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## Revealing the Miraculous Objects Placed inside the Statue of the Kōfukuji Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon

The use of relics and *gorintō* (five-element pagodas) as objects placed in Buddhist statues gained currency in the late twelfth century. This article examines the deposits (*nōnyūhin*) placed by Fujiwara no Kanezane (1149–1207) in 1189 within the statue of Fukūkenjaku Kannon in the Nan'endō at Kōfukuji in Nara, one of the earliest examples to contain both relics and *gorintō*. The article unravels the intricate relationship between the contents of the inserted objects, the meaning of the statue, and the motives behind the placing of the deposits. On the one hand, the deposits in this statue were carefully selected to manifest Kanezane's conception of the sacred. On the other, they were intended to evoke a response from Fukūkenjaku Kannon to generate rebirth in Amida's pure land. The relic deposit was enshrined because of its connection to Pure Land rebirth and was to transform the statue into a *shōjinbutsu* (living buddha) that assumed an array of meanings: an icon containing relics, a nexus for salvation, and a miraculous manifestation of the deity. It is also suggested that Pure Land belief was a driving force behind the increase in using relics as *nōnyūhin* in the late twelfth century.

KEYWORDS: *nōnyūhin*—*shōjinbutsu*—Pure Land—relics—Fujiwara no Kanezane—Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon

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PLACING images, texts, and other objects within sculptures has been practiced by Buddhists in Asia for centuries. In Japan this began as early as the eighth century but did not become common until after the eleventh century (WU 2002, 157; OKU 1998, 503). The use of *yosegi zukuri* 寄木造 (joined-wood construction), which was established in the mid-eleventh century, contributed to the growing popularity of this practice. Statues made in this method were assembled from multiple pieces of wood and hollow in their interiors, thereby allowing the internment of objects within their bodies. In the past two decades, deposits inside sculptures (*zōnai nōnyūhin* 像内納入品) have attracted sustained attention from scholars writing in both English and Japanese (BRINKER 1997–1998; 2011; WU 2002, 138–223; 2014; OKU 1997; 2009, 42–49; SASAKI 2017, 223–238; and AOKI 1999; 2005). In general, they are thought to have been placed for two purposes. One was to form karmic bonds (*kechien* 結縁) with deities and icons, which is shown by lists of devotees’ names inserted into sculptures or written on their interior surfaces (NCK 3: 82; NCK 10: 93, 102). The other was to animate, empower, and enliven images. BRINKER (2011, 3–50) was one of the leading scholars to investigate this in the context of Japanese Buddhism, considering the practice of placing deposits a means to transform a mere material object into a sacred icon and the equivalent of an eye-opening ceremony (*kaigan shiki* 開眼式) to consecrate Buddhist images. This interpretation is, however, not grounded on much textual evidence and therefore has received criticism from scholars, especially Robert SHARF (2013), who considers it “largely conjecture” and raises questions about how these deposits animated images and whether there were specific types of objects used for the purpose of consecration.<sup>1</sup> Recent studies by WU (2014, 89–92), IKOMA (2002), and SASAKI (2017, 223–238), however, have shown that statues were viewed as living bodies (*shōjin* 生身) of deities because of their deposits and that miracles were expected

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1. Sharf proposes another theory about the function of deposits, suggesting that they were placed in sculptures because Buddhists were told to do so by other people, such as their grandparents, teachers, and monks. His interpretation of depositing practices elicits criticism from scholars such as FAURE (2017, 89–113).

to occur surrounding these statues. It should be noted that these scholars do not equate the eye-opening ceremony with the internment of the deposits but they do consider their function in a similar way as endowing the statues with sacred qualities.

Recent scholarly interest in *nōnyūhin* have developed along with an ongoing discussion about the nature of Buddhist images, particularly why and how they were regarded not merely as the likeness of holy figures but sacred “living” beings with considerable magical and salvific power. The practice of enshrining deposits offers a good example of this character of Buddhist images as it arguably served as a means of animation and consecration. This article does not intend to overturn this interpretive approach but takes it as an *a priori* condition in which objects put inside statues may run the risk of rendering the practice one dimensional. A case study by OKU (1997), which examines objects placed inside a Jizō 地藏 statue at Jakkōin 寂光院 in Kyoto, has indicated that not all types of deposits but those related to the remains of the Buddha, such as relics, scriptures, mantras, and *dhāraṇī* were employed to bestow sacred qualities on statues or signify the spirits of deities. Moreover, his study contends that this statue may function more as a container than an embodiment of the deity as most of its deposits, unrelated to body of the sacred, had more to do with the devotees than the Jizō statue itself and could be viewed as the offerings or donations made to the deity (OKU 1997, 102–107).<sup>2</sup> The function of deposits cannot be fully understood in animate-inanimate terms because the ways in which Buddhists conducted the practice would have been affected by several factors, such as the extent to which Buddhists understood doctrines, how significant the practice was to them, and their intentions and expectations. The aim of this article is to investigate the agency of Buddhists in the practice of placing deposits, particularly questions as to how Buddhists selected deposits, what their selection had to do with their perception of the sacred (both statues and deities) and the religious milieu in which they were situated, and what motivated them to conduct the practice. Researching these questions would enable a better understanding of the relationship between contents of deposits, meanings of statues, and intentions of devotees.

This article examines the objects that Fujiwara no Kanezane 藤原兼実 (1149–1207) placed within the statue of Fukūkenjaku Kannon 不空羂索觀音 in the

2. Most of the deposits of this statue represent the medicine of the five senses (*gokyō no ryōyaku* 五境の良薬) that was intended to evoke five kinds of pleasures one could enjoy in the pure land and be used to alleviate the pain one would experience in hell. This, together with an ink inscription written on a bag, another item placed inside this statue, suggests that the deposits of the five senses were enshrined to avoid falling into hell and to generate rebirth in the pure land. In addition, Oku observes that this use of the deposits was an indication of increased attention given to personal salvation in Buddhist practice in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (OKU 1997, 106–107).

Nan'endō 南円堂 at Kōfukuji 興福寺 in Nara when this statue was recreated and consecrated in 1189.<sup>3</sup> The earlier Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon was destroyed in 1181 when Taira no Shigehira 平重衡 (1158–1185) led the Taira forces to Nara and set fire to Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji 東大寺 in revenge for their support of the Minamoto 源 clan. This fire destroyed numerous buildings at both temples and marked the opening stage of the Genpei 源平 War (1180–1185), which ended in 1185 with the establishment of the first military government in Kamakura by Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199). The reconstruction of Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji, which stimulated new modes of artistic creation and religious devotion, began shortly after the fire. The recreation of the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon was supervised by Kanezane, who was from the *sekkanke* 摂関家 (House of Regents), the leading lineage of the Northern branch of the Fujiwara clan.

Objects placed within the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon show a new trend in the contents of statue deposits. Prior to the twelfth century, relics (*shari* 舍利) were rarely put inside statues but instead placed in pagodas, often within central pillars or buried in underground chambers (TANABE 2001, 397; WU 2002, 158–159). However, around the late twelfth century, relic deposits began to gain currency and became frequent in the following century. It is also in the late twelfth century that *gorintō* 五輪塔 (five-element pagodas) were first placed in Buddhist sculptures. This change in the contents of deposits may have had to do with the reconstruction of Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji (WU 2002, 159). The deposits inside the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon, which represent one of the earliest examples containing both relics and *gorintō*, can therefore offer a window on the development of this new trend and on the worship of relics in the late twelfth century. They can also provide insights into the practice of reconstruction that occupied a central position in the religious landscape of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Despite this significance, research on the deposits inside this statue has been scant.<sup>4</sup> This is due to the fact that among the items deposited, only the *ganmon* 願文 (votive text) still exists. Fortunately, this *ganmon* as well as Kanezane's diary *Gyokuyō* provide fruitful information to reconstruct the composition of the deposits and circumstances in which they were enshrined. Much is also known about Kanezane's life, his worship of the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon, and the process in which it was recreated. An in-depth investigation

3. Because Kanezane was the first patriarch of the Kujō 九条 lineage of the *sekkanke* that gradually emerged in the early thirteenth century, he is often referred to as “Kujō no Kanezane 九条兼実.” The word *kujō* came from the name of his residence in Kyoto. Because Kanezane still used “Fujiwara” as his surname in the late twelfth century and because his lineage had not yet been fully established at this time, I prefer to use “Fujiwara” over “Kujō” in this article.

4. Only one scholar has examined the contents of the deposits (JINNO 2014). His research is, however, limited to certain deposited items and focuses on Kanezane's prayers written in the *ganmon*.

is, therefore, possible and provides an opportunity to understand a layperson's perception of Buddhist statues and their view of depositing practices.

To understand the reasons and motives for the placement of the deposits in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon, one has to first examine Kanezane's background and religious beliefs, and why this statue was significant to him and his family. The article begins with this examination and then reconstructs the appearance of the whole deposit and analyzes each of the enshrined items and the rationale behind their selection. Because relics were a new type of *nōnyūhin* 納入品 and would have been considered especially important, I dedicate a section of this article to explaining what motivated Kanezane to place relics in the statue and what effects this dedication was intended to achieve. Although, as Brian Ruppert's study shows, relics had been worshiped and utilized in different ways and acquired an array of meanings over the course of history, what is particularly relevant to this study is the use of relics as statue deposits (RUPPERT 2000; 2008). I analyze accounts of such usage in historical texts from the twelfth century along with actual examples. In the next section, I investigate the relationship between the entire deposit and Kanezane's prayers of supplications as stated in the *ganmon* to show how the idea of sympathetic resonance (*kannō* 感応) with the sacred underlay Kanezane's enshrinement of the deposits and the mechanism of salvation in this context. In the last section, I consider the depositing practice in relation to the process by which the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon was created. This process is important as it was the context within which this practice was conducted.

I argue that in addition to empowering the statue and signifying the spirit of the deity, the deposits in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon served as both a soteriological and cognitive tool for Kanezane to conceptualize and envision the sacred on the one hand and evoke a response from the deity to generate rebirth in the pure land on the other. The contents of the deposits were informed by religious activities surrounding the reconstruction of Tōdaiji and were linked to the phenomenon of making images of *shōjinbutsu* 生身仏 (living buddhas) and Kanezane's understanding of multiple existences of the sacred. The relic deposit, which was understood as a *shōjin* 生身 (living body), was enshrined to transform the statue into a *shōjinbutsu*, one that had an array of meanings—an icon containing relics inside its body; a physical manifestation of the divine; and a nexus for salvation and a statue that possessed the same miraculous power as the previous Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon. These diverse meanings of the statue had to do with the liminality of the environment in which the practice of placing the deposits was conducted. As this article demonstrates, the Fukūkenjaku Kannon that was under construction was already regarded as a numinous object, while it had not yet been fully “enlightened.” This liminal state gave Kanezane freedom to approach the existence of the sacred in his own way. This study also reveals

Pure Land belief as a significant impetus that drove Kanezane to enshrine relics and underlay other contemporary cases, and as a driving force behind the increase in using relics as statue deposits in the late twelfth century.<sup>5</sup>

*Fujiwara no Kanezane and Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon*

Born into a powerful family as the third son of the Regent Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097–1164), Kanezane was a high-ranking courtier who rose to be the Minister of the Right (*udaijin* 右大臣) at the age of eighteen (TAGA 1974, 445–543). This put him in charge of matters regarding the reconstruction of Tōdaiji and in contact with the monk Chōgen 重源 (1121–1206), who supervised the fundraising campaign for Tōdaiji's restoration. Nevertheless, Kanezane's influence over politics was limited until the Genpei War came to an end. In 1186, Yorimoto appointed Kanezane as the Regent, a post he held until 1196, which made him the chieftain of the Fujiwara clan and allowed him to take a leadership role in the reconstruction of Kōfukuji, the tutelary temple of the Fujiwara clan, and of the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon (FIGURE 1), arguably one of the most important icons for his family.

