

FORCING THE IMMOVABLE ONE TO THE GROUND:
REVISIONING A MAJOR DEITY IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN

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By

KEVIN A. BOND, B.A., M.A.

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AUTHOR: Kevin A. Bond, B.A., M.A. (McMaster University)

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines early modern (seventeenth–mid-nineteenth century) Japanese religion through a study of a cult devoted to the popular deity Fudō Myōō 不動明王 (“The Immovable King of Illumination”) at Naritasan 成田山 Temple (also known as Shinshōji 新勝寺 Temple) in Shimōsa 下総 Province (present-day Chiba Prefecture). It discusses how Naritasan developed a distinctive corpus of miracle tale literature centered around its sacred statue of Fudō, and how these tales interwove doctrinal and sectarian traditions with local geography and history to produce a regionally-specific brand of the deity. This process of individuation became central to the creation of Naritasan’s identity and religious activities, its promises of material and spiritual rewards, and to the way stories were used to spread the cult among the populace through recreational and commercial enterprises. I demonstrate how these narratives can thus be read in light of the temple’s evolution and socio-economic changes affecting early modern Japan as a whole.

By employing a locally-based and trans-sectarian approach to the study of the Fudō cult at Naritasan, this dissertation seeks to illuminate a number of issues: how the temple used miracle tales to domesticate and transform Fudō into a trademark “Narita Fudō” 成田不動, a process central to the religious and commercial identities of temples; how the Narita Fudō was not static but evolved over time to become an object of worship shared across a variety of religious and popular traditions; and finally, how the deity therefore resists convenient categorizations afforded him by modern scholarship, thus challenging the ways we understand one of Japan’s oldest and most important deities.

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And finally, to my lovely wife Kara. I would need to write another dissertation just to express the support, humour, and love she's given over the past few years.

CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- DBZ. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書
Bussho Kankōkai 仏書刊行会, ed. 150 volumes. Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1978–1983. (Reference format: volume.page.register)
- ES. *Edo sōsho* 江戸叢書
Edo Sōsho Kankōkai 江戸双書刊行会, ed. 12 volumes. Tokyo: Tōkyō Meicho Kankōkai, 1964. (Reference format: volume.page)
- JZ. *Jōdoshū zensho* 浄土宗全書
Jōdoshū Kaishū Happyakunen Kinen Keisan Jimukyoku 浄土宗開宗八百年記念慶讃準備局, ed. 23 volumes. Tokyo: Jōdoshū Shūten Kankōkai, 1970–1974. (Reference format: volume.page.register)
- K. *Da zang jing* 大藏經 (Tripitaka Koreana).
Tongguk Taehakkyo, ed. 48 volumes. Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng Ch'u-pan Kung-ssu, 1982. (Reference format: volume.text number.page)
- NDK. *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經
Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木学術財団, ed. 100 volumes. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1973–1977. (Reference format: volume.page).
- NKBT. *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文学大系
Takagi Ichinosuke 高木市之助 et al, eds. 100 volumes. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957–1969. (Reference format: volume.page)
- Shiryō* *Naritasan Shinshōji shiryō shū* 成田山新勝寺史料集
Naritasan Shinshōji Shiryōshū Hensan Iinkai 成田山新勝寺史料集編纂委員会, ed. 6 volumes. Narita: Daihonzon Naritasan Shinshōji, 1992–2002. (Reference format: volume.page)
- SMFK. *Shinpen Musashi fudokikō* 新編武蔵風土記稿
Ashida Koreto 蘆田伊人, ed. *Shinpen Musashi fudoki kō* 新編武蔵風土記稿. *Dainihon chishi taikai* 大日本地誌大系 7–18. Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1957–1958. (Reference format: volume.page)

- T. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經
Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡辺海旭, et al., eds. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. 85 volumes. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934. (Reference format: volume.text number.page.register.line)
- TZ. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* 大正新修大藏經図像
Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙, ed. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* 大正新修大藏經図像. 12 volumes. Tokyo: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Kankōkai, 1976. (Reference format: volume.text number.page.register.line or image no.)
- Z. *Manji zokuzō* 卍字統藏
(*Xu zang jing* 續藏經, reprint of *Dainihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本統藏經). 150 volumes. Taipei: Chung-kuo fu chiao hui ying yin hsu tang ching wei yüan hui 中國佛教會影印卍續藏經委員會, 1968. (Reference format: volume.page [verso, recto].register.line)
- Ch. Chinese
Jp. Japanese
Sk. Sanskrit

NOTE ON THE USAGE AND FORMATTING OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE TEXT

Chinese and Japanese characters are initially provided for all major texts, names, and places. Following standard practice, Japanese family names are given first in order, followed by given names. When citing primary sources, I have remained faithful to the original texts (or reprinted originals) by preserving in full any *furigana* 振仮名 (pronunciation glosses) and *kunten* 訓点 (markers inserted into Chinese and Kanbun text indicating Japanese grammatical syntax and readings). Due to the necessary reformatting of the vertical Japanese writing style to a horizontal one, I follow standard modern practice by placing *kaeriten* 返り点 (markers indicating grammatical order such as 一, 二, ヲ), in subscript positions, and *soegana* 添仮名 (inflectional endings), *onkun* 音訓 (Chinese or Japanese readings), and particles (e.g., ハ, ニ, ヲ) in superscript positions. Interlinear characters are indicated in translation by parantheses. For example, 証空^{三井} is translated as “Shōkū (of Mii).” For the purposes of consistency and readability, and following a trend in modern Japanese Buddhist scholarship, I have written all Japanese characters using modern orthography (e.g., 證空→証空, 寶劍→宝劍), with the exception of those given in direct quotation. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

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INTRODUCTION

With the new economic, political, and religious landscape that marked Japan’s early modern period (also known as the Edo or Tokugawa Period, 1603–1868), cults of Buddhist and Shintō deities flourished on an unprecedented scale throughout the country, especially in the booming urban centre of Edo 江戸 (modern-day Tōkyō), the nation’s new capital in the east.¹ Among these popular deities was Fudō Myōō² 不動明王, “The Immovable King of Illumination,” recognizable by his militant and wrathful visage. Early modern sources list scores of temples devoted to Fudō worship dotting Edo’s landscape,³ but it was the Shingon 真言 temple Shinshōji 新勝寺 (also known as Naritasan⁴ 成田山) with its statue of the Narita Fudō 成田不動 in Shimōsa 下総 Province (modern-day Chiba Prefecture) that often stole the limelight. Although it lay a four-day journey outside the capital, the temple nonetheless became one of the most powerful religious centres in eastern Japan, its fame readily visible in

¹ On the rise of popular deity cults in Edo during the early modern period, see Miyata (1993).

² There is a tendency in modern East Asian Buddhist scholarship to render the deity’s name in Sanskrit as “Acala Vidyārāja” (e.g., Oda 1963: 155; Matsunaga 1969: 248; Okada 1979: 51; Payne 1987: 53; Payne 1988: 6; and Orzech 1998: 188). Nowhere in any extant Sanskrit source of which I am aware is Acala’s name (also Acalanātha, Caṇḍācala, and Mahākrodharājācala) written as such. That “Fudō Myōō” was a direct translation of “Acala(nātha) Vidyārāja” is both presumptuous and an anachronistic backwards reading. Though one occasionally encounters “Vidyārāja” transcribed in Siddham in connection to Fudō as in the twelfth-century Mikkyō encyclopedia *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 (TZ.3.3007.347c), this is an artificial reconstruction of the name in the service of establishing a glorified continental past for the deity, as well as a rendering of the deity’s name as a type of mantra. Charles Orzech’s use of “Acalavajra” (1998: 179ff), seemingly based on the Chinese name “Budong Jingang” 不動金剛, is a similarly ahistorical rendering.

³ A late-Edo-period gazetteer for Musashi 武蔵 Province (the location of Edo) lists approximately 1400 sites where Fudō was enshrined. At the majority of these sites he was treated as the main deity (see chapter two for details). Popular Fudō sites in Edo were listed in sources such as the *Edo sōganoko meisho taizen* 江戸惣鹿子名所大全 (1690) (ES.3.65a–b) and *Edo sunago* 江戸砂子 (1732) (ES.3.65a–b). For a detailed list of the most prominent Fudō cults in Edo and its environs, see Sakamoto (1979: 256).

⁴ The temple’s prefixed “mountain name” (*sangō* 山号) is Naritasan 成田山 (“Narita Temple”); its proper “temple name” (*jigō* 寺号) is Shinshōji 新勝寺 (“Temple of the New Victory”). According to temple tradition, the name “Shinshōji” was bestowed by Emperor Suzaku 朱雀 (923–952) in 940. Alternative official names recorded in early modern temple literature are Naritasan Jingoji Shinshōji 成田山神護寺新勝寺 and Naritasan Myōōin Jingo Shinshōji 成田山明王院神護新勝寺 (where Myōōin is the “cloister name,” *ingō* 院号). The meaning behind these various names, and the temple’s relationship to Jingoji Temple and its Myōōin, are discussed in chapter three (for a discussion on temple nomenclature, see Seckel 1985: 359–386). While temples were generally better known by their *jigō*, Shinshōji was also commonly known by “Naritasan” and the unofficial popular name “Narita Fudō.” I use the names “Shinshōji” and “Naritasan” interchangeably to refer to the same institution.

the art, literature, and theatre of the day. Shinshōji's success stemmed from several sources, including the propitious patronage of a leading kabuki guild in Edo, whose plays celebrating the Narita Fudō helped spread the cult among the urban populace. The temple also instituted one of the most successful series of exhibitions for its day in Edo, in which the statue of Fudō was paraded throughout the streets and put on display in a host shrine to attract the prayers and patronage of Edoites. As with other major urban religious centres in Edo such as Sensōji 浅草寺 Temple (Asakusa Kannon 浅草観音) and Kanda 神田 Shrine (Kanda Myōjin 神田明神), Shinshōji's religious attraction was matched by the recreational allure of its temple-town (*monzenmachi* 門前町) of Narita 成田. A grand testament to the temple's religio-cultural appeal was the publication of its own five-volume tourist guidebook, which promoted the religious and leisure activities to be experienced in and on the way to Narita.

Central to Shinshōji's fame and the attraction of its Narita Fudō statue was a distinct corpus of miracle tales. By the early modern period, it had become commonplace for religious institutions, both Buddhist and Shintō, to produce sacred histories, punctuated with stories of the miraculous, which served to establish their sites as numinous places where miracles were accessible through the presence of a local deity. These tales moreover served to promote religious and commercial identities for temples and shrines. Various genres of literature such as gazetteers and guidebooks reproduced miracle tales in order to identify the history and attractions of religious sites. The desire, then, to visit the Fudō exhibitions in the capital or make the pilgrimage to Narita, whether for religious or recreational pursuits (or both), was stimulated by the sacred legends and miraculous stories promoted by the temple clergy. These narratives intersected many elements central to religious life at temples like Shinshōji, and are thus valuable sources for understanding how a deity could function not merely as a sacred icon of ritual worship, but also as an instrument central to local religious and commercial institutions.

Recent scholarship has shed significant light on Fudō's continental background, his scriptural and iconographical dimensions, and his role in important ritual programs, especially during the Heian (794–1185) and Kamakura (1185–1333) Periods.⁵ However, although this scholarship has considered the importance of extra-canonical sources such as miracle tales in understanding Fudō, results have

⁵ Major monograph-length studies on Fudō include Watanabe (1975), Daihōrin Henshūbu ed. (1981), and Tanaka (1993). Other notable works that include substantial discussions on the deity are Yoritomo (1984) and Uehara (1989). Major surveys on Fudō's iconography are Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan ed. (1981), Sawa (1984), and Nakano (1987). See also Payne (1991) for a discussion on modern Fudō rites, and Mack's dissertation (2007) on the context of Fudō's iconography in the Heian and Kamakura Periods.

been preliminary. At present there remains little substantial work that directly addresses what these narratives reveal that scripture generally cannot: the great variety of local cultic adaptations of the deity. Miracle tales help illuminate how deities were not simply inherited from canonical sources, but “re-branded” as regionally-specific objects to suit the particular needs of time and place. This process of localization, whereby Fudō took on new religious and commercial identities at specific sites, remains, however, an understudied side of the deity.⁶

The Current State of Fudō Studies

Fudō is most commonly associated with the schools of Shingon 真言 and Tendai 天台, the two traditional divisions of Mikkyō 密教 (literally, “secret teachings”), the form of Buddhism through which the deity first became known in Japan.⁷ Due to the cultural and artistic contributions of its institutions since the Heian Period, and the key political roles played by its patriarchs, Mikkyō has received considerable attention from modern scholars.⁸ However, these studies have focused on the tradition’s initial introduction to, and subsequent development in, Japan during the Heian and Kamakura Periods. Although negative scholarly views of post-medieval Buddhism, such as that the early modern Buddhist tradition was “corrupt and degenerate” (*Edo bukkyō darakuron* 江戸仏教墮落論),⁹ have been abandoned,

⁶ Monographs on local Fudō cults are few in number. These primarily include Murakami (1968), Miura (1977), and Ambros (2002). See also Sakamoto (1979), Ichikawa (1993), and Tamamuro (1993) for article-length treatments.

⁷ Various known as Esoteric Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism, Mantrayāna, and Vajrayāna. In this dissertation I use the word “Mikkyō” to refer only to Japanese Esoteric Buddhism unless otherwise noted.

⁸ This scholarship includes lexica on Mikkyō’s ornate doctrinal and ritual systems (e.g., Matsunaga 1931–1933; Toganoo 1935; Takai 1953; and Tanaka 1962), iconographical studies (e.g., Sawa 1983–1984), and the compilation of sectarian collections (e.g., the *Shingonshū zensho* 真言宗全書 [1933–1940] and *Tendaishū zensho* 天台宗全書 [1935–1937]). There also exist serials published by Mikkyō-affiliated institutions such as the *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化 (1947–present) and *Mikkyōgaku* 密教學 (1965–present). Western interest on Mikkyō has increased in the last few decades with examinations of important figures (see note ten), iconographies (e.g., Sawa 1971–1972; Snodgrass 1988; Bogel 1995), doctrine and ritual (e.g., Minoru 1978; Yamasaki 1988), as well as English translations of major scriptures like the eighth-century *Daibirushana jōbutsu shinpen kaji kyō* 大毘盧遮那成仏神變加持經 (T.18.848) (e.g., Yamamoto 1990; Wayman 1992; Hodge 2003). There has been a similar growing Western interest in Indian, Tibetan, and Chinese forms of Esoteric Buddhism (e.g., Wayman 1995; Strickmann 1996; Davidson 2002).

⁹ A theory popularized by the Japanese historian Tsuji Zennosuke in his *Nihon Bukkyō shi* 日本佛教史 (*A History of Japanese Buddhism*, 1944–1955) (which included a chapter entitled, “The Decline of Buddhism and Corruption of the Clergy,” Watt 1997: 188). Several scholars, both Japanese and Western, have shared Tsuji’s view. For example, Anesaki Masaharu suggested in 1930 that, due to the

scholarship has still tended to favour famous Buddhist masters and the development of new schools during the Nara (710–784), Heian, and Kamakura Periods as primary objects of study, often privileging the “great men” and their high philosophical inquiries and not the “unruly masses” as the major actors of Japanese religion.¹⁰ With an emphasis on the early tradition, studies on Mikkyō history offer only cursory glances at the tradition’s development during the early modern period. For example, Tachikawa Musashi and Yoritomi Motohiro’s *Nihon mikkyō* 日本密教 (*Japanese Mikkyō*, 2000), part of a four-volume collection covering the history of Esoteric Buddhism from India to Japan, offers only six of its 353 pages to Edo-period Mikkyō in favour of the earlier periods and its famous patriarchs.¹¹

This trend has consequently influenced the current understanding of the Mikkyō pantheon, including Fudō, arguably its most popular deity. Due to the emphasis on the early tradition, current scholarship provides us with excellent detail on the doctrinal, pantheonic, and iconographical dimensions of the deity as

close relationship between Buddhism and the state during the Edo Period, “The majority of Buddhist clergy were obedient servants to the Government, and in the long period of peace they gradually became lazy, or else effeminate intriguers” (Anesaki 1930: 260). Later in 1957, Robert Bellah wrote that there was “a general lethargy and uncreativity of Buddhism in the Tokugawa Period” (Bellah 1957: 51). Joseph Kitagawa similarly argued in 1966 of “the moral corruption of the clergy,” and of the “moral and spiritual bankruptcy of established Buddhism” during the Edo Period (Kitagawa 1966: 165–166). Kitagawa also argued that commercial activities such as *kaichō* 開帳 (exhibitions of sacred temple or shrine treasures) were representative of Buddhism’s moral decadence at this time, failing to note that exhibitions were nothing new to the age. (*Kaichō* exhibitions are discussed in detail in chapter four.) Recent studies that have rejected the theory of decadence and taken a fresh look at early modern Buddhism include Sawada (1993), Baroni (2000), Hur (2000 and 2007), and Williams (2005).

¹⁰ McMullin (1989: 21–22); see also Ambros and Williams (2001: 213–215). In the case of Mikkyō, scholars have produced numerous monographs focusing on the early masters. These include Kūkai 空海 (Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, 774–835; see Hakeda 1972 and Abe 1999), Saichō 最澄 (Dengyō Daishi 伝教大師, 767–822; see Groner 1984 and Saeki 1992), Ennin 円仁 (Jikaku Daishi 慈覚大師, 794–864; see Reischauer 1955), and Kakuban 覚鑱 (Kōgyō Daishi 興教大師, 1095–1143; see van der Veere 2000).

¹¹ Viz., Tachikawa and Yoritomi eds. (2000: 65–70). Similarly, chapter two of Taikō Yamasaki’s *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism* (1988) presents a general history of Shingon in Japan (23–55), with barely two pages given to the Edo Period (46–48). I would argue that the scholarly importance given to early Japanese Buddhism has also been due to the “Kamakura New Buddhism” theory that became prominent in the early twentieth-century. This theory proposed that the so-called “clerical” Mikkyō (and Nara) schools did not hold any significant power following the decline of the Heian government in the twelfth century, and were displaced by new “democratic” forms of Buddhism like Zen and Pure Land. While rejected under the impetus of the medieval historian Kuroda Toshio (see especially Kuroda 1975: 413–547), the theory nonetheless lingers and has helped insulate Mikkyō studies in the early periods. (On the “Kamakura New Buddhism” model and the scholarship of Kuroda Toshio, see Dobbins 1996: 217–232.)

described in the Mikkyō canon, primarily comprised of Chinese and Japanese materials dating from the eighth to fourteenth centuries.¹² However, as stated, canonical texts were not the last word on the deity's development, as they represented but one element in his evolution. In particular, canonical scriptures are limited in what they tell us about Fudō at any one particular time or place.¹³ This limitation is exacerbated by the fact that the relative lack of extant Fudō temple records from these early periods impede our understanding of how, and to what extent, the deity developed beyond his canonical framework. However, the abundance of extant, extra-canonical sources such as local records in the early modern period allows us much greater insight into how the deity developed “on the ground.”

Methodology and Contributions

Recent scholarship on Japanese religion has increasingly argued the importance of considering locality. Barbara Ambros and Duncan Williams, for example, write that “Japanese religion as ‘lived religion’ was practiced in local settings, with regions, villages, towns, and cities as socially significant units to understand religion.”¹⁴ Allan Grapard similarly argues three points:

First, Japanese religiosity is grounded in specific sites at which beliefs and practices were combined and transmitted exclusively within specific lineages... .

Second, Japanese religiosity is neither Shinto nor Buddhist nor sectarian but essentially combinative... .

Third, those combinative systems, which evolved in specific sites, were indissolubly linked, in their genesis as in their evolution, to social and economic structures and practices as well as concepts of legitimacy and power... .¹⁵

¹² By “Mikkyō canon,” I refer to the collection of Shingon and Tendai scriptures collected, classified, and organized in the Meiji 明治 (1868–1912), Taishō 大正 (1912–1926), and Shōwa 昭和 (1926–1989) Periods, which can be found primarily in volumes eighteen to twenty-one of the Taishō canon (viz., *Mikkyō bu* 密教部), its twelve-volume *zuzō* 図像 supplement of rituals, commentaries, and iconographies, as well as biographies and writings of Mikkyō patriarchs published in modern sectarian collections.

¹³ Tanaka Hisao argues in the conclusion of his *Fudō shinkō* 不動信仰 that Fudō studies remain in their infancy, and thus calls for more studies that investigate the histories of Fudō temples (Tanaka 1993: 351).

¹⁴ Ambros and Williams (2001: 210). The authors also identify the work of Tamamuro Fumio of Meiji University as having been instrumental to the growing attention given to local, trans-sectarian studies during the Edo Period. See the same article for an overview and bibliography of Tamamuro's scholarship.

¹⁵ Grapard (1992: 4).

As Grapard suggests, the benefits of the “local approach” allow us to examine religion across sectarian institutions,¹⁶ and to identify social and economic agencies in addition to doctrinal ones that influenced the evolution of temples and shrines across “Buddhist” or “Shinto” divisions. In this respect, narrative literature proves an important source in the study of local deity cults. Its association with specific sites can reveal dynamic power structures on the ground such as commercial enterprises that influenced doctrinal and scriptural traditions.

The central thesis of this dissertation is thus concerned with how the genesis, operation, and evolution of a Fudō cult (or indeed, any deity cult) cannot be adequately explained in terms of doctrinal and sectarian traditions alone. Using the case of Shinshōji or Naritasan Temple,¹⁷ I employ a locally-based, trans-sectarian approach to the study of Fudō, and in doing so join the aforementioned growing trend in Japanese Buddhist scholarship that argues that in order to fully understand Japanese religion, it must be studied not only from the perspective of doctrinal, scriptural, and sectarian affiliations, but also in terms of local religious and socio-economic developments. By investigating the Narita Fudō cult through the lens of local sources such as miracle stories, I am able to expand our understanding of canonical sources by repositioning them within the framework of local studies. This perspective allows us to address important issues such as how symbols supplied by scriptures took on new meanings within the context of specific religious institutions, or how local invention co-existed with or even subverted canonical tradition in the service of promoting regional material culture.¹⁸ Applied to Fudō, we can identify the degree to which canonical representations of the deity (such as his iconic sword, rope, and flames¹⁹) played new (or even marginal) roles at specific locations, and for

¹⁶ In this dissertation I use the terms “sectarian” to refer to the modern categorization of Japanese Buddhist traditions into “sects” (*shū* 宗) (e.g., Rinzai-shū 臨濟宗, Jōdo-shū 淨土宗). Due to the birth of modern Buddhist studies in Japan in the late 1800s within institutions affiliated with particular Buddhist schools, a significant body of scholarship has been influenced by sectarian histories. Japanese Buddhism today is thus often defined according to “*shū*.” Since Buddhism in Edo Japan was significantly “trans-sectarian” in nature, only by moving beyond specific schools (in our case, primarily Shingon) can we observe religious phenomena across traditions.

¹⁷ The primary studies on Shinshōji are Murakami (1968), Ono (1978), and Asahi (1981). Shinshōji has also published two large temple histories, *Naritasan shi* 成田山史 (*A History of Naritasan*, 1938) and *Shinshū Naritasan shi* 新修成田山史 (*Newly Edited History of Naritasan*, 1968).

¹⁸ For example, Ichikawa Hideyuki shows how the worship of the Takitani Fudō 滝谷不動 in Ōsaka to cure eye disease was more a product of local developments than of classical scriptures and doctrine (Ichikawa 1993: 275–304).

¹⁹ Fudō is easily distinguished by his weapons—a sword held vertically in his right hand, and a coiled noose or rope (*kensaku* 羂索) in his left hand—and tall flames which rise above him from behind. All three are prominent iconographical features and are central to the deity’s descriptions as given in Chinese and Japanese canonical texts. For example, the *Chiri sanmaya Fudōson inuō shisha nenjū ho*

what reasons.²⁰ This dissertation therefore emphasizes the inherent difficulty in characterizing a deity according to canonical sources.

In her recent work on a popular Konpira 金毘羅 cult in Edo-period Shikoku, Sarah Thal argues that the multiplicity of factors in regional transformations of a deity prove difficult challenges for its definition.²¹ The difficulties posed by localizations are apparent in local sources such as miracle tales. They show, for instance, that one did not simply pray to a generic “Fudō,” but to a *certain* Fudō of a *certain* temple. An examination of the ways in which Shinshōji produced regionally-distinct discourses in the treatment of Fudō undermines any singular, unchanging form of the deity shared equally by all Fudō temples. I would argue that recent scholarship has tended to emphasize certain “essential” features of the deity such as his iconographical trademarks²² that can be generally identified across time and place, rather than exploring the marked differences between local adaptations.

Locally-based studies, moreover, highlight a key aspect of Fudō neglected by scholarship: his trans-sectarian relationships with deities lying outside the traditional Mikkyō pantheon. During the early modern period, images of Fudō could be found not only in Shingon and Tendai temples, but also at Pure Land, Zen, and Nichiren sites. However, current scholarship has emphasized central Mikkyō canonical and iconographical sources when defining Fudō’s pantheonic dimensions.²³ He is thus primarily classified as a wrathful manifestation and servant of the Sun Buddha

底哩三昧耶不動尊威怒王使者念誦法 (T.1201.21, attributed to Amoghavajra [705–774]) describes Fudō’s sword as a weapon which severs defilements and conquers greed, hatred, and delusion (T.1201.21.15c.1–2). The rope subdues heretics such as demons (T.1201.21.15b.9–12) while the flames similarly conquer heretics, burn away karmic defilements, and represent the “fire-emitting *samādhi*” in which Fudō dwells (T.1201.21.15b.17–29).

²⁰ To be clear, the distinction I make between the “canonical or scriptural Fudō” and the “local Fudō” is in many ways (but not always) an artificial one, though one that must be made in response to the current state of scholarship. Moreover, I do not attempt to understand a “canonical” Fudō versus a “local” Fudō in terms of a distinct shift from one to the other; rather the deity is more appropriately understood as a layering or interweaving of the two. How the two co-existed as part of a larger composite whole specific to a particular area is a central issue of this dissertation.

²¹ Thal (2005: 9).

²² See note nineteen.

²³ See note five for key examples of this scholarship. The canonical and iconographical sources this scholarship has emphasized primarily include the eighth-century *Daibirushana jōbutsu shinpen kaji kyō* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (T.18.848) its most prominent commentary, the *Daibirushana jōbutsu kyō sho* 大毘盧遮那成仏經疏 (T.39.1796), the associated Taizōkai Mandara 胎藏界曼荼羅 (“Womb World Maṇḍala), the ritual and iconographical program of the *Nin’nō gyō* 仁王經 (*Sūtra of Benevolent Kings*) tradition (e.g., T.19.994), as well as the earliest extant scriptures devoted to Fudō (T.21.1199–1205).

Dainichi Nyorai²⁴ 大日如来, the central deity of the Godai Myōō²⁵ 五大明王 (The Five Kings of Great Illumination), and leader of various attendant groups such as *dōji*²⁶ 童子 (Sk. *kumāra*) acolytes.²⁷ As we will see, these canonical families often played a negligible role in Fudō cults, while the deity instead formed affiliations with local pantheons. Moreover, Fudō’s role among Shintō shrines and connections to *kami*, which are recorded at least as early as the fourteenth century,²⁸ have yet to be fully explored by scholars, despite the fact that the treatment of Buddhism and Shintō as mutually distinct traditions has been largely abandoned.²⁹ A notable exception is Barbara Ambros’ recent work on the Edo-period Ōyamadera 大山寺

²⁴ Sk. Mahāvairocana Tathāgata. Dainichi is venerated as the supreme Buddha in Mikkyō cosmology. However, even canonical sources are not unanimous on the celestial origins of Fudō. Based on an analysis of eighth-century Chinese sources (e.g., T.21.1199), the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 (late twelfth to early thirteenth century, TZ.3022.5.169c.19–170a.8) and *Byakuhōkushō* 白宝口抄 (thirteenth century, TZ.3119.7. 20a.25–20b.15) both identify four different types of Fudō, each a manifestation of a different buddha or bodhisattva: Dainichi Nyorai, Shaka 釈迦, Jōgaishō 除蓋障, and Kongōshu 金剛手. The *Byakuhōkushō* emphasizes, however, via the fundamental Mikkyō argument that the *hosshin* 法身 (Sk. *dharmakāya*) Dainichi is the ultimate source of all phenomena, that it is the Dainichi Fudō that is the most important of the four.

²⁵ Viz., Gōzanze 隆三世, Gundari 軍荼利, Daiitoku 大威德, Kongōyasha 金剛夜叉, and Fudō. The celestial status of the Godai Myōō were largely defined in Japan by the *sanrinjin* 三輪身 (“Three Wheel-Bodies”) schema of deities derived from Chinese sources—lesser, wrathful manifestations (known as *kyōryōrinjin* 教令輪身) of five Buddhas (Gochi Nyorai 五智如來) and five bodhisattvas (Godai Bosatsu 五大菩薩). The Myōō are thus commonly understood as third-tier deities in the Mikkyō pantheon. There also exists the lesser-known Hachidai Myōō 八大明王 (Eight Great Kings of Illumination) which also contains Fudō. The family, however, never gained popularity in Japan, and few iconographies are extant (e.g., TZ.6.157 and TZ.6.169).

²⁶ Despite the great variety of Fudō’s attendant families (for example, see TZ.7.3119.7c–9b) which can be categorized into three general groups (*shisha* 使者 [“servants,” “messengers”], *dōji*, and *ten* 天 [Sk. *deva*]), the most commonly encountered grouping by far are the two *dōji* Kongara 矜迦羅 (Sk. Kimkara) and Seitaka 制多迦 (Sk. Ceṭaka).

²⁷ Many of the major academic works on Fudō (see note five) have almost exclusively defined Fudō’s family in this manner: Watanabe (1975); Daihōrin Henshūbu ed. (1981); Sawa (1984); Yoritomi (1984); Nakano (1987); Uehara (1989); and Mack (2006). The standard definition of the deity as found in the major Buddhist reference works mentions only these canonical relationships to the exclusion of others. See, for example, Mochizuki (1971: volume 5, 4486a–4489b), Sawa (1975: 608–610), and Nakamura (1981: 1170c–1171a).

²⁸ Viz., the fourteenth-century *Shintō shū* 神道集 (Kondō 1959: 103). Fudō’s connections to *kami* are discussed in greater detail in chapter two.

²⁹ A major impetus for the academic appreciation of the blending of “Buddhism” and “Shintō” (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合) is the work of Kuroda Toshio (see especially Kuroda 1993). For a recent treatment of the subject, see Tweewen and Rambelli (2003).

Temple, which illustrates how the Ōyama Fudō 大山不動 in Sagami Province was worshipped in tandem with the resident *kami* Sekison Daigongen 石尊大権現.³⁰

Beyond the study of Fudō, this dissertation also contributes to our understanding of miracle tales themselves. With the general lack of tale literature in the Mikkyō canon, and the scholarly focus of Buddhist studies on philosophy and doctrine, miracle stories have found little place in the appreciation of Esoteric Buddhism. Moreover, major examinations of the genre have focused on examples from earlier eras, with many having been translated into English.³¹ This dissertation adds to the study of the genre during the Edo Period, and to the few systematic treatments of Fudō miracle tales at all. While scholarship has included discussions on the more famous Fudō tales,³² including those of the Narita Fudō,³³ they have not fully addressed the issues raised here: localization, trans-sectarianism, and commodification.

Finally, my treatment of the Narita cult contributes to Edo-period studies. Edo culture is becoming an increasingly popular topic in scholarship, due to its rich artistic and literary worlds, and to the fact that many elements of modern Japanese culture trace their roots to the Edo Period. Since large religious sites like Shinshōji contributed to the commercial, artistic, and recreational culture of the age, a study of the Narita Fudō adds to the appreciation of early modern Japanese society.

Sources of Investigation

As stated above, this dissertation examines the processes by which local narratives such as miracle tales played a central role in the creation of regionally-distinct Fudō cults. Due to the amorphous nature of the miracle tale genre, a variety of additional primary sources will come into play. These include the *engi* 縁起, a document central to the creation of a religious site's distinctive local character. Closely associated with miracle tales and *engi* are biographies of famous Buddhist masters. Of particular importance to this study are the biographies of the Shingon patriarch Kanchō 寛朝 (916–998) and the Pure Land monks Dōyo 道誉 (1515–1574) and Yūten 祐天 (1636–1718), all of whom became central figures in the miraculous

³⁰ Ambros (2002).

³¹ For example, Mills (1970), Nakamura (1973), Ury (1979), Dykstra (1983), Morell (1985), McCullough (1988), and Tyler (1990).

³² For example, Imazawa (1941), Ishida (1981), Muraoka (1981), Yoritomi (1984: 200–206), Shinbo (1995), Nakamae (1996).

³³ Works that discuss the narrative literature of the Narita Fudō include Watanabe (1975: 104–114), Yoritomi (1984: 209–213), and Murakami (1993a: 253–255). Asahi's (1981) monograph represents one of the best to date, though it focuses mostly on the Ichikawa line of actors.

history of Shinshōji. I also make frequent use of gazetteers³⁴ (*chishi* 地誌, *fudoki* 風土記) and travel and guidebook literature written for commoners. These records contain detailed information such as precinct descriptions, legends surrounding the history of temples and shrines, popular local attractions, and consumer products. Since gazetteers and guidebooks also reproduced the miracle tales, *engi*, and biographies that are relevant to our study, they represent valuable sources for understanding Fudō's localization at specific sites.

As noted, Shinshōji's popularity was such that the Narita Fudō became as much a commercial product as it was a sacred object of religious worship. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the deity prominently figured in the urban entertainment and material culture of the capital. Therefore, popular fiction, art and theatre will also prove key sources of investigation. For example, the famous Ichikawa Danjūrō 市川團十郎 guild of actors produced kabuki plays adapting the lore of the Narita Fudō to the stage. I will also consider *ukiyoe* 浮世絵 prints,³⁵ a popular genre of woodblock paintings that depicted scenes from these plays and promoted both the kabuki theatre and the Narita Fudō in and around Edo.

Finally, this study also makes use of Shinshōji's recently published temple documents, *Naritasan Shinshōji shiryō shū* 成田山新勝寺史料集 (*Collection of the Historical Documents of Naritasan Shinshōji Temple*, 1992–2002). These documents, which contain the official diaries of Shinshōji's chief priests, records of temple finances, activities, exhibitions, and daily life in Narita, offer important insights into how the Narita Fudō developed on the ground.

Chapter Organization

This dissertation is organized into five chapters. Chapter one examines the miracle tale genre and the development of story literature devoted to Fudō prior to the Edo Period. This chapter identifies the basic features and varieties of the genre, and its relationships with other key literary forms relevant to this study. It then examines the emergence of the earliest extant Fudō narratives in Japan, and how they set the stage for the production of new tales, and the retelling of old ones in the early modern period. This will establish the central importance of narratives to the examination of local Fudō cults.

Chapter two discusses the formation of the new urban Buddhism that characterized the Edo Period and its role in the development of Fudō cults. In addition to institutional changes came new technological and cultural advances in

³⁴ On the use of gazetteers in the study of local religion during the Edo Period, see Hardacre (2001 and 2002).

³⁵ For a descriptive list of Naritasan-related *ukiyoe*, see Ōno and Yuasa (1960: 5–9).

transportation, communication, and printing, key ingredients in the tourism and pilgrimage culture surrounding many shrines and temples. These developments helped set the stage for a “golden age” of Fudō cults, and are crucial to understanding how such cults developed and flourished during this time. Here I devote considerable detail to the case of the Meguro Fudō 目黒不動, arguably the most famous Fudō site located in Edo proper. An investigation of this cult establishes several issues central to our discussion, such as how sectarian elements merged with local history to produce creative new forms of the deity, and that Fudō was not an exclusively Mikkyō deity.

Chapter three contains an analysis of Shinshōji’s *engi* that appeared at the turn of the eighteenth century. Drawing on the discussion of the Meguro Fudō, this chapter explores the elaborate process by which the *engi* established the distinctive character of Shinshōji and its Narita Fudō by interweaving doctrinal elements with local history. Central to this localization process was the *engi*’s identification of the main protagonists in Shinshōji’s sacred history, their particular connections to the Narita area, and how their stories demonstrated the deity’s miraculous nature.

Chapter four situates Shinshōji’s *engi* and its miracle tales in their larger religious and commercial environments. This contextualization will shed light on how such a localized deity could be used to effectively function as a foundation not only for religious, but also cultural and commercial activities such as theatre, exhibitions of sacred temple treasures, and pilgrimage. Understanding the commercialization of the Narita Fudō will also reveal the larger network of sites participating in Shinshōji’s *engi* tradition, and therefore how the Narita Fudō was not exclusive to Shinshōji but a shared, trans-sectarian commodity.

Chapter five concludes the investigation of Naritasan’s miracle tales as they continued to flourish in the Meiji (1868–1912), Taishō (1912–25), and pre-war Shōwa (1925–1945) Periods. The religio-cultural popularity of Shinshōji did not decline with the Meiji government’s anti-Buddhism (*haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈) policy. Through its support of the government’s war effort in the late 1800s and early 1900s and the establishment of several subtemples it was able to perpetuate much of its former prosperity. In fact, extant sources suggest that Meiji-era Shinshōji saw an increase in the publication of miracle tales and a continued production of the kabuki plays celebrating the Narita Fudō. This chapter identifies how the Narita Fudō quickly evolved to accommodate cultural and political changes affecting Japanese society as a whole. One of the most notable adaptations was the recasting of the Narita Fudō as a war deity who could protect Japanese soldiers off to the Chinese and Russian fronts. Later, with a new national system of modern roads and railways, the Narita Fudō evolved yet again into a god of traffic safety, a guise in which he is commonly worshipped today.

CHAPTER ONE FUDŌ AND THE MIRACLE TALE GENRE

As discussed in the introduction, miracle tales, in their variety of forms, represent a central source of information for our study. The purpose of this chapter is thus twofold. First, I will briefly identify the basic features of this diverse genre of narrative texts. Second, I will explore how these sources played a pivotal role in the formation and operation of local religious sites by investigating the emergence of the Fudō miracle tale in Japan. Both examinations will provide us with the necessary framework with which to approach our study of the miracle tale culture of the Narita Fudō cult in the early modern period.

The Miracle Tale Genre

Despite their diversity, miracle tales in pre-modern Japan were largely inherited from Chinese models. The Chinese Buddhist miracle story,³⁶ well-established by the Tang dynasty (618–907),³⁷ had developed from a combination of tales devoted to supernatural “accounts of the strange” (*zhiguai* 志怪)³⁸ with Chinese translations of Indian Buddhist *avadāna*³⁹ and *jātaka* tales,⁴⁰ narratives describing the former lives of prominent Buddhist figures such as the Buddha Śākyamuni.⁴¹

A common term found in the titles of such works and often used today to denote the miracle tale genre in general is “*reigenki*” 靈驗記. The keyword *reigen* 靈驗, though often rendered simply as “miracle,”⁴² is more precisely translated as “miraculous or numinous efficacy,” or more liberally, as Verellen writes, an “evidential miracle in response to an act of devotion,” or a “marvelous efficacy of an act of devotion or sacred object.”⁴³ Watari Kōichi similarly identifies *reigen* as the

³⁶ For an introduction to the Chinese Buddhist miracle tale, see Gjertson (1981).

