

The Distinctive Features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto

SUGAHARA Shinkai

菅原信海

Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto is a religious system formulated in the early Edo period, based on Tendai Hokke ichijitsu thought and providing a religious basis for deifying the spirit of Tokugawa Ieyasu. The first section of the present analysis is a critical survey of the main sources relating to the creation and textual history of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto. The second section is an analysis of the tradition's theoretical structure and ritual symbolism, which testify to its intimate affiliation with Tendai esoteric Buddhism as well as its explicit political purpose of legitimizing Tokugawa rule.

Translator's Introduction

THE TRANSLATION THAT FOLLOWS is of the article “Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō no tokushitsu” 山王一実神道の特質, a representative example of Professor SUGAHARA Shinkai's lifelong work on the history of Shinto-Buddhist syncretism (1994). Since the article is part of a large body of research it takes up a number of complex issues, so some introductory explanation is in order.

Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto 山王一実神道 is often regarded as identical to Sannō Shinto 山王神道, since both were intimately connected with the Japanese Tendai sect and were created by Tendai monks. One of Sugahara's concerns is to show that, despite the doctrinal continuities, the two traditions form distinct historical entities.

Sannō Shinto developed out of the Tendai sect's efforts to integrate the Japanese kami into the Buddhist worldview; the tradition was centered at a shrine compound called Hie Taisha 日吉大社 at the eastern foot

* This article has been modified in consultation with the author for publication in English. The translator wishes to thank James Reed for his valuable assistance with the translation. The present translation serves not only to bring this important article to English-speaking readers but also to commemorate the author's retirement at age 70 from Waseda University. For more detailed studies see SUGAHARA 1985, 1992a, and 1996.

of Mt Hiei, upon which the Enryaku-ji complex (the Tendai headquarters) is located. The three main Hie Taisha deities are collectively referred to as Sannō 山王 (mountain king) or Sannō Gongen; probably since the time of the esoteric Tendai monk Enchin 円珍 (814–891), they have been worshipped together under the title of Sannō Sansei 山王三聖 (The Three Sacred [Deities] of Sannō).

Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto, in contrast, was formulated in the early Edo period and was centered at Tōshōgū 東照宮, the complex built at Mt Nikkō to enshrine the spirit of the first Tokugawa shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616). Although based on the same Tendai thought as Sannō Shinto, Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto was, Sugahara argues, a highly political religious system designed to legitimize and stabilize the rule of the Tokugawa house.

The syncretistic thought that led to the development of Sannō Shinto had its roots in the early Heian period, when Buddhist monks came to regard a number of Shinto kami as guardian deities of Buddhism; Sannō in particular was seen as the protector of the Tendai sect. Later this view developed into the so-called *honji-suijaku* 本地垂迹 theory, which held that the kami were simply manifestations (*suijaku* 垂迹) of various buddhas and bodhisattvas, the latter being regarded as the kami's "true nature" (*honji* 本地). The *honji-suijaku* theory dominated Shinto thought through the medieval era.

Among the Buddhist concepts that conditioned such syncretistic thought, particular attention should be paid to the notion of *upāya* (*hōben* 方便), commonly translated as "skillful means." The idea underlying this concept is that Śākyamuni utilized different teachings to lead people of differing capacities to the truth of Buddhism. Since these teachings are tailored to suit the varying levels of understanding of the listeners they occasionally appear contradictory, but they are compatible in the sense that they are all intended to lead sentient beings to enlightenment. The Tendai sect systematized this concept by referring to all *upāya* as "provisional" or "tentative" (*gon* 權; sometimes expressed as *sangon* 三權, the "three provisionals") in contrast to the teaching that is "true" or "real" (*jitsu* 実, or *ichijitsu* 一実, the "one real"). The true teaching is that which is expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra*. Japanese kami could thus be regarded as "skillful means" utilized by the Buddha to teach such things as moral behavior. For this reason kami were sometimes called *gongen* (provisional appearances), an expression that became something of a title applied to such important deities as Kumano Gongen. In the Sannō Shinto tradition Sannō Gongen served as this "provisional appearance."

Another Buddhist concept that contributed to the integration of Japanese kami into Buddhism was the *trikāya* (three body) theory. According to this theory, the Buddha has three bodies, or levels of existence, only one of which—the so-called manifestation body (*nirmānakāya*,

応身 *ōjin*)—is knowable by the unenlightened. The historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, is thus sometimes regarded as the manifestation body of the absolute or original Buddha, who exists as *dharmakāya* (Dharma body) or *sambhogakāya* (enjoyment body, a form somewhat closer to human experience). The *dharmakāya* is known in Japanese as *hosshin* 法身 or *honji-shin* 本地身, the latter term also being used in the *honji-suijaku* concept. The notion of absolute but conceivable truth, and of visible but provisional manifestation, is thus basic to various aspects of Japanese Buddhist metaphysics, and can be applied relatively freely even to extra-Buddhist religious phenomena within a generally Buddhist worldview.

As Tendai Buddhism gave rise to Sannō Shinto, its rival the Shingon sect developed what was later called Ryōbu Shūgō Shinto 兩部習合神道. Both forms of Shinto were heavily influenced by the teachings of Mikkyō 密教 (esoteric Buddhism, Japanese Tantrism). Esoteric ritual, which promised worldly as well as spiritual rewards, was introduced into Japan by Tendai and Shingon in a competitive endeavor to win the support of the court, and was also utilized in the forms of Shinto associated with the two Buddhist traditions.

Mikkyō rites consist basically of mantras, ritual formulas of pre-Buddhist origin that are also known in Japan as “true words,” or *shingon* 真言 (hence the name of the Shingon sect). A mantra is a short text that is often symbolized by a simple letter or syllable, called the mantra’s “seed letter” (*shuji* 種子; Skt. *bija*). Even in Japan these seed letters are often represented by the original Sanskrit or Siddham letters. In popular belief they are endowed with the same magical power as the original mantra, and are thus themselves objects of veneration. They also serve as symbols of various buddhas and bodhisattvas. The Sanskrit seed letters were also introduced with Mikkyō into Shinto. Mantras are often applied together with *mudrā* (*inshō* 印章, “hand symbols”), leading to the expression *inmyō* 印明, which refers to mantra and *mudrā* together. These elements, as Sugahara shows, were much utilized in Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto.

By the end of the Heian period (12th c.) the identification of kami and buddhas had left virtually no Shinto belief unaffected. In the fourteenth century, however, a more nationalist outlook began to develop that placed the Japanese kami at the basis of Shinto-Buddhist syncretism. This was expressed by the phrase *shinbon butsujaku* 神本仏迹, “kami as origin, Buddhas as manifestation.” This theory was set forth principally by the Yoshida family of Shinto priests, and was finally systematized by Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼俱 (1415–1511), the founder of Yūitsu 唯一 or Yoshida 吉田 Shinto. The *shinbon butsujaku* theory might be regarded as the first step of Shinto towards a doctrine independent of Buddhism. A further step in this development was what might be called a temporary alliance with Confucianism that led to the creation of various Confucian-Shinto interpretations in the early Edo period.

Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto, though influenced by Yuiitsu Shinto, may be seen as a reaction against this school. It was in some ways a final attempt to restore the medieval Buddhist worldview in which both kami and buddhas endeavored to lead sentient beings along the path of Buddhist enlightenment. It also had, as mentioned above, the highly political function of religiously supporting the Tokugawa family's claims to power. It was propounded by the famous Tendai abbot Tenkai, who is said to have lived for 108 years (1536–1643) and who was one of the most influential religious advisors of Ieyasu and his successors, to the extent that he was sometimes called “the blackfrocked chancellor.”

When Ieyasu died in 1616 there was no question that his spirit was to be venerated as a kami,¹ but quarrels arose concerning the way to do so. It was Tenkai who finally took control of Ieyasu's enshrinement at Mt Nikkō and supervised the funeral ceremony discussed in the article below. He probably also decided Ieyasu's posthumous name, “Tōshō Daigongen” (Great Deity Illuminating the East), an allusion to Amaterasu Ōmikami, the imperial ancestor deity “illuminating the sky.”

Tenkai placed Tōshō Daigongen at the top of the Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto system and made Tōshōgū its religious center. Although, as Sugahara points out, he did not set forth a completely new doctrine, he changed the parameters of the existing doctrinal structure of Sannō Shinto in order to maximize the symbolic prestige of his divine lord. The level of symbolism he introduced rivaled even that of the imperial court in Kyoto. Tenkai's concern in this respect testifies to the supreme position that the court still enjoyed in terms of symbolic importance, even under the political rule of the Tokugawa.

While carefully reexamining the main relevant sources, Sugahara's article provides a fascinating insight into the fabric of Shinto-Buddhist myth creation at the beginning of the Tokugawa era, documenting the religio-ideological discourse relied upon by the ruling Tokugawa house.

Bernhard SCHEID

Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto and Sannō Shinto

SANNŌ ICHIJITSU SHINTO IS AN INTERPRETATION of Shinto formulated by the Tendai monk Jigen Daishi Tenkai 慈眼大師天海.² Sannō Ichijitsu

¹ This was not without precedent. An early example, also mentioned in the text below, is the enshrinement of Fujiwara no Kamatari (614–669) at Tōnomine in Yamato. A more recent example is Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), who is worshipped at the Toyokuni Shrine in Kyoto as Toyokuni Daimyōjin.

² Important studies on Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto include TSUJI 1983, SHIMAJI 1931, UESUGI 1935 (1972), TAJIMA 1934, KOBAYASHI 1978, and KUBOTA 1973. Tajima, Kobayashi, and Kubota take the view that Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto was expounded by Tenkai. The study of

Shinto is often believed to be the same as Sannō Shinto, but, although the two traditions share the same basic Tendai teachings, their purposes and characteristics are quite different. Sannō Shinto involves devotion to the guardian deities of Mt Hiei 比叡山 and is centered around the Hie Shrine 日吉社 at the foot of Mt Hiei, where the “Three Sacred [Deities] of Sannō” (Sannō Sansei)—Ōmiya 大宮, Ninomiya 二宮, and Shōshinshi 聖真子—are worshipped. Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto, in contrast, centers on religious ritual for Tōshō Daigongen 東照大権現, the deified soul of Tokugawa Ieyasu. It would not be inaccurate to call it Tōshō Shinto. The nature and function of these two forms of Shinto are thus quite different. In this essay I will attempt to clarify some of the basic features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto.

The Foundation of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto

In order to understand the basis of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto it is necessary first to examine Tenkai’s ideas concerning Sannō Shinto. These ideas can be found in the first fascicle of a work attributed to Tenkai, the *Tōshō daigongen engi (mana)* 東照大権現縁起 (真名) [Chronicle of the great deity illuminating the east (in Chinese characters)], also abbreviated as *Mana engi* (Chronicle in Chinese characters). In this work Tenkai is questioned by Ieyasu about the *honji suiijaku* of Sannō Shinto. He answers: “The Shinto of Sannō Gongen is neither Sōgen 宗元 [Shinto], Honjaku Engi 本迹縁起 [Shinto], nor Ryōbu Shūgō 兩部習合 [Shinto], nor is it one of the forms of Shinto transmitted among those born into Shinto priest families” (JDZ 1: 10).³ Tenkai’s intention, it seems, is to show that Sannō Shinto is completely autonomous and not to be associated with any other existing form of Shinto.⁴ Then, using citations from the works of great masters of the past, he explains that this is a Buddhist Shinto transmitted within the

Kubota Osamu abounds in valuable insights, as it correctly grasps the main features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto and stresses that it was “a means of governing the land and benefiting the people.” I am in agreement for the most part with Kubota’s view.

³ Tenkai here refers to the most popular Shinto interpretations of his time as classified by Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511). Yuiitsu Sōgen, also known as Yoshida Shinto, is Kanetomo’s version of Shinto, while Ryōbu Shūgō (Shingon Shinto) and Honjaku Engi Shinto are based on Buddhist doctrine. See Translator’s Introduction.

⁴ It seems that Tenkai tried to position Sannō Shinto—as well as Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto—as a tradition independent of other forms of Shinto. However, Tenkai’s biographers, Tōgen and Shintai, obviously regarded Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto as based on Ryōbu Shūgō Shinto. It is only in the biography by Inkai that we find expressions like “Sannō ichijitsu no shūgō no shintō” 山王一実の習合の神道 (the syncretic Shinto of Sannō Ichijitsu) or “Sannō shūgō no kami” 山王取(習)合の神 (the syncretistic kami of Sannō), which indicate a tendency to regard Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto as an autonomous form of Shintō.

Tendai sect, and that it is based on Tendai doctrines:

1. Jikaku Daishi [Ennin] 慈覺大師円仁 (794–864)⁵ says: “The appearance of the Three Sacred [Deities] of Sannō 山王三聖 in this world...is due to the wonderful principle of the secret storehouse of the three virtues 三德秘藏之妙理 [of wisdom, liberation, and the Dharma body]. They appeared in order to help sentient beings plagued by the three poisons [greed, anger, and ignorance]. [Sannō] is a spirit whose three actions [of moving, speaking and thinking] are in harmony. Therefore it is called the Pure [Deity of] Miwa Sannō.”
2. The *Shimei anzen gi* 四明安全義⁶ says: “His benefits cannot be grasped and the ordinary mind cannot comprehend him. First, he is unknown to the worldly dharmas; second, he is the well-spring of kami, buddhas, and sentient beings; third, he pervades the four [Buddha] lands 四土.⁷ However vast the dharmas may be, none transcend Sannō’s transmission. Therefore this is called a mystery, and will be realized by only two people.” His name has been handed down to us. However, by virtue of our good karma 宿殖 we are able to write [this], following the august decree [of the shogun].
3. A secret transmission says: “The various kami in their provisional forms 諸神權 will unite and return to the one truth of Sannō 山王一実. The teachings of the first Buddha, Śākyamuni, are all encompassed within the [teaching of the] provisional and the true 權実. Finally, the three provisional 会三權 [teachings] will unite with the one truth 即一実 and return to [the teachings of] the Lotus [*Sūtra*] 帰法華. All rivers flow into the sea, where the water tastes equally salty. All your various exercises will unite in the Way of the Bodhisattva, resulting in a perfect person 円人.⁸ This is the great principle 大綱 of the Buddha Dharma. Furthermore, all provisional forms of the kami will unite under the name of Sannō.”
4. The *Nimon sōsokushū* 二門相即集⁹ says: “Sannō is the name of all dharmas, the one perfect all-embracing body. It contains the true

⁵ A disciple of Saichō, the founder of the Japanese Tendai sect. During his long sojourn in China, Ennin acquired many Tantric transmissions. These he introduced into Tendai, thus stimulating the development of Taimitsu, or Tendai esotericism.

