

## Pearl in the Shrine

### A Genealogy of the Buddhist Jewel of the Japanese Sovereign

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*This study attempts to re-imagine early Japanese sovereignty through an examination of the relationship between the so-called “three regalia” of the ruler and Buddhism. Based on an analysis of relevant primary sources in printed and archival collections as well as drawing on the recent research of Japanese scholars such as Abe Yasurō, Shirayama Yoshitarō and Satō Hiroo, this paper focuses especially on the connection between the jewel among the regalia and the wish-fulfilling jewel of esoteric Buddhism to argue that Shinto as we know it is inexorably linked with Buddhism. Clerics of Kenmitsu Buddhist traditions, together with the sovereigns who patronized them, constituted by the fourteenth century a milieu that assumed possession of the regalia guaranteed royal sovereignty—a view that was produced primarily within and through the theories and practices of esoteric Buddhism. This conclusion enables us not only to reenvision the Buddhist character of Japanese sovereignty, but also to embark on a renewed examination of the Buddhist roots of royal Shinto discourse and ideology.*

**Keywords:** *Nyoi hōju* — relics — regalia — Ise — Tsūkai — Shinto — Kitabatake Chikafusa

THIS STUDY BEGAN with a query: How did people come to the belief that the shrine of the royal family, Ise Daijingu 伊勢大神宮, enshrined relics, even though it was the only major shrine (*yashiro* 社, *jinja* 神社) in the country that was apparently not an object of the governmental Buddha Relics Offering marking royal accession? During the course of research on relics, I was surprised to notice that people believed Ise Daijingu enshrined relics. The Buddha Relics Offering (*ichidai ichido busshari hōken* 一代一度仏舍利奉獻), as mentioned in ritual texts and court diaries, was made by the royal court to almost sixty of the largest shrines in Japan in celebration of the accession of the *tennō* 天皇, but

no text ever mentioned that Ise was one of its objects. At the same time, I noticed that, by the medieval era, works like the biographical compendium *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書 told a legend depicting the presentation by the famous eighth-century monk Gyōki 行基 of a relic to Ise on behalf of the sovereign, and that others claimed that an esoteric Buddhist wish-fulfilling jewel (*nyoi hōju* 如意宝珠)—a Buddha relic fashioned into a jewel—was enshrined there.<sup>1</sup>

In this paper, I will examine the relationship between the Japanese royal regalia—the so-called mirror, sword, and jewel—and Buddhism by analyzing representations of the wish-fulfilling jewel in the medieval era. Through tracing the genealogy of the conception that the regalia of the sovereign, especially the jewel and mirror, are equivalent with the wish-fulfilling jewel of esoteric Buddhism, I will argue that esoteric Buddhists—particularly those of the Shingon school—provided through the idea of the wish-fulfilling jewel both a narrative and an object that interpreted the sovereign as a legitimate sovereign of Buddhist tradition and as the heir to a royal lineage of enlightenment. In this way, I suggest that the developed notion of the royal regalia in medieval times was Buddhist in character, and that modern claims that the regalia are purely products of a native Shinto erase traditions of Buddha-*kami* identification (*honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 or *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合), which had an indispensable role in the production of royal charisma.

It is well-known that the jewel (*yasakani [no] magatama* 八坂瓊勾玉) is one of the three so-called regalia (*sanshu [no] jingi* 三種神器) of the sovereign. However, some scholars are unaware that the jewel was not originally viewed universally as essential to royal rule as were the mirror and sword. It seems to have been generally seen by members of the court as part of a set with the other two only as of the early medieval era. For example, the ritual text compiled by Imbe no Hiro-nari (齋部広成 fl. 807) in the early ninth century *Kogo shūi* 古語拾遺 (Gleanings from old words) lists only the mirror and the sword as the “two sacred treasures” (*futakusa [no] kandakara/jinpō* 二種神宝), which are the “heavenly” or “*kami*” seal (*amatsushirushi* 天璽, *mishirushi* 御璽,

<sup>1</sup> *Genkō shakusho*, “Ise kōtai jingū,” DNBZ 101: 220. We will see that a variety of works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries identified the main deity of Ise, Amaterasu, or the mirror with which she is identified, with a wish-fulfilling jewel. My research on the relationship between Buddha-relic veneration and power in early medieval Japan was published as *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan*; my discussions of the history of wish-fulfilling jewel veneration in Shingon traditions are the focus of chapters four and five of the book, although I consider the relationship with the regalia in brief.

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神璽, 璽符) of the sovereign; and the later government ritual record *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (927), basing its depiction primarily on this earlier work, includes only these two as “heavenly seals” in kami supplications (*norito* 祝詞).<sup>2</sup>

In fact, the increasing recognition of the indispensability of the jewel to the sovereign coincided with the evident inception of wish-fulfilling jewel veneration in the palace. Diaries of aristocrats and sovereigns between the tenth and thirteenth centuries indicate that esoteric Buddhist monks were regularly made guardians (*gojisō* 護持僧, 御持僧) of the sovereign to pray before an image of the bodhisattva Kannon—seen as possessing a wish-fulfilling jewel—installed in the palace. By roughly the late eleventh century, these guardian monks began to regularly conduct such rites next to the sleeping quarters of the ruler, and performed both monthly and annual wish-fulfilling jewel rites for sovereign and realm.

The sovereign Murakami (r. 946–967) wrote in his diary that in 962 he had two images of Kannon enshrined in his august sitting room (Jijūden 仁寿殿) and that he ordered the Shingon monk Kangū 寬空 (884–972), abbot of Tō-ji, to perform the eye-opening ceremony for

<sup>2</sup> *Kogo shūi*, p. 127; *Engi shiki*, “Norito,” pp. 167–68. I disagree with the editors of the *norito* collection reproduced in *Kojiki/Norito* (NKBT 1), who claim (p. 426, n. 4) that the phrase *amatsushirushi no tsurugi kagami* refers to all three, with the term *shirushi* referring to both the “heavenly seal” and the jewel. The inclusion of a character for the possessive *no* suggests forcefully that the phrase *amatsushirushi* refers specifically to the heavenly seal. Moreover, *Kogo shūi*, in its reference to the *norito* supplication (p. 133) to the sword and mirror, uses almost exactly the same wording, suggesting that *Engi shiki* is merely following the earlier text in its representation of the two regalia. Indeed, Nishimiya Kazutami, in his annotated notes to the account in *Kogo shūi* (79–80, n. 58–59), takes the view that all of the related accounts in early works such as *Engi shiki* and *Ryō no shūge* refer only to the sword and mirror, albeit mentioned in varying orders of presentation; likewise, Yoshimura Takehiko, in his explanation of “Yasakani no magatama” in *Kokushi Daijiten*, vol. 14 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1993, p. 39), follows Mayuzumi Hiromichi in the view that the notion of three regalia only occurred after the crushing of the Imbe family by the Nakatomi family in the 9th century.

We should also note that the only account in the early era to group the three together is that of the mythic bestowal of the objects on Amatsuhikohikoho no ninigi by Amaterasu (NKBT 67: 146–47). Moreover, the depiction is clearly one of *myth* rather than a record of an accession rite. Naoki Kōjirō, in his study of the regalia, admits that even the early National Learning (*kokugaku*) scholars Motoori Norinaga and Kamo no Mabuchi noted that the mirror and the sword were the primary regalia—Norinaga noting that the jewel was viewed with less gravity—along with the recent famous scholar Tsuda Sōkichi.

Naoki proceeds to try to explain the lack of the mention of the jewel in most works by making an abstruse argument that the use of only two regalia was only temporary—roughly the late seventh to the early ninth centuries. Interestingly, as I have noted, the historical evidence is virtually to the opposite effect, suggesting instead that only two regalia were used in the accession rites until the Heian era; Naoki defends his argument by saying that, given the limited number of sources, his claims, like those of Tsuda, Motoori, and Kamo, are “from the very beginning inferences that cannot be definitively proved” (*motoyori kore wa kakutaru shōko no nai suiron de aru*) (NAOKI 1999, pp. 129–55; the quote is on p. 144).

them. He also mentioned that the enshrinement of the figures was due to the effects of a fire that had occurred in 960, noting that the new figures were to be enshrined “as of old,” indicating clearly that a Kannon figure had been previously enshrined there (*Murakami tennō gyoki*, Ōwa 2.6.18, ZZGR 5: 89–90). This account may substantiate a royal order of 916 to the monk Kangen 観賢 (853–925), recorded in a twelfth-century Shingon text, that tells him to worship Jūichimen Kannon 十一面観音 in the august sitting room on the eighteenth of each month (*Tōyō ki*, ZGR 26: 413). This was the beginning of the royal “Kannon Offering” (*Kannon ku* 観音供), which later came to be conducted in the Futama area of the royal residence.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, a series of diaries and commentaries depict the cloistered sovereign Shirakawa as having received a material wish-fulfilling jewel from the Shingon monk Hanjun 範俊 (1038–1112), which he then deposited in his detached palace, Toba Rikyū. Hanjun also performed a series of rites on behalf of sovereigns with the wish-fulfilling jewel as the main object of worship, including the Nyohō Aizen-ō 如法愛染王 rite (ca. 1080), and the Nyohō Sonshō 如法尊勝 ritual (1109).<sup>4</sup>

At the same time, another seminal moment in the cultural and political history of jewels may have been the discovery of an azure gem in a pine cone by the Ise shrine priest and well-known poet Ōnakatomi no Sukechika 大中臣輔親 (954–1038) and a cohort at Ise Daijingu during a seven-day prayer there in 1034. Major records of the era such as *Nihon kiryaku* and *Fusō ryakki* describe the incident. Indeed, the aristocrat Minamoto no Tsuneyori’s 源経頼 (985–1039) diary makes it clear that the court debated for weeks as to the meaning of the jewel’s appearance and the proper location for its enshrinement. Sukechika brought the jewel back to the court with him from Ise, and Tsuneyori describes the sovereign’s inspection of it as well as deliberations of the court concerning its discovery. Discussions were held as to whether or not the event was auspicious and, though it was generally agreed upon that it constituted a good sign, divinations had to be performed to determine where the jewel should be enshrined—the Naishidokoro 内侍所 of the inner palace (i.e., in the Unmeiden 温明殿, home of the mirror among the regalia) or Ise Shrine? In the

<sup>3</sup> The enshrinement of the Kannon figures in the Futama occurred sometime between the late tenth and mid-eleventh centuries. Abe Yasurō has noted the inclusion of a text on the Jijūden Buddhist rites in the manuscript of Daigo-ji Sanbō-in, dated Chōryaku 3 (1039), entitled *Futama Kannon onkoto*, to emphasize the equivalence between the Kannon figures. See ABE 1989, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, *Nyoi hōju mishuhō nikki*, Jōryaku 4.11 (1080–1081), Tennin 2.8.15 (1109), a manuscript of the Ono branch of Shingon (Shitennō-ji archives), which is reproduced in SUGIHASHI 1970, p. 136.

end, the jewel was, depending on the source, suggested to have been enshrined in the sovereign's residence (Seiryōden 清涼殿) or in the so-called Naishidokoro (Kashikodokoro) area in the regalia court (Unmeiden) of the palace; but the extended discussions, the sovereign's inspection, and the emphasis on the places of enshrinement make it clear that the object was judged a new treasure of the sovereign, if not akin to the regalia.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, while Ōnakatomi's increase in rank in reward for his discovery and offering of the jewel is not surprising, we should note that Tsuneyori describes the object as a "kami treasure" (*jinpō/kandakara* 神宝), a term sometimes used to refer to the regalia (*Sakei ki*, Chōgen 7.11.6; SHT 6: 380).

