The cultural history of Kanjō in Japan: the integration of the sacred and profane

Porath, O; Abe, Y.; Rambelli, F.; Porath, O.

Abe Yasurō

Chapter Nine
The Cultural History of *Kanjō* in Japan: The Integration of the Sacred and the Profane

Introduction

Kanjō is a secret Esoteric Buddhist ritual in which the initiand-disciple enters the world of the buddhas (in the form of a mandala), which is known as "entering the altar" (*nyūdan* 入壇), tosses a flower on the mandala, and awakens to a spiritual stage. Pure water is then poured (*kan* 灌) over his head (*-jō* [*chō*] 頂), and the initiand is added to a lineage of masters (*ajari* 阿闍梨). The origin of this ceremony is in an ancient Indian enthronement ritual for kings, wherein the water of the "Four Seas" (*shikai* 四海)[1] is poured over the recipient, and he thereby inherits the status of a monarch. Esoteric Buddhism adopted and adapted this procedure and transformed it into a secret ritual that would bring the recipient into a kind of mystical universe. When put into practice, this process unifies the world of human beings with the world of the sacred through ritual activity. In other words, it is the embodiment of a method which constitutes the core of religious experience, namely, the integration or congruence of the cosmos with the human.

If we were to try to answer the question of what *kanjō* is in the broadest sense by addressing the cosmological significance attributed to it, we might define it as a time-space where the process of unification of the human body and spirit is made visible and experienced. It is a skillfully constructed program in which one passes through a religious space (*dōjō* 道場) created by a rich set of symbols and representations, employing specific practices that bring together thought and actions which reorganize the world into a highly articulated universe where one is connected to the infinite flow of time-space.

Alternatively, if we look for the social significance of this ritual, *kanjō* was far from being the mere completion of a religious practice; rather, its secretive nature made it especially appropriate to function as an extremely important rite of passage, or ritual of status elevation, allowing recipients to join a secret association and become central members of a religious institution. Precisely because

1 A designation for the known world (*Translator's note*).

Translated by Or Porath

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110720211-009

it is a secret ritual, the status within the organization obtained by an initiand who receives the *kanjō* – after undergoing a long period of austerities called *kegyō* 加行, which are performed to achieve some sacred distinction – is clearly marked as exceptional. Membership in a group sharing such a distinct status becomes a powerful bond, and the ritual ends up playing the same function of high social integration that it played in its original form at the level of the state and kingship. If we were to express this in terms of the vocabulary of cultural anthropology, perhaps we could say that *kanjō* is a crystallization of the experience of human history that circulates through and connects the microcosmos and the macrocosmos.

When Buddhism, a translocal religion, spread across Asia, it traversed the civilizations of various regions and the cultures of many peoples, influencing them deeply; it also took new forms and was transformed. *Kanjō* should be understood as a product of such history, as a vivid example of a "living cultural heritage." Along these lines, in this chapter I will discuss the peculiar developments of *kanjō* in Japan, with a focus on Shingon Esoteric Buddhism, and outline its multiple influences on various aspects of culture as reflected in state and society.

The Beginnings of *Kanjō* in Japan

Approximately 250 years after Buddhism had been introduced to Japan, the Buddhism of the Six Nara Schools was renovated by the introduction of Esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō* 密教) in the new capital of Heian-kyō (present-day Kyoto), and a new system of state Buddhism, termed exo-esoteric Buddhism (*kenmitsu bukkyō taisei* 顕密仏教体制) was established. It was *kanjō* that signaled this establishment.

This new movement was sustained by the transmission and the establishment in Japan of Tendai Buddhism by Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and of Shingon Buddhism by Kūkai 空海 (774–835). In both these schools, Esoteric Buddhism occupied an important and indispensable position, since it offered a decisively new worldview and a religious system that previous forms of Buddhism lacked. The *kanjō* was a method to convey the essence and substance of this new system. However, the type of *kanjō* based on the *Sanshu shitchi hō* 三種悉地法 which Saichō received in Tang China from Shunxiao 順暁 (ca. ninth century) at Longxinsi 龍興寺 in 805 was an abbreviated version that only involved mudras and mantras. In contrast, Kūkai carried out the transmission and performance of a full-fledged *kanjō* ritual, which combined the Vajra-realm liturgy (*kongōkai hō* 金剛界法) with that of the Womb-realm (*taizōkai hō* 胎蔵界法) in the form of dual mandalas (*ryōkai mandara* 両界曼荼羅) conducted in a special hall; this "great liturgy" (*daihō* 大法) took place at

Takaosanji 高雄山寺 (Jingoji 神護寺) in 812. Kūkai had received this consecration from the Chinese monk Huiguo 恵果 (746–805) at Qinglongsi 青龍寺 in the Tang capital of Chang'an. Saichō was one of the first to receive that twofold mandala consecration (*ryōbu kanjō* 両部灌頂) from Kūkai. The *Kanjō rekimyō* 灌頂暦名,[2] an autograph manuscript by Kūkai preserved at Jingoji, records this memorable first *kanjō* performance in Japan. Among the names of those who received the Vajra-realm consecration in 812 (Kōnin 3) 11.15, are, in addition to Saichō, several members of the Wake family 和気氏, patrons of Jingoji. For the Womb-realm consecration on 12.14 of the same year, there are 145 people listed as recipients; among them, only 22 were monks, the rest being novices (*shami* 沙弥), lay people (*zokunin* 俗人), and child-acolytes (*dōji* 童子). Thus, it appears that this *kanjō* was then a more open ritual, closer to what is today called a *kechien kanjō* 結縁灌頂 (a consecration for establishing a karmic connection).

Jingoji, where this *kanjō* was performed, was a temple dedicated to a new kami, the great bodhisattva Hachiman 八幡大菩薩, which fulfilled a very important role for the new kingship established by Emperor Kanmu 桓武天皇 (736–806). Both Saichō and Kūkai prayed to the god Hachiman for a successful fulfilment of their quest to find the Buddhist Dharma in China. In other words, the transmission of their new Buddhism and its spread in Japan was supported by the kami Hachiman. This inspired the legend of the "mutual portraits" (*tagai no miei* 互御影), which claimed that one day Hachiman manifested himself to Kūkai as a monk and they (Hachiman and Kūkai) drew each other's portrait.[3] This image of Hachiman was installed in Jingoji's main hall (*kondō* 金堂) together with the primary icon (*honzon* 本尊) of the temple. This image of the kami Hachiman, based on a direct revelation to Kūkai, was also considered a sacred treasure by the court. During the Insei period (1086–1192), Emperor Toba 鳥羽院 transferred this image to the Shōkōmyōin 勝光明院 archive (Toba's repository 鳥羽宝蔵) together

2 The *Kanjō rekimyō*, which has been designated a National Treasure (*kokuhō* 国宝), is preserved at Jingoji. The original is extracted in the "Kanjō kiroku Daishi shinpitsu" 灌頂記録大師真筆 section of the *Jingoji ryakki* (compiled after 1315), which contains a colophon giving its provenance; it states that this is the authentic manuscript in the hand of Kōbō Daishi Kūkai and that it was requested by Emperor Shirakawa 白河 in 1108 (Tennin 1) and sent to Ninnaji 仁和寺 for protection under an order drafted by Shuri Daibu [Fujiwara] Akisue 顕季. It was later kept in the treasury of Shōkōmyōin 勝光明院 until 1308 (Shitoku 3) when it was ordered to be deposited at this temple: *Jingoji ryakki*, 268.

3 See the "Kondō-jō" 金堂条 entry in the section "Dōin no koto" 堂院事, in *Jingoji ryakki*, 266; on *kanjō* itself, see "Kanjō-e no koto" 灌頂会事 in the *Jingoji kimo shushō no jōjō* 神護寺規模殊勝之条々 (1402), in *Ibid*. The entry "Kanjō-in" 灌頂院 reports that in 1334 Emperor Go-Daigo paid a visit and had a *kanjō* performed at the time as it was the site of the first *kanjō* in Japan: see *Ibid*., 295.

with the previously mentioned *Kanjō rekimyō*, and they became buttresses of the religious authority of medieval kingship. Eventually, Dharma Emperor Go-Uda 後宇多法皇 (1267–1324), who took the tonsure after abdication, deeply revered Kūkai, and even received the *denbō kanjō* 伝法灌頂 consecration as a full-fledged monk, returned these treasures to Jingoji.

Kūkai positioned *mikkyō* at the center of Buddhism as its ultimate teachings (he wrote the *Jūjūshinron* 十住心論 and *Benkenmitsu nikkyō ron* 弁顕密二教論 to explain this doctrinal supremacy) and saw *kanjō* as a concomitant practice integral to Esoteric Buddhism. In 822 he established a Shingon chapel (Shingon'in 真言院) at Tōdaiji 東大寺 – the apex and center of state Buddhism at the time – with a *kanjō* hall (*kanjōdō* 灌頂堂) as a permanent ritual space (*dōjō*) to carry out the rite, which he performed not only for Nara monks but also for the emperor himself.[4] Thus, Tōdaiji, because it had both the Kaidan'in 戒壇院 for precept ordination (*jūkai* 授戒) and the Shingon'in for the Esoteric Buddhist *kanjō*, came to play an important function for monks as both starting point and completion of their monastic training.

Kūkai also established a Kanjōin at Kyōōgokokuji 教王護国寺 (Tōji 東寺), a state temple in the Heian capital, and planned to hold a regular *kanjō-e* 灌頂会 ceremony there as well as at Kongōbuji, his place of ascetic practices on Mt. Kōya (in this case, at the Golden hall, Kondō, of the central *danjō* 壇上 precincts), but these plans were only realized by his disciples after his death. These regular *kanjō* ceremonies were interrupted for a time but subsequently revived. There is no doubt that Kūkai's *kanjō* ceremony and his conception of the ritual space were major driving forces and sources for the later development of Shingon Buddhism and the formation of a distinct Shingon school.[5]

Closely related to Kūkai's conceptions were the establishment of the Shingon'in in the imperial palace compound, for which Kūkai petitioned Emperor

4 *Tōdaiji yōroku*, vol. 4, quotes a passage regarding the Nan'in 南院 (the Shingon'in chapel) from a 822 (Jōwa 3) directive of the Council of State (*dajōkanpu* 太政官符), which ordered the construction of a *kanjō* hall for the monk Kūkai, the appointment of monks to perform offerings there, and the practice of rites for the prevention of calamities and the increase of worldly benefits. The same directive is included in *Ruijū sandaikyaku*, in *Tōdaiji yōroku*, 6. Ryūichi Abé 阿部龍一 wrote that "the emergence of the Abhiṣeka hall [at Tōdaiji] was a revolutionary event demonstrating that the various temples of Nara were prepared to embrace Kūkai's Esoteric Buddhism": Abe, "Shingon Kyōgoku Hōkkaigū: aruiwa, Kūkai mikkyō no shoteki kōchiku," 94. See also Ryūichi Abé's chapter in this volume.

5 The first scroll of *Tōji yōshū* 東寺要集 (compiled after 1113), edited by Kanjin 寛信 (1084–1153) of Kajūji 勧修寺, quotes a series of rulings of the Council of State from 946 that permitted the transmission of *kanjō* to Gengō 元杲 (914–995). Among them, one directive distinguishes between *kechien* and *denbō kanjō* within the Shingon tradition.