⁶ A work attributed to Annen; see below.

⁷ A Tendai classification of all Buddha lands into four types: the land where ordinary people and sages dwell together; the land where skillful means remain; the land of true recompense without obstruction; and the land of eternal quiescent light.

⁸ In Tendai terms, the “person of the Perfect Teaching,” that is, one who has realized the highest insight and goal.

⁹ Commonly regarded as a work of Eshin Sōzu Genshin 恵心僧都源信, the author of the *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集.

meaning 実義. Despite our respect for all kami 冥慮, what was it that made the seven generations of the Heavenly Kami, the five generations of Earthly Kami, the sovereigns, and the ministers? What made the buddhas of the past, present, and future, and also ordinary people? The mind cannot grasp it and words cannot speak of it.”

5. According to an old transmission 相伝, Jūzen-ji 十禪師 says: “I am the divine child, warp and woof of heaven and earth, I am coexistent with the fundamental life 本命 of all beings.”¹⁰
6. The *Kenmitsu naishōgi* 顯密内証義¹¹ says, “Three rays appeared in the sky, nurturing the thousand phenomena and the myriad things, and on the earth there appeared the Three Sacred [Deities], supporting the sky and the four seas.¹² In their inner heart there are benevolent clouds supporting all beings so that no place is ruined. Outwardly, there is soft light and mild winds so that nothing remains unaffected. Ultimately, Sannō Gongen is the archetypal deity of heaven, earth, and human beings, the spirit dwelling in the green of the willow, the red of the blossom. This is a truth transmitted from mind to mind 以心伝心.”
7. The *Masafusa-ki* 匡房記 says: “There are no kami outside the one shrine of Sannō. All kami are parts 分身 of Sannō.” Was Masafusa a transmitter of Sannō Shinto?¹³

Tenkai first presents Jikaku Daishi Ennin’s explanation that the Three Sacred Deities of Sannō appeared in order to save sentient beings, lost in worldly passions, by conferring upon them the benefit of the “wonderful principle” inherent in the virtues of the Buddha.

The *Shimeian zengi* cited in the second passage is an apocrypha attributed to Annen 安然, the famous Tendai monk who systematized Taimitsu thought (the Tendai version of esoteric Buddhism). The passage states that although the benefits resulting from the appearance of the Three Sacred Deities of Sannō cannot be comprehended by ordinary people, these deities nevertheless form the basis of the existence of kami, buddhas, and sentient beings.

The third quote is said to be a secret transmission, according to which the teachings of the first Buddha, Śākyamuni, are all reducible to [the Tendai categories of] the provisional 權 and the ultimately true

¹⁰ One of the seven avatars of Hie Sannō.

¹¹ Questionably attributed to Enchin (814–891), a disciple of Ennin who was also instrumental in the development of Taimitsu in Japan.

¹² In Buddhist cosmology, the oceans that surround this world, with Mt Sumeru in the middle. A way of referring to the entirety of the world in which we live.

¹³ JDZ 1: 10. The numbering of the passages was added by the author.

実. Since all provisional teachings eventually return to the one truth of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the transmission maintains that in due course the provisional teachings of all kami will also return to the teachings of the kami of Hie Sannō, which is, again, representative of the one truth of the *Lotus Sūtra*. The expression, “the various kami in their provisional forms will unite and return to the one truth of Sannō” was presumably inspired by a passage in a work called the *Sannō hiketsu*, by a certain Chishin 智信, cited in volume 6 of the *Keiran jūyōshū* 溪嵐拾葉集:¹⁴

The *Sannō hiketsu* 山王秘決 says: “The various kami of the three provisional [teachings] will unite and return to the one true Sannō (*ichijitsu Sannō*). Therefore, the unification of the kami 神明開会 is called a mysterious event 秘事. In this way the kami of the Land of Japan will return to their true nature 本地, Sannō.” (T 76.515)

Another possible source is a passage from the same work found in volume 7 of the *Keiran jūyōshū*:

Chishin Ajari’s *Sannō hiketsu* says: “The buddhas and bodhisattvas of the ten destinies [from hell to Buddhahood] in the past, present, and future, are all derived from the first Buddha, Śākyamuni. We, the kami of Japan, great and small, are manifestations 応迹 of the Three Sacred [Deities] of Sannō. As Sannō appeared in the world and revealed [the truth] starting [with provisional means] 開顯 in the remote past, he united the kami of the three provisional [teachings] and led them back to the one true Sannō (*ichijitsu Sannō*). In this way, Sannō united them. This must be deeply reflected upon.”

(T 76.524a)

However, whereas the *Sannō hiketsu* speaks of *ichijitsu Sannō* (the one true Sannō), the *Mana engi* reverses the order to *Sannō ichijitsu* (the one truth of Sannō). This expression, I believe, forms the source of the name “Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto.”

Thus Tenkai maintains that Sannō Gongen is the basis of all dharmas (phenomena, laws, things) and that it comprises the archetypal form

¹⁴ The *Keiran jūyōshū* is an important work on Taimitsu and Sannō Shintō by Kōshū 光宗 (1276–1350). Elsewhere in the *Keiran jūyōshū* the *Sannō hiketsu* is called the *Mudō-ji Chishin ki* 智信 [Report of Chishin of Mudō-ji Temple]. Furthermore, towards the end of *Wakō dōjin riki kanjō* 和光同慶利益灌頂, another work in the Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto tradition, we find “Chishin of Mudō-ji” mentioned as the author of a certain *Enjokōshiki* 円乗講式. We may presume that this refers to the same person. At the beginning of his *Keiran jūyōshū* Kōshū names several teachers under whom he studied, but Chishin’s name is not to be found among them. The fact that Kōshū cites from Chishin’s work indicates that Chishin predated Kōshū; he may have been a man of the Kamakura period.

of the kami of Japan; all kami, he says, are *bunshin* 分身 (divided bodies) of Sannō Gongen. Tenkai's sixth quote, from the *Kenmitsu naishōgi*, says, "Ultimately, Sannō Gongen is the archetypal deity of heaven, earth, and human beings." The passage from the *Nimon sōsokushū* in Tenkai's fourth quote also stresses this point, stating, "Sannō is the name of all dharmas, the one perfect all-embracing body." Again, the "old transmission" used in quote number five attributes to Jūzen-ji (one of the deities of the seven shrines of Sannō) the remark that "I am the divine child, warp and woof of heaven and earth, I am coexistent with the fundamental life of all beings." Tenkai concludes in number seven with a quote from the *Masafusa-ki* of Ōe Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041–1111),¹⁵ which expresses the essence of Sannō Shinto doctrine in its claim that Sannō Gongen is the original source of all Japanese kami, that all kami are, in other words, *bunshin* of Sannō. Tenkai simultaneously stresses the fact that Sannō Shinto is an autonomous form of Shinto not to be subordinated to any of the already existing Shinto schools.