³⁷ Gjertson (1981: 287).

³⁸ Company (1991: 29).

³⁹ Gjertson (1981: 288).

⁴⁰ Verellen (1992: 229).

⁴¹ The miracle tale genre was not, however, exclusive to the Buddhist tradition. We find such Daoist collections as the *Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記 (*Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism*, tenth century) (here I use Verellen’s translation of the title [Verellen 1992: 217]). Shintō collections in Japan were also produced for *kami* such as the *Hikosan gongen reigenki* 彦山権現靈驗記 (*A Record of the Miraculous Efficacy of Hikosan Gongen*, 1719) and *Kasuga gongen genki* 春日権現驗記 (*A Record of the Miraculous Efficacy of Kasuga Gongen*, late Kamakura Period). See Tyler (1990) for a translation of the latter.

⁴² For example, Tyler (1990) and Ambros (2002: 279).

⁴³ Verellen (1992: 228).

miraculous effect of a deity evoked through prayer and faith.⁴⁴ Thus, *reigenki* is a “record” (*ki* 記) or collection of such events. As the latter translations show, devotion to an object of worship (most often a deity) is central to these narratives, and involves the concepts of *reikan* 靈感 or *reiō* 靈応 (terms closely associated with *reigen*), meaning “miraculous sympathy or response.” Both terms presume the presence of the Chinese concept of *ganying* 感應 (Jp. *kan’ō*), “stimulus-response” or “sympathetic resonance,”⁴⁵ the mechanism by which the needs of a worshipper stimulates (*gan* 感) a response (*ying* 應) from an object of worship. The response is strictly mechanical, having no human or divine agency, a “function of a commutative interaction between aspirant and the sacred order and not purely the work of either thaumaturgy on the part of the subject or numinal intrusion on the part of the cult object.”⁴⁶ Or, more simply, as Robert Sharf puts it: “The notion of sympathetic resonance is deceptively simple: objects belonging to the same class resonate with each other just as do two identically tuned strings on a pair of zithers.”⁴⁷ In his introduction (*jijo* 自序) to the *Fudō Myōō reiōki* 不動明王靈応記 (*A Record of the Miraculous Efficacy of Fudō Myōō*, 1737), the Shingon monk Santō 三等 explains this mechanism and its consequences by means of an example:⁴⁸

ソレクウコク ココロ ヒビキ アレ カナラ コタ ショウ コ コヘ
夫空谷ノ情ナキモ⁴⁹響キ有バ必ス應へ鐘鼓ノ聲ナキモ
ウツ アレ カナラ ナルシカ レイメイ シゼン リ シンメイ ブツダ
打事⁵⁰有ハ必ズ鳴併シナガラ靈妙自然ノ理ナリ神明佛陀ノ
ユウスイ カン カナラ ヲフ シン カナラ ゲン ソノメウ アフ
幽邃ナルモ感アレバ必ス應ジ信アレバ必ス現ズ其冥應ト
ゲンアフ チ ソク ア タ タダシン ジンセン オヨ シュク ジフ
現應ト遅ト速ト有ル事⁵¹ハ他なし但信ノ深淺ト及ビ夙習ノ
コウハク ヨル コノユヘ ショウ グウ イタ チカ ミヤウ オウ
厚薄トニ由ノミ是故ニ證空^三井至テ誓ヒシカバ明王タチマ
カハ ク ウケモン ガク フカ シン ドウ シ コン ガラ タダ シ
チ代ツテ苦ヲ受文覺^高深ク信ゼシカバ童子^矜迦羅^羅直チニ死ヲ
スク
救フ

⁴⁴ Watari (1993: 339).

⁴⁵ Sharf (2001: 83); Benn (2007: 6).

⁴⁶ Stevenson (1995: 429).

⁴⁷ Sharf (2001: 83).

⁴⁸ Kyōto Fuzoku Toshokan (Kyōto University Library) MS (folio 4 recto–5 verso).

⁴⁹ This character appears without the top stroke (“七”). I take it as “*mo*” モ (thus making the phrase “*kokoro naki mo*” 情ナキモ), based on grammatical context and the subsequent parallel construction of “*koe naki mo*” 聲ナキモ.

⁵⁰ This character (*koto* 事) appears abbreviated in the original with its single vertical stroke.

⁵¹ See above note.

Now, although an empty valley is lifeless, if there were an echo surely there would be a response. Although bells and drums are silent, they would surely sound when struck. Such are the subtle and mysterious laws of nature. Although the *kami* of heaven and earth⁵² and buddhas are hidden away, if there is stimulus [*kan* 感] [they will] surely respond [*ō* 應]. If one has faith [they will] surely appear. It is only a matter of whether the response is invisible or manifest, or whether it be prolonged or immediate. It simply depends on how deep or shallow the faith, how strong or weak the fervor. Therefore, no sooner had Shōgū⁵³ (of Mii) prayed than the Myōō immediately undertook [his] suffering in his stead. When Mongaku (of Takao) displayed deep reverence, the acolyte (Kongara) instantly saved him from death.

As Santō's introduction suggests, stimulus-response most often takes the form of a deity's appearance and favour to a devotee (the terms *rishō* 利生, "benefit to the living," and *riyaku* 利益, "benefits [bestowed by a deity]," are therefore occasionally used in place of *reigen*). We will revisit the tale of Shōkū 証空 (1177–1247) in more detail below, and see how it illustrates the important mechanism of stimulus-response.

Regarding the contents and types of miracle tales, Donald E. Gjertson proposes three general categories based on Chinese examples:

- 1) accounts of divine intervention in times of need, usually initiated by appeals to Avalokiteśvara;
- 2) illustrations of the efficacy of Buddhist piety, often through descriptions of the inexorable workings of the law of karmic retribution;
- 3) miracles prodigies [*sic*] associated with famous monks or laymen, serving to demonstrate their high spiritual attainments.⁵⁴

All three categories proposed by Gjertson were central to pre-modern Japanese miracle tales. With their accounts extolling the divine power of a deity (type one), didactic demonstrations of the efficacy of Buddhist faith (type two), and celebrations of eminent monks (type three), miracle tales naturally formed strong connections to other literary genres in China and Japan such as Buddhist biographies and the

⁵² *Jinmyō* 神明 (Nakamura 1981: 795c).

⁵³ Also pronounced "Shōkū."

⁵⁴ Gjertson (1981: 296).

setsuwa 説話 (literally, “explanation by story”), an umbrella term denoting story narratives such as parables, myths, legends, and folk tales. Type two tales, for example, formed the impetus behind the earliest extant Japanese *setsuwa* collection of Buddhist tales, the *Nihonkoku genpō zen’aku ryōiki* 日本国現報善悪靈異記 (*A Record of Miraculous Present-day Karmic Recompenses of Good and Evil in Japan*, early ninth century),⁵⁵ whose title illustrates its emphasis on karmic retribution in the present world. This text marked the beginning of a long collaboration in Japan between authors of miracle tales and *setsuwa* collections who would often turn to one another for material. The stories of the eminent monks Shōkū and Mongaku 文覚 (twelfth century) mentioned above, for example, frequently appeared in both types of collections.

Beyond the *setsuwa*, two additional genres of literature demand our attention. The first is related to the type three miracle tale, accounts of eminent monks. Biographies of famous monks in China are known to have developed in close proximity to miracle tales.⁵⁶ The same remained true in Japan, where the biography has left a lasting impression on the miracle tale by forming its characteristic shape; the action, for example, centres around the devotee, not the deity. Even in cases where the protagonist is a simple commoner, the tale still emulates the classic biographical paradigm by establishing the person’s name, age, place of birth, lineage, occupation, and so forth as it would with a distinguished monk. So close were the two that there was often nothing to distinguish the biography from the miracle tale other than their packaging or framing. Biographies, or sections from them, often stood as the miracle tale with little modification necessary. The aforementioned Fudō miracle tale collection, for example, faithfully reproduced seven of its forty-nine stories from the *Shingon den* 真言伝 (*Shingon Biographies*, 1325).⁵⁷

The second genre central to our discussion is the *engi* 縁起,⁵⁸ a type of document describing the origins and history of a temple or shrine and its sacred objects (thus the term is variously translated as “foundation narrative,” “origin tale,”

⁵⁵ Also known as the abbreviated *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記 (*A Record of the Miraculous in Japan*). See Nakamura (1973) for an introduction and annotated translation.

⁵⁶ Gjertson (1981: 287, 299); Company (1991: 28–29); Yu (2001: 156).

⁵⁷ For example, the biography of Keiso 慶祚 (955–1019) as recorded in the *Shingon den* (DBZ.106.214a) served as the basis for tale fifteen in the *Fudō Myōō reiōki* (“How Keiso Ajari Had a Dream of Fudō the Day Before His Death” 慶祚阿闍利臨終ノ前日不動尊ヲ夢ミル事). Similarly, the biography of Jōshō 定照 (906–983) (DBZ.106.197a–b) became tale twenty-eight (“How Dharma Teacher Jōshō Conversated with the Myōō about the Profound Meaning of the Dharma” 定照法師ニ明王甚深ノ法義ヲ語り下フ事).

⁵⁸ Literally, “arising (*ki* 起) from karmic connections” (*en* 縁). In this sense the term is also used to represent the fundamental Buddhist concept of “conditioned arising” (Sk. *pratītya samutpāda*), the mutually-coexistent, interdependent quality of all phenomena (Nakamura 1981: 118c–d).

or “temple [or shrine] chronicle”). While there was often little to distinguish the *engi* from the biography or *setsuwa* in terms of style or content, its distinctive character lay in its ability to locate miraculous events within a particular geographical area. The *engi* became a central source in establishing religious sites as sacred spaces where miracles were readily abundant due to the numinous presence of a local deity, positing that one may obtain the miraculous benefits of that deity by visiting the site and offering worship; hence their relationship with miracle tale literature.⁵⁹ *Engi* (like miracle tales) were not merely local, popular folklore or legends, but were actively produced by clergy to claim ownership over, and impose their own histories onto, a particular geographical landscape.

Since the founding, subsequent history, and noted features of a temple or shrine were grounded in the *engi*, these documents became central in establishing unique identities for religious sites. During the Edo Period, *engi* were important to how the public, including the Tokugawa government, understood and defined religious institutions. Both private and government-sponsored gazetteers, travel diaries, guidebooks to famous places, and records of annual events, all included *engi* (often listed first or in a prominent position) as a primary source of information when identifying and describing the history, particular merits and attractions of temples and shrines. Moreover, *engi* not only established the identity of a temple, but also that of its central object of worship (*honzon* 本尊). The miraculous powers and benefits offered by an image, its connection to the area, and its relationships with other local deities, were first and foremost defined by the *engi*. The *engi*, then, can be read as a guide that positions a deity in a particular place, and identifies its range of abilities and connection to its community. If anything, it seeks to answer the most basic of questions: why did *that* deity appear *here*, and why should one worship it?

Engi moreover reveal how the particular identity of a deity was constructed through a process of “localization,” or “domestication,”⁶⁰ accomplished through a layering of inherited sectarian tradition with local geography and history. This layering was generally symbolized in the *engi* by the meeting of the famous monk with the local deity, similar to what Bernard Faure describes as “the confrontation of two irreconcilable (and yet coexisting) worldviews: the unlocalized conceptions of Buddhism as universal doctrine and the localized beliefs of popular religion as ritual practice.”⁶¹ As such, the *engi* reveals the coexistence or negotiation of divergent traditions operating in a shared space, whether they be religions (Buddhist or Shintō),

⁵⁹ While miracle tales often acted as a sort of supplement to or collection of *engi* narratives, the division between the two was more often than not blurred, with one often incorporating the other and their designations (*engi* versus *reigenki*) used interchangeably.

⁶⁰ Yu (2001: 151).

⁶¹ Faure (1987: 337–338).

sectarian groups (Shingon, Pure Land, etc.), or local elements such as history, geography, or popular tradition. The *engi* therefore illustrates how scriptural descriptions of the deity co-existed with local traditions on the ground. As we will see, a key process in a temple's domestication of a deity was to assign particular abilities or attributes that were more indebted to local circumstances such as history or geography than canonical scriptures. As Robert Sharf writes, "multiple icons of one and the same Buddha or bodhisattva are regarded in some sense as separate individuals with unique identities... . This individuation extends to the powers associated with specific icons; each may have its own area of competence."⁶² Temples like Naritasan developed their own *engi* in the attempt to distinguish their Fudō from the next, usually accomplished by naming the image after its key attribute or location. In the former case, for example, we have such local Fudō images as the "Safe Childbirth" (Anzan 安産) Fudō and the "Self-Sacrificing" (Migawari 身代) Fudō.⁶³

Finally, *engi* can reveal the inherent commercial interests of temples and shrines. Their circulation in a variety of popular media of the day—guidebooks, travel diaries, art and theatre—provided a prominent voice by which the average citizen came to know of a deity. The unique name of a local deity was meant not only to distinguish it from others, but also to promote its particular benefits. Thus, *engi* often stood at the centre of religious activities, functioning both as advertisements central to securing patronage (miracles do not happen to just anyone; they happen to patrons) as well as guides for religious practice such as prayer, pilgrimage and austerities, illustrating how a devotee could hope to receive the divine favour of a deity through the workings of sympathetic-response.

Early Fudō Narratives

With the literary blend of the miracle tale, biography, and *engi* in mind, let us now turn to the development of Fudō miracle tales in Japan. In the following section I wish to give a brief overview of selected Fudō tales that existed prior to the Edo Period. Rather than offering a comprehensive history of pre-Edo-period Fudō worship, I am instead interested in highlighting the basic features, contexts and developments of the earliest extant Fudō tales, their relationship to religious sites, and how they set the stage for the production of new tales, and the retelling of old ones.

⁶² Sharf (1999: 83).

⁶³ See notes 141, 142, and 144 for additional examples in Edo.

Although the cult of the deity had been popular during the Tang Period, as it stands, extant Chinese sources⁶⁴ (of which I am aware) seem only to preserve a single tale that we can for certain place in China.⁶⁵ This lack of tales can be attributed to both the few surviving Chinese texts that offer substantial information on Fudō (Ch. Budong),⁶⁶ as well as the esoteric Buddhist emphasis on technical ritual and

⁶⁴ Since I am unfamiliar with Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Nepalese sources, and since the Indo-Tibetan forms of the deity (for example, Acala or Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa) had little if any influence in Japan and are thus peripheral to this study, I do not consider them here.

⁶⁵ The only other Chinese passage of which I am aware that can be considered a narrative is found in T.19.981:

爾時不動明王。執持慧刀威猛奮怒。相其所赴方面畫作雲龍。以大慧刀印而斷壞之。彼障即時消散。

At that time Budong Mingwang took up his sword of wisdom and thrashed in fury. He headed straightforth to draw a cloud and *nāga*, which he then destroyed with the great wisdom-sword *mudrā*. Its obstacles were at once dispersed.
(T.19.981.411a.17–19)

This short passage acts as the both the *sūtra*'s opening and cause for explaining the subsequent ritual for weather control. My thanks to Professor Iyanaga Nobumi for pointing this source out to me.

⁶⁶ Although volume twenty-one of the Taishō canon records seven Budong texts (T.21.1199–T.21.1205), I consider the majority apocryphal, likely composed in Japan and drawing heavily from Chinese sources. Only three of the seven I place for certain in China: *Kongōshu kōmyō kanjō kyō saishō ryūin shōmudōson daiinuō nenju giki hō hin* 金剛手光明灌頂經最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌法品 (T.21.1199), *Chiri sanmaya Fudōson inuō shisha nenju hō* 底哩三昧耶不動尊威怒王使者念誦法 (T.21.1200), and *Fudō shisha darani himitsu hō* 不動使者陀羅尼秘密法 (T.21.1202). This is based on the following analysis. First, it is only these three texts that I am able to locate in the ten Tang-period Chinese catalogues recorded in T.55 (specifically, T.55.2154, T.55.2156, and T.55.2157). Second, only the same three texts appear in the Korean canon (K.37.1376, K.36.1285, K.36.1271), again suggesting their continental provenance. Third and final, with two exceptions, I am able to place only these three texts in the catalogues of imported items of the Heian-period Mikkyō patriarchs (viz., the *nitto hakke*). The two exceptions are: (1) T.21.1201 appears in Eun's 惠運 (798–869) T.55.2168b catalogue; and (2) T.21.1201 and T.21.1203 appear in Shūei's 宗叡 (809–884) T.55.2174a catalogue. These references, however, are suspect. (1) Following Eun's reference to T.21.1201 is the gloss: "composite of the single-fascicle [version]" (複爲一卷) (T.55.2168b.1091a.7-8). This would refer to the single fascicle T.21.1200, which the three fascicle T.21.1201 largely reproduces (perhaps acknowledged by the similar title). We should also note that this catalogue does not identify itself as a list of imported items from China, but only as a record of texts written by Eun. Moreover, when adjudicating T.21.1201, the *Kakuzen shō* adds the gloss: "Anjō" (安祥) (TZ.5.3022.169a.17), likely referring to Eun's Anjōji 安祥寺 Temple in Kyōto. This may suggest a Japanese provenance for T.21.1201, perhaps originating with Eun. (2) Shūei's references to T.21.1201 and T.21.1203 in T.55.2174a are not corroborated by Annen's 安然 (841–?) T.55.2176 catalogue (a later composite and study of the *nitto hakke*'s catalogues), which lists T.21.1201 as having only been imported by Eun. In sum, unless more evidence comes to light, I would argue that only three of the seven Budong texts listed in T.21 (viz., T.21.1199, T.21.1200, and T.21.1202) are of certain Chinese origin.

iconographical prescriptions over the development of narratives more common to other schools of Buddhism. The traditional narrative *sūtra* elements that do exist in these texts are usually relegated to the introduction, forming the frame for the all-important rituals subsequently expounded by the narrator as the sermon proper.

Our sole Chinese tale appears in the eighth-century *Dapiluzhena chengfo jing shu* (Jp. *Daibirushana jōbutsu kyō sho*)⁶⁷ 大毘盧遮那成仏經疏 (*Commentary on the Attainment of Buddhahood by Mahāvairocana sūtra*) as a lesser-known variant of the popular Tantric subjugation of Maheśvara (Śiva) tale.⁶⁸ While better known in the form which casts Vajrapāṇi, Heruka, or Trailokyavijaya as the conquering hero, and though far removed from the Buddhist-Śaivite power struggle in which it was originally cast, the tale is essentially the same as its more popular brothers: Maheśvara boasts himself to be the lord of the Three Realms (*sangai* 三界), whereupon he and his consort Umā are first destroyed by the hero (here Budong), then restored to life (see appendix 1 for a partial translation). While the absorption of this popular tale may seem a slavish attempt to promote the cult through a retelling of an important Tantric tale, it was by no means out of place; while still upholding Buddhist ideals (the power of the *dharma* to conquer heresy, and the claim that no evil deed precludes one from the all-embracing Buddhist salvation), the tale also functioned in this context as an expression of Budong's character and the benefits of his worship. Chinese ritual texts attribute to the deity an assortment of powers obtainable through ritual invocation,⁶⁹ prime among them, in terms of emphasis and frequency, being the subjugation of evil beings and the conquest of enemy armies. Both attributes are intimately connected to one another: Budong's common description as a subduer of demons and heretics (hence his similarities to Vajrapāṇi and Trailokyavijaya) provide a doctrinal basis for the several Budong rituals designed to overthrow military forces.⁷⁰ These rituals not only played on a major theme of the tale, that of the

⁶⁷ T.39.1796.678c.26ff.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of this myth, see Iyanaga (1985), Snellgrove (1987: 134–141), and Davidson (1991; 1995).

⁶⁹ Viz., the three Chinese ritual texts identified in note 66 (T.21.1199, T.21.1200, and T.21.1202). These texts describe such Budong rituals as controlling wind, rain, and water, obtaining love, wealth, and high positions of employment, severing hindrances, removing obstacles and disease, repelling poisonous snakes, extending life, and even animating corpses in cemeteries.

⁷⁰ T.1199 and T.1200 make frequent reference to such rites for destroying enemies and armies by making images and conducting the *goma* 護摩 (Sk. *homa*) ritual. A yellow-coloured Fudō with four heads and four arms appears in these texts with particularly strong ties to such rites. For instance:

又法欲禁他軍陣衆令不動者。於自旌上畫不動尊。四面四臂身作黃色。上下出牙作大忿怒瞋怖畏狀。遍身火光作天兵勢。行者以旌示彼軍衆。復想聖者以胃索縛彼兵衆。即彼軍衆盡不能動。

suppression of a malevolent power and preservation of righteous rule, but also the cult's role in state protection (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家). A disciple of Amoghavajra (705–774), for example, records how the successful overthrow of Tibetan rebels was due to his master's use of a Budong ritual.⁷¹ The Maheśvara-subjugation tale provided a mythic backdrop for these rituals, and likely played a role in Budong's rise in status from a low-ranking servant occupying minor positions in the *mandala* in which we first find him, to a prominent militant Chinese deity, providing us with a key to understanding the significance of our sole extant Chinese tale.

Fudō Narratives in Early Japan

While we might hope that the first Japanese esoteric Buddhist masters⁷² who returned from China in the ninth century with the first Budong ritual texts would have naturally transmitted any additional tales they had picked up during their travels, they are nonetheless silent on the matter. In particular, Ennin 円仁 (Jikaku Daishi 慈覚大師, 794–864), whose catalogues and writings reveal an interest in Fudō,⁷³ makes not a single reference to the deity in his diary covering a decade of travels throughout China,⁷⁴ including the capital Chang'an, where esoteric masters like Amoghavajra (to whom important Budong texts were ascribed) were active. Nor do we have any written record that confirms that Budong tales beyond the Maheśvara story were introduced to Japan by others.

Despite, or perhaps due to, its rarity, the Maheśvara tale did not go by unnoticed in Japan when the first Budong ritual texts were introduced by early

Next ritual: If you wish to conquer military forces employ Budong. On a standard paint the image of Budong with four heads and four arms. Make his body yellow in colour, and with teeth protruding up and down. He possesses great wrath and instills fear. His body is enveloped by the radiance of flames that takes the appearance of heavenly forces. Practitioners should display this standard before the enemy and concentrate on the Sacred One binding the forces with his lasso. Thus shall they be destroyed and made unable to move. (T.21.1200.11b.25–29; cf. T.21.1201.21c27–22a2)

⁷¹ Orzech (1998: 161, 201).

⁷² Commonly grouped as the *nittō hakke* 入唐八家, the eight masters who traveled to China and returned with knowledge and materials of the Mikkyō traditions. Viz., Saichō 最澄 (Dengyō Daishi 伝教大師, 766–822), Kūkai 空海 (Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, 774–836), Jōgyō 常暁 (d. 865), Engyō 圓行 (799–852), Ennin 円仁 (Jikaku Daishi 慈覚大師, 794–864), Eun 惠運 (798–869), Enchin 円珍 (Chishō Daishi 智証大師, 814–891), and Shūei 宗叡 (809–884).

⁷³ For example, his catalogue of imported items from China, the *Nittō shin gushōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄 (847) (T.55.2167), lists six Fudō texts that returned with him to Japan.

⁷⁴ The *Nittō gubō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記 (*Record of a Pilgrimage to Tang China in Search of the Dharma*, DBZ.113). See Reischauer (1955) for a translation and study.

masters like Kūkai 空海 (Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, 774–836), founder of the Japanese Shingon tradition. The tale was reproduced in the *Chiri sanmaya Fudōson shōja nenjū himitsu hō*⁷⁵ 底哩三昧耶不動尊聖者念誦祕密法, which is presented in the Taishō canon as a Chinese translation of an Indian text, but is almost certainly an apocryphal text composed in Japan.⁷⁶ Moreover, drawings of Fudō trampling Maheśvara and Umā later appeared in Mikkyō encyclopedias such as the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 (*Assorted Notes on Particular Deities*, mid-late twelfth century)⁷⁷ and the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 (*Explanatory Notes of Kakuzen*, late twelfth century),⁷⁸ suggesting the degree to which the tale had become of some interest to early Fudō worship in Japan.

One of the earliest extant Fudō tales composed in Japan is possibly found in the *Bussetsu Kurikara dairyū shō gedōbuku darani kyō* 仏說俱利伽羅大龍勝外道伏陀羅尼經 (*Sūtra Expounded by the Buddha on the Dhāraṇī of Subjugation and the Great Nāga Kurikara's Conquest of Heretics*),⁷⁹ a short *sūtra* devoted to Fudō's serpent companion and *samaya* 三摩耶 form,⁸⁰ the *nāga* Kurikara 俱利伽羅.⁸¹ The tale is about a showdown between Fudō and the leader of a group of heretics, both of whom present various manifestations as a display of their powers. When a stalemate is reached by both taking the form of swords, Fudō manifests Kurikara and devours his opponent (see appendix 2 for a complete translation of the *sūtra*). Beyond providing both a ritual and iconographical logic to the deity,⁸² as the *sūtra*'s title

⁷⁵ T.21.1201.13c21ff.

⁷⁶ See note 66.

⁷⁷ TZ.3.3007.420.165 and TZ.3.3007.421.

⁷⁸ TZ.5.3022.171.284. Two additional images can be found in the *Tōjibon Fudō Myōō zuzō* 東寺本不動明王圖像 (*Iconography of Fudō Myōō of the Tōji Temple*, TZ.6.3099.219.9) and the *Fudō giki* 不動儀軌 (*Ritual Instructions [for the Worship] of Fudō*, TZ.12.3257.1062.1). However, perhaps due to the importance of Fudō's trademark of sitting (or standing) atop a rock platform, and the eventual relative obscurity of the tale, the trampling of demons never became a dominant iconographical feature as it did with other deities like Gōzanze (Sk. Trailokyavijaya).

⁷⁹ T.21.1206. While this text too has been classified as Chinese in origin, it was likely produced in Japan (though possibly based on Chinese sources) for the same reasons outlined in note 66. The thirteenth-century encyclopedia *Byakuhōkushō* clearly states its position on the text's provenance by means of an interlinear gloss: 此經決是偽造 佛說俱力伽羅大龍勝外道伏陀羅尼經 (The *Bussetsu Kurikara dairyū shō gedōbuku darani kyō*... [This *sūtra* is certainly a forgery]) (TZ.7.3119.23c.7).

⁸⁰ See note 82.

⁸¹ On Kurikara and his connection to Fudō, see Nakamura (1993: 319–339).

⁸² Many of the visualization procedures used to invoke and worship Fudō, such as the *honzon kan* 本尊觀, involve a series of transformations of images. This series usually includes some or all of Fudō's *bija* ("seed" *mantra*), his sword, Kurikara, and his anthropomorphic form, shifting through a Mikkyō deity's three types of physical representations (*shusanzon* 種三尊), namely the "bija form" (*shuji kei* 種子形), a deity's representation by his dominant *bija-mantra*; the "samaya form" (*sanmaya gyō* 三摩耶

suggests, like the Maheśvara story, the tale reinforced in Japan Fudō's function as a wrathful conqueror of malevolent beings and his ritual use as an object of protection, personified through his wrathful, militant iconography of weapons, fangs, and flames.

Fudō's guardianship character as described in canonical sources, and his increasing popularity in Heian-period rituals designed for state-protection (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家),⁸³ later provided an inspiration for popular legends of the deity saving king and country from national crises, drawn from such famous historical incidents as the first rebellions against the Emperor⁸⁴ and the curse of "Tenjin" 天神

形), an alternate, non-anthropomorphic form, often using a deity's trademark symbol (in Fudō's case, his sword); and the normative, anthropomorphic form (*sonkei* 尊形). In some rituals Kurikara is treated as an alternate or secondary *samaya* form, hence his close connection to the sword. Several iconographies depict him coiled around Fudō's sword (Kōyasan's Red Fudō is a well-known example), about to devour it from the tip. Others present Kurikara and the sword in the place of Fudō, flanked by his acolytes in worship (e.g., TZ.6.3090). The tale may have been partially written to explain these sequential visualizations, and was either a basis for, or a rationalization of, these images. Since the Chinese *nāga* often inhabited rivers and ponds and was thus regularly worshipped as a rain deity, Fudō's connection to Kurikara (still not well understood) may also explain his similar connections to weather control in China and Japan.

⁸³ The spread of Fudō worship in Japan was aided by Kūkai's adoption of an ideological and ritual program derived from Amoghavajra's translation of the *Sūtra of Benevolent Kings* (Ch. *Renwang jing* 仁王經; Jp. *Nin'nō kyō*; T.8.246) during his promotion of the Shingon tradition at the Heian court (for a study on this text and its role in the development of Tang esoteric Buddhism and its importance at court, see Orzech 1998). The locus of this program was the famous Nin'nō kyō Mandara 仁王經曼荼羅 (also called the Katsuma [Sk. Karma] Mandara 羯磨曼荼羅), built by Kūkai at the Tōji 東寺 Temple, designated guardian temple of the nation, where esoteric rituals were regularly conducted for state protection. The *maṇḍala* consists of twenty-one wooden statues, in which Fudō occupies one of the top positions as the central deity of the Godai Myōō 五大明王 (The Five Great Lords of Illumination). The success of the program helped cement Fudō's importance and patronage as a guardian figure of the state—so much so that by the end of the eleventh century he had become a central deity in rituals associated with the *Sūtra of Benevolent Kings* (Nakano 1987: 33), evidenced by the production of original Nin'nō kyō Mandara in which Fudō now appeared as the *honzon* or central object of worship (see, for example, TZ.3.3007.193.48ff.). Another important, and related, ritual program at this time was the *anchin hō* 安鎮法, which also placed Fudō as the central deity in its Anchin hō Mandara 安鎮法曼荼羅 (Maṇḍala for the Rites of Pacification and Tranquility). These trends of Fudō worship possibly explain the production of the *Mudōson anchin kakoku tōhō* 聖無動尊安鎮家國等法 (*Venerable Mudō Rituals for the Protection of the State*; T.21.1203). Though classified by the Taishō canon as Chinese, it is likely Japanese in origin (see note 66).

⁸⁴ Most notable are the rebellions of Taira no Masakado 平將門 (d. 940) and Fujiwara no Sumitomo 藤原純友 (d. 941), later incorporated into several medieval biographies of eminent monks. The Masakado rebellion became a basis for temple *engi* during the Edo Period, most notably the *engi* of Naritasan, of central importance to this study (discussed in detail in chapters three and four). Chapter six of the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 also tells us how, during the Genpei War (1180–1185), images of Fudō were offered by families to end the revolt of Minamoto Yoshinaka 源義仲 (see McCullough 1988: 208 for an English translation of the passage).

(Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真) in the tenth century.⁸⁵ These tales would appear in biographies, and later, temple histories. Notable among them is the legend of the “Wave-Cutter” (Namikiri 波切) Fudō enshrined in Kōyasan’s 高野山 Nan’in 南院 Temple. Kukai’s carving of the Wave-Cutter Fudō is credited with having saved his life on the return trip from China (by cutting down the waves that threatened the ship), and, in other accounts, suppressing the Tōi 東夷 Rebellion of 994, and saving the country from the Mongolian invasions of the late thirteenth century.⁸⁶

However, despite the growing popularity of Fudō among the Shingon, Tendai, and Shugendō traditions during the Heian Period, extant Japanese Mikkyō texts, like their Chinese predecessors, continued to emphasize ritual and iconographical prescriptions over tale literature, and thus were not directly concerned with preserving narratives that would have existed at this time. Nor do the *setsuwa* tales of the *Nihon ryōiki*, compiled shortly after Kūkai’s return from China, make any reference to Fudō, despite the fact that a third of the text’s tales are devoted to Buddhist deities. Were Fudō tales to develop and survive in any quantity they would have to do so outside the confines of the ritual texts and *sūtra*.

The Emerging Fudō Tale

It is not until some two centuries following Kūkai’s death that we begin to see passing literary references to the deity emerge in non-canonical material, providing insight into characterizations of the deity not necessarily revealed through scriptural materials. These early sources primarily were the great tale collections of the mid-late Heian Period: the *Eiga monogatari*⁸⁷ 榮花物語 (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*), *Dainihonkoku hokekyō genki*⁸⁸ 大日本国法華経験記 (*A Record of the Miraculous Efficacy of the Lotus sūtra in the Great Country of Japan*), *Sagoromo monogatari* 狭衣物

⁸⁵ Kyōto Fuzoku Toshokan (Kyōto University Library) MS (folio 29 recto) (Tale nine, “How Priest Sōi Saved the Princess from a Difficult Childbirth; How He Removed the Curse of Kanjin” 大僧正尊意皇后ノ難産ヲ救フ事 附菅神ノ崇リヲ除ク事).

⁸⁶ The Mongolian invasions inspired the production of distinct Fudō iconographies such as Shinkai’s 信海 (1613–1678) Fudō painting (TZ.6.3096), dated by the artist 1282, the year following the invasion (Sawa 1975: 403). Fudō stands alone atop a rock amidst the waves with an inverted sword, presumably to ward off the Mongolian armada. The *Kii no kuni meissho zue* 紀伊國名所圖會 (*Illustrated Guide to Famous Places in Kii Province*, mid-nineteenth century) contains an interesting image, where Fudō teams up with the *kami* Niu Myōjin 丹生明神 to destroy the Mongolian fleet. See Fujisawa (1956: 200) for a reproduction of the image.

⁸⁷ For an English translation, see McCullough (1980).

⁸⁸ For an English translation, see Dykstra (1983: 35).

語 (*The Tale of Sagoromo*), and *Konjaku monogatari shū*⁸⁹ 今昔物語集 (*A Collection of Tales Past and Present*). This trend continued during the subsequent Kamakura Period (1185–1333), where Fudō appeared in such notable works as the *Uji shū monogatari*⁹⁰ 宇治拾遺物語 (*A Collection of Tales from Uji*), *Shaseki shū*⁹¹ 沙石集 (*A Collection of Sand and Stones*), *Heike monogatari*⁹² 平家物語 (*Tale of the Heike*), and *Soga monogatari*⁹³ 曾我物語 (*Tale of the Soga*).⁹⁴

One of the earliest of these extant references is found in the celebrated *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (*Tale of Genji*), written by the court lady Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 in the early years of the eleventh century. In chapter thirty-five,⁹⁵ Fudō is mentioned during the famous possession of Lady Murasaki, Genji's beloved wife, by an evil spirit, presumed to be the jealous and vindictive Lady Rokujō. When Murasaki dies of the possession, Genji in desperation calls for miracle-workers (*genza* 験者)⁹⁶ with the aim of prolonging her life⁹⁷ through the worship of Fudō. The rites

⁸⁹ For selected English translations, see Ury (1979) and Dykstra (1998–2003).

⁹⁰ For an English translation, see Mills (1970).

⁹¹ For an English translation, see Morell (1985).

⁹² For an English translation, see McCullough (1988).

⁹³ For an English translation, see Cogan (1987).

⁹⁴ On Fudō and *setsuwa* literature, see Ishida (1981: 1013–1035) and Muraoka (1981: 167–176).

⁹⁵ “*Wakana ge*” 若菜下 (“Young Greens, Part Two”). See Seidensticker (1976: 587–635) and Tyler (2001: 627–671) for an English translation.

⁹⁶ The term *genza* (also *genja*) refers to practitioners of the Shugendō tradition (Nakamura 1981: 342c–d). Through its institutionalization with the Shingon and Tendai schools, Fudō had become its prime deity, rivaled only by Zaō Gongen 蔵王権現. *Shugenja* (“those who cultivate miracles”) developed reputations for working magic acquired through ascetic practices usually based in the mountains. Central to Shugendō practice was, as it still is today, the *goma* ritual (in particular the *sokusai* 息災 and *saitō* 柴灯 *gomas*) and *chōbuku* 調伏 (exorcism) rites in which Fudō is the central deity. Genji's request for the ascetics to conduct Fudō rites would have been a natural one.

⁹⁷ A fourteenth-century commentary on the *Genji monogatari*, the *Kakai shō* 河海抄, cites a text called the *Fudō giki* 不動儀軌 (*Ritual Prescriptions of Fudō*) that says Fudō could grant an additional six months of life to the dying (正報尽クル者モ能ク六月ヲ延バス) (Abe 1994: 234, note 4), which seems to be what Genji is requesting. Seidensticker (1976: 617), Payne (1987: 54), Tyler (2001: 654, note 94), and Mack (2006: 202) are unable to identify the source, but it is clearly pulled from a Chinese Budong ritual text: “Moreover, a living being who is soon to die can extend their life by six months” (又正報盡者能延六月住, T.1199.21.6b.21–22). This is achieved through a ritual which involves visualizing oneself as Fudō and placing *bija-mantra* on the body. The prime objective of the ritual, however, is the exorcism of all evil spirits within one hundred *yojana*. That the ritual frequently appears in Kamakura-period Mikkyō encyclopedias (TZ.3.3007.346c27–29; TZ.5.3022.211b26–28; TZ.5.3022.224b23–24; TZ.9.3190.320c25–26; TZ.7.3119.3c21–4b6) suggests that it would have been known to court figures like Murasaki at the time. Murasaki's famous contemporary, Lady Sei Shōnagon 清少納言, was likewise familiar with Fudō. In her celebrated *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 (*The Pillow Book*, ca. 994–1001), Sei Shōnagon notes Fudō as one of ten popular Buddhist deities (Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪觀音, Senju Kannon 千手觀音, all Six Kannon すべて六觀音, Yakushi

are successful; Murasaki returns from the dead, and the spirit of Lady Rokujō leaves her body through the help of a child medium.⁹⁸

However minor, Murasaki Shikibu's reference to Fudō raises two important issues: exorcism and resurrection. By the late tenth century, the age of the powerful Fujiwara 藤原 clan, Fudō rituals were being patronized in aristocratic circles. For example, two Fujiwara court diaries contemporaneous with Murasaki Shikibu, Fujiwara no Sanesuke's 藤原実資 *Shōyūki* 小右記 (978–1032) and Fujiwara no Yukinari's 藤原行成 *Gonki* 權記 (991–1011), make repeated references to Fudō rituals conducted in times of illness and disease.⁹⁹ Sanesuke records how in the summer of 1015 Emperor Sanjō 三条 (976–1017) suffered from an eye affliction. In response, images of Fudō were ordered to be made and the *Fudō chōbuku hō* 不動調伏法 (Fudō subjugation ritual) performed.¹⁰⁰ As members of Heian society often understood sickness in terms of spirit possession, the *Fudō chōbuku hō*, as well as the *Godan hō* 五壇法 (five altar rite) in which Fudō was also the central deity, had become two of the most popular healing rituals at court.¹⁰¹ Based on the Chinese rituals, the term *chōbuku* drew a logical correlation between Fudō's common characterization as one who subdues or conquers (*chōbuku* 調伏), and the curing of illness through exorcism (*chōbuku* 調伏).¹⁰² *Chōbuku* rites were understood as a "subjugation" and thus an expelling of evil spirits.

