt. Okitsushima).[33] She is Ōyamagui's wife and is enshrined at Matsuno'o as well.

Two of the smaller eighteen Shinto statues are of particular interest to me because they bear inscriptions that tell us how Hata no Yorichika—one of the primary sponsors of the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures between 1131–1142—had them commissioned in 1143 (Kōji 康治 2) by named artisans who Itō thinks are Buddhist monastics. During the late Heian period there were seven shrines administered by Matsuno'o. In addition to Matsuno'o where Ōyamagui and Ichikishima are enshrined, Tsukuyomi shrine and Ichitani 櫟谷 (alt. Ichidata) shrine comprised the three chief medieval shrines of Matsuno'o.[34] 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 (see Itō 2011, 68–69). Hata no Yorichika also commissioned a statue of Okitsushima Hime no Mikoto 奥津嶋姫命, the kami of Ichitani-Munakata Shrines.

32. Sagai (2013, 55–59) gives the date 1013 (Chōwa 長和 2); see for example pages 55–56.

33. I follow readings provided by a free pamphlet available at Matsuo Taisha (2014), *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]). See Como (2009, 42) and Ueda (2013, 67) for alternate readings.

34. Como (2009, 88 and 164) points out that the Hata clan moved the Moon Deity to Tsukuyomisha by the Nara period.

What are we to make of these Shinto statues, commissioned by a rather obvious—and perhaps pious—sponsor of Buddhist scriptures? If later chronicles of *shinbutsu shūgō* concerning the twenty-two major shrines in the Kinki region can be considered a useful guide, then both the *Ruijūki genshō* 類聚既験抄 and *Shosha kinki* 諸社禁忌 tell us that within the doctrine that presents kami as "local traces" of buddhas and bodhisattvas (*honji suijaku* 本地垂跡), Ōyamagui no kami represents either Vipaśyin (Bibashibutsu 毘婆尸仏) or Śākyamuni, Ichikishima no Hime no Mikoto embodies Jūichimen Kannon 十一面観音 (Ekādaśamukha-avalokiteśvara, Bodhisattva of Compassion with Eleven Faces), and Tsukuyomi no Mikoto corresponds to Fudōmyōō 不動明王 (Acalanātha, Immovable Bright King).[35] *Ruijūki genshō* is a late sixteenth-century compendium of auspicious origin tales—*engi* 縁起—for ten head shrines, including Matsuno'o; *Shosha kinki* is a Kamakura period compilation of taboo rules for use in the official twenty-two shrines institutionalized during the tenth century in *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (Procedures of the Engi Era, 901–923, comp. 927, utilized after 967).

Conclusion: More Research Required

Let me conclude by returning to how I introduced Matsuno'o Shrine and the Buddhist scriptures housed onsite there for more than seven centuries. It seems likely that the only reason why these scriptures survived the trials and tribulations of the past two centuries is because they ended up in the possession of a Hokkeshū temple that lost them, found them, rediscovered them, and, I am sorry to have to tell you now, have lost them once again. I am indebted to Nakao Takashi of Risshō University who led the research team that painstakingly examined the contents of Myōrenji's treasure house after the Matsuno'o scriptures were found in 1993, and published their detailed findings in 1997 (Nakao retired in 2002). It is unfortunate that no one at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies (ICPBS) in Tokyo has had access to the Matsuno'o Shrine canon, which means that no digital editions of its contents are available.

Myōrenji still possesses several scrolls in the treasure house. Hirose Mitsuko 広瀬美津子, the person in charge of day-to-day affairs (including running a B&B within the temple precincts) since no abbot has been onsite for several years, kindly permitted me to spend several hours working with several rolls of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*. The Kyoto and Nara National Museums have displayed rolls from the Matsuno'o collection in recent years, too. I am sad to say, however, that some scrolls are now in private collections (for example, the Moriya

35. See http://www.lares.dti.ne.jp/hisadome/honji/files/MATSUNOO.html (accessed 30 June 2015).

守屋 Collection).[36] It has been far more difficult than initially anticipated to find and locate the complete contents of a set of scriptures painstakingly studied only twenty years ago. Further research is certainly required to test my hypothesis that the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures preserve what amounts to a Tendai canon at both Enryakuji and Miidera.

Further research is also required to flesh out what role Hata no Chikatō and his son, Hata no Yorichika, played in twelfth century Japanese aristocratic society, both in terms of the spread of [Tendai] Buddhist scriptures and associated, perhaps combinatory, ritual practices. The statues and canon at Matsuno'o Shrine certainly testify to a great deal of wealth and activity on their behalf. Only recently I also became aware of a sutra container dated 1121 that was apparently unearthed at Kumano Hongū 熊野本宮 in Wakayama Prefecture with Hata no Yorichika's name.[37] On the one hand, therefore, the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures have a tremendous amount of information to tell us about late-Heian and early-Kamakura era Japanese religion and society in terms of previously unknown networks between prominent Buddhist temples, *Miyadera*, and Shinto shrines (if there were any at all at that time). On the other hand, the scriptures also tell us a great deal about the problematical and nuanced narratives of the religious literature we utilize, now often in digital form. Had the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures been bought by or transferred to the Hōnen'in, instead of Myōrenji, for example, would the *shōgyō* documents that were almost certainly preserved alongside the chests that contained the rolls of the *issaikyō* within the Godokyōjo have been lost? Is it significant that Mr. Shimada Yasaburō participated in lay *Lotus Sutra* groups at the time when he donated the boxes with the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures to Myōrenji? Do we need to reassess the timeframe of the well-known Meiji-era *Shinbutsu bunri* program now that we know the Godokyōjo was devalued at least a decade before the new government gave the order to forcibly separate shrines from Buddhist temples? These questions and several more require additional research. But one thing seems almost certain: the Matsuno'o Shrine

36. Moriya Kozō's 守屋孝蔵 (1876–1953) son donated his collection to Kyoto National Museum. Moriya Kozō had amassed a large collection of Chinese and Japanese art, with 268 manuscript sutras, including one designated a National Treasure, 35 important Cultural Properties, and 37 art objects. See Kyoto National Museum (2004). My sincere gratitude to Maya Hara for providing me with this reference; she translated part of this catalog. In 2015, the Eastward Expansion of Buddhism: Art of the Buddhist Canon; Feature Exhibition in Commemoration of the 100th Daizō-e Exhibition (Kyoto National Museum 2015), no. 29, was a roll from the Matsuno'o Shrine scriptures owned by the Moriya collection: it is roll 2 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Xiapin bore boluomi jing*, *Shōbon hannya haramitsukyō* 小品般若波羅蜜経, T. 227). Note that this roll is, indeed, not covered in Nakao's written report because he and the team must not have had access to it in 1995.

37. I owe this reference to Michael Jamentz; see the Kyoto National Museum (2015) exhibit, nos. 7 and 59.

scriptures ought to entice almost anyone with a vested interest in coming to terms with East Asian Buddhist canons to rethink some very basic assumptions about who produced them and for what ends.

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Z *Zhengyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釈教目録 [Newly revised catalog of Buddhist scriptures made during the Zhengyuan-era, T. 2157], comp. 799 or 800 by Yuanshao 円照 (d.u.).

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