We may assume that in formulating Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto, Tenkai took the above interpretation of Sannō Daigongen and applied it to Tōshō Daigongen, the apotheosis of Tokugawa Ieyasu.

Tenkai and the Tōshō daigongen engi

The above-mentioned *Tōshō daigongen engi* (hereafter *TDE*) by Tenkai consists of the three fascicles of the *Mana engi* and the five fascicles of the *Kana engi* 仮名縁起 (Chronicle in kana), the latter complete with illustrations.¹⁶ The *TDE* was, according to Tenkai's biographies, compiled in Kan'ei 12 (1635). The biography of the painter Kanō Tannyū 狩野探幽,¹⁷ however, reports that he did the illustrations for the *Kana engi* in Kan'ei 13 (1636). Again, the *Taiyū'in-dono gojikki* 大猷院殿御実紀,¹⁸ drawing upon sources like the *Kan'ei nikki* 寛永日記, maintains that the *TDE* was completed in Kanei 17 (1640). We are left wondering when, exactly, the work was compiled. Let us thus reexamine the dating of the work, drawing primarily from an early study of this issue by HIRAZUMI Kiyoshi (1926).

¹⁵ A scholar of the late Heian period, and author of the *Honchō shinsenden* 本朝神仙伝.

¹⁶ The *TDE*'s *Mana* and *Kana engi* are both contained in the collection *Kozan shūyō*, vol. 2, and in *Jigen daishi zenshu*, vol. 1, Tokyo: Kaneiji, 1923. The *Mana engi* alone is contained in volume 1 of the *Zokuzoku gunsho ruijū* (Jingi-bu).

¹⁷ Also called Kanō Morinobu, 1602–1674. One of the most famous painters of his day, he was also employed by the Bakufu.

¹⁸ The official report of the reign of the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu, whose posthumous name was Taiyū'in.

The dating of 1635 (Kan'ei 12) for the compilation of the *TDE* is based, as mentioned above, on Tenkai's biographies. For example, Tōgen's 東源 *Tōei kaisan Jigen Daishi denki* 東叡開山慈眼大師伝記 (abbrev. *Tōgen-ki* 東源記) states,

The *Tōshōgū engi* was written in [Kan'ei] 12. The emperor himself copied the head fascicle, called the “Shinto no ichijiku” 神道一軸 [The scroll on Shinto], and priestly princes, courtiers, and court officials added their excellent writings to the later fascicles.

Shintai's 謹泰 *Bushū Tōei kaisan Jigen Daishi-den* 武州東叡開山慈眼大師伝 (abbrev. *Shintai-ki* 謹泰記) records,

In (Kan'ei) 12 the master wrote the *Tōshō daigongen engi*. The “Shinto no ichijiku,” which the emperor himself copied, was made its head fascicle. Princes and courtiers were ordered to write the remaining parts, and the painter Kano Tannyū painted pictures for every section.

The *Tōgen-ki* was written in 1650 (Keian 3) only seven years after Tenkai's death, when his memory was still quite vivid. Although Tōgen headed the Fukuju-in of the Rinzai temple Myōshin-ji and thus belonged to a different sect than the Tendai priest Tenkai, he had been personally acquainted with the latter. The biography was based on a rough draft by Shintai, a monk of the Genryū-in temple of the Tōei monastery, and on personal accounts from leading disciples of Tenkai, such as Kōkai 公海, Kōkai 晃海, and Gōken 豪侃, and from other scholars of the Tendai school.

The *Shintai-ki* was written in 1659 (Manji 2), only sixteen years after Tenkai's death. Thus this biography too was written when memories of Tenkai remained fresh. Shintai based his biography on reports from his master Ryōshin 亮謹, a confrere of Tenkai, to which he added several stories about the old priest.

It may therefore seem safe to take 1635 as the year that the *TDE* was compiled. How then, are we to interpret the statement in *Hōin Tannyū-sai Kanō Morinobuki* 法印探幽齋狩野守信碑, the biography of Tannyū by Hayashi Gahō 林鶯峯 (1618–1680),¹⁹ that “in the year 13 [of Kan'ei (1636)], [Tannyū] received an order from Lord Taiyū [Tokugawa Iemitsu] to illustrate the chronicle of Lord Tōshō [Tokugawa Ieyasu]”? Although we cannot be sure, the one-year difference might be due to the fact that the report refers only to the illustration of the chronicle, and not to when the text itself was actually completed.

¹⁹ Son and successor of Hayashi Razan, Confucian advisor of the shogun.

Tannyū's illustrations were not in the *Mana engi*, but rather in the *Kana engi*. Hayashi Gahō continues his biography by reporting that, for the excellent work he did in illustrating the *TDE*, Tannyū received the Buddhist title of Hōgen 法眼, and the name-suffix “-sai” 齋:

This was of such special importance that he shaved his head, received the title “Hōgen,” and changed his name from Morinobu to Tannyū-sai, before he painted the pictures of the kami. Therefore he went by the name of [Tannyū]-sai, also receiving the title of *edokoro*. He was then thirty-five years old.

Hayashi's dating of these events is called into question, however, by an entry in the *Taiyūin-dono gojikki* under the date Kan'ei 15 (1638)/12/29, to the effect that “the painter Kanō Morinobu received the [title of] Hōgen, shaved his head, and changed his name to Tannyū” (KT 40: 122). This indicates that the bestowing of the name Hōgen and suffix -sai actually occurred in 1638, and therefore that the illustrations for the *TDE* were made sometime later than 1636.

The next problem is how to account for the report in the *Taiyūin-dono gojikki* that says the *TDE* was completed in Kan'ei 17 (1640). The relevant *Taiyūin-dono gojikki* entries are as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| Kan'ei 16/11/3 | Chief abbot Tenkai presents the draft of the <i>Toshōgū goengi</i> [to the shogun]. [KT 40: 159] |
| Same year/11/25 | [The shogun] summons chief abbot Tenkai, listens to the <i>engi</i> . [KT 40: 160] |
| Kan'ei 17/4/7 | Chief abbot Tenkai brings the <i>engi</i> of the Divine Ancestor [Ieyasu] and presents it [to the Shogun]. [KT 40: 181] |
| Same year/4/17 | The <i>engi</i> is now dedicated. Tenkai had discussed the text with the priestly Prince Sonjun 尊純 [1591–1653], ²⁰ a disciple of Shōren-in 青蓮院, before continuing the edition. To the final copy the emperor himself added his august writing and the regent as well as members of the imperial family inked their brushes to write a chapter each. [KT 40: 182-83] |

This suggests that Shogun Iemitsu asked Tenkai a second time to com-

²⁰ Nephew of Emperor Go-yōzei, famous as a Buddhist monk and calligrapher. He received religious instruction at Shōren-in, one of the three Tendai temples in Kyoto established for the education of imperial princes.

pile the *TDE*, which was then completed in Kan'ei 17 (1640). This new *TDE* was then dedicated to Tōshō Daigongen on the seventeenth day of the fourth month, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of the deified Ieyasu.