As suggested by Murasaki's recovery and her extended lifespan, the second point raised by the *Tale of Genji* is Fudō's relationship to death and resurrection (suggestive of the Maheśvara tale).¹⁰³ Not only did there develop rituals devoted to extending one's life (*Fudō enmei hō* 不動延命法), but there is also substantial evidence in the way of *ōjō* 往生 (Pure Land rebirth) tales, biographies, and diaries, that Fudō rituals were used as death rites to prepare a person for death so that they might subsequently obtain a good rebirth in the Pure Land.¹⁰⁴ The popularity of these rites must have been such that the ability even to revive the dead became a

Butsu 藥師佛, Shaka Butsu 釋迦佛, Miroku 彌勒, Jizō 地藏, Monju 文殊, Fudōson 不動尊, and Fugen 普賢) (NKBT.19.284).

⁹⁸ On Fudō's connection to spirit possession in the Heian court, see Sakō (1993: 109–122).

⁹⁹ These rituals are prescribed in detail in Heian–Kamakura-period Mikkyō encyclopedias. See especially the *Godan hō nikki* 五壇法日記 (*Diary of the Five Altar Rites*) in the *Asaba shō* 阿婆縛抄 (TZ.9.3190.342b–351c).

¹⁰⁰ Tōkyō Daigaku shiryō hensanjo ed. (1967: 29).

¹⁰¹ Sakō (1993: 110). Another important Fudō ritual that appears in the diaries is the *sokusai hō* 息災法, used to prevent disasters and calamities.

¹⁰² Although it literally means "subjugation," the term still today carries a strong connotation of exorcism.

¹⁰³ For a discussion on Fudō, resurrection, and hell, see Isaka (1993: 229–249).

¹⁰⁴ For a discussion on worship of Fudō for rebirth in the Pure Land, see Mack (2006: 297–317).

celebrated skill among Mikkyō clergy as portrayed in medieval biographies. Two of the earliest—and best known—Fudō tales, both about the aforementioned Kamakura-period monks, Mongaku and Shōkū, are premised on salvation from death through the divine grace of the deity. As in the *Tale of Genji*, the Shōkū episode in particular draws a tight correlation between Fudō and life-extension, healing, and salvation from death.¹⁰⁵ Since the tale of Shōkū is one of the oldest and most ubiquitous of all Fudō tales,¹⁰⁶ and is representative of the literary amalgam of biography, *setsuwa*, and *engi* important to our study of miracle tales, it is worthy of detailed mention here.

The Tale of Shōkū

The story of Shōkū begins with Chikō 智興, a high ranking Buddhist of the famous Tendai temple Onjōji 園城寺 (popularly known as Miidera 三井寺) near Kyōto, who falls ill with an incurable disease. Present is Abe no Seimei 安倍晴明, the famed yin-yang master whose powers of divination are well known to Japanese legend. Seimei determines that Chikō's only hope for salvation is to ritually transfer the terminal illness into another person. Only Shōkū, the youngest and most inexperienced of the disciples, is willing to give up his life for the master. With everyone moved by his selfless sacrifice, Shōkū bids farewell to his aged mother. After a difficult parting, Shōkū returns to Onjōji (in some versions this mother episode is omitted). The story, as recorded in the *Soga monogatari* 曾我物語 (*Tale of the Soga Brothers*, late fourteenth century), concludes:

Seimei, who had become impatient, hastened the preparations. He built a bed seven feet in length, hung multicolored sacred streamers, and arranged a pile of cakes and offerings of gold coins which were to be scattered about. . . . Then, when he read his written request to the gods, the Demon-deity must have appeared, for the gold coins and the streamers flew into the sky or danced about on the altar. In addition, the great god Fudō in the portrait came to life and brandished his sword. At that moment, Seimei stood up, rubbed his prayer beads above the head of Shōkū, and chanted: "The wisdom of equality and the teachings of enlightenment." The High Priest [Chikō] was immediately released from his pain, which then entered the body of Shōkū.

¹⁰⁵ The centrality of resurrection to the Fudō cult is shown in the later *Fudō Myōō reiōki*, which devotes eight of its forty-nine tales to resurrection.

¹⁰⁶ For a comparative discussion on the medieval sources of the Shōkū tale, see Shinpo (1995: 139–142).

Sweat poured from Shōkū's entire body... . When smoke poured forth from Shōkū's head and his pain became unbearable, he gazed at the portrait of Fudō, the god on whom he had relied for many years, and prayed with all his heart: "I offer to sacrifice my life for my teacher, and now I shall die on this altar. But I believe in rebirth in the other world. Welcome me into the Western Paradise. It is said that if a person knows his own heart he can achieve Buddhahood even in this life. Do not let me go astray."

Fudō pitied him, and red tears poured forth from the eyes in the portrait. "You are a noble person, and you respect your duty to the Buddhist Law," he said. "You abandoned your only parent in order to sacrifice yourself for your teacher. Although it is impossible to repay such kindness, I shall trade places with you, and thus save the life of a devoted monk. Bodhisattva Jizō is not the only deity to take such an oath. I am ready to receive your suffering."

Thus a miracle manifested itself, and fire flared from Fudō's head and soon enveloped his entire body. It was an act that inspired reverence and gratitude. At that moment Shōkū ceased to suffer. Everyone was grateful that the life of High Priest Chikō had also been saved.

At Miidera there is still this image called "Weeping Fudō," and it is the most valued treasure there. It is said that even today the red tears he shed can be seen on his chest.

Duty to one's teacher is a heavy burden.¹⁰⁷

An earlier version of this tale is found in the twelfth-century *Konjaku monogatari shū*, where the deity Taizanfukun (Ch. Taishan fujun) 泰山府君 (or 太山府君), "Magistrate of Mount Tai," appears in Fudō's place.¹⁰⁸ In China, the deity had developed ties to both Yama (Jp. Emma 閻魔) and Kṣitigarbha (Jp. Jizō 地藏), and by the late Tang, had become one of the Ten Kings of the Dead (Jp. *jūō* 十王).¹⁰⁹ In Heian Japan Taizanfukun was also worshipped as an authority over death and was believed to grant life-extension (*enmei* 延命).¹¹⁰ Based on their similarities, it would have not been an unnatural substitution to insert Fudō into the tale in place of Taizanfukun. As we see in the *Soga monogatari* version cited above, the tale identifies Fudō's compassionate self-sacrifice with Jizō: "Bodhisattva Jizō is not the only deity

¹⁰⁷ Here I use Cogan's translation (Cogan 1987: 192–193).

¹⁰⁸ NKBT.25.111–123.

¹⁰⁹ On the Ten Kings in China, see Teiser (1994).

¹¹⁰ Shinbo (1995: 140).

to take such an oath.”¹¹¹ In this case, the oath (to protect devotees) is fulfilled by substitution, *migawari* 身代り.¹¹² Fudō’s takeover of the tale and his identification with these deities and their attributes is only to be expected, as Fudō lacked the rich narrative background that many deities like Jizō and Kannon had enjoyed for centuries in China. As the Fudō cult grew, and the popularity of the deity crossed beyond the confines of Mikkyō and its ritual canon, narratives and attributes were shared across traditions, no doubt encouraged by the prevalence of *kenmitsu* (exo-esoteric) Buddhism that characterized the religious landscape of the medieval period. Fudō developed ties to death and the afterlife through relationships not only with Taizanfukun, Enma and Jizō, but also Miroku and his Tosotsu 兜率 (Sk. Tuṣita) Heaven, and Amida and the Western Pure Land, reflected by his appearance in *raigō* 来迎 imagery, Miroku and Amida *mandala*.¹¹³ In some versions of the tale, Shōkū prays to Fudō so that he might “obtain the proper state of mind at the moment of death and obtain rebirth in the Pure Land” (臨終正念往生極樂).¹¹⁴ Not

¹¹¹ Cogan (1987: 193). The *Shasekishū* 沙石集 (1283) contains a similar tale where Fudō protects a monk from evil beings as he lays dying so as to ensure a proper passing and rebirth, and links this attribute explicitly to Jizō: “there is an old and virtuous oral tradition that says the power of Fudō and Jizō does not abandon one throughout death and rebirth” (又古徳ノ口傳ニハ不動ト地藏トノ力放レテハ、生死ヲ出ル事ナシト云リ。) (NKBT.85.114).

¹¹² Fudō’s *migawari* aspect is also celebrated in the biographies of the famous Ennin and Kakuban. In the Ennin tale, Ennin is in China during the Buddhist persecution of 845. Fearing capture, he takes refuge in a temple, hiding among statues and praying to Fudō. Authorities cannot find him, but only see a Fudō statue in his place. When Ennin changes back from Fudō to his original self, the Emperor is so impressed that he grants him safe passage home to Japan (*Uji shūi monogatari* 13.10 [Kobayashi and Masuko eds. 1996: 417–421]). For an English translation of the tale, see Mills (1970: 390–393). In a similar story, under persecution from Kōya monks, Kakuban takes refuge in the Denbōin 傳法院 Temple and prays to Fudō. The monks enter, only to find two statues of Fudō. Figuring one must be Kakuban, a monk drills (*kirimomi* 錐揉) a spear into one of the two statues. When blood pours from the wound, the monks leave, thinking it is Kakuban. Kakuban, however, having magically transformed into the other Fudō, escapes unharmed, amazed at the blood manifested by the real Fudō. The tale was often recounted in his biography (see, for example, the *Genkō shakusho* [DBZ.101.199a–200b] and *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳 [DBZ.102.194b–196b]). This so-called Kirimomi (“Drilling”) Fudō, also known as the Migawari Fudō, is considered to be the image today enshrined in the Negoriji 根来寺 Temple and has become central to the temple’s *engi*. These, and other tales in which a practitioner assumes the form of Fudō, may have been influenced by the “deity identification” (*nyūga ga nyū* 入我我入) practiced in Mikkyō ritual.

¹¹³ The *Kakuzenshō* preserves an image (*Miroku raigōzu* 弥勒来迎図) of Miroku’s descent to a dying devotee in which Fudō appears occupying a prominent position (TZ.5.3022.26.196). Fudō’s appearance at the bottom of the Miroku Mandara 弥勒曼荼羅 (TZ.5.3022.28.197) also suggests the strong relationship between the two deities and Fudō’s involvement with the afterlife.

¹¹⁴ *Shingon den* 真言伝 (*Shingon Biographies*, 1325) (DBZ.106.206a). A few biographies later, the disciples of the Shingon monk Keiso 慶祚 (955–1019), who is on the verge of death, conduct the

surprisingly, the tale appeared in *ōjō* tale collections such as the *Nihon shūi ōjōden* 日本拾遺往生伝 (*Japanese Biographies of Rebirth in the Pure Land*, twelfth century) and *Mii ōjō den*¹¹⁵ 三井往生伝 (*Mii Biographies of Rebirth in the Pure Land*). In the *Dainihonkoku hoke kyō genki*, the Tendai monk Sōō 相応 (831–891) prays to Fudō to enter Tosotsu Heaven and see Miroku,¹¹⁶ and the Mongaku tale even considers Tosotsu to be the residence of Fudō.¹¹⁷ Later, during the Muromachi Period (1336–1573), a group of core Mikkyō deities were assembled into the Thirteen Buddhas (*jūsan butsu* 十三仏), partly based on the Chinese Ten Kings,¹¹⁸ and worshipped as protectors of the deceased. Fudō was placed first in order,¹¹⁹ worshipped to protect the newly departed spirit for the first seven days, paralleling the use of his rituals as death rites.

The Shōkū tale is representative of the emerging style of Fudō miracle tales. Whereas the Maheśvara and Kurikara stories were grounded in doctrine, ritual, and polity, narratives began to appear as early as the *Konjaku monogatari shū* reflecting a new and soon to be prominent breed of Fudō tales. This breed was influenced by the traditional narrative structure of *setsuwa* and biographical literature, characterized by a specificity emphasizing time, place, person, event, and a local deity. One of the tale’s most significant features is its strong ties to its environment—in the case of the Shōkū tale, the famous Tendai Onjōji Temple outside Kyōto city.¹²⁰ The tale’s importance to the temple is revealed through its appearance in the *Jimon denki horoku*¹²¹ 寺門伝記補録 (*Supplementary Records on Temple History*, 1394–1428) and the *Onjōji denki*¹²² 園城寺伝記 (*A History of Onjōji*, Muromachi Period?), both

goma ritual of Fudō so that their master may likewise obtain the proper state of mind and thus an ideal rebirth (DBZ.106.214a).

¹¹⁵ Nakamae (1996: 29–30).

¹¹⁶ See Dykstra (1983: 35) for an English translation of the tale.

¹¹⁷ See McCullough (1988: 314) for an English translation of the passage.

¹¹⁸ Sawa (1975: 340).

¹¹⁹ The Thirteen Buddhas in order are: Fudō; Shaka 釈迦; Monju 文殊; Fugen 普賢; Jizō 地藏; Miroku 弥勒; Yakushi 薬師; Kanzeon 観世音; Seishi 勢至; Amida 阿弥陀; Ashuku 阿闍; Dainichi 大日; and Kokuzō 虚空藏 (Sawa 1975: 340).

¹²⁰ Onjōji’s ties to Fudō extend back to Enchin (814–891), who, according to legend, had a dream in which a yellow Fudō appeared before him and vowed to serve as his guardian. With the fame of the Yellow Fudō’s image, said to have been painted by Enchin following the vision (today designated a National Treasure), together with the appearance of additional Fudō miracle tales at Onjōji, the temple became one of the more prominent Fudō cult sites in the Kansai area. The tale was absorbed by Enchin’s biography as early as the *Nihon kōsōden shijishō* 日本高僧伝指示抄 (*Collection of Exemplary Biographies of Eminent Monks of Japan*, 1249) (DBZ.101.43a).

¹²¹ The tale appears twice in the text, in volume eight (“Fudōdō Nan’in” 不動堂南院) (DBZ.127.247a–b) and volume fifteen (“Ajari Shōkū Jōjūin” 阿闍利証空常住院) (DBZ.127.357a).

¹²² DBZ.127.66a–b (“Naki Fudō no koto” 泣不動事).

histories of Onjōji. As the Shōkū tale describes extraordinary feats, the works of a famous master, and the origin of a miraculous image—all grounded in temple locality—it came to be used in these histories as a temple *engi*. In fact, the tale was explicitly retold as an *engi* in the form of two illustrated picture scrolls (*emakimono*): the *Fudō riyaku engi* 不動利益縁起 (*Engi of Fudō's Benefits*, fourteenth century)¹²³ and *Naki Fudō engi* 泣不動縁起 (*Engi of the Weeping Fudō*, sixteenth century).¹²⁴ As previously mentioned, it became commonplace for images of deities to have a regionally-specific identity, character, or even specialization, often indicated by their names (in Onjōji's case, the "Weeping Fudō"), which advertised the miraculous nature of the deity, the benefits of worship, and glorious history of the temple.

The tale became important to Shōkū too: by the early fourteenth century it comprised the whole of his biography,¹²⁵ again demonstrating the strong connection between miracle tale and biographical literature. It is evident that, although Fudō was appearing in various forms of literature and theatre in the medieval period,¹²⁶ the majority of Fudō miracle tales were now being told from the perspective of the religious biography. These tales first appeared in the biographies of Tendai monks like Enchin 円珍 (814–891) and Sōō 相応 (831–918) in the *Nihon kōsōden shijishō*¹²⁷ 日本高僧伝指示抄 (*Collection of Exemplary Biographies of Eminent Monks of Japan*, 1249) and *Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō*¹²⁸ 日本高僧伝要文抄 (*Collection of Essential Biographies of Eminent Monks of Japan*, 1251). By the time of the *Shingon den* 真言伝 (*Shingon Biographies*, 1325), Fudō figured in the biographies of some two dozen masters,¹²⁹ many of them appearing at the same time in the *Genkō*

¹²³ Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan ed. (2000: 173). For a reproduction of the illustrated scroll, see Shinbo (1995: 136–147).

¹²⁴ Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan ed. (2000: 173). On the Weeping Fudō, see Nakamae (1996: 29–48).

¹²⁵ DBZ.101.287a–b; DBZ.106.206a.

¹²⁶ Fudō occasionally appears in Muromachi Period (1336–1573) noh plays, often as part of the Godai Myōō, as a guardian figure who manifests himself at the behest of *yamabushi* to repel evil spirits and protect the protagonist, often through the use of Fudō's Spell of Compassion. In *Aoi no ue* 葵上, likely inspired by the *Tale of Genji* passage discussed above, Fudō is invoked with the other Myōō in order to exorcise Lady Rokujō's spirit from Lady Aoi. In *Dampū* 檀風 and *Funa Benkei* 船弁慶, Fudō saves passengers aboard a ship from the violent seas, perhaps influenced by the prominent Namikiri Fudō tale. Fudō even appears as the *nochi shite* 後ジテ (the protagonist in the second act) in *Chōbuku Soga* 調伏曾我 (fifteenth century) in order to exact revenge for the murder of the Soga brothers' father.

¹²⁷ DBZ.101.10b; DBZ.101.11b–12a.

¹²⁸ DBZ.101.42b–49a; DBZ.101.49a–51b.

¹²⁹ These include biographies of such notable figures as En'nō no Ubasoku 役優婆塞 (seventh century) (DBZ.106.162a–167b), Kūkai 空海 (774–835) (DBZ.106.123a–b), Enchin 円珍 (814–

shakusho 元亨釈書 (*Buddhist [Biographies] Written During the Genkō Period*, 1322). Some of these tales (like those of Shōkū and Mongaku) had appeared in earlier *setsuwa* tale collections, but were now recognized as an integral component of the biography, the lineages they represented, as well as the religious sites connected to them. As the Shōkū tale was to Onjōji, the Mongaku tale eventually became part of the Jingoji 神護寺 Temple *engi* in Kyōto where he had been active.¹³⁰ The general biographical treatment of Fudō is that, unlike the two earlier canonical tales, he is never cast as the protagonist, but as a supporting figure who aids the monk in times of need or as an expression of the master's eminence, usually appearing by way of dream, prayer, ritual, or image.

Although miracle tales devoted to Fudō in pre-Edo Japan were not as widespread as those of Kannon and Jizō, they were certainly not as scarce as Robert Duquenne suggests: “Unlike Kannon, or Jizō, Fudō is not popular enough to provide material for folk tales or to have places named after him. He is principally the guide of the mountain recluses (*yamabushi*), adepts of the ‘path which leads to effective miracles’ (Shugendō).”¹³¹ If by “folk tale” Duquenne means *setsuwa* or *reigenki*, then the foregoing discussion clearly illustrates otherwise.¹³² And with the advent of the Edo Period and its significant socio-political changes, a new religious landscape would provide a breeding ground for the proliferation of even more tales.

Concluding Remarks

The foregoing discussion identifies a significant gap in the presentation and treatment of Fudō by canonical materials on one hand, and the miracle tale genre on the other. It has also highlighted the inherent limitations of the former as to what they can tell us about their role in the development of local images. The early Fudō narratives of Maheśvara and Kurikara found in Mikkyō scripture, for example, provide us with little data regarding the local operation of deity cults. Instead, tales

891) (DBZ.106.152a–157b), Sōō 相応 (831–918) (DBZ.106.180b–183a), and Gyōson 行尊 (1057–1135) (DBZ.106.237b–244a).

¹³⁰ Viz., *Takaosan Jingoji engi* 高雄山神護寺縁起 (1653) (DBZ.119.155a)

¹³¹ Duquenne (1999: 102).

¹³² As regards to the naming of places, gazetteers and guidebooks record a wide-range of landmarks named after the deity. The gazetteer *Shinpen Musashi fudoki kō* 新編武蔵風土記稿 (*Newly Edited Gazetteer of Musashi Province*, 1824–28) for example, lists a Fudō waterfall (“Fudō taki” 不動瀧), Fudō crag (“Fudō iwa” 不動岩), and Fudō bridge (“Fudō bashi” 不動橋) in Chichibu 秩父 District (*SMFK* 18.310b) and a group of Fudō caves (“Fudō kutsu” 不動屈) in Katsushika 葛飾 District (*SMFK* 8.145–ff), in addition to other landmarks such as mountains, valleys, rivers, streams, and ponds. Fudō waterfalls are particularly common (see, for example, Harada 1967: 1584–85; 1587), due to the connection between the deity and water austerities.

as represented by the legend of Shōkū of Miidera, with their strong ties to place, person, and time (thereby allowing them to function as miracle tale, biography, or temple *engi*), are invaluable in understanding the formation of sacred space and history, the installation of a deity within that space, and how local elements often became the dominant creative force behind the domestication and individualization of a deity, to the extent of subverting classical characteristics to their purpose. In the Shōkū tale, for example, Fudō's classic sword and flames are mentioned in the service of establishing the deity's compassionate salvation of the young monk.

This is not to say, however, that the scriptural, ritual and iconographic traditions of the Mikkyō tradition played little role in the regional cultures of Fudō temples. To the contrary, as suggested by the tension between “universal” and “local” worldviews (represented by the Buddhist patriarch and the local deity), sectarian tradition was very much a factor in the construction of a local deity, albeit only fully discernable through local sources like miracle tales.

This tension raises one of the key concerns of the present study: how did these two traditions play out at the local level? How and why would classical elements appear at one Fudō temple, only to be completely ignored by the next? For example, why did the Maheśvara tale and Fudō's militant background later emerge at Shinshōji, but were nowhere to be found at other Fudō temples? Moreover, how did the encounter of the sectarian with the regional become a useful tool in constructing local identity and a framework for temple activities? How did Fudō's iconic sword, for instance, take on new local meanings at Shinshōji and become a central hub for an entire popular tradition that included pilgrimage, exhibitions, temple networks, and even theatre?

These issues point to the very heart of the matter undertaken in the following chapters. Fudō was a composite creation of time and place, as though reminding us of the cardinal Buddhist teaching of “co-dependent origination” (*enshō* 縁生): being a product of local “causes and conditions” (*in'nen* 因縁), the deity thus lacked an unchanging, essential self shared equally across religious traditions, underlining the need to appreciate Fudō in his local environments.

CHAPTER TWO FUDŌ AND EDO: THE CASE OF THE MEGURO FUDŌ

Let us now turn to the examination of Fudō during the Edo Period. The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, I will briefly highlight those features of the religious climate of Japan's early modern period that are relevant to this study. Due to the Narita Fudō's geographical proximity and strong ties to Edo, particular attention is paid to the urban religious culture of the capital. Second, I will investigate the cult of the Meguro Fudō in Edo. The case of the Meguro Fudō offers us an ideal opportunity to begin examining issues important to this study, such as how regionally-specific brands of Fudō operated within specific religious communities. Understanding the localization of Fudō at Meguro will provide us with an ideal point of comparison and working model useful to the subsequent discussion of the Narita Fudō cult in chapters three, four, and five.

Religious Life in Edo

The transition from the war-torn Azuchi-Momoyama Period (1573–1600) to the relative peace of the Edo Period (1600–1868) had profound effects on the religious culture of Japan.¹³³ These effects were the result of institutional, sectarian changes from authorities above,¹³⁴ and, more directly relevant to our study, the influence of the general populace and urban culture from below.

Important to the study of early modern religion was a new urban, bourgeois culture characterized by the townspeople (*chōnin* 町人). Primarily composed of merchants and artisans, the townspeople constituted a sizeable portion of the capital's population and wealth and enjoyed great social and economic privileges due to growing urban markets. Commoner patronage of temples and shrines was encouraged by the new government's refinement of transportation networks. Due to the need to establish a well-maintained national transportation system to facilitate new laws requiring the constant relocation of *daimyō* (territorial lords) to and from Edo (the system of *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 or "alternate attendance"), there was a marked improvement in highways and roads linking the provinces to the cities, as well as those in the capital proper. Travel to temples and shrines was safer and more

¹³³ On the transition of Buddhism from the Azuchi-Momoyama Period to the Edo Period, see McMullin (1984).

¹³⁴ Key institutional changes included the organization of all temples nationwide into a hierarchal system (*honmatsu seido* 本末制度) under which Buddhist traditions were effectively organized into distinct "sects" (*shū* 宗). A second important development was the implementation of the *danka* 檀家 or "parishioner" system (on the *danka* system, see Tamamuro 2001: 261–292). The benefits of the new system was that temples came to enjoy a secure, stable parishioner and thus financial base.

popular than ever, and the capital witnessed a pilgrimage boom in the early nineteenth century.¹³⁵

Communication networks were also greatly improved. The rise of public printing houses, bookstores, and newspapers—emblematic of growing literacy rates—granted the common person greater access to information produced by or about religious sites and their deities.¹³⁶ For example, illustrated guidebooks belonging to the *meisho* 名所 (“famous places”) genre,¹³⁷ soon appeared to meet the demands of pilgrims and sightseers wishing to visit the city’s main attractions, both religious and secular. Due to the prominence of religious sites as cultural hubs, many guidebooks practically doubled as directories for the famous temples and shrines cramming the city. For example, one of the first Edo guides, the *Edo meisho ki* 江戸名所記 (*A Record of Famous Places in Edo*, 1662), lists eighty sites in total, only fourteen of which were not temples, shrines, or deity cult centres.

Encouraged by advances in transportation and communication, a significant feature of early modern religion was its capacity for entertainment. Guidebooks not only identified religious sites as centres of spiritual worship, but also as recreational destinations. With their resources, space, and parishioner base, larger temples and shrines often doubled as community centres. Indeed, many religious sites were the heart of commercial districts known as “temple towns” (*monzenmachi* 門前町). Several of the capital’s cultural events revolved around temple districts: exhibitions (*kaichō* 開帳), fairs (*en’ichi* 縁日), festivals (*sairei* 祭礼), spectacles (*misemono* 見世物), theatrical productions, and lotteries (*tomikuji* 富籤).

The attraction of commoners to religious sites and their deity cults was often rooted in the particular offerings of material benefits for one’s present life (*genze riyaku* 現世利益) such as healing and protection against disasters. For example, the *Edo shinbutsu gankake chōhōki* 江戸神仏願掛重宝記 (*Reference Book for Prayers to the Kami and Buddhas of Edo*, 1814), a directory of popular prayer destinations in Edo, provides some insight into the degree of this-worldly benefits. Of the thirty-one prayer sites listed, nineteen (61%) were devoted to remedies for various physical ailments (such as toothaches, smallpox, and headaches). Three (10%) were devoted to the prevention of misfortune. The remaining nine (29%) were composed of various non-specific prayers. Shrines, temples, and cultic objects of worship

¹³⁵ Vaporis (1989: 463). On pilgrimage and travel in the Edo Period, see Blacker (1984), Vaporis (1989), Kouamé (1997), and Shinno (2002), and Thal (2005).

¹³⁶ On the literary and print culture of the Edo Period, see Miner (1985: 63–111), Shively (1991: 725–733), Kornicki (2001: 99–111; 136–269), and Shirane (2002).

¹³⁷ On the *meisho* genre during the Edo period, see Sandler (1992: 31–56) and Swinton (1992: 57–78).

constituted the majority of the thirty-one prayer destinations (65%).¹³⁸ While such prayers did not preclude or replace those for salvation in the next life, recent scholarship has argued that a substantial impetus behind religious faith and activity was the concern for one’s immediate welfare.¹³⁹ As we will next see, these elements of early modern Japanese religion—the appearance of deity cults and their material benefits, their popularity among urban commoners, and their diffusion among an increasing print culture—are of central importance to our study of Fudō.

The Rise of Fudō Temples in Edo

With these new institutional, social, and technological developments, Edo and its surrounding environs soon became a fertile ground for Fudō cults, attracting worshippers and patrons from nearly every station in life. Due to the growing print culture and literacy rates, we have during this time the largest extant body of Fudō narratives on record. As in earlier centuries, Fudō tales were better known to extra-canonical literature such as local miracle tales than Mikkyō scripture. Foreshadowed by the stories of monks like Shōkū discussed in the previous chapter, *engi* and biographies continued to be a primary medium by which these tales were produced. The enduring connection between miracle stories and locality—person, time, and place—likewise remained a primary feature of the genre.

A guidebook to Edo’s famous places, the *Edo sōganoko meisho taizen* 江戸惣鹿子名所大全 (1690), records nine of most popular deities and the best-known temples or shrines for each.¹⁴⁰ Listed among the deities is Fudō, with seven of the earliest recorded Fudō temples known to have existed in the new capital.¹⁴¹ A similar list was later produced in the *Edo sunago* 江戸砂子 (1732) where it records six of Edo’s “miraculous Buddhist [deities]” (*reibutsu* 霊仏): Kannon 観音; Jizō 地藏; Amida 阿弥陀; Yakushi 薬師; Fudō; and Benzaiten 弁才天. For each deity are also listed the city’s most popular or sacred sites (*reijō* 霊場). In the case of Fudō, twelve

¹³⁸ Tamamuro and Miyata (1977: 129–131).

¹³⁹ On the importance of this-worldly benefits in Japanese religion, see Reader and Tanabe (1998).

¹⁴⁰ The deities and the number of sites given for each are: Benzaiten 弁財天 (13); Kannon 観音 (15); Yakushi 薬師 (10); Fudō (7); Roku Amida 六阿弥陀 (6); Emma 閻魔 (8); Amida 阿弥陀 (14); Shaka 釈迦 (4); Inari 稻荷 (24) (ES.3.65a–b).

¹⁴¹ Viz., the Fudōson of Tōkōji 東光寺 Temple, Fudōson of Senryūji 泉瀧寺 [i.e., Ryūsenji 竜泉寺] Temple of Meguro 目黒, Mejiro Fudō 目白不動 of Shinhasadera 新長谷寺 of Koishikawa 小石川 River, Meaka Fudō 目赤不動 of Kichijōji 吉祥寺 Temple of Somei 染井, Fudōson of Monjuin 文珠院 of Asakusa 浅草, Fudōson of Tamonin 多門院 of Tanimachi 谷町, and Tobi Fudō 飛不動 of Daiunjimae 大雲寺前 of Shitaya 下谷 (ES.3.65a–b).

are listed.¹⁴² Although today it retains little of its former grandeur, the most popular of these by far, referred to by Sakamoto Katsushige as the “mecca” of Fudō worship in Edo¹⁴³ (and one of the above-listed popular prayer sites noted in the *Edo shinbutsu gankake chōhōki*), was Ryūsenji 瀧泉寺 Temple. An investigation into this temple’s history affords us an ideal opportunity to examine how forces other than sectarian tradition contributed to the localization of Fudō cults, and how miracle tales provided the medium by which they did so.

Ryūsenji Temple

The Tendai temple Ryūsenji, “Temple of the Spring Waterfall,” also known by the popular name Meguro Fudō 目黒不動,¹⁴⁴ was situated in Lower Meguro (Shimo Meguro 下目黒), Ebara District (today Meguro District), along the southwestern outskirts of Edo.¹⁴⁵ In conventional temple *engi* tradition, Ryūsenji’s origins date back to an ancient Buddhist master (the temple today claims itself as the Kantō region’s oldest Fudō temple¹⁴⁶), although there are no reliable records that mention

¹⁴² Viz., the Meguro Fudō 目黒不動, Mejiro Fudō 目白不動, Meaka Fudō 目赤不動, Sunao Fudō 砂尾不動, Gyakuryū Fudō 逆流不動, Saiwai Fudō 幸不動, Mikatzuki Fudō 三日月不動, Namikiri Fudō 波断不動, Tobi Fudō 飛不動, Ōyama Fudō 大山不動, Yagenbori no Fudō 薬研掘不動, Taki Fudō 滝不動 (Koike 1976: 476). A modern and much larger list of over thirty Kantō-area Fudō temples, gleaned from these and several additional sources, has been compiled by Sakamoto (1979: 256).

¹⁴³ Sakamoto (1979: 255).

¹⁴⁴ Together with the Mejiro 目白 (“White Eye”), Meaka 目赤 (“Red Eye”), Meao 目青 (“Blue Eye”) and Meki Fudō 目黄 (“Yellow Eye”) Fudōs, the five comprise the so-called Goshiki Fudō 五色不動 (“Five Colour Fudōs”). The Goshiki Fudō temples still exist today, and share a common history and pilgrimage route between them, with their locations forming a conspicuous circle around the city with Edo Castle at their centre. However, while the five temples are commonly said to have been popular places of Fudō worship during the Edo Period and, according to legend, charged with protecting Edo Castle from their positions on the outskirts of the capital along the five national highways (Gokaidō 五街道, viz: Tōkaidō 東海道, Nakasendō 中山道, Kōshūkaidō 甲州街道, Nikkōkaidō 日光街道, Ōshūkaidō 奥州街道), as Sakamoto (1979: 255) suggests, there is no evidence that the Blue and Yellow Fudōs existed prior to the Meiji Period. Today Ryūsenji boasts its deity as one of the “Three Great Fudōs of Japan” (Nihon sandai Fudō 日本三大不動) together with the Kihara Fudō 木原不動 of Kumamoto and the Narita Fudō of Chiba.

¹⁴⁵ Ryūsenji was located on the periphery of the city among the Yamanote 山手 uplands, whose remote hills, in similar fashion to mountains, attracted the construction of religious sites. Ryūsenji had been nestled into the side of a small plateau which divided the temple into upper and lower precincts, behind which rose a hilly forested area. The Meguro Fudō was enshrined in the main hall atop the plateau (see figure 2.1).

¹⁴⁶ An *engi* pamphlet distributed by the temple in 2005 carries the title, “The Oldest Sacred Site of Fudō in Kantō” (*Kantō saiko Fudō reijō* 関東最古不動霊場).

its existence prior to the Edo Period. Since the first extant verifiable source of the temple of which I am aware is found in a record dated 1629,¹⁴⁷ Ryūsenji may have appeared in the early decades of the Edo period, a time, as Nishiyama Matsunosuke demonstrates, when the majority of temples and shrines in Edo were founded.¹⁴⁸

Figure 2.1. Ryūsenji (Meguro Fudō) Temple Precinct and *Monzenmachi*
(*Edo meisho zue* 江戸名所図会, 1836)¹⁴⁹



The 1629 record describes how the temple suddenly flourished in that year, with men and women, young and old, flocking to Ryūsenji’s precincts so that “all their prayers would be fulfilled” (*shogan jōju* 諸願成就).¹⁵⁰ This evidently caught the eye of the renowned Tenkai 天海 (1536–1643), the Tendai patriarch and spiritual advisor to the Tokugawa military house, who, the following year, made Ryūsenji a subtemple of Edo’s head Tendai temple Kan’eiji 寛永寺.¹⁵¹ From this point forward,

¹⁴⁷ Viz., the *Kōjō nenroku* 江城年録 (1629).

¹⁴⁸ Nishiyama (1997: 78).

¹⁴⁹ Title reads: 目黒不動堂 (“Meguro Fudō Temple”).

¹⁵⁰ Cited in Tamabayashi (1940: 53).

¹⁵¹ Tamabayashi (1940: 59). Tenkai may have been further interested in Ryūsenji due to its chance location southwest of Edo Castle. Kan’eiji had been built to the northeast of the castle to protect against the “Demon Gate” (*kimon* 鬼門), the inauspicious direction from which, according to old Daoist cosmology, evil was believed to enter a physical space (this was also meant to mimic Hieizan’s

under the management of Kan'eiji, we begin to see Ryūsenji mentioned frequently in the major guidebooks, gazetteers, popular literature, as well as depicted in *ukiyo*e prints, as one of Edo's most popular sites (its fame had even reached Shikoku by the 1730s¹⁵²). By the end of the Edo Period the temple boasted over fifty buildings with as many deities enshrined within its expansive precinct (visible in figure 2.1). Records show that Ryūsenji's clergy was in charge of twenty-one temples and shrines and was in possession of substantial landholdings.¹⁵³

Much of Ryūsenji's allure derived from its status as a recreational destination. Much like the “prayer and play” culture at Sensōji 浅草寺 Temple (Asakusa Kannon 浅草観音)¹⁵⁴ on the other side of town, there developed a similar mix of religious and recreational climate at Ryūsenji.¹⁵⁵ Though the temple was located on the outskirts of the city, accounts in the *Yūreki zakki*¹⁵⁶ 遊歴雜記 (*Miscellaneous Records of Recreational Travels*, 1814–1829) and *Edo meisho zue*¹⁵⁷ 江戸名所図会 (*Illustrated Guide to Famous Places in Edo*, 1829–36) remark that Lower Meguro was nonetheless as lively as a city core. The temple was a short walk from Shinagawa 品川 and therefore fortuitously situated close to the Tōkaidō highway, a major artery entering the capital from the south. With high volumes of traffic passing through the area, including *daimyō* marching to and from the provinces in accordance with the “alternate attendance” regulations, visitors to Ryūsenji would have been impressed by a bustling recreational district enveloping the temple. Records and images depict the temple's large commercial district, particularly well known for its shops selling special rice cakes¹⁵⁸ and its long rows of teahouses, especially the “[Mount] Fuji-view

location relative to the Imperial Palace in Kyōto, denoted by Kan'eiji's *sangō* 山号 (“mountain designation,” an additional title of a temple prefixed to better-known *jigō* 寺号 temple name) of Tōeizan 東叡山, the “Eastern [Hi]eizan”). Ryūsenji was aptly situated on the opposite side of the castle along the “Rear Demon Gate” (*uragimon* 裏鬼門) in the southwest, the other dangerous direction, making an ideal pair with Kan'eiji, suggested by its similar *sangō*, Taieizan 泰叡山. However, the connection between the Rear Demon Gate and Ryūsenji was never well established. The temple with a more recognized claim to protecting the south-western direction was Zōjōji 増上寺, another Tokugawa family temple. Ironically, in 1772 a fire broke out at Daienji 大円寺, a nearby subtemple of Ryūsenji, and spread northeast, practically connecting Meguro and Kan'eiji along the NE-SW axis.

¹⁵² The Meguro Fudō appears in the aforementioned miracle tale collection *Fudō Myōō reiōki* 不動明王靈応記, published in Shikoku in 1737.

¹⁵³ See Sakamoto (1979: 269, figure 3) for details.

¹⁵⁴ Hur (2000: 31).

¹⁵⁵ Tamabayashi (1940: 52).

¹⁵⁶ ES.3.228.

¹⁵⁷ Harada (1967: 718).

¹⁵⁸ Three types of rice cakes in particular had become famous local products and popular souvenirs: *meguro ame* 目黒飴, *awamochi* 粟餅, and *mochibana* 餅花 (Nishiyama 1994: 345). Meguro's

teahouses” (*Fujimi chaya* 富士見茶屋). Built atop Gyōninzaka 行人坂 Hill on the pilgrim’s path and main approach to the temple, weary pilgrims could sip tea and enjoy a clear view of the great landmark from one of the best vantage points in the city.¹⁵⁹ *En’nicchi* fairs,¹⁶⁰ *kaichō* exhibitions, and *tomikuji* lotteries¹⁶¹ further added to the temple’s recreational and commercial allure.¹⁶²

That Ryūsenji was important enough for the government to take notice of its socio-economic vitality is suggested by the decision in 1818, upon determining the exact boundaries of the city, to extend the jurisdiction of the City Magistrate (*machi bugyō* 町奉行) in the southwest to ensnare Meguro (Central and Lower). This was a conspicuous decision as it is the only occasion where the Magistrate’s power, denoted by the so-called “black ink line” (*sumibiki* 墨引), wandered outside the “vermillion line” (*shubiki* 朱引) demarcating the *gofunai* 御府内 or the city limits proper.¹⁶³ The temple’s status as one of Edo’s focal points is further evidenced by city maps. By

mochibana were kneaded into the shape of a blossom using multi-coloured rice. They were popular as children’s toys, and were said to have the affect of warding away evil (*ibid.*). The *Edo sunago* records all three in a list of Edo’s famous products (*kōfu meisan* 江府名産) (Koike 1976: 342–43). See the *Edo meisho zue* (Harada 1967: 716–717) for a diptych of one of the shops.