First created in 746 and enshrined in the Nan'endō in 813, this statue was tied to the ancestors of the Northern Fujiwara clan and served as the focal point of their memorial rituals for hundreds of years.<sup>6</sup> It began to be seen as the protector of the Northern Fujiwara clan in the eleventh century. One entry in the *Kōfukuji ruki*, compiled in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, illustrates this new character, stating that, “The Fujiwara clan has prospered because of the power of this icon” (*Kōfukuji ruki*, 3). Moreover, in the twelfth century, it became identified as the “*honji* 本地 (original ground),” namely, the Buddhist manifestation of Kasuga Daimyōjin 春日大明神, the tutelary kami (local deities) of the Fujiwara clan, at Kasuga Shrine in Nara.<sup>7</sup> Recreating this statue was for Kanezane a way to restore

5. Oku is one of the few scholars who has investigated the connection between deposits and Pure Land belief; see OKU 1997; 2009, 48.

6. The date and provenance of this statue are controversial and have been the subject of scholarly debates due to the ambiguous accounts given in the temple records. In general, two dates are considered most likely. One is that it was created in 746 as the main icon of the Lecture Hall at Kōfukuji (later moved to the Nan'endō) and the other sometime during the late eighth and early ninth centuries by the vow of Fujiwara no Uchimarō 藤原内麻呂 (756–812). An investigation into the history of the Northern Fujiwara clan and other relevant images suggests that the family may have originally planned to move the Fukūkenjaku Kannon from the Lecture Hall to the Nan'endō to commemorate the first two patriarchs of the clan, but changed the main beneficiary to Uchimarō because of his abrupt death in 812 (CHAN 2018, 73–96). For an overview of this issue, see HAMADA (2011, 151–158).

7. The earliest known record of this correspondence between the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon and Kasuga Daimyōjin appears in *Ōnakatomi Tokimori Kasuga onsha hon'en tō chūshinmon utsushi* (ST 13: 18), which notes a date corresponding to 1175.



FIGURE 1. Kōkei 康慶 (d.u.), Fukûkenjaku Kannon, 1189. Wood with gold leaf. Kōfukuji, Nara. Courtesy of Kōfukuji. Photo by Asukaen 飛鳥園.

the power of his family: “I reconstructed the Nan’endō Fukûkenjaku Kannon. Therefore, the resurgence of the Fujiwara family and efflorescence of Hossō teachings should come at this time” (*Gyokuyō* 3: 781).

Kanezane would also have regarded the reconstruction work as an expression of his devotion to the Nan’endō Fukûkenjaku Kannon. From *Gyokuyō*, we know that he was a devout believer in this icon and sponsored various activities concerned with it, such as recitations and offerings of sutras at the Nan’endō, construction of the icon’s copies, and performances of rituals centered on the deity (*Gyokuyō* 1: 544; 2: 313, 380; 3: 700, 724, 732–733; KAMEDA 1970, 356–362).

For example, an account in *Gyokuyō* describes that on the seventh day of the tenth month in 1191, Kanezane asked the Kōfukuji monk Shin'en 信円 (1153–1124) to recite scriptures on Fukūkenjaku Kannon and lecture on the *Heart Sūtra* (*Gyokuyō* 3: 732). The same evening, Shin'en presided over a dedication ceremony for a sandalwood sculpture of Fukūkenjaku Kannon that had recently been constructed to pray for Kanezane's daughter Kujō no Ninshi 九条任子 (1173–1239). Eight days later, Kanezane reported that it emitted rays of light, which showed it was protecting his daughter and was a response to his recitation of a sutra on the deity (*Gyokuyō* 3: 733). This statue was probably a copy of the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon since, in the same entry before and after the description of this miraculous incident, Kanezane expressed his faith in, and gratitude for, the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon as well as Kasuga Daimyōjin.<sup>8</sup> In addition to sponsoring events centered on this icon, Kanezane showed his devotion to it by copying scriptures on Fukūkenjaku Kannon, chanting its name and spells, and making pilgrimages to the Nan'endō (*Gyokuyō* 1: 285, 622; 2: 318, 575, 579; 3: 700, 732). For example, on the first day of the eleventh month in 1182, Kanezane chanted the name of Fukūkenjaku Kannon five thousand times together with one hundred scrolls of the *Heart Sūtra* and continued the same practice for the next six days (*Gyokuyō* 2: 579).

Kanezane was, in addition to his devotion to this icon, engaged with the teachings of the Shingon, Tendai, and Hossō Buddhist schools and, as TAGA (1974, 548) observes, was a devotee who not only practiced Buddhism to show his devotion but also sought to have a deep understanding of Buddhist doctrines. His religious beliefs can be summarized as eclectic, showing combinations of elements from various Buddhist traditions and worship of kami, but he was dedicated to Pure Land belief throughout his life.<sup>9</sup> Aspirations for rebirth in the pure lands and incantations of the names of buddhas (*nenbutsu* 念仏) were widespread across different Buddhist schools in the twelfth century. Belief in rebirth in the pure land of Amida was particularly popular as Amida allegedly vowed to rescue those who chanted his name and aspired to be reborn in his pure land. Accounts from *Gyokuyō* show that Kanezane was a devout practitioner of Amida *nenbutsu*. In 1176, for instance, Kanezane performed it for seven days in a row and chanted Amida's name one million times in total (*Gyokuyō* 1: 604–608). Furthermore, he vowed to perform this ritual every year without fail throughout his life and stated his conviction, "I dare not to desire for a long life. My goal

8. Copies of this icon were made at the request of the Northern Fujiwara clan as early as the late eleventh century. For studies on these copies, see CHAN (2018, 208–230; 2020); TANIGUCHI (2002); ASAI (1999, 69–85).

9. For Kanezane's Pure Land belief, see NAKAO (1978; 2001, 181–199) and SHIGEMATSU (1964, 440–499). For his worship of kami and interests in other Buddhist teachings, see KAMEDA (1970, 356–362), OBARA (2000), and YOSHII (1991).



only lies in going to the western (pure) land” (*Gyokuyō* 2: 99). On one occasion, Kanezane added genuflection into his seven-day *nenbutsu* chanting (*Gyokuyō* 2: 628). The condition of his legs worsened as a result, making it hard to continue the performance. Nevertheless, he insisted on continuing and stated, “For the sake of the Buddhist Law, I will sacrifice my body and life” (*Gyokuyō* 2: 628).

### *The Deposited Items and the Rationale behind Their Selection*

As the above shows, the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon was miraculous for the Northern Fujiwara clan and was considered to give rise to their long-term prosperity. Given this significance and Kanezane's devotion to this statue, its deposits would have been carefully selected. No evidence indicates that the previous image of the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon, destroyed in the fire of 1181, contained objects and other items within its interior. Kanezane's installations reflect the rise in this practice in the late twelfth century and should be examined in relation to other contemporary examples. As mentioned, except for the votive text (hereafter, the *Nan'endō ganmon*; KI 1, no. 407: 338),<sup>10</sup> all of the other objects inside the Fukūkenjaku Kannon no longer exist, and it is likely that they were removed when the statue was rescued from a fire in 1717.<sup>11</sup> *Nan'endō ganmon*, written in gold ink on indigo paper, carries Kanezane's signature and the date of the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month of Bunji 文治 5 (1189), which is when the Fukūkenjaku Kannon was consecrated in the Nan'endō (*Gyokuyō* 3:

10. It is unclear whether *Nan'endō ganmon* was placed inside the statue along with other items, but I am inclined to consider it be part of the *nōnyūhin*. According to OKU (1998, 505), it had become common in the late twelfth century for votive texts to be inserted into statues. Also, as the following will show, Kanezane wrote a votive text and placed it in the restored Great Buddha of Tōdaiji from the twelfth century. It is hard to imagine that he did not do the same for the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon.

11. The fire destroyed the Nan'endō, but the Fukūkenjaku Kannon was rescued along with the ten other sculptures and two painting panels. Some of these images caught on fire and were thrown into two nearby ponds. According to *Kōfukuji garan enshō no ki*, the head, feet, and hands of the Fukūkenjaku Kannon, which was constructed by the technique of *yosegi zukuri*, were detached from the body of the statue when the fire occurred (NARAKEN KYŌIKU IINKAI 1996, 100). This detachment work would have taken place within the Nan'endō because it would be difficult to move the whole statue, which measures 336 centimeters in height and is 739 centimeters tall when including its mandorla and platform, out of the building without partially dissembling it. It is said that previous abbots of Kōfukuji knew the best way to take the statue out of the Nan'endō and passed this knowledge to their successors (SUZUKI 1993, 5). It is very likely that it was at the point of dissembling the statue during the 1717 fire that the deposits were taken out. The votive text went into a private collection at some point, but its current whereabouts is unknown (SUZUKI 2003, 50). Currently, the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon contains objects that were inserted in 1905 and 1995 respectively when the statue was undergoing repair. For accounts about the rescue of these images from the fire, see NARAKEN KYŌIKU IINKAI (1996, 100). For the contents of the current deposits, see SUZUKI (2003, 57–58).

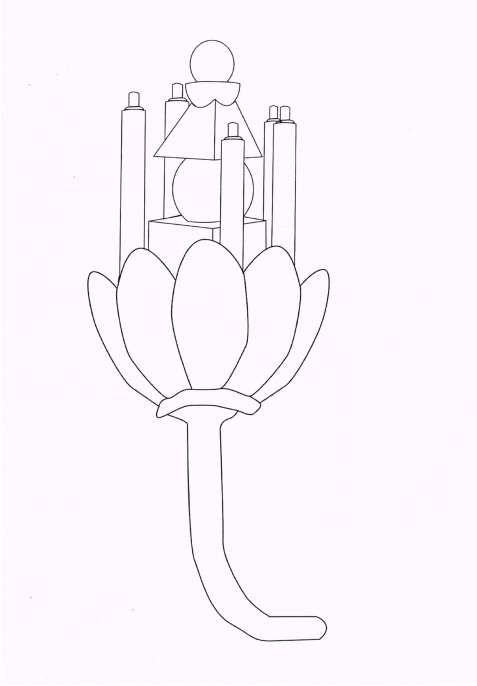


FIGURE 2. Diagram of the reconstructed deposit in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon. Designed by Lai Ming-Te.

556–557).<sup>12</sup> HARUNA (1993, 239–240) believes, as a result of comparing the calligraphy of the *Nan'endō ganmon* with that of other texts brushed by him, that the former was written by his hand. Its text is, moreover, strikingly similar to that of a catalog (*mokuroku* 目六) transcribed in *Gyokuyō* and written by Kanezane a week before the consecration ceremony (*Gyokuyō* 3: 557). Since *Nan'endō ganmon* postdates the catalog text and is slightly shorter, the latter might have served as a draft for the former. The following description of the deposit is based primarily on *Nan'endō ganmon*, but I refer to the catalog when necessary.

I insert one lotus flower in the body [of the Fukūkenjaku Kannon] and place a five-element pagoda in it.<sup>13</sup> Inside the pagoda, I enshrine golden seed letters, a silver lasso, three relic grains, and five-element (*gorin*) letters. Scriptures written in gold ink on indigo paper are set up at the four corners of the small pagoda. They are one each of the *Treasure Casket Seal Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (*Baoqiyein tuoluoni jing* 宝篋印陀羅尼經); the Avalokiteśvara chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*; a sutra on Fukūkenjaku Kannon; and the *Heart Sūtra* together with the *Diamond Sūtra*.  
(KI 1, no. 407: 338)

12. For a photo image of the text, see HARUNA (1978, 37).

13. The word *kei* 茎 (stem) in the original passage was transcribed incorrectly as *ki* 基 (base) in KI 1, no. 407: 338. Both *Nan'endō ganmon* and the catalog in *Gyokuyō* show the word as *kei*.