The revised *TDE* consisted of fascicles 2 and 3 of the present *Mana engi* plus the five fascicles of the *Kana engi*. We know this from a letter contained in fascicle 2 of the *Kōzan shūyō* 晃山拾葉 collection.²¹ The letter, dated the seventh day of the second month of (in all probability) Kan'ei 17 and addressed to Tenkai, was written by Prince Sonjun of Shōren-in; confirming the account in the official chronicle, it reports the compilation of the two fascicles of the *Mana engi* and the draft of the *Kana engi*. Hiraizumi hypothesizes that the three-fascicle *Mana engi* found in the present *TDE* was formed by combining fascicle 1 of the first *Mana engi* (i.e., the one completed in 1635) with the two fascicles of the revised *Mana engi*. It was, Hiraizumi believes, Tenkai's intention to produce this three-volume *Mana engi* from the time he began compiling the two new fascicles of the *Mana engi* first presented to Iemitsu in 1639.

The Amalgamation of Tendai and Shinto Teaching

As mentioned above (see note 16), the *Kōzan shūyō* collection contains versions of both the *Mana engi* and the *Kana engi*. The order of three fascicles of the *Mana engi* is the reverse, however, of what it is in the present *TDE*. The *Kōzan shūyō* version begins with a section entitled the *Mana go-engi* 真名御縁起 that consists of fascicle 3 and fascicle 2 of the present *TDE*, in that order. This is followed by a section entitled the *Tōshōgū-ki* 東照宮記, consisting of fascicle 1 of the *TDE*. In the *Kōzan shūyō* version, furthermore, the writing style constantly shifts between *kanbun* (only Chinese characters) and *kana majiribun* (a mixture of Chinese characters and *kana*), as though the work had yet to be properly edited. The supports Hiraizumi's hypothesis that the first draft of the *Mana engi* was written in *kana*.

Let us examine the significance of fascicle 1 of the *TDE*, the "Shintō no ichijiku," which seems to have received special treatment. As the above-mentioned passage in the *Tōgen-ki* puts it, "The emperor himself copied the head fascicle, called the 'Shintō no ichijiku'" (JDZ 1, p. 313). A similar passage is found in the *Tōshō daigongen shinbyō saie-ki* 東照大権現新廟齋会記 [Report on the ceremonies of the new

²¹ A collection of historical sources concerning Mt Nikkō, presently available only in a small number of handwritten copies stored at places like the Nikkō Library or the National Library of Japan.

mausoleum of Tōshō Daigongen], by the historian Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657): “Tenkai presented his one-fascicle *Engi* and the emperor himself inked his brush and added his writing to it” (HAYASHI 1918, 1, p. 261). The “one-fascicle *Engi*” mentioned here refers, of course, to the 1635 version of the *Mana engi*, comprising the first fascicle of the *Mana engi* found in the present *TDE*. Hayashi dated this event to the fifth month of Kan’ei 13 (1336).²²

The appellation “Shinto no ichijiku” (the “Scroll on Shinto”)—an appellation also used in the *Shintai-ki*—reflects the significance of this fascicle. It was called the “Scroll on Shinto” because it concerned itself with the origin and the special features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto, explaining the historical significance of venerating Ieyasu as a kami and the doctrinal justification therefor. Its teachings are drawn from the doctrine of *Hokke ichijitsu* 法華一実 (the one truth of the *Lotus Sūtra*), and are therefore based entirely upon Tendai Shinto theory.

If Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto can be seen as a form of Sannō Shinto centering on the doctrine of *Hokke ichijitsu*, one would expect the *honji* (true nature) of Tōshō Daigongen, its central figure, to be Shaka (Śākyamuni). Yet Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto regards Yakushi Nyorai (Bhaiṣasya-rāja, the “healing Buddha”) as Ieyasu’s *honji*-Buddha. This apparent contradiction can be accounted for by the fact that Tenkai regarded both Shaka and Yakushi as manifestations of the same body (*dōtai* 同体). In a passage entitled *Dōjō kan* 道場観 in the *Tōshōgū gohonji kyō* 東照宮御本地供 [Dedication to the *honji* of the Tōshōgū], a work attributed to Tenkai, we find:

In the hall of the Main Shrine (大宮 Ōmiya) there is a Lotus seat. On the seat there is the character 吠 [*be*, for Sanskrit *ve*]. The character represents a medicine bottle. The medicine bottle represents Yakushi Nyorai. In his heart, bright as the moon, Yakushi has a white lotus. On the lotus there is the character 嘩 [*ba*, for Sanskrit *va*], representing a big bowl. The big bowl represents the Buddha Shaka. In his heart, bright as the moon, Shaka has the characters 訖哩 [*kirī*; 哩 seems to be for Sanskrit *rī*, and 訖哩 for *ṛī*]. The character represents a red lotus. The lotus represents Amida Nyorai. Yakushi Nyorai sits in the middle, with Shaka and Amida to his left and right.

(JDZ 1: 121)

In this way Tenkai explains that Yakushi, Shaka, and Amida can be regarded as the same body. The identity of the three buddhas is also

²² The date Kan’ei 13 in this text is probably in error, like the same date given in Hayashi Gahō’s *Hōin Tannyū-sai Kanō Morinobu hi*. In this case we may assume that the year should actually be Kan’ei 12 (1635).

argued in another section of the *Tōshōgū gohonji kyō*, entitled *Nyū-sanmaji* 入三摩地 (JDZ 1: 123).

Thus Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto regards Yakushi as the *honji* of Tōshō Daigongen, and, at the same time, as identical with Shaka Nyorai, the master of the *Lotus Sūtra*. This identification of Yakushi with Shaka is what links the teachings of Tendai and Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto. Seen in this light, our conclusion that Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto is an expression of Shinto designed to support worship of Ieyasu as a kami is certainly not unwarranted.

At this point we may recall that the *honji* of the Three Sacred [Deities] of Sannō—Ōmiya, Ninomiya, and Shōshinshi—center upon Shaka Nyorai, with Yakushi Nyorai and Amida Nyorai in subordinate positions. In the Tōshōgū Shrine we find Tōshō Daigongen, the “Great Manifestation” of Yakushi Nyorai (the *honji*), in the middle, with Sannō Gongen and Matarajin 摩多羅神 to his left and right. Given the above-mentioned views on the fundamental identity of Shaka Nyorai and Yakushi Nyorai, it is self-evident that both Sannō Shinto and Sannō Ichijitsu are compatible with the *Hokke ichijitsu* teaching.

The Purpose of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto

Let us turn now to the purpose of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto as a religion. Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto was intended as a teaching that would guarantee “peace and tranquillity in this world and enlightenment in a coming rebirth” (*genze annon, goshō zensho* 現世安穩 後生善処). It was, in other words, to be an eternal, unchanging teaching that would pray for the stability of the *bakuhau* system and the prosperity of the Tokugawa house, and hence ensure that the Tokugawa house would rule Japan forever.

Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto was plainly a religion with a quite clear political import. This is quite frankly expressed in the *Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto kuju gosōjō hiki* 山王一実神道口受御相承秘記 [Secret chronicle of the oral transmission of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto], a work by Tenkai’s successor Jōin 乗因 of Kanshō-in in Mt Togakushi monastery:

[Sannō] Ichijitsu Shinto was taught by Jigen Daishi to our lord, the great deity Tōshō. It is a great teaching, never weakening for a myriad generations, to insure the prosperity of [Ieyasu’s] descendants and the stability of the state. (TZ 12: 253)

Kengyō’s 賢暁 *Wakō saiki* 和光再暁 [Second shining of the soft light] also contains a passage pointing to the political nature of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto:

Hie's Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto is an essential device (*yōjutsu* 要術) so that the worldly truth will prevail forever (*zokutai jōju* 俗諦常住), and so that the government will rule and benefit the people (*jikoku rimin* 治国利民). (TZ 12: 422)

That this was indeed Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto's aim is indicated by the fact that the transmission (*kechimiyaku* 血脈) of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto was referred to as "the secret method of governing the country and benefiting the people" (*jikoku rimin hihō* 治国利民秘法).²³

In this way, Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto was a teaching that expounded the divine power of Tōshō Daigongen, the deified Tokugawa Ieyasu, seeking prosperity for his descendants and peace for the realm. Accordingly, Tenkai writes in the first fascicle of the *Mana engi*:

Tōshō Daigongen, [a deity] of the Proper First Court rank, reveals himself. He knows the way of peace and tranquillity in this world and of enlightenment in the life to come. For the prosperity of the Tokugawa house and the eternal benefit of the people, you must by all means guard Sannō Shinto and not combine it with any other doctrine. Instead you must imitate the etiquette of Tō-no-mine 多武峯,²⁴ then your descendants will prosper. (JDZ 1: 12)

And in the third fascicle he adds,

Tōshō Daigongen has penetrated this principle and has pledged that he will always guard his descendants and provide benefit to all living beings.... The Gongen's power doubles that of the sun; it provides wealth to his descendants, solidity to the temples, and peace to the three shrines. (JDZ 1: 34)

All of these statements express basically the same idea, and indicate that the central concerns of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto were that the Tokugawa lineage prosper and never come to an end, that the feudal system of the Tokugawa Bakufu continue, and that the country be governed for the people's benefit.

The distinct features of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto were, moreover, pre-figured by the expectations of Ieyasu himself. As seen in a passage of the *Tōgen-ki*, Ieyasu's hope was to appear as a kami upon his death and aid his descendants through his divine power:

²³ There is, indeed, a "Genealogical Table of the Secret Method of Governing the Country and Benefiting the People" (*jikoku rimin hihō soshō keifu* 治国利民秘法相承系譜) contained in JDZ 1: 94-100.

²⁴ This refers to the cult of Fujiwara no Kamatari (614-669), the ancestor of the Fujiwara house, who was enshrined in the mountains of Tō-no-mine, Nara Prefecture, and worshiped there by the members of his family. For details see the Translator's Introduction.

[By the virtue of] this Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto, I have acquired merit for a long time, yet I pray for another favor. The reason is that upon the day of my death I want to appear as a divine power and give my protection: first, may the leaves and twigs of my descendants bloom forever; second, may the seeds of the Buddha's teachings never cease; and, third, may the realm be forever protected from the misfortunes of war. Tenkai could not suppress his feelings and shed tears like waves.

(JDZ 1: 294)

Also, it is reported in the *Shintai-ki*:

(Ieyasu said: ...) [By the virtue of] Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto, I have acquired merit for a long time, yet, I pray for another favor. The reason is that upon the day of my death I would like to appear as a divine power, so that I might protect my descendants, pacify the state, and let the Truth [of the Buddha] prosper.

(JDZ 1: 353)

These remarks indicate what kind of religion Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto had to be in order to fulfill the expectations of Ieyasu.

The Death and Apotheosis of Tokugawa Ieyasu

After Ieyasu's death his remains were interred first in a grave on Mt Kunō 久能山,²⁵ then later moved to their final resting place at Tōshōgū in Nikkō. The reentombment at Nikkō was already stipulated by Ieyasu himself in his last will. One or two days before the fourth day of the fourth month, Ieyasu called Honda Masazumi 本多正純 (one of his most trusted vassals), Nankō-bō Tenkai, and Konchi-in Sūden 崇伝²⁶ to his bedside and spoke to them on matters to follow his death. The content of this conversation may be discerned from Sūden's diary, the *Honkō kokushi nikki* 本光国師日記, where we find a letter dated Genna 2 (1616)/4/4 to the bakufu-inspector of Western Japan, Itakura Iga-nokami Katsushige:

One or two days ago Honda Jōshū, Nankō-bō, and I were summoned by his lordship, who told us to keep his body at Mt Kunō and to conduct the funeral rites at Zōjō-ji. [He said that] the mortuary tablet should be placed in the Daijin-ji in Mikawa.

²⁵ A mountain to the southeast of Ieyasu's castle in Sunpu (Shizuoka Prefecture), where the first Tōshōgū was built.

²⁶ Ishin Sūden (1569–1633) was, along with Tenkai, one of the closest advisors of Tokugawa Ieyasu. He belonged to the Rinzaï branch of the Zen sect, heading the Nanzen-ji in Kyoto, where he resided in a temple called Konchi-in. He was posthumously awarded the title Honkō Kokushi.

After the first anniversary of his death we should erect a small temple at Mt Nikkō and enshrine (*kanjō* 勧請)²⁷ him there. He should be made the guardian deity of the Eight Provinces [of Japan]. That was his august will. (DBZ 140: 1094)

Ieyasu died soon after, on the seventeenth of the same month. In the fourth month of the following year, 1617, the reentombment in Nikkō was conducted under the supervision of Tenkai.

This entombment ceremony was, by the way, almost certainly conducted according to the rites of an independent Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto.²⁸ Fascicle 3 of the *Mana engi* reports that “following the example of Sannō Daigongen and the Imperial Shrine of Amaterasu, [Tōshō Daigongen] received Buddhist orders 授戒 and an initiation in the esoteric precepts 戒灌 in the Inner Shrine” (JDZ 1, pp. 31–32). Thus Buddhist ordination rites and an esoteric *abhiṣeka* ritual 灌頂²⁹ were performed for the deified Ieyasu in front of the sanctuary of the Inner Shrine of Mt Nikkō. There is also an entry in the *Tōgen-ki*, dated Genna 3 (1617)/4/8, that reports as follows:

The sacred palanquin of Tōshōgū was transferred to the stone cavern of Mt Nikkō's Inner Shrine 奥院. The respectful transport and the order of the entourage followed strictly the directions of Chief Abbot Tenkai. At noon, the chief abbot spread the *niṣīdana*-mat³⁰ in front of the deity, performed a purification rite, and bowed respectfully. Quietly sitting in the full lotus position, he contemplated the assimilation of kami and Buddha. Respectfully taking [this notion to his heart], he took a five-pronged vajra and invested the precinct of the kami with magical power. He conducted himself as if the kami were actually present. Finally, in front of the Daigongen he performed the *inmyō* 印明 [mudrā and mantra] of the Five Eyes (*gogen* 五眼).³¹ (JDZ 1: 296)

²⁷ This term refers to a ceremony performed at the setting up of a branch shrine in which the deity of the original shrine is called into the new one. It could also be translated as “invoke,” “invite,” or “summon up.”