¹⁵⁹ A depiction can be found in the *Edo meisho zue* (Harada 1967: 702–703).

¹⁶⁰ The *en’nicchi*, lit., “day of [karmic] connection,” was a common event on a temple or shrine’s annual calendar (*nenjū gyōji* 年中行事), and became a common feature of the urban religion forming in the major cities like Edo. *En’nicchi* were understood as special days on which prayer and offerings to a deity were considered particularly efficacious. *En’nicchi* were held as early as the twelfth century, and by the Edo Period particular deities were commonly associated with specific *en’nicchi* days. For example, the eighteenth day of each month became the *en’nicchi* of Kannon, the thirtieth for Shaka, and the eighth for Yakushi. The *en’nicchi* of Fudō became the twenty-eighth day of each month, and was observed (as it still is today) by many Fudō temples including Ryūsenji. The *en’nicchi* during the first, fifth, and ninth months at Meguro Fudō were particularly popular and drew the largest crowds (Nishiyama 1994: 346).

¹⁶¹ Dozens of temples and shrines in Edo hosted such lotteries, but the *Edo hanjōki* 江戸繁昌記 (*A Record of Edo’s Prosperity*, 1832–1836) notes that by the 1830s only three captured the spotlight: Yujima Tenjin 湯島天神, Yanaka Kan’nōji 谷中感応寺, and Meguro Fudō (Nishiyama 1994: 334). By hosting one of Edo’s major *tomikuji*, Ryūsenji was able to supplement its income, with the crowds in turn further fueling the local economy.

¹⁶² Meguro’s recreational culture was likely helped by its proximity to Shinagawa’s pleasure quarters. Humorous *senryū* 川柳 poems satirized the “prayer and play” culture. For example, one poem pokes fun at how the pious visitor might be distracted by Meguro’s recreational attractions:

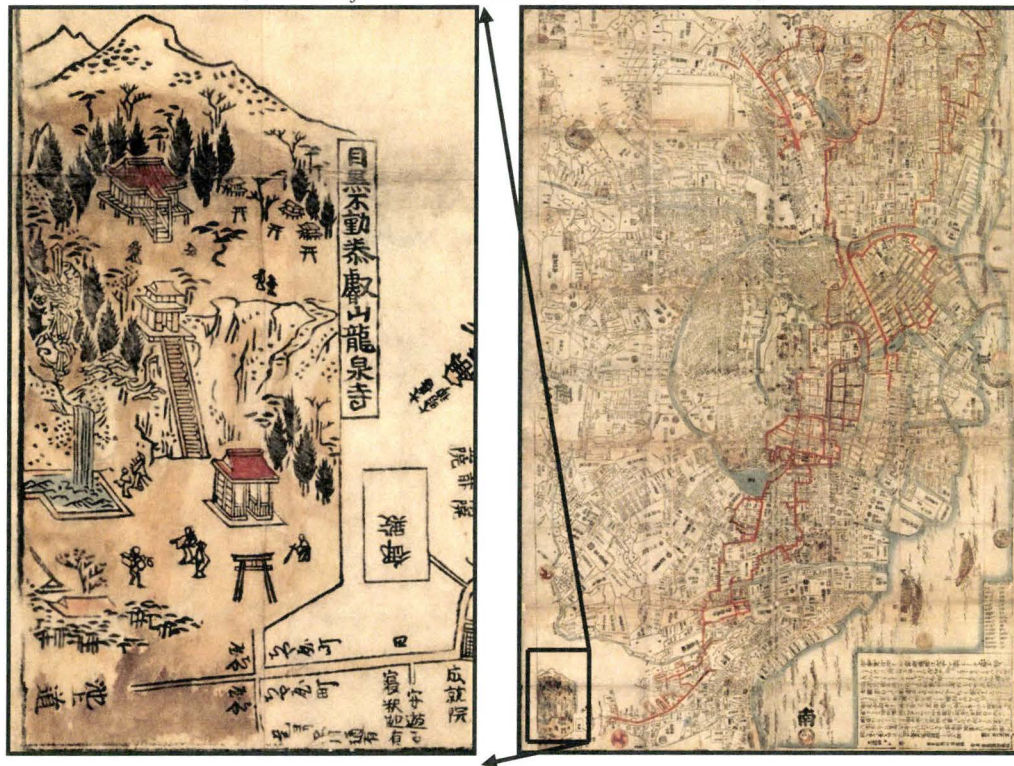
<i>Shinjin ni</i> 信心に	How the faithful heart
<i>nishin ari</i> 二心あり	Becomes disloyal
<i>Meguro michi</i> 目黒道	On the way to Meguro.

See Tamabayashi (1940: 55–56) for additional examples.

¹⁶³ See Takeuchi (1978: 1246) for a reproduction of the map and borders.

the late 1600s, the temple could be found occupying a disproportionately large section of Edo maps, making it appear as one of the most important locations in the entire city. For example, the 1714 map *Edo annai junken zukan* 江戸案内巡見図鑑 (figure 2.2) shows the amount of space and detail afforded the temple. Here we should draw our attention to two key features distinguishable in the detail of the temple: the waterfall and *torii* gates found in both upper and lower precincts. As we shall next see with an investigation of Ryūsenji's *engi*, both features are emblematic of the importance of local geography in the formation of the cult.

Figure 2.2. Map of Edo with Detail of Ryūsenji (Meguro Fudō) Temple
(*Edo annai junken zukan* 江戸案内巡見図鑑, 1714)¹⁶⁴



The Meguro Fudō Engi

As suggested by its name, one of Ryūsenji's key attractions was its eponymous "Tokko Waterfall" (Tokko no Taki 獨鉆の瀧), celebrated by one guidebook as the first of Edo's three famous waterfalls;¹⁶⁵ hence its name, "Temple of the Spring (*sen /*

¹⁶⁴ Title of temple (left plate) reads: 目黒不動泰叡山龍泉寺 ("Meguro Fudō Taiezan Ryūsenji").

¹⁶⁵ *Edo sōganoko meisho taizen* (ES.3.9). The others are Akasaka's Tamagawa no Taki 玉川の瀧 and Sakurada's Shiraito no Taki 白糸の瀧. The temple's propitious location was the source of this

izumi 泉) Waterfall (*ryū / taki* 瀧). One of the earliest surviving *engi*, recorded in the *Edo meisho ki*, establishes how the fountain and its connection to Fudō provided the motivation for the temple's founding. The *engi* describes how the famous Tendai master Ennin, while on his way from Kantō to Mount Hiei near Kyōto, spent the night in Meguro. That night in a dream he was visited by an unknown figure wielding a sword and rope and reciting the Spell of Compassion.¹⁶⁶ The next morning, Ennin carved an image of the figure and enshrined it in the area. Having returned from China years later he once again passed through the area, and, wishing for spring water, drove a *tokko* (or *dokko*) 獨鈷, a single-pronged *vajra*, into the ground. A fountain of water immediately sprung from the earth, around which the temple was subsequently built. Along with the image of Fudō, the fountain became a primary feature of the temple, noted for its miraculous ability never to dry up even in the hottest of weather, nor to overflow during the rainy season. The second half of the *engi* then jumps forward to the Edo Period:¹⁶⁷

そのち星霜はるかにほどをへだて、元和元年の春本堂のうしろの在家より火出て、ほのほすでに御堂にもえつきけり、この所の男女はしりあつまりて明王の尊躰をとり出し奉らんとするに、しきりにくろけふり立おほひ、猛火はげしくもえあがりければ、いかにもすべきやうなく、いまハ明王もおなしく灰とならせ給ふらんと悲しみける所に、明王の尊躰滝水の上にたち汗を流しておはします、これをみたてまつる人をのののかんるいをながしけり、このほか靈験種々おはします、諸人このゆへにちからをあはせて、かたのことくの本堂をつくりて安置し奉る。

Long afterward when many years had passed, during the spring of the first year of Gen'na [1615], a fire broke out in the lay homes behind the main hall, and soon spread to the temple. When the local men and women came running to remove the statue of the Myōō, they were rendered helpless by the black smoke and fierce blazing fires. As they grieved [thinking] that the Myōō too had been reduced to ashes,

natural blessing, as the temple rests near the confluence of the Meguro River and its tributary Rakanjigawa 羅漢寺川 that feed the spring.

¹⁶⁶ *Jiku no myōju* 慈救の明呪. Also *jikuju* 慈救呪. Often classified in modern scholarship as the second (longest) or “middle” spell (*chūju* 中呪) of Fudō's three basic mantras, it is probably the most widely known Fudō spell. It is first found in the *Dainichi kyō* (T.18.848.15b.21–24).

¹⁶⁷ Asakura (1976: 187–190).

they found the statue of the Myōō resting atop the waterfall with sweat pouring from it. Each and every person who witnessed the event was moved to tears. As all sorts of miraculous events came to pass here, everyone banded together, [re]built the hall [as it had been before], and installed [the statue of Fudō].

The *engi* adds later:¹⁶⁸

かの滝水ハ今猶みなぎりおちて絶る事なし、人この水にうたれて諸病おいやす。

The spring still flows to this very day, and people are drawn to its water in order to cure all sorts of sickness.

The statue's miraculous appearance atop the waterfall underlined not only its status as a truly extraordinary deity (identified by its sweating), but also its implicit connection to the fountain. The *engi* took advantage of an old connection between Fudō and water. From the earliest eighth-century Chinese sources Fudō had been worshipped to control wind, rain, and water bodies. Though this connection to water was already identified at least as early as 1923 by Beatrice Lane Suzuki¹⁶⁹ (and more recently by Rob Linrothe¹⁷⁰), it has been overshadowed in scholarship by Fudō's common treatment as a fire deity. Medieval and early modern sources show that Fudō images were often installed near rivers, streams, and ponds, but especially waterfalls.¹⁷¹ Temple legends preserve tales of Fudō controlling wind and rain, most famously the Namikiri (Wave-Cutter) Fudō,¹⁷² or, like the famous Asakusa Kannon, where he appeared from water to aid local residents.¹⁷³ Fudō's long-standing, though

¹⁶⁸ Asakura (1976: 190).

¹⁶⁹ Suzuki (1923: 135).

¹⁷⁰ Linrothe (1986: 219–220).

¹⁷¹ Two of Japan's most famous waterfalls, for example, Nachi Falls (Nachi no taki 那智の滝) in Wakayama, and Kiyomizudera 清水寺 Temple's Otowa Falls (Otowa no taki 音羽滝), one of Kyōto's great tourist destinations, have long been associated with Fudō.

¹⁷² See chapter one, page thirty.

¹⁷³ For example, the *Edo meisho zue* notes the legend of the Taki Fudōson 瀧不動尊 (Waterfall Fudō) of Shōjuin 正受院 Temple, which appeared from the local river to quell flooding in the area (see Harada 1967: 1587 for the passage). The text includes an illustration depicting the Fudō image installed beside a waterfall (Harada 1967: 1584–1585). The *engi* of Itokuji 威徳寺 Temple in Edo, *Kaichū shutsugen migawari Fudōson engi* 海中出現身代不動尊縁起 (*Engi of the Self-Sacrificing Fudō who Appeared from the Sea*, 1612), similarly describes an image of Fudō retrieved from beneath the waves by fisherman. Upon inspection, the statue was found to be inscribed with the words, "Carved by Saichō from the Country of Japan" (Nihonkoku Saichō chōkoku 日本國最澄彫刻). The statue

as yet not fully-understood, relationship with the *nāga* serpent Kurikara 倶利伽羅 may partially explain this phenomenon, as *nāga* were frequently worshipped in India and China and Japan for weather control. This connection was clearly present at Ryūsenji, as the Tokko Waterfall was alternatively known as the “Kurikara Waterfall” (“Kurikara no Taki” 倶梨迦羅の瀧),¹⁷⁴ with a Kurikara image gracing the upper waterfall (visible in figure 2.4).

The *engi* also reveals how the waterfall became a source of material benefits, playing on the common connection between sacred water and its ability to cure disease. The waterfall was also well known as one of Edo’s primary *koriba* 垢離場, a place of austerities, ablutions and purification, where Shugendō practitioners and laity congregated to conduct prayers while immersed in water (a common sight around Fudō temples). One guidebook notes how the waterfall offered practitioners a means to cleanse themselves and attain the “pure Buddha-mind”:¹⁷⁵

獨鈷の瀧 白銀原妻黒¹⁷⁶の不動の山にあり、むかしは三口よりながれ落ちるとなん、今は一瀧水落ること多し、江城の名瀧なり、夏月の炎天に此瀧におり居て身を洗ひ、口すゝすゝ者おゝし、此水上は上の山より出ながれは三佛堂のかたはらを行、其水清くしておのづから十二因縁の垢をあらひ、瀧の音たえずして響て生死の煩惱をさましめ、内外清淨の佛意にもかなふべきにや。

The Tokko Waterfall is located at the Meguro Fudō temple on the Hakugin Plain. Long ago it fell from three waterfalls, but now it mostly flows from a single source. It is a famous waterfall of Edo, and in the hot weather of the summer months it still flows, with many people washing themselves or rinsing their mouths [with its water]. The source of the water flows from the temple above and

was presumed to have been the very statue carved by Saichō on his return trip from China to quell a storm threatening the ship (a clear borrowing of Kukai’s Wave-Cutter Fudō legend). The image was enshrined by the local villagers, and became famous for fulfilling all prayers. See Nakano (1996: 373–374) for a reproduction of the *engi*. The *Onjōji denki* records a tale similar to the Meguro Fudō *engi*, “On the Origins of the Miraculous Gushing Freshwater Spring of Fudō” (依_二不動靈涌出甘泉_一事), regarding the eleventh-century Tendai monk Kakujo 覚助. In order to remedy the lack of water at his Kaōin 花王院 Temple, Kakujo venerated the Weeping Fudō of Miidera. Immediately a spring of fresh water burst from the dry ground, the source of many later miracles (DBZ.127.66b).

¹⁷⁴ *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (1712) (Endō 1980: 88).

¹⁷⁵ *Edo sōganoka meisho taizen* (ES.3.9).

¹⁷⁶ Note the alternative spelling of Meguro using the character “*me*” 妻 in place of the more common 目.

drains toward the Sanbutsudō Hall. The water is pure and itself washes away the stains of the Twelve Links of Causation, and the echo of the fall's incessant sound illuminates the afflictions of *samsāra*, so that one may realize the pure Buddha-mind that is both within and without.

So central was the waterfall and its practitioners that the majority of images depicting the temple make them the focal point equal to the main hall in which the Meguro Fudō statue was enshrined (figures 2.3 and 2.4.¹⁷⁷).

Figure 2.3. Tokko Waterfall at Ryūsenji
(*Edo meisho ki* 江戸名所記, 1662)



Figure 2.4. Tokko Waterfall at Ryūsenji
(*Edo suzume* 江戸雀, 1677)



Here we find a prime example of how the local might be reconciled with the canonical based on geographical circumstances: due to the presence of the waterfall as

¹⁷⁷ By condensing space, figure 2.4 shows the nearby “Drum Bridge” (Taikobashi 太鼓橋), the bridge spanning Meguro River at the bottom of Gyōninzaka Hill along the main approach to the temple. The bridge was itself a famous site around Edo, appearing in such *ukiyo*e collections as Utagawa Hiroshige’s *Meisho Edo hyakkei* 名所江戸百景 (*One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1857) (number 111, “Meguro taikobashi yūhi no oka” 目黒太鼓橋夕日の岡, “The Drum Bridge of Meguro and Sunset Hill”) and his later *Ehon Edo miyage* 絵本江戸土産 (*Picture Book of Edo Souvenirs*, 1850–1867) (volume 5, “Dō taikobashi yūhi no oka” 同太鼓橋夕日の岡, “Drum Bridge and Sunset Hill in the Same [Area] [i.e., Meguro]”). See also *Edo meisho zue*, “Taikobashi” 太鼓橋 (Harada 1967: 704–705).

the temple's centrepiece, the Meguro Fudō was understood as a god of water. His connection to fire, Dainichi Nyorai, or his militant, wrathful persona found in scriptures, made little sense in terms of the local environment, and thus played little role in the conceptualization of the Meguro Fudō. However, the connection between the deity and water may not have been entirely the result of locality. Fudō's connection to water and Kurikara as described in rituals may suggest a canonical logic behind the characterization of the Meguro Fudō, though one that rejected certain classical elements (fire, war) in favour of others (water).

Sacred water was not all that Ryūsenji had to offer worshippers. As Sakamoto and Tamabayashi both suggest, the temple was also known as a place to pray for good fortune (*un 運*).¹⁷⁸ The *engi* continues with the second of its two miracle tales:¹⁷⁹

又寛永元年のころ、征夷大將軍家光公この所におひて御狩の時に、御鷹それで雲ちはるかに翔り行けるを、別当実栄におほせ付られ祈念せさせられしに、たちまちに御鷹とび来りて宝前の松の梢にとどまれり、家光公これをよばせ給ひしに、御声に応じて御手にうつりまいらす、御感浅からず、やがて本堂御こんりうあり、おなしき十一年にかさねて御さいこうありけり。

Then around the first year of Kan'ei [1624], when Seii Taishōgun Lord Iemitsu came hunting to this place, his falcon flew away and disappeared into the clouds. He feverently petitioned Bettō Jitsuei to pray [to the Meguro Fudō]. Immediately the falcon flew back, and landed on the top of a pine¹⁸⁰ before the deity. When Lord Iemitsu called out, it responded to his voice and landed on his arm. Deeply moved, he proceeded to build the main hall, and in the eleventh year [1634] again reconstructed it.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Sakamoto (1979: 284); Tamabayashi (1940: 55).

¹⁷⁹ Asakura (1976: 190).

¹⁸⁰ Various known as “Fragrant Pine” (Nioi Matsu 匂松), “Stoop Pine” (Koshikake no Matsu 腰掛の松) or “Falcon Perch Pine” (Takasue no Matsu 鷹居の松), the tree was located at the base of the main stone steps leading up to the main hall. It was itself a known sight around Edo. The *Yūreki zakki* lists it as one of Edo's thirty-six famous pines (ES.3.163), and the *Edo sunago* as one of Edo's forty-one famous pines (Koike 1976: 483). Today a tree said to be the second generation of the original can still be found in the same location at the base of the stone stairway.

¹⁸¹ The *Zōho Edo hanashi* 増補江戸咄 cites a poem marking the event (Hayakawa 1919: 227b–228a):

The second half of the *engi* mirrored the first: it comprised a creation story revolving around the interaction between a famous authoritative figure and the local Meguro Fudō. Instead of Ennin, Meguro is visited by the ruler of the country himself, Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604–51). The logic of Iemitsu’s visit was based on the fact that Meguro had been a popular hunting destination for generations of Tokugawa military. Ryūsenji’s clergy naturally seized the opportunity to incorporate a widely recognized tradition, similar to how local family histories preserved tales about the Tokugawa hunting parties frequenting their areas.¹⁸² Iemitsu’s incident at Meguro even appeared in the Tokugawa clan’s own official history, the *Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実記 (*True Chronicle of the Tokugawa*, 1809–1849).¹⁸³ Thus the tale was important enough to become shared property of temple and military houses alike, from which both drew identity and celebrated Iemitsu as a serendipitous restorer and patron following the temple’s destruction by fire. As evidenced by the guidebooks, Iemitsu’s Pine, like the Tokko Waterfall, became a famous landmark around the city and a symbol of Ryūsenji’s miraculous history.

That the *engi* was effective in establishing the Meguro Fudō as a god of fortune is evidenced by Koikawa Harumachi’s 恋川春町 (1744–1789) *Kinkin sensei eiga no yume* 金金先生栄華夢 (*Mr. Glitter ‘n’ Gold’s Dream of Splendor*,¹⁸⁴ 1775), the first of the so-called *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 or “yellow-jacketed” genre of light fiction popular in the late Edo Period.¹⁸⁵ The tale, concerned with the carefree and indulgent delights of Edo’s “floating world” (*ukiyo* 浮世) begins with the character Kimbyōe 金兵衛 as he sets off for Edo in search of fame and fortune. His first stop is Ryūsenji:¹⁸⁶

Ara taka ya matsu ni tori ite ugokazaru あら鷹や松に鳥居て不動^{うごかざる}
Sore de hotoke no dō wa tachikeri それで佛の堂は立けり

Look! A falcon perched unmoving atop a pine.
 And so a Buddhist temple is made.

Note the play on the words 鳥居 (*tori ite*, “perched” / *torii*, “bird perch,” “Shintō archway”) and 不動 (*ugokazaru*, “unmoving” / “Fudō”).

¹⁸² Tōkyōto Meguroku Kenkyūkai ed. (1985: 32).

¹⁸³ For the passage in question, see Kuroita (1964: 336).

¹⁸⁴ Here I use Araki’s translation of the title (Araki 1970: 63).

¹⁸⁵ See Araki (1970: 63–78) for an introduction and translation.

¹⁸⁶ Cited in Sakamoto (1979: 284).

名に高き目黒不動尊は、運の神なれば、これへ参詣して運の程を祈らんと詣でけるが、早日も夕方になり、いと空腹になりければ、名代の粟餅を食んと立寄りける。抑々目黒不動尊は靈驗著しく、遍く諸人の知る處なり。本尊は慈覺大師の作にして、寺號を龍泉寺といふ。

Due to the exalted fame of the venerable Meguro Fudō as a deity [*kami*] of fortune, [Kimbyōe] traveled here to pray for such fortune. But, as darkness soon fell and he was feeling rather hungry, he stopped to snack on some *awamochi* cakes for which the area was famous. The remarkable miraculous efficacy of the Meguro Fudō is such that it was known everywhere by all. The deity was made by Jikaku Daishi, and the temple is named Ryūsenji.

Also notable is Koikawa's mention of Fudō as a *kami*. The passage hints at how the deity was not the exclusive property of a single group, and that there was more than one tradition active in the area. Despite its official Tendai affiliation, not only was Ryūsenji a centre to various traditions like Pure Land, Nichiren, and Sōtō,¹⁸⁷ it was also neither exclusively Buddhist nor solely devoted to the worship of Fudō. The *Edo meissho zue* records that there were actually more shrines and *kami* at Ryūsenji than halls (*dō* 堂) of Buddhist deities.¹⁸⁸ The collection of *kami* present at the temple, which included all varieties such as Inari 稻荷, Kishimojin 鬼子母神 (Sk. Hārītī), Hōsō no Kami 疱瘡神, Akiba Gongen 秋葉権現, Awashima Myōjin 粟島明神, and Suijin 水神, explain the presence of *torii* gates noted above, in addition to other “Shintō” features such as a *shimenawa* rope and strips of *gohei* paper (both used to identify the presence of a *kami*) stretched across the stone steps leading to the upper precinct.¹⁸⁹ Syncretism between the Shintō and Buddhist traditions (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合) had long been a common feature in Japanese religion, whether this be in terms of ideology, rituals, institutions, or pantheons. It should not be surprising then to find that the *Edo suzume* 江戸雀 (*Sparrows of Edo*, 1677) describes Ryūsenji as the “Meguro Shrine” (*Meguro no miyachi* 目黒の宮地).¹⁹⁰

A further look into *engi* tradition reveals why Koikawa may have identified the Meguro Fudō as a *kami*. In contrast to the *engi* described above, there had been a version circulating at the same time that identified the Meguro Fudō as the *shintai* 神体 (lit., “*kami*’s body”) of Prince Yamatotakeru no Mikoto 日本武尊, the

¹⁸⁷ Sakamoto (1979: 271).

¹⁸⁸ Harada (1967: 711–713).

¹⁸⁹ Visible in figure 2.1.

¹⁹⁰ ES.5.105.

legendary second-century warrior venerated as a *kami*.¹⁹¹ In addition to the Meguro Fudō's dual connection to water and fortune, this second *engi* tradition added yet a third layer in response to the existence of the local *kami* cult. The *engi* recorded in the *Kōfu meisho shi* 江府名所志 (*Record of Famous Places in Edo*, 1733) tells us:¹⁹²

或曰当山ハ日本武尊を祭る所也、慈覚此地を經歷の時、不動の像を彫刻して神躰に擬す。其故は、日本武尊富士の野に狩し給ふ時、凶徒火を放て尊ををそふ。尊村雲の剣を抜て狩犬の綱を切て放し燃来る草を薙払給う。其尊躰左に犬の切レ縄を持、右に剣を揮て火中に立給う所、不動の形に似たるを以て是に比する所なりとぞ。

Some say that this temple was a place for the worship of Yamatotakeru no Mikoto. When Jikaku came to this place, he carved the statue of Fudō to resemble the form of the *kami* [*shintai*]. The reason for this was that, when Yamatotakeru no Mikoto was hunting on the plains near Fuji, a villain attacked Mikoto by setting [the area] on fire. Mikoto drew the Murakumo Sword and cut the ropes [tethering his] hunting dogs in order to free them, and mowed down the grass upon which the fire was fast approaching. The form of Mikoto standing amongst the flames holding the cut ropes in his left hand and wielding the sword in his right resembled that of Fudō, and thus came to be identified as such.¹⁹³

Here the *engi* incorporates a famous Japanese legend, first extant in the *Kojiki* 古事記 (712) and *Nihongi* 日本紀 (720), in which the Prince, at the behest of his father Emperor Keikō 景行, is sent to pacify the eastern regions.¹⁹⁴ On his way, his aunt

¹⁹¹ The first *engi* tradition (without Yamatotakeru) can be found in the *Edo meisho ki*, *Edo suzume* 江戸雀 (1677), *Edo sōganoko meisho taizen* (1690), and *Zōho Edo hanashi* 増補江戸咄 (1695). The second tradition (with Yamatotakeru) is recorded in the *Bōkai maidan* 望海每談 (1630s), *Edo sunago* 江戸砂子 (1732), *Kōfu meisho shi*, *Edo meisho zue* (1789), and *Shinpen Musashi fudoki kō* 新編武蔵風土記稿 (1828).

¹⁹² Yokozeki (1972: 279).

¹⁹³ Cf. *Edo meisho zue* (Harada 1967: 718; *Edo sunago* (Koike 1976: 259). The connection is again identified and explained in the *Bōkai maidan* 望海每談 (Ichishima 1878: 185a–b). The *Edo sunago* version adds that the presence of the main *torii* at Ryūsenji (which, no longer extant, was noted for its black colour) was due to the connection between the two deities.

¹⁹⁴ The episode is found in the *Kojiki* chapters 82–3 (Philippi 1968: 238–240) and the *Nihongi* VII.21–24 (Aston 1956: 203–205). See also Isomae (1999) for a discussion of the Yamatotakeru

and high priestess of Ise Shrine grants him the mighty Kusanagi 草薙 Sword.¹⁹⁵ Arriving in the east,¹⁹⁶ he is received by the resident lord, and, in the *Nihongi* account, is invited to go deer hunting on the moors.¹⁹⁷ There the lord sets fire to the tall grass covering the moor in the attempt to kill the Prince. Yamatotakeru cuts down the grass with his sword in defense (hence its name, Kusanagi, “Grass-Cutter”),¹⁹⁸ and defeats the lord.

The *engi* contains a clever manipulation of this popular tale that established a logic between the two local cults (suggesting a possible rivalry) by playing on an iconographical similarity. This manipulation took advantage of three of Fudō’s characteristic iconographical elements—his sword, towering flames, and rope—and identified them with Yamatotakeru’s Kusanagi Sword,¹⁹⁹ the encroaching fires rising above him, and the severed ropes that tethered his hunting dogs. The ropes were a later interpolation not present in the early accounts, seemingly added more closely to identify the two figures. The *engi* reveals that since the Meguro area was originally a centre of *kami* worship, Ennin had been asked by the locals to carve a material embodiment of the deity called a *shintai*. Based on a similarity with the Prince, he then carved the image of Fudō. This iconographical identification of the two deities would have been aided by additional factors, such as their characterizations as militant, subjugating heroes (the Prince subduing unruly *kami* and people, and Fudō unsubmissive demons), and the tale’s relevance to the Edo area.²⁰⁰ Thus the local *kami* cult may not have posed a rivalry but rather an opportunity to promote the new

legend. The tale later appeared in such sources as the *Kogoshūi* 古語拾遺 (807), the war tales *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (late fourteenth century) and *Taiheiki* 太平記 (late fourteenth century).

¹⁹⁵ One of the three sacred regalia of the Imperial house and symbol of its divine authority to rule. The *engi* account identifies Yamatotakeru’s sword as the Murakumo or “Cloud Gathering” Sword, explained by the *Nihongi* as having been its original designation, named so for the clouds which gathered over the abode of the serpent in which the weapon was discovered by Susanoo. According to tradition, it is now enshrined in the Atsuta 熱田 Shrine in Nagoya (as the *shintai* of Atsuta no Ōkami 熱田大神) along with Yamatotakeru (where, incidentally, Fudō is treated as a *honji* in one of the ancillary shrines).

¹⁹⁶ The *Kojiki* identifies his destination as Sagami Province, but the *Nihongi* Suruga.

¹⁹⁷ In the *Kojiki*, the lord instead encourages the Prince to subdue an unruly *kami* living in a pond on the moors, though to the same effect of setting a trap for him.

¹⁹⁸ In the *Kojiki* account, Yamatotakeru’s aunt also gives him a magical bag which he uses to produce a defensive fire to counter the encroaching flames, whereas in the *Nihongi*, he simply kindles the fire himself.

¹⁹⁹ The medieval *Reikiki* 麗氣記 contains an interesting image of a *shintai* Kusanagi sword whose iconography seems to be based on Fudō’s sword in its *samaya* form as found in contemporaneous images. This may suggest a parallel connection between the logic and iconography of *shintai* and *samaya* objects that was known beyond Ryūsenji. See Sakamoto (1978–1993: 102).

²⁰⁰ The tale appears in the introductions to the *Edo meisho ki* (Asakura 1976: 14–16) and *Edo meisho zue* (Harada 1967: 1–4) concerning the history of Edo and Musashi Province.

Buddhist cult, and—together with the waterfall—may explain why, of all Buddhist deities, Fudō came to be worshipped in Meguro in the first place.

Thus we have two distinct streams of the Meguro Fudō *engi*: the first, in which Ennin carved the image of Fudō inspired by a miraculous dream and without mention of Yamatotakeru; and the second, in which he carved the image as a *shintai* in response to a pre-existing centre of *kami* worship.²⁰¹ The two versions reveal how there had been multiple local influences in the construction of the Meguro Fudō *engi*, each drawing on different traditions: the former from Fudō's connection to water, and the latter from an iconographical similarity.

The identification of Fudō and Yamatotakeru, though not exclusive to Ryūsenji,²⁰² illustrates how the Fudō at Meguro was a unique layering of local features (waterfall, Iemitsu, *kami* cult) with canonical symbols (sword, rope, fire). This localization process as revealed through Ryūsenji's *engi* was, however, by no means special. Guidebooks and miracle tale literature reveal many Fudō cults that developed their own unique brands of the deity. For example, the Fudō of Ōsaka's Takitani Fudō 滝谷不動 Temple specialized in curing eye disease.²⁰³ In 1745, an exhibition of the “Army-Conquering” (Gunshō 軍勝) Fudō of Renchiin 蓮池院 Temple of Shinano was held in Edo.²⁰⁴ We also noted in the introduction the Fudō of Ōyama in Sagami worshipped in tandem with the *kami* Sekison, and the Weeping Fudō of Miidera Temple in chapter one.²⁰⁵ Moreover, the Meguro Fudō's treatment as a *shintai* of Yamatotakeru raises an important and understudied side of the deity that requires special attention here.

²⁰¹ Today Ryūsenji recognizes the former as the norm (the modern *engi* no longer contains any hint of Yamatotakeru, the connection likely destroyed in the Meiji Period). However, vestiges of the latter version still exist today. The nearby shrine Ōtori Jinja 大鳥神社 (which had been under the management of Ryūsenji) preserves the centuries-old relationship, as it still enshrines Yamatotakeru, with its *engi* describing how Ennin carved a *shintai* of the *kami* in the form of Fudō which was then installed in the shrine (Tōkyō Toritsu Daigaku Gakujutsu Kenkyūkai ed. 1961: 108). The *engi* included in the *Edo sunago* seems to be a partial source. This would suggest that both temple and shrine shared a common local history and *engi* tradition.

²⁰² According to the 1793 *engi* of Adachi 足立 Shrine nearby in Musashi Province, Fudō was treated as the *honji* of Yamatotakeru. As in the Meguro *engi*, the Kusanagi Sword and the Prince's subjugation of eastern barbarians prominently. See Sakamoto (1978: 33–35) for a reproduction of the *engi*.

²⁰³ See Ichikawa (1993: 275–304) for a study of the Takitani Fudō cult.

²⁰⁴ ES.12.123.

²⁰⁵ See also notes 141, 142, 144, and 173.

Beyond the Mikkyō Pantheon

Although Fudō is today commonly treated as a Mikkyō deity in scholarship, it is clear that by the Edo Period he was shared by all Japanese Buddhist schools. Since scholars have traditionally focused on doctrinal sources of the Shingon and Tendai traditions, they have been unable to answer (or to even properly address) some of the most simple questions concerning Fudō’s celestial status. Is Fudō a Mikkyō deity? What is his role in non-Mikkyō and even non-Buddhist places of worship? And what sorts of relationships did he develop with other non-Mikkyō deities?

An important source to help us address these questions is the most detailed early modern gazetteer on Edo and its environs, the mammoth 266-volume *Shinpen Musashi fudoki kō* 新編武蔵風土記稿 (*Newly Edited Gazetteer of Musashi Province*, published 1824–28) (hereafter *SMFK*). The *SMFK* records in methodical detail the history, geographical features, local industries and commerce, famous places, temples and shrines, supplemented with maps and illustrations of notable locales or events, of the various districts that comprised Musashi Province.²⁰⁶ Of interest to us are the records concerning temples and shrines. Entries generally describe the site’s location, landholdings, branch temples/shrines, and, in the case of temples, the founder, sectarian affiliation, temple nomenclature, head temple, and central deity (*honzon*). For particularly large or popular sites additional information may be given, such as a description of temple treasures, extended history and legends, and *engi*. In these more detailed records, we can find temples that owned images of Fudō that were not the main deity. We are also able to glean the geographical distribution of Fudō temples²⁰⁷ throughout the province, the various natural landmarks named after the deity,²⁰⁸ and his connection to Shintō deities and institutions.

While there were dozens of guidebooks and gazetteers compiled throughout the Edo Period²⁰⁹ that record the many Fudō temples, the *SMFK* is particularly suited to this study of Fudō. It consistently records, unlike many other gazetteers and guidebooks, the central deity of each temple, no matter the size of the institution. This detail allows us to examine the number and sectarian affiliation of temples that

²⁰⁶ Present-day Tōkyō, Saitama Prefecture, and parts of Yokohama and Kawasaki.

²⁰⁷ For example, of Musashi’s twenty-two districts, those with the most Fudō images were Saitama 埼玉 (20%), Atachi 足立 (13%), and Tama 多摩 (11%). Those with the least recorded were Niiza 新座 (0.7%) and Naka 那賀 (0.6%).

²⁰⁸ For example, the gazetteer lists a Fudō waterfall (“Fudō taki” 不動瀧), Fudō crag (“Fudō iwa” 不動岩), and Fudō bridge (“Fudō bashi” 不動橋) in Chichibu 秩父 District (*SMFK* 18.310b) and a group of Fudō caves (“Fudō kutsu” 不動屈) in Katsushika 葛飾 District (*SMFK* 8.145–ff), in addition to other landmarks such as mountains, valleys, rivers, streams, and ponds.

²⁰⁹ See Takeuchi (1978: 1236–7) for a detailed chronological list of guidebooks and gazetteers on Edo and its environs.

were dedicated to, or housed images of, Fudō, something not easily done with conventional indices as the vast majority of Fudō temples do not include “Fudō” in their name. Moreover, temple names are sometimes misleading. Temples bearing the names of deities did not necessarily enshrine that deity as the central object of worship. For example, the *SMFK* records Fudō as the main deity in such temples as Yakushiji 薬師寺, Yakushidō 薬師堂, Monjuin 文殊院, Mirokuin 弥勒院, Mirokuji 弥勒寺, Kichijōin 吉祥院, and Kichijōji 吉祥寺. Likewise, a small number of Fudōin 不動院 Temples did not treat Fudō as the central deity.

My cataloguing of all Fudō images and temples recorded in the *SMFK* yields the following statistical information. At the time of its compilation, the gazetteer listed approximately 1400 temples containing Fudō images. Of these images, 86% were worshipped as the main deity.²¹⁰ The majority of Fudō temples (52%) were affiliated with the Shingi-Shingon 新義真言 tradition of the Shingon Mikkyō school. Surprisingly, very few (3%) Tendai temples are recorded as owning Fudō images as the main object of worship. After the Shingi-Shingon tradition, Fudōs treated as the main deity were most popularly found in Shugen 修験-affiliated temples. Nearly one in five (19%) Fudō temples recorded belonged to this tradition, suggesting the importance Fudō played in the rituals and pantheon of Shugendō. That Fudō could act as the main object of worship in Sōtō, Jōdo, Rinzai and other temples is telling of Fudō’s influence across pantheons, though the number of non-Mikkyō temples that enshrined Fudō as their main deity is relatively small. This shows us how Fudō was not only shared across traditions, but also how Shingon and Tendai temples had ceased to enjoy exclusive ownership of him and therefore absorbed “non-Mikkyō” elements in their understanding and worship of the deity. We have seen this in chapter one, for example, with Fudō’s connection to rebirth in the Pure Land, starting from the Kamakura Period. There is no evidence to suggest that Pure Land monks thought of their worship of Fudō as strange. Fudō was not seen as “borrowed” from the Mikkyō schools, but as a deity that had become as much “Pure Land” or “Zen” as he was “Shingon” or “Tendai.” In the following chapters we will examine how the Narita Fudō had become of particular importance to Pure Land temples and their patriarchs.

Fudō as a “Shintō” Deity

Our data from the *SMFK* is useful in understanding Fudō’s relationships to *kami*. Of the 1400 religious sites where Fudō was recorded, fifty-six (4%) of these were

²¹⁰ Since most non-Mikkyō temples that contained non-*bonzon* Fudō images are listed in the extended records of particularly popular sites, we might expect that the actual number of Fudō images owned by non-Mikkyō temples was greater.

shrines (the most famous of which is the Tōshōgū 東照宮 Shrine). There were even ten shrines named after the deity: Fudōsha 不動社. While these numbers may seem insignificant, consider that there were actually fewer Tendai temples (3%) in Musashi that enshrined Fudō.