FIGURE 3. Diagram of the reconstructed deposit in the Dainichi statue at Kôtokuji. Photograph courtesy of the Tokyo National Museum (Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2017, 250).

As this account indicates, a *gorintō* that enshrined several objects was surrounded by five scripture scrolls standing at its four corners, all of which were placed in a lotus flower to constitute a single object (FIGURE 2). Among the scriptures deposited, the *Heart Sūtra* and *Diamond Sūtra* were bound together into a bundle. No other *nōnyūhin* was, to my knowledge, configured in the same way, but that the sutras and *gorintō* were resting in a lotus flower recalls a *gachirin* 月輪 (moon disc), which is often shaped as a round plaque set on a lotus pedestal or a lotiform base with a long stalk and in some cases, was made as a jewel or a mirror.<sup>14</sup> *Gachirin* had been common objects to be placed within sculptures in the twelfth century to signify the spirits of deities (WU 2002, 153). They were also utilized in esoteric meditation when a practitioner contemplated his or her heart/mind as a full moon, a symbol of an enlightened mind (*bodaishin* 菩提心) (SAWA 1975, 90). The pairing of a *gachirin* and a *gorintō* can be found inside a statue of Dainichi 大日 dated to the 1190s at Kôtokuji 光得寺 in Ashikaga, Tochigi Prefecture (FIGURE 3) (TŌKYŌ KOKURITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN (2017, 248–250, 284). This *gachirin* is shaped as a crystal jewel resting in a lotus-flower bud and is attached to a small wooden post, the upper part of which is carved into a *gorintō*. This *gachirin* and *gorintō* are placed inside the cavity of this statue's torso. It is unknown where the deposit was placed in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon

14. For examples of photo images of *gachirin*, see fig. 7–8, 11, 118 in KURATA (1973). The earliest extant *gachirin* to serve as a *nōnyūhin* is the one placed inside the Byōdōin 平等院 Amida sculpture dated to 1053. For discussion on this *gachirin*, see FUKUYAMA (1955).

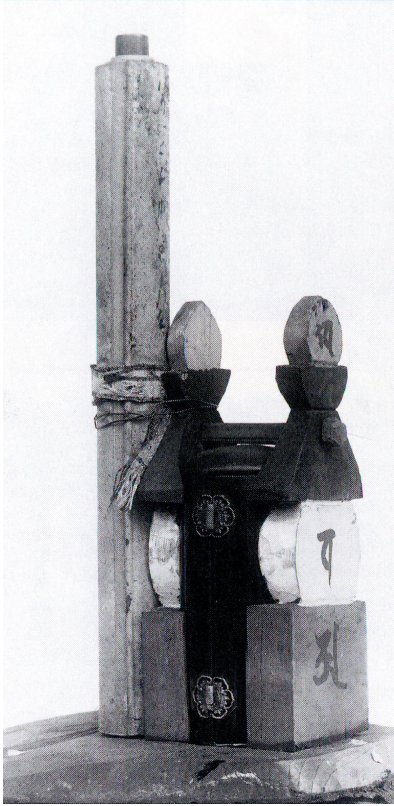


FIGURE 4. Deposit inside the Miroku statue at Hokuendō of Kōfukuji. Photograph courtesy of Kōfukuji and the Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan.

but it may have functioned similarly as a *gachirin* to indicate the spirits of the deity or its Buddhist nature.

Another deposit for comparison is one placed inside the statue of the Miroku 弥勒 as buddha, created in 1212 by Unkei 運慶 (d. 1223) for the Hokuendō 北円堂 at Kōfukuji (FIGURE 4). This consists of two flat wooden plaques made in the form of *gorintō* pressed against the front and back of a small tabernacle (*zushi* 厨子), which enshrines a scroll of votive text and a sandalwood image of Miroku Bosatsu (NARA ROKUDAIJI TAIKAN KANKŌKAI (2000, 40–41). In addition, a scroll of the *Treasure Casket Seal Dhāraṇī Sūtra* is fastened to one of the *gorintō* plaques. The way the sutra and the *gorintō* are combined is similar to the deposit in the Nanendō Fukūkenjaku Kannon.

Among the *nōnyūhin* placed in the Fukūkenjaku Kannon, the *gorintō*, *Treasure Casket Seal Dhāraṇī Sūtra*, and relics are new types of objects placed in statues in the late twelfth century. The earliest known example containing these three objects is the restored Great Buddha of Tōdaiji from the late twelfth century (OKU 1998, 503; TANABE 2001, 399; KOBAYASHI and NARA BUNKAZAI KENKYŪJO 2015, 66–70;

Tōdaiji zōryū kuyō ki, 404). In addition to these three objects, the Great Buddha contained the *Pāsādika-sutta* (*Qingjingjing* 清淨經) and scriptures copied according to the Buddhist Law (*nyohōkyō* 如法經) inside its body (*Gyokuyō* 3, 95–96). First created at the request of Emperor Shōmu 聖武 (698–756) in the eighth century, this statue, like the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon, was destroyed by the 1181 fire and was reconstructed around the same time in 1185. The similarity in the contents of the deposits between these two sculptures indicates a shared approach to the ways ancient Buddhist icons were to be recreated.

*Gorintō* are pagodas composed of five different geometric shapes, each of which represents one of the elements that make up the universe: from top to bottom, a jewel-like form that designates space or void (*kūrin* 空輪); a hemisphere that stands for air or wind (*fūrin* 風輪); a triangle that represents fire (*karin* 火輪); a sphere that embodies water (*suirin* 水輪); and a cube that signifies earth (*jirin* 地輪). *Gorintō* represent the body of Dainichi and were used in esoteric meditations (BRINKER 2011, 60–61). While *gorintō* were already in use prior to the twelfth century, it was Chōgen that promulgated them as reliquaries deposited in statues, and he requested that relic-filled *gorintō* be made and distributed to sub-temples (*bessho* 別所) of Tōdaiji (NAITŌ 2010a, 205–207). *Gorintō* that Chōgen employed are called *sankaku gorintō* 三角五輪塔 (triangular five-element pagodas), showing fire symbols with three sides rather than four, and each of its facets is shaped like a triangle. This version of *gorintō* was associated with the esoteric teachings at Daigoji 醍醐寺 and already existed in the late eleventh century (NAITŌ 2010b, 230–258; GLASSMAN 2018). *Gyokuyō* records that in 1185 Kanezane gave Chōgen a five-colored *gorintō* to be enshrined in the Great Buddha (*Gyokuyō* 3: 80). It is very likely that the *gorintō* inserted into the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon was also made in the form of the three-sided version of the fire symbol.

The use of relics and the *Treasure Casket Seal Dhāraṇī Sūtra* as *nōnyūhin* was also related to Chōgen, and the placement of these objects in the Great Buddha was informed by his trip to Ayuwangsi 阿育王寺 in Ningbo 寧波, Zhejiang 浙江, China, which was then under the control of the Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279) but had been ruled briefly by the Kingdom of Wuyue 吳越 from 893 to 978 (NAITŌ 2010a, 200–201).<sup>15</sup> In imitation of King Aśoka, who built eighty-four thousand stupas to enshrine relics of the Buddha in India, the King of Wuyue, Qian Hongchu 錢弘俶 (929–988), commissioned the production of the same number of pagodas, each of which contained the *Treasured Casket Seal Dhāraṇī Sūtra*, and distributed them across his kingdom. Although Qian Hongchu's pagodas and this sutra were transmitted to Japan in the tenth century, it was not until the late twelfth century that the sutra became a popular object to install in Buddhist statues (TANABE 2001, 399; OKU 1998, 503). Naitō surmises that while visiting

15. Some scholars suspect that Chōgen did not travel to China (YAMAMOTO 1983).

Ayuwangsi, Chōgen probably saw Qian Hongchu's pagodas, many of which have been excavated in Zeijiang, and the Aśoka stupa that was enshrined at the temple (NAITŌ 2010a, 196–197). *Gyokuyō* records Chōgen's accounts of his pilgrimage to Ayuwangsi, describing his encounter with the Aśoka stupa and the miraculous transformations of the enshrined relics (*Gyokuyō* 2: 593–594). Therefore, by placing the relics and the *Treasure Casket Seal Dhāraṇī Sūtra* in the Great Buddha, Chōgen drew a parallel between this practice and the deeds of King Aśoka and Qian Hongchu, demonstrating that these two objects were suitable for the status of the Great Buddha as a symbol of imperial power. In the case of the Nan'endō Fukūenjaku Kannon, these two objects were probably selected because they were new types inspired by Indian and Chinese examples and were therefore perceived as particularly powerful and sacred.

The *Treasure Casket Seal Dhāraṇī Sūtra* may also have been chosen because of its association with postmortem salvation. This sutra equates the treasure casket seal *dhāraṇī* with relics of the whole bodies of all buddhas and tells of its power to prolong life, cure illness, and rescue the deceased from hell and transport them to the pure lands (T 1022b, 19.713c20–23; T 1022b, 19.714a25–b3). It also instructs the placement of this sutra in images or pagodas. Should this sutra be placed in a pagoda, that pagoda will become a vajra stupa of all buddhas; should this sutra be placed in an image, that image will be one made with seven treasures (T 1022b, 19: 713b9–11, 713b14–15). As this *dhāraṇī* was considered to possess power to rescue the deceased who had fallen into hell, the Retired Emperor Go Shirakawa 後白河 (1127–1192) ordered the construction of eighty-four thousand pagodas in 1181, each of which contained the *Treasure Casket Seal Dhāraṇī Sūtra*, for the repose of the souls of those who died or were executed during the Genpei War (*Gyokuyō* 2: 529; YOKOUCHI 2008, 565). Kanezane was put in charge of constructing these pagodas (*Gyokuyō* 2: 533–534). In *Gyokuyō*, this sutra is mentioned on occasions associated with postmortem salvation. For example, in the second month of 1182, Kanezane offered a scroll of the *Treasure Casket Seal Dhāraṇī Sūtra* and chanted its *dhāraṇī* during the seven days of the spring equinox ceremony called *higan* 彼岸, which originated in the Pure Land teachings of the Chinese monk Shandao 善導 (613–681) and was conducted for rebirth in the pure land (*Gyokuyō* 2: 553; ROSENFELD 2011, 157). Another example is that in the third month of 1188, Kanezane added this sutra to his offerings of scriptures to an icon of Amida (*Gyokuyō* 3: 505). While there was no precedent for this type of offering, Kanezane explained he did it because of his belief in Amida's pure land. Scriptures he offered were, in addition, written on paper that were repurposed from those originally used by his son Kujō no Yoshimichi 九条良通 (1167–1188), who had died suddenly of an illness the previous month (*Gyokuyō* 3: 505). It is therefore likely that the *Treasure Casket Seal Dhāraṇī Sūtra* was also offered to pray for Yoshimichi's salvation. The internment of this sutra in the

Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon may have been for a similar purpose to pray for the salvation of Yoshimichi, Kanezane, or both.