Although sources do not mention that Buddhism had any direct role in the court's interest in the jewel, the contemporaneity of the event with the increasing practice of esoteric rites of wish-fulfilling jewel veneration on behalf of the sovereign—as well as a series of other documents of the early medieval era—would suggest the development of a ritual and literary thematic complex that associated the wish-fulfilling jewel with other gems, such as Buddha relics and the jewel among the regalia, as well as with prominent shrines and temples connected with the royal line or Fujiwara clan (e.g., Ise, Usa Hachiman, and Uji Byōdō-in).

Before turning to examine the centrality of the figure of Kannon in the crystallization of the views concerning the wish-fulfilling jewel, we should note that not long after the period of the discovery of the jewel at Ise, members of the court began to make periodic offerings of wish-fulfilling jewels or other gems to temples and shrines. For example, the historical tale *Eiga monogatari* 栄華物語 (Tale of blooming fortunes) records the offering by the empress (Fujiwara no) Kanshi (1036–1127) in 1065 (Jiryaku 1) of a wish-fulfilling jewel (*nyoi hōsu = hōju*) at the Buddhist chapel of Uji Byōdō-in as part of a royally sponsored liturgy of "Eight Lectures" on the *Lotus Sutra* (NKBT 76: 479).<sup>6</sup> The history *Hyakuren shō* 百鍊抄 (Refined notes) records that sovereign Go-Sanjō (r. 1068–1072), prompted by a dream, made a pilgrimage in 1072 to the same chapel, upon which the regent Fujiwara no

<sup>5</sup> See Tsuneyori's diary *Sakei ki*, Chōgen 7.9.30, 10.4–5, 10.11, SHT 6: 370–73; *Nihon kiriyaku*, Chōgen 7.9.30, 10.11, KST 11: 287. *Nihon kiriyaku* describes the jewel as having been—at least initially—enshrined in the sovereign's residence; *Sakei ki* does not make clear where the jewel was enshrined, though its depictions suggest that the Seiryōden or the Naishidokoro was the final destination.

<sup>6</sup> The usual pronunciation of the same characters is *nyoi hōju* or *nyoi hōshu*. We should note that the editors of the NKBT edition point out that in the prayer document for the event, part of a compilation referred to as *Ganmonshū*, differs from *Eiga* in claiming that the retired empress made the offering, described as a silver wish-fulfilling jewel.

Yorimichi (990–1074) presented an egg-shaped wish-fulfilling jewel—apparently for enshrinement there (Enkyū 4.10.26, KST 11: 33).<sup>7</sup>

*Kannon, Jewels, and Buddha Relics in Literary Representation*

As was noted above, a figure of Kannon was established in the royal palace by the tenth century. Indeed, literary works of the early medieval era repeatedly associated Kannon with the bestowal of objects of wealth such as gold and jewels, and sometimes associated Kannon with the powers of the dragon king, famous for possession of wish-fulfilling jewels and Buddha relics.

A story told in Minamoto no Tamenori's (ca. 941–1011) *Sanbō-e kotoba* 三宝絵詞 (Illustrated three jewels) indicates that by at least the tenth century the “wish-fulfilling [jewel and Dharma] wheel Kannon” (Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪観音) was known for its powers to enrich. The account depicts sovereign Shōmu (r. 724–749) as praying to the deity called Zaō for gold to be used for the construction of the great Buddha at Tōdai-ji. The deity tells him that he cannot relinquish his gold, but that the sovereign should instead construct an image of Nyoirin Kannon on a stone that was discovered earlier in Ōmi Province. Soon after the stone is found in Ishiyama-dera. The court sponsors the construction of the Kannon there, and its prayers to the Kannon lead to the discovery of gold in Mutsu Province.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, the diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957–1046) indicates that he and those around him were actively engaged in Nyoirin Kannon worship in the late tenth century. Sanesuke, having originally sent his ill daughter several times to the Kannon of Kiyomizudera in an effort to cure her malady, sponsored the construction of a Nyoirin Kannon after her death—as well as Nyoirin rites at Ishiyama-dera and Jūichimen Kannon rites at Hase-dera—to secure the birth of a new daughter.<sup>9</sup>

The tale collection *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集 (Tales of times now past) depicts the daughter of the dragon king—well known for her offering of a jewel to the Buddha and attainment of enlighten-

<sup>7</sup> Abe Yasurō offers a brilliant account of the jewels/relics of Uji Byōdō-in but, unfortunately, mistakenly identifies Shirakawa as the sovereign prompted by the dream; the account in *Hyakuren shō*, to which he also refers, is found in the section on sovereign Go-Sanjō, a few weeks prior to the accession of Shirakawa. See ABE 1989, pp. 131–32.

<sup>8</sup> See *Shohon taishō Sanbō-e shūsei*, p. 314 and KAMENS 1988, p. 328.

<sup>9</sup> MITSUHASHI has made note of Sanesuke's actions as portrayed in *Shōyū ki* (2000, pp. 368–70); the account is based on his earlier article (MITSUHASHI 1987). Relevant accounts include *Shōyū ki*, Eien 1.1.20 (987), and *Shōryaku* 1.8.20–24, 9.5 (990).

ment in the *Lotus Sutra*—as bringing a poor young man who has saved her life on the monthly Kannon veneration day (the eighteenth) into her father’s palace; there, in order to requite his debt, the dragon king gives the man a clump of gold that never ceases to produce wealth. In this way, the story ties Kannon with the powers of the dragon-king and with the wish-fulfilling jewel and, in fact, notes that the king offers the gold as a substitute for the wish-fulfilling jewel (*nyoi no tama*) because the people of Japan—with their evil hearts—cannot be trusted with its possession.<sup>10</sup>

The late Heian record *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記, compiled by the Tendai monk Kōen 皇圓 (d. 1169), depicts the Annamese monk Buttetsu 佛哲 (n.d.), who came to Japan in the eighth century, as visiting the dragon king’s palace in search of the wish-fulfilling jewel to help sentient beings. Buttetsu, in this account, accedes to the request of the dragon king that he accept the jewel with a gesture of reverence, as the Buddha had when he received the jewel from the dragon king’s daughter (Tenpyō 18.6.5 (746), KST 12: 96). Although this latter work does not make specific mention of Kannon, it makes clear that some Japanese in the period understood the jewel offered by the daughter of the dragon king specifically to be a wish-fulfilling jewel.

Although we cannot be sure as to the implications of the reference above to the evil of the Japanese, we can be sure that at least the aristocracy of the early medieval era increasingly associated Kannon with the possession or bestowal of jewels as well as with figures such as the daughter of the dragon king, seen as possessing treasures such as wish-fulfilling jewels or Buddha relics.

One example of this trend can be seen by examining the retelling of earlier stories in the collection compiled by Taira no Yasuyori 平康頼 entitled *Hōbutsu shū* 宝物集 (Collection of treasures). In one case, Taira refers to an account from a story in *Konjaku monogatari shū*, based on a tale originally told in Hsüan-tsang’s (600–664) famous pilgrimage narrative. The *Konjaku* account tells of a thief who stole the jewel set in between the eyebrows of an image of the “Buddha” in India. However, *Hōbutsu shū* describes the thief as taking the jewel from the middle of

<sup>10</sup> *Konjaku monogatari shū* 16.15, NKBT 24: 450–53. Interestingly, the story upon which the tale is primarily based (*Hokke genki* 123, NST 7: 565; DYKSTRA 1983, pp. 138–39) does not make note of the wish-fulfilling jewel or of the palace of the dragon king. Such a difference may be related to increasing narrative and ritual connections between Kannon and jewel veneration from the late eleventh century on, after the Tendai priest Chingen’s compilation (ca. 1040–1044) of the earlier work. In fact, Chingen’s version of the story is a retelling of at least three tales from earlier Japan—two in Kyōkai’s (fl. 823) *Nihon ryōiki* (2.8, 2.12, NKBT 70: 200–204, 210–15; NAKAMURA 1973, pp. 171–73, 176–78) and one in Minamoto no Tamenori’s (ca. 941–1011) *Sanbō-e kotoba* (2.13; KAMENS 1988, pp. 221–23).

the forehead of a Kannon image.<sup>11</sup> In another case, Taira refers faithfully to an account from the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* of Avalokiteśvara's (J. Kannon) reception of a jeweled necklace from the bodhisattva Akṣayamati, followed by his division of the gift into halves for offerings to Śākyamuni Buddha and Prabhūtaratna Buddha; however, *Hōbutsu shū*'s account follows its depiction of Kūkai's burial of a wish-fulfilling jewel in Mount Murō 室生, thus associating Kannon's offering of the necklace with Kūkai's action.<sup>12</sup> The changes in each of these narratives represent in literary terms the increasing association of Kannon with the possession or bestowal of jewels.