These figures are emblematic of Shintō-Buddhist syncretism (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合), a key aspect of which was the process of *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 (“original ground, trace manifestation”) or simply *honjaku* 本迹.²¹¹ The theory of *honjaku* initially posited that the *kami* were to be understood as *suijaku* 垂迹, that is, manifestations—and thus subordinates—of the buddhas, bodhisattvas, *myōō*, or *deva*. Moreover, the theory helped to explain the existence of the *kami* in relation to the Buddhist gods, and erase any potential offense against the native *kami* for worshipping foreign deities. During the Edo Period, Fudō became linked to many *kami* without any apparent logic other than local convenience as we see in the case at Meguro. For example, in his *Edo meissho ki*, Asai Ryōi 浅井了意 (d. 1691) mentions Fudō as the *honji* of Hakusan Gongen 白山権現 of Hakusan Jinja 白山神社.²¹² In the *Tōkaidō meissho ki* 東海道名所記 (*Record of Famous Places Along the Tōkaidō Highway*, mid-seventeenth century), Asai notes that the Kurikara Fudō Myōō 俱利伽羅不動明王 was the *honji* of Atsuta no Daimyōjin 熱田大明神 in Owari Province (the famous resting place of the Kusanagi Sword).²¹³ Fudō’s iconography also lent itself to transformation into various local *kami* such as Sanshakubō Gongen²¹⁴ 三尺棒権現 and Izuna Gongen²¹⁵ 飯綱権現 of Takaosan 高尾山, both of which were influenced by the imagery of the Japanese Tengu 天狗.²¹⁶

An investigation of the *SMFK* gives us a glimpse into Fudō’s *honjaku* relationships around Edo in the early eighteenth century. Of the fifty-six shrines in which Fudō appears, the gazetteer lists thirteen where Fudō was treated as the *honji* of a *kami*, and twelve in which he was the *shintai* 神体 (see appendix 3). Whereas the *honji* is the source from which the *kami* emanates, the *shintai* is considered the physical object in which the *kami* takes its form, often for the purpose of worship during festivals. Better known *shintai* include weapons like swords and spears, mirrors and jewels. In the present case, however, we find images of Fudō employed as a *kami*’s *shintai*.

²¹¹ For a recent treatment of the subject of Shinto-Buddhist syncretism, see Tweewen and Rambelli (2003).

²¹² Asakura (1976: 222).

²¹³ Fuji (2002: 125).

²¹⁴ One the Sanshakubō Gongen, see Duquenne (1972: 119–120).

²¹⁵ For an image and brief description of Izuna Gongen’s connection to Fudō, see Kawamura (1989: 144).

²¹⁶ A type of Japanese mountain goblin known for its characteristically long nose.

Also interesting is that the majority of the shrines in question, fourteen in number, are devoted to the *kami*, Sugiyama Daimyōjin 杉山大明神.²¹⁷ This presents us with a rare case in which Fudō not only developed strong ties to a single *kami*, but one in which the relationship moved beyond the confines of a single institution to include several shrines stretching across two districts (Tachibana and Tsuzuki). Although there exists a distinct ontological difference between *honji* and *shintai*, here we see in the case of Fudō how the same deity is able to act as both, and in the case of two Sugiyamasha Shrines,²¹⁸ even simultaneously. Having Fudō act as both the *honji* and *shintai* in the same place at the same time posed no apparent problems in logic. That all but one of the remaining Sugiyamasha Shrines identify either the *honji* or *shintai* as Fudō but not the other suggests a possibility that this dual *honji-shintai* role of Fudō was present in these other shrines as well.

The network of Sugiyamasha Shrines impels us to not only stop thinking about Fudō as a specifically Mikkyō deity, but also as an exclusively Buddhist one. Although the majority of sites in which Fudō is found recorded in the gazetteers remained predominately (Shingon) Buddhist, his common connections to local deities like Yamatotakeru and Sugiyama Daimyōjin, and the promotion of regionally-specific, unique images that interwove local with inherited sectarian tradition, are substantial enough to remind us that Fudō was a shared, trans-sectarian object of worship who was not the sole property of classical Mikkyō tradition, but who could be found in Nichiren, Zen, and Pure Land temples as well as Shintō shrines. These records draw no special mention of Fudō being worshiped in a Shintō shrine.

Concluding Remarks

The rapid urbanization and recreational climate of Edo in the early modern period produced many revenue-generating activities for religious sites. The capital's new urban, recreational climate, the economic vitality of the townspeople, and advances in transportation and communication, all helped facilitate the growth of hundreds of deity cults, many devoted to the popular Fudō.

An examination of the *engi* tradition of Ryūsenji, the most popular of the capital's Fudō sites, reveals how forces other than canonical tradition played an essential role in constructing the unique identity of a local Fudō. The deity was not directly inherited from sectarian scriptures. Instead, canonical elements were

²¹⁷ Fudō's appears as the *honji* at Sugiyama Shrines in Musashi as early as the fourteenth-century in the *Shintō shū* 神道集 (a syncretic text detailing temple and shrine legends and *honjaku* relationships). See Kondō (1959: 103).

²¹⁸ Viz., numbers four and six (see appendix 3).

interwoven with an ever-evolving layer of local features such as famous people, events, objects, and geography. The strong sense of place and community stood on par with canonical tradition, making the latter not necessarily the essential defining features of a religious space, but rather the building blocks on which local elements were added. The result: a “negotiation” of certain canonical features with the local, effectively transforming a “generic Fudō” into the brand Meguro Fudō offering particular material rewards. This interfusion allowed Ryūsenji to claim possession over local history and geography, and produced a regionally-distinct place of worship with its own identity, an important and perhaps elemental process to the installation of a sacred site.

This process—how canonical elements took on new meanings as they came into contact with local, trans-sectarian power structures—was not specific to Ryūsenji but can be found across all Japanese Buddhist schools. This example provides us with a provisional model for understanding how deities were crafted to best make sense in their communities and to provide a basis for temple identity and activities. However, while our study of Ryūsenji gives us a basic picture of the mechanics involved in this process, due to the loss of temple records during World War II, we are unable to get a better sense of how the creation of a regionally-distinct Fudō could travel beyond its immediate temple borders to become a valuable commodity shared by various groups, some religious, others commercial. Let us therefore turn to our primary object of study, the case of the Narita Fudō.

CHAPTER THREE

THE *ENGI* AT WORK: CREATING THE NARITA FUDŌ BRAND

The objectives of the present chapter are to identify and analyze the main elements that comprised Shinshōji's *engi* and associated miracle tales, and to examine how they integrated classical and local materials to produce a unique character for the Narita Fudō that was relevant to its environment. As in the case of the Meguro Fudō, the *engi*'s marriage of the doctrinal and local often involved the former—such as Fudō's trademark sword and characterization as a guardian deity—taking on new, regionally-specific meanings. The distinct *engi* stylization of Fudō allowed Shinshōji to claim ownership over the deity and its area of operation, thereby producing a trademarked brand useful in attracting patrons. As we will see in this (and the next) chapter, the successful localization of the Narita Fudō also allowed it to become a commodity shared between a variety of trans-sectarian, commercial, and artistic institutions.

Background to Shinshōji

Shinshōji was built on the Shimōsa 下総 Plateau in northern Shimōsa Province, south of the great Tonegawa 利根川 River and east of its tributary, the Inba 印旛 Marsh. In similar style to Ryūsenji in Meguro, Shinshōji was nestled into the side of a small plateau which divided the temple into upper and lower precincts (figure 3.1). One approached the temple from the south through the *monzenmachi* district, entered the lower precincts through the front gates, and ascended a steep flight of steps into the upper precinct atop the plateau, whose elevated position overlooked the area. The illustrations which grace the grand *Edo meisho zue* show that many temples and shrines were constructed in this fashion, characterizing a spatial organization where one moved from a mundane, urban space in the *monzenmachi* and lower precinct (where festivals and secular events were held), to the sacred interior, the location of the main hall (*hondō* 本堂) and its enshrined image.

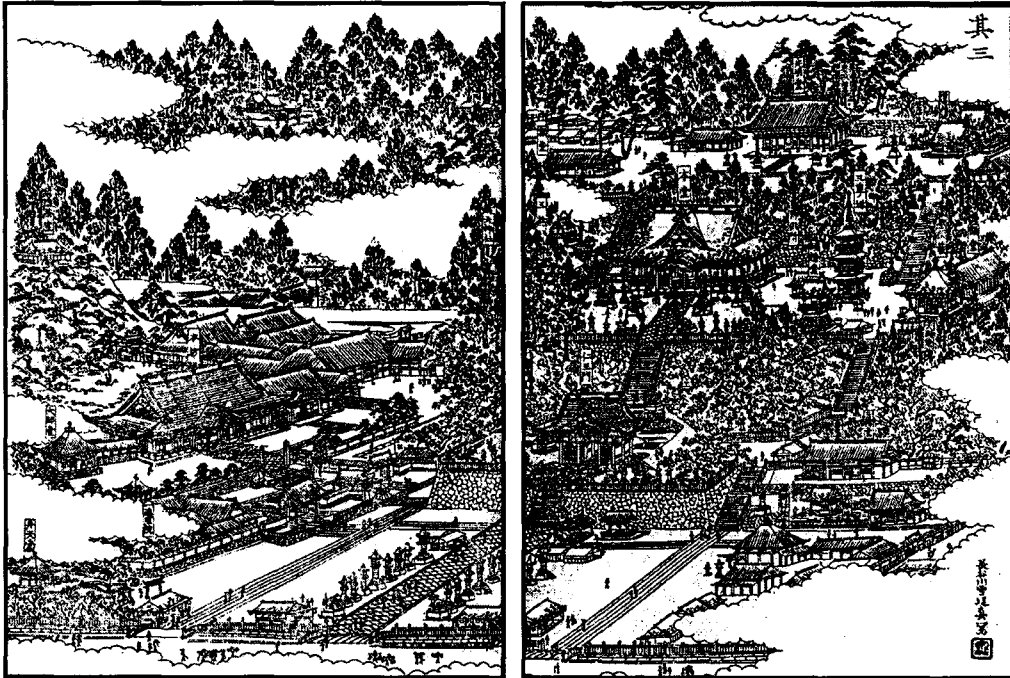
The temple's *sangō*,²¹⁹ “Naritasan” 成田山 (“Narita Temple”), took its name from the local village of Narita 成田, located a three-day journey outside Edo to the northeast in Shimōsa. According to Shinshōji's *engi* tradition, the temple had been established at Narita in 940 for the purpose of subduing a major rebellion against the emperor in the Kantō area. However, to my knowledge, there are no reliable historical records that mention the temple's existence prior to the late 1500s.²²⁰ Hence, accounts of Naritasan during the ancient and medieval periods, though they

²¹⁹ See note four.

²²⁰ This is further attested by the historian Murakami Shigeyoshi (1968: 7–8).

become increasingly detailed after the Meiji era, must be treated more as extended *engi* tradition than verifiable fact.

Figure 3.1. Shinshōji (Naritasan) Temple Precinct (*Narita meisho zue* 成田名所図会, 1858)



The modern scholar Murakami Shigeyoshi has classified Naritasan’s history, from its legendary founding to pre-war times, into four general divisions, which can be summarized as follows:²²¹

Figure 3.2. Historical Classification of Shinshōji Temple

Legendary founding–late 1500s	Legendary period
Late 1500s–late 1600s	Age of <i>daimyō</i> patronage
1700s–1860s	Age of popularization, exhibitions, pilgrimage
1868–1945	Expansion of subtemples; support of imperial government

These divisions are useful for our purposes since they coincide with the appearance and development of Shinshōji’s *engi* and miracle tales. The first period, which lasted until the late 1500s, is known to us only through *engi* tradition and legend, and cannot be accurately verified despite the appearance of famous figures and events. The period spanning the late sixteenth to late seventeenth centuries contains the earliest verifiable records of the temple’s existence, and, as Murakami writes, is primarily characterized by patronage of *daimyō* located in the local military domain

²²¹ Murakami (1968: 7–8).

(*han* 藩) of Sakura 佐倉. From 1592 to 1603, Sakura Castle fell under the charge of two of Shōgun's Ieyasu's own sons²²² and enjoyed a substantial increase in yearly rice yield. Thereafter it remained under the control of *fudai* 譜代 *daimyō*,²²³ lords allied with the Tokugawa during the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600.

Proximity to Sakura Castle proved important to Shinshōji's financial successes. Starting in the Genroku Period (1688–1703) there developed a particularly strong connection between Narita and Sakura's successive lords—Toda, Inaba, and Hotta—that would last until the Meiji Period.²²⁴ The turn of the eighteenth century saw the arrival of the new Inaba clan at Sakura, and with it, a marked rise in annual rice yield.²²⁵ The Inabas became great patrons by donating images, construction materials, and land in 1705 and again in 1716.²²⁶ As Inaba fortunes increased, so did Shinshōji's income and activities. Significantly, this initial prosperity marks the time when Shinshōji's *engi* and earliest miracle tales begin to appear.

Our main investigation in this and the next chapter will therefore be concerned with this 150-year time period, from the arrival of the Inabas in the early 1700s to the end of the Edo Period under the Hotta. The fourth and final division following the Meiji Restoration of 1868, which represented an entirely new breed of miracle tales, will be the subject of chapter five.

The Shinshōji Engi

The earliest extant *engi* produced by the temple was written by the Shingon monk Kakugen²²⁷ 覺眼 (1643–1725) in 1700, entitled *Shimōsa no kuni Naritasan Jingo Shinshōji honzon raiyūki* 下総国成田山神護新勝寺本尊来由記 (*An Account of the Origins of Naritasan Jingo Shinshōji of Shimōsa Province and its Honzon*) (hereafter *Daiengi*).²²⁸ Kakugen likely wrote the *engi* in response to the sudden growth and

²²² Viz., Takeda Nobuyoshi 武田信吉 (1583–1603) and Matsudaira Tadateru 松平忠輝 (1592–1683).

²²³ Ono (1978: 35).

²²⁴ Ono (1978: 34).

²²⁵ 110,000 *koku* from 67,800 *koku* (Ono 1978: 35). For details on the temple's Sakura patronage, see Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 500–509).

²²⁶ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 749, 750).

²²⁷ Kakugen's connection to Shinshōji may be in part explained by his close Denbōinryū 伝法院流 lineage with Ryūchō 隆長 (1586–1656) (Sawa 1975: 136), whom temple tradition regards as having become Shinshōji's chief priest in 1605 (Naritasan Shinshōji ed. 1968: 67) (Kakugen appears sixth in the Denbōinryū line after Ryūchō).

²²⁸ Better known in modern scholarship by the abbreviated title *Tōji daiengi* 当寺大縁起 (*The Great Founding of Our Temple*). See Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 17–19) for the complete text.

popularity of the temple at this time during Edo’s vibrant Genroku Period (1688–1704).²²⁹ Modern temple tradition attributes Naritasan’s Genroku prosperity in large part to Shōhan 照範 (d.1725), who had become Shinshōji’s chief priest in the same year as the *engi*’s writing (he was possibly the impetus for its production), and who was later celebrated as the temple’s first “restorer” (*chūkō* 中興).²³⁰

Above all, motivation for the *engi*’s production likely coincided with the construction of a new *hondō* 本堂 or main hall²³¹ begun in 1697.²³² The hall was completed in 1701, and the image of Fudō was enshrined there with a *nyūbutsu kuyō* 入仏供養 (“ritual for the installation of a Buddha [image]”) consecration ceremony.²³³ The event was celebrated by the temple’s first recorded exhibition in Narita, which was held for thirty days.²³⁴ Two years later in 1703, Shōhan organized the temple’s first exhibition in Edo to great success, earning over two thousand gold *ryō* 両.²³⁵ At the same time, the popular kabuki actor Ichikawa Danjūrō 市川團十郎 I (1660–1704) staged a play in Edo honouring the Narita Fudō and coinciding with the exhibition. The collaboration between Danjūrō and Shōhan set in motion a celebrated commercial relationship between the temple and line of actors that remains to this day (more on these exhibitions and theatre in the following chapter).

Kakugen’s *Daiengi* marks the genesis of the temple’s initial prosperity. Whereas during the seventeenth century, Shinshōji’s primary patrons had been the local Sakura lords, the next century and a half represented the age of the temple’s increasing popularization among and patronage by the Edo townspeople.²³⁶ The spread of the *Daiengi* played an integral role as it helped identify and popularize the distinctive character of the Narita Fudō. With its brand deity, Shinshōji actively advertised itself in the hopes of drawing in patrons from local Narita and bustling Edo. With this in mind, let us now turn to an analysis of the *engi* itself.

²²⁹ Kakugen wrote the *Daiengi* not in the vernacular, but in the high Chinese style of *kanbun* 漢文. This may have been intended to lend a prestige to the document written as the temple’s newly emerging official *engi* history.

²³⁰ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 70). The title *chūkō* refers to a patriarch under whom a temple prospers (often after a period of stagnation or decay). Under Shōhan’s management, an active program of temple construction began (several of the temple’s buildings first appear during this time), serendipitously followed the next year by the near-doubled increase in rice yield under the Sakura lord Inaba Masamichi 稲葉正往 (Ono 1978: 1935).

²³¹ The present-day Kōmyōdō 光明堂 Hall.

²³² Murakami (1968: 365).

²³³ Murakami (1968: 365).

²³⁴ Murakami (1968: 365).

²³⁵ *Shiryō* 5.81.

²³⁶ Murakami (1968: 8).

Rebel Masakado and Hero Kanchō

Kakugen's *Daiengi* can be roughly divided into two halves; let us begin with the first. Its central frame is the Masakado Rebellion (*Masakado no ran* 将門の乱) of 939–940, instigated by the infamous Taira no Masakado 平将門 (?–940), an influential military general stationed in the Kantō region. By the late 930s, Masakado had commanded a sizeable army which occupied several provinces in the Kantō region.²³⁷ As a distant relative of Emperor Kammu 桓武 (737–806) (and thus a member of the illustrious Kammu Heishi 桓武平氏 lineage),²³⁸ Masakado is said to have invoked his royal ancestry and proclaimed himself the “new emperor” (*shin'nō* 新皇),²³⁹ thereby challenging the authority of the imperial court in Kyōto. In response, the imperial court issued orders for Masakado's death. In the spring of 940, two generals, Fujiwara no Hidesato 藤原秀郷 and Taira no Sadamori 平貞盛, captured and killed the rebel, thus ending the revolt.²⁴⁰

The Masakado Rebellion became the subject of Japan's earliest extant *gunki* 軍記, or war chronicle,²⁴¹ the *Shōmon ki* 将門記 (also *Masakado ki*, *A Record of Masakado*),²⁴² and has been reproduced over the centuries in variant legends and tales. It has remained ever since one of the most famous events in Shimōsa's history. Due to its grand scale and romantic episodes, colourful cast and exciting finale, the incident was later included in several biographies of Buddhist monks alive in 940.²⁴³ It enjoyed particular popularity during the Edo Period, when many shrines and temples, in similar manner as Naritasan, claimed connections to the tale and incorporated it into their institutional histories. Notable among Edo's sites connected to the event is Kanda Myōjin Shrine where, since the early fourteenth century, Masakado is said to have been deified and worshipped, in part to appease his potentially malevolent spirit, but also to venerate a local hero.²⁴⁴ Like Kanda's reverence for Masakado, the *Shōmon ki* treated the warrior not merely as a reckless rebel and danger to the imperial court, but also as a popular, almost cultic, hero, a *yonaoshi*²⁴⁵ 世直, “world renewer,” the romantically doomed underdog who, despite his questionable actions, is nonetheless recognized for an idealistic and steadfast

²³⁷ Murakami (1968: 61).

²³⁸ See Ono (1978: 9, figure 1) and Rabinovitch (1986: 142–143) for geneological charts of Masakado's line.

²³⁹ Murakami (1968: 61).

²⁴⁰ Rabinovitch (1986: 19).

²⁴¹ Rabinovitch (1986: 5–6).

²⁴² For an introduction to and translation of the *Shōmon ki*, see Rabinovitch (1986).

²⁴³ See notes 270–273.

²⁴⁴ Rabinovitch (1986: 3).

²⁴⁵ Rabinovitch (1986: 3).

character. The 1722 gazetteer *Sakura fudoki* 佐倉風土記, for example, records a shrine in Sakura near Narita that deified the warrior as the *kami* Masakado Daimyōjin 将門大明神.²⁴⁶ Like Kanda Myōjin, this and other religious sites are suggestive of the rebellion’s cultural influence in the area, and the motivation for the event’s adoption into temple and shrine histories.²⁴⁷

Kakugen’s incorporation of the event as the *engi*’s prime mover is thus of no surprise. The local rebellion allowed Shinshōji to instantly tap into a well-established and recognized historical resource, providing it with a link to the ancient past as well as to the loose network of sites connected to the famous event. With his militant background as a guardian deity of the state as described in rituals,²⁴⁸ Fudō provided the ideal figure for the tale. To make clear the connection between temple, deity, and rebellion, Kakugen included several details in the *Daiengi* to show how Naritasan’s origins were a direct result of the rebellion, and that the Narita Fudō, likewise a product of the event, was therefore a most ancient and miraculous image. Like other religious sites (and biographies) that incorporated the rebellion, the temple was then able to claim itself as a significant player in the event.

Kakugen’s interpolations into the tale (as told by standard accounts such as the *Shōmon ki*) found in the *Daiengi* run as follows.²⁴⁹ After hearing of the revolt, an enraged Emperor Suzaku 朱雀 (923–952) ordered eminent members of the Buddhist clergy to conduct esoteric rites for Masakado’s subjugation. Among them was a young monk named Kanchō 寛朝 (also pronounced Kanjō, 916–998), who secretly took a Fudō statue carved by Kūkai²⁵⁰ enshrined at Jingoji 神護寺 Temple’s Myōōin 明王院 Hall and sailed east to Shimōsa. There he installed the image in the Narita

²⁴⁶ Bōsō Bunko Kankōkai ed. (1930: 39).

²⁴⁷ For example, the rebellion appeared in the history of a Musashi shrine as recorded in the *Kon’no Hachiman jinja shaki* 金王八幡神社社記 (*Record of Kon’no Hachiman Shrine*, 1500) (Sakamoto 1978–1993: 311–318). A Fudō temple in Musashi claimed a history similar to that of Shinshōji. According the *engi*, its Fudō statue was carved by the Tendai monk Enchin (814–891) while at Miidera 三井寺. During Masakado’s revolt, the statue was said to have been venerated by Hidesato and Sadamori for victory over the rebel, and brought to Shimōsa, where it was later installed at its present site in 1747 (*SMFK* 7.235a–b). The rebellion served as the foundation for another Fudō temple *engi* in Edo, the *Haragaya Fudōson engi* 幡ヶ谷不動尊縁起 (1758) (see Nakano 1996: 441–443 for a reproduction).

²⁴⁸ See note 83.

²⁴⁹ See Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 17–19) for the *Daiengi*’s text.

²⁵⁰ The image is said to have been enshrined in the Gomadō 護摩堂 Hall of the Shingon Jingoji 神護寺 Temple on Mount Takao 高雄 in north-western Kyōto.

area near the rebellion²⁵¹ and conducted the *goma* rite of subjugation (*chōbuku* 調伏) (figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3. Kanchō Invoking the Narita Fudō for the Subjugation of Masakado
(*Narita meisho zue* 成田名所図会, 1858)²⁵²



²⁵¹ This site is today identified as Kōzugahara 公津ヶ原 (see Ono 1978: 16ff for a discussion of its location). According to Murakami, the statue was transferred to Narita proper in 1566 (Murakami 1968: 364).

²⁵² Right panel reads: 寛朝僧正護摩を修する圖 (“Image of Chief Priest Kanchō conducting the *goma*”). Left panel reads: 将門記山々阿闍梨修滅邪滅惡之法社々神祇官祭頓死頓滅之式一七日之間所燒之芥子七斛有餘所供祭料五色幾屯云云五大力尊遣侍者於東土八大尊官放神箭於賊方云云 (“The *Shōmon ki* says, ‘Ācārya [Buddhist masters] in mountain temples conducted Esoteric rites for the annihilation of [Masakado’s] evil and wickedness, while the shrines of the Jingikan held ceremonies for his immediate death and destruction. After a period of a seven days more than seven *koku* of poppy seeds were burnt [in the *goma* fires], and many offerings of the five colours presented [to the deities]...The Five Great Deities of Power dispatched their attendants to the eastern regions and the Eight Great Deities of the [Jingi]kan released divine arrows at the rebel enemy”). Rabinovitch (1986: 123, n. 239) incorrectly suggests that the eight deities (*hachidaison* 八大尊) may be the Daoist-flavoured *hachi shōjin* 八将神. First, one cannot help but notice the explicit parallel construction in the passage, where Buddhist figures, rituals, and deities are mentioned first, followed by their Shintō counterparts. Second, the conspicuous use of the term *kan* 官 (which Rabinovitch ignores) refers to the aforementioned Jingikan (Ministry of *Kami*). The eight deities, then, would be the *hasshin* 八神, “eight *kami*,” of the Hasshinden 八神殿 Shrine of the Jingikan, that, like the Godairiki (Five Great Deities of Power), were worshipped as guardian deities of the emperor.

At the conclusion of the ritual, Masakado was miraculously killed in battle by Sadamori and Hidesato, an act which Kakugen attributes to the divine power of Fudō evoked through Kanchō's *goma*.²⁵³ With his duty fulfilled, Kanchō attempted to return home to Kyōto with the image, but it mysteriously became immovable (“*fudō*” 不動) and announced that it would remain forever in Kantō to guard against enemies and grant divine favour to all who desire it.²⁵⁴ Moved to tears, Kanchō installed the image in a hall and returned to the capital. Upon hearing of the events, Emperor Suzaku, both grateful for the war's end and impressed by the miraculous event, ordered a temple to be erected on the spot to enshrine the Fudō image. He then bestowed a series of three titles constituting the temple's formal name: first, “Jingo Shinshōji” 神護新勝寺, “Temple of Divine Protection and New Victory” (the *jigō* 寺号), to honour the victory over the rebel and celebrate the origins of the Fudō image from Jingoji; second, “Naritasan” 成田山, “Narita Temple” (the *sangō* 山号); and finally, “Myōō” 明王 (the *ingō* 院号), an homage to its *honzon*.²⁵⁵ Hence the very name of the temple as Naritasan Jingo Shinshōji Myōōin 成田山神護新勝寺明王院 was meant to immediately evoke its connections to Kyōto and the imperial court, as well its guardian status of the eastern regions.

The *Daiengi* represented a significant new addition to the rebellion's standard cast of characters. This addition was the Heian-period monk Kanchō, son of the imperial prince Atsumi Shin'nō 敦実親王 (893–967) and grandson of Emperor Uda 宇多 (867–931), under whom he entered the Shingon priesthood at the age of eleven. Being of royal blood, Kanchō was attached to the imperial Nin'naji 仁和寺, and later became the steward (*bettō* 别当). He also served at such famous temples as Tōdaiji 東大寺 (becoming its first ever Shingon *daisōjō*²⁵⁶ 大僧正 in 986) and Tōji 東寺 (becoming its nineteenth head priest, *chōja* 長者,²⁵⁷ in 981).²⁵⁸ Beyond being an accomplished practitioner of *shōmyō* 声明 (Buddhist chanting), Kanchō is remembered for establishing Henjōji 遍照寺 Temple near Nin'naji 仁和寺 in Kyōto at the behest of Emperor Kazan 花山 (968–1008) in 989.²⁵⁹ The temple played an instrumental role in the early years of the Hirosawa ryū 広沢流, one of the main

²⁵³ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 17).

²⁵⁴ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 17).

²⁵⁵ See note four.

²⁵⁶ The highest clerical post within the *sōjō* 僧正, the first of the three general ranks under the Sangha Office (*sōgō* 僧綱) (Nakamura 1981: 924a). The term is sometimes translated as “archbishop” or “abbot.”

²⁵⁷ Generally meaning a layperson or householder, the term *chōja* was used at Tōji to describe the chief priest (Nakamura 1981: 963a).

²⁵⁸ Sawa (1975: 110).

²⁵⁹ Sawa (1975: 110).

lineages of the Shingon tradition. As head monk of Henjōji, Kanchō became the fourth patriarch of the long and illustrious Hirosawa line of Shingon masters.²⁶⁰ The selection of Kanchō as a temple founder was thus a logical one, fitting well the bill of ideal requirements for an *engi* hero and legendary founder of a temple: he was an eminent monk of royal descent connected to important people and places whose fame had even been immortalized in popular *setsuwa* literature such as the *Konjaku monogatari shū*²⁶¹ (early twelfth century), *Uji shūi monogatari*²⁶² (early thirteenth century), and *Jikken shō*²⁶³ 十訓抄 (mid-thirteenth century).

Yet despite his accolades, the connection between Kanchō and Naritasan remains unclear. To my knowledge, no Heian-period or medieval biography provides any link between him, Takaosan, or the Masakado rebellion, let alone Shinshōji.²⁶⁴ Why, then, did Kakugen choose Kanchō over other figures?

The question becomes even more problematic as the connection between Kanchō and Fudō was quite weak; the regular repertoire of famous monks whose biographies consistently employ Fudō in some manner, or who appear in Fudō temple *engi* (Kūkai, Ennin, etc.), does not include Kanchō. Most biographies of Kanchō do not even mention the deity. Only a handful preserve a short tale in which Kanchō and the renowned Tendai monk Ryōgen²⁶⁵ 良源 (912–985) conduct a *godanhō* 五壇法 (Five Altar Rite) at Emperor En'yū's 円融 (959–991) court.²⁶⁶ Ryōgen officiates over the central altar of Fudō, and Kanchō over that of Gōzanze, whereupon both men manifest the forms of their respective deities to the amazement of all. One of the few extant connections we can find between Kanchō and Fudō is a

²⁶⁰ Sawa (1975: 587).

²⁶¹ Volume 23, tale 20, “Hirosawa no Kanchō sōjō no kyōryoku no koto” 廣澤'寛朝僧正'強力'語 (“On the Strength of Kanchō Sōjō of Hirosawa”) (NKBT.25.259–261).

²⁶² Tale 176, “Kanchō sōjō yūriki no koto” 寛朝僧正勇力の事 (“On Kanchō Sōjō's Heroic Strength”) (NKBT.27.388–390).

²⁶³ See Asami (1997: 57–59) for a reproduction of the tale.

²⁶⁴ This conclusion is based on a survey of all extant sources containing Kanchō's biography of which I am aware: the *Hōbutsu shū* 宝物集 (late twelfth century, DBZ.147.308a), *Sōgō bunin shōshutsu* 僧綱補任抄出 (early Kamakura Period, DBZ.111.67a–b), *Nanto kōsōden* 南都高僧伝 (Kamakura Period, DBZ.101.521a–522a), *Kechimyaku ruishū ki* 血脈類集記 (late Kamakura Period, *Shingonshū zensho* 真言宗全書 39.59b), *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書 (early fourteenth century, DBZ.101.182b), *Shingon den* 真言伝 (early fourteenth century, DBZ.106.200b–202a), *Tōgoku kōsōden* 東国高僧伝 (1688, DBZ.104.74a), *Dentō kōroku* 伝灯広録 (early eighteenth century, *Zoku Shingonshū zensho* 続真言宗全書 33.268a–269b), *Tōdaiji bettō shidai* 東大寺別当次第 (n.d., *Gunsho ruijū* 羣書類従 4.578a–b), *Tōji chōja bunin* 東寺長者補任 (n.d., *Gunsho ruijū* 4.636a–637b), and *Nin'naji shoin geki* 仁和寺諸院家記 (n.d., *Gunsho ruijū* 4.739b–780a).

²⁶⁵ On Ryōgen, see Groner (2002).

²⁶⁶ See, for example, the biographies found in the *Shingon den* (DBZ.106.200b–202a) and *Dentō kōroku* 伝灯広録 (early eighteenth century, *Zoku Shingonshū zensho* 続真言宗全書 33.268a–269b).

ritual text, *Fudō shidai* 不動次第 (*Ritual Prescriptions of Fudō*), attributed to the patriarch.²⁶⁷ It is perhaps because of this weak connection to Fudō that Kakugen included the more famous Kūkai as a supporting character. Kūkai's strong links to the deity helped provide a concrete foundation for the Narita Fudō's origins, its connections to Kyōto, the imperial throne, and its characterization as a war deity. Accordingly, Kakugen takes care to identify Kūkai's Fudō as a special image made for the specific purpose of protecting the imperial throne (from the time of Emperor Saga 嵯峨, 786–842) and thus establishes Kanchō's logic for taking it east.²⁶⁸

But Kanchō's eminent status and connection to Fudō still do not adequately explain his appearance in the *Daiengi*. The answer may lie in the *engi*'s prime mover, the Masakado Rebellion itself. Though Kanchō was only twenty-four in 940, long before his traditional biographies ascribe to him any merits of mention, the *Daiengi* depicts him as a mature individual instigating the very ritual which precipitates Masakado's downfall.²⁶⁹ As mentioned above, this explicit linkage between Kanchō and Masakado is, however, non-existent in his biographies prior to the *engi*. The mystery is further exacerbated by the fact that the rebellion had long been present in the medieval biographies of four other Mikkyō monks who had been alive in 940 (found in the *Genkō shakusho*, 1322, and *Shingon den*, 1325): Son'i²⁷⁰ 尊意 (866–940), Taishun²⁷¹ 泰舜 (877–949), Myōtatsu²⁷² 明達 (879–955), and Jōzō²⁷³ 淨藏 (891–964).

A key hint to understanding Kanchō's connection to Shinshōji can be found in his biography recorded by Sonkai 尊海 (1472–1543) in the *Nin'naji goden* 仁和寺御伝 (sixteenth century).²⁷⁴ Here we finally find the rebellion linked to Kanchō.

²⁶⁷ Sawa (1975: 111).

²⁶⁸ Today Shinshōji tradition adds that Kūkai had carved the Narita Fudō at the behest of Emperor Saga 嵯峨 following the Kusuko 菓子 Rebellion of 810, whereupon he installed it at Jingoji. Modern temple tradition has augmented the Narita Fudō's war-time past by adding that Minamoto no Yoriyoshi 源頼義 (988–1075) had petitioned the Narita Fudō in 1057 when hunting down Abe no Sadatō 安倍貞任 (1019–1062) and had reconstructed the main hall in 1063 in gratitude for Abe's eventual defeat (Naritasan Shinshōji ed. 1968: 745–746). Minamoto no Yoshiie 源義家 (1039–1106) likewise was said to have prayed for the defeat of Kiyohara no Ichira 清原家衡 (d.1087) in 1083, Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 for the overthrow of the Heike (Taira) clan in 1180, and Fujiwara no Toshimoto 藤原俊基 for victory over the Tōi 東夷 Rebellion in 1323 (Naritasan Shinshōji ed. 1968: 745–746).

²⁶⁹ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 17).

²⁷⁰ DBZ.106.188a–189a. The rebellion also appears in Son'i's biography recorded in the *Sōgō bunin shōshutsu* 僧綱補任抄出 (early Kamakura period) (DBZ.111.63b–64a).

²⁷¹ DBZ.106.192a–b; DBZ.101.126b.

²⁷² DBZ.106.192b; DBZ.101.127a.

²⁷³ DBZ.106.192b–195a; DBZ.101.259a–261a.

²⁷⁴ *Gunsho ruijū* 羣書類従 5.432b (Ōta 1952).

Sonkai describes Kanchō as a worker of miracles, exemplified by his prayers which subjugated an unnamed imperial enemy (*chōteki chōbuku* 朝敵調伏) and earned the favour of the emperor. Sonkai then mentions Taira no Sadamori, armed with a sword identified by a gloss as the Kogarasu 小烏 (“Little Crow”).²⁷⁵ Though it is not explicitly named, we can speculate that the Masakado Rebellion is the event in question (a detail perhaps omitted due to the biography’s brevity) since the general Masakado tale credits the rebel’s defeat to Sadamori (both by Shinshōji as found in the *Daiengi*²⁷⁶ and sources beyond temple tradition such as the *Shōmon ki*²⁷⁷).

More interesting yet is that popular tradition attributes the Kogarasu Sword’s provenance to the legendary eighth-century swordsmith Amakuni 天国, and identifies the blade as the very weapon given to Sadamori by Emperor Suzaku for the purposes of suppressing the Masakado revolt.²⁷⁸ As we will soon see below, a strikingly similar sword forged by Amakuni appeared at Shinshōji. This parallel would suggest that the lore of the Kogarasu Sword and biography of Sadamori as reproduced in the *Nin’naji goden* acted as a partial source for Kakugen’s *Daiengi*.

Sonkai’s account of Kanchō seems to have eventually gained a currency by the time of Kakugen. Curiously, Sonkai’s mention of the rebellion and sword was repeated in the *Honchō kōsōden*²⁷⁹ 本朝高僧伝 (*Biographies of Eminent Japanese Monks*, 1702–07), just after Kakugen had completed his *Daiengi*. It again mentions Sadamori and a sword, though this time the Masakado Rebellion is explicitly named.²⁸⁰

Since the Masakado rebellion provided the impetus for the temple’s legendary origins, and would become a major element in the temple’s fame, we can assume that Kanchō’s existence during the rebellion acted as an initial motivation for his linkage to Naritasan. Sonkai’s *Nin’naji goden* may have further facilitated this connection between Kanchō and Shinshōji. Though his connections to Fudō and Shinshōji still remained comparatively weak, Kanchō may have also provided an ideal *engi* figure in that the temple would be able to claim a unique ownership of the patriarch and thus the event. As we will see next, the choice of Kanchō may have been even more attractive to Shinshōji due to the mention of a special sword in connection to the rebellion.

²⁷⁵ Ōta ed. (1952: 432).

²⁷⁶ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 17).

²⁷⁷ Rabinovitch (1986: 19).

²⁷⁸ Tsuneishi (1967: 6). As we find in the *Heike monogatari*, the Kogarasu later became a family heriloom of the Heike 平家 (Taira 平) clan, passed down through the generations from Sadamori. See McCullough (1988: 346) for a translation of the passage in question.

²⁷⁹ Compiled by the Rinzai monk Mangan Shibā 卍元師蛮 (1626–1710).

²⁸⁰ DBZ.103.186b.16–187b.1.

The Tale of Saint Dōyo

Though Shinshōji's modern *engi* tends to end with the defeat of Masakado and the temple's subsequent founding, the above episode accounts for only half of Kakugen's entire *Daiengi*. In similar style to Ryūsenji's *engi* discussed in the previous chapter, which incorporated different miracle tale episodes in order to promote both a sacred past and flourishing present, Kakugen likewise balanced the ancient Masakado rebellion with events set in recent living memory. The *Daiengi*'s second half is as important as the first, since it introduces one of Shinshōji's most important miracle tales and two sacred temple treasures.