Other deposits in this statue are specifically related to Fukūkenjaku Kannon, such as the lasso, which is an attribute of the deity, and the Avalokiteśvara chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*, which addresses the transformative power of Avalokiteśvara to assume various appearances in order to rescue sentient beings from different kinds of sufferings. Moreover, according to JINNO (2014, 22–24), the *Heart Sūtra* and *Diamond Sūtra* were inserted to indicate that the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon was the *honji* of Kasuga Daimyōjin. *Gyokuyō* shows that Kanezane regularly offered the *Heart Sūtra* to Kasuga Daimyōjin and chanted and read it on occasions associated with events taking place at Kasuga Shrine (*Gyokuyō* 2: 528, 575, 579, 600, 614, 664; *Gyokuyō* 3: 17, 19, 21, 22, 59). Another entry in *Gyokuyō* states that the *Diamond Sūtra* was the *goshōtai* 御正体 (true body) of Kasuga Daimyōjin, an identity propounded by the Kōfukuji monk Zōshun 藏俊 (1104–1180) (*Gyokuyō* 2: 490–491). Believing in this identity, Kanezane offered the *Diamond Sūtra* to the Kasuga Shrine several times and asked for recitations of this sutra at the site (*Gyokuyō* 3: 18, 21, 83).

In sum, objects placed in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon, as a whole, recall a *gachirin* and may have stood for the spirit of the deity or its Buddhist nature. These objects were selected for various reasons to signify the religious potency of the icon and its connection to Kasuga Daimyōjin, and to pray for salvation in the afterlife.

### *Deposits and a Two-Fold Body*

Once these deposits were placed in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon, they became part of its body. Thus, the contents of the deposits may have to do with the ways in which Kanezane conceptualized the existence of the sacred. I contend that the deposits manifested a two-fold body of the Buddha, namely the transformation or manifestation body (*keshin* 化身 or *ōjin* 応身) and the dharma body (*hosshin* 法身), which are regarded as two of the three types of the Buddha's existences. Generally speaking, the dharma body is conceived as the body of truth that is formless, eternal, and transcendental. As this type of Buddha's body indicates the essence of the Buddha and the true nature of things, it was considered the basis for other types of his existences. Nevertheless, the dharma body in early Buddhist texts is understood in more concrete terms as a collection of scriptures, the teachings of the Buddha, or the body of dharma rather than a metaphysical concept of body (WILLIAMS 2009, 176–177). This led to Buddhist scriptures being viewed as the embodiment of the dharma body. Also, as scriptures were taught and left by the Buddha, they came to be referred to as “the relics of the dharma body” (*hosshin shari* 法身舍利) or “dharma relics” (*hosshari*

法舍利). Consequently, Buddhist scriptures were venerated like relics of the Buddha, being placed inside pagodas, which were used to store his bodily remains and symbolize his presence. This way of venerating scriptures already existed in Japan in the eighth century (KAGEYAMA and HASHIMOTO 1986, 168).

In contrast to the dharma body, the transformation body is visible to humans and can appear on earth to save sentient beings. This existence of the Buddha is his physical manifestation as exemplified by the historical buddha Shakamuni and can assume a multitude of physical forms other than human beings, such as insects, plants, animals, and ghosts. This form of the Buddha appears as skillful means (*hōben* 方便) in accordance with various needs of sentient beings and their differing spiritual capabilities. The reward or enjoyment body (*hōjin* 報身 or *juyūshin* 受用身) is another type of buddha body that results from the achievement of spiritual awakening. This existence of the Buddha has forms and exists in a pure land. Buddhas such as Amida, Birushana, and Yakushi are considered to possess reward bodies, which are only visible to those who have reached an advanced level of spiritual awakening like bodhisattvas.

Viewed from the doctrine of the Buddha's body, the scriptures in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon stand for the existence of the Buddha as the dharma body, while the relic deposit is his physical form as the transformation body. Furthermore, these two deposits make up the dharma and corporeal relics of the Buddha. The deposit of the *gorintō* signifies the dharma body as it represents the body of Dainichi, which assumes this type of Buddha's body. Although in *Nan'endō ganmon*, Kanezane did not indicate that these deposits had such significance, he was familiar with the concept of the Buddha's body and made *nōnyūhin* to manifest this concept. This is indicated by a votive text he wrote with his own hand in 1183 for the enshrinement of the deposits in the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji. While OBARA Hitoshi (2013, 23) considers that this *Tōdaiji ganmon* may not be exactly the one enshrined in the Great Buddha, it is possible that it served as its draft or copy, as is the case with the aforementioned catalog of the deposits of the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon. As its title indicates, the *Tōdaiji ganmon* is concerned with the enshrinement of two kinds of relics—the corporeal (*shōjin*) and dharma relics of the Buddha—within the statue. The text lists one relic grain placed in a crystal pagoda and indicates that by putting it inside the Great Buddha, which represents Birushana, the statue is equipped with the two bodies, reward and transformation bodies, of the Buddha (HI 8, no. 4089: 3094–3095).

The dharma relics are embodied in the sacred texts in *Tōdaiji ganmon*. For example, Kanezane wrote “dependent-origination verse” (*engi hosshin ge* 縁起法身偈), which consists of four lines and epitomizes the essence of the Buddha's teachings. Commonly referred to as “dharma-relic verse” or “dharma-body verse,” this verse is often found inside pagodas or inscribed on stone or clay images in Asia. It was also regarded as the dharma body of the Buddha and was



considered to function as a means to consecrate stupas (BOUCHER 1991, 10–14).<sup>16</sup> In the *Tōdaiji ganmon*, Kanezane also inscribed three passages from the *Lotus Sūtra*, one of which states that “there is no need even to lodge relics in it. What is the reason? Within it there is already a whole body of the Thus Come One” (T 262, 9: 31B28–29; HURVITZ 2009, 163).<sup>17</sup> This passage indicates that the sutra can serve as a substitute for the relics of the Buddha and possess the same religious potency as the latter. In addition to these passages, Kanezane inscribed the mantra of the three bodies (*sanjin shingon* 三身真言) of Dainichi in *Tōdaiji ganmon*. The inclusion of this mantra may have been intended to show the dual identity of the Great Buddha, which represents Birushana as described in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* while also being identified as Dainichi in the late twelfth century (INGRAM 2019, 176–181). *Gyokuyō* records that in 1185 Kanezane placed a votive text and a five-colored *gorintō* inserted with three relic grains in a brocade bag and handed it to Chōgen, who then enshrined it in the Great Buddha (*Gyokuyō* 3: 80).

The deposits in the Great Buddha clearly demonstrate Kanezane’s preoccupation and familiarity with the abstract idea of the Buddha’s body. The Great Buddha, its relic deposit, *gorintō*, and the writings of sacred texts in *Tōdaiji ganmon* together can be viewed as an embodiment of a three-fold body of the Buddha. Similarly, Kanezane may have applied his understanding of the Buddha’s body to create the deposits of the Nan’endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon and endowed the statue with a two-fold body that manifests manifold presence of the divine and its omnipotent power.

### *Relic Deposit and Shōjinbutsu*

The previous section links the selection of the relics placed in the Nan’endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon to Chōgen’s trips to China and activities surrounding the reconstruction of the Tōdaiji Great Buddha. Nevertheless, according to many texts discussed below, the use of relics as *nōnyūhin* was also associated with the idea

16. This verse appears in the *Sutra on the Merit of Bathing the Buddha* (see *Yufo gongde jing*) and reads: “All dharmas arise from a cause. The Tathāgata has explained their cause. The cessation of the cause of these dharmas. This the great *śramaṇa* has explained” (T 698, 16: 800a10–11; HI 8, no. 4089: 3095; BOUCHER 1991, 14).

17. The other two passages are respectively from the chapters “Life Span of the Thus Come One” and “Expedient Devices.” The former reads: “The endurance of the dharmas, the secure position of the dharmas, in the word ever abiding” (HURVITZ 2009, 39; T 262, 9: 9b10). The latter states: “The Thus Come One in full accord with reality knows and sees the marks of the triple sphere. There is no birth-and-death, whether withdrawal from or emergence into the world, nor is there any being in the world nor anyone who passes into extinction. [The triple sphere] is neither reality nor vanity. Not in the manner of the triple sphere does he view the triple sphere” (HURVITZ 2009, 220–221; T 262, 9: 42C13–15). One sentence (“neither likeness nor difference”) (*hinyo hii* 非如非異) following “neither reality nor vanity” was omitted in the *Tōdaiji ganmon*.

of *shōjinbutsu* and the construction of its images that emerged in the twelfth century. This section begins with a discussion of the meaning of the word *shōjin* and the phenomenon of making images of *shōjinbutsu*, which is followed by an analysis of the interrelation between relic deposit, *shōjinbutsu*, and Pure Land belief.

Translated as “living bodies” or “flesh bodies,” *shōjin* is a word often used by modern scholars to describe Buddhist images that were treated as if they were alive. The word can, however, refer to different things and its meaning is conditioned by the contexts in which it appears. According to *Mochizuki’s Dictionary of Buddhism*, the term *shōjin* means “bodies born from parents” (*bumo shōjin* 父母生身) and is an abbreviated name for *shōjinbutsu* (MOCHIZUKI 1988, 2629). In Buddhist scriptures, *shōjin* is considered to be one of the two types of Buddha’s body and is discussed in relation to the dharma body. For example, the *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom* states that, in addition to the dharma body, the Buddha has a “flesh body born from parents,” and that this body of the Buddha suffers all kinds of karmic retributions and appears as “skillful means” to rescue sentient beings (T 1509, 25: 121c26–27, 122a3–8). In other words, *shōjin* corresponds to the transformation body and designates the physical existence of the Buddha. This term became widespread in Japan in the twelfth century and is featured prominently in Buddhist tales about manifestations of deities in various guises (ABE 2008; INAGAKI 2008). Thus, while *shōjin* is concerned with the concept of the Buddha’s body, it began to bear a miraculous connotation especially in the twelfth century. One also increasingly sees the link of *shōjin* to the worship of relics and construction of icons. The term gradually came to assume an array of meanings, and in general it can denote: (1) the historical Buddha and his relics; (2) the physical manifestations of buddhas or bodhisattvas; and (3) Buddhist statues.<sup>18</sup> No matter which meaning the term *shōjin* refers to, it can be understood as a type of existence of the sacred that is visible to sentient beings and may be intended to evoke the presence of holy figures.

Images were constructed as *shōjinbutsu* through various means, for example, the uses of metal or stone materials to vividly represent eyes, teeth, and nails, the construction of *ragyōzō* 裸形像 (nude icons) that were made to be dressed, and the inscribing of spiritual marks (*sōgō* 相好) of an enlightened being on images (OKU 2013, 189–193). The Shaka statue at Seiryōji 清凉寺 in Kyoto is one of the most noted images of *shōjinbutsu* and was created in 985 at the request of the

18. This list of the usage of the term is revised from that of INAGAKI (2008, 139). Given these diverse meanings, the term *shōjinbutsu* can be translated as “living buddhas,” “living icons,” or “buddhas in the flesh.” The former translations contain a stronger miraculous connotation, while the latter befits more its scriptural definition as the physical manifestation of the divine corresponding to the transformation body. The context governs which translation is used. Unless the meaning is obvious, in this article I generally use *shōjinbutsu* rather than one of the three translations.

monk Chōnen 齋然 (d. 1016) while he was traveling in China. Brought back to Japan in 986, this statue was widely known as the living body of Shaka in the late twelfth century, and its appearance was regarded as the exact likeness of the Buddha himself.<sup>19</sup> The statue contains a great number of deposits, such as coins, mirrors, jewels, relics, scriptures, printed images, tree leaves, glass jars, human viscera shapes made of silk, and so on.<sup>20</sup> Because the statue was considered as the living body of the Buddha, many copies were made, and its physical features were appropriated to endow images with the quality of *shōjinbutsu* (OKU 2001). The *kebutsu* 化仏 (transformation buddha) of the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon, which is a standing Amida image in its crown, bears formal features adopted from the Seiryōji Shaka (OKU 2001, 89–95). While this adoption had to do with the religious character of *kebutsu* as the transformation body, it was possibly employed to mark the Fukūkenjaku Kannon as a *shōjinbutsu*.<sup>21</sup>

Oku Takeo links the phenomenon of making *shōjinbutsu* images to the flourishing of the Pure Land belief and the growing desire to see deities on earth as illustrated in *ōjōden* 往生伝 (biographies of those reborn in the pure land) and *setsuwa* 説話 (anecdotal tales) in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (OKU 2013, 188–189). Buddhists then regarded seeing *shōjinbutsu* as a confirmation of rebirth in the pure lands and sought to visit shrines and temples that were touted as pure lands on earth or places where *shōjinbutsu* would manifest or reside (OKU 2013, 188; SATŌ 1998, 398–400). The arrival of the Final Age of the Dharma (*mappō* 末法), which was considered to have begun in Japan in 1052, would also have contributed to the rise of the *shōjinbutsu* phenomenon. Buddhists believed that in this age it became difficult for human beings to access the teachings of the

19. For more discussion on the Seiryōji Shaka, see HORTON (2007, 26–31, 42–46), OKU (2009) and McCALLUM (1996).

20. While it is recorded that Chōnen put relics in the statue, it is unclear which deposited item represents the relics. Scholars speculate that the relics were put inside a glass jar, another deposit in the Seiryōji Shaka, which is broken into pieces (OKU 2009, 46–47). It is also possible that the relics have been missing, and if so, this suggests that the sculpture was open at some point before its deposits were first examined by modern scholars in 1954. However, it is unknown whether the deposits were taken out before this time. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for suggesting this possibility.