²⁸ Regarding Ieyasu's reentombment in Nikkō, Tenkai maintained that it was Ieyasu's last will to be buried according to the rites of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto, not those of Yoshida Shinto. Some claim that this “last will” was an invention of Tenkai, but my research substantiates Tenkai's position. See SUGAHARA 1958; 1992a, pp. 199–203.

²⁹ Lit. “sprinkling water on the head.” Originally an Indian water-sprinkling ritual or initiation called *abhiṣecana* or *abhiṣeca*, resembling Christian baptism. Applied in Mikkyō to confer the precepts, a mystic teaching, etc., on a person.

³⁰ One of the six possessions of a Buddhist monk, used for religious services. Jpn. *nishidan* 尼師壇 or *nidan*.

³¹ The five types of “seeing” or “insight” possessed by a Buddha, consisting of ordinary

Thus the esoteric Buddha-Eye *inmyō* ceremony was performed in the stone cavern of the Inner Shrine of the Nikkō mausoleum.

The Ceremony for Enshrining Ieyasu in Nikkō

Let us now take a closer look at the enshrinement ceremony that Tenkai performed in the cavern. The ceremony is described in several ritualistic prescriptions furnished with titles such as “Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto’s Utmost Deep Secret Enshrinement Ceremony in the Pagoda” (*Sannō ichijitsushintō tatchū kanjō chinza saigoku shinpi shiki* 山王一実神道塔中勸請鎮座最極深秘式) or, “Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto’s Deep Secret Enshrinement Ceremony” (*Sannō ichijitsushintō kanjō shinpi hōshiki* 山王一実神道勸請深秘法式). There are, as far as I know, five extant manuscripts of this kind. However, all date from the late Edo to early Meiji periods (see SUGAHARA 1992b), almost three hundred years after the fact, so the information therein must be treated with care.³²

The most likely date for the enshrinement ceremony is, I believe, the eighth day of the fourth month of Genna 3 (1617). It was on this day that Ieyasu’s coffin, which had been transferred from Mt Kunō to Mt Nikkō, was installed in the stone cavern of the Inner Shrine. Further support for this dating is found in volume 45 of the *Daitokuin-dono gojikki* 台徳院殿御実紀, the official record of the second shogun, Hidetada. In its entry for that date, this text draws from the *Tōgen-ki* (see passage cited above) to report:

The coffin was installed in the stone cavern of Mt Nikkō’s Inner Shrine. Chief Abbot Tenkai contemplated the assimilation of kami and Buddha and performed the *inmyō* of the Five Eyes. (KT 39: 123)

There is, admittedly, another entry in the *Daitokuin-dono gojikki* dating from the nineteenth of the same month with a report that “a religious service was held in the pagoda of the mausoleum of the Inner Shrine” (KT 39: 125), but it is unlikely this was the enshrinement ceremony, since the latter would not have been held subsequent to the anniversary of Ieyasu’s death (celebrated on the seventeenth).

physical eyesight; divine eyesight; the eye of wisdom; the eyes of the Dharma; and the Buddha-eye, which also contains all the others.

³² One of these manuscripts, the “Sannō ichijitsushintō tōchū kanjō chinza shinpi shiki” 山王一実神道塔中勸請鎮座深秘式, stored in the Fukuda Collection of Tennō-ji in Tokyo, comprises the postscript (*shikigo* 識語) of an earlier copy. This postscript indicates that the ritual was performed in the Treasure Pagoda (Hōtō) of the Inner Shrine in the fourth month of Genna 3 (1617). It is unlikely, however, that this postscript was written near that time, as it contains a number of statements not in accord with historical fact.

Let us now list the individual steps of the “Secret Enshrinement Ceremony in the Pagoda” as recorded in a manuscript in the Kaikō-in collection of Mt Hiei. Written on the front page is “The Utmost Secret Abhiṣeka Ceremony of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto in the Nikkō Pagoda” (*Sannō ichijitsu shin Nikkō tatchū kanjō saigokuhi hichū shinpihō* 山王一実神日光塔中灌頂最極秘々中深秘法).³³ It dates from the late Edo and was copied by a certain Ryōchō 亮長 from a book of Mittan Sōji’s 密庵僧慈 transmission. As we examine the details of the invocation ceremony in the pagoda (listed below), we should note the peculiar fact that, in addition to the “Buddha-Eye *inmyō*,” the “*inmyō* of the Three Regalia” (*sanshu no jingi inmyō* 三種の神器印明)³⁴ was performed.

- 1 First, the esoteric ceremony of 100 rays shining together.
- 2 Next, the *inmyō* of Invoking the Saints.
- 3 Next, the summoning of the live spirit.
- 4 Next, the Later Five Offerings.
- 5 Next, the *inmyō* of Offering Three Pieces of Food.
- 6 Next, the *inmyō* of candles, drink and food, paper money, and light.
- 7 Next, the *inmyō* of the Bliss of All Heavens.
- 8 Next, the *inmyō* of Receiving the Precepts of the Aspiration for Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*).
- 9 Next, the *inmyō* of Awakening the Aspiration for Enlightenment.
- 10 Next, the *inmyō* of the Precepts of Samaya.
- 11 Next, the clarifying of karmic bindings.
- 12 Next, the secret mudrā of the Three Perfections (*siddhī*).
- 13 Next, the secret *inmyō* of the Eight Characters of the Mother Womb [Mandala].
- 14 Next, the secret mudrā of the Mother Womb World.
- 15 Next, the secret mudrā of the Diamond World.
- 16 Next, the secret *inmyō* of Kongōsatta (Vajrasattva).
- 17 Next, the *inmyō* of the Buddha-Eye.
- 18 Next, the *inmyō* of the Three Perfections.
- 19 Next, the deep secret *inmyō* of the Three [Imperial] Regalia.
- 20 Next, the ritual master descends from his seat.
- 21 Next, the ritual of self-protection.
- 22 Next, the *inmyō* of conquering the three realms.

³³ “Sannō ichijitsu shin” in this title should be “Sannō ichijitsu shintō,” but it seems that the character 道 was omitted.

³⁴ The Three Regalia refer to the three symbolic treasures of the emperor, that is, the sword, mirror, and *magatama* jewels.