From perhaps the early eleventh century, Kannon was sometimes associated with the deity Amaterasu of Ise Shrine. The work *Meibun shō* 明文抄 (late twelfth century), compiled by Fujiwara no Takanori (1158–1233), quotes a no longer extant account in the document collection *Seiji yōryaku* 政事要略 that depicted a dream of 1006 (Kankō 3.2.20) in which an official at Ise was told he should make obeisance to Kuze Kannon 救世観音 there; the story concludes by suggesting that Ōmikami (Amaterasu) is a transformation of Kannon.<sup>13</sup> Though the above account is judged by some scholars to be a later accretion to *Seiji yōryaku*, Kannon figures once again in Ōe no Masafusa's 大江匡房 (1041–1111) *Gōdan shō* 江談抄 (Notes from stories [told by Ō-]e[no Masafusa]; ca. 1104–1108), a compendium that was completed near the end of his life. Ōe claimed that the kami of Ise is a transformation of Kuze Kannon.<sup>14</sup> An aristocrat as prominent as the powerful Kujō Kanazane (1149–1206) noted in his diary that Jūichimen Kannon is in the inner shrine of Ise (*Gyokuyō*, Kenkyū 5.7.8, vol. 3, p. 884). We will later see that Amaterasu came to be referred to in a series of works as being identical with one or other of several versions of Kannon—especially Jūichimen and Nyoirin.

<sup>11</sup> *Konjaku monogatari shū*, Indian section 4.17, NKBT 22: 297–99; *Hōbutsu shū*, p. 201. For Hsüan-tsang's original narrative, see his *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü chi*, T 51, no. 2087, p. 934a–b.

<sup>12</sup> *Hōbutsu shū*, p. 22. The account is in the *Kanzeon bosatsu fumonbon* chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* (T 9, no. 262); for an English translation, see HURVITZ 1976, pp. 315–16.

<sup>13</sup> *Meibun shō*, ZGR 30, part 2, p. 182. *Seiji yōryaku* was compiled by Koremune Kotosuke.

<sup>14</sup> *Gōdan shō* no. 34, *Kōhon Gōdan shō no kenkyū* 1: 65. This work also identifies the body of Ise Daijingu with that of the three sites at Kumano Shrine. The association of Kuze Kannon (also pronounced Kuse, Guze) with sacred authority and the royal family may date to its legendary connection with Prince Shōtoku (574–622), whose birth is represented in a series of Heian works such as the biography of Shōtoku, *Shōtoku taishi denryaku* (DNBZ 112: 9), the records of those who gained birth in the Pure Land, *Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki* (NST 7: 12), and in more abbreviated form in the Buddhist collection *Sanbō-e kotoba* (p. 102). Likewise, images of Kuze Kannon were held in a series of temples associated with Shōtoku and others from a very early period. Late Heian works such as Ōe no Chikamichi's (d. 1151) *Shichidai-ji junrei shiki* depict, for example, the Kuze Kannon held in Hōryū-ji, Nara, and describe it as holding a jewel (*hōju*) in its left hand ("Hōryū-ji," p. 225).



*Kannon and the Wish-Fulfilling Jewel in Esoteric Buddhism*

The Shingon school of esoteric Buddhism, of course, taught since the tenth century that Kūkai had buried a wish-fulfilling jewel at Mount Murō that he had received from his teacher Hui-kuo, a narrative known even by prominent aristocrats such as Ōe no Masafusa, who mentioned it in *Gōdan shō* (No. 42, vol. 1, pp. 87–88). Moreover, the worship of Nyoirin Kannon was a feature of Shingon practice since at least the tenth century, and is evident in the descriptions and surviving writings of the monk Shunnyū 淳祐 (890–953). Shunnyū retired to Ishiyama-dera due to an illness and engaged in Nyoirin worship there. His extant works included sections on Nyoirin.<sup>15</sup> Shunnyū was also known for Buddha relic veneration, and was the apparent copyist of the so-called “wish-fulfilling jewel sutra” (*Nyoi hōju kyō* 如意宝珠經) insofar as he was the reputed signatory of the document, dated 949.<sup>16</sup>

The Shingon monk Gengō 元杲 (914–995), disciple of Shunnyū and Kangū (884–972), revived an earlier practice of Kannon worship during the last three days of the month (*tsugomori gonenju* 晦御念誦) in the Shingon chapel of the greater palace in 988. Although the account in Fujiwara no Sanesuke’s diary does not mention when the rite was previously conducted, it notes that the rite had not been conducted for a long time, indicating its previous performance.<sup>17</sup> The record of a petition by the monk Seijin 濟信 (954–1030) in 1022 to establish two monks in the Shingon chapel for performance of the “monthly end-of-the-month recitation” (*maitzuki [no] tsugomori nenju* 毎月晦念誦) and

<sup>15</sup> *Yōson dōjō kan*, T 78, no. 2468, pp. 49c–50b, and *Ishiyama shichi shū*, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzōbu* 1, p. 143b–c.

<sup>16</sup> The complete title is *Nyoi hōju tenrin himitsu genshin jōbutsu kinrin jūōkyō* (T 19, no. 961; the Japanese pronunciation is used because the work is probably a Japanese apocryphon). Shunnyū was, in the view of most scholars, the original copyist of the work *Denbō ki* 伝法記, a prominent feature of which is the reproduction of continental works depicting veneration of Buddha relics, and his name appears at the conclusion of the wish-fulfilling sutra, which depicts the production of wish-fulfilling jewels with Buddha relics and a variety of other precious substances.

<sup>17</sup> *Shōyū ki*, Eien 2.2.27 (988), SHT *bekkan* 1: 73. Although this text does not refer directly to Kannon, other works depict the rite as being focused on the worship of the bodhisattva, and the place of Kannon as the object of worship is accepted among most scholars. Moreover, as Tsuchiya Megumi has noted, the reference to practice of the Kannon offering in the Jijūden ten days prior to this rite in the index of the same diary (*Shōki mokuoku*) indicates that the two rites were conducted contemporaneously (TSUCHIYA 1987, p. 539). At the same time, some works suggest that the object of worship was Hōshō Buddha visualized in the form of a wish-fulfilling jewel, though this too may suggest that the physical object of worship is Kannon, who is often represented as carrying the wish-fulfilling jewel.

TSUCHIYA (1987) has also noted the likelihood that, since Kangū had performed the monthly Kannon Offering and conferred the esoteric ordination on Gengō, perhaps he was the monk who had performed the rite previously.

other rites refers to the fact that these rites were already customary, indicating that this and other rituals were now regular practices in the palace.<sup>18</sup> Seijin, a Ninna-ji monk, was also until 1023 chief abbot of Tō-ji, and so had relations with Gengō's disciple Ningai 仁海 (951–1046), an illustrious monk who continued the practice of worshipping Kannon in the palace.<sup>19</sup> The monk Kakuzen 覺禪 (ca. 1143–1213) would later quote Ningai as having said that Nyoirin was the Kannon worshiped in the end-of-the-month rite (*Kakuzen shō* 覺禪鈔, DNBZ 47: 930). In addition, abbots of Tō-ji and of the Tendai temple Enryaku-ji were also apparently employed from the late eleventh century on in the worship of Kannon in the Futama area of the palace on a nightly basis, though information in this regard is scant.<sup>20</sup> In the twelfth century, monks such as Jichiun 実運 (1105–1160) of Daigo-ji sometimes described such worship as including the use of the wealth-enhancing fire rite, the invocation of the mantra of the Buddha Hōshō, and the visualization of Mount Murō, where Kūkai was believed to have buried a wish-fulfilling jewel (*Hizō konpō shō* 秘藏金宝鈔, T 78, no. 2485, p. 357a).

We should also note that in Shingon, Nyoirin Kannon came to be seen by the early medieval era as the original source of the deity Seiryō Gongen housed in Seiryōsha Shrine at the Shingon temple Daigo-ji. Although ritual pronouncements to this deity such as that of 1181 (Jishō 5) recorded in the collection *Hyōhyaku shū* 表白集 made only indirect reference to Kannon, connecting the figure with the *Lotus Sutra* and possession of the wish-fulfilling jewel,<sup>21</sup> other works tie the deity directly with Buddha relic veneration or Nyoirin. The Shingon monk Seigen 成賢 (1162–1231) made an offering of a relic to Seiryō Gongen in prayer for rain in 1204, noting that he did so insofar as she is the daughter of the dragon king Sāgara (of the *Lotus Sutra*), because “Buddha relics are the treasures of dragon deities.”<sup>22</sup> Thus Seiryō is represented not only as a dragon who holds relics as treasure, but also as the daughter who was famous for her offering of a jewel to the Buddha. Likewise, from at least the twelfth century, pearls, often seen as treasures of dragons, seem to have been viewed

<sup>18</sup> Jian 2.5.28 (1022), in *Tōbō ki*, ZZGR 12: 144–45; and in a work compiled by Kanjin (1084–1153), *Tō-ji yōshū*, ZGR 26, part 2, pp. 447–48.

<sup>19</sup> TSUCHIYA discusses this matter in some detail, drawing on a text of Ningai's in *Daigo-ji monjo* manuscript collection to establish Ningai's participation in such worship (1987, pp. 540–41).

<sup>20</sup> See ABE 1989, p. 123.

<sup>21</sup> ZGR 28, part 1, pp. 442–43. The term “Hyōhyaku” can also be pronounced Hyōbyaku, but since this text is of Shingon origins, I follow the usual pronunciation of that school.

<sup>22</sup> DK *Ie wake* 19, *Daigo-ji monjo* 2, no. 299, p. 36. MANABE has recently noted the apparent worship of Seiryō by Ninkan (d. 1114), founder of the so-called Tachikawa-ryū line of Shingon (1999, pp. 139–56).

by some in society as Buddha relics. The Daigo-ji monk Jōkai 定海 (1074–1149) noted this fact with disapproval, pointing out that some in society mistakenly identified the pearls of Shima Province as relics, perhaps suggesting as well, given the location, a connection with Ise (*Atsuzōshi*, T 78, no. 2483, pp. 259a, 285b).