21. As Oku's research shows, two elements of the Fukūkenjaku Kannon were adopted from the Seiryōji Shaka. One of the elements appears on the bottom part of the *kebutsu*'s coiffure below the cranial protuberance (*nikkei* 肉髻). This part of the hair is carved in spiral forms, and every lock is aligned vertically one after another like rippling waves. This hairstyle is called *hajōhatsu* 波状髪 (wavy hair) and started to appear on Japanese sculptures in the second half of the twelfth century. The other element is the dress style of the *kebutsu* image, which wears a robe that drapes across the body, covers both shoulders, and hangs down below the knees. This dress style is called *tsūken* 通肩 and is a distinctive feature of the Seiryōji Shaka. As this rendition of the *kebutsu* is novel in the late twelfth century and is found only on a few sculptures, its appearance on the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon would have to do with the miraculous character of this statue.

Buddha, and that their spiritual capabilities were drastically declining. Images carrying features of *shōjinbutsu* allowed devotees to envision that the Buddha was not far away, and salvation could be achieved in this life.

As the bodily remains of the Buddha, relics were often referred to as *shōjin* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Buddhist icons containing relics were understood as *shōjinbutsu* as exemplified by the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji. Chōgen placed relics collected from aristocrats and the Retired Emperor Go Shirakawa within this statue and in doing so, recreated it as a *shōjinbutsu* and bestowed it with the same mystic power as the destroyed Great Buddha (IKOMA 2002, 118). A votive text composed by Chōgen for the dedication of two relics to the Great Buddha in 1185 describes the rationale behind this offering: “It is said that if one puts corporeal relics (*shōjin no shari* 生身之舍利) inside a Buddhist statue, beams of light will emit suddenly, and miraculous signs will appear frequently. Therefore, we asked extensively both clerics and laity to offer relics” (*Tōdaiji zoku yōroku*, 209). The idea that placing relics in the Great Buddha would generate wondrous incidents was inspired by Chōgen’s pilgrimage to Ayuwangsi, where he twice witnessed the magical power of the relics stored in the Aśoka’s stupas. *Gyokuyō* records that Chōgen saw rays of light emanating from the Aśoka relics on one occasion and their transformation into a small statue on another (*Gyokuyō* 2: 593–594). Not long after the relics were placed inside the Great Buddha, people reported seeing light emitting from the face of the statue and its *byakugō* 白毫 (tuft of white hair between the eyebrows) in 1186 (*Gyokuyō* 3: 247–248). Similar wondrous incidents also occurred after the monk Shōken 勝賢 (1138–1196) enshrined relics in the Great Buddha before the dedication of the Great Buddha Hall in 1195. The account of this offering in *Tōdaiji zōryū kuyō ki* explicitly indicates that the installation of the relics was to simulate the statue of a *shōjinbutsu* and that “Because of this, miraculous signs have appeared at times, and more than one strange thing has occurred. For instance, people who were blind suddenly obtained the ability to see so that they could worship the [Great] Buddha” (*Tōdaiji zōryū kuyō ki*, 404).

Such wondrous incidents would have prompted Kanezane to place relics in the Nan’endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon. He would also have been aware of the connection of relics to the creation of *shōjinbutsu*, and, in fact, he referred to relics as *shōjin* in the *Tōdaiji ganmon*. Given the similarity in the content of the deposits between the Great Buddha and Fukūkenjaku Kannon, it is highly likely that like the former, the latter was recreated as a *shōjinbutsu* through the placement of the relics to bring its miraculous power back to life.

Other contemporary accounts that describe the placing of relics in statues can be found in *ōjōden*, which indicate another aspect of this practice. One example from the *Honchō shinshū ōjōden*, written in 1151 by Fujiwara no Munetomo 藤原宗友 (d.u.), explains that the courtier Ōe no Chikamichi 大江親通 (d. 1151)

placed six relic grains before an image and frequently offered flowers to them (*Honchō shinshū ōjōden*, 693–694). The number of the relics gradually increased and emitted rays of light. A nun had a dream in which a person told her to ask Chikamichi to distribute his relics so that other people could also obtain benefits through worship of these relics. After learning of the nun's dream, Chikamichi created a golden statue of Shaka with other people and installed his relics in it, making the sculpture “the whole body of the Buddha” (*Honchō shinshū ōjōden*, 694). The story ends by reporting that Amida came with his retinue to escort Chikamichi to the pure land at the end of his life.

Another story in the same collection of *ōjōden* tells that a monk called Kai-shin 戒深 (d.u.) received relics that appeared while he was chanting the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Honchō shinshū ōjōden*, 683–684). He then installed the relics inside a sculpture and made offerings to them. When Kaishin was dying, he was seated facing the sculpture and chanting the name of Amida. At this time, a strange fragrance filled his room and auspicious clouds rose in the sky. While these two stories do not mention the word *shōjinbutsu*, one does specify that the sculpture in which relics were deposited is “the whole body of the Buddha.” Also, in these two stories, sculptures were made or used to install relics for worship, and this form of veneration is further linked to rebirth in the pure land.

The idea of making *shōjinbutsu* through the enshrinement of relics appears in other types of literature, such as the votive text, *Saga Nenbutsubō o ōjōin shūzen mon*, written in 1191 by Nenbutsubō 念佛房 (1157–1251), who lived in a cloister to the west of Seiryōji and was one of the followers of Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), the founder of the Pure Land Buddhist school (NAKAGAWA, 2005, 52). Composed for the construction of a sculpture at Seiryōji, this text begins with a description of Shaka and his relics and describes Nenbutsubō's aspiration for rebirth in the pure land and his vow to make a golden statue of Tathāgata (*Saga Nenbutsubō o ōjōin shūzen mon*, 537–538). This text also explains that Nenbutsubō inserted many objects into the body of this statue and “enshrined relics in it in order to simulate the living body of the Buddha.”

It is clear that by the late twelfth century the connection between the internment of relics in statues and rebirth in the pure land had been established and seems to have been popular among Pure Land aspirants. This observation is consistent with Ruppert's delineation of relic worship in the twelfth century as increasingly connected to rebirth in the pure lands as shown in various types of Buddhist texts, such as prayers, miraculous tales, and liturgical texts (RUPPERT 2008, 108–111). It is also worth noting that the enshrinement of the relics in the Great Buddha may also have to do with the Pure Land belief, as Chōgen was actively engaged in the worship of Amida and constructed halls and images for Pure Land practices at sub-temples of Tōdaiji that were built to facilitate the reconstruction of the temple (ROSENFELD 2011, 35–38). Another earlier example

of a sculpture that is enshrined with relics in its interior is a Shaka statue dated to 1199 at Bujōji 峰定寺 in Kyoto. As described below, this statue and its deposits were constructed to generate rebirth in the pure lands and were associated with clerics from Kōfukuji. As a devout Pure Land believer, Kanezane would have been aware of the connection between installing relic deposits and rebirth in the pure lands. Thus, it is very likely that the placement of the relics in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon was not only inspired by Chōgen's worship of relics, but also motivated by this connection.

Why was the insertion of relics into statues linked to Pure Land rebirth? The answer to this question may lie in the idea and practice of *kechien* in the context of Pure Land belief. As mentioned above, insertion of objects into statues served to form karmic bonds with deities and icons. Nevertheless, as STONE (2016, 194–202) points out, *kechien* in many *ōjōden* is conceived as forming “a nexus for salvation,” one that is specifically for rebirth in the pure land. In these accounts, Pure Land aspirants sought chances to form karmic bonds with *ōjōnin* 往生人 (those who were reborn in the pure lands) or those who were believed to have achieved or will be going to attain rebirth in the pure lands. *Ōjōnin* whom they encountered might still be alive, or be at the moment of death, or already have passed away. Possession of an *ōjōnin*'s personal belongings, visits to their previous homes, and veneration of their bodily remains were also considered as ways to form salvific ties. STONE (2016, 195) observes that in such cases, *kechien* is “something almost physical that, like the charisma inherent in contact relics, could be transferred by proximity to an *ōjōnin*'s person or possessions.” The desire to see *shōjinbutsu* is similar to that of forming karmic bonds with *ōjōnin*. As relics are the remains of an enlightened being, an image with relics inside, namely a *shōjinbutsu*, would become a worthy object with which one forms a karmic bond. Making such images would therefore be recognized as a virtuous deed because it put people in contact with the bodily remains of the Buddha and allowed them to form nexuses for salvation. One should remember that the *ōjōnin* Chikamichi in the aforementioned *ōjōden* commissioned a sculpture and put relics in it so that other people beside himself could gain from worshiping these relics. As a devout Pure Land aspirant, Kanezane would have believed in relic deposits to benefit human beings like Chikamichi and considered his offering of the relics as a virtuous deed and a means to create a *shōjinbutsu* image and a nexus of salvation, which would help people who worshiped the Fukūkenjaku Kannon.

### *Deposits, Vision, and Salvation*

Having examined the effects the deposits intended to have on the icon of the Fukūkenjaku Kannon, it is worth investigating what Kanezane wished his enshrinement of the deposits to do for him by analyzing the *Nan'endō ganmon*

and other similar examples. *Nan'endō ganmon* begins with a description of the background against which this text was written and explains why Kanezane enshrined the deposits in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon: “I recall that my causal connection [with the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon] is by no means tenuous, and my devotion [to it] is getting much deeper” (KI 1, no. 407: 338). Kanezane then goes on to explain the items deposited into this statue and his prayers:

What are my prayers? They are the twenty vows I made in my request to Butsugen 仏眼 the previous year. Beyond those vows, I, who am limited to this lifetime, make three wishes, which may seem for the sake of myself, but are also for the sake of this world. The deity (Fukūkenjaku Kannon) surely has the insight [to know this]. Generally speaking, [the said three wishes] are of two kinds, the extent of which is that a spiritual response manifests soon, followed by rebirth among the nine grades [of the pure land]. I invoke and pray to Fukūkenjaku Kannon. (KI 1, no. 407: 338)

This passage ends with the text's date and Kanezane's signature. OBARA (2013, 22–23) points out that the twenty vows possibly refer to those listed in the *Tōdaiji ganmon*, which are concerned with such things as the protection of the nation, the salvation of the sentient beings, the welfare of Kanezane's family, and the flourishing of Buddhism. They also express a strong desire for good government. The last sentences indicate two other wishes that Kanezane made: one is for a spiritual response (*gennō* 玄應) and the other is to be reborn in Amida's pure land. It is unclear what the word *gennō* specifically refers to, but the fact that it is mentioned together with the wish of being reborn in the pure land suggests that both are interrelated or are perceived as a sequence of two events. The word *gennō* in this context might denote *raigō* 来迎 (welcoming descent), which is the descent of a buddha and his retinue to greet and escort a dying person to a pure land.<sup>22</sup> Although the descent of Amida and his retinue was the most common *raigō* in the twelfth century, an investigation of Buddhist literature and texts appearing in the interiors of statues from the twelfth century suggests that the word *gennō* refers to the appearance of Fukūkenjaku Kannon.