- 23 Next, the ritual master approaches the spirit of the dead 死靈, contemplating the character 𑖀 (*raṃ*).
- 24 Next, the Yogic Mind Pagoda Mudrā 𑖑 (*vam*), contemplation of the character 𑖐 (*a*), contemplation of the character 𑖀 (*raṃ*).
- 25 Next, the *inmyō* of the five rings [the five elements of earth, water, fire, wind, and sky].
- 26 Next, the *inmyō* of the Samaya of the Victorious Body.
- 27 Next, the Golden Ring.
- 28 Next, the master spells the Heart *inmyō* of the Three Mandalas.
- 29 Next, he turns to the mortal remains spelling the Mother *inmyō* of the Three Mandalas.
- 30 Next, the loosening of self-protection.
- 31 Next, the [tortoise] shield of the Three Mandalas.
- 32 Next, the master returns to his seat.
- 33 Next, prayer.
- 34 Next, the water offering 闕伽.
- 35 Next, the thanksgiving.
- 36 Next, the ringing of the bell.
- 37 Next, the skillful means of transferring ones merits [to the deceased].
- 38 Next, offering goods, offering lectures.
- 39 Next, the transferring of one's merits to all directions.
- 40 Next, dissolving the ritual precinct.
- 41 Next, seeing off [his Lordship].
- 42 Next, the [tortoise] shield of the Three Mandalas.
- 43 Next, descending from the seat, bowing to the Buddha.

As this description of the esoteric enshrinement uses terms like *seikon* 生魂 (life spirit), *igai* 遺骸 (mortal remains), and *shirei* 死靈 (spirit of the dead), words that are not of a level of sanctity appropriate to the divine spirit of Ieyasu, it seems more appropriate to regard it as a general outline of the esoteric enshrinement ceremony rather than as a description of the ritual specifically used for Ieyasu.

The *inmyō* of the Three Regalia, referred to above, was a ritual connected with the enthroning of an emperor. Why was such an important *inmyō* utilized in a Mikkyō abhiṣeka initiation ceremony? When an emperor was enthroned this *inmyō* was bestowed along with an esoteric abhiṣeka initiation into the imperial rank (*sokui kanjō* 即位灌頂);³⁵ its bestowal upon the spirit of Ieyasu must have been of much the same import. Needless to say, venerating Ieyasu as a kami and bestow-

³⁵ Editor's Note: On the use of the *sokui kanjō* in medieval Japan, see KAMIKAWA 1990.

ing the *inmyō* of the Three Regalia on Tōshō Daigongen was part of an attempt to confer imperial status on this deity and legitimate the rule of the Tokugawa Bakufu over Japan.³⁶

Outside of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto the *inmyō* of the Three Regalia is absent from Tendai esoteric ritual, whether that of Taimitsu or of Tendai Shinto. It is found only in connection with Shingon Ryōbu Shinto, in the esoteric abhiṣeka of Miwa-ryū 三輪流 Shinto.³⁷ This abhiṣeka has in the course of its transmission become almost identical with the imperial abhiṣeka ritual of enthronement (*sokui kanjō*). The Three Regalia abhiṣeka ceremony used by Tenkai during the enshrinement ceremony differed from the Miwa-ryū ritual only in that the original “seed letters” (*bija*) of Shingon esotericism were replaced by Tendai seed letters, indicating a great familiarity on Tenkai’s part with the Miwa-ryū ritual. A similar Three Regalia ritual can probably be found in the writings of Goryū 御流 Shinto (the Shinto of the imperial house), but since study of the writings of Goryū Shinto is still not allowed this supposition is impossible to verify.

That Sannō Shinto took an interest in the Miwa-ryū Shinto transmitted at the shrine of Ōmiwa is certain, for it regarded the Ōmiwa Gongen 大宮権現 deity of the Hie Shrine to be the Ōmiwa Myōjin 大三輪明神 deity of Yamato that was enshrined at Mt Hiei during the reign of Emperor Tenji (662–671) to serve as the guardian deity of the new capital in Ōmi.³⁸ From this point of view it seems quite natural that Tenkai might utilize an esoteric abhiṣeka ceremony associated with Miwa-ryū Shinto. That Tenkai had a strong interest in the tradition may be inferred by the presence of Miwa-ryū works like the *Tenchi reiki-ki* 天地麗氣記 in the Tenkai collection of the Mt Nikkō library, or of the *Shintō kanjō injinhō*, *Miwa-ryū* 神道灌頂印信法三輪流 and the *Shintō kanjō injin kuketsu* 神道汀印信口決 in the Tenkai collection of the Mt Hiei library. Although it cannot be proven that Tenkai

³⁶ Another interesting piece of evidence in this respect is the existence of an imperial seal in the Nikkō Pagoda, known from secret transmissions. The inner box in which the seal is kept is inscribed with the words, “The entire threefold world is my domain; And the living beings in it are all my children.” These words are from the “Parable” chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*, but from their location it is clear that they refer to worldly dominion. For a more detailed discussion of this seal, which is so secret that it is never exposed to human eyes and is thus only known through written sources, see SUGAHARA 1992a (pp. 221–24) and SUGAHARA 1992b (which also discusses the above-mentioned ceremony in greater detail).

³⁷ Doctrinally affiliated with the Shingon sect, Miwa-ryū Shintō regards the monk Kyōen 慶円 (1140–1223) as its founder, yet is probably of later origin.

³⁸ For details see SUGAHARA 1992a, pp. 9–12. After the removal of the capital from Yamato to Ōtsu in Ōmi in 667, the imperial guardian deity of the Ōmiwa Shrine was also worshiped in a new shrine on Mt Hiei, a shrine later named Ōmiya.

actually used these texts, their age suggests that he most probably did (the *Shintō kanjō injinhō*, for example, is dated Keichō 2 [1597]). In due course he then used the abhiṣeka ceremony of Miwa-ryū Shintō in a Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto service, transforming it into a type of Tendai esotericism.

Conclusion

As we have seen, Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō was a form of Shinto developed in order to realize the goals of deifying Ieyasu under the name of Tōshō Daigongen, raising him to imperial rank, and legitimizing the rule of the Tokugawa Bakufu over Japan. It provided prayers for the prosperity of the descendants of the Tokugawa house, supported the eternal continuation of the shogun line, and aimed for peace and stability under Tokugawa Bakufu rule. Since it supported the replacement of imperial power in Kyoto with a permanent government in Edo it was quite political in nature, although it was its religious teachings that gave Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto its character as a Shinto tradition.

Much the same can be said about the name Tōshō Daigongen. Tōshō, meaning “illuminating the east,” was intended to indicate a presence in no way inferior to the sun-like being that “illuminates the sky,” that is, Amaterasu Ōmikami, the ancestral deity of the imperial line.

Thus, as we have seen, the distinctive doctrine of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto was directed toward furthering the prosperity of the Tokugawa family and continuing its rule over Japan, as expressed in the phrase “governing the country, benefiting the people.”

ABBREVIATIONS

- DBZ *Dai-Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書, 152 + 10 vols. Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai, 1913–1922.
- JDZ *Jigen Daishi zenshū* 慈眼大師全書, 2 vols. Tokyo: Kan’ei-ji, 1923.
- KT *Kokushi taikō* 国史大系. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, 100 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al., eds. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai and Daizō Shuppan, 1924–1932.
- TZ *Tendai-shū zensho* 天台宗全書, 25 vols. Tendai Shūten Kankōkai 天台宗典刊行会, ed. Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō, 1972.

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