The *Daiengi*'s second half now shifts the action to the narrative present. It describes additional miraculous attributes of the deity, three of which are described in detail. The first two are “easing the pains of a woman's childbirth” (抜女人產生之苦) and “saving fishermen and mariners from the dangers of being cast adrift” (救海士漂墮之難).²⁸¹ Though suggestive of how the temple was catering to the popular classes, neither attribute came to play a prominent position in the miracle tale lore of the Narita Fudō.²⁸²

The third attribute, however, is of interest to us in understanding Shinshōji's emerging miracle tale tradition. Kakugen writes that the Narita Fudō wields a “precious sword” (*hōken* 宝劍) whose powers of “annointing” cure both mental and physical illnesses (若頂戴此尊所持宝劍狂乱失心者立治風濕病患類速癒).²⁸³ Kakugen follows his description of the sword, in particular its curative abilities, with the second miracle tale comprising the *Daiengi*, which, as we will see in the following chapter, eventually rivalled and perhaps surpassed the popularity of the Masakado episode in and around Edo. Kakugen tells the tale of the unfortunate Pure Land monk Dōyo 道譽 (1515–1574), who suffered from innately dull faculties (*tenshi dodon* 天資駑鈍).²⁸⁴ Desperate for a cure to his unfortunate condition, Dōyo sought out the Narita Fudō and prayed to the deity for one hundred days and nights. On the eve of the final day, he had a dream in which he swallowed Fudō's sharp sword²⁸⁵

²⁸¹ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 18).

²⁸² There is, however, evidence that the deity was worshipped for these two reasons. A travel diary dated 1829 does record a Koyasu Fudō 子安不動, “Fudō for the Safe Delivery [of Children],” at the temple (Naritasan Shinshōji ed. 1968: 593). Mariners are also recorded in 1853 to have traveled to Naritasan from Kyūshū and offered gifts to Fudō for having saved their lives at sea the previous year (*Shiryō* 4.36).

²⁸³ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 18).

²⁸⁴ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 18).

²⁸⁵ See note 293. In some versions of the tale, the Narita Fudō presents Dōyo with two swords, one dull (*don* 鈍), representing his present state, and the other one sharp (*ri* 利), representing his cure.

(*riken* 利劍).²⁸⁶ When he had awoken, he found that he was covered in vomited blood, but that he soon surpassed others in wisdom, thereby becoming a respected monk of the Pure Land tradition.²⁸⁷

With this passage, Kakugen brings two important elements to our attention. These are Fudō’s sharp sword and the Pure Land monk Dōyo. Kakugen drew on the sharp sword’s description in scriptures as a weapon to combat evil and delusion²⁸⁸ and placed it within the context of local Narita history as the instrument of Dōyo’s salvation. Its powers to cure Dōyo of his ill-disposition seems to parallel the Narita Fudō’s “precious sword” and its powers to cure similar afflictions through the act of anointing. Despite their similarities, their distinct names make it unclear whether Kakugen considered the two swords to be the same.

However, Kakugen’s use of the term “precious sword” (*hōken* 宝劍) is significant. Forshadowed by Kanchō’s biography in the *Nin’naji goden* and *Honchō kōsōden*, there soon appeared another powerful sword at Naritasan, said to have been bestowed by Emperor Suzaku to Kanchō before his departure to the Narita area. This was the Amakuni Sword, which typically bore the appellation of “precious sword” (Amakuni no hōken 天国宝劍). Kakugen makes no reference to this episode, though the sword’s Amakuni provenance was eventually made explicit by later temple *engi*.²⁸⁹ As its name suggests, the weapon was treated by Shinshōji tradition as the work of the legendary swordsmith Amakuni. It would seem that this temple

Dōyo chooses the latter, an allusion to Fudō’s sword of wisdom (*chiken* 智劍). See, for example, JZ.17.461b–462a, JZ.19.72a, and JZ.19.457b.

²⁸⁶ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 18).

²⁸⁷ In the *Shobutsu kan’nō kenkōsho* 諸仏感応見好書 (1726) (Nishida 1990: 144) we find a strikingly similar tale (“Fudō no riyaku” 不動ノ利益, “The Benefit of Fudō”) where Fudō’s sword again pierces the flesh to the same bloody effect. A monk is instructed by his master to pray to Fudō to cure his toothache. That night after the prayers, Fudō appears in a dream and stabs at the monk’s tooth with his sword. Like Dōyo, he wakes with blood pouring from the mouth, but soon finds he is cured and can eat without pain. The inclusion of a pilgrimage to the Rinzaï Zen temple housing the Fudō image, similar to the *Daiengi*, suggests that the temple in question may have incorporated the tale into its lore (see Nishida 1990: 144). Interestingly, the folklorist W. L. Hildburgh recorded a toothache charm petitioning Fudō in 1913 Kyōto. Using a diagram of the mouth complete with tongue and teeth, one is meant to drive a spike into the offending tooth while praying to Fudō (or Jizō according to preference) (Hildburgh 1913: 147). The driving of the nail into the tooth would seem to mimic the action of Fudō’s sword piercing the monk’s tooth or Dōyo’s innards. Ono (1978: 152–53) speculates whether the Dōyo tale had roots in medical treatments for certain physiological conditions of the day, particularly enlarged tonsils (*hentōsen hidai* 扁桃腺肥大) and empyema (*chikunōshō* 蓄膿症). Though his hypothesis remains tentative, the tale’s similarity to the toothache charm may suggest a physiological logic operating in the background.

²⁸⁸ See note 293.

²⁸⁹ For example, Suzaki’s gift of thanks in the form of the Amakuni Sword is mentioned in the *Narita meisho zue* (1858) (Ono 1973: 367).

tradition borrowed from the account of Sadamori, his Kogarasu Sword made by Amakuni and presented by the emperor, and its role in the defeat of Masakado. Instead, the hero is now Kanchō who receives not the Kogarasu but the Amakuni Sword from the emperor and is instructed to suppress the rebellion.²⁹⁰

Though later *engi* accounts often distinguished between the two swords, relegating each to one of the two miracles in the *Daiengi*—the Amakuni Sword to the Masakado-Kanchō episode (wielded by men), and the sharp sword to the Dōyo episode (wielded by the Narita Fudō)—it was not long before the two swords were blurred or even identified with one another. Interestingly, their first clear connection (of which I am aware) is to be found in the world of theatre with the noh play *Naritasan* 成田山, which soon appeared sometime during the Hōei-Shōtoku 宝永正徳 era (1704–1715).²⁹¹ The play, a stage adaptation of the Dōyo miracle tale, identifies the Amakuni Sword as the very weapon held by Fudō: “Now, as for this sword of the [Narita] Myōō, long ago there was the renowned swordsmith Amakuni, unparalleled under heaven, who, choosing a propitious day, forged [this sword], two *shaku* and eight *sun* [in length]” (抑々この明王の御剣と申すは、往昔、天国と云ふ天下無双の名鍛冶あって、吉日良辰を撰びつつ、二尺八寸に打って奉る。).²⁹² The play’s connection between Fudō’s traditional sword and the new Amakuni Sword would not have taken much of a logical leap, as both possessed the ability to overcome heretics and to destroy delusion and defilements.²⁹³ Another version of the tale later appeared in a late-Edo Period *kawaraban* 瓦版 newsheet devoted to the actor Ichikawa Danjūrō 市川團十郎 II (1688–1758), which likewise identified the Narita Fudō’s sword as the Amakuni Sword.²⁹⁴ The play and newsheet would suggest the extent to which the miracle tale had attracted the attention of the theatrical world, and that artists and playwrights exercised their artistic license in the retelling of the story.

²⁹⁰ See, for example, Ono (1973: 367). This account may have also paralleled that of Yamatotakeru, who similarly took a precious sword to the east at the behest of an emperor to overthrow an enemy.

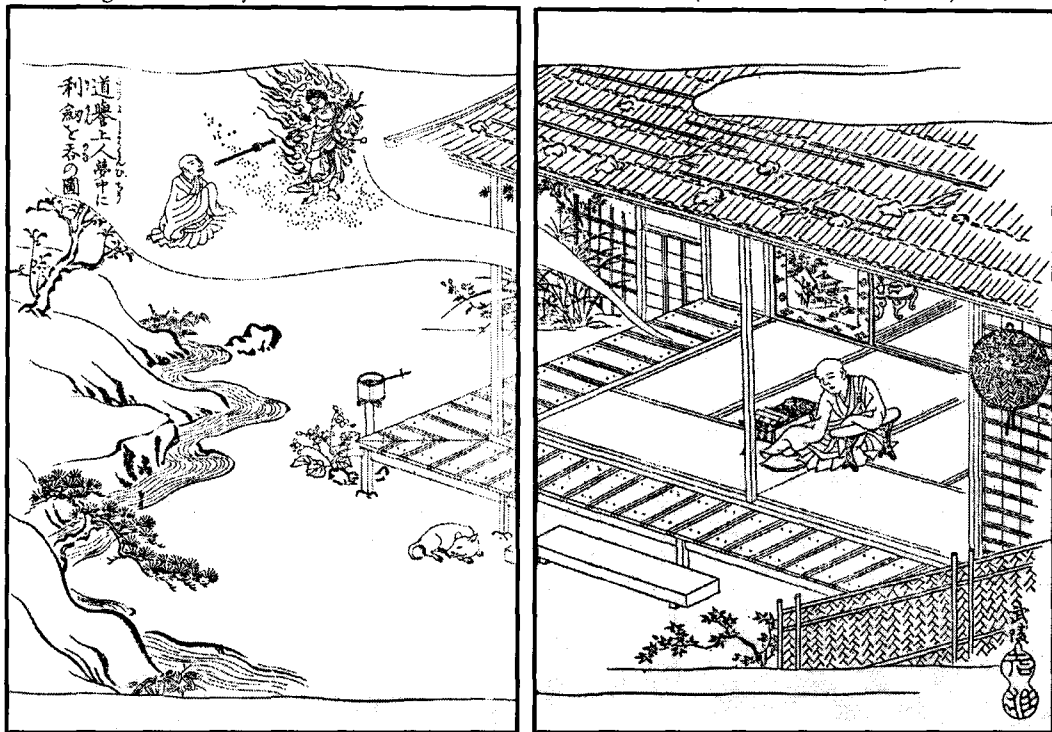
²⁹¹ Asahi (1981: 154).

²⁹² Asahi (1981: 156).

²⁹³ For example, the *Mikkyō jiten* 密教辞典 defines “sharp sword” (*riken*) as a sword that subjugates demons (*gōmaken* 降魔剣) or as a sword of wisdom (*etō* 慧刀) (Sawa 1975: 164). A ritual text attributed to Amoghvajra similarly describes the ability of Fudō’s sword’s to sever karma, desire, and defilements (*bon’no* 煩惱) which leads to perpetual rebirth (T.21.1201.15c.1).

²⁹⁴ Discussed in chapter four.

Figure 3.4. Dōyo's Miraculous Dream of the Narita Fudō (*Narita meisho zue*, 1858)²⁹⁵



The second important feature of the sword-swallowing tale was its protagonist, the Pure Land monk Dōyo. Biographies credit Dōyo as the founder of Daiganji 大巖寺 Temple in Shimōsa Province (not too far from Shinshōji), and later as the ninth patriarch of Edo's famous Zōjōji 増上寺 Temple.²⁹⁶ According to Shinshōji tradition,²⁹⁷ Dōyo had earlier traveled to Naritasan during the Tenbun 天文 era (1532–1554) seeking the curative powers of Fudō, whereupon the second miracle is said to have taken place (see figure 3.4).²⁹⁸ Kakugen's source for the tale is

²⁹⁵ Text reads: "Dōyo Shōnin muchū ni riken wo nomu no zu" 道譽上人夢中に利劍を呑むの圖 ("Image of Saint Dōyo Swallowing the Sharp Sword While Dreaming").

²⁹⁶ See, for example, Dōyo's biography in the *Jōdoden tōsō keifu* 浄土伝灯総系譜 (1727) (JZ.19.54a).

²⁹⁷ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 746).

²⁹⁸ As Takada suggests, there appears to be no such comparable tale in the earlier biographies of Dōyo (1991: 191). However, there does exist a precedent of sword-swallowing in connection to Fudō. As we recall from chapter one, the *Bussetsu Kurikara dairyū shō gedōbuku darani kyō* describes Fudō's transformation into the Kurikara serpent and his swallowing of a heretical demon in the form of a sword (frequently represented in iconographies with Kurikara encircling Fudō's sword). The story and its imagery may have served as a basis for later variants. Notable is the biography of the Tendai monk Sōō 相応 (831–918). According to his biography in the *Shingon den* and *Genkō shakusho*, Sōō was miraculously conceived after his mother dreamed of swallowing a sword. This episode appears as early as the twelfth-century *Shūi ōjōden* 拾遺往生伝: "In the eighth year of Tenchō [831] his [Sōō's]

unclear, but the Pure Land tradition was soon using it in its biographies for Dōyo.²⁹⁹ Since these biographies appeared at the same time as the *engi*, it is difficult to pinpoint where or when exactly the Dōyo tale first began, though an early biographical reference is found already in the *Jōdo honchō kōsōden* 浄土本朝高僧伝 (1704–1713).³⁰⁰ This may suggest either that the *engi* had become so popular as to quickly influence other texts and traditions outside Shinshōji’s immediate circle, or that it was simultaneously drawing from an already established source. Clearly, the *engi* tale seems to have caught on quickly, and a few decades later it was recorded in an official gazetteer for the Sakura domain, the *Sakura fudoki* 佐倉風土記 (1722).³⁰¹ Along with the Masakado tale, the *engi* comprises the entirety of the gazetteer’s entry on Shinshōji.³⁰²

The gazetteer and biographies reveal that the Dōyo tale at Narita became of some importance to Daiganji’s history, despite the temple’s Pure Land status. As shown by Kaneko Tamotsu, Daiganji’s history had been built on top of that of Shinshōji. Not only does Daiganji’s *engi* include the account of Dōyo at Naritasan, but it also describes how, out of gratitude for his new-found life, he had “re-enshrined” (*kanjō* 勧請) the Narita Fudō at Daiganji. The Daiganji Fudō became known as the “Fortune-bestowing, Wisdom³⁰³-increasing” (*kaiun zōe* 開運増慧)

mother dreamt of swallowing a sword, and, after the allotted time [of nine months], gave birth to Master [Sōō]” (天長八年。其母夢見_レ吞_レ劍。有_レ期而生_ニ和尚_一。DBZ.107.72b8–9). The motif also appears in the Muromachi Period *Fuji no hitoana zōshi* 富士の人穴草子 (*Book of the Fuji Manhole*) (Tyler 1993: 272).

²⁹⁹ These biographies appear in the *Jōdo honchō kōsōden* 浄土本朝高僧伝 (1704–1713) (JZ.17.461b–462a), *San’en zanshi* 三縁山志 (1819) (JZ.19.457a–458b), and *Danrin oyumi Daiganji shi* 壇林生実大巖寺志 (Bunsei Period, 1818–1829) (JZ.20.72a–b).

³⁰⁰ JZ.17.461b–462a.

³⁰¹ Bōsō Bunko Kankōkai ed. (1930: 58–59).

³⁰² The passage reads as follows:

傳_フ小弓大巖寺ノ開山道譽、自患_ヘ資ノ鈍_キヲ_一、禱_ス請_スルコト百日、夢_ニ吞_ミニ明王ノ劍_ヲ_一血流_レテ滿_ツレ_ル牀_ニ、然_ル後慧辨邁_クレ_ル人_ニ、其袈裟今猶在_テ、而血痕暗然_クリ_ト云。(Bōsō bunko kankōkai ed. 1930: 58–59).

Tradition [says that] Dōyo, the founder of Daiganji Temple in Oyumi, suffered from an ill disposition of dull faculties. He prayed [to the Narita Fudō] for one hundred days, and had a dream where he swallowed the Myōō’s sword. Blood spewed out and covered the floor, yet soon after he excelled others in wisdom. His robes are said to still exist to this very day, and are still stained dark with blood.

³⁰³ E 慧 (Sk. *prajñā*). The mental faculty which discerns phenomena or reason (Nakamura 1981: 105a). With *kai* 戒 (Sk. *śīla*) and *jō* 定 (Sk. *samādhi*), one of the three basic Buddhist practices (*sangaku* 三学) (Nakamura 1981: 458b).

Fudō.³⁰⁴ Moreover, a Daiganji document called the *Goyu shosho* 御由諸書 (ca. 1818–1828), perhaps written for submission to Zōjōji,³⁰⁵ records various temple treasures owned by Daiganji, three of which are important to our discussion:³⁰⁶

1. *Dōyo Shōnin kan'toku Amakuni hōken hitonigiri* 道譽上人感得天国宝劍壹握
One Precious Sword of Amakuni Miraculously Received by Saint Dōyo
2. *Dō Daishō Fudōson ikku* 同大聖不動尊壹軀
One Statue of the Great Sacred Fudō Similarly [Received by Saint Dōyo]
3. *Kaizan nomi tsurugi toketsu no koromo* 開山呑劍吐血之衣
Robe of Temple Founder [Dōyo] with Disgorged Blood from Swallowing the
Sword [of the Narita Fudō]

Daiganji was not only drawing on Naritasan's *engi*, but also mimicking its very temple treasures. Like the *noh* play *Naritasan*, Daiganji seems to have understood Fudō's sword specifically as the Amakuni Sword. Though Daiganji's ownership of Dōyo's robes was acknowledged by Naritasan,³⁰⁷ Daiganji's claim to the Amakuni Sword may have created a tension, since it was Naritasan's most sacred treasure and a key attraction of the temple's exhibitions (discussed in chapter four). In a Zōjōji record entitled *San'en zanshi* 三縁山志 (*A Record of San'enzan Temple*, 1819), we find the following interlinear note glossing the Dōyo tale:

今龍澤山に鈍血の劍あり成田山開帳の時はこれを結縁せしむ³⁰⁸

At present [Dōyo's] “dull blood” sword is at Ryūtakusan.³⁰⁹ During Naritasan exhibitions, it is used for *kechien*.³¹⁰

³⁰⁴ Kaneko (2001: 2).

³⁰⁵ Kaneko (2001: 2).

³⁰⁶ Kaneko (2001: 4).

³⁰⁷ Temple records from 1855 describe how the robes were temporarily borrowed from Daiganji for the purposes of an exhibition (*Shiryō* 5.530). Daiganji's ownership of the robes is also mentioned in the 1858 *Narita meisho zue* (Ono 1973: 357).

³⁰⁸ JZ.19.457b.8–9. The use of the term “dull blood” (*donchi* 鈍血) parallels the “dull faculties” (*donkon* 鈍根) from which Dōyo suffers.

³⁰⁹ Viz., Daiganji. Ryūtakusan was the temple's *sangō*.

³¹⁰ *Kechien* 結縁, to “establish” (*kechi* 結) a “connection” (*en* 縁) with a deity. Through worship of the robes or sword, practitioners are able to create a karmic bond with the Narita Fudō, thereby increasing their future chances for salvation.

A few decades later the above passage was quoted word for word in Shinshōji's new guidebook³¹¹ (discussed in the following chapter), but with the single conspicuous alteration:³¹²

今龍澤山に鈍血の法衣あり成田山開帳の時はこれを結縁せしむ

At present [Dōyo's] “dull blood” robe is at Ryūtakusan. During Naritasan exhibitions, it is used for *kechien*.

The minor, though significant, textual alteration from “sword” to “robe” may suggest that Shinshōji's clergy wished to retain ownership over any sword having to do with the miracle. This may explain why later in 1846, Shinshōji rejected a request from a nearby temple wanting to borrow the sword for its exhibition in order to raise money for temple reconstruction.³¹³

Despite Daiganji's potential encroachment on Shinshōji's treasured sword, the relationship between the two temples was reciprocal: the blood-stained robes owned by Daiganji, purportedly the very garments worn by Dōyo during his miraculous sojourn at Naritasan, were, as stated in the above passages, borrowed by Shinshōji for its *kaichō* exhibitions (discussed in the following chapter).³¹⁴ The sharing of temple *engi* and treasures shows how Shinshōji and Daiganji had established a mutually advantageous relationship primarily based on *engi* tradition, regardless of differences of sectarian tradition or lineage. Thus, with the help of *engi* networking and its further localization at Daiganji, the Narita Fudō had become of comparable value to the Pure Land temple.

Enter Yūten, Exit Dōyo

Although Kakugen attributes the sword-swallowing tale to Dōyo, various versions of the event were soon circulating in and around Edo. One of the most popular accounts was ascribed to another Pure Land monk named Yūten 祐天 (1636–1718), said to have visited Naritasan in the mid-1600s (a century after Dōyo) and to have received the same miraculous transformation.³¹⁵ The Yūten tale became one of the best known of the Naritasan tales in the Edogawa 江戸川 and Tonegawa 利根川

³¹¹ Viz., the *Narita meisho zue* 成田名所図会 (1858).

³¹² Ono (1973: 357).

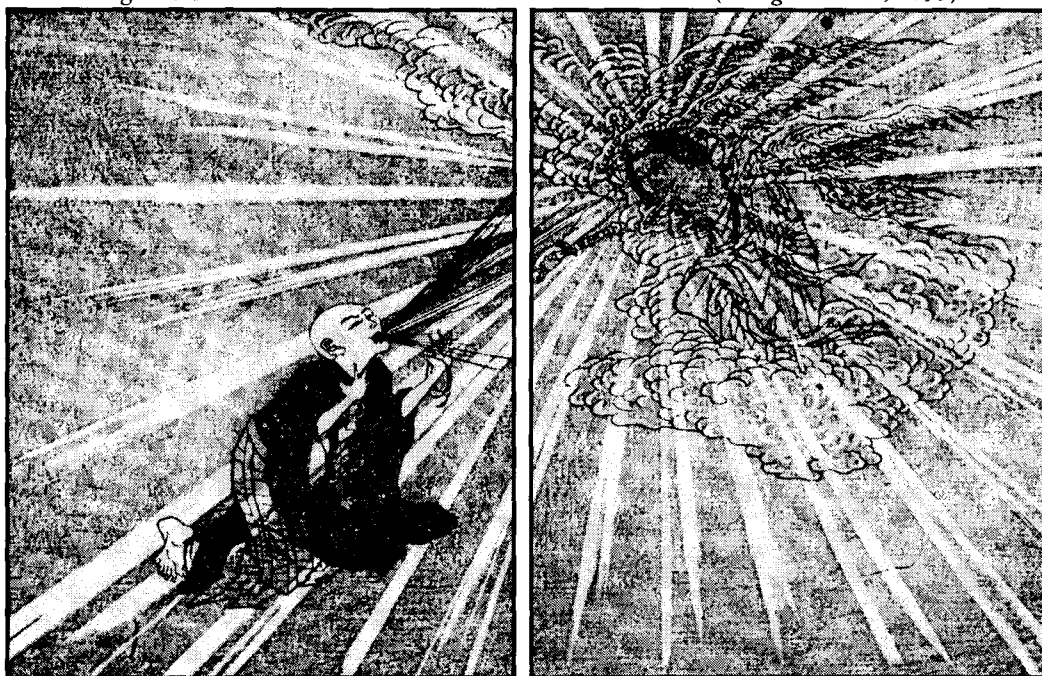
³¹³ *Shiryō* 3.491.249–492.251.

³¹⁴ See note 307.

³¹⁵ For a monograph-length study on Yūten, including his connection to Naritasan, see Takada (1991).

areas.³¹⁶ In its entry on Shinshōji, the guidebook *Tonegawa zushi* 利根川図志 (*Illustrated Record of the Tonegawa River [Region]*, 1855) offers only a few words on Dōyo,³¹⁷ but devotes nearly three-quarters of its space to Yūten (approximately thirteen times the attention given to Dōyo, and six times that of the Masakado-Kanchō episode).³¹⁸ It was even furnished with a diptych illustration of the miraculous event (figure 3.5).³¹⁹

Figure 3.5. Yūten’s Miraculous Dream of the Narita Fudō (*Tonegawa zushi*, 1855)



The tale was linked to Yūten by the turn of the nineteenth century.³²⁰ How exactly the monk’s biography became associated with the event is unclear, though Yūten did share a similar heritage with Dōyo that likely provided a logic for the connection. The most explicit relationship is that, like Dōyo, Yūten had been active at Daiganji and Zōjōji,³²¹ and that both shared similar names and lineages.³²²

³¹⁶ Takada (1991: 187–188).

³¹⁷ Suzuki (1980: 175b).

³¹⁸ Suzuki (1980: 175b–177a).

³¹⁹ Suzuki (1980: 176).

³²⁰ The first connection of which I am aware is found in the *Yūten daisōjō den* 祐天大僧正伝 (*Biography of Yūten Daisōjō*, 1802).

³²¹ JZ.19.76c.

³²² Yūten bore the posthumous name Myōrensha 明蓮社 (JZ.19.496b; JZ.19.76c; JZ.18.467a) akin to that of Dōyo’s Marensha 魔蓮社 (JZ.19.457a; JZ.19.54a; JZ.20.83a). Yūten was also known as Ken’yo 顕誉 (JZ.19.496b; JZ.19.76c; JZ.18.467a), which, like his master’s name Myōyo 明誉

Whether the new Yūten version was born out of a confusion on the basis of their like careers, or consciously incorporated to augment the monk's posthumous biography, is difficult to say.³²³ Due to its association with Dōyo, a Daiganji record, *Danrin oyumi Daiganji shi* 壇林生実大巖寺志 (Bunsei Period, 1818–1829), adopts the former stance, suggesting both a confusion over the two versions as well as an apparent rivalry.³²⁴

是を世に祐天大僧正に附會しとける書あり大妄偽なり今に至
て鈍血の劔衣ともに當山の寶庫に収めありて…此の呑劔の利
益は道譽上人にして天文年中の始なるべし。

These days there are books that associate this [event] with Yūten Daisōjō. What a big lie! To this day both the “dull blood” sword and robe are kept together within the treasure house of this temple [Daiganji]... The benefits [received from the Narita Fudō] by the swallowed sword surely began with Saint Dōyo during the Tenbun Era [1541–1554].

By “books,” the record was likely referring to the several Yūten biographies circulating at the time as independent works such as the *Yūten daisōjō den* 祐天大僧正伝 (*Biography of Yūten Daisōjō*, 1802) and *Yūten daisōjō riyaku ki* 祐天大僧正利益記 (*Account of the Blessings of Yūten Daisōjō*, 1808). These books, and their impact at Daiganji, were indicative of Yūten's greater posthumous popularity in the capital and his common linkage to the tale, as suggested by his added appellation of “Gushin” 愚心 (“Dull-minded [One]”).³²⁵

As biographies of both Pure Land monks suggest, Kakugen's *Daiengi* cannot claim complete credit for the popularity of the sword-swallowing tale alone. Its success was in large part due to its popularization within the storytelling culture of Edo (discussed in the following chapter). It functioned not only within the context of the temple *engi*, but also as entertainment: the presence of swords, violence, blood and vomit certainly made for a catchy tale among the common folk, and may have been of interest to the many sword-bearing samurai populating Edo. Thus, in addition to noh, gazetteers, temple records and biographies, we find versions of the

(JZ.19.76b), suggests their connection to Dōyo's lineage through the common practice of naming monks after earlier masters.

³²³ The *San'en zanshi*, does, however, include an interlinear note to Dōyo's biography explaining that, “People mistake Yūten for this master” (世人此師を祐天公と違へり) (JZ.19.457b.9).

³²⁴ JZ.20.72b.1–3, 6–9.

³²⁵ JZ.18.467a; JZ.19.76c; JZ.19.496b.

tale appearing in *ukiyoe*,³²⁶ at other temples,³²⁷ and, as we will see in the next chapter, on the kabuki stage by the 1820s.

Engi Summation

Following the sword-swallowing tale, the *Daiengi* takes an interesting turn. It shifts to early Mikkyō scriptures and quotes from Kūkai's ninth-century *Hizō hōyaku* 秘藏宝鑰 (*Precious Key to the Secret Treasury*)³²⁸ and the *Shōgun Fudō Myōō yonjūhachi shisha himitsu jōju giki*³²⁹ 勝軍不動明王四十八使者秘密成就儀軌 attributed to Amoghavajra (Jp. Fukū 不空, 705–774). The passage describes Fudō's status as a manifestation of Dainichi Nyorai, his basic physical features, as well as the rewards of his worship such as the protection in this life and the next, the severance of evil, and the cultivation of good merit. Next Kakugen quotes from the eighth-century *Daibirushana jōbutsu kyō sho* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (*Commentary on the*

³²⁶ The popularity of the Yūten tale during the final years of the Edo Period can be seen with its inclusion in an illustrated *ukiyoe* collection of popular violent tales by Kanagaki Robun 仮名垣魯文 (1829–94) and illustrated by Tsukioka Yoshitoshi 月岡芳年 (1839–92) entitled *Azuma nishiki ukiyo kōdan* 東錦浮世稿談 (*Tales of the Floating World in Eastern Brocade*, 1867–8).

³²⁷ Beyond Naritasan and Edo, the Dōyo-Yuten tale was also localized by another popular Fudō temple, Ōyamadera 大山寺 (Ōyama Fudō 大山不動), located to Edo's south in Sagami 相模 Province. The first two tales of its large miracle tale collection, the *Ōyama Fudō reigenki* 大山不動靈驗記 (*Record of the Miraculous Efficacy of the Ōyama Fudō*, 1792), are faithful adaptations of the narrative. Instead of famous Pure Land masters, we now have two local monks from Sagami, and, naturally, the Ōyama Fudō has been substituted for the Narita Fudō. The first tale, “How Master Sanmyō of Kichijōin, a Temple in Tana Village, Sagami Province, Swallowed a Sharp Sword and Obtained Wisdom” (相州寺田繩村吉祥院三明和尚利劍ヲ吞テ智恵ヲ得シ事) follows the Dōyo-Yūten prototype near perfectly. The second, “How the Disciple Kenmyō of En'ōji Temple of Yasaki Village in the Same Province Likewise Prayed and Obtained Wisdom” (同國矢崎村圓應寺弟子見明同ク智恵ヲ祈リテ得タル事), is an abbreviated retelling of the first. The tale's double entry, and its prominent position in a collection of one hundred and fifty tales, are suggestive of the weight it carried not only in terms of popularity, but also as a teaching device explaining the power of Fudō and his sword. The first tale concludes with a lengthy commentary (again suggesting its importance as few in the collection are privy to such remarks) extolling the merits of the sword almost as a figure in its own right: one whose virtues pervade the *dharma*-realms of the ten directions (*jippō hōkai* 十方世界), and whose divine power destroys defilements and ignorance and bring about enlightenment. This, with the commentary's mention of the sword as the “*eken*” 恵劍, “Wisdom Sword,” serves as a reminder how Fudō's sword might be used as a logical foundation for its refashioning into the more contemporary and Amakuni Sword. (*Ōyama Fudō reigenki*, Kanagawa Prefectural Library MS, volume 2, folio 1 recto–8 verso).

³²⁸ Here I use Hakeda's translation of the title (Hakeda 1972: 157).

³²⁹ T.21.1205.33c4–7.

Mahāvairocana sūtra)³³⁰ concerning Fudō’s fire-emitting *samādhi*, his *mantra* which destroys evil beings, and recounts the Maheśvara subjugation tale in its entirety (as discussed in chapter one).³³¹ The insertion of canonical material was possibly meant to parallel the Narita Fudō’s connection to the *Daiengi*’s two main legends: the subjugation of Masakado and the destruction of Dōyo’s karmic hindrances. The Narita Fudō was clearly being promoted as a protector of the state and of its people.

Thus the *engi* was comprised of three tales in total: one set in ancient times (the Masakado Rebellion), one in recent memory (the Dōyo episode), and one drawn from canonical scripture (Maheśvara’s subjugation). However, it was only the first two that attained any significant popularity within Naritasan’s religious culture. In writing the *Daiengi*, Kakugen clearly drew connections to classical Chinese and Japanese Mikkyō scriptures and their treatment of Fudō as a militant, guardian deity, as they made sense within the context of Shinshōji in its connection to the Masakado Rebellion. Thus we see that Fudō’s canonical characterization as a military god was, to an extent, preserved and reinforced, unlike at Meguro, where Fudō’s characterization as a god of water and fortune made more sense due to the deity’s distinct cultural environment. It is critical to understand, however, that Fudō’s canonical elements were functioning at Shinshōji not simply by virtue of their important canonical status, but instead as a support-system for the idiosyncratic stylization of the Narita Fudō.

Concluding Remarks

The appearance of Kakugen’s *Daiengi* suggests how Shōhan desired to provide the temple with a meaningful narrative to coincide with Shinshōji’s initial burst of temple activity at the turn of the eighteenth century. A primary function of the *Daiengi* was to establish a narrative that would lay claim to an area onto which it could impose history, meaning, and identity, thus transforming the area into a suitable sacred space in which the Narita Fudō could operate. The *engi* narrative contained a distinct logic: it drew on famous local places, events and people, all of them popular, prestigious or well-recognized by the common population.

Moreover, the *Daiengi* and its associated miracle tales served to produce a distinctive stylization of Fudō at Narita through a combination of canonical elements and local traditions. As we saw at Ryūsenji, characterizations of Fudō that had roots in scriptural and biographical sources (state protection, subjugation, the removal of hindrances) were reworked and made to fit local circumstances. In the case of the Narita Fudō, the logic of the Masakado Rebellion and Fudō’s early canonical

³³⁰ T.39.1796.685a15–a19, 678c25–c29, 679a9–a14.

³³¹ Naritasan Shinshōji (1968: 18–19).

accounts as the subduer and guardian of state served as a foundation for the deity's appearance in the area. The rebellion also served as a medium through which Fudō's iconic sword was localized through its connections to the Amakuni Sword (and, by extension, the Kogarasu Sword) to produce one of the temple's key treasures. What made the Narita Fudō distinct was not so much these characterizations alone, but their particular connections to Narita's history and geography.

Due to Fudō's localization at Narita, we have also seen the degree to which the *engi*, miracle stories, the Amakuni Sword, and the Narita Fudō itself, became shared by other traditions outside the Shingon school such as the Pure Land temple Daiganji. Despite localization, the popularity of its miracle tales meant that Shinshōji therefore did not have complete ownership or control over the development of its own deity. For example, evidence suggests that the Yūten tale and the identification of (or confusion between) the sharp sword and Amakuni Sword first developed outside Shinshōji's immediate circle. Shinshōji was not always in charge of its own miracle tales; rather, it was one of several participants in their creation. In the following chapter, we will explore more closely how, through miracle tales, the Narita Fudō functioned as a trans-sectarian and shared object of worship, thus expanding the sphere of Shinshōji's influence, particularly with the help of Edo's storytelling and entertainment cultures.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE *ENGI* IN ACTION: MARKETING THE NARITA FUDŌ BRAND

In the present chapter I continue the discussion of Shinshōji's miracle tale repertoire by examining how its events, figures, and material objects took on new life and meaning within the commercial and recreational culture flourishing in Narita and Edo during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the previous chapter, I illustrated how Shinshōji developed a unique stylization of Fudō through a distinct corpus of miracle tales. Though this stylization was meant to construct a unique identity for the temple, its popular success around Kantō meant that Shinshōji did not retain exclusive control over the deity or its miracle tale lore.

By situating the Narita Fudō and its tales within Shinshōji's religious and economic relationships with Edo, this chapter explores how the deity's brand name became a commercial and artistic commodity shared by different groups, thereby allowing Shinshōji to participate in a loose network of institutions so furthering the spread of its deity cult. In short, I will analyze how the Narita Fudō was marketed among Edo's urban populace, both by Shinshōji and other institutions. This will allow me to illuminate how the localized, trans-sectarian character of the Narita Fudō lent itself to not only religious, but also cultural and commercial activities. Three such activities in particular will be discussed in detail: theatrical productions, exhibitions of sacred *engi* treasures, and pilgrimage, both to the temple and to exhibitions. As we will see, the popularization of the Narita Fudō via these activities owed much to the spread of Shinshōji's miracle tales throughout Edo's larger storytelling culture.³³² Central issues I raise in this chapter are: How was the Narita Fudō adapted by Edo's larger storytelling culture? In what media did the temple's miracle tales appear? What groups were participating in the temple's miracle tale culture, and how did they benefit from it?

Dōyo and the Amakuni Sword on Stage

As we saw in chapter three, the sword-swallowing tale, whether associated with Dōyo or Yūten, proved to be one of the dominant media by which the name of Naritasan and its Fudō spread throughout Kantō. Not surprisingly, the tale soon became known beyond the pages of books and the walls of Shinshōji and Daiganji. With the vibrant theatrical culture of Edo—notably kabuki 歌舞伎, noh (nō) 能, *kyōgen* 狂言 (comical theatre associated with noh), and *jōruri* 浄瑠璃 (puppet plays)—often adapting the city's popular tales and events for the stage, Dōyo's story quickly

³³² For studies on the storytelling culture of the Edo Period, see Miner et al. (1985: 63–111), Ishii (1989), Morioka (1990), Reider (2000 & 2001), Shirane and Marceau (2002) and Shirane (2002).

attracted the attention of playwrights. Not long after its appearance in Kakugen's *Daiengi* and Dōyo's biography recorded in the *Jōdo honchō kōsōden*, it was quickly turned into a noh play³³³ (*yōkyoku* 謡曲), possibly during the Hōei-Shōtoku Era³³⁴ (1704–1715). The play, simply titled *Naritasan* 成田山, makes it clear how Shinshōji was a prime beneficiary of the play's publicity, though, as we shall see, it was also of comparable importance to Daiganji and the Pure Land tradition.³³⁵

The play concerns Mutetsu 無哲, Mr. “No Philosophy,” the characteristic traveling *waki*³³⁶ 脇 monk. Like Dōyo, Mutetsu is a devout clergyman from Daiganji Temple but suffers from “dull faculties” (*donkon* 鈍根). The play opens:

次第「知恵の灯かき立てて、無明の闇を照らさん。

ワキ詞「是は生実大巖寺の学侶にて無哲と申す僧にて候。我
 釈門に入り祖師の教へに従ひ、西方往生不退転を学すと雖も、
 鈍根無智の悲しさは、聖教の一句をも心に受け得ず候。誠や
 下総の国成田の不動尊は、靈験あらたなる由承り候間、此度
 参詣致し、往生安心の得道をも祈らばやと思ひ候。³³⁷

Shidai:³³⁸ “Fan the lamp of wisdom and illuminate the darkness of ignorance.”

Waki: “Here is the monk named Mutetsu, in training at Daiganji in Oyumi.³³⁹ I have entered the Buddhist priesthood and followed the teachings of the patriarchs. However, though I cultivate non-retrogression and rebirth in the western direction, the misery of my ignorance from my dull faculties is such that I cannot commit a single verse of scripture to heart. As I have heard that the image of Fudō of Narita in Shimōsa Province is truly most miraculous, I now set off on the journey [to Narita] to pray that I may attain the way of a peaceful mind for rebirth [in the Pure Land].

³³³ For the complete text of the noh play, see Asahi (1981: 154–158). Dōyo also briefly appears at this time in the kabuki play *Naritasan funjin Fudō* 成田山分身不動 (1703) (discussed below), where he is curiously mentioned as a resident monk of Kyōto's Jingoji, seemingly in the place of Kanchō. Either this is a simple mistake, or Dōyo's popularity was already such that he could displace Kanchō as the primary Shinshōji hero.

³³⁴ Asahi (1981: 154).

³³⁵ On the relationship between Buddhism and noh theatre, see Tyler (1987: 19–52).