Saga 嵯峨天皇 toward the end of his life, and the *Go-shichinichi no mishuhō* 後七日御修法 ceremony, which was held there for the first time in 834. The actual construction of the Shingon'in occurred after Kūkai's death, and the secret rite was conducted simultaneously with the *Gosai-e* (*Misai-e*) 御齊会 that was held at the Daigokuden 大極殿 hall of the imperial palace under the auspices of the exoteric sects centered in Nara. The Buddhist relics that Kūkai had brought to Japan and installed in the treasury of Tōji were employed in the palace as the liturgies of the two mandalas were performed alternatively each year. Armed with its great spiritual efficacy, the great master (*daiajari* 大阿闍梨) ascended the Seiryōden 清涼殿 hall of the Palace and performed on the person of the emperor a rite of empowerment with scented water (*kōzui kaji* 香水加持).[6] One could argue that this was a *kanjō* ritual of kingship transformed into an Esoteric Buddhist ritual (*shuhō* 修法). The Shingon'in at the Imperial Palace shared precisely the same spatial structure with the *kanjō* halls at Tōdaiji, Tōji and elsewhere (a five-bay main hall [*goken* 五間] in which altars for the two mandalas faced one another).[7] We can surmise from this point alone that *kanjō* and *shuhō* were for Kūkai secret rituals that were essentially connected at a fundamental level. That being the case, we must ask: how was the legacy of the *kanjō* whose foundation had originally been designed and built by Kūkai carried out by later generations?

The Historical Developments of *Kanjō* in the Heian Period

The practice of Esoteric Buddhism as a state endeavor, based on the secret ritual of *kanjō* in which its religious vitality inhered, saw important developments in the Insei period (eleventh–twelfth centuries). The starting point was the construction in 1072 of the Kanjōin on Mt. Kōya by Shōshin 性信, known as the Great Omuro (Ō-Omuro 大御室) of Ninnaji 仁和寺, followed, after his death, by the first performance of *kechien kanjō* on the mountain in 1086. Subsequently, all the Omuro

6 For a comparative study on the *Go-shichinichi no mishihō* from the perspective of religious studies, see Yamaori Tetsuo, "Go-shichinichi no mishihō to Daijōsai"; Abe Yasurō, "Hōju to ōken: chūsei ōken to mikkyō girei." Found in the same article is a quotation in note 17 from Dharma-Prince Shukaku's *Hizatsuyōshū* 秘雑要集, in the collection of Ninnaji temple, in which the *Go-shichinichi no mishihō* is defined as "a ritual invoving the making of offerings before the mandalas of the two realms, and bestowing ritual consecration [*kanjō*] on the ruler of the land." For an extensive discussion of the ritual, see Ryūichi Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*.

7 Fujii Keisuke, *Mikkyō kenchiku kūkanron*; Tomishima Yoshiyuki, *Mikkyō kūkan shiron*.

Hosshinnō 御室法親王 (the Dharma Prince Abbots of Ninnaji), who saw themselves as leaders of the Buddhist world as sons of the *chiten no kimi* 治天の君, the senior and retired emperors who ruled the realm, performed the *kanjō* ritual in the twelfth century. The retired emperors (*in* 院) themselves took the initiative in becoming involved in *kanjō*, with some even receiving it. For instance, Retired Emperor Shirakawa 白河院 (1053–1129) instituted a *kechien kanjō* at Sonshōji 尊勝寺, the vow-temple (*goganji* 御願寺) of Emperor Horikawa 堀河天皇 (1104), and thereby attempted to open the path for the promotion of Shingon monks to the Office of Monastic Affairs (*sōgō* 僧綱). Since this role was shortly thereafter monopolized by monks of the Tendai sect, Shirakawa next organized the performance of the *kanjō* at Saishōji 最勝寺 (1122). Later, Retired Emperor Toba 鳥羽院 (1103–1156) added a *kechien kanjō* at Ninnaji Kannon'in 仁和寺観音院 as a regular event (beginning in 1139) to complement the *kechien kanjō* at the Tōji Kanjōin 東寺灌頂院, which had already been made an imperially ordered ritual (*chokue* 勅会).[8]

These *kanjō* rites, which were transformed by the Insei-era monarchy led by the retired emperors into public rituals under the supervision of the Omuro Dharma-princes (the abbots of Ninnaji), were no longer limited to the *denbō kanjō* used for the transmission of a lineage from master to disciple (as was the case of the original form of *kanjō* since Kūkai); instead, these ceremonies were turned into events open to the court aristocracy (and especially the imperial family) as a sort of symbolic ornament adorning Insei rule. In addition, they became indispensable rituals for Shingon monks who had received the *kanjō* to be promoted as integral members of the system of state Buddhism. Thanks to this imperial policy, the Shingon clergy, centered on Tōji, was able to establish itself in the medieval period as an independent sect and as a power bloc (*kenmon* 権門), rivaling the Nara temples and the Tendai establishment on Mt. Hiei 比叡山.

The last stage of this series of developments during the Insei period, which led to the transformation of the *kanjō* into a state ritual, was the regular performance of the *kechien kanjō* at Ninnaji's Kannon'in chapel. Detailed records of these ceremonies and standardized ritual procedures, including those for the *denbō kanjō,* the transmission ritual that constituted the institutional basis of this lineage, are extant. In particular, those written by Dharma Prince Shūkaku 守覚法親王 (or Shukaku, 1150–1203), a son of Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河院, constitute the

8 Hiraoka Jōkai, *Nihon jiinshi no* kenkyū, particularly part 5 "Rokushōji to Tendai/Shingonshū no shinshutsu" 六勝寺と天台·真言宗の進出 in section 8 "Rokushōji no no seiritsu ni tsuite" 六勝寺の成立について of Chapter 3 "Heian jidai in okeru jiin no seiritsu to kōzō" 平安時代における寺院の成立と構造; Kurimoto Noriko, "Shirakawa-in to Ninnaji: shuhō kara miru Insei-ki no seishin sekai."

core of a vast corpus of religious texts preserved at Ninnaji. The central texts are the *Konbyōshi shōzōshi* 紺表紙小双紙 (literally, booklets with blue covers), which are emblematic of the bibliographical format of this corpus – a collection of ritual texts which contain entire programs (and their variations) of Buddhist ceremonies that involved the participation of the Omuro Dharma Prince.[9]

The nucleus of this corpus are the documents on the *Kannon'in (kechien) kanjō* 観音院 (結縁) 灌頂 in 40 fascicles, which together with the *Tōji kanjō shidai* 東寺灌頂次第 and the *Kōya kanjō shidai* 高野灌頂次第 and similar works, preserve the procedures of *kechien kanjō* as it was performed in the main temples, a practice that was revived, as noted above, in the Insei period. Also extant is the *Miya go-kanjō shidai* 宮御灌頂次第, the ritual procedures for the *denbō kanjō* that served as a succession ritual for dharma princes. In addition, there is also the *Kuronuri Tebako* 黒塗手箱 (Black Box), containing various documents by Shūkaku, such as a journal (*nikki* 日記) detailing the *kechien kanjō* ceremonies held from the Juei to the Genryaku eras (1181–1184) at the Kannon'in, which were attended by the Dharma Emperor Go-Shirakawa and retired empress Hachijōin 八条院, as well as accompanying lists such as the *Zōji (yōto) chūmon* 雑事(用途)注文 (Miscellaneous Matters and Necessary Items).[10] This vast corpus of documents allows us to recreate in vivid detail the ritual of the *kechien kanjō*, which was the flower of Buddhist ceremonies of the imperial court.

From those documents, we see that the first step in the ritual was the adornment of the hall (*dō shōgōn* 堂荘厳) where the *kanjō* was to take place, which involved the installation of various images and ritual implements, beginning with the two mandala altars (*ryōkai dan* 両界壇). The most important images were the mandalas themselves and the portraits of the eight Shingon patriarchs (*Shingon hasso* 真言八祖) that were to be hung on the walls. Shūkaku is known to have been actively involved in the production of images related to the *kanjō* ritual. The twelve *devas* (*jūniten* 十二天) are normally summoned to protect the *kanjō* hall and Shūkaku commissioned Takuma Shōga 詫間勝賀, a renowned painter of Buddhist images, to paint the images of the twelve devas on a pair of six-panel folding screens for use in the *kechien kanjō* at Tōji; Shūkaku then wrote in his own hand the respective Sanskrit names of the divinities. Theses twelve screens are preserved at Tōji (and are registered as a national treasure). These twelve devas were painted in the new, dynamic and vibrant style of Song China, demonstrat-

9 Ninnaji Konbyōshi Shōzōshi Kenkyūkai (eds.), *Shukaku Hosshinnō no girei sekai*.
10 *Ibid*., Dainibu furoku shiryōshū 第二部付録資料集, 207–353.

ing that the ritual space of *kanjō* also served to introduce and display the most advanced religious culture of the time, whose vividness is visible to this day.[11]

At the same time, Shūkaku had been, as a Ninnaji monk, the recipient of *denbō kanjō* that made him part of the orthodox Shingon tradition, which had been brought to Japan by Kūkai and could be traced back to the eight patriarchs. Throughout his life Shūkaku endeavored to give concrete form to this lineage through the systematization of religious texts. One product of this effort is the *Mitsuyōshō* 密要鈔, a collection of the "sacred teachings" (*shōgyō* 聖教) of Ninnaji's Goryū 御流 lineage.[12] At their core were, predictably, texts on *kanjō*, in particular the mudras and mantras that were transmitted to initiands by masters (*ajari*) in the *kanjō* ritual. The collection also includes illustrated instructions for the adornment and arrangement of the hall, as well as illustrated descriptions in color of the ritual implements used in the *kanjō* rite, written in a way to allow for a multidimensional reproduction of the *denbō kanjō* ritual space. Moreover, Shūkaku also compiled various texts in elaborately crafted parallel prose: these were pronouncements (*hyōbyaku* 表白) recited by the master at important moments in the ritual and the responses of the initiands (*tandoku* 歎徳, praise of virtue) for both the *kechien kanjō* and *denbō kanjō*. His own compositions were compiled in the *Hyōbyaku go-sō* 表白御草. A collection of pronouncements by leading authors for important rituals of the time known as the (Jūnikanbon十二巻本) *Hyōbyaku-shū* 表白集 in twelve fascicles, and the (Nijūnikanbon 二十二巻本) *Hyōbyaku-shū* 表白集 in twenty-two fascicles,[13] a collection of pronouncements concerning the ritual procedures by successive Dharma-Princes of Omuro and other leading figures, all begin with items written for *kanjō* rituals. These collections were preserved much like an archive, storing memories of the achievements of successive Omuro abbots and monks who were involved in *kanjō* rituals, which were regarded as transmission rituals for the temple power-bloc worthy of memorialization. These texts were once chanted and sung as *shōmyō* 声明 (Buddhist liturgical chants) in the *kanjō* hall, adding the resonance of a musical component to the ritual. In other words, *kanjō* as recorded and textualized by Shūkaku, was thoroughly embellished by images and sounds, becoming a veritable stage for an animated performance.

Even more important documents, lineage charts that demonstrate the orthodoxy of *kanjō* at Ninnaji such as the *Shingon denbō kanjō shishi sōjō*

11 Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (eds.), *Kokuhō jūnitenzō to mikkyō hōe no sekai*.

12 Abe Yasurō and Yamazaki Makoto (eds.), *Shukaku hosshinnō to Ninnaji goryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū*.