Nyoirin was thus sometimes associated by this era with non-Buddhist deities. Indeed, descriptions of the veneration of Nyoirin by Shingon clerics sometimes surprise us, not so much because of Nyoirin's association with Buddha relics but with "kami" relics and "kami" reliquaries. Kakuzen quotes in his discussion of the esoteric rite to Nyoirin an account drawn from a variant manuscript of the continental ritual work for worship of Nyoirin, *Tu-piao ju-i-lun nien-sung fa* (J. *Tohyō nyoirin nenju hō* 都表如意輪念誦法), which mentions—at least, insofar as the Japanese would interpret the term *shen* (J. *shin*, *kami* 神)—that it is possible to construct a place of worship for Nyoirin with one's concentration on a kami *shari* (*shinshari* 神舍利) in a kami stūpa (*shin-tō* 神塔).<sup>23</sup> A manuscript entitled *Dado* 駄都 ("relics") by Kenna 劍阿 (1261–1338) notes a reputed visit by Kūkai to "Daijingū" and claims that the mind of the Tathāgata is, among the three mysteries (body, speech, mind) in esoteric practice, Shinmei 神明 (=Amaterasu), further identifying this mind with the Nyoirin Lotus family of the mandala as well as with the mind mystery of provisional deities (*wakō gongen*) and the bodily mystery of the wish-fulfilling jewel.<sup>24</sup>

### *Shingon Discourses on Ise and the Wish-Fulfilling Jewel*

Although early Shingon writings that mentioned the jewel did not note any connection to the regalia, they stressed its connection with Japan. For example, the reputed "Last Testament" of Kūkai (*Nijūgokajō go-yuigō* 二十五ヶ条御遺告) stressed that the wish-fulfilling jewel was passed from the great acārya of the "Great T'ang" to "Great Japan"

<sup>23</sup> *Kakuzen shō*, DNBZ 47: 1048. For the Chinese text, see T 20, no. 1089, p. 217b; the printed manuscript says "Buddha relics/*shen* reliquary" (*fo-she-li shen-t'a*) but a variant manuscript noted in the annotation reads "*Shen* relics/*shen* reliquary" (*shen-she-li shen-t'a*). The variant text to which Kakuzen refers is called *Tu-piao kui* (J. *Tohyō ki* 都表軌), and the full title of the source work *Tōhyō nyoirin nenju hō* in the Chinese Buddhist canon is *Tu-piao ju-i-mo-ni chuan-lun-sheng-wang tz'u-ti nien-sung pi-mi tsui-yao liao-fa*, T. 20, no. 1089 (the reference here can be found on p. 217b).

<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the same work later describes the equivalence of the relic and the jewel as "the round stūpa of intercourse" (*wagō entō*). This expression is unique to the Tachikawa-ryū tradition of Shingon practice, which promoted, at least symbolically, sexual union of the male and female as a means to enlightenment. Kenna's compilation of Tachikawa-ryū-related texts has been noted previously by several Japanese scholars, including KUSHIDA (1964, pp. 344–62) and MANABE (1999, pp. 29–32, 158–59).

(*Dai Nihonkoku* 大日本国).<sup>25</sup> Later works by Shingon monks often stressed that while there was a wish-fulfilling jewel offered by Hanjun to retired sovereign Shirakawa, it was distinct from that on Mount Murō—seen as buried there by Kūkai—which was believed to protect the entire realm indefinitely. For example, the powerful Daigo-ji monk Shōken 勝賢 (1138–1196) claimed, in a short report apparently submitted to the court, that although the manufactured jewel offered by Hanjun can and should be worshiped and witnessed, the location of the one buried at Murō is unknown and, besides, “out of hope for a future time, it is an invaluable treasure [hidden] for the protection of the state (*chingo kokka [no] jūhō* 鎮護国家重宝); neither sentient nor non-sentient beings receive [immediate] benefits (*riyaku* 利益) from it.”<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, Shingon had in its practice long held a place for offerings to various deities conceived of as protecting Buddhism, especially a variety of celestial gods incorporated from Vedism and Hinduism in India. However, there was also a place increasingly made for native kami in Shingon practice. For example, the monk Kakuzen emphasized at points that “Japan’s kami” (*Nihon [no] shoshin* 日本諸神) were given offerings at certain esoteric rites in addition to the celestial deities. He quoted the monk Gen’un (1112–1180) as having said that offerings should be made at the Aizen-myōō 愛染明王 rite not only to lord of death Enmaten (Sk. Yama), but also to the kami Amaterasu ōmikami as well as those of Hachiman, Kamo, Kasuga, Kumano, Kōya, Hakusan, along with epidemic deities.<sup>27</sup>

Pilgrimage accounts and commentaries by esoteric monks of the same era depict jewels (*hōju*) or Buddha relics offered to or given by the deity at Ise Daijingu. Kakuzen, for one, in his section on “jewels”

<sup>25</sup> T 77, no. 2431, p. 413c. The account notes that the jewel was then enshrined on Mount Murō.

<sup>26</sup> The extant text, entitled *Hōju no koto*, dated Kenkyū 3.4.10 (1192), records in its heading that this report was given to Kujō Kanezane, presumably on behalf of the court, since Kanezane was regent at the time. The text is also reproduced in printed form in DNS, Kenkyū 3.4.8, Section 4, vol. 4, p. 93, and in a work compiled by Raiyu (1226–1304), *Hishō mondō*, T 79, no. 2536, pp. 518–19a.

<sup>27</sup> *Kakuzen shō*, DNBZ 49: 1610. Other documents also suggest that other Shingon clerics saw Ise and other shrines as important objects of veneration. A document written by a monk named Keison (n.d.) in 1204 to the bakufu focuses on the stewardship of lands at Ise Shrine, and warns of the punishment that could be meted by the deities of the two shrines of Ise, their eight sub-shrines, the three sites of Kumano Gongen, Hachiman Daibosatsu, the various great and small “Daimyōjin” deities of shrines and the underworld, the venerables of the Diamond and Womb realms, and the deity Kongō Zaō. Keison goes on to raise the rhetorical question as to whether the words of the Buddha and Amaterasu are lies, suggesting the connection between the two while at the same time indicating that Keison sees them as the apex of these objects of veneration (Genkyū 1.12, *Daigo-ji monjo* 2, DNK, *Ie wake* 19, p. 279).

described the jewel acquired by Ōnakatomi Sukechika at Ise, which was noted by members of the court more than a century earlier (*Kakuzen shō*, “Hōju yū setsu,” DNBZ 51: 2471). The monk Chōgen 重源 (1121–1205) apparently claimed to have received “jewels” (*hōju*) from a female aristocrat in a dream he had at Ise Shrine in 1186. He had come to Ise to make a prayer for successful completion of the reconstruction of Tōdai-ji; the deity of Ise appeared to him and said that it was difficult to accomplish great things because she had become weak in recent years, telling him that he must quickly nourish her back to health. After Chōgen enshrined the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (*Daihannyakyō*) and recited it with a large group of monks before the deity, she appeared again in his dream—this time, granting him two jewels, one red, one white. He awoke to find the jewels in his hands, and later installed them in the head of the Great Buddha of Tōdai-ji.<sup>28</sup> This dream of the appearance of a female aristocrat is extremely similar to one described by the Shingon monk Shōken (1138–1196) in the record of his performance of a wish-fulfilling jewel rite for rain-making on behalf of the court in 1191, suggesting further a representational connection between Chōgen’s reputed dream and the image of the wish-fulfilling jewel (*Kenkyū ninen kiu nikki* 建久二年祈雨日記, Kenkyū 2.5.22, ZGR 25, part 2, p. 299). Indeed, the fourteenth century tale collection of the Tendai monk Kōshū (fl. 1311–1347), *Keiran shūyō shū* 溪嵐拾葉集 (Collection of assembled leaves of valley mist), lists Ise (in this case, the temple on the site, Tado jingū-ji) among the sites housing a wish-fulfilling jewel, suggesting that the association of Ise with wish-fulfilling jewels was widespread by that time (T 76, no. 2410, p. 545c).

However, the relics and jewels of Ise were not simply represented in tale literature but also in records of activities of Shingon temples, such as distributions of Buddha relics by abbots of Tō-ji to the shrine. For example, the Tō-ji record *Busshari kankei ki* 仏舎利勘計記 (Record of inventories of Buddha relics) notes that two grains of relics were distributed for enshrinement in “Daijingū” in 1278 (Kōan 1).<sup>29</sup> The

<sup>28</sup> The dream was dated Bunji 2.4.22. This story appears in a series of works, and became somewhat of a literary legend. See *Tōdai-ji Hachiman daibosatsu kenki*, by Gōhō (1306–1362), in KOBAYASHI 1965, pp. 99–100; *Chōgen Ise daijingū sankei ki* (KOBAYASHI 1965, pp. 102–23). The account I have given is based on the first of these texts, though the elements in the tale sometimes vary. The tale collection *Kokon chomonjū* (1254) actually fails to mention the female aristocrat, and claims that the two jewels were given to Ninna-ji and Minamoto no Yoritomo, respectively (NKBT 84: 65).