³³⁶ The deuteragonist or actor who supports the protagonist (*shite* 仕手) in noh theatre.

³³⁷ Asahi (1981: 154).

³³⁸ The opening song recited by the *shite* (protagonist) or *waki* (actor supporting the *shite*) (in this case the latter) upon entering the stage (Brazell ed. 1998: 544).

³³⁹ Oyumi 生実 was the *han* 藩 domain of Shimōsa where Daiganji was located.

Making his way to Naritasan and inspired by Dōyo’s identical lot and miraculous transformation, Mutetsu prays to the Narita Fudō. Dōyo, as the conventional *nochi shite* 後仕手 (protagonist in the second act) in the form of a spirit (*rei*³⁴⁰ 霊), appears at Narita and explains how he too once sought the deity’s healing powers. Through the two men’s exchanges, the play unfolds, with Mutetsu eventually cured of his condition by swallowing Fudō’s sword.

Details about the play’s origins are uncertain, and it is unclear to what extent, if any, Shinshōji played a role in the production.³⁴¹ What is certain, however, is that the recently popular tale of Dōyo’s encounter with the Narita Fudō provided a direct inspiration for the play. The miraculous dream, sword-swallowing, and subsequent blood-spewing episode are repeated multiple times, complete with a description of the sword, its Amakuni provenance, and even length (given here as two *shaku* 尺, eight *sun* 寸, approximately eighty-five centimetres). The Masakado rebellion, the Jingoji origin of the Fudō image, and its subsequent enshrinement in the Narita area are also mentioned. One therefore cannot help but notice the implicit advertising permeating the play’s text. In addition to its incorporation of the *engi*, the play extols Fudō’s numinous powers, and, through the character of Mutetsu, offers a model encouraging its audience to make the pilgrimage to Naritasan to view the Amakuni sword first-hand and to pray to Fudō. Thus in concert with spreading the temple *engi*, the play may also have functioned as a type of promotion and guidebook, similar to the *meisho* (“famous places”) genre, explaining the history and culture of a particular locale useful to visitors and pilgrims.

The play also sheds light on how a Pure Land monk could come to occupy such a prominent position in Shinshōji history, as well as why the Narita Fudō would be important to the Pure Land tradition. The ultimate objective of Dōyo and Mutetsu’s prayers to the Narita Fudō does not end with curing their poor faculties but extends to attaining rebirth in the Pure Land, a significant element not present in the Naritasan *engi*. Throughout the play, “Pure Land” terminology³⁴² is seamlessly intermixed with those traditionally associated with “Mikkyō.”³⁴³ As discussed in

³⁴⁰ Asahi (1981:154).

³⁴¹ Asahi notes that, according to the noh scholar Tanaka Makoto, the play’s author may have belonged the Kanze 観世 school of noh, though not much more of its origins is known (Asahi 1981: 154).

³⁴² Viz., Amida 阿弥陀, *ōjō* 往生 (“rebirth” [in the Pure Land]), *raigō* 来迎 (the death-bed encounter where Amida Buddha and his entourage of divinities “comes and meets” the dying devotee), *nembutsu* 念仏, and *sanbu no kyō* 三部の経 (the “tripartite *sūtra*” or three central scriptures of the Pure Land tradition).

³⁴³ These include, for example, *aji* 阿字 (the “A syllable” mantra), *kuji goshinbō* 九字護身法 (a ritual incantation of “nine syllables to protect one’s person”), and *a bi ra un ken* 阿毘羅吽欠 (Sk. *a vi ra*

chapter one, Fudō's connections to death, the Pure Land, and rebirth therein, both iconographically and ritually, had been well established centuries earlier. Mutetsu thus announces, "May the Myōō also lend me his assistance so that I may realize my karmic chance for rebirth [in the Pure Land]. Homage to Fudō!" (我も同じく明王の力をそえ、往生の縁を知らしめ給え。南無不動尊。) Interestingly, Shinshōji's *engi* tradition never promoted this quasi-"Fudō *nembutsu*" (*namu Fudōson* 南無不動尊) or the tale as a model for rebirth into the Pure Land. The insertion of "Pure Land" elements in the play suggests not only artistic license and the natural connection between (the Narita) Fudō and paradisaal rebirth, but also how the Narita Fudō was quickly becoming a shared commodity across traditions, both religious and theatrical.

The ease, speed, and success with which the sword-swallowing tale was adapted to the stage is emblematic of how the popularity of temples and their deities were often rooted in the entertainment and recreational industries.³⁴⁴ In the case of Shinshōji, it was not *noh*, however, but the *kabuki* theatre that became a primary catalyst for the successful commercialization of the Narita Fudō brand.

Danjūrō Kabuki and the Narita Fudō

During the late 1600s, just prior to Kakugen's *Daiengi*, Shinshōji had serendipitously secured the patronage of the elite Edo *kabuki* troupe, the Ichikawa Danjūrō 市川團十郎 guild. The Ichikawa Danjūrō line of actors came into being in the late 1600s with the performer and playwright Danjūrō I (1660–1704). As the progenitor of one of the most successful and enduring families of *kabuki*,³⁴⁵ Danjūrō I has been celebrated as one of the greatest figures in the world of *kabuki* since his own day.³⁴⁶ Danjūrō's family, the Horikoshi 堀越, were of samurai descent and had moved to the Narita area to become farmers and merchants in the late Azuchi-Momoyama (1573–1600) Period following a decline in family fortunes.³⁴⁷ Thus began the centuries-long connection between the family and Shinshōji. By virtue of their

hūm kham; a protective mantra associated with the Buddha Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来 [Sawa 1975: 12]).

³⁴⁴ On Japanese religion and entertainment in the Edo Period, see Harootunian (1989: 168-177) and Hur (2000).

³⁴⁵ The Danjūrō line still flourishes today, currently headed by Ichikawa Danjūrō XII (1946–) since 1985. The guild maintains its own website at <www.naritaya.jp>.

³⁴⁶ For studies in *kabuki*, see Brandon (1978), Gerstle (1987), Kominz (1997a), Leiter (2002), and Herwig (2004).

³⁴⁷ Kominz (1997a: 36).

Narita citizenship, the family made frequent trips to Shinshōji to pray to the Narita Fudō, even continuing to do so following their eventual move to Edo proper.³⁴⁸

Through his father's connections, Danjūrō became employed at the tender age of twelve at the Yamamuraza 山村座 Theatre near their home in Edo.³⁴⁹ Two years later, in 1673, he is said to have made his debut at the Nakamuraza 中村座 Theatre in the play *Shitennō osanadachi* 四天王稚立 as the legendary Heian warrior and demon-hunter Sakata no Kintoki 坂田金時.³⁵⁰ Here, and in later Genroku-period plays, we see Danjūrō developing a soon-to-be famous style of acting called *aragoto* 荒事, “rough stuff” (an abbreviation of *aramushagoto* 荒武者事, “wild warrior business”³⁵¹), characterized by flamboyant body movements and heroic action and aided by costume, makeup (*kumadori* 隈取), and “fighting words” (*tanka* 啖呵).³⁵² *Aragoto* was soon so popular in the capital that it became a trademark of not only Edo kabuki, but the city itself. The writer Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776–1822) wrote, “If you don't like Ichikawa Danjūrō's rough-style [*aragoto*] acting...you're not a true Edokko [Edoite].”³⁵³ As Danjūrō's *aragoto* style often featured heroic, masculine themes and figures, it is not surprising that he soon incorporated the machismo, militant Fudō into his repertoire of plays, possibly beginning in the early 1690s.³⁵⁴ Danjūrō's penchant for Fudō soon became apparent by his development of a formal *mie* 見得 (a grand pose struck by the actor marking an important scene) styled after Fudō (*fudō mie* 不動見得), where the actor would hold a rosary in his left hand (symbolizing Fudō's rope) and sword in his right, mimicking the well-known posture of Fudō.³⁵⁵

While Danjūrō's use of Fudō served the technical *aragoto* style of acting, his interests in the deity were also due to his religious faith. In his *Ganmon* 願文 (*An*

³⁴⁸ Kominz (1997a: 37).

³⁴⁹ Kominz (1997a: 38).

³⁵⁰ Kominz (1997a: 38).

³⁵¹ Kominz (1983: 388).

³⁵² Ono (1978: 62). *Aragoto* was often contrasted with its antithesis *wagoto* 和事, “soft stuff,” such as romances and love affairs, more characteristic of the kabuki of Ōsaka and Kyōto.

³⁵³ Cited in Gerstle (1987: 52).

³⁵⁴ Laurence Kominz suggests that the masculine, stomping *aramai* 荒舞, “wild dance,” performed by Shugendō practitioners, may have influenced Danjūrō's incorporation of Fudō (Kominz 1983: 390). Since kabuki plays often drew from the existing noh repertoire, Danjūrō may have been further influenced by the medieval noh plays in which Fudō and the Godai Myōō appear, such as *Danpū* 壇風, *Funa Benkei* 船弁慶, *Ataka* 安宅, and *Aoi no Ue* 葵上.

³⁵⁵ Brandon (1978: 86). For a depiction of the *fudō mie* (performed by Ichikawa Danjūrō XII as the warrior-monk Benkei 弁慶 in the famous play *Kanjinchō* 勧進帳, *The Subscription List*), see Herwig (2004: 74, n. 75). Here, Benkei holds the subscription list rolled vertically in place of the sword.

Account of My Prayers,³⁵⁶ 1690), Danjūrō recorded his devout reverence for a variety of deities, including Fudō.³⁵⁷ According to the *Yakusha zensho* 役者全書 (*All About Actors*,³⁵⁸ 1774), Danjūrō is said to have prayed specifically to the Narita Fudō for the birth of a son,³⁵⁹ possibly influenced by the centuries-old practice of worshipping Fudō for a favourable birth.³⁶⁰ Danjūrō thus attributed the favourable birth of his first son Kuzō 九蔵 (later Danjūrō II) in 1688 to Fudō, and as a symbol of his gratitude, wrote a play celebrating the divine favour of the deity.³⁶¹ The play was *Tsuwamono kongen Soga* 兵根元曾我 (*The Origin of the Soga Warrior*) and was performed at the Nakamura Theatre in 1697.³⁶² Kuzō, then ten years of age, made his stage debut in the role of Fudō. The play, in which Fudō appears to the aid of Soga Gorō 曾我五郎, was a great triumph. It attracted people from Narita itself,³⁶³ and the audience threw money on stage as offerings and prayed to Danjūrō as they would the deity himself, acts of devotion seemingly unprecedented in kabuki theatre.³⁶⁴ That Danjūrō owed the play's success to the Narita Fudō was apparent. Following the play's run, he led a group of pilgrims to Shinshōji, and subsequently adopted the professional guild name (*yagō* 屋号) of "Naritaya" 成田屋, "the Narita Troupe,"³⁶⁵ thereafter publicizing the troupe's affiliation with Naritasan. Six years later father and son staged the *Naritasan funjin* (or *bunjin*) *Fudō* 成田山分身不動 (*The Twin Fudōs of Naritasan*) in 1703. In order to prepare for the play, Danjūrō is said to have spent a week in prayer at Shinshōji before its opening, whereupon Fudō had appeared before him and granted him the ability to reproduce the deity's fierce

³⁵⁶ Here I use Kominz's translation of the title (Kominz 1997a: 37). See Kaga (1994: 87–113) for an introduction to and reproduction of the text.

³⁵⁷ Kaga (1994: 105). Other deities Danjūrō venerates are Sanbōkōjin 三宝荒神, Dainichi Nyorai, and Aizen Myōō 愛染明王.

³⁵⁸ Here I use Gerstle's translation of the title (Gerstle 1987: 60).

³⁵⁹ Gerstle (1987: 60).

³⁶⁰ See Mack (1992: 173–190) on the Heian-period worship of Fudō in this regard.

³⁶¹ Kominz (1997a: 65).

³⁶² Kominz (1997a: 65). Here I use Kominz's translation of the play's title.

³⁶³ Kominz (1997a: 69). The play also helped establish a lasting relationship between Gorō and Fudō: "The Soga Gorō-Fudō relationship was so firmly established by Danjūrō that it soon entered the Soga world to stay. Numerous plays, even those that did not employ actors from the Ichikawa family, were written to include Gorō-Fudō scenes, and after the year 1697, Edo-period fiction, as well as religious and secular paintings, include scenes of Gorō worshipping Fudō, or of Fudō coming to Gorō's aid" (Kominz. 1997a: 91–92). We can see such influence of Danjūrō's plays in the case of the *Ōyama Fudō reigenki* (1792). Story seventy-five is entitled, "How the Soga Brothers Offered Prayers to Fudō and Killed their Parents' Enemies" (曾我兄弟不動へ願書ヲ捧ケテ親ノ敵ヲ討シ事).

³⁶⁴ Kominz (1997a: 69).

³⁶⁵ Kominz (1997a :69).

appearance.³⁶⁶ The onstage spectacle of the young Kuzō as Fudō impressed audiences so much that they were said to have again thrown money on stage as offerings to the deity.³⁶⁷

An ongoing element behind Danjūrō I's religious faith and his incorporation of the Narita Fudō into his plays may have been Shinshōji's chief priest, Shōhan 照範 (1663–1727). In his study on the kabuki guild and Shinshōji, the modern scholar Asahi Juzan suggests that Danjūrō had formed a close relationship with Shōhan, and that the priest may have been educating the actor in Mikkyō teachings, and that he even directly helped in the writing of the 1703 play of *Naritasan funjin Fudō*.³⁶⁸ For example, in the final scene of the play, the twin Fudōs appear as the Taizōkai 胎藏界 Fudō (played by Danjūrō) and Kongōkai 金剛界 Fudō (played by Kuzō) (figure 4.1).³⁶⁹ Danjūrō's use of the terms "Taizōkai" (Sk. Garbhadhātu, "Womb Realm") and "Kongōkai" (Sk. Vajradhātu, "Diamond Realm), and other specialist Mikkyō terminology appearing in the play,³⁷⁰ may represent the mutually beneficial relationship the temple and kabuki family was forming around the figure of Fudō.³⁷¹

³⁶⁶ Kominz (1997a: 79–81).

³⁶⁷ Kominz (1997a: 69).

³⁶⁸ Asahi (1981: 13–14).

³⁶⁹ The terms draw reference to the two main lines of transmission in the Shingon tradition, iconographically represented by the Taizōkai (Sk. Garbhadhātu) and Kongōkai Mandara (Sk. Vajradhātu Maṇḍala). Though Fudō does appear in the Kongōkai Mandara (in a wholly dissimilar form), the Kongōkai Fudō had a near-negligible presence in the Mikkyō tradition during the whole history of Japan. In contrast, it was the Taizōkai Fudō, situated below Dainichi Nyorai within the Jimyōin 持明院 (Hall of the Vidyā-Holders) (also known as the Godaiin 五大院, Hall of the Five Great Ones), that became the iconographical and doctrinal standard. Danjūrō's use of the two terms allowed him to exercise his artistic license to serve dramatic effect (rather than Mikkyō tradition), so that both father and son could simultaneously appear onstage as the deity.

³⁷⁰ For example, *aji* 阿字 ("a" syllable) and *a un* 阿吽 (Sk. *a hūm*), both important *bija mantra* in the Mikkyō tradition. Among its multitude of meanings and applications, the *aji* is said to be the source of all sound and the mother of all other syllables. It is accordingly given the status of the *bija mantra* of the central Shingon Buddha, Dainichi Nyorai (Sawa 1975: 5). *A un* is commonly treated as a source of binary distinctions. *A*, for example, may represent the essence (*ritai* 理体) of the Taizōkai, and *un* as the counterpart wisdom and virtue (*chitoku* 智德) of the Kongōkai. Alternatively, *a un*, much like the alpha and omega, can represent both the first ("a") and final ("un") of all sounds (Sawa 1975: 2).

³⁷¹ Danjūrō and Shōhan may have collaborated even earlier in 1701, when the actor performed the play *Shusse sumidagawa* 出世隅田川 featuring Fudō at the Nakamura Theatre during the third month (Naritasan Shinshōji ed. 1968: 645). The play coincided with the completion of Shinshōji's new main hall and the opening of the Narita Fudō exhibition in the same month under Shōhan's direction (Naritasan Shinshōji ed. 1968: 749).

Figure 4.1. Playbook of *Naritasan funjin Fudō* (1703) by Ichikawa Danjūrō I³⁷²



The collaborative effort between the two men had become so firmly established that following their deaths, successive generations of Danjūrō patriarchs continued to produce miracle plays showcasing Fudō. From the late seventeenth century to the 1850s, the family staged over two dozen plays in Edo in which Fudō appeared,³⁷³ nearly all at one of Edo’s three main licensed theatres.³⁷⁴ Since many of the playbooks have been subsequently lost, it is unclear how many of these plays were specifically about the *Narita* Fudō. However, the titles and roles in the plays suggest that at the very least eight explicitly dealt with Naritasan or the Narita Fudō during the Edo Period, not counting those performed by other guilds.³⁷⁵

³⁷² Illustrations are attributed to Torii Kiyonobu 鳥居清信 (1664–1729) and Torii Kiyomasu 鳥居清倍 (d.1716) (Kominz 1997a: 84).

³⁷³ See *Naritasan Shinshōji* ed. (1938: 683–689; 1968: 645–651), and Ōno (1960: 11–12) for a list and brief description of these plays.

³⁷⁴ These were the Nakamuraza 中村座, Ichimuraza 市村座, and Moritaza 森田座, collectively called the “Edo sanza” 江戸三座 (“Edo’s Three Theatres”). All were officially licensed under the *bakufu* (Nishiyama 1994: 498).

³⁷⁵ See *Naritasan Shinshōji* ed. (1968: 645–648) for details.

Stage as Temple, Actor as Deity

Few kabuki actors in Japanese history are known to have been as religiously devout as Danjūrō I. As noted above, his devotion is apparent in his writings and by his visits to Shinshōji before and after his plays. In fact, Danjūrō is said to have produced a number of plays inspired by religious teachings.³⁷⁶ Laurence Kominz suggests that Danjūrō kabuki was as much a “religious” spectacle as it was a “secular” one in the early eighteenth century,³⁷⁷ and Gunji Masakatsu writes that “Danjūrō’s *aragoto* performances were not just theatrics, but prayers.”³⁷⁸ His personal devotion was such that he himself was treated as a popular Edo deity; some believed that, with his on-stage Fudō-like glare, he could cure illness and even exorcise evil,³⁷⁹ a talent soon inherited by his son.³⁸⁰ According to the kabuki account *Chūko kejōsetsu* 中古戲場説 (*Old Tales of the Theatre*, 1805), one story has it that in 1741, a father, having heard of the miraculous powers of the *fudō mie* pose, pleaded with Danjūrō II to cure his ague-sick daughter. The actor consented. He unsheathed his short sword, coiled his handkerchief into a rope, and glared at the daughter, thus mimicking the *fudō mie*. The girl fainted in a torrent of sweat but soon found that her sickness was gone.³⁸¹ Later at the Nakamura Theatre, Danjūrō II was said to have again struck the *fudō mie* and cured a woman possessed by a fox (*kitsune*).³⁸²

This “aesthetic of exorcism” prominent in Edo kabuki,³⁸³ and the fame of the Danjūrō actors’ ability to take on the powers of the Narita Fudō and protect Edo from evil, are further attested by a printed flyer that reproduced the *tsurane* 連, a type of speech given by an actor stating his pedigree, of the six-year-old Danjūrō VII (1791–1859) (figure 4.2).

³⁷⁶ Kominz (1997a: 35).

³⁷⁷ Kominz (1983: 391).

³⁷⁸ Quoted in Gerstle (1987: 60).

³⁷⁹ Gerstle (1987: 56–59). A verse by poet Takarai (Enomoto) Kikaku 宝井 (榎本) 其角 (1661–1707) celebrates Danjūrō’s protective talent as an actor: “Here inside / With Danjūrō / Demons driven outside” (cited in Gerstle 1987: 69 n3).

³⁸⁰ According to the *Kabuki jishi* 歌舞伎事始 (*The Origins of Kabuki*, 1762) and *Yakusha zensho* (1774), Danjūrō II was well known for his fierce Fudō-like glare, a gift bestowed to him by the deity after his prayers at Shinshōji (Gerstle 1987: 60).

³⁸¹ Asahi (1981: 25–26).

³⁸² Asahi (1981: 25–26).

³⁸³ Nishiyama (1997: 212).

Figure 4.2. Printed Flyer of Ichikawa Danjūrō VII's *Tsurane* Declaration



In the speech, Danjūrō VII promises to protect Edo's citizens by virtue of his being an incarnation of the Narita Fudō:

Hear ye, barbarians and savages to the east, west, north, and south! Hear ye, heaven and earth and all Edo! I, Ichikawa of Edo, the scion and rightful descendant of Fudō, the guardian god of Narita, protect each and all from injury and evil. You may laugh; you may scold me as a brat spouting great nonsense from my little mouth. But by my natural disposition I rise like a demon from a terrifying tale, bursting into the house, performing impossible feats. Today, like an early-blossoming flower, I splendidly appear in my first *Shibaraku*.³⁸⁴ Need I say it? Even my father, the great Minamoto no Yorimasa, could not tame me, the intractable youth, Gendamaru Hirotsuna. This I announce to all, with the most profound respect.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ *Shibaraku* 暫 (*Wait a Minute*), was one of the Danjūrō's most successful plays (see note 388). *Tsurane* were often performed during the play. On the connection, see Saltzman-Li (2002: 253–268).

³⁸⁵ Translated by Nishiyama (1997: 216–217).

Danjūrō's self-appointed charge as the Narita Fudō and guardian of Edo was such that the flyer itself may have also been used as a talisman to ward off evil in addition to it being sold as a souvenir.³⁸⁶ The theatrical heritage of the Narita Fudō passed down by the Danjūrō actors suggests the extent to which the men were treated not merely as performers, but in fact as personifications of Fudō, both on-stage and off, who could protect their devotees from harm as would the deity himself.³⁸⁷ That the Danjūrō-Fudō identification was becoming well-known to the public is evident in the many paintings of the actors portraying the deity that were circulating in *ukiyo*e prints (e.g., figure 4.3). Thus, visits to the Edo theatres may have been regarded by Edoites as analogous to a pilgrimage to Shinshōji itself, with the stage as an extension of Shinshōji's sacred space in the capital.

Figure 4.3. Ichikawa Danjūrō as the Narita Fudō (Utagawa Kunisada, 1786–1864)



³⁸⁶ Nishiyama (1997: 217).

³⁸⁷ The bravado guardianship assumed by the actors may, as Nishiyama Matsunosuke suggests, also have been influenced by the urban culture of the “street knight” (*kyōkyaku* 侠客), local street toughs that often acted as keepers of the peace, strongly associated with the world of kabuki (Nishiyama (1997: 216).

Danjūrō-Shinshōji Commercialism

The popular success of the early Danjūrōs show that from the outset, the troupe was forming an economic relationship with Shinshōji in addition to a religious one. Like the noh play *Naritasan*, the commercial and artistic worlds of kabuki were becoming a form of advertisement for Shinshōji, though on a much larger scale than the noh theatre. It is possible that many Edoites came to know of the Narita Fudō primarily through kabuki. Here Danjūrō VII (1791–1859)³⁸⁸ deserves special attention. Not only was his commercial and religious ties to Naritasan perhaps strongest after those of Danjūrō I and II, but also he staged more plays modeled on Shinshōji's temple's miracle tales than any other Danjūrō. Active during the culturally vibrant Bunka-Bunsei 文化文政 Period (1804–1830), he performed at least a half-dozen plays featuring Fudō in the Edo theatres from 1812–1836.³⁸⁹ Danjūrō VII's patronage also extended to a special week-long *kyōgen* performance in the summer of 1819 at Shinshōji. The event was recorded by Shinshōji's new chief priest Shōin 照胤 (d. 1829) as having lasted seven sunny days starting on Fudō's *en'nichi* on the twenty-eighth of the sixth month as an offering (*hōnō* 奉納) to the deity.³⁹⁰ The play was also used to celebrate Shinshōji's new chief priest's taking office.³⁹¹ Temple records unfortunately do not identify the title or program of the play, though they mention that it was meant to be a public spectacle (*misemono* 見世物) that included fifteen actors in addition to Danjūrō. A similar event was held again in 1824 for seven days celebrating the completion of the Niōmon 仁王門 gate's reconstruction³⁹²

Not surprisingly, Danjūrō VII took advantage of the Yūten tale which had become popular in his day and staged two plays in 1821 and 1823 (*Date moyō gedatsu no kinugawa* 伊達模様解脱絹川 and *Kesakake matsu Narita no riken* 法縣松成田利劍). Both contained the Narita Fudō and the first recorded mention of Yūten on stage (of which I am aware). The 1823 Yūten play became a hit, and repeat performances were subsequently staged.³⁹³ In the former play, the entire

³⁸⁸ Danjūrō VII is perhaps best known for assembling the *kabuki jūhachiban* 歌舞伎十八番, eighteen plays selected from the group's repertoire best epitomizing their *aragoto* style. The collection was the first of its kind and became the most famous of all kabuki repertoires (Miner 1985: 328), and included some of the great Edo classics: *Shibaraku* 暫 (*Wait a Minute*), *Ya no ne* 矢の根 (*Arrowhead*), and *Kanjinchō* 勧進帳 (*The Subscription List*).

³⁸⁹ See *Naritasan Shinshōji* ed. (1968: 647–648) for details.

³⁹⁰ *Shiryō* 3.199–201. Danjūrō VII further expressed his fondness of Naritasan two years later by donating one thousand gold *ryō* (a substantial amount for the time) for the construction of the Gakudō 額堂 Hall.

³⁹¹ *Shiryō* 3.24.

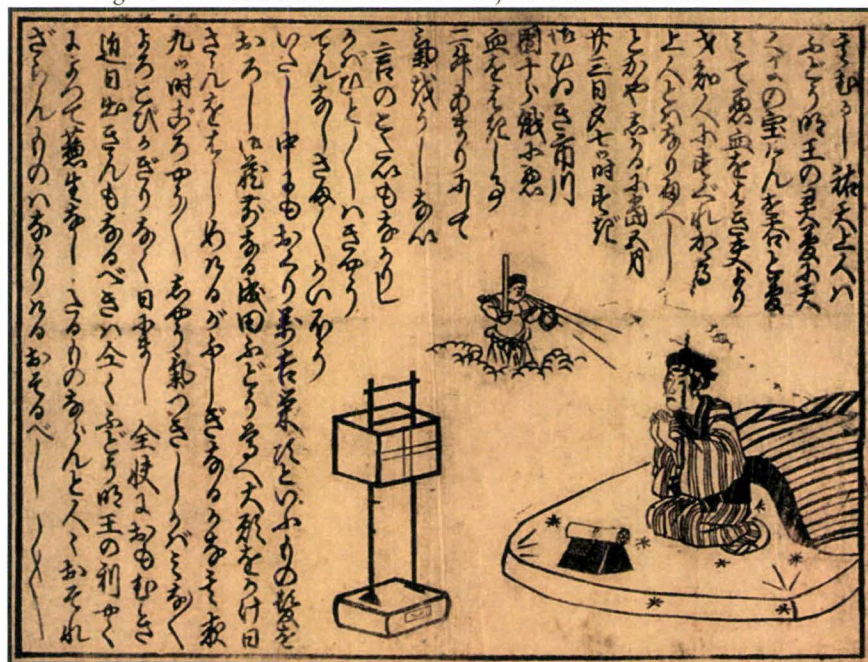
³⁹² *Asahi* (1981: 44).

³⁹³ *Asahi* (1981: 43).

Yūten tale was sung on stage as a *jōruri* performance during a *goma* ritual. The song became popular enough to have circulated independently of the play.³⁹⁴

Perhaps due to Danjūrō VII's successful plays, the Naritasan-Danjūrō-Yūten triangle seems to have penetrated Edo culture by this time, evidenced by a contemporary *kawaraban*, a type of newsheet or broadsheet sold around the city which contained the latest news and events such as vendettas (*katakiuchi* 敵討) and love suicides³⁹⁵ (*shinjū* 心中) (figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4. *Kawaraban* of Ichikawa Danjūrō II and the Narita Fudō³⁹⁶



The *kawaraban* depicts an image of an ill Danjūrō II who, on the verge of death, is saved by a devout friend who emulates Yūten and petitions the Narita Fudō. The story runs as follows:

其むかし祐天上人ハふどう明王の靈夢に天くにの宝けんを呑
と夢ミテ悪血をはき夫より才知人にすぐれかかる上人とハな
り玉へしとかやしかるに当五月二十三日夕七ツ時すぎ御ひみ

³⁹⁴ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 549, 647–648). For the song's text, see Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 640–641).

³⁹⁵ Nishiyama (1994: 473c–476c).

³⁹⁶ Tōkyō University Digital Museum. <http://www.um.u-tokyo.ac.jp/japanese/publish_db/1999news/02/20305.html>.

き市川団十郎俄に悪血をはきし事二升あまりにして気をうしない一言のこたいもなかりしかバひとひとハキやうてんなしさまさまかいほういたし中にもおくり萬吉栄次といふもの髪をおろし御蔵前なる成田ふどう尊へ大願をかけ日さんをはしめけるがふしぎなるかな其夜九ツ時ごろやうやうしやう気つきしかバミなミなよろこびかぎりなく日にまし全快におもむき近日出きんもなるべきハ全くふどう明王の利やくによつて蘇生なしたるものならんと人々おそれざらんものハなかりけるおそるべしおそるべしおそるべし

It is said that long ago, Saint Yūten had a miraculous dream of Fudō Myōō in which he swallowed the Amakuni Treasure Sword and [awoke] vomiting “diseased blood,” only to become possessed of outstanding brilliance. However, just after the seventh hour on the evening of the twenty-third of the fifth month of this year [1735], our favourite Ichikawa Danjūrō suddenly coughed up over two *masu*³⁹⁷ of “diseased blood” and lost consciousness. When he uttered not a single word, people were completely dumbfounded. Among the many who attended to him was one in particular, a servant named Mankichi Eiji, who had taken the tonsure. At first light he made a great petition to the Narita Fudō before the [temple] treasury, and a wonder took place. That night around the ninth hour [Danjūrō] gradually began to regain consciousness. Everyone was overjoyed. Day after day he [improved until he] made a complete recovery. Before long he was as good as new. It is said that his revival could not have been due to anything but the benefit of Fudō Myōō. There was not a single person who was not awe-struck. How awesome! How awesome! How awesome!

Later in 1851, Danjūrō VIII is said to have fallen ill on stage, his condition so bad that a *shinie* 死絵 (a type of memorial picture announcing the death of a celebrity) had already been prepared. He soon recovered, however, and prints (*surimono* 刷り物) entitled *Ichikawa Danjūrō sosei no shidai* 市川団十郎蘇生の次第 (*How Ichikawa Danjūrō Recovered from Death*) celebrating the event were soon being sold.³⁹⁸ The print’s title suggests that Danjūrō’s return from sickness had also been

³⁹⁷ The phrase “two *masu*” (*ni masu* 二升), meaning “two measures,” was perhaps a play on the term “*mimasu*” 三升 (“three *masu*”), the Danjūrō guild’s official crest.

³⁹⁸ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 553).

celebrated in the vein of Yūten's similar incident. Upon his death in 1859, a *shinie* memorial print depicted Danjūrō VII as none other than Fudō (figure 4.5).³⁹⁹

Figure 4.5. Memorial print (*Shinie*) of Danjūrō VII as Fudō (Utagawa Kunisada, 1859)



Since *kawaraban* were produced for the urban masses⁴⁰⁰ and sold on the streets of Edo by tabloid vendors⁴⁰¹ or peddlars⁴⁰² (*yomiuri* 読売), their existence, like the *shinie* (a genre of *ukiyo-e*), is a strong indication of the extent to which Danjūrō kabuki was helping to popularize the Narita Fudō, its miracle tales, and the Amakuni Sword in and around the capital. These examples further show the extent to which the deity was evolving beyond the immediate confines of Shinshōji, thereby

³⁹⁹ Danjūrō VII's artistic pursuits and commercial relationships with Naritasan were not limited to the stage, however. Before his death in 1859, he had written the *Kaidan harusame zōshi* 怪談春雨草紙 (*A Spring Rain Ghost Story*, 1830) (illustrated by Utagawa Kuniyasu 歌川国安, 1794–1832), in which much of the action takes place at Narita. As expected, the Narita Fudō makes an appearance. See Tsuruoka (1980: 35–70) for a reproduction of the text.

⁴⁰⁰ Nishiyama (1994: 474).

⁴⁰¹ Shirane (2002: 693)

⁴⁰² Kornicki (2001: 63).

becoming a shared, ever-evolving commodity not necessarily always under the direct control of Shinshōji.

Moreover, the *kawaraban* and *ukiyoe* reveal that, in addition to miracle tales and kabuki, the very personalities of the actors themselves were becoming a medium via which the cult spread. As the Danjūrō actors were not only taking on the qualities of the deity on stage, a distinct by-product (no doubt ensuring their continued celebrity and commercial successes) was that they were also becoming fused into the very lore of the deity. To the above examples we can add Koikawa Harumachi's 恋川春町 (1744–89) *kibyōshi*⁴⁰³ 黄表紙 (“yellow-jacketed” illustrated comical fiction) entitled *Tsukihoshi Chiba no isaoshi* 月星千葉功 (1777), in which the Danjūrōs pray before the Narita Fudō,⁴⁰⁴ and a 1782 *kibyōshi* entitled *Ichikawa sanshōen* 市川三升円.⁴⁰⁵ In the latter, the Narita Fudō appears in a dream before a desperate down-and-out man and grants him a new wonder medicine called *sanshōen*⁴⁰⁶ 三升円, an allusion to Danjūrō,⁴⁰⁷ also known as the “naughty drug” (*wanpaku tan* わんぱく丹).⁴⁰⁸ If one takes the drug three times and enters a red-light district like Yoshiwara, one will never again be rejected by a prostitute.⁴⁰⁹ Beyond boasting the masculine virility of the actor, the tale shows how the Narita Fudō was caught up in recent fads such as popular wonder drugs circulating in the urban areas. These texts reinforce the artistic license exercised by writers,⁴¹⁰ and thus the degree to which the localization of Shinshōji's deity had taken on a life of its own within Edo's popular culture. Moreover, the texts again underline how the success of

⁴⁰³ “Yellow-covered” books of light fiction popular in the late Edo Period.

⁴⁰⁴ Tsuruoka (1980: 75).

⁴⁰⁵ Written by Kishida Tohō 岸田杜芳 (d.1788) and illustrated by Kitao Masanobu 北尾政演 (viz., Santō Kyōden 山東京伝, 1761–1816).

⁴⁰⁶ The name Sanshō 三升 was a pseudonym taken by several Danjūrō actors. The term was moreover recognizable as the *mimasu* 三升 (three concentric squares), the name of the Danjūrō's famous family crest.

⁴⁰⁷ Gerstle (1987: 60).

⁴⁰⁸ Tsuruoka (1980: 87).

⁴⁰⁹ Gerstle (1987: 60); Tsuruoka (1980: 86–87).

⁴¹⁰ A good example of the license taken by *kibyōshi* authors in their treatment of Fudō is the *Mikawajima Gofudōki* 三河島御不動記 (*Account of the Mikawajima Fudō*, 1789) written by the popular writer Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761–1816). The book tells the tale of the Mikawajima Fudō who falls into disuse and is sold to a pawn shop where, like an orphaned pet, he eagerly awaits to be purchased by his next owner. The tale pokes fun at various established conventions by placing Fudō in the role of the poor and destitute looking to higher powers for relief from his plight. In one scene, Fudō fasts in desperation for seven days and prays before an altar to a human figure. The scene is a parody of the popular “*namu*” 南無 (“praise be,” “homage to”) prayers, where Fudō recites the prayer: “*namu ningen daimyōjinsama*” 南無人間大明神様 (“Homage to the great human deities!”). For a reproduction of the tale, see Mizuno (1993: 80–91).

Danjūrō kabuki was such that the very actors themselves became extended protagonists in the temple's miracle tale lore, and thus a medium through which the Narita Fudō circulated Edo's audiences.

The Narita Fudō on Display: Exhibitions at Home and in the Big City

In addition to Danjūrō kabuki, a second medium by which the Narita Fudō brand became commercialized was Shinshōji's *kaichō* 開帳 program. Dating back to at least the Heian Period,⁴¹¹ *kaichō* (literally "opening the curtain") were temporary exhibitions of religious iconography and treasures. By definition, *kaichō* were formal displays (usually held in spring and summer and lasting sixty days) of temple or shrine treasures often otherwise closed to public viewing. Open display allowed members of the public to develop a personal karmic connection (*kechien* 結縁) to a deity for spiritual salvation and material benefits. Looking on the face of a deity and offering direct worship was considered especially efficacious, and so exhibitions were often open houses held on special days like the *en'nichi* when prayers were also thought to be particularly powerful.

Exhibitions became especially popular during the Edo Period.⁴¹² In the vibrant Genroku Period, the sphere of *kaichō* had expanded into one of the most popular social events on Edo's yearly calendar.⁴¹³ As they drew increasingly larger crowds and attracted additional commercial pursuits such as peddling, fairs, and theatrical performances, *kaichō* were as much light-hearted festivals as solemn religious events. The commercial-orientation of exhibitions made them all the more lucrative enterprises for temples and shrines to supplement their income. Since the upkeep of temples on the scale of Shinshōji was a costly business (the temple's wooden buildings, for example, were in constant need of repair and reconstruction), we can understand that the exhibitions were motivated as much by financial concerns as religious ones.

Kaichō are generally classified by modern scholarship into two major types: *igaichō*⁴¹⁴ 居開帳, "home exhibitions," hosted within one's own temple or shrine

⁴¹¹ Nishiyama (1993: 309).

⁴¹² For studies on Edo *kaichō*, see Hiruma (1980) and Yuasa (1978; 1991).

⁴¹³ Since *kaichō* fell under the purview of the Temple and Shrine Magistracy (*jisha bugyō* 寺社奉行), temples and shrines were eventually limited to one exhibition every thirty-three years (Nishiyama 1994: 310) as a measure of social and economic control. The rule was, however, only a general guideline, and large, popular sites like Shinshōji were granted permission on a much more frequent basis.