Several Buddhist texts in the twelfth century feature stories in which Pure Land aspirants saw deities other than Amida appearing at the end of or during their lives, and such a manifestation was regarded as a promise of rebirth in the pure land. For example, a story in the *Shūi ōjōden* tells that Bishamonten promised the monk Jungen 順源 (d.u.), who lived at Anrakuji 安樂寺, to guide him to

22. The catalog text as noted above in *Gyokuyō* and composed by Kanezane states the first wish slightly differently: “[Fukūkenjaku Kannon] will certainly manifest soon, followed by the rebirth among the nine grades of the Pure Land” (*Gyokuyō* 3: 557). Instead of using *gennō*, the sentence uses the word *sui* 垂 (to descend), which is often used to indicate the manifestations of kami or other Buddhist deities.

the pure land at the end of his life, and did manifest at the time of his death (*Shūi ōjōden*, 615–616). Another story in the twelfth-century *Konjaku monogatari shū* concerns a monk who aspires to see a living Jizō during his lifetime so that he will be guided to a pure land (*Konjaku monogatari shū*, NKBT 24: 504–505). While traveling to Hitachi Province, the monk encounters a boy called Jizōmaru 地藏丸, whose job is to feed cows. The boy tells the monk that he has been beaten by the owner of the cows for three years, but he is leaving for another place as he has met the monk. After saying this, the boy disappears. The monk then realizes that the boy is Jizō in disguise. As a last example we find in the *Zoku honchō ōjōden* by Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041–1111) that the monk Shin'en 真縁 (d.u.) aspired to see a *shōjinbutsu* during his lifetime and practiced genuflection when he transcribed each character of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Zoku honchō ōjōden*, 421). On the day he finished transcribing the eight scrolls of the sutra, he dreamt of meeting a monk at Iwashimizu 石清水 Shrine and realized that this monk was actually Hachiman Bosatsu 八幡菩薩. The narrative ends with a comment that “Shin'en saw a *shōjinbutsu*. Wasn't he an *ōjōnin*?” (*Zoku honchō ōjōden*, 421).

These stories share a theme in which devotees believed that they would be reborn in the pure land if they saw deities manifest in front of them. The same theme also appears in prayers inserted into sculptures or inscriptions written on the surfaces of their interiors. Examining this type of text dated prior to the late twelfth century and conveying wishes and prayers for being reborn in the pure lands, one, however, finds that they seldom contain words explicitly indicating the appearance of deities at the time of death.<sup>23</sup> This situation started to change in the late twelfth century, and such prayers often started to use phrases like this: “May I eliminate all obstructions when my life comes to an end; May I see Amida Buddha and immediately attain rebirth in the land of peace and bliss” (T 293, 10: 848a9–10).<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, whether prior to the late twelfth century or in the early thirteenth century, prayers of supplication for manifestations of deities other than Amida are uncommon.

However, two cases are worth examination as they show the use of deposits to generate visions of deities and rebirth in the pure lands. One is a text deposited in the abovementioned Shaka statue from Bujōji. This, considered to be the *ganmon* of the statue, is dated 1199 and written by Ki Amidabutsu 帰阿弥陀仏,

23. These prayers and wishes are often brief and formulaic, using such words as “being reborn in the [land] of ultimate bliss” or the phrase “eliminate sins, be reborn in the [land] of ultimate bliss.” They are also stated in this way: “A lotus pedestal of the nine grades [of rebirth] is offered to guide the path [to the pure land] or “a lotus pedestal of the nine grades [of rebirth] is offered for being reborn [in Amida’s pure land].” For examples of these prayers, see NCH 1: 71; NCH 2: 69, 83; NCH 3: 45, 62, 78; NCH 4: 27, 34, 58.

24. For examples of these phrases written on the deposited texts or the interiors of sculptures, see NCK 1: 101, 227, 249; NCK 2: 95.



who is identified as Fujiwara no Morizane 藤原盛実 (1160–1226) and played a central role in the construction of this statue (SUGISAKI 2016, 235; INOUE 2003, 232–233).<sup>25</sup> In addition to this *ganmon*, there are other objects deposited in this statue, such as tree leaves written with inscriptions, a *gorintō* filled with relics and its wooden container, a scroll of the *Sūtra of the Explanation of the Profound Secrets* (*Jieshen mijing* 解深密經), writings of seed letters and *dhāraṇī*, as well as *kechien* documents. The beginning of the *ganmon* states:

I invoke the Original Teacher Shaka Nyorai to come and enter this image, and manifest before my eyes. At the end of my life, [Shaka] will appear and make me see [him], and [I] will be assured to encounter the Original Teacher in the next rebirth, listen to his preaching, and then achieve awakening.

(INOUE 2003, 227–228)

The first sentence of this passage probably refers to the ritual act of invoking deities to enter statues during the consecration ceremony. That Morizane's prayer is started right after the invocation of Shaka, a moment when he is considered to descend and become present in the space, indicates a strong desire to be heard by the divine. This prayer for being able to see Shaka at the end of Morizane's life should denote rebirth on Vulture Peak, which was claimed to be located in India and was considered to be the pure land of Shaka. This is corroborated by another deposited item, the wooden container of the *gorintō*, the exterior of which has an inscription that lists Morizane as one of the donors and states that he wishes to encounter Shaka and to be reborn on Vulture Peak (INOUE 2003, 225).<sup>26</sup>

Scholars have linked the deposits of this statue to the Kōfukuji monk Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213), who Kanezane knew well and admired deeply (NOMURA 2006; INOUE 2003, 232–235). Many names appearing in the deposited texts are related to Jōkei, such as his disciple Kakuben 覚遍 (1174–1258), the monk Kanjin 観心 (d.u.), who appears to have been his close friend, and Morizane, who took refuge under Jōkei toward the end of his life (INOUE 2003, 233–234; SUGISAKI 2016, 229–232). A text written after the transcription of the *Jieshen mijing*, another item deposited in the statue, was composed and brushed by Jōkei and shows that he prayed to encounter Shaka and go to Vulture Peak with his good monastic friends, which may refer to those who were involved in the construction of this statue (INOUE 2003, 226; THOMPSON 2017, 193). Some of the names appearing on the deposited texts are connected to Chōgen, with whom Jōkei was close,

25. Among the documents deposited, this text is the only one that mentions the Bujōji Shaka and therefore is considered to be the *ganmon* of this statue.

26. In this text, Morizane is referred to as Tanba Nyūdō 丹波入道. A donor's name, Tanba Nyūdō Kia 丹波入道婦阿, was written on one of the tree leaves deposited in the Bujōji Shaka. On this basis, we know that Tenba Nyūdō and Ki Amidabutsu are the same person and are both other names for Morizane.

and were written to indicate the karmic bonds formed between these people and the statue (INOUE 2003, 234–235; ISHIDA 1988, 369–370). Jōkei promulgated Shaka worship and demonstrated through his teachings and patronage of Buddhist images that Shaka was not far away, could be accessed through relics, and would save sentient beings in the future.<sup>27</sup> SUGISAKI (2016, 235–236) contends that the deposits in the Bujōji statue reflect Jōkei's belief in rebirth on Vulture Peak, and that the statue represents Shaka's *raigō* as indicated by its posture and drapery, which convey a sense of movement. Whether this sculpture was created as a *shōjinbutsu* is not mentioned, but the tree leaves, which are considered to simulate bodhi tree leaves, and the relics may have been inserted to endow it with the "true body" of the Buddha (SEYA 2001, 270).<sup>28</sup> Although Kanezane was not linked to the Bujōji Shaka, those involved with its construction were either related to Kōfukuji or were clergy who were close to him or may have been his acquaintances. It is likely that the use of prayers deposited in statues to express aspiration for the appearance of deities other than Amida and being reborn in the pure lands was conducted in Kanezane's social circle.

Another similar example is an inscription written on the interior of a statue of Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 in Jōgūōin 上宮王院 at Kōryūji 広隆寺 in Kyoto.<sup>29</sup> This statue, showing him as a filial son at the age of sixteen, was made as a *shōjinbutsu* in the nude form and contains a number of deposits including a *gachirin*, Buddhist scriptures, and a box that stores miscellaneous items collected from temples associated with him, such as fragments of clay images, altar fittings, and fabrics (ITŌ 1997, 48–53). According to this inscription, this image was constructed in 1120 at the request of the monk Jōkai 定海, who was a devout believer in Prince Shōtoku (ITŌ 1997, 51). The inscription tells that at the age of fourteen Jōkai formed a karmic bond with Shōtoku by copying the *Sutra of the Queen Śrīmālā* (*Shengman jing* 勝鬘經), on which the prince made a commentary, and carried the sutra with him after that time. Later he studied Buddhist doctrine on Mt. Hiei 比叡 but then decided to concentrate on *nenbutsu* practice at the age of forty-three. The latter part of the inscription states that this statue was constructed to repay his debt to the prince, who would hopefully escort him at the end of his life. It also states Jōkai's prayers that he may ward off "three obstructions" and "four evils," strengthen his *bodaishin* during his life, and that the prince would appear before him at the time of his death.

27. On Jōkei's ideas about Shaka and related devotional activities, see THOMPSON (2017) and SEYA (2001).

28. Tree leaves inserted into this statue are considered to be from a tree planted by Chōgen at Tōdaiji and brought back from China by the monk Eisai 榮西 (1141–1215).

29. This inscription is located on the statue's back. There are other inscriptions written on the parts of the chest and abdomen. For transcriptions of these inscriptions, see ITŌ (1997, 51).

In addition to expressing Jōkai's devotion to Prince Shōtoku, this statue is considered to have been created to mark the five hundredth anniversary of his death held in 1122 (Itō 1997, 57–60). The ritual text for this memorial, *Shōtoku Taishi shōjin kushiki*, contains a pronouncement (*hyōbyaku* 表白) that gives the reason for the construction of this statue, and the prayers by Jōkai and those who came to form karmic bonds with the statue (*Shōtoku Taishi shōjin kushiki*, 59). The reasons and prayers stated in this text are similar to those in the inscription written on the interior of the statue, suggesting that faith in Prince Shōtoku and aspiration to see him and be reborn in the pure land served as a driving force for the creation of this statue and its deposits.<sup>30</sup> We also see that Jōkai encouraged people to imagine that this image showed Shōtoku as he appeared during his lifetime and to view it as if he were still alive.