<sup>29</sup> Kōan 1.6.28, in the printed edition included in KAGEYAMA 1986, p. 239. The previous year, a grain had been distributed to Gion to be used as a sacred treasure (*jinpō* 神宝, “kami treasure”) of the shrine (KAGEYAMA 1986, Kenji 3.12.27), illustrating further the close association of relics with the treasures of kami, if not a form of regalia.

monk Raijo 頼助 (1246–1297), a son of shogunal regent Hōjō Tsunetoki, received a series of materials from his teacher at Ninna-ji, Hōjo 法助 (1227–1284), at roughly the time of the latter’s death. The document in which Hōjo bequeathed these objects includes a section in which he conferred a set of materials on Raijo, including two wish-fulfilling jewels (*nyoiju*) from “Daijingū”—Ise.<sup>30</sup> Of course, the account resembles the stories of Chōgen’s reception of two jewels at Ise; indeed, the tale about Chōgen in *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集 describes him as giving one of the jewels to Ninna-ji (NKBT 84: 65). However, as a record of conferral, the manuscript indicates that, indeed, monks trained in Shingon esotericism identified at least some wish-fulfilling jewels with Ise Shrine. In fact, Hōjo identifies the wish-fulfilling jewels of Ise as “spiritual treasures” (*reihō* 靈宝), describing them as the very body of Dainichi—the “brain and liver” of Esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō*).<sup>31</sup>

In fact, in at least one case, documents inserted with a wish-fulfilling jewel deposited in a five-wheel stūpa at a Shingon temple suggest further the connection between such jewels and Ise, among other prominent shrines. Archeological findings from the reliquary at the Shingon temple Shōkai-ji 性海寺 (Aichi Prefecture) have uncovered not only a jewel, but also manuscripts inserted with it and other objects. The monk Jōin 浄胤 (fl. 1273–1283) wrote in one of the documents, dated 1283, that the relics (jewel) installed as the object of veneration (*honzon*) of the offering was the relics together with the entire Diamond and Womb Realms, as well as not only venerables such as Aizen, Fudō, and the other awesome deities (*myōō*), but also the inner and outer shrines of Amaterasu, the three sites of Hachiman, the upper and lower Kamo shrines, Kōbō Daishi, and so on.<sup>32</sup> Jōin also notes here that in esoteric Shingon wish-fulfilling jewel rites there are in fact two jewels venerated—a sun/fire jewel and a moon/water jewel, which constitute a sky-wheel through intercourse. For our purposes, we can recall the jewels bestowed by the deity of Ise on Chōgen, which were red and white in color. Though this work does not refer to the colors red and white, the reference to “intercourse” (*wagō* 和合) of the fire and water jewels constitutes an example of sexual symbolism prominent in Shingon literature of the day, and has been associated by some with the Tachikawa-ryū line of Shingon; such manuscripts invariably describe those jewels as red and white, symbolizing sexual

<sup>30</sup> *Ninna-ji monjo*, in *Kanagawa kenshi shiryōhen 2: kodai/chūsei*, p. 119.

<sup>31</sup> *Ninna-ji monjo*, in *Kanagawa kenshi shiryōhen 2: kodai/chūsei*, p. 119.

<sup>32</sup> *Kōan* 6.4.19, reproduced in AIKŌ 1992, p. 115. I would like to thank Kamikawa Michio, Aichi Kenritsu University, for this reference.

union.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, Kakuzen earlier identified the colors red and white with the body of the fierce tantric deity of love Aizen myōō, explaining that the essential white of the deity transforms into red to signify compassion in the form of the blood of childbirth; of course, the use of Aizen in wish-fulfilling jewel rites and the association of the deity with sexual symbolism is well-known, but Kakuzen also suggested in the same account that the human skull (*dokuro* 髑髏)—clearly associated with Tachikawa-ryū or related symbolism—could be used for purposes of cursing others (DNBZ 49: 1636, 1639, 1643, 1648).

Such similarities would suggest that the deity of Ise was one, though perhaps not the only, kami to be identified with wish-fulfilling jewel veneration or discourse, though in this case, with sexual symbolism as well.<sup>34</sup> As was noted earlier, monks such as Kenna suggested that the deity of Ise is equivalent with Nyoirin Kannon. Indeed, it is clear that wish-fulfilling jewel veneration and sexual symbolism had a relationship with Ise Shrine. The same work by Kenna argues for the equivalence of the relic and the wish-fulfilling jewel, explaining it in terms associated with the Tachikawa-ryū.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, Manabe Shunshō has recently noted how Mujū Ichien's 無住一円 (1226–1312) description of Ise Daijingu in his collection *Shaseki shū* 沙石集 includes elements associated with Tachikawa-ryū: the inner and outer shrines of Ise ultimately represent respectively Dainichi of the Womb and Diamond realms, which are described as including eight women (“maidens”) on the eight petals (inner, Womb realm) and five male *kagura* dancers—insofar, the text notes, as the Womb and Diamond realms represent yin and yang elements.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, Kakuzen earlier noted that Kannon corresponds to the fire jewel among the twin wish-fulfilling jewels (fire, water) *and* is the same as the figure of Nittenshi 日天子 (Sk. Āditya,

<sup>33</sup> See MANABE 1999, pp. 130–33; SANFORD has also noted the symbolic significance of the colors red and white to Tachikawa ritual (1991, p. 11).

<sup>34</sup> The wish-fulfilling jewel was also often associated with the deity Hachiman, particularly at Usa and Iwashimizu Hachiman shrines. Although it is well known that Hachiman was seen by the court as a bodhisattva from the late Nara era on, it is not often noted that the same figure was seen by the early Heian era as the former sovereign Ōjin (fl. 5th c.), nor is it often recognized that before their representations as shrines patronized by the Minamoto, Usa and Iwashimizu Hachimangū were seen as mausolea of the royal family; indeed, the efforts of figures such as Dōkyō and Taira no Masakado to acquire the throne through oracles of Hachiman attest to the intimate connection between the deity and royal authority. For a study that focuses primarily on the connection of Hachiman veneration with wish-fulfilling jewel veneration, see MURAYAMA 1983.

<sup>35</sup> See *Dado*. As was noted earlier, one expression is the “round stūpa of intercourse” (*wagō entō*), though much of the latter part of the work alludes to Tachikawa symbolism.

<sup>36</sup> MANABE 1999, p. 136; *Shaseki shū* 1.1, NKBT 85: 60. The Tachikawa-ryū is famous for its inclusion of yin-yang theory into its beliefs and practices, combining thereby female and male principles toward attainment of bodily Buddhahood.

another name for Nitten), the sun deity of Shingon, identified by the medieval era with Amaterasu, suggesting further the connection of jewel veneration and, presumably, the Tachikawa-ryū with Ise.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, a document issued by the Great Council of State in 1222 stated that part of the reason Japan is called “Dai Nihonkoku” is that it is the transformation of Nittenshi, and that its kami, Amaterasu, is the trace-manifestation (*suijaku*) of Henjōson (i.e., Dainichi) (KI 5, *Komonjohen* 5, no. 2959, “Daijō kanpu”). Thus from the early medieval era on members at the highest levels of the royal court employed Shingon terminology to refer to both Japan and Amaterasu.

The Daigo-ji monk Tsūkai 通海 (ca. 1234–1305), in the well-known account of his pilgrimage to Ise Shrine in the 1280s, also makes the connection between Ise, jewels, Buddha relics, and the figure of Aizen myōō. Tsūkai recalls the story of Chōgen’s reception of the red and white jewels at Ise, and notes that he and others performed a rite to ward off foreign invasion by performing an esoteric rite in worship of the same kami in 1281 (Kōan 4; *Tsūkai sankei ki*, ZGR 3, part 2, p. 766).<sup>38</sup> He goes on to describe the deity of Daijingū as a yin kami that is also a “serpent-body trace manifestation” (*suijaku jashin*) (*Tsūkai sankei ki*, ZGR 3, part 2, p. 778). Tsūkai then presents a dialogue between a monk and lay believer to examine issues such as the presumed taboo against Buddhist objects in the inner shrine of Ise. Here the monk not only describes Amaterasu as a trace manifestation of the Buddha Dainichi, but goes on to explain, in fact, that there is *no* taboo against Buddhism in the inner or outer shrine because any contradiction between the inner and outer shrines would violate the pure character of Ise! As an example, the monk notes that Gyōki (668–749) was ordered by the court to offer a Buddha relic to Ise in the eighth century; during his visit there, he was told by an oracle that

The Sun-Wheel [Nichirin 日輪] of True Form lights up the darkness of the long night of birth-and-death, and the Moon-Wheel [Gachirin 月輪] of the constantly abiding Essential

<sup>37</sup> Though here, again, he did not mention Tachikawa-ryū directly, Kakuzen also described in the same section on Senju 千手 Kannon its possession of a skull and makes note of the ritual capacity of skulls to overcome demons (*Kakuzen shō*, DNBZ 47: 959, 963–64). Seishi bosatsu, the other main attendant of Amida, is represented here as corresponding with the water jewel. For a discussion of the so-called Nittenshi rite practiced in Shingon and its equivalence with Ise and wish-fulfilling jewel (especially in connection with that of the Kannon Monthly rite of the palace) veneration, see UEDA 1990 vol. 2, pp. 231–33. KUSHIDA has also called attention to documents of the medieval era tying Kannon with Nittenshi (1964, pp. 293–94).

<sup>38</sup> Tsūkai actually notes Chōgen’s reception of jewels twice later, pp. 799, 811.



Being exorcises the cloud of obscuring afflictions. Receiving my jewel [*hōju*] is like acquiring a lamp in the dark of night.<sup>39</sup>

*Tsūkai sankei ki*, ZGR 3, part 2, pp. 783, 785

Tsūkai goes on to explain further his views on the relationship between the Amaterasu, the jewel, and the Buddha relic. He describes the development of the Latter Seven-Day (Goshichinichi mishiho 後七日御修法) relic rite performed by the Shingon abbot of Tō-ji in the Shingon chapel of the greater palace as due to Kūkai's importation of relics, which thus became the basis for the rite, and the Diamond and Womb Realm mandalas present at the rite, from this perspective, constitute the original source of the inner and outer shrines of Ise. Moreover, the secret "deity-body" (*shintai*) of the monthly Kannon rite in the Jijūden is the product of these conditions (presumably, the relics and related wish-fulfilling jewel) (*Tsūkai sankei ki*, p. 787). As the inner and outer shrines represent yin and yang, Nichirin (inner) is Dainichi of the Womb Realm mandala, and Gachirin (outer) is Dainichi of the Diamond Realm mandala (*Tsūkai sankei ki*, p. 805). Indeed, for Tsūkai, Amaterasu is the trace of Dainichi (*Tsūkai sankei ki*, p. 804). Tsūkai also describes his summons by retired sovereign Go-Saga (r. 1242–1246) in 1258 (Shōka 2) to perform an Aizen-myōō fire rite in an effort to provide the power of the Buddhist dharma to the mirror of Ise following the accession of sovereign Kameyama (r. 1259–1274) (*Tsūkai sankei ki*, p. 788).