⁴¹⁴ The most popular *igaichō* temples and shrines on record (and their total amount of exhibitions held) were Sensōji 淺草寺 (31), Enoshima Benten 江島弁天 (16), Gokokuji 護国寺 (15), Kameido

precincts; and *degaichō*⁴¹⁵ 出開帳, “external exhibitions,” hosted away from home, usually in urban centres such as Kyōto, Ōsaka, and Edo, in order to take advantage of their large populations.⁴¹⁶ While Shinshōji conducted its share of *igaichō* at home in Narita, the temple was better known for its more numerous exhibitions in Edo. In fact, no temple or shrine boasted more Edo *degaichō*,⁴¹⁷ and very few were as popular.⁴¹⁸ Attracted by Edo’s population and wealth, the temple brought the Narita Fudō to the capital twelve times in all (and five more in the Meiji Period) (see appendix 4). With two exceptions (1751 and 1809), all Shinshōji *degaichō* were held in downtown Fukagawa 深川 within the shrine precincts of Tomioka Hachimangū 富岡八幡宮 (figures 4.6 & 4.7).⁴¹⁹ Located in the waterfront Shitamachi 下町 (“downtown”) area of Edo, Shinshōji’s chief priests likely selected Fukagawa year after year for its popular *degaichō* host venue, large *monzenmachi* 門前町 (“temple town”) area, and proximity to major downtown districts like Nihonbashi and the three kabuki theatres (no doubt encouraged by Fukagawa’s growing popularity as an amusement centre and red-light district in the mid-late 1700s). That Hachimangū was under the management of the Shingon temple Eitaiji 永代寺 likely played a role in Shinshōji’s decision as well. Moreover, as Narita was not immediately accessible from the capital, exhibitions at Fukagawa helped to overcome problems of distance. Fukagawa soon became, in effect, Shinshōji’s home away from home in the capital.⁴²⁰

Tenjin 亀(井)戸天神 (13), and Susaki Benten 洲崎弁天 (12). Meguro Fudō was close behind with seven *igaichō* (Nishiyama 1994: 310).

⁴¹⁵ The main *degaichō* venues in Edo were Eitaiji 永代寺 / Hachimangū 八幡宮 in Fukagawa, Yushima Tenjin 湯島天神, and especially Ekōin 回向院 in Honjo 本所, which is recorded to have hosted a total of 166 exhibitions (Nishiyama 1993: 310–311).

⁴¹⁶ A third but less common category was the *junkō kaichō* 巡行開帳, “touring exhibition,” where a temple or shrine hosted their images at multiple sites forming a circuit.

⁴¹⁷ Nishiyama (1993: 310).

⁴¹⁸ During the Bakumatsu Period (1850s–1860s), popular *degaichō* exhibitions in Edo beyond those of the Narita Fudō were those of the Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来 of Kyōto’s Seiryōji 清涼寺 and the Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来 from Zenkōji 善光寺 in Shinano. The *zuibitsu* 随筆 (miscellany) *Kiyū shōran* 嬉遊笑覧 (1830), for example, states: “When there is a *kaichō* in Edo, those that always draw the crowds are Zenkōji’s [A]mida, Seiryōji’s Shaka Butsu, and Narita’s Fudō, and so forth” (江戸には開帳あるに、いつにても参詣群衆するは善光寺の弥陀と清涼寺の釈迦仏、また成田の不動などあり).

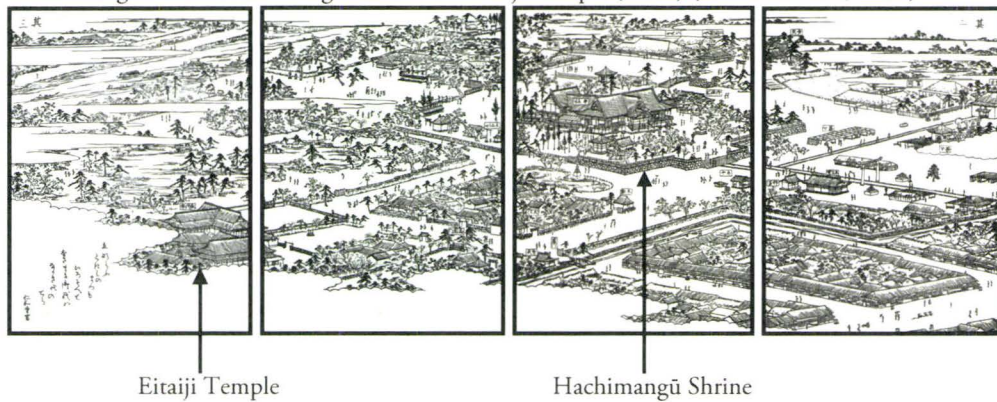
⁴¹⁹ The time, energy, and logistics involved in staging an exhibition at Fukagawa was no small matter. A temple or shrine had to submit applications to the local *han* 藩 office (in Shinshōji’s case, at nearby Sakura 佐倉) for permission well in advance, and temple records show that at one *degaichō* the procession from Narita to Edo was comprised of 119 people (Ono 1978: 52–57).

⁴²⁰ For more details on Shinshōji’s *degaichō* program, see Ogura (1999).

Figure 4.6. Location of Hachimangū Shrine and Eitaiji Temple in Edo
(*Taihei on Edo ezu* 太平御江戸絵図, 1848)



Figure 4.7. Hachimangū Shrine and Eitaiji Temple (detail) (*Edo meisho zue*, 1836)



Under the direction of Shōhan, Shinshōji made its first attempt at a Fukagawa *degaichō* in 1703. The formal objective was for the personal connection (*kechien*) of Edo worshippers and to help subsidize a five hundred gold *ryō* (兩) debt for construction costs of the new and larger main hall.⁴²¹ Shōhan went to great lengths to ensure an equally commercial success, and collaborated with Danjūrō I to

⁴²¹ *Shiryō* 5.15. The successful exhibition ended up earning 2,120 gold *ryō* (*Shiryō* 5.81).

stage the aforementioned *Naritasan funjin Fudō* to coincide with the exhibition.⁴²² Both events were carefully timed to simultaneously open on the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month and close two months later on the twenty-eighth, on Fudō's *en'nichi*.⁴²³ The decision to hold the play at Moritaza 森田座 Theatre in the theatre district of nearby Kobikichō 木挽町 no doubt helped facilitate the kabuki-*kaichō* event. The play ran for an entire sixty days until the exhibition's close in late July. Temple documents record that the exhibition received donations from several social classes, including samurai, merchants, artisans, and clergy from other temples.⁴²⁴

The *kaichō*-kabuki collaborative project was further solidified as the Danjūrōs occasionally made appearances on the *kaichō* grounds themselves, no doubt to support the temple but also to promote their own celebrity. During exhibitions, it had been common for temple clergy and other professionals such as confraternity⁴²⁵ members to be on active duty as tour guides explaining temple history to visitors. For its exhibitions, Shinshōji was fortunate to have the help of the Danjūrōs. During the 1703 exhibition, Danjūrō I occasionally left Moritaza Theatre for Fukagawa

⁴²² This was not the first time Danjūrō I had performed in a play coinciding with a *kaichō*. In 1694 in Kyōto he participated in a play sponsored by the famous Zenkōji 善光寺 featuring its Amida Buddha, and may have drawn on this past experience in helping organize the 1703 Edo play with Shōhan (Kominz 1997a: 52–53).

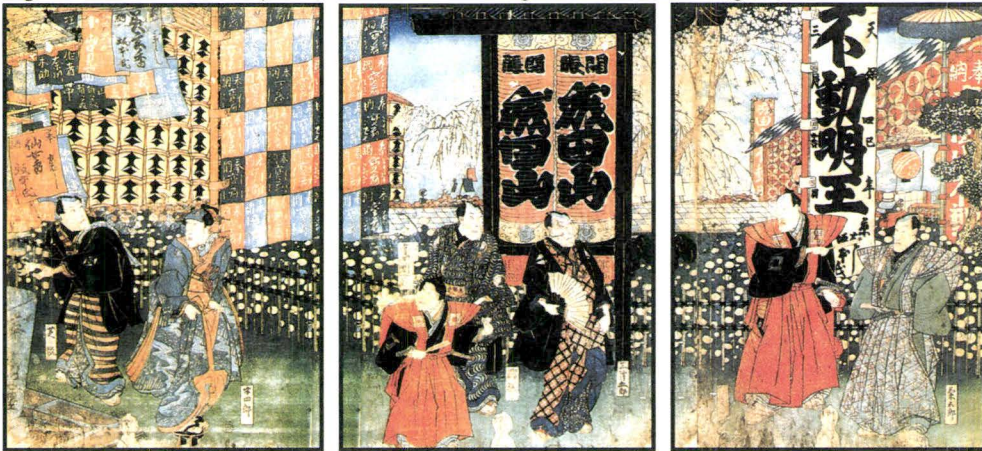
⁴²³ Following the exhibition's close, the image of Fudō was taken to Edo Castle for a private viewing at the request of Keishōin 桂昌院 (1627–1705), mother of then fifth Shōgun Tsuneyoshi 綱吉 (1646–1709), renowned for having been a devout Buddhist and patron of the Shingon tradition. Curiously, temple records are silent on the matter, but Keishōin's priest Ryūkō 隆光 (1649–1724) records the details in his diary, noting how popular the Narita Fudō image was in Edo and the ten *ryō* of gold donated by Keishōin (*Shiryō* 5.15). Shinshōji's first *degaichō* clearly ended on a high note, and quickly solidified a lasting partnership between the temple and Fukagawa. Of all *degaichō* hosted at Fukagawa in the Edo Period, those of Narita were amongst the most popular, and accounted for one-fifth of the total. The Shinshōji-Fukagawa relationship eventually led to the establishment of Naritasan's greatest subtemple (*betsuin* 別院), Naritasan Fukagawa Fudōdō 成田山深川不動堂, in 1881 on the northern edge of the Hachimangū precinct.

⁴²⁴ *Shiryō* 5.69–74.

⁴²⁵ Confraternities, known as *kō* 講, *kōjū* 講中, or *kōsha* 講社, were local groups of devoted patrons and worshippers of a particular temple or shrine, distinguished by local designations which often included the name of the temple or deity. Due to Shinshōji's presence in Edo, Narita Fudō confraternities started to develop in places such as Asakusa, Nihonbashi, and, naturally, Fukagawa. Confraternities not only accounted for a sizeable portion of a temple or shrine's patrons, pilgrims, and thus income, but also rendered services to the temple such as the donation of labor in times of reconstruction or exhibitions. Confraternities were also often distinguished by a division of labor or responsibilities, as we see below with the Amakuni confraternity from Nihonbashi. According to Miyata, Naritasan's first confraternity formed during the Genroku Period in conjunction with its exhibitions (Miyata 1972: 127). See Murakami (1993b: 257–260) for a discussion of Naritasan's confraternities in the early modern period.

when he could to help out as a *torimochi* 取持, an assistant who received and entertained guests.⁴²⁶ The visits seem to have served their purpose: Danjūrō’s presence inspired one attendant to devote himself to Fudō worship.⁴²⁷ The miscellany *Hitorine* ひとりね likewise mentions how Danjūrō II followed suit and assisted as a *torimochi* at what is thought to have been the 1733 *degaichō*, causing a crowd of admirers to flock to Fukagawa.⁴²⁸ An *ukiyo-e* by Utagawa Sadahide 歌川貞秀 (1807–73) entitled *Actors Visiting the Naritasan Kaichō Exhibition* (*Naritasan Kaichō yakusha sankei no zu* 成田山開帳役者参詣の図) depicts just such a scene (figure 4.8). Here we find two Danjūrō members (identifiable by their red dress emblazoned with the square *mimasu* 三升 Danjūrō crest), one of whom is Danjūrō VIII (second from the right), strutting along with other actors at the 1833 spring *degaichō* in Fukagawa.⁴²⁹

Figure 4.8. Ichikawa Danjūrō VII at the 1833 Fukagawa Exhibition (Utagawa Sadahide, 1807–73)



Shinshōji clergy and *torimochi* helped to direct crowds and explain the history of items on display, similar to the practice of *etoki* 絵解, “explanation by picture,”⁴³⁰ a type of public lecture of temple lore using illustrations begun in the medieval period. Public sermons served to communicate the temple *engi* and its miraculous events to audiences, and to further aggrandize the temple treasures on display. Records from the 1703 *degaichō* offer an itemized list of all sources of income received, two of which were simply described as “*enki*” 縁記 (viz., *engi*) and

⁴²⁶ Kominz (1997a: 93).

⁴²⁷ Kominz (1997a: 93).

⁴²⁸ Hiruma (1980: 153).

⁴²⁹ Incidentally, Danjūrō VIII had been performing a play in Edo at the time, the second act of which was entitled “Naritasan *kaichō*” (Asahi 1981: 60), possibly organized in tandem with the exhibition.

⁴³⁰ For a study on *etoki*, see Kaminishi (2006).

“Treasured Sword” (*hōken* 宝剣).⁴³¹ This would suggest that *engi* were being printed and sold to visitors, and that the Amakuni Sword was on display and was receiving offerings. In his description of the 1821 *degaichō*, the author of the *Yūreki zakki*, Taijō Keijun 大浄敬順 (n.d.), includes a summary of the Kanchō-Masakado tale as though repeating what he had heard or read there.⁴³²

The effectiveness of the Fukagawa *kaichō* as a key medium for the proliferation of the Narita Fudō cult is suggested by the way in which the exhibitions attracted artists outside the temple’s immediate circles, and how they devised their own entertaining narratives or scenes showcasing the deity.⁴³³ For example, in 1822 the great writer of popular fiction Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761–1816) published the *Mukashi gatari Narita no kaichō* 昔語成田之開帳 (*An Old Tale of the Narita Kaichō Exhibition*), an illustrated ghost story (*kaidan* 怪談) in which the Narita Fudō appears at the conclusion and helps defeat the bad guys.⁴³⁴ Later in 1873 Utagawa Yoshitora 歌川芳虎 produced a humorous *ukiyoe* entitled *Tō kaichō taware no kubihiki* 當開帳戲の首引 (*Having Fun with Tug-of-War at our Exhibition*) depicting the Narita Fudō engaged in a tug-of-war contest with the famous Buddhist master Kūkai.⁴³⁵ The exhibition again served as the setting for another humorous *ukiyoe*, *Naritasan daikaichō* 成田山大開帳 (*The Great Naritasan Exhibition*, 1885) (figure 4.9), which portrays Ichikawa Danjūrō IX as Fudō and two actors as the two acolytes, Kongara 矜羯羅 and Seitaka 制多迦. Seitaka, always the deviant one,⁴³⁶

⁴³¹ *Shiryō* 5.74. Other sources included monetary offerings, the cost of wooden *goma* prayer sticks (*gomaki* 護摩木), incense, and protective *mamori* 守 talismans.

⁴³² ES.6.229.

⁴³³ An example is the *Kaichō danwa* 開帳談話 (*Kaichō Tales*, 1829), whose illustrations give us an idea of how treasures may have been presented to audiences, and how *etoki* lectures on *engi* lore might have appeared. See Hayashi (1985: 99–150) for a reproduction and explanation of the text.

⁴³⁴ See Ukai (2003: 583–649) for the tale. The temple’s exhibitions still appear in fiction today. The tale *Musume karuwaza Narita kaichō* 娘軽業成田開帳 (*Female Acrobatics and the Narita Exhibition*), first appearing in Shinshōji’s monthly publication *Chikō* 知光 in 1975, features the miraculous power of the Narita Fudō at the Fukagawa *degaichō*. Shōhan, the Danjūrōs, and the Amakuni Sword also figure prominently. See Sōya (1982: 155–210) for the tale.

⁴³⁵ See Ogura (1986: 36) for a reproduction of the image.

⁴³⁶ From as early as the Heian Period, Shingon and Tendai texts have commonly described Kongara as reverential and obedient, with Seitaka the opposite. For example, in his ritual manual for Fudō worship, the *Fudō Myōō ryūin giki shūgyō shidai taizō gyōhō* 不動明王立印儀軌修行次第胎藏行法, the Tendai monk Annen 安然 (841–?) writes, “The first [acolyte of Fudō] named Kongara, reverential and timid, expresses submission to the correct path. The second named Seitaka, difficult to converse with and having an evil nature, expresses deviance from the correct path” (一名 矜迦羅 恭敬小心者表 隨順正道者。二名 制多迦。難共語惡性者表 不順正道者。) (NDZ.82.376a.15–16).

conducts the “exhibition” by exposing himself to Kongara, to the astonishment of both him and Fudō.

Figure 4.9. The Narita Fudō, Kongara, and Seitaka at the *Kaichō* (1885)



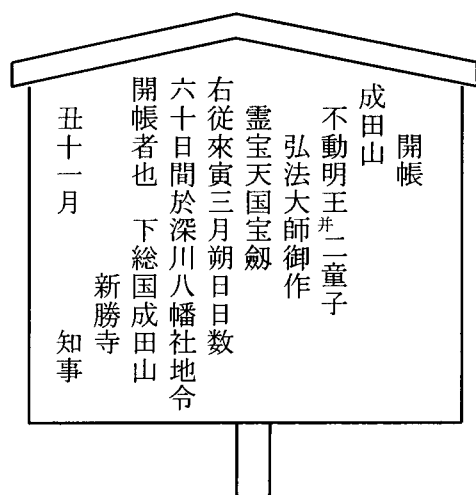
Thus do we see that the Fukagawa exhibitions acted as a sort of secondary location in Edo for Shinshōji, similar to the way in which the theatre of Danjūrō kabuki could act as a source for the Narita Fudō’s miraculous blessings. In fact, as we have seen, the worlds of kabuki and *kaichō* often intersected one another, for both commercial and religious reasons. As the above examples of art and literature show, exhibitions had become as effective a setting for the appearance of the Narita Fudō as Narita itself. This not only granted Edoites better access to the Narita Fudō, but also encouraged the spread of the cult beyond the immediate confines of Shinshōji. In order to further appreciate how Shinshōji’s *kaichō* program aided the marketing of the Narita Fudō, let us turn our attention to the material culture of its miracle tales.

Marketing Miracles

Temple records preserve floor plans of the temporary *kaichō* huts (*karigoya* 仮小屋) (built by carpenters in advance of the exhibition and later torn down) used to house

and display Shinshōji's sacred objects at Hachimangū Shrine. The layout of the 1806 *degaichō* hut shows a special display area for sacred temple treasures (*reihōba* 靈宝場) next to the Fudō statue.⁴³⁷ The central treasure, of course, was the sword. With its importance both in temple history and Edo's popular culture, temple records often celebrate it as Shinshōji's "number one treasure" (*tōji daiichi no reihō* 当寺第一の靈宝).⁴³⁸ Following the turn of the nineteenth century, it stood on a par with the Fudō statue as the main attraction at the Edo *degaichō*. *Fuda* 札 signboards, posted months in advance by Shinshōji at Edo's key locations such as major intersections to advertise the coming *kaichō*,⁴³⁹ illustrate how the temple had been actively using the sword to headline exhibitions alongside the Fudō statue. For example, records from the 1806 *degaichō* show what the typical signboard advertisement looked like:

Figure 4.10. 1806 *Degaichō* Advertisement Signboard (detail)⁴⁴⁰



Kaichō Exhibition

Naritasan Temple

Featuring Fudō Myōō and his two acolytes constructed by Kōbō Daishi, with the sacred treasure of the precious Amakuni Sword.

The above exhibition will be held in the coming [Year of the] Tiger [1806], for sixty days from the first of the third month at Hachiman Shrine in Fukagawa.

Naritasan Shinshōji, Shimōsa Province

[Posted the] eleventh month, [Year of the] Ox [1805]

Director [of Temple Affairs]⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁷ *Shiryō* 5.138.

⁴³⁸ Ono (1973: 367).

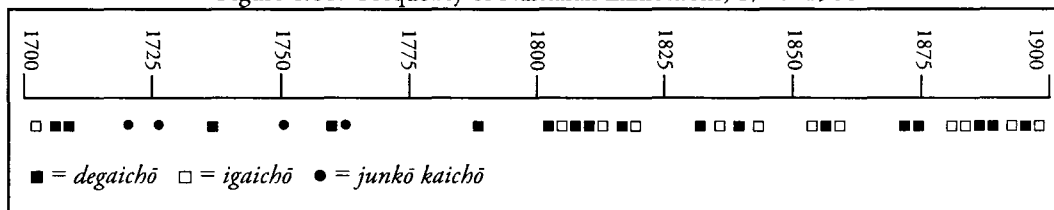
⁴³⁹ *Shiryō* 5.136–137.

⁴⁴⁰ Image reproduced from *Shiryō* 5.136.

⁴⁴¹ *Shiryō* 5.136. The blueprint directs the *fuda* signboards to be posted at Edo's major intersections: Eitaibashi 永代橋, Ryōkoku 両国, Sensōji 浅草寺 Temple, and Shinagawa 品川. Subsequent records (*Shiryō* 5.137) list sixteen more locations for the boards such as Yushima Tenjin 湯島天神, Yotsuya 四谷, Shinyoshiwara 新吉原, and Edobashi 江戸橋.

As we saw above, the sword seems to have been present at the exhibitions as early as 1703. However, Shinshōji's extant records of the signboards⁴⁴² suggest that the 1806 exhibition represented a turning point for the *kaichō* program, as it was the first time the Amakuni Sword is recorded to have figured so prominently in Edo. This turn of the century timing is significant: it suggests that the Naritasan *engi* was not solely responsible for the sword's popularity; rather, its promotion may have been the result of the recent Yūten-Narita tale that was quickly growing in popularity around Edo at this time outside Shinshōji circles (to the chagrin of Dōyo's Daiganji). Shinshōji, it would seem, was catering to and encouraging the sword's popularity at the exhibitions in sync with Yūten's popularity. Starting with the 1806 exhibition, the Amakuni Sword headlined nearly every Shinshōji exhibition thereafter, and marked a noticeable increase in the general frequency of exhibitions conducted by the temple. As is evident in figure 4.11, this increase in the temple's *kaichō* program coincided with the Bunka-Bunsei Period, whose economic prosperity, improved transportation networks, and flourishing travel and recreational culture⁴⁴³ certainly helped facilitate the successful program.

Figure 4.11. Frequency of Naritasan Exhibitions, 1700–1900



It may have been at this time that Daiganji first began lending Dōyo's soiled clerical robes worn during his miraculous encounter with the Narita Fudō to Shinshōji for its exhibitions.

While we have evidence that Dōyo's robes existed as early as 1722,⁴⁴⁴ they, like the Amakuni Sword, do not seem to have become significant at exhibitions until after 1800. The biographies of Dōyo in the 1819 *San'en zanshi*⁴⁴⁵ 三縁山志 and *Danrin oyumi Daiganji shi*⁴⁴⁶ 壇林生実大巖寺志 (1818-1829), for example, seem to be the first to mention the robes' appearance at the exhibitions. The robes were further promoted by Shinshōji in its soon-to-be published *Narita meisho zue* (discussed below), which offered a full-page spread of the robes, complete with the

⁴⁴² *Shiryō* 5.136.

⁴⁴³ Vaporis (1989: 462–463).

⁴⁴⁴ Bōsō Bunko Kankōkai ed. (1930: 58–59).

⁴⁴⁵ JZ.19.457b.

⁴⁴⁶ JZ.20.72b.

bloody stains in its section advertising Shinshōji's famous temple treasures (figure 4.12).⁴⁴⁷ Temple records from the 1855 *igaichō* state that the robes, like the Fudō statue, were appreciated in their capacity for *kechien*.⁴⁴⁸ Since the robes were formally owned by Daiganji, the clothes may have been the temple's chance not only to benefit from the tale's popularity, but also to compete with the Yūten cult by offering irrefutable evidence of the event's ownership and to capitalize on the sword's popularity. As noted earlier, Daiganji had been at odds with the Yūten tale whose popularity threatened the currency of its "original" Dōyo version.

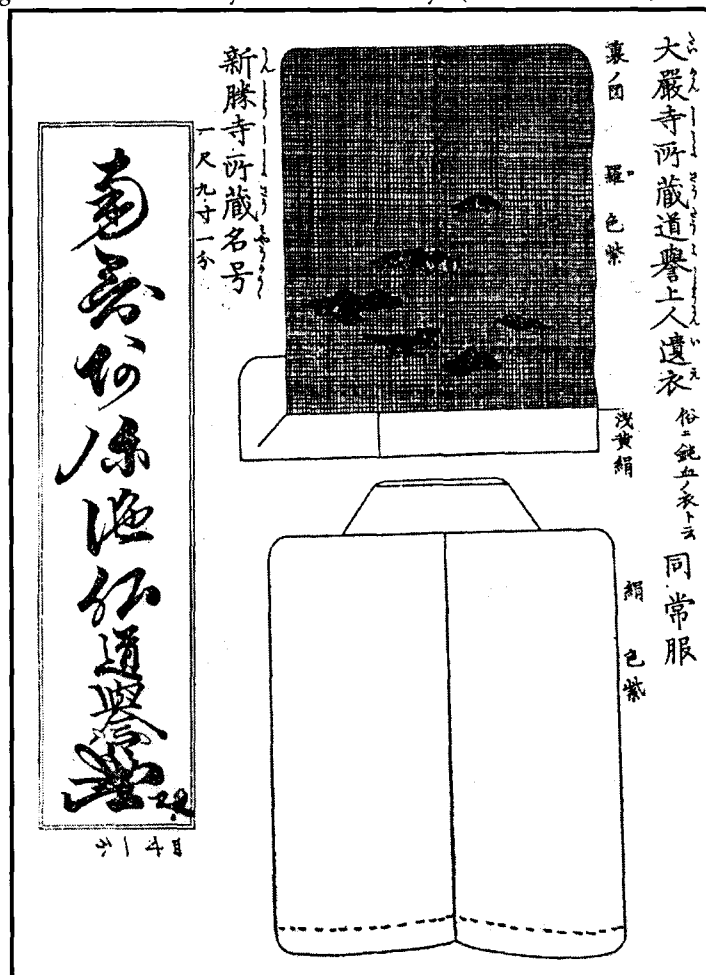
The popularity of the sword and robes at the *kaichō* during the Bunka-Bunsei Era offered a supporting cast to the Narita Fudō. They functioned as pseudo-buddha relics: manifest vestiges of a figure's miraculous tenure on earth that continue to operate in the physical world as a source of community and worship.⁴⁴⁹ In a way, both objects provided the Narita Fudō with its own relics as they offered material evidence underscoring the statue's wondrous nature. These "relics" in turn acted as temple merchandise that could attract worshippers and visitors to Fukagawa. As a unit, all three treasures strengthened the network of tales, figures, and locations connected to them.

⁴⁴⁷ Later reproduced with colour in the *Naritasan reijō jikki* 成田山靈場実記 (1885). A modern photo of the robes can be found in Naritasan Reikōkan ed. (1998: 1).

⁴⁴⁸ *Shiryō* 5.530.

⁴⁴⁹ For an introduction to Buddha relics in their early Indian context, see Strong (2004). On Japanese Buddha relics in the medieval period, see Ruppert (2000).

Figure 4.12. The Bloody Robe of Saint Dōyo (*Narita meisho zue*, 1858)⁴⁵⁰



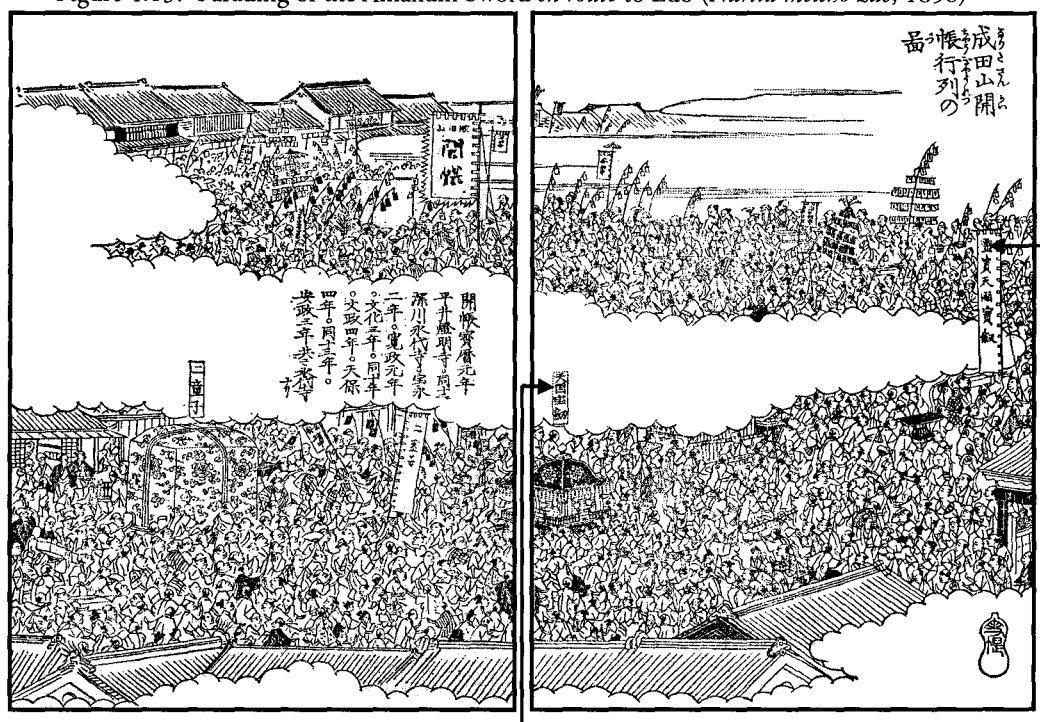
Moreover, like buddha relics that received their own cultic veneration, the sword and robes were more than mere props for the Fudō statue. They had become figures of worship in their own right. As we have seen, the robes were a communal prize shared between Shinshōji and Daiganji worshipped for *kechien*. The sword, too, had become an object of worship and seems to have also been used for *kechien*.⁴⁵¹ During transport to and from the temple, the latter even had its own palanquin (figure 4.13), with its own confraternity of devout specialist caretakers at Nihonbashi in Edo, named the “Nihonbashi Treasure Sword Confraternity” (Nihonbashi Hōken

⁴⁵⁰ Text reads: 大嚴寺所藏道譽上人遺衣俗ニ鈍血ノ衣ト云 (“Remnant Robes of Saint Dōyo Stored at Daiganji Temple [commonly called the ‘Dull-Blood Robes’]”).

⁴⁵¹ Though it does not explicitly identify the Amakuni Sword, the *San'en zanshi* (1819) notes how the “dull-blood” sword, presumably that of Amakuni, was worshipped for *kechien* as was the Narita Fudō statue (JZ.19.457b).

Kōsha 日本橋宝劔講社). The allure of the Amakuni Sword was quite possibly further indebted to that of the Imperial Regalia. As we saw with the discussion of the Meguro Fudō in chapter two, Fudō’s trademark sword was readily identified with Yamatotakeru’s Kusanagi Sword by Ryūsenji’s *engi*. Moreover, the medieval *Buppō shintō reikiki* 仏法神道麗氣記 contains an image of a Kusanagi Sword enveloped in flames,⁴⁵² strikingly similar to standard depictions of Fudō’s fire sword, suggesting an iconographical identification between the two weapons. Finally, the term *hōken* 宝劔 (“treasure or precious sword”), a standard title of the Amakuni Sword, was also commonly used to describe the Kusanagi Sword.⁴⁵³

Figure 4.13. Parading of the Amakuni Sword *en route to Edo* (*Narita meisho zue*, 1858)⁴⁵⁴



“Treasure Sword of Amakuni”
 (“Amakuni hōken” 天国寶劔)

“Numinous Treasure of the
 Amakuni Treasure Sword”
 (“Reihō Amakuni hōken” 靈寶天國寶劔)

⁴⁵² Sakamoto (1978–1993: 102).

⁴⁵³ Matsumura (2001: 1133c).

⁴⁵⁴ Right panel reads: 成田山開帳 行列の圖 (“Scene of the Naritasan exhibition procession”). Left panel reads: 開帳寶曆元年平井燈明寺。同十二年深川永代寺。宝永二年。寛政元年。文化三年。同十年。文政四年。天保四年。同十三年。安政三年共ニ永代寺ナリ (“Exhibitions were held at Tōmyōji Temple in Hirai in 1751 and at Fukagawa Eitaiji Temple in 1762, and again in 1705, 1789, 1806, 1813, 1821, 1833, 1842, and 1856 at Eitaiji”).

During and following the Bunka-Bunsei Era, it is beyond question that the Fukagawa exhibitions had become a central vehicle by which the particular character of the Narita Fudō and its associated treasures were gaining popularity in Edo and the larger Kantō region. A number of gazetteers from this time devote special sections to, or at least give detailed mention of, the Narita Fudō's fame at Hachimangū.⁴⁵⁵ Public popularity of the exhibitions was likewise evidenced by their common treatment in *ukiyoe* images, which depicted crowds flocking to and enjoying themselves at Hachimangū.⁴⁵⁶ This popularity of the *kaichō* further perpetuated knowledge of the *engi*, its miracle tales, treasures, and figures, thereby giving them a currency of their own not necessarily specific to Shinshōji. This currency allowed Naritasan tradition to operate outside the immediate confines of the temple and across institutions. As a result, Shinshōji's *engi* had become a sort of traveling tale; it was being re-mapped onto a wider range of locales creating a network of sites connected to Yūten, Masakado, Kanchō, Dōyo, and the Amakuni Sword. This network of temples could claim participation in, and thus benefit from, the *engi* legends and their sacred figures. We have already seen how Daiganji became partnered with Shinshōji on the basis of Dōyo, his bloody robes, and the Amakuni Sword, and how Zōjōji in Edo adopted the Naritasan *engi* as a central element in its biographies of Yūten. Moreover, the Amakuni Sword had become such a valuable asset that in 1809 the temple Kentokuji 見徳寺 in Shimōsa borrowed the sword to raise funds for temple reconstruction.⁴⁵⁷ Shinshōji's willingness to lend the item to

⁴⁵⁵ These records can be found in the *Kiyū shōran* 嬉遊笑覧 (1830), *Hitorine* ひとりね (mid-eighteenth century), *Yūreki zakki* 遊歴雜記 (1814–1829), *Bukō nenpyō* 武江年表 (1849–50), *Edo hanjō ki* 江戸繁昌記 (1832–36), and *Tōto saijiki* 東都歳時記 (1838).

⁴⁵⁶ For example, see *Naritasan kaichō no zu* 成田山開帳之図 (*Naritasan Exhibition*, 1821) by Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国 (1769–1825), *Naritasan kaichō yakusha sankei no zu* 成田山開帳役者参詣の図 (*Actors Visiting the Naritasan Exhibition*, 1833) by Utagawa Sadahide 歌川貞秀 (1807–1873), *Naritasan kaichō sankei no zu* 成田山開帳参詣之図 (*Visiting the Naritasan Exhibition*, 1856) by Utagawa Yoshiharu 歌川芳春 (1828–1888), *Naritasan kaichō sankei gunshū zu* 成田山開帳参詣群集図 (*Crowds Visiting the Naritasan Exhibition*, 1856) by Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国 III (1786–1864), *Tōto Fukagawa Hachimangū oite shachi Naritasan Fudōson kaichō gunshū zu* 東都深川八幡宮於社地成田山不動尊開帳群集図 (*Naritasan Fudō Exhibition Crowds at Fukagawa Hachimangū in the Eastern Capital*, 1856) by Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国 III (1786–1864), and *Naritasan kaichō sankei gunshū no yūkei* 成田山開帳参詣群集之夕景 (*Evening Crowds Visiting the Naritasan Exhibition*, 1856) by Utagawa Kunisato 歌川国郷 (d.1858). See Ogura (1986: 18–21) for images.

⁴⁵⁷ *Shiryō* 3.108. Kentokuji again requested the Amakuni Sword in 1846 to fund reconstruction following a fire in 1840 which destroyed the precinct, but this time was rejected by Shinshōji (*Shiryō* 3.38–39; 3.491–492). A century later, the gazetteer *Katorigun shi* 香取郡誌 (1900) lists yet another nearby temple to the northeast in Katori 香取 District, Shukkōsan Fudōin Shōtokuji 出興山不動院勝徳寺, which may have wanted to capitalize on the sword's popularity as it went one step farther by

Kentokuji may have been influenced by its mutual sectarian affiliation (both were Shingon subtemples of Daikakuji 大覚寺 in Kyōto).⁴⁵⁸ Later in 1848, the Pure Land temple Chōgenji 長源寺 in Usui 臼井 near Narita sent a subscription list (*kangechō* 勧化帳) to Shinshōji seeking contributions to fund temple reconstruction. Chōganji claimed Dōyo as its founder, and thus pointed out to Shinshōji the mutual relationship (*en'ai* 縁合) the two temples shared,⁴⁵⁹ possibly to appeal to Shinshōji's coffers. As we shall see in the following chapter, Shinshōji's presence in Fukagawa eventually led to the formation of a permanent subtemple of the Narita Fudō in the area. To these examples we may add the ways in which the *engi*, its heroes and objects also became common subjects for artists, writers and playwrights, whose creative touches further fueled Naritasan lore and added secondary "layers" of localization to the Narita Fudō. Thus, by the Bunka-Bunsei Era, the currency of the Narita Fudō had spanned such a variety of traditions, both religious and secular, that we see a sort of secondary *engi* process, in that Naritasan tradition was attracting further localizations among its participants. In short, so successful was the marketing of the Narita Fudō brand in Edo that the initial centripetal effect of the *engi*—interweaving local history and sectarian tradition to produce a regionally-distinct deity—had blossomed into a wider centrifugal force throughout Edo beyond the immediate ownership of Shinshōji.

From Edo to Narita

As a temple located beyond the boundaries of the big city, Shinshōji's ongoing promotion of its *engi* characters and treasures in Edo, both at exhibitions and on stage, was meant to gain a foothold among the approximately one million citizens of the capital.⁴⁶⁰ A natural, and no doubt intended, result was a simultaneous growing popularity in the pilgrimage from Edo to the Narita countryside. Though home exhibitions never drew crowds like the Fukagawa *degaichō* in Edo, they, and the occasional appearance of the Danjūrōs in Narita, provided incentive for visiting the temple and its surrounding *monzenmachi* district and were thus instrumental in popularization of the Naritasan pilgrimage from Edo. With its reputation as a vibrant town, Narita even made for an ideal *degaichō* destination, attracting the

claiming their very own Amakuni Sword as one of their most precious treasures. See Yamada (1900: vol. 2, p. 53).

⁴⁵⁸ *Shiryō* 3.15.

⁴⁵⁹ *Shiryō* 4.232.

⁴⁶⁰ For population figures of Edo from 1590–1792, see McClain (1994: 13).

famous Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来 statue of Zenkōji 善光寺 Temple from Shinano in 1781.⁴⁶¹

Due to the relative peace, improved roads for military logistics, and the growing economic prosperity of the townspeople, travel was at an all-time high in the Edo Period, in particular for commoners.⁴⁶² Journeys to places of historical significance, trips to theatres and recreational districts, and pilgrimages to religious sites such as Ise or Fuji, often spurred by popular art and literature, whether real or imagined, enticed people to get out and explore the “floating world” (*ukiyo* 浮世), wherever it might be found. Popular travel stories like Andō Hiroshige’s 安藤広重 *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 東海道五十三次 (*The Fifty Three Stations of the Tōkaidō Highway*, 1833–1834) and Jippensha Ikku’s 十返舎一九 popular *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* 東海道中膝栗毛 (*Adventures Along the Tōkaidō*,⁴⁶³ 1802–1809) provided the foundation for a sustained popularity of early modern travel culture.

The primary route from Edo to Narita took one northeast overland along the Sakura Road (Sakuradō 佐倉道), constructed in the early years of the Tokugawa as the primary artery connecting Sakura Castle to the capital to service *daimyō* and their alternate attendance regulations (figure 4.14). As shown in figure 4.15, there were two popular itineraries to Narita,⁴⁶⁴ with the trip typically taking two full days to complete.⁴⁶⁵ A handy