These prayers and *ōjōden* tales indicate that some deities or holy figures were regarded as agents of salvation who guided devotees to the pure lands. In the Bujōji case, the prayers consider Shaka both as an agent and a savior, who descends at the time of death and escorts believers to his pure land. This portrayal of Shaka refashions him as a figure who exists within this world and thus connects to believers in the present.<sup>31</sup> One of the Pure Land canonical texts in Japan, the *Sūtra of Contemplating the Buddha of the Immeasurable Life*, indicates that not all believers are able to see Amida and his retinue at the time of their death and categorizes the nine grades of rebirth that are further grouped into three (upper, middle, lower) levels.<sup>32</sup> The circumstance of someone's death

30. The pronouncement states the prayers as follows: "We deeply plant the karmic cause for our encounters with the prince. Our prayers will not be in vain as the prince will certainly descend and manifest at the end of our lives. Admiring the great vow [of the prince] to save the world, rescue and lend support to people, we pray that by forming the karmic bond [with this statue] today, [we] will be liberated in the afterlives." Echoing this supplication, another sentence tells of motives for making this statue: "Thus, in order to repay our great debts to the benevolence and compassion [of the Prince] and in order to be escorted by him at the end of our lives, we adorn the ritual space and install this statue" (*Shōtoku Taishi shōjin kushiki*, 59).

31. Thompson considers Jōkei's idea of Vulture Peak contradictory. On the one hand, Jōkei portrayed the place as located somewhere outside of this world or Japan while on the other hand, he identified a site in Japan as Vulture Peak. Thompson contends that the Bujōji statue shows the view of Vulture Peak as located outside of this world. In my view, it appears that Jōkei did not delineate Vulture Peak as a place like Amida's pure land that is outside of the human realm and is distant and transcendental. Rather, Jōkei's view of Vulture Peak is close to what Satō called *shido jōdo* 此土淨土 (the pure land of this world) as discussed below. In other words, no matter where (India or Japan) Vulture Peak is located, it is within the human realm and therefore is relatively reachable compared to the pure lands of other buddhas. The form of the Bujōji statue and the contents of its deposits show a sense of immediacy and the presence of Shaka. For Thompson's discussion on Jōkei's view of Vulture Peak, see THOMPSON (2017, 187–207).

32. While the *Sūtra of Contemplating the Buddha of the Immeasurable Life* uses the word *raigō* and describes the coming of Amida and his retinue to escort the dying to his pure land, the

corresponds to the grade of rebirth that person receives and is contingent upon that person's virtue and merit. Those who are unable to receive Amida's welcome but are reborn in one of the nine grades would encounter "good friends" (*zen chishiki* 善知識) at the end of their lives, who would do such things as describe Amida's pure land, chant his name, or praise his virtue on behalf of the dying (T 365, 12: 345c1–346a22). And then deities, such as Kannon and Seishi, would come to greet and escort the dying person to the pure land. Those who are born in the lowest grade of rebirth would only see a golden lotus flower at the end of their lives. Thus, visions of holy figures such as Jizō, Bishamonten, and Shōtoku Taishi provide aspirants with alternatives to a welcome by Amida and/or his retinue, and are an indication of the profusion of Pure Land belief in the twelfth century.

Satō Hiroo considers that the role of deities as agents of salvation or guides to the pure lands indicates a worldview in which there are two kinds of pure lands located respectively in what he called "this land" (*shido* 此土) and "the other shore" (*higan* 彼岸) (SATŌ 1997, 62–71; 1998, 393–400). The former were perceived as places where Buddhist deities or kami reside on earth, while the latter saw pure lands of buddhas as sites where ultimate salvation takes place. Moreover, the pure land of this world (*shido jōdo* 此土淨土) is like a shortcut or a gateway to the pure land on the other shore (*higan jōdo* 彼岸淨土). This worldview implies that deities, such as Kannon, Jizō, and Bishamonten, who have not yet achieved full buddhahood, exist somewhere in the living environment of devotees. Therefore, images or deities regarded as *shōjinbutsu*, particularly efficacious, or having affinities (*en* 縁) with believers easily became targets toward which devotees gravitated for help with their salvation (SATŌ 1997, 62–68). In a similar vein, places where images of such deities were enshrined became popular pilgrimage sites.

The Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon would have been perceived in a similar way as an agent of salvation since it was miraculous to Kanezane. Moreover, as has been mentioned, Kanezane had a deep connection with the icon and this is the reason why he enshrined the deposits in it as indicated by *Nan'endō ganmon*. It should be also noted that by the late twelfth century, the Nan'endō had been regarded as located on Mt. Fudaraku 補陀落, the abode of Kannon in the southern sea of India.<sup>33</sup> This made it an efficacious site where the deity may appear.

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*Amitābha Sūtra* and *Sūtra of Immeasurable Life* do not specifically use this word or mention the *raigō* scene but describe the appearance of Amida in front of believers at the end of their lives (T 366, 12.347b13–15; T 360, 12.272b29; HORTON 2008, 28–29). As we have seen, Buddhists of the twelfth century did not make a clear-cut distinction between *raigō* and the appearances of buddhas (*genzen* 現前) at the time of death, considering both to denote attainment of rebirth in the pure lands.

33. This identification appeared as early as the late eleventh century and is narrated in several texts (HASHIMOTO 2004, 93–111).

Given these, we can say that the word *gennō* in *Nan'endō ganmon* would have referred to the appearance of Fukūkenjaku Kannon to serve as Kanezane's guide to Amida's pure land.

The role of this icon as an agent of salvation is of significance to consider the ideological basis for the placing of its deposits. Kanezane would have felt that because of his connection with the icon and the efficacy of the site, his prayers of supplication would be readily heard and fulfilled by the deity. In other words, Kanezane's enshrinement of the deposits, which was perceived as a meritorious act, was intended to elicit responses from Fukūkenjaku Kannon to aid his aspiration to be reborn in the pure land. We can thus interpret this act as an enactment of sympathetic resonance with the deity. The notion of sympathetic resonance or "stimulus-response" underlies interactions between devotees and divinities, and explains how numinous manifestations (*reigen* 靈驗) or spiritual responses (*reiō* 靈応) work in Buddhism (STEVENSON 1995, 429). To elicit a response from the sacred, a person has to cultivate a causal nexus through devotional practices and meritorious deeds, and such a nexus would further stimulate (*kan* 感) the sacred power to manifest a response (*ō* 応). Responses from the sacred can be any miraculous incidents, such as auspicious dreams, wondrous light, unusual fragrance, visions of divinities, and the descent of buddhas. Hence, numinous manifestations or spiritual responses are the product of the interaction between devotees and divinities, and, as Daniel STEVENSON (1995, 429) remarks, they are initiated by faith, "coming into sympathetic accord' or 'tally' with the hidden sacred order and forging a 'causal impetus or nexus' (*ji, jiyuan*) that 'stimulate' (*gan*) a flow or manifestation of sacred power."

The case of the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon is similar to those of the Bujōji Shaka and Jōgūōin Shōtoku Taishi in that the prayers appearing in the interiors of these statues convey the desire for the manifestations of the deities and rebirth in the pure lands. Another similarity is that these images were treated as *shōjin-butsum*, suggesting that the patrons regarded or expected them to be efficacious. The deposits in these sculptures were, moreover, installed because these holy figures held special meanings for the patrons and were connected to their personal devotion. These similarities indicate a way of thinking on how salvation came about: it was attained by putting objects in statues, particularly in those that had connections with devotees or were considered miraculous, to elicit sympathetic resonance with deities. To enact this resonance through the enshrinement of objects was not a Japanese invention and already existed in China before the twelfth century, for example, the Renshou 仁壽 campaign to build pagodas to enshrine relics launched by the Emperor Sui Wendi 隋文帝 (541–604) in the early seventh century, which was said to generate an array of wondrous events. As NAGAOKA (2009, 260–266) points out, the sites where these pagodas were built were carefully selected and were often in mountainous areas since the natural

environment was considered efficacious and was a place where sympathetic resonance could easily occur. It seems that the Japanese Buddhists of the twelfth century considered statues not merely sacred objects of worship but also loci of sacred power through which they could communicate with deities and connect to the pure lands.<sup>34</sup> Thus, while the placing of deposits in statues was an act of concealment, it was intended to reveal the sacred and the miraculous, enacting a process of salvation. As such, to put objects in statues can be understood as a practice with great salvific potential for achieving rebirth in the pure lands, and this can explain its increased popularity among both clerics and laity in the twelfth century. This function of deposits would be no less important than those of animation and *kechien* to Buddhists at that time.

### *Deposits and Creation of the Icon*

The act of depositing objects was embedded in the process of sculpture creation. As Buddhist sculptures were objects of worship, this process cannot be viewed simply as an artistic one but was a set of devotional acts and ritual performances through which sculptures became “awakened” to embody divinities. TANI (1936a, 1) divides construction of statues into fourteen stages on the basis of examples recorded in historical texts: making vows; preparing economic and material sources; acquiring wood; organizing studios; preparing wood (*chōmoku* 調木); wood empowerment (*misogi kaji* 御衣木加持); first axe (*chōna hajime* 手斧始); constructing sculptures; inspection (*kenbun* 検分); transport (*hōto* 奉渡); installation (*hōkyo* 奉居); adornment (*shōgon* 荘嚴); eye-opening ceremony; and rewarding sculptors. Most of these fourteen stages are seen in the construction of the Nanendō Fukūkenjaku Kannon as recorded in the *Gyokuyō*, suggesting that the way this icon was created followed an established procedure.<sup>35</sup> Because many of the reasons for the steps of constructing sculptures are obvious, the following focuses on the ritual *misogi kaji* and the consecration ceremony, both of which were recorded in detail in the *Gyokuyō* and were essential rituals for the construction of Buddhist icons.

34. Oku makes a similar observation, describing the interior spaces of sculptures into which deposits were inserted as “routes to the other shore” (*higan e no kairo* 彼岸への回路) (OKU 2009, 48).

35. Two stages, vow-making and adornment, are not seen in *Gyokuyō*. It is unclear why they were not recorded, but we may speculate that before Kanezane assumed the chieftain of the *sekkanke*, the plan for the restoration of the Nanendō was already underway, and so there was no need for him to make a vow to recreate the statue (CHAN 2018, 239–240). Because adornment, which was for the purpose of embellishing sanctuaries and adding final touches to statues, was not the most essential work in the creation of icons, it is impossible that Kanezane did not get involved with it.

The ritual *misogi kaji* ushered in the first phase of sculptural carving, and the word *misogi* refers to the wood that was utilized to make icons.<sup>36</sup> This ritual was conducted to purify the logs and as NEDACHI (2005, 158–163) contends, to elicit their buddha-nature as it is possible that they served as *yorishiro* 依代 (receptacles) for kami and could cause calamities.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the *misogi kaji* marked the start of a process in which the *misogi* attains buddhahood and is transformed into a sacred icon. The *misogi kaji* for the Nan'endô Fukûkenjaku Kannon was held in 1188 at Saishôkongôin 最勝金剛院, a cloister temple in the grounds of Hosshôji 法性寺 in Kyoto (*Gyokuyô* 3: 520–521). The artist Kôkei 康慶 (d.u.) dressed in a surplice (*kesa* 袈裟) with his disciples in purified clothes (*jôe* 淨衣), attended the ritual together with Kanezane and other courtiers. The monk Shunshô 俊証 (1106–1192), who presided over the ritual, first conferred the eight precepts (*hassaikai* 八齋戒) on Kôkei and then empowered the wood by chanting spells. Upon the conclusion of the incantation, Kôkei dipped a brush in ink and drew the images of the Fukûkenjaku Kannon and its attendants, the Four Guardian Kings, on the wood. He then made the first cut into the wood, a performance called “first axe,” which was followed by the same act conducted by his disciples. The way this *misogi kaji* was performed generally followed the instructions found in the *Asabashô*, an iconographical and ritual compendium compiled in the thirteenth century (DNBZ 40: 362–365).<sup>38</sup> In his study on *misogi kaji*, TANI (1936b, 13) makes an interesting comment that the ritual provided a precious

36. For discussion on *misogi* recorded in historical texts and actual examples, see KOJIMA (2019).

37. The *misogi* for making the Eleven-Headed Kannon at Hasedera 長谷寺 in Nara Prefecture is a notable example showing the power of *misogi* to cause disasters. For legends about this, see PRADEL (2018, 92–101).