In the latter part of his work, Tsūkai explains in even greater detail his views of the Buddhist character of Ise. The inner shrine corresponds to the yin, to the Sun-Wheel, to the Womb Realm mandala, to Earth, and to Śākyamuni's jeweled stūpa in the *Lotus Sutra*. The outer shrine corresponds to the yang, to the Moon-Wheel, to the Diamond Realm mandala, to Heaven, and to the (Buddha) Many Jewels, who is depicted in the scripture as appearing within Śākyamuni's stūpa. Thus,

When the secret place [of practice] of Amaterasu ōmikami was opened at the border of the land [of Japan], the clear jewel was conferred on the bodhisattva (*satta*) of the east. Hanging the spiritual trace [of this jewel] on the mountain of the kami road, the sun mirror was transmitted to the sacred sovereign of the middle states. Though it is said that the clear jewel and the sun mirror seem to have a difference between them,

<sup>39</sup> As NISHIDA has noted, Tsūkai was the copyist of another work entitled *Tōdai-ji himon senki*, apparently a product of the 1260s or 70s, describing Gyōki's offering of the relic as well as the connection of relics with the jewel (1978, pp. 67–71).

because there is the secret [Shingon] treasury [one is] called the [wish-fulfilling] “jewel” (*hōju*), [and], in the royal family, [the other is] called the moon mirror. In Kōbō Daishi’s *Hizōki*, where it says the Sanskrit name of Nittenshi, the term “Ratna” means jewel. Where [the work says] “it shines” is a gem. In short, Nichirin is [the wish-fulfilling] “jewel” (*hōju*).

*Tsūkai sankei ki*, pp. 805–806

Ultimately, Tsūkai identifies Kūkai with Nittenshi—and, therefore, Amaterasu. Kōbō Daishi came as a spiritual emissary to bring esoteric Buddhism to Japan. For this reason, it can be said that Amaterasu, the trace of Dainichi, has conferred dharma-transmission upon the entire historical lineage (*kechimiyaku* 血脈) of Shingon. As Tsūkai notes, “The mirror of the royal family and the [wish-fulfilling] jewel (*hōju*) of the secret [Shingon] treasure are the single Path of Harmonious Light” (*Tsūkai sankei ki*, p. 806).

In case we might initially assume that Tsūkai’s views were unique to a cleric who was associated with Ise—of course, he was in later years a monk of Renge-ji at Ise—or of Daigo-ji lineage, the prolific Gahō 我室 (d. 1317), a disciple of the monk Raijo noted earlier and a monk of Saimyō-ji (Makiosan) patronized by retired sovereign Go-Uda (r. 1274–1287), included in his compendium on relics *Dado hiketsu shō* 駄都秘訣鈔 (Notes on the secret teachings on [Buddha] relics) discussions of what he saw as the true character of the main deity of Ise, Amaterasu. Gahō explains that the female deity Niu of Mount Kōya is the younger sister of Amaterasu, and goes on to identify Amaterasu with Nichirin(kō), the Sun-Wheel-Light Bodhisattva. In fact, Gahō identifies all of the most esoteric Buddhist rites of the royal palace as wish-fulfilling jewel rites conducted in worship of the fierce deity of love Aizen myōō—the regular end-of-the-month recitations and the nightly recitations noted earlier, as well as the Latter Seven-Day (Goshichinichi mishiho) relic rite of the first month. Moreover, he identifies Aizen-ō with Amaterasu, Nichirin, Kōbō Daishi, and Dainichi. In fact, he writes, “Nichirin is in the august sitting room (Jijūden [of the palace]); that is, it is the august mirror” (*Dado hiketsu shō*, pp. 26–28)—one of the so-called three regalia. Although, as we saw in Tsūkai’s work, Nichirin was by this era generally seen in Shingon as identical with Nittenshi, Kakuzen had earlier described the Aizen figure used by the eleventh-century monk Ningai as having held a “sun-wheel” (Nichirin) in its hand, and identified it with the *nin’ō* 人黃, a term described by Kakuzen as the “jewel” within all human beings. This “jewel” within all human beings was a significant feature of practices associated with Tachikawa-ryū, and usually can be identified as the

skull-bone (crown of the head) or Buddha relics more generally.<sup>40</sup>

Gahō's identification of the mirror in the Jijūden with the wish-fulfilling jewel also corresponds historically with increasing concerns of members of the court about the royal regalia, a matter connected in part to the conflicts within the royal family over proper succession, and the more general potential threats associated with the shogunate and invasion by the Mongols. ABE Yasurō notes the theft of the Jūichimen Kannon figure from the Futama in 1331, and he indicates the concern of the royal family for the image. The image was counted by the sovereign Hanazono as being on a par in importance with the royal regalia (1989, pp. 134–35).<sup>41</sup> We may recall that Kannon was the figure venerated nightly by the medieval era by guardian monks (*gojisō*) in the Futama, the room next to the Yoru-no-otodo area—a practice which, we have seen, was viewed by Gahō and, presumably, others as a wish-fulfilling jewel rite.

*Esoteric Buddhism, the Wish-Fulfilling Jewel, and the Regalia  
in the Fourteenth Century*

It is well known that manuscripts of Ryōbu Shintō 两部神道 such as *Reiki ki* 麗氣記 from this era on also identified the deity of Ise—referred to as Amaterasu or as simply the royal (“spiritual”) mirror—with the wish-fulfilling jewel.<sup>42</sup> The work *Tenchi reiki ki* 天地麗氣記 describes Dainichi as taking form as Gattenshi 月天子 and Nittenshi, the former referring to the earth deity Kenrō chijin 堅牢地神 and the latter to Ise Shrine. The ancestral deities of the royal line, Izanagi and Izanami, respectively possess a gold mirror that produces yin and a silver mirror that produces yang, and which are respectively named Nittenshi and Gattenshi. Amaterasu ōmikami is described as offering up the *yasakani [no] magatama* royal jewel to the islands of Japan, which takes form as the mirror, the fire-jewel kami. The text goes on to list, among the ten treasures of the kami—traceable originally to the ninth-century work *Sendai kujihongi* 先代旧事本紀—the “gem of life” (*ikutama* 生玉), which is here presented as a wish-fulfilling jewel and a fire jewel, and

<sup>40</sup> DNBZ 49: 1643. A close examination of a variety of early medieval sources make it clear that the *nin'ō* refers variously to the skull-bone, the Buddha relic, and male sexual energy (or sperm). See, for example, MANABE's discussion of this object in the context of Dakini rites (1999, pp. 49–54).

<sup>41</sup> The relevant account is *Hanazono tennō shinki*, Genkō 1.10.14, *bekki*, ST 3, p. 169, and concerns the theft of 10.3 of that year.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, *Kōjin shidai reiki ki*, ST *Ronsetsu 1: Shingon Shintō 1*, p. 18. This and the other texts described are attributed to Kūkai, but without exception were written from the mid-Kamakura era on.

the “gem of death” (*shinitama* 死玉), which is depicted as a wish-fulfilling jewel identifiable with a water jewel.<sup>43</sup>

Ryōbu Shintō ritual texts such as *Reiki kanjō* 麗氣灌頂 outline invocations of esoteric objects of wish-fulfilling jewel rites such as the fierce deity Aizen myōō and Nyoirin Kannon. This work, in particular, prescribes meditating on Aizen and then contemplating “seven jewels/wish-fulfilling jewels” (*shichi hō nyoī hōju* 七宝如意宝珠) coming from Dakiniten vampires and entering the adept’s body, and also promotes relic veneration. In fact, *Reiki kanjō* suggests influences associated with Shingon sexual symbolism in its description of the kami’s polishing of the mirror in ancient time as an example of the secret rite of intercourse of the “double stasis” of red and white (*shakubyaku nitai wagō* 赤白二滯和合). It goes on to identify Nyoirin Kannon or Jūichimen Kannon as the original source of Amaterasu and the object of veneration in the initiation rite, though the text soon after describes Dainichi as the original source (ST *Ronsetsu* 2: *Shingon Shintō* 2, p. 32).

In fact, other texts of Ryōbu Shintō go into even greater detail concerning the connection between the wish-fulfilling jewel, royal authority, and Amaterasu. For example, texts housed in Shinpuku-ji archives (Nagoya) offer exhaustive explanations of the matter, and suggest thereby that by at least the fourteenth century the association of Amaterasu with the wish-fulfilling jewel was commonplace even in the corridor between eastern (Kantō) and western (Kansai) Honshū, the respective centers of shogunal and royal power. The work *Nihongi Miwa ryū* (日本記三輪流, sixteenth century), based on manuscripts dating from the early fourteenth century, identifies Amaterasu with Jūichimen Kannon and, ultimately, with all beings. Moreover, it claims that Amaterasu is the *honzon* of the highly esoteric Ōsashihyōhō 奥砂[沙]子平法, identifiable here with Jūichimen and, in this case, not

<sup>43</sup> *Kōjin shidai reiki ki*, ST *Ronsetsu* 1: *Shingon Shintō* 1, pp. 30–32. The term *shinitama* would seem to be a variation of the term “gem against death” (*makarukaeshi no tama* 死反玉), which is depicted in *Sendai kujihongi*. The related work *Toyouke ōkami chinza shidai* described the outer shrine as corresponding with the water or moon jewel and a form of the deity Brahmā, while it depicted the inner shrine as the fire or sun jewel and another form of Brahmā (*Kōjin shidai reiki ki*, ST *Ronsetsu* 1: *Shingon Shintō* 1, p. 48; this account is also contained in *Tenchi reiki furoku*, ST *Ronsetsu* 1: *Shingon Shintō* 1, p. 142). *Mankyō honnen shinryō zuiki ki*, in turn, describes the *yasakani [no] magatama* as the “jewel of the King of Enlightenment Dainichi” (*Dainichi kakuō [no] hōju nari*) among the three regalia (*Kōjin shidai reiki ki*, ST *Ronsetsu* 1: *Shingon Shintō* 1, p. 62; this is also in *Tenchi reiki furoku*, p. 149). Another of the works in *Reiki ki*, *Amaterasu hōtaijūngū chinza shidai*, also stresses that the body of the royal mirror is, ultimately, a fire jewel (*Kōjin shidai reiki ki*, ST *Ronsetsu* 1: *Shingon Shintō* 1, p. 39); and the work *Tenchi reiki furoku*, also compiled in roughly the early fourteenth century, depicts the production by Izanagi and Izanami along the same lines, and includes the list of ten sacred treasures as well as the reference to the mirror as a fire-jewel. (*Kōjin shidai reiki ki*, ST *Ronsetsu* 1: *Shingon Shintō* 1, pp. 129–31, 135).

only with Dainichi but more prominently with Aizen-ō and the wish-fulfilling jewel Hanjun presumably gave to retired emperor Shirakawa.<sup>44</sup>

The work simply entitled *Hachiman Daibosatsu* (sixteenth century), held in the same collection and based on texts dating to the late thirteenth century, is a veritable compendium regarding the relationship between the wish-fulfilling jewel, royal authority, and the regalia. In the section on Amaterasu Daijingū, the work quotes a prayer presumably made by Kūkai to Amaterasu during a pilgrimage to the shrine. Kūkai here claims that the kami (Amaterasu) constitutes mind among the three mysteries of esoteric Buddhism, while sutras and relics respectively constitute the verbal and bodily mysteries; the esoteric transmission which follows, however, claims that the kami expresses the mystery of Kūkai's mind, the kami invocation expresses Kūkai's speech, and the wish-fulfilling jewel expresses the mystery of the Buddha's body—the flame emanating from the jewel revealing the form of Nichirin.<sup>45</sup> The section on the jewel among the regalia describes its container of enshrinement as the treasure of the ruler, and identifies it as the jewel held originally in the dragon's palace (under the water). Moreover, the work argues that the dragon's jewel is, in society, thus identified with the jewel among the regalia, while it is in Buddhism identified with the seal of enlightened transmission (KOKUBUNGAU KENKYŪ SHIRYŌKAN 1999, pp. 432–34).