13 See *Hyōbyakushū*.

kechimyaku 真言伝法灌頂師資相承血脈 in two fascicles, are also kept in the *Kuronuri Tebako*.[14] The fascicles enumerate the names of disciples who received *kanjō* under successive Shingon masters, and display the master-disciple relationship as connected by a crimson thread, fashioned after the *kechimyaku* 血脈 (bloodlines) genre. The first fascicle covers the period from Kūkai to the time of the disciples of Ō-Omuro Shōshin 大御室性信, while the second goes from Omuro Kakuhō 覚法 of Mt. Kōya to Omuro Shūkaku of Kita no in 北院. They list the time and place of *kanjō*, and for important monks they also quote documents verifying the lineage (*shōmon* 紹文) included among the dharma certificates (*injin* 印信) and other parts of the *kanjō* procedures. On the reverse side, these documents record dharma lineages as appendices. The first fascicle contains extended lineage charts, including the Ono-ryū 小野流 lineage centered at Daigoji 醍醐寺, and the second fascicle is comprised of the Hirosawa-ryū 広沢流 lineage based at Ninnaji temple, and it is likely that Shūkaku was involved in its production.

Annotations on the reverse side (*uragaki* 裏書) on the first fascicle related to Naka Omuro Kakugyō 覚行 contain the entire program of the *kanjō* rite at Kannon'in. This is particularly valuable as a *kanjō* ritual text from Ninnaji that precedes those in Shūkaku's *Konbyōshi shōzōshi* 紺表紙小双紙. Among records of *kanjō* ritual procedures, there is also the *Go-no-miya go-kanjō ki* 五宮御灌頂記 of Shūkaku's teacher, Omuro Kakushō 覚性 (1129–1169) of Shikondaiji 紫金台寺, who was the fifth son of Emperor Toba. It is kept in the Kuronuri Tebako 黒塗手箱 box, in the form of two journals, one by the monk Kakunin 覚任 (representing the temple) and one by Fujiwara no Norinaga 藤原教長 (representing the aristocracy); together with *hyōbyaku* and other records, they allow us to recreate a full and detailed picture of the *kanjō* ritual at the time.[15] As seen above, Ninnaji preserves many different types of texts and historical documents that provide a complete picture of *kanjō* ceremonies, the central core of the Esoteric Buddhist rituals established in the Insei period. These, together with various Buddhist ritual assemblies involving performing arts, culminating with the majestic mandala offerings (*mandara-ku* 曼荼羅供) accompanied by Bugaku 舞楽 dance and music,[16] form a rare and precious archive providing us with important source materials with which to recreate and understand the rites of passage within the religious ritual system of the state during the Heian period.

14 Abe Yasurō, Yokoyama Kazuhiro, and Satō Ayumi (eds.), *Shingon denbō kanjō shishi sōjō kechimyaku*.

15 Abe Yasurō (ed.), Kojima Yasuko and Matsuzono Hitoshi (commentary), *Gomiya Go-kanjō-ki*.

16 See Abe Yasurō with Kojima Yasuko and Makino Atsushi, commentary *Hōgi hyōbyaku-shū*, in *Shinpukuji zenpon sōkan* vol. 11.

The Segmentation of *Kanjō* in Medieval Esoteric Buddhism

Until the Heian Period (794–1185), there were only two main types of *kanjō*, namely, *kechien* and *denbō*; this distinction continued into the Insei period. For example, the monk Kanjin 寛信 of Kajūji 勧修寺, in a history of Tōji's *kechien kanjō* included in his *Tōji yōshū* 東寺要集,[17] describes only these two types of *kanjō*. The *Shingon fuhō san'yōshō* 真言付法纂要鈔,[18] a text written in 1069 by the Ono-ryū monk Seison 成尊, emphasizes the orthodoxy of Shingon Esoteric Buddhism and outlines the "ten superior characteristics" (*jisshu shushō* 十種殊勝) that reflect the primacy of this sect. At the top of the list, he has the "superior characteristic of *kanjō*" (*kanjō shushō*) but he does not divide the consecration into various types. This aspect changed significantly during the Insei period, when Shingon lineages divided and further developed, with each lineage advocating its own distinctiveness.

Regarding Tendai Esoteric Buddhism (Taimitsu 台密), Annen 安然 (841–915), in his doxography (*kyōhan* 教判) privileging the esoteric teachings, had early on proposed five types of *kanjō*,[19] but without defining them in detail. For a relatively clear Tendai typology of *kanjō* we have to wait until the monk Jien 慈円 (1155–1225) of Shōren'in 青蓮院. Jien was part of the Sanmai-ryū 三昧流 lineage, a sub-branch of Tani-ryū 谷流 founded by Kōgei 皇慶 (977–1049), one of the two main lineages of Taimitsu (the other being Kawa-ryū 川流 founded by Kakuchō 覚超 [960–1034]). The *Shijō hiketsu* 四帖秘決,[20] a record of Jien's oral teachings, contains many references to *kanjō*. It points out that this ritual is divided into four types (*shishu* 四種 *kanjō*) based on the seventh chapter of Śubhakarasiṃha's *Dainichi-kyō sho* 大日経疏 and five types (*goshu* 五種 *kanjō*) according to the *Kongōchōgyō ketsu* 金剛頂経決 commentary attributed to Amoghavajra. Jien, however, does not explain how these categories relate to *kanjō* rituals as they were actually performed in his time. As the head of the Tendai school (*Tendai zasu* 天台座主), Jien writes about ritual protocols and precedents of the *kechien kanjō* at Sōji'in 惣持院 on Mt. Hiei, but not in a systematic way. The *Shijō hiketsu* also mentions a *himitsu kanjō* 秘密灌頂, in which only mudras and mantras are

17 See Note 5.

18 On the *Shingon fuhō san'yōshō*, see Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan (eds.), commentary by Abe Yasurō and Itō Satoshi in *Chūsei sentoku chosakushū* 中世先徳著作集 (*Shinpukuji zenpon sōkan* second series vol. 3).

19 Annen, *Kyōji mondō* 教時問答, fasc. 2, section "Senjō jigō kanjō gusoku shibun" 選定事業灌頂具足支分, item "Kanchūin senjō jigō kanjō gusoku shibun" 観中院撰定事業灌頂具足支分.

20 *Shijō hiketsu* 四帖秘決, 381, 418–19, 364, 859.

transmitted, and a *naisagō kanjō* of the *Yugi-kyō* 瑜祇経ノ内作業灌頂 (that is, a "consecration of the inner workings of karma" based on the *Yuqi jing* 瑜祇経, Jp. *Yugi-kyō*), saying that this ritual "was practiced at Tōji and in Tendai, but has recently been discontinued" without providing any further information.

However, in his *Bizeibetsu* 毗逝別,[21] Jien attempted to systematize the secret teachings of Esoteric Buddhism, and in the opening section on "the great matter of *kanjō*" (*kanjō no daiji* 灌頂大事), he wrote that a *kanjō* called the *shibunshō* 支分生 (lit. "the living limbs," i.e., the body) seemed to conform most to the original intent of Esoteric Buddhism. In this ritual, the disciple (recipient) tosses a flower on the mandala and thus joins its divinities (*nyūdan* 入壇), then visualizes his own body as the mystical *siddhaṃ* syllable *A* (*aji* 阿字); next he contemplates this syllable transforming into the syllable *Vam*. This corresponds to the transmission from Dainichi to Vajrasattva, which means "pouring one drop of water on the top of the head," as the "ultimate *kanjō* of Esoteric Buddhism," and "the original intention of the secret teachings." The principle behind this ritual is "burning syllables with syllables" (*iji shōji hō* 以字焼字法), which is the main point of all practice (*gyōhō* 行法). For Jien, then, *kanjō* became a ritual that instantiated the ultimate fusion of doctrinal learning and practice.

From the Kamakura period (1185–1333) onward, the segmentation of the system of *kanjō* within medieval Taimitsu proceeded further. For example, the *Asabashō* 阿娑縛鈔 (thirteenth century),[22] written by Shōchō 承證 (1205–1282) of the Ogawa-ryū 小川流, has a list of seven types of *kanjō*, without however specific information about them. For a detailed explanation, one has to wait until the late Muromachi period for the *Ōmushō* 鸚鵡鈔 (1572),[23] written by the scholar monk Jōchin 定珍 (1534–1603) of the Renge-ryū 蓮華流, a Tendai lineage from Kantō. Jōchin divides the *kanjō* into six varieties: Womb (*tai* 胎), Diamond (*kon* 金), Combined Practice (*gōgyō* 合行), Separation from Karmic Activities (*risagō* 離作業), Secret (*himitsu* 秘密), and Yogin (*yugi* 瑜祇, also known as *jinen jōdō* 自然成道, "spontaneous enlightenment").[24] The text contains oral transmissions about these rituals, illustrations of halls and altars for their performance, and

21 *Bizeibetsu*, fasc. 1, "Kanjō byōsui no koto" 灌頂瓶水事, 212–15.

22 The seven types of *kanjō* that are listed in *Asabashō* are permission (*koka* 許可), dual platforms (*ryōdan* 両壇), combined practice (*gogyō* 合行), Susiddhi (*soshitchi* 蘇悉地), Yogin (*yugi* 瑜祇), the fifth (*daigo* 第五) and separate practices and sutras (*betsu gyōkyō* 別行経).

23 Jōchin provides an outline of six types of *kanjō* in the sixth fascile, explaining the level of each. See Mizukami Fumiyoshi, "Jōchin-sen *Ōmushō* himitsu kanjō kuden wo megutte" 定珍撰『鸚鵡鈔』秘密灌頂口伝をめぐって in Idem, *Nihon Tendai kyōgakuron: Taimitsu, jingi, kokatsuji*, 123–38.

24 On *yugi kanjō*, see Lucia Dolce's chapter in this volume.

information on past precedents. It is a comprehensive compilation of *kanjō* procedures and explanations developed in medieval Taimitsu.

In the case of Shingon Esoteric Buddhism centered at Tōji (the Tōmitsu 東密 tradition), a clear definition of the various aspects of *kanjō* after this ritual underwent a systematic segmentation, can also be traced to the medieval period. The monk Shōken 勝賢 (1132–1197) of Daigoji, a contemporary of Jien, established a ritual text for the *denbō kanjō* of the Ono Sanbōin-ryū 小野三宝院流, and added annotations on how to read them (*kunshaku* 訓釈) as Japanese; this became the standard text for *kanjō* performances in the Tōmitsu tradition. In addition, Shōken also compiled the *Issaigōshū* 一切業集 (1178),[25] a classified collection of oral transmissions concerning the history of Shingon and various protocols and normative precedents (*kojitsu* 故実). The text explains the origin in the early Heian period of Shingon's two main ritual traditions, the Hirosawa-ryū founded by Yakushin 益信 (827–906) and the Ono-ryū founded by Shōbō 聖宝 (832–909), from which multiple Tōmitsu lineages developed. Shōken also presents information about the *kanjō* at Daigoji, the center of the Ono-ryū lineage, together with differences in ritual procedures from the Hirosawa lineage and other transmissions, including those outside of Shingon. The types of *kanjō* that are listed in the *Issaigōshū* include a *jumyō kanjō* 受明灌頂 (for attaining the status of *ajari*), a *ryōbu kanjō* 両部灌頂 (for marvelous accomplishment, *myōjōju* 妙成就 , Sk. *susiddhi* [probably a reference to the *Soshitsujikyō*]), a *saigoku himitsu kanjō* 最極秘密灌頂 (the ultimate secret *kanjō*), and a *sōō* 相応 (or *yugi* 瑜祇) *kanjō* (the *kanjō* of the Yogins). Their content is said to be "described by the great *ajari* at the ritual of dharma transmission (*denbō kanjō*)"; as "the most ultimate secret" it is left unexplained in the text. What the text does provide are piecemeal discussions of protocols and precedents concerning the *kanjō*.