38. *Asabashô* instructs how to conduct a *misogi kaji*. It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the instructions in detail, but I will highlight some important elements. *Asabashô* divides the ritual into four parts. The first part is the preparation of *misogi* and other objects needed for the ritual. The second part is the conferring of precepts on artisans, who are required to undergo ascetic practices before receiving the precepts. The third part is the establishment of a ritual space. At this stage, *misogi* is cut into the proper size, washed with perfumed water, and placed at a site where the altar is located. In addition, an altar is set up with flowers, oil lamps (*tômyô* 燈明), food, and other offerings. Water, rods (*sanjô* 散杖) for spraying water, fragrance (*zuko* 塗香), vajra-handled bells (*reisho* 鈴杵), incense burners, and chimes (*uchinarashi* 打鳴) are put on the altar. The fourth part is the performance of *misogi kaji*, which begins with a spell master (*jushi* 呪師) and sculptors taking seats in front of an altar. The monk who presides over the ritual then purifies the logs and axes by spraying water on them and empowers the logs by chanting spells or writing seed letters on them. Following this is the performance of the first cut conducted by sculptors. It should be noted that other ritual offerings, which are not required, appear in between this and the next steps. After finishing the first carving, sculptors kneel, clasp hands, and chant lines following the spell masters. Tani has studied the *misogi kaji* instruction in *Asabashô* and compares it with accounts of this ritual in other historical texts. For his study, see TANI (1936b, 11–22).

opportunity for effecting sympathetic resonance between sentient beings and bodies of icons that were being awakened (*jōshinchū* 成身中). This implies that, after the performance of *misogi kaji*, the wood would not be viewed merely as inert material, but as imbued with a numinous quality suitable for making Buddhist images. Kanezane in fact went to Ichijōin 一乗院, a cloister in the grounds of Kōfukuji, and paid his respects to the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon a few times while the statue was still under construction and before it was consecrated in the Nan'endō (*Gyokuyō* 3: 553–554, 556).<sup>39</sup>

Kanezane enshrined the deposits in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon when the consecration ceremony was held on the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month in 1189 (*Gyokuyō* 3: 556–557). No mention is made of exactly when he did this, but considering other cases, the deposits were probably inserted into the statue while it was being installed in the Nan'endō right before the ceremony.<sup>40</sup> The consecration ceremony of Buddhist images originated in India and was introduced to China, Korea, and Japan along with the spread of Buddhism to these places.<sup>41</sup> It included painting in the pupils of an image with a brush to infuse the spirit of a deity into the image and initiate its status as an embodiment of the sacred. Thus, when an icon is consecrated on an altar, it is regarded as having been awakened and becomes an animate being, partaking of the quality and spirit of a deity. The eye-opening was conducted twice for the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon. The day before the consecration ceremony, Kanezane dotted the eyes of the icon “in private” (*mitsu mitsu* 密々) during his visit to Ichijōin (*Gyokuyō* 3: 556). It is unknown why Kanezane did this, but the act marks his physical involvement in the last step of the icon's construction and demonstrates that he was the

39. Another example showing worship of icons before their construction was completed is a Shaka statue ordered by Eison 叡尊 (1201–1290) for Saidaiji 西大寺 and dedicated in 1249. Devotees worshiped this icon and received precepts in front of it even when it had not yet been transported to the temple (GRONER 2001, 125).

40. For example, an entry in *Heihanki* records that right after an Amida sculpture was installed on the altar in a hall at Sairinji 西林寺 in 1167, the sculptors inserted a jewel into the *byakugō* and placed writings of the Sanskrit syllable *A* and other items in the sculpture (*Heihanki* 3: 221). Other cases show that deposits were put inside statues some days prior to consecration ceremonies, for example, those placed in a Mañjuśrī statue constructed at the request of Eison in 1267 at Hannyaji 般若寺 (QUINTER 2015, 96–98) and in the abovementioned Saidaiji Shaka (MCCALLUM 1996, 57). I suspect that the timing for enshrining deposits may have to do with the size of a statue. For huge statues made in the method of *yosegi zukuri*, it would be reasonable to finish assembling their various parts in sanctuaries rather than transport them in their entirety to enshrined spaces. In the case of the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon, SUZUKI (1993, 6) speculates that its three parts—the arms, feet, and the torso plus the head—were transported to the Nan'endō and were then assembled within the building. If this is the case, the enshrinement of the deposits would have probably taken place when the statue was being assembled and installed on the altar.

41. For discussion on this ritual, see DOBBINS (2020, 147, 149–150), KIESCHNICK (2003, 59–62), TANI (1936c, 17–18), and FAURE (1996, 246–255).



very person who recreated the image. Although the dotting of the eyes was usually performed by monks, occasionally it was conducted by sculptors and the consecration ceremony was held at a separate time.<sup>42</sup> One entry in *Gyokuyō* records people's discussion over the consecration ceremony of the Great Buddha, in which the Retired Emperor Go Shirakawa painted in the eyes of the statue with a brush while the monk Jōhen 定遍 (1133–1186) chanted spells (*Gyokuyō* 3: 97). People questioned the precedents for the dotting of the eyes by the retired emperor since this act would have been conducted by the sculptors. The answer to this, given in *Gyokuyō*, is that the dotting of the eyes by the retired emperor followed the precedent that Emperor Shōmu established in the eighth century. From these records of eye-opening ceremonies, it seems that there existed two types: one was to simply paint in the eyes of statues conducted by sculptors/patrons and the other to open the eyes through the ritual incantation performed by monks.<sup>43</sup> The former is “concrete,” imposed literally on the physical bodies of statues, while the latter is “conceptual,” imparting spirits of deities into statues.

The *Gyokuyō* briefly describes the eye-opening ceremony for the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon, stating that after entering the building from the eastern door, the monk Shunshō ascended a platform and opened the eyes of the statue (*Gyokuyō* 3: 557). As Shunshō was a Shingon monk from Tōji, the eye-opening ceremony was probably performed in esoteric terms by chanting spells and invoking the deity to enter the statue.<sup>44</sup>

In Tani's studies on the construction process of sculptures, the enshrinement of deposits does not constitute an independent stage and is only mentioned briefly in his discussion about installation of icons on altars (TANI 1936c, 13). This may be due to the fact that, as stated at the beginning of his article, TANI (1936a, 1–2) looked at the construction process primarily from the perspective of sculptors. The placing of deposits in this perspective seemed to be a matter that had more to do with patrons than sculptors and it may not have been regarded as a necessary step in the construction of statues. In other words, an icon without deposits inside would still be an embodiment of the sacred if it

42. For example, in 1085 the sculptor Chōsei 長勢 (d. 1091) dotted the eyes of an Amida sculpture at his studio before it was enshrined in the Jōgyōdō 常行堂 at Hosshōji 法勝寺. He did this because it was not an auspicious time to hold a consecration ceremony. Tani thinks that in this case, the act of dotting the eyes was more of a formality than a formal ritual. For discussion of this example, see TANI (1936c, 17).

43. This observation of the eye-opening performance was inspired by Sugimoto Shunryū's idea of two sorts of openings as cited and discussed by FAURE (1996, 250). It is worth noting that there are cases from the sixth century in China in which the dotting of the eyes of statues was performed by lay Buddhists. For discussion of this, see LIU (1993, 527–530). I would like to thank Lin Sheng-Chih for this source.

44. Quinter discusses in detail an eye-opening ceremony held in esoteric terms for the Han-yaji Mañjuśrī statue; see QUINTER (2015, 99–100).

were properly consecrated. As the enshrinement of deposits was embedded in a process in which a statue became awakened, it can be interpreted as a means of sanctification and empowerment but seems to be unlike a *misogi kaji* in that it did not function as a rite of passage indicating the transformation of raw logs to empowered wood. Neither was it the same as an eye-opening ceremony that not only animated a statue but also marked the last step of its awakening and initiated its status as an object of worship enshrined in a sanctuary. Mentioning these nuances is not to downplay the significance of depositing practice but to reveal the liminality of the environment in which it was conducted. This liminal state opened up possibilities for Buddhists to conceptualize, envision, and interact with the sacred in a variety of ways. Deposits, which could be configured in varying combinations of objects, allowed devotees to convey their own aspirations, devotion, and ideas in close proximity to the divine.

### *Conclusion*

Although to animate statues and form karmic bonds were indeed important functions of deposits, what the practice of depositing objects involved was hardly elucidated by these two purposes per se. Statues, in which objects were inserted, were not understood merely as living beings in a literal sense but could assume an array of meanings. The placing of the objects in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon was in line with the existing ways of constructing deposits and emerging approaches to Buddhist statues and was driven by concerns over salvation, Kanezane's understanding of Buddhist doctrine, and his vision of the sacred. When this practice was conducted, the Fukūkenjaku Kannon had not yet become fully awakened—a status that allowed him to configure the sacred body of the statue and fill its interior with various types of objects. On the one hand, the selection of the *gorintō*, relics, and *Treasure Casket Seal Dhāraṇī Sūtra* were related to the reconstruction of Tōdaiji and these three objects were regarded particularly efficacious because they represented a new model of praxis associated with examples in China and India. On the other, the way these objects were combined along with the other deposited items recalls a *gachirin*, which had been a common type of deposit in the late twelfth century and embodied the spirit of a deity. Other items, such as the lasso, the Avalokiteśvara chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Heart Sūtra*, and the *Diamond Sūtra* signified the power of the Fukūkenjaku Kannon as Avalokiteśvara and its connection to Kasuga Daimyōjin. In addition, the scriptures, the relic deposit, and *gorintō* altogether represented a two-fold body of the Buddha. The whole deposit thus manifested manifold existences of the sacred and multiple identities of the icon as an Avalokiteśvara and a Buddhist manifestation of Kasuga Daimyōjin.

Informed by the example of the Tōdaiji Great Buddha, the placement of the relics in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon was to transform the statue into a *shōjinbutsu*, one that was as miraculous as the previous icon destroyed in 1181. Nevertheless, the use of relics in such a way was also connected to rebirth in the pure land and this connection had been established in the late twelfth century and is testified by both visual and literary sources. As a Pure Land believer, Kanezane would have been aware of this connection and what relics, namely *shōjin*, would do to the statue itself and his welfare. By placing the relics in the Nan'endō Fukūkenjaku Kannon, he created a nexus for salvation, which was akin to an *ōjōnin*, that could generate rebirth in the pure land for those who worshiped the icon. The enshrinement of the relics was thus a meritorious act, and it gave the remains of the Buddha a complete and representational form well-suited to the character of the statue as a *shōjinbutsu*, a sacred entity to invoke the presence of the deity. Thus, *shōjin* or *shōjinbutsu* could have various meanings simultaneously and cannot be understood in its literal sense alone as living beings. The role of the Pure Land belief in motivating Kanezane to enshrine the relics was pronounced and its connection to ideas of *shōjinbutsu* are attested in literary and visual sources, suggesting that it encouraged greater use of relics as *nōnyūhin* in the late twelfth century.

An examination of the prayers stated in *Nan'endō ganmon* along with other contemporary examples makes it clear that the deposits were enshrined to elicit sympathetic resonance with Fukūkenjaku Kannon, who Kanezane hoped would appear in front of him to realize his aspiration for being reborn in Amida's pure land. It also unravels a way of thinking about what was regarded as an efficient way to generate rebirth in the pure lands. Statues that had affinities with devotees and were considered particularly efficacious became targets toward which devotees gravitated to seek aid in their salvation. This idea concerning statues made the enshrinement of deposits a compelling act of devotion that had great spiritual potential to reveal a transformative and miraculous moment in a person's life.

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