The association of the wish-fulfilling jewel with the royal regalia was, indeed, also made in this era by adherents of Tendai and Urabe Shintō 卜部神道. As we saw, works such as Kōshū's (fl. 1311–1348) compilation *Keiran shūyōshū* identified Ise as one of several sites housing a wish-fulfilling jewel. Indeed, the same work even described the retired

<sup>44</sup> KOKUBUNGAU KENKYŪ SHIRYŌKAN 1999, p. 480, 464–65. The rite Ōsashiyōhō also has the variant pronunciation Ōsashihei, and can be interpreted in a wide variety of ways, albeit invariably related to Mount Murō and thus, presumably, traditions concerning the wish-fulfilling jewel. With regard to this work (Shinpuku-ji archives, Gensen no dai-rokujūyon gō), Abe explains in his bibliographical analysis the texts on which it was based (KOKUBUNGAU KENKYŪ SHIRYŌKAN 1999, pp. 525–31; I would also like to thank Professor Abe for the reference to these texts). As I have suggested, there were variant interpretations of the numbers and destinies of the wish-fulfilling jewels in Shingon traditions; for example, there were variant traditions concerning the jewel Hanjun gave—this work arguing that it was enshrined in the Aizen-ō image at the temple which Shirakawa founded, Hosshō-ji (see also RUPPERT 2000, pp. 157–69).

<sup>45</sup> KOKUBUNGAU KENKYŪ SHIRYŌKAN 1999, p. 428; also see Abe's discussion (KOKUBUNGAU KENKYŪ SHIRYŌKAN 1999, pp. 520–21) of the works on which the text is based (Shinpuku-ji archives, Dai-Gojūichi gō). We should also make note of more recent research concerning the documents on Ryōbu Shintō in the collection at Ninna-ji (Mi-kyōzō) which have been recently uncovered, and which further confirm the connection between royal authority, the esoteric Buddhist wish-fulfilling jewel and regalia. See ABE 2000.

sovereign Go-Uda (“Daikakuji hōō”; r. 1274–1287) as having, upon a pilgrimage to Ise, enshrined five jewels there; given that subsequent generations of famous artisans there had re-enshrined them (and by implication produced new jewels), the entire number of jewels in the inner shrine was now one thousand (!). Moreover, Kōshū, resembling remarks made by Gahō, claimed to draw on teachings of the Nishi-no-in go-ryū 西院御流 line at the Shingon temple Ninna-ji to claim that the Latter Seven-Day Rite, the Kannon Offering, and the end-of-the-month rite were, in fact, performed in worship of the sun deity of Ise, Amaterasu.<sup>46</sup> However, it was the Tendai monk Jihen 慈遍 (fl. fourteenth century), brother of Yoshida Kenkō (author of *Tsurezuregusa*) and practitioner of Urabe Shintō, who wrote in the work *Kuji hongī genji* 旧事本紀玄義 that there is a direct connection between the regalia, the wish-fulfilling jewel, and Buddha relics. Jihen refers to the *yasakani [no] magatama* as the “jewel” (*hōju*) among the three regalia. He describes the regalia as originally constituting one body. The jewel, among these, constitutes an object that accords with the intentions of the original kami. In its yang aspect, it rains myriad gems from the sky without exhaustion, and is a transformation of the relics of Buddha of old. In its yin aspect, it is a “sea jewel” said to be possessed by dragon kings. The wish-fulfilling jewel in other words, unites yin and yang and is thus identical with the one mind of heaven and earth and, uniting the powers of the inner and outer shrine of Ise, is only passed down to the descendants of the royal line (*Kuji hongī genji*, NST 19: 311).

### *Jewels in the Birth of “Shinto”*

As we have seen, the increasing association of jewels with Ise coincided with increasing practice of wish-fulfilling jewel veneration in the royal court. Jewels were a prominent motif in Buddhist discourses traceable to works such as the *Lotus Sutra* and, especially in the Shingon school, to discourses attributing the introduction of the wish-fulfilling jewel to the figure of Kūkai, who is said to have buried a wish-fulfilling jewel on Mount Murō for the protection of the realm. Indeed, I would like to argue that it was, more than anything else, the production by Shingon clerics of this narrative and related practices that sealed the discursive connection between Shingon and the welfare of the realm. The twenty-five article *Last Testament* of Kūkai, dated to the tenth century, introduced the story of Kūkai’s burial of the wish-fulfilling jewel

<sup>46</sup> T 76, no. 2410, pp. 543c, 545b–c. Kōshū quotes, in noting the story of the pilgrimage to Ise, from an unidentified work called simply *Nin monogatari*. I have not as yet been able to establish the precise date of Go-Uda’s reputed pilgrimage.

on the mountain, and outlined the procedures for using Buddha relics and other objects to manufacture wish-fulfilling jewels. Veneration of Kannon was practiced regularly in the palace from the tenth century on, and arguably involved at least the visualization of a wish-fulfilling jewel—perhaps as held in the hand of the Kannon image—from that era forward. Roughly a century after the introduction of the *Last Testament*, Shingon monks, particularly of the Ono Branch, seem to have begun to actually produce these objects—specifically, on behalf of retired sovereigns and other close members of the royal court. In fact, the use of such jewels in rites connected with Nyoirin Kannon and Aizen myōō veneration dates from as early as the late eleventh century.

By at least the late Heian era, compilers of Shingon manuscripts such as Kakuzen not only tied figures such as Nyoirin and Aizen to wish-fulfilling jewel veneration, but also suggested in their works that such practice was sometimes related to sexual symbolism commonly associated with the Tachikawa-ryū. Moreover, they sometimes prescribed in these rites the visualization of objects such as the sun wheel Nichirin and the sun deity Nittenshi, perhaps suggesting that they already assumed some form of connection between such practices and worship of the kami at Ise. In any event, they were certainly aware of the generally held equation of Amaterasu with Kannon, especially in the Jūichimen and Nyoirin forms.

It is evident that by at least the mid-thirteenth century esoteric Buddhist clerics and members of the royal court, and perhaps those in the shogunate as well, believed in an intimate connection between the sovereignty of the sovereign, the shrine and deity of Ise, and the wish-fulfilling jewel. Moreover, the varied backgrounds of clerical and other authors of works depicting such a connection as well as the contents of those works suggest not only that the possession of the jewel—whether conceived as the *yasakani [no] magatama* or as the mirror—was vital to royal authority, but that its veneration or conceptualization in gendered terms was an accepted feature of esoteric Buddhism. Although figures associated with Tachikawa practice, such as the powerful monk Kōshin 弘真 (also called Monkan 文觀; 1278–1357), would be discredited in the mid-fourteenth century, and manuscripts associated most directly with such practices would be eventually destroyed, there is no indication that most figures in the royal court or in the Shingon school saw them as transgressive or questionable before that time. Rather, it would seem that Kōshin's association with Go-Daigo and his difficult relationship with other clerics were the major factors in the discrediting of such practices. Indeed, as TANAKA Takako has

suggested, the notion that the practices scholars such as Amino Yoshihiko have labeled as heretical from an “orthodox” Shingon perspective seems to reflect the point of view of the contemporary opponents of Kōshin more than any reality within Shingon tradition (1993, pp. 257–58).<sup>47</sup>

Moreover, as we have seen, from at least the mid-eleventh century, not only did wish-fulfilling jewel veneration become a potent aspect of the ritual life of the court, the association of Ise and Amaterasu with objects such as Buddha relics and jewels became an increasingly prominent feature in religious life. Although the association of the region with pearl production may have originally had nothing to do with Buddhism, narratives identifying creatures such as dragons with the possession of both pearls and relics may have prompted the belief that pearls are relics to which monks such as Jōkai reacted.

By the era of the dawn of the Kamakura shogunate, esoteric Buddhist clerics and a broad range of members of aristocratic society believed that the original source of Amaterasu was some form of Kannon. Iconographic and ritual connections of Kannon veneration with wish-fulfilling jewel worship were, if not ubiquitous, a major feature of the religious lives of powerful figures such as retired sovereigns. At the same time, there had not as yet been an ideological or ritual imperative to identify the august royal mirror or the *yasakani [no] magatama* with the wish-fulfilling jewel. It would seem that the increasing fragility of the court, given the power of the shogunate in the wake of events such as the Jōkyū war, provided an initial impetus to make such a religious and political leap of association.

I would like to conclude by suggesting that, as much as fears concerning possible subjugation by the Mongols or the dawn of the notion that Japan is a “kami realm” (*shinkoku* 神国), the most important influences on such developments were the following: the ongoing instability of royal power, the increasing tendencies of sovereigns and retired sovereigns to receive esoteric initiation and to sponsor the compilation of manuscript collections, as well as increasing conflicts *within* the royal family. These factors, we might say, provided the primary grounds of possibility for the very ritual and political attention to *regalia* that many Japanese henceforth have taken for granted as the linchpin of royal legitimacy.