Whereas Tōmitsu was centered on liturgies of the two realms, the Diamond and Womb, in Taimitsu Ennin 円仁 had also transmitted the Susiddhi rite (*soshitsuji hō*), creating a threefold liturgy that he deemed to be superior. Tōmitsu also adopted this, but together with their use of "secret scriptures" (*hikyō* 秘経) such as the *Yugikyō* 瑜祇経 (also called *Sōōkyō* 相応経) and the *Birushana betsugyō* 毗盧遮那別行, they created new types of *kanjō* which, rather aiming at a mere

25 For the *Issaigōshū*, see the Kamakura-period copy of scrolls one through seven (Important Cultural Property) stored in Hasedera's 長谷寺 Nōman'in 能満院 collection, and the complementary eighth scroll housed at the Historiographical Institute, Tokyo University. Muromachi-period manuscripts of scrolls three through eight are found among Daigoji's sacred texts (*shōgyō* 聖教). It is known to have been written between Jishō 2 and 3 (1178–1179) at Hōjūji 法住寺, and then transcribed in Kenpō 3 (1215) at Jōshin'in 成身院 from the text of the "monk Izu ajari" 伊豆阿闍梨御房本 by the monk Son'e 尊恵. This work is yet to be published.

integration of the twofold mandalic realms in a third form, represented instead the attainment of a transcendent spiritual level through secret rituals. Taimitsu established a new integrating ritual, the *gōgyō* 合行 *kanjō* (combined consecration) of the two mandalic realms as an additional stage, which became a main feature of the Tani-ryū. We know this from a passage about the transmission and the interpretation of the "*gōgyō* of Tani" found in the doctrinal polemic *Kaihen kyōshu ketsu* 改偏教主決 (1175) by Eisai 栄西 (also Yōsai, 1141–1215),[26] the monk active between the late Heian and the early Kamakura periods, known for introducing Rinzai Zen to Japan. There are clear signs that the *gōgyō* integrated ritual had a central position in the secret transmissions of Eisai, who was also the founder of the Yōjō-ryū 葉上流 sub-lineage of Taimitsu. Moreover, according to the *Kōyasan hiki* 高野山秘記 (compiled between 1210–1245), the scholar monk Dōhan 道範 (1178–1252) of the Chūin-ryū 中院流 lineage of Tōmitsu, created his own distinctive *kanjō* ritual in the religious space of Mt. Kōya based on the *Yugi-kyō*, which he deemed central and about which he created commentaries and oral transmissions. A secret transmission within Chūin-ryū says that, while in the *jushiki kanjō* 受職灌頂 (also known as *ajari kanjō* or *denbō kanjō*) one tosses the flower on the horizontally laid mandala (*shiki mandara* 敷曼荼羅), and in *himitsu kanjō* one throws it on a seed-syllable mandala (*shuji mandara* 種子曼荼羅). In the *yugi kanjō*, for which Mt. Kōya serves as the ritual space, one throws the flower on an image of Kūkai in eternal contemplation (*nyūjō* 入定).

With regards to these developments of Esoteric Buddhism in the medieval period, the works by Enni Ben'en 円爾弁円 (also known as Shōichi Kokushi 聖一国師, 1202–1280), the founder of Tōfukuji 東福寺 in Kyoto, provide a comprehensive explanation of the *kanjō* ritual system which include both doctrine and ritual. Enni studied Tendai Buddhism in the Kantō region, visited Song China, founded the temple Jōtenji 承天寺 in Hakata (Fukuoka), and spread Zen Buddhism to Japan; he had received a transmission in China under Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1178–1249). Enni was invited by Kujō Michiie 九条道家 (1193–1252) to become the first abbot (*jūji* 住持) of Tōfukuji, which was established as a national temple that taught the combined practice of exo-esoteric Buddhism (*kenmitsu*) and Zen. In doing so, Enni helped sustain the creation of a new form of medieval Buddhism. As his work *Jisshū yōdō ki* 十宗要道記 demonstrates, Enni attempted a synthesis of all Buddhist traditions with Zen as the ultimate form of Buddhism, and in his final years, he worked on the idea of the ultimate identity of the Three Teachings (*sankyō itchi* 三教一致). However, Esoteric Buddhism resolutely remained at the foundation of his thought

26 On this work, see also the commentary by Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士 in the same volume *Chūsei zenseki sōkan* vol. 1.

and practice. Enni transmitted Eisai's Yōjō-ryū lineage of Taimitsu, but he also studied the Tendai Miidera 三井寺 lineage. He received the Tōmitsu teachings of the Kongōōin 金剛王院 branch of the Sanbōin as well, and attained the status of great *ajari*, performing *kanjō* and transmitting initiation certificates to many disciples.[27]

We know of Enni's conceptualization of *kanjō* from the sacred texts (*shōgyō*) of the An'yōji-ryū 安養寺流 lineage, which had originally been transmitted to Enni's disciple Chikotsu Dai'e 癡兀大慧 (Buttsū Zenshi 仏通禅師, 1238–1312) together with the Tōmitsu lineage, and then conveyed via An'yōji 安養寺 in Ise to his disciple Reiō Jakuun 嶺翁寂雲 at Daifukuji 大福寺 in Toba; these were next received and copied by Nōshin 能信 (1291–1353) at Shinpukuji 真福寺 in Ōsu, Owari province (modern-day Nagoya). Among the series of writings in which Dai'e recorded Enni's lectures as a questioner and scribe, the *Yugikyō kenmon* 瑜祇経見聞 (also known as *Hikyō ketsu* 秘経決, 1273–74) has a central position. Commenting on the "Kanjō shitsuji" chapter 灌頂悉地品 of the *Yugikyō*, Enni defines the One Syllable (*ichiji* 一字) and the Singular Dharma Body (*ichi hosshin* or *ippōsshin* 一法身), which constitute the ultimate essence of Shingon, as "Unified Wisdom Dharma Body" (*itchi hosshin* 一智法身) and states that their "mysterious union" (*myōgō* 冥合) occurs in one's own body with the performance of the "*kanjō* of the Unified Wisdom Body" (*itchishin no kanjō* 一智身ノ灌頂).[28] Interestingly, for Enni this *kanjō* does not involve flower tossing or the pouring of water. The ultimate meaning of *kanjō* is the "*bodhicitta* of the syllable A" (*aji bodaishin* 阿字菩提心) transmitted to the initiand around the time he "enters the altar" (*nyūdan*). This consists in the practitioner realizing that the "pure and unconditional original mind" (*jishō shōjō honshin* 自性清浄本心) corresponds to "knowing the true reality of one's mind" (*nyojitsu chi jishin* 如実知自心) as expressed in the *Dainichi-kyō* 大日経. In conclusion, it says that the ultimate secret of *bodhicitta*, "the Vajra Treasury, the innate being [*satta* 薩埵]," is illustrated through the diagram of "Five Stages of Fetal Gestation" (*tainai goi* 胎内五位), which explains the process of enlightenment from beginning to end.[29]

This secret tradition of Enni's *kanjō* was further systematized in Chikotsu Dai'e's *Tōji injin kuketsu* 東寺印信口決 (1296) and *Kanjō hikuketsu* 灌頂秘口決

27 See also Sueki Fumihiko's commentary to *Shōichi-ha* 聖一派 in *Chūsei zenseki sōkan* 中世禅籍叢刊 vol. 4.

28 Mizukami Fumiyoshi, "Enni Ben'en no Mikkyō-setsu to Taimitsu" 円爾弁円の密教説と台密, and "Enni Ben'en no Yugikyō kaishaku: itchi hosshin wo chūshin ni" 円爾弁円の瑜祇経解釈—一智法身を中心に, in Idem, *Nihon Tendai kyōgakuron*, 79–108.

29 Mizukami Fumiyoshi, "Taimitsu ni okeru tainai goi-setsu no kentō" 台密における胎内五位説の検討, in Id., *Nihon Tendai kyōgakuron*, 139–56.

(1329).[30] The *Tōji injin kuketsu* explains that the procedures of the *kanjō* – entering the altar forming mudras, throwing the flower, and pouring water – indicate the immediate attainment of the spiritual level realizing the "innate existence of the non-enlightened stage" (*mukakumon no honnu* 無覚門ノ本有). The text also argues that this ritual process is equivalent to the process of becoming a human being, from the union of the two bodies (sexual intercourse) of a father and a mother and on through the five stages of the embryo (*tainai goi*). The other document, the *Kanjō hikuketsu*, explains that the threefold conferral of mudras and mantras in the Sanbōin lineage represents the beginning and the end of the process of transmigration whereby sentient beings are given life, which is also equivalent to immediately attaining the awakening to Dharma and Buddha; its procedures are therefore in themselves a *kanjō*.

Among the three stages, the first (two mudras and two mantras) is the *denbō kanjō*, the second (one mudra and two mantras) is the *himitsu kanjō,* and the third (one mudra and one mantra) is the *soō* [or *Yugi*] *kanjō*. To illustrate these stages the text uses images of the five stages of gestation. Each fetal stage is assigned to an important ritual procedure of the *kanjō* rite, namely, 1) reverences to the four directions, 2) conferral of a five-pronged vajra, 3) conferral of the dharma certificate by the *ajari*, 4) exiting the hall, 5) next morning invocation (praising the merits of the *ajari*); overall, they correspond to the "perfection of the Buddha body" (*busshin enman* 仏身円満) and the "five stages of attaining the body [of Mahāvairocana]" (*gosō jōjin* 五相成身). As a final recapitulation, the text reads: "you should know that the ritual procedures of *nyūdan kanjō* and the ritual of transmission signify the five stages of fetal gestation, the enlightenment to the five transformations (*goten* 五転) as Unconditioned Dharma (*hōni* 法爾),[31] and the spontaneous true awakening (*jinen shōgaku* 自然正覚)." In other words, the *kanjō* ritual was the symbolic equivalent of "becoming a buddha in this very body" (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成仏) and attaining enlightenment (*jōdō* 成道). This kind of hermeneutics of *kanjō*, through the mediation of Enni, penetrated extensively the religious world of late medieval Japan, including rituals for the kami.[32] The embryological matrix of images of the five stages of gestation (*tainai goi*) played a significant role as a symbolic iconography, and also in vividly illuminating the essence of *kanjō* as initiation.

30 Both documents are included in *Shōichi-ha*, *Chūsei zenseki sōkan* 中世禅籍叢刊, vol. 4.

31 This is a reference to a meditation on the graphological transformation of the Siddhaṃ characters into the body of the practitioner, which represented a *stupa* (*Translator's note*).

32 Ogawa Toyoo, "Sei to kyoen no Chūsei shingaku: *Yugikyō* kaishakugaku to *shiki* no reisei" 性と虚円の中世神学—『瑜祇経』解釈学と「識」の霊性, and "Tainai goi no keitaigaku: enkei no banji to yugi kanjō no sekai" 胎内五位の形態学—円形の鑁字と瑜祇灌頂の世界, in Id. *Chūsei Nihon no shinwa, moji, shintai*, respectively, 231–300 and 446–93.

Religious Groups at the Margins of Exo-Esoteric Buddhism and their Creation of New *Kanjō* Rituals

In the transition from the Insei era to the Kamakura period (twelfth to thirteenth centuries), many religious groups, small and large, emerged at the margins of the great Tendai, Shingon, and Nara temples that formed the nucleus of exo-esoteric Buddhism. These groups often formed around reclusive holy men (*tonsei shōnin* 遁世上人 and *hijiri* 聖人) and aimed to forge a new Buddhist Dharma. Among those holy men, those who were most influential and carried out the earliest large-scale activities included, on the Shingon side, Kakuban 覚鑁 (1095–1143) who founded Daidenbōin 大伝法院 on Mt. Kōya (later moved to Negoroji 根来寺), and on the Tendai side, Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), who left Kurodani 黒谷 on Mt. Hiei and descended to Yoshimizu 吉水 where he created the movement of "exclusive *nenbutsu*" (*senju nenbutsu* 専修念仏).

From the Nara area emerged smaller groups that opposed Hōnen's teachings, such as those that gathered around Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213) from Kasagi 笠置, a monk who developed his own original thought and practice, and Myōe 明恵 (1175–1232) from Kōzanji 高山寺. In addition, there was also Eison 叡尊 (1201–1290) of Saidaiji 西大寺 who, by focusing on the revival of Buddhist precepts, developed a social movement aimed at "bringing benefits to sentient beings by promoting the Dharma" (*kōbō rishō* 興法利生) throughout the country.

Holy men were also involved in promoting the combined study of multiple schools, with special focus on the revival of the precepts and in bringing to Japan the religious culture they had experienced in Song China. Particularly important in this respect were the Tendai monks Shunjō 俊芿 (1166–1229) of Sennyūji 泉涌寺 and Keisei 慶政 (1189–1268) of Hokkesanji 法華山寺. With the exception of the group around Hōnen, all these figures had Esoteric Buddhism as their basis. Kakuban created a new lineage called the Denbōin-ryū 伝法院流. Eison was affiliated with the Matsuhashi-ryū 松橋流, a branch of Daigoji's Sanbōin tradition, and developed his own Esoteric rituals. In the Kamakura period, it was reclusive holy men who actively engaged in creative activities to spread Esoteric lineages throughout the country. This is especially clear in the achievements of Enshō Shōnin 円照上人[33] of Kaidan'in 戒壇院 chapel at Tōdaiji and Shinkū Shōnin 真空上人[34] of Kohata. Religious groups coalescing around reclusive holy men also created new forms of *kanjō* as the core of their Esoteric Buddhist teachings and rituals.

---

33 See Gyōnen 凝然, "Enshō Shōnin gyōjo" 円照上人行状, in *Tōdaiji Enshō Shōnin gyōjō*.
34 See Raiyu, *Shinzoku zakki mondō shō*.

The prototype of these new developments in *kanjō* rituals is found, ironically enough, in Hōnen, who rejected Esoteric Buddhism as a "marginal practice." Along with the Tendai orthodox teachings on Mt. Hiei, Hōnen inherited the Mahayana "sudden and complete" precepts (*endonkai* 円頓戒), which played a central role in Tendai. Employing them as a starting point, he aimed for a new Buddhist revival, laying the groundwork for the subsequent creation of the *kai kanjō* 戒灌頂 ritual (consecration for the Buddhist precepts) practiced by the preceptor monks, called *enkairissō* 円戒律僧, who advocated the "perfect precepts" (*enkai* 円戒) of Tendai. The internal strife that ravaged Mt. Hiei at the end of the Kamakura period and resulted in its decay led Kōen 興円 (Denshin Kashō 伝信和尚, 1263–1317) to practice mountain asceticism in seclusion (*rōsangyō* 籠山行) and to attempt to revive the *endonkai* precepts together with his fellow monks at Kurodani. According to his biography, the *Denshin kashō den* 伝信和尚伝, what prompted him to this revival was a "secret transmission of the precepts" (*kaihō denju* 戒法伝授) that he received in a dream from the monk Egi 恵顗 (Sogetsu Shōnin 素月上人, 1281–1356). This "profoundly secret learning" was the "*kanjō* of receiving precepts" (*kanjō jukai* 灌頂受戒). In the dream Kōen was taught the procedures of the ritual, which consisted in entering the hall, performing obeisance and forming mudras, and then carrying out a repentance (*sange* 懺悔). There are no concrete details concerning the adornment and implements for the ritual, but it is explained that this was a type of *jushoku kanjō* (a consecration granting the rank of an *ajari*), which was also accompanied by the bestowal of lineage charts (*kechimyaku*).

As seen from this, the transmission of teachings generation after generation was certified by a revelatory dream, in which the auspicious signs that necessarily accompany precept ordination appear to be conflated with obtaining the ritual procedure. We know that Kōen received the *kai kanjō* consecration from Egi in Kurodani in 1307 (Tokuji 2) and that a unified precept ordination procedure was carried out at two separate halls. This ritual was explained as "the threefold contemplation in one mind" (*isshin sangan* 一心三観) of the Lotus Sutra, through which one visualized obtaining in one's own body the precepts-substance (*kaitai* 戒体), understood as the union of the exoteric and the esoteric teachings. Also, the *Denshin kashō den* states that, when climbing Mt. Hiei in order to practice austerities in seclusion, one must visualize going on a pilgrimage to the main shrine of Hie Sannō 日吉山王 and reciting the Dharma while contemplating the god of Ōmiya 大宮 (i.e., Sannō Gongen 山王権現); then, one should visualize the Hie shrine transforming into a vast ocean in which a golden turtle (*kinki* 金亀) emerges. The metal-wheel layer of the world (Sk. *kāñcana-cakra*, Jp. *konrinsai* 金輪際) then displays a golden inscription (*kinmon* 金文). Based on this, one cannot help but see Ōmiya (Sannō Gongen) as Dainichi of the Vajra realm; the golden

turtle is explained as "a sign of the accomplishment of yoga, the purification of past sins in the Buddha lands." The Golden Mountain on top of the golden turtle is a unique aspect of the Tendai *kanjō* ritual for the Perfect Precepts (*enkai*). Since this mountain represents the Tahō (Sk. Prabhūtaratna) *stūpa* 多宝塔 of the Lotus Sutra,[35] it also indicates that this is the *kanjō* that unites exoteric and esoteric Buddhist precepts. The *Denshin kashō den* develops this interpretation further and adds: "Our mountain [Mt. Hiei) is [a part of] the Seven Golden Mountain ranges [around Mt. Sumeru]). The foot of the mountain has the shape of the Golden Turtle: Kawasaki in Mitsu is the head of the turtle; Karasaki is the right foot; Katada no saki is the left foot."

We can see from this interpretation that the Golden Mountain installed at the center of the hall for the *kai kanjō* was conceptualized as Mt. Hiei. This interpretation was proposed by the Tendai "chroniclers" (*kike* 記家), a group of scholar monks centered around Gigen 義源 (1289?–1351?) and Kōshū 光宗 (Dōkō Shōnin 道光上人, 1276–1350), who participated together with Kōen in the precept revival movement on Mt. Hiei and sought to unify the exoteric and esoteric precepts through legends about Mt. Hiei and Sannō Shintō. It is clear that the hermeneutics articulated by these "chroniclers" was directly influential in the development of the *kai kanjō*.

The highest achievement of the *kike*, those archivists of religious texts representing yet another face of the monastics promoting the Perfect Precepts, is the encyclopedia *Keiran shūyōshū* 渓嵐拾葉集, compiled by Kōshū starting in 1307.[36] A good portion of this text is a compilation of classified oral teachings about Esoteric ceremonies and rituals dedicated to specific divinities. All this material is integrated in the *Sange yōryakki* 山家要略記, a veritable "holy scripture" composed of various documents edited by Gigen. For the chroniclers, it was necessary to create a *kanjō* ritual based on Sannō Shintō for the purpose of transmitting various categories of Tendai exo-esoteric Buddhism and the precepts on Mt. Hiei. This resulted in the *Wakō dōjin kokudo riyaku kanjō* 和光同塵国土利益灌頂, a ritual with the Sannō god as the primary icon. There are many doctrinal texts with oral transmissions for this ritual, but it remains unclear to what extent it was actually performed. Nevertheless, the *kai kanjō* was transmitted to Saikyōji 西教寺 in Sakamoto, the head temple of Tendai's Shinzei branch 真盛派, and is still performed there.[37]

---

35 See the works by Denshin included in *Zoku Tendaishū zensho*, vol. *Enkai* 円戒 1.

36 On the Tendai chroniclers (*kike*) in English, see Allan Grapard, "Textualized Mountain–Enmountained Text: The Lotus Sutra in Kunisaki"; on *Keiran shūyōshū*, see Grapard, "*Keiran-shūyōshū*: A Different Perspective on Mt. Hiei in the Medieval Periood" (*Editor's note*).

37 Shikii Shūjō, *Kaikanjō no nyūmonteki kenkyū*. For a study of *kai kanjō*, see Paul Groner's essay in this volume.

Another *kanjō* that was newly created in the middle ages within the Shingon sect (Tōmitsu) and is still performed today is the *jingi kanjō* 神祇灌頂. We have much information about it, not only based on secondary literature, but also primary icons, sacred texts, and ritual procedures. The beginning of this ritual goes back to the Insei era, and can be traced to a movement that aimed at re-unifying the Esoteric Buddhist lineages that had proliferated into multiple branches. Dharma-prince Shūkaku (1151–1203), abbot of Ninnaji, received many secret texts of Esoteric Buddhism from Shōken of Daigoji that were systematized under the title *Yaketsu mokuroku* 野決目録 ("Catalogue of the secret teachings of the Ono Branch") and are called the texts of Goryū Sanbōin 御流三宝院; copies of these works still exist at Shinpukuji in Nagoya.[38] They contain many kami-related books (*jingisho* 神祇書) which were accompanied by the *Reikiki* 麗気記, a text dealing with kami matters that was transmitted and copied together with the others. Attributed to the dragon king Zennyo Ryūō 善女龍王, who supposedly bestowed it on Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (885–930), the *Reikiki* is a systematic collection of secret teachings about the Grand Shrines of Ise based on concepts drawn from the Esoteric Buddhist world-view. It also includes symbols and iconographical elements about the kami. The *Reikiki* was transmitted through a *kanjō* ritual together with dharma certificates (*injin*) and lineage charts (*kechimyaku*).[39]

Both Shōmyōji 称名寺 (Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫) and Shinpukuji have copies of the *Reikiki* from the fourteenth century, but those at the latter survive in a more complete form,[40] and this is very important because we know the context of its production. It was copied and transmitted as part of a corpus of religious documents that convey an earlier attempt to systematize medieval Esoteric Buddhism.[41] The Shinto transmission based on the *Reikiki*, called the *Reiki kanjō* 麗気灌頂, was performed not only in the Shingon but also in the Tendai tradition. For example, in the beginning of the Muromachi period, the Mt. Hiei monk Ryōhen 良遍 lectured about "the Age of the Gods" chapter from the *Nihon shoki*, as seen in the *Nihon shoki kikigaki* 日本書紀聞書, and conferred the *Reiki kikigaki* 麗気聞書, and *Jindaikan shikenmon* 神代巻私見聞 as he conducted the *Reiki kanjō* in Kyoto.[42]

38 See Abe Yasurō, "Kakaretamono to shite no Shintō: Mikkyō shōgyō no naka no jingisho" 書かれたものとしての神道—密教聖教の中の神祇書, in *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikei*, previously published in English as "Shintō as Written Representation: The Phases and Shifts of Shinto Texts."

39 On *Reiki kanjō*, see Itō Satoshi's chapter in this volume.

40 *Reikiki*, in *Shinpukuji zenpon sōkan* (third series), *Shintōhen*, vol. 2.

41 Abe Yasurō, "Kakareta mono to shite no Shintō," in *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikei*; see also Id., "Shintō as Written Representation."

42 See *Nihon shoki kan daiichi, daini kikigaki* by Ryōhen. See also Hara Katsuaki, *Chūsei Nihongi ronkō*.

The transmission of teachings about the kami through *kanjō* rituals was thus already part of exo-esoteric Buddhism. In the Muromachi period, the primary icon (*honzon*) of *Reiki kanjō* was transmitted at Ninnaji. The center of the icon consisted of the syllable Hūṃ (Un) in the shape of a snake, which corresponds to the divine mirror symbolizing Tenshō Daijin 天照天神. It was joined by the Divine jewel (a single-pronged vajra) and the precious sword, together forming the Three Imperial Regalia (*sanshu no jingi* 三種神器).[43] These images were hung in the hall where the *jingi kanjō* took place. We also have illustrated floor plans of the hall, which explain how the ritual was performed, and together with extant oral transmissions, we can reconstruct this *kanjō* in its entirety. In the late Muromachi period, a relatively standardized system of Shinto transmissions known as Goryū Shinto 御流神道 was established on Mt. Kōya. It lasted well into the early modern period and has left behind in temples and shrines across the country a large number of documents containing oral teachings recorded in the cut-paper format (*kirigami* 切紙), transmission certificates (*injin*), and images of icons that were used in Shinto transmissions.[44]

Medieval *Kanjō* Created for the Ritual Transmission of Artisanal Occupations and the Arts

The types of *kanjō* that were created in medieval Japan were not limited to the Buddhist realm but also extended into intriguing forms in the field of the arts. Artistic and artisanal activities (*geinō* 芸能), generally called the "arts" (*shodō* 諸道) and "occupations" (*shoshoku* 諸職), played a very important role in medieval society, in both religious and secular contexts, as buttresses for the rulers and the society. They were performed by large numbers of people, ranging from the aristocracy (including the imperial family) to lowly and marginalized people outside of the official status system sanctioned by the state. Vivid stereotypes of the world of artists and artisans are presented in the *Shin sarugaku ki* 新猿楽記,

43 See *Shintō kanjō injin* 神道灌頂印信.

44 Among the many powerful regional temples in the various provinces that hold collections of Shinto transmissions is the collection of sacred texts (*shōgyō*) of Tōsen'in 東泉院 in Fuji city (Yoshihara), Shizuoka Prefecture (formerly Suruga Province). The collection includes Shinto transmission certificates (*injin*) and Shinto books (*jingi sho*). For more information see Abe Yasurō (ed.), *Rokushoke sōgō chōsa hōkokusho*, and Fujisan Kaguya Hime Myūjiamu (ed.), *Tōsen'in no Shinto shiryō*.

written by the literatus Fujiwara no Akihira 藤原明衡 (989–1066) in the mid-Heian period (eleventh century).

It was the emperor who stood at the apex of the society composed of performers coming from the various arts and occupations. For the emperor, classical learning and the arts were essential subjects of cultivation, second only to ritual protocol. Especially important among the arts was instrumental music (*kangen* 管絃). Emperor Juntoku 順徳天皇 (1197–1242) wrote a work about the norms expected of an emperor entitled *Kinpishō* 禁秘抄,[45] in which he lists *kangen* as a performing art that the emperors should master. He explains that an emperor should play the lute (*biwa* 琵琶) and the flute (*fue* 笛) to equip himself with the capacity to govern the state as ceremonies at court are deeply related to music. Among the objects, implements, and books that were stored at the Seiryōden 清涼殿, the hall where the Emperor resided, was a musical instrument, a *biwa* named Genjō 玄上, a precious treasure second only to the imperial regalia. Additionally, during the *gyoyū* 御遊, musical gatherings at the court hosted by the emperor, the sovereign had the important role of playing this instrument himself.

The post of musical preceptor for the emperor, called *teishi* 帝師 or imperial teacher, was a highly honored one in medieval courtly society; the preceptor taught the emperor compositions and performance techniques for *biwa*, the official imperial instrument (*teiki* 帝器). Juntoku's father, Emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽院 (1180–1239), had already shown a deep love for the *biwa* as the instrument representative of the emperor's musical art. In order to master the depths of this art, as he had in the case of *waka* 和歌 (Japanese poetry), and *kemari* 蹴鞠 (a type of kickball), Go-Toba received a transmission of secret musical pieces (*hikyoku* 秘曲). In the Insei era (during the late Heian period), within the culture of the court, a system of stages of learning that combined the transmission of "secret pieces" (*hikyoku*), with special performing techniques, and mythological lore arose within the *biwa* tradition. Fujiwara no Moronaga 藤原師長 (1138–1192, also known ss Myōon'in Nyūdō 妙音院入道), a virtuoso expert on all genres of music, established notations for these "secret pieces" (specifically, three compositions entitled *Yōshinsō* 揚真操, *Ryūsen* 流泉 or *Sekijō ryūsen* 石上流泉, and *Takuboku* 啄木) and set up a system for their transmission. A disciple of Moronaga, Fujiwara no Takamichi 藤原孝道 (1166–1237), a musician of lower court status (*jige gakunin* 地下楽人), who had inherited the Way of Biwa of the Nishi-ryū 西流, wanted to transmit the Three Pieces to Emperor Go-Toba as his imperial teacher. However, that role went instead to Fujiwara no Sadasuke 藤原定輔, another disciple of Moronaga, an aristocrat of higher rank who was close to the emperor. At this time

45 See Sekine Masanao, *Kinpishō kōgi*; and Satō Atsuko, "*Kinpishō* Kenkyū 1–4."

(in 1205), Takamichi, using as his basis Moronaga's ritual manual on the transmission of *biwa* music, the *Gakke dengōshiki* 楽家伝業式, created a new ritual protocol which included religious elements for the transmission of secret music modeled on the Esoteric Buddhist *kanjō*; this was known as *Biwa kanjō shidai* 琵琶灌頂次第.

Moronaga's transmission was an exoteric ritual involving the offering of recitations to the primary icon Myōonten 妙音天 (Benzaiten) 弁才天 in the Golden Hall of Myōon'in 妙音院, a chapel which he had built. As a program detailing ritual procedures recorded in Sino-Japanese (*kanbun* 漢文), it was consistent with those for court rituals and Buddhist liturgies. However, Takamichi's procedures were written in the *kana* syllabary, and the central feature of his new transmission was its transformation into one modeled on an Esoteric *kanjō*, called the "consecration of the Emperor" (*teiō go-kanjō* 帝王御灌頂). This turned the imperial palace into the *kanjō* performance hall where Myōonten was summoned as the principal icon of "Dainichi Nyorai's secret *kanjō*" (*Dainichi nyorai himitsu kanjō* 大日如来秘密灌頂), the three secret musical pieces were envisioned as the "threefold *kanjō*" (*sanbu kanjō* 三部灌頂), and the *biwa* was defined as the substitute or symbolic (*samaya* 三摩耶形) form of Myōonten.

In the actual *kanjō* and transmission, the oral teachings (*kuden* or *kuketsu*) were written in *kana* (a transcription of the spoken language); one must wonder whether it wasn't Takamichi's texts that conformed to Esoteric Buddhist transmissions as actually practiced. Here, for the first time, there was an attempt to replace a performing-arts transmission of secret musical pieces with an Esoteric *kanjō* ritual. By giving the significance and symbolism of Esoteric Buddhism to secular music through a secret ritual, this music became an "ornament" adorning kingship. Ironically, this "imperial *kanjō*" (*teiō go-kanjō*) was never actually performed and remained a virtual, fictional rite, but precisely for that reason, it likely made this leap possible.[46] The transmission of secret music for the *biwa*, which originated in the *Biwa kanjō shidai*, was eventually passed on to actual medieval emperors and retired emperors by the head of the Saionji House 西園寺家 or the head of the Gagaku musicians (*gakke* 楽家) of the Nishi-ryū 西流 who served as imperial preceptors. Further, it was also transmitted within the Fushimi-no-Miya House 伏見宮家 as an imperial performing art that certified the legitimacy of the

46 Abe Yasurō, "Geinō-ō no keifu," esp. section 2, chapter 2 "Teiki to shite no biwa no kakuritsu to hikyoku denju" 帝器としての琵琶の確立と秘曲伝授. A secret oral transmission by Fujiwara no Takamichi in his *Chikoku hisshō* 知国秘抄, 76-77, confirms these remarks as he likened the transmission of musical knowledge to that of Shingon; quoted in Inose, *Chūsei ōken no ongaku to girei*, 162 n. 37.

imperial lineage. In this way, the art of the *biwa* became one component of the cultural heritage of medieval kingship.[47]

In the realm of *waka* too, a tradition of transmitting the art of Japanese poetry in secret rituals also developed in the Kamakura period and became firmly established in the Muromachi period as the authoritative transmission of the "Way of Waka" (*waka no michi* 和歌の道). This was seen especially in the case of the *Kokin denju* 古今伝授 (transmission of *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集), in which the subject of such secret transmissions was information about the *kana* preface of the *Kokin wakashū* and various topics related to the study of waka. However, these developments followed earlier attempts by families that specialized in the *biwa* to establish their own authority in relation to royal power by modeling the transmission of secret music after *kanjō* rituals.[48]

"The *Kanjō* Scroll" (*Kanjō no maki*) and the Medieval Enthronement Consecration (*Sokui kanjō*) for the Emperor

The final section of the most popular and widely circulating version of the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語, the Kakuichi-bon 覚一本, which was performed by *biwa hōshi* 琵琶法師, blind minstrels called *zatō* 座頭, is entitled "Kanjō no maki" 灌頂巻 (The *Kanjō* Scroll) (also translated into English as the "Initiates' Chapter"). This text was secretly transmitted (as a secret matter); it tells the fate of the one of the sole survivors of the Heike clan, retired empress Kenreimon'in 建礼門院 (Taira no Tokuko 平徳子, 1155–1214), who had been the consort of Emperor Takakura 高倉天皇 (1161–1181) and the mother of the young Emperor Antoku 安徳天皇, who drowned in the battle of Dan-no-ura (1185).

After being taken prisoner and returning to the capital, Kenreimon'in took the tonsure and lived in seclusion in Ōhara near Kyoto. One day Dharma Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河法皇 (1127–1192) came to visit her. Now a nun, Kenreimon'in responded to his questions and told him the story of her life and her firm convic-

47 See Inose Chihiro, *Chūsei ōken no ongaku to girei*. See also the chapters by Inose Chihiro and Fabio Rambelli in this volume.

48 See also Miwa Masatane, *Kagaku hiden no kenkyū*) and "Kokin wakashū kanjō kuden"; Unno Keisuke, *Waka o yomitoku, waka wo tsutaeru dōjō no kotengaku to kokindenju*, 204–27 (section 2 chapter 4 "Kokin denju no kūkan to girei" 古今伝授の空間と儀礼), as well as Unno's chapter in this volume. For a discussion of Esoteric commentaries on literature, see Susan Blakeley Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan*.

tion that her experiences amounted to traversing the Six Paths of transmigration (*rokudō* 六道) in this very life. This section of the tale is called "Discourse on the Six Paths" (*rokudō no sata* 六道の沙汰). The scene is a good example of the religiosity that runs so deeply within the entire *Heike monogatari*. It is interesting that this story of an imperial consort recounting her life and repenting her sins (*zange katari* 懺悔語り) should be called a *kanjō* in the world of the performing arts of medieval popular religion.

One of the models of literary expression based on the awareness that the Six Paths (in the Buddhist worldview, the realms of beings in need of salvation) are clearly present in the history of our actual human world is the *Rokudō shaku* 六道釈 (1222), a *kōshiki* 講式 (chanted lecture) by the monk Jien. As a result of the defeat of the imperial court in the Jōkyū Disturbance 承久の乱, some thirty years after the collapse of the Heike, in 1221, Go-Toba and two other retired emperors were forced into exile. This unprecedented incident was the result of the Kyoto court's failed challenge to the rule of the warrior government (the Kamakura Bakufu) based in the eastern provinces. In response, Jien wrote his scenario-like script containing the traditional communal prayer for rebirth in the Pure Land, which had been performed by the Tendai-Pure Land society *Nijūgo-zanmai-e* 二十五三昧会, and he pictured the human world before our eyes as nothing other than the Six Paths. His ritual text was no mere commentary; it was a heartfelt cry to Buddhist believers, lamenting that even kings who should rightly dwell in heaven could be splattered with the blood of battling as brutal warriors (*ashura* 阿修羅), and that they should suffer hunger due to their transgressions, and know the pains of hell and the viciousness of beasts. Jien's practice of Buddhism, in which he envisioned the two truths of the sacred and the mundane partaking equally of "suchness" (*shinzoku nitai wa ichinyo* 真俗二諦は一如) was based on the ideas found in Tendai's *Nijūgo-zanmai-e*. In his final years, faced with the collapse of the old world in which he had lived, Jien wrote a grand historical narrative, the *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, to communicate the principle (*dōri* 道理) that should lay behind a reconstruction of the old social order; even so, Jien could not stop the cataclysm of the Jōkyū disturbance. The *Rokudō shaku* was a liturgical text based on a religious conception engendered by the desire for salvation that followed in the wake of the utter annihilation of his beliefs by ruthless historical reality.[49]

We have already seen (in Section 2 above) how Jien, the Taimitsu scholar-monk, understood *kanjō* rituals. The most detailed interpretation is found in his

49 Abe Yasurō, *Chūsei Nihon no sekaizō* (chapter 8, "Chūseiteki chi no tōgō: Jien saku *Rokudō shaku* wo megutte" 中世的知の統合—慈円作『六道釈』をめぐって).

Bizeibetsu, which was written ten years before the Jōkyū Disturbance. At the end of this text, Jien added the record of a revelatory dream he had had earlier in 1203, in a section entitled *Musōki* 夢想記. He dreamt that when he was serving at the imperial palace as the ritual protector of Emperor Go-Toba in his capacity as the head of the Tendai Buddhist establishment (*Tendai zasu*), he saw the emperor having sexual intercourse with his empress-consort in their sleeping quarters in the Seiryōden. Jien saw that the imperial regalia, specifically the precious sword and the divine seal (the jewel) were unified as one and the same substance. This was a sign that by forming the mudra of Fudō Myōō 不動明王, the two Esoteric Buddhist divinities Konrin 金輪 (Sk. *Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra*) and Butsugen 仏眼 (Sk. *Buddhalocanī*) – two different aspects of Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来 – are one and inseparable. The realization of such an empowerment of yin and yang (in the form of a prayer) was conceptualized as a vision encompassing the birth of the sovereign and the formation of the authority of the kingship over the state.[50]

In other words, the discovery of the unity between sex and religion, which lies at the foundation of kingship and which is mediated by the symbolism of Esoteric Buddhism, is documented in the *Musōki* and was further developed when Jien served the young Emperor Go-Toba with his prayers and *waka* poetry. Within the context of the *Bizeibetsu*, which investigates the profound meaning of *kanjō*, this discovery became the key to unlocking the ultimate secret of the ritual. Further interpretations were added to the *Musōki*, that evoked both the *kanjō*, which for monastics was the foundation of *kenmitsu* Buddhism in the Insei era, and the emperor's enthronement ceremony (*sokui kanjō* 即位灌頂), with which they were also involved as the most important secret ritual of kingship. Out of the overlapping meanings of *kanjō* and the insight from the dream, Jien had his "eureka" moment. As is noted in the text, when Emperor Go-Sanjō was enthroned, he had already formed the Wisdom-Fist mudra (*chiken in* 智剣印) upon ascending the throne (*takamikura* 高御座) in the eleventh century. Using the record of this enthronement written by Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041–1111), Jien's grand vision, which started in his dream, grew into a hermeneutics of the genesis of kingship, and further blossomed into the grand historical consciousness of *Gukanshō*. However, the trajectory of Jien's thought originated in his attempt to clarify the meaning of *kanjō*, and at the same time to elucidate the *raison d'être* of the *sokui kanjō* as the secret ritual at the root of medieval kingship.[51]

50 Abe Yasurō, *Chūsei Nihon no ōken shinwa*, 64–80 (chapter "Jien to ōken: Chūsei ōken shinwa wo umidasu shutai" 慈円と王権—中世王権神話をうみだす主体).

51 Abe Yasurō, "Hōju to ōken: Chūsei ōken to mikkyō girei."

The confidential reflections of Jien on kingship were deeply concealed in the Shōren'in sutra repository, of which he was the master. However, they eventually came to light in the late Kamakura period when the imperial dynasty split into two factions over the succession. After the death of Emperor Go-Saga 後嵯峨院 (1220–1272), Go-Fukakusa 後深草院 (1243–1304) of the Jimyōin line 持明院統 and his younger brother Kameyama 亀山院 (1249–1305) of the Daikakuji line 大覚寺統 competed for the throne, causing confrontations and disputes at all levels of state and society. One important turning point of this conflict was the enthronement in 1287 of Emperor Fushimi 伏見天皇, who had been the crown prince of Go-Fukakusa. He left behind a record of his own enthronement ritual in which he wrote that he performed the secret ritual of the *sokui kanjō*, with the consecration given to him by the regent (*kanpaku* 関白) Nijō Morotada 二条師忠 (1254–1341).[52] The procedures of this *kanjō* were transmitted by the monk Dōgen 道玄 of Shōren'in (not to be confused with the famous Zen master). Later, when the fourth prince of Emperor Fushimi acceded to the throne in 1317 as Emperor Hanazono 花園天皇 (1297–1348), he received the transmission of *sokui kanjō* from Jigon 慈厳 of Shōren'in just prior to the ceremony. Afterwards, Jigon taught him the content of Jien's *Musōki* so as to explain the authenticity of the ritual (*Hanazono tennō nikki* 花園天皇日記, 1320).[53] However, we also know that Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇, from the rival Daikakuji line, who opposed both Fushimi and Hanazono, had also received teachings concerning the secret matters of the Three Regalia and had consulted Jien's *Musōki*.[54] Until then, the leading monks of the great *kenmitsu* temples had kept the secrets of *sokui kanjō* for themselves, but by the fourteenth century these secrets were transmitted from the emperors to members of the aristocracy. These secrets also began to gradually circulate widely as they were recorded and diffused by *kenmitsu* monks who controlled their transmission through their lineages.

The prototype of *sokui kanjō* was created in the twelfth century during the Insei era, and a systematized corpus of religious texts dealing with it was established in the thirteenth century and is preserved, for the Shingon school, at

52 Kamikawa Michio, *Nihon Chūsei Bukkyō keisei shiron*, 405–44. See also the Introduction and Susan Klein's chapter in this book.

53 See Abe, "Hōju to ōken," 38–51. See also Matsumoto Ikuyo, *Tennō no sokui girei to shinbutsu* (part 2, chapter 1, "Musō ni yoru sokui hiin" 夢想による即位秘印).

54 Akamatsu Toshihide, *Kamakura bukkyō no kenkyū* (chapter "Nanbokuchō nairan to Miraiki ni tsuite" 南北朝内乱と未来記について).

Kanchiin 観智院 at Tōji,[55] at Shōmyōji in Kanazawa,[56] and at Shinpukuji in Ōsu (Nagoya), and for the Tendai school, at Sanzen'in 三千院[57] and Manshuin 曼殊院 near Kyoto. This corpus includes mantras and mudras, oral teachings (*kuden*), and lineage charts (*kechimyaku*), similar to the mudras and mantras of standard *kanjō* rituals and the texts related to them. This *kanjō* was also called *rinnō kanjō* 輪王灌頂 (consecration of the Cakravartin) or *Shikai ryōjō hō* 四海領掌法 (ritual of rule over the four seas), in addition to *sokui kanjō*. These were characterized by the inclusion of mudras and mantras for rule over the four seas (i.e., the entire world) and *gāthā* (verses) from the four essential chapters (*shiyōbon* 四要品) of the Lotus Sutra; that is, they were structured as secret transmissions spanning Esoteric and exoteric Buddhism.

Interestingly, the primary icon of the *kanjō* indicated in the mudras and mantras is not Dainichi, but Dakini-ten ダキニ天 (Sk. *ḍākiṇī*). Dakini-ten is an Indian female divinity found at the outer rim of the Womb Mandala, a space reserved for *devas* (*ten* 天). She is understood as a frightening demonic being that drinks the blood of humans and devours their flesh. Dakini-ten became the primary icon of *sokui/rinnō kanjō* in a thirteenth-century text, the *Rinnō kanjō kuden* 輪王灌頂口伝,[58] which recounts a straightforward origin story based on the *Dainichi-kyō sho*, the commentary to the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* by Śubhakarasiṃha and Yixing. According to the commentary, Dakini were a cause of suffering for humans, since they are "vitality-snatching demons" (*dasseiki* 奪精鬼) who devour life-energy. Dainichi Nyorai negotiated with these demons and had them eat only the spirit of humans who were already at the end of their lives so that the demons would not starve. In exchange, Dainichi transformed them into heavenly divinities (*tenson* 天尊) and promised them that if a human were to make offerings to even only one of them, that human would be rewarded with wealth, social status, and glory. For this reason, the ritual bringing about worldly prosperity that is associated with Dakini is also called *tonjō shitchi hō* 頓成悉地法 (ritual for immediate accomplishment of all one's wishes).

The oldest extant texts about praying to Dakini-ten for the immediate attainment of all of one's wishes (*tonjō shitchi*) as part of a *sokui kanjō* for the emperor as a *cakravartin* (the ideal Buddhist ruler, Jp. *tenrin shōō* 転輪聖王) is a set of documents stored at Shōmyōji (the Kanazawa Bunko archive), which was copied

55 See Matsumoto Ikuyo, *Chūsei ōken to sokui kanjō*.

56 See Kanazawa bunko (eds.), *Onmyōdō kakeru Mikkyō*; See also Nishioka Yoshifumi, "Shikiban wo matsuru shuhō."

57 Itō Masayoshi, "Jidō setsuwa kō."

58 Abe Yasurō, "Chūsei shūkyō shisō bunken no kenkyū 3: kazō "Rinnō kanjō kuden" honkoku to kaidai."

by the temple's second abbot Ken'a 釵阿 (d. 1336).[59] According to the colophon, the text dates back to the Insei era, to a lineage associated with Kakuban (1095–1143), in a transmission that involved the regent Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078–1162). Its authenticity cannot be established with certainty, but as we have already seen, in the twelfth century *kenmitsu* Buddhism and kingship were deeply interconnected in the formation of political power, so it is possible that a secret tradition involving *kanjō* rituals also developed at that time.

From the late Kamakura period onward, *sokui kanjō* became an important component of courtly precedents and protocols (*kojitsu* 故実) related to the imperial enthronement ceremony established and upheld by the head of the Fujiwara Sekkanke 藤原摂関家 (the branches of the Fujiwara clan that served hereditarily as imperial regents). The *sokui kanjō* was standardized in the Nanbokuchō era (fourteenth century) by the regent Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320–1388), a scholar, poet, and expert on ritual protocol.[60] It became an exclusive prerogative of his descendants in the Nijō House until the end of the Edo period, and they performed this ritual for all emperors until Kōmei 孝明天皇 (1831–1867).[61]

At the same time, while the ritual protocol for the *sokui kanjō* consisted only of mudras and mantras, there was a vast discursive body of oral transmissions (*kuden*) concerning the ritual's meaning and origin narratives that accompanied them. In particular, the decisive moment when the mythological beginning of the ritual flowed into historical time as a lineage transmitted among historical emperors, ministers, and monks was told as an origin story (*engi* 縁起) or tale of karmic causality (*innen* 因縁). The earliest text that records such an origin story (myth) was the *Tenshō daijin kuketsu* 天照大神口決, written in 1228 by Kakujō 覚乗, a Ritsu monk 律僧 of the Saidaiji lineage 西大寺流 and the abbot (*chōrō* 長老) of Enmyōji 円明寺 at Iwata in Ise.[62] In this text, stories about the origins of Kasuga Shrine 春日社 in Nara and secret transmissions of Shingon and Tendai were combined with secret matters from Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮, resulting in an origin story for the *sokui hō*. This story was revealed as the secret transmission of the Kora 子良, the female child-shaman (*warawa miko* 童巫女) who served the sun goddess Tenshō Daijin 天照大神 at Ise.

Origin stories of the *sokui hō* were also created at *kenmitsu* institutions, specifically Tōji lineages for Shingon and various Tendai lineages. The Tōji story of the *sokui hō* was called *Setsuroku engi* 摂籙縁起, as it is an origin myth of the Fuji-

59 Kushida Ryōkō, *Shingon Mikkyō seiritsu katei no kenkyū*, 312–28 ("Shintō shisō no juyō" 神道思想の受容, section 2, chapter 3, and "Shintō kanjō no tenkai" 神道灌頂の展開 part 6).

60 See Sekine Masanao, *Kinpishō kōgi*, and Satō Atsuko, "Kinpishō."

61 Hashimoto Masanobu, "Sokui kanjō to Nijō-ke (jō)" in Id., *Kinsei kuge shakai no kenkyū*.

62 Abe Yasurō, "Chūsei shūkyō shisō bunken no kenkyū (1)."

wara house of regents and chancellors (*setsuroku* 摂籙). It states that Nakatomi no Kamatari 中臣鎌足 (614–669), the founder of the Fujiwara clan, met in Hitachi Province with a fox – in fact, a Dakini and a manifestation of Tenshō Daijin – who taught him an invocation to the kami (*norito* 呪詞) and gave him a sickle (*kama* 鎌); Kamatari later used this sickle to kill the rebellious minister Soga no Iruka 蘇我入鹿 (?–645) in order to protect the emperor and the state.

On the other hand, Tendai's *sokui hō* narratives consisted of a double-layered tale, namely, the *Bokuō setsuwa* 穆王説話 ("Tale of King Mu," also included in *Tenshō daijin kuketsu*) and the *Jidō setsuwa* 慈童説話 ("Tale of Jidō"). According to this complex narrative cycle, King Mu 穆王 of the Zhou dynasty in China rode eight dragon-horses and flew to India, where he arrived at the place on Vulture Peak where the Buddha was preaching the Lotus Sutra. King Mu directly received the essential verses of the Lotus Sutra in Chinese from the Buddha. Much later, the first Qin Emperor fell in love with a boy named Jidō 慈童 (compassionate child), to whom he transmitted those sacred passages. For receiving the emperor's attention, Jidō was exiled to a mountain forest where he acquired eternal youth and immortality (*furō chōju* 不老長寿) by reciting those verses (*gāthā*) from the Lotus Sutra, which he had previously copied on a chrysanthemum leaf. The dew dripping from that leaf flowed into a river and made people who drew water from it downstream also attain longevity. This story was transmitted by the medieval Tendai sub-lineage of Eshin (Eshin-ryū 恵心流) as part of their oral teachings.[63]

This tale circulated widely and also appears in the *Taiheiki* 太平記 (from the second half of fourteenth century) in a form based on a *sokui hō* text (held at Ise Jingū Bunko archive, and copied by Shun'yu 春瑜). It was even adapted and performed as the Noh 能 play *Kiku Jidō* 菊慈童.[64] Similarly, the story of Kamatari from the *Setsuroku engi* of the Tōji *sokui hō* was also included in medieval legends concerning Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子, and through Kasuga-Kōfukuji origin narratives from Nara, this was turned into a *kōwakamai* 幸若舞 (a *kusemai* 曲舞 dance and narrative performance) entitled *Iruka* 入鹿, which circulated widely in the popular culture of the Muromachi period.[65]

In this way, the secret ritual of *sokui kanjō* became a rich theme in the general worldview of medieval culture. *Sokui kanjō* was universalized through various media, from the origin stories of the secret transmissions that became temple legends in the hands of performers who transformed them through the storytell-

63 Abe Yasurō, *Chūsei Nihon no ōken shinwa*, 81–155 ("Jidō no tanjō: Tendai sokuihō no seiritsu o megutte" 慈童の誕生—天台即位法の成立をめぐって).

64 Itō Masayoshi, "Jidō setsuwa kō."

65 Abe Yasurō, *Chūsei Nihon no ōken shinwa*, 156–88 ("Shinko to ōken: 'Iruka' no seiritsu" 辰狐と王権—『入鹿』の成立).

er's art and the narratives of warriors and warfare (*gunki* 軍記) spread by itinerant priestly storytellers and performing artists, such as Sarugaku 猿楽 and Noh actors, *kusemai* dancers, *shirabyōshi* 白拍子 and *maimai* 舞々 entertainers.[66]

Conclusion: Universal Issues Elicited by *Sokui Kanjō*

The various phenomena related to the development of *sokui kanjō* in medieval Japan suggest that we cannot explain it by merely resorting to the simple formula of the "secularization of religion," as seen in the use of a secret Esoteric Buddhist ritual to elevate the authority of the emperor as the ruler over secular society. In some sense, one might say that the original meaning and function of *kanjō* in the ancient Indian world were transposed and recreated in medieval Japan. Although his enthronement was from the beginning a symbolic operation, it was a ritual of kingship in which the ruler was the subjective agent, and the fact that this ritual produced the fundamental authority of the sovereign means that it was not a superficial imitation of Indian precedent. By way of Esoteric Buddhism, the significance of the emperor, originally based on ancient myths and ceremonies, was clearly transformed into that of a medieval *cakravartin* under the influence of Buddhist cosmology. In this process, it was not only the individual ruler who was changed, but also the consciousness of all subjective agents that sustained him (members of the court society and the religious power blocs, i.e., the temples forming the *kenmitsu* system). Even though the imperial *kanjō* was carried out in secret, the *kanjō* of the emperor who stood at the pinnacle of the public social sphere was a performance that signaled the transformation of the fundamental paradigm upon which the state was built. The *sokui kanjō*, once established and made explicit, became a standard practice widely shared at many levels of society. It marked both the occasion for and the result of the transformation of the basis and modalities of the existence of the imperial system.

In medieval Japan, as shown by the interpretation of Jien, who was the first to record the existence of this ritual from his perspective at the center of the Buddhist world, *sokui kanjō* enabled the unification of the "two truths of the sacred and profane" (*shinzoku nitai*), that is, the unification of the Buddhist dharma and the king's law (religious authority and secular power), which was re-discovered

66 Abe Yasurō, *Chūsei Nihon no ōken shinwa* (chapter 1 "Hōju to ōken: Chūsei ōken to mikkyō girei" and chapter 5 "Sokuihō to Dakini ten").

and recreated for the purpose of the integration of the world through this symbolic ritual that manifested the fundamental nondualism of these two dimensions. The people who sustained it and the extent of its power was extended, gradually stretching beyond emperors, regents, and elite monks until it reached the general populace throughout the "four seas," and by that time it was no longer merely a secret religious ritual but a vast body of myths that was accompanied by performances that were widely shared by readers, listeners, and spectators among the common people.

The *sokui kanjō* was a product of "the myth of medieval kingship," which grew out of a ritual concerned with medieval kingship via a secret liturgy transmitted through *kanjō* – the origin tale of the *sokui hō*. This was not confined to secret oral teachings and protocols and was ultimately transmitted through the arts of narrative and performance, circulating widely, and shared among the commoners of medieval Japan.

Thus, this body of myth was liberated from the secret rituals that were the origin of its authority, which had been monopolized by high-ranking religious professionals, and came into the hands of performers and practitioners of various arts (*gagaku* musicians, *sarugaku* performers, *kusemai* dancers, etc.) as well as the purview and techniques of folk religious specialists such as performers known as *shōmonji* 声聞師 and *taiyū* 太夫. Once in their hands, these arts and activities became richer and increasingly diverse. Promoting the transformation of this body of myths into tales and performances in the hands of these performers and religious specialists was – it goes without saying – the imaginative power of the mythic narrative intrinsic to these tales of origin.

These tales include accounts of rites of passage such as that of the child Kamatari, who was kidnapped and violated by a vixen, who then gave him a *norito* spell and a sickle – in other words, the acquisition of supernatural powers to protect the king through interspecies marriage (*irui kon* 異類婚), or the story of the child (Jidō) who was loved by the Chinese emperor yet was exiled because of the transgressions the child committed with him. It was Jidō who was also given the secret formula by the emperor that made him bear the stigma of immortality and who, in a dramatic reversal, became an avatar of Kannon's compassion. It is precisely the allegoric nature of these myths that undoubtedly shows the fundamental power of kingship that the kami and buddhas bestowed on the ruler. This power entails violence (martial valor against evil) as in the bloody scene in which the head of the traitor Iruka is severed with the miraculous sickle and spells guaranteeing eternal life as a beautiful youth – both are products of wanton sexual activity carried out outside normative standards.

The sacrality brought about by *sokui kanjō* is an ambiguous power, in symbiotic relation to the awful liberation of sex and violence. In this sense, it is very

suggestive that the main icon of *sokui kanjō*, while sharing the same essence as Dainichi Nyorai, was the demoness Dakini-ten, an evil eater of human-flesh residing in the lowest, outermost rim of the mandala.

In medieval Japan, the Dakini-ten of Esoteric Buddhism was an amalgamation of kami and Buddhist divnities and also appeared as a gentle goddess mounted on a white fox, who "instantaneously fulfilled one's wishes," bringing about happiness and good fortune as the god Inari, one of the most popular combinatory deities in Japan, who still attracts many worshipers among the populace today. This vivid religious ambiguity, including representations of Dakini-ten, surely offers undisputable proof of the deft operation of Japanese religious culture in integrating the sacred and the profane through *sokui kanjō* and in a more universal sense by the *kanjō* itself as a rite of passage.