For most early medieval Japanese *tennō* and retired sovereigns, the legitimation provided by Buddhism was a natural concomitant to royal

<sup>47</sup> The routine mention of practices such as the Nyohō Aizen myōō hō in diaries such as Go-Fukakusa-in Nijō’s (b. 1258) *Towazugatari* (ca. 1307) illustrate that, even among women of the court, such esoteric rites were well known (pp. 25, 158; BRAZELL 1976, pp. 13, 121–22).



accession. Moreover, until the tenth century, the regalia were not conceived of particularly as a set, with the exception of the sword and mirror; the *yasakani [no] magatama* jewel was only included in the *senso* accession rite from the Heian era on. Yet with the unprecedented events of the Kamakura era, the symbolic centrality of the sovereign to rulership was potentially called into question. For the *tennō* and retired sovereigns of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, possession of the relics of the Buddha—especially access to the relics of the temple Tō-ji—and of wish-fulfilling jewels constituted an ongoing guarantee of the uniqueness of the royal prerogative.

In particular, such objects were possessed almost exclusively in the capital region of western Japan, and they invoked the authority of the transcultural Buddhist tradition; thus the court, upon the theft of the relics of Tō-ji in 1216, announced the theft and a search by calling the relics the “spiritual jewels of three countries [India, China, and Japan],” and expressed anxiety that, with the Last Age of the Buddha Dharma, this theft might indicate the loss of powers to protect royal rule.<sup>48</sup> Although the relics were recovered, the number of relics throughout the realm seemed to expand exponentially, resulting in potential deflation of notions of the uniqueness of the Tō-ji relics, while at the same time, the same relics were all the more a continuing source of concern for sovereigns of the era. After the theft of 1216, traditional seals recording the number of relics that were placed on the relic containers were accompanied by a royal seal symbolically authenticating them and reinforcing their connection with the *tennō* (KAGEYAMA 1986, p. 206). In 1324, just following his failed rebellion against the shogunate, Shōchū no hen, Go-Daigo issued an order that, after his reception of 37 grains, the maximum number of Tō-ji relic grains that could be distributed was three. As he put it, the Buddha relics are “spiritual treasures of the realm and protectors of the royal family.”<sup>49</sup> This statement and a similar order he made in 1333 both illustrate the extent to which the relics were thought by those of the court to be essential to royal sovereignty; in fact, in the intervening period, Go-Daigo and his relatives continued to receive large numbers of relics, as did others on occasion, such as the distribution of 32 grains to the sovereign—the ideal number with which to construct a wish-fulfilling jewel—in order to conduct a “secret” rite for the subjugation of his military enemies.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> The date of the robbery was Kenpō 4.2.5. *Azuma kagami*, Kenpō 4.2.19, KST 32: 720; the text is also in *Daigo-ji monjo* 2, no. 301, pp. 37–38.

<sup>49</sup> *Busshari kankei ki*, Shōchū 1.12.14, recorded in KAGEYAMA 1986, p. 251.

<sup>50</sup> *Busshari kankei ki*, Gentoku 2.3.11, in KAGEYAMA 1986, p. 254.

Indeed, the consolidation of Hōjō rule of the shogunate from the mid-thirteenth century on corresponded with ongoing efforts to not only acquire relics from western Japan but also to newly acquire esoteric knowledge regarding wish-fulfilling jewels. The Hōjō brought clerics such as Kenna to the east, who had been initiated into both relic and jewel traditions at Mount Murō, and who also possessed knowledge of practices associated with the Tachikawa-ryū. Moreover, at the same time, the number of wish-fulfilling jewels said to exist in Japan increased considerably, until figures such as the Tendai monk Kōshū claimed that jewels were enshrined in a series of locations.

Thus efforts by esoteric clerics to tie Amaterasu *and* the regalia to the wish-fulfilling jewel provided a final arena within which to suggest that the royal line was, by virtue of its kami Amaterasu and her inalienable regalia, uniquely qualified to rule. Moreover, should there be conflict within the royal family, possession of the regalia became all the more pivotal to claims to legitimacy. Whoever possessed *the* wish-fulfilling jewel, which since the *Last Testament* of Kūkai was presumed to uniquely protect the realm, was, at least in theory, promised the keys to the kingdom—and, in esoteric Buddhist terms, the universe. Thus the Shingon cleric Kōshin, who was noted above and famous for his close relationship with Go-Daigo and reputedly active in Tachikawa-ryū practice, compiled esoteric works in which he depicted a wish-fulfilling jewel rite to be performed for protection of the realm. For Kōshin, the object of veneration was to be a five-wheel stūpa (*gorin-tō* 五輪塔) containing two jewels—relics—which he saw as transforming into Nyoirin Kannon, with the awesome deities Fudō and Aizen to its left and right. Ultimately, Kōshin identified Nyoirin with the Buddha “One Syllable Buddha Crown Golden Wheel [-Turning] King” (Ichiji Butchō Kinrin-ō 一字佛頂金輪王), who he interpreted as none other than the Sun Wheel Nichirin, that is, a transformation of the mirror held in the Naishidokoro of the royal palace—Amaterasu. Thus the ruler should venerate and, finally, correctly intone the *mantra* of the relics (i.e., Ichiji Butchō Kinrin-ō) at the Sokui rite of accession.<sup>51</sup>

In this way, figures such as Kōshin and Go-Daigo saw esoteric Buddhist practices of wish-fulfilling jewel and relic veneration, when connected ritually and conceptually to regalia—and so also to Ise and Amaterasu—as providing the most essential of royal mandates. In fact, given that this was the case, we should reexamine what we mean by the term “royal regalia.” Although objects such as the sword and mirror were passed to the new sovereign from an early era of Japanese

<sup>51</sup> ABE introduces the works *Himitsu gentei kuketsu* and *Bōsho mokuroku* in his article “Hōju to ōken,” (1989, pp. 152–53).

history, such objects were just a few among a series of objects seen as testifying to the sacrality and mandate of the Japanese sovereign. Ultimately, I would like to argue, insofar as such objects were never central themes of any example of literature until the medieval era, the provision by Buddhists of discourses and rituals of wish-fulfilling jewels and related Buddha relics, understood in the context of the increasing instability of the royal line and its mandate, provided a seminal foundation for the development of the religion and *ideology* of *tennō*-centrism, a central feature of early modern and modern Japan worship.

The very notion of the uniqueness of Japan, and by extension its sovereign, was dependent on the transcultural discourse of Buddhism, which placed Japan and its ruler within Buddhist cosmology; this cosmology, together with the powers of its wish-fulfilling jewels and relics, depicted in works such as Kitabatake Chikafusa's 北畠親房 (1293–1354) *Jinnō shōtōki* 神皇正統記, provided the discursive grounds for nativists to compare and contrast Japan with its neighbors. It was only with early modern and modern reinterpretations of works such as Chikafusa's, who like the authors of related works of the medieval era was initiated into Kenmitsu Buddhism (he became a Shingon monk in 1329), that the *Buddhist* meaning of the regalia, of the sovereign, and of the realm was rejected and forgotten. Indeed, Chikafusa was not only a Shingon monk in his later years. As SHIRAYAMA Yoshitarō has noted (1998), the only times he is recorded to have served as a royal emissary was to receive a distribution (*bujō*) of Buddha relics on behalf of Go-Daigo from Tō-ji temple, and at which time he received at least one grain for himself; indeed, it is not often noted that even in *Jinnō shōtōki* he emphasized that Shingon is the greatest of the Buddhist schools, and the fact that it lasted in Japan—as opposed to its short-lived stay in China—is that it was perfectly suited to Nihon.<sup>52</sup> In other words, he suggested that Japan is *unique* precisely because it became the ground for the flourishing of true Buddhism, a view closer to the Buddhist “nationalism” of a figure like Nichiren (1222–1282), who called for the *tennō*, the shōgunate, and all of Japan to turn to the *Lotus Sutra* for salvation and the creation of an ideal Buddhist state, than to the anti-Buddhist nationalism of Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) and modern proponents of national Shinto, who rejected Buddhism outright.

<sup>52</sup> See SHIRAYAMA 1998, pp. 58–59. Shirayama notes two occasions, though actually there may have been three. The references to the distributions are in documents dated Shōchū 3.2.7 (1326)—in which Chikafusa received a grain and perhaps also served as emissary—Karyaku 3.7.8 (1328) and Kenmu 2.2.29 (1335), noted originally in HASHIMOTO 1999, pp. 145–46.

I would like to suggest, moreover, that the fundamental difference between the “nationalism” of a figure like Chikafusa and that of Nichiren had nothing to do with their devotion to Buddhism. Chikafusa was clearly as devoted to Buddhism as was Nichiren, albeit of Shingon esotericism rather than of the *Lotus Sutra*.<sup>53</sup> Chikafusa and, by implication, figures such as Tsūkai, Gahō, Kōshin, and even Jihen—perhaps Kōshū as well—saw Ise and the regalia as integral elements in their understanding and presentation of the relationship between royal legitimacy and Buddhism. This is markedly different from Nichiren’s views of Amaterasu or Hachiman, which, as SATŌ Hiroo recently noted (1999), interpreted them merely as native protectors of Buddhism—inferior even to Brahmā (J. Bonten 梵天), Śakra (Taishakuten 帝釈天), the sun and moon, and the four heavenly kings (*shitennō* 四天王) (SATŌ 1999, p. 134). By the fourteenth century, a milieu had developed in the aristocracy that assumed that the *tennō*’s possession of the three regalia was the most essential of marks of his sovereignty, a view which, we have seen, was produced primarily within and through the theories and practices of esoteric Buddhism.

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- DNK *Dai Nihon kokiroku* 大日本古記録, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1952–.
- DNS *Dai nihon shiryō* 大日本史料, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensajo, 270 vols. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensajo, 1900–.
- KI *Kamakura ibun* 鎌倉遺文, ed. Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, 50 vols. Tōkyōdō, 1971–.
- KST *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 新訂増補国史大系, ed. Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美, 60 vols. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929–1967.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Chikafusa’s Shingon treatise *Shingon naishōgi* (1345; in *Kana hōgo shū*, NKBT 83). There, he explains his views on Shingon, and reiterates views such as the appropriateness of the Shingon school to Japan—stressing its spread without limit through the land, even to the inner and outer shrines of Amaterasu (NKBT 83: 231)—as well as the practice of visualizing the wish-fulfilling jewel (NKBT 83: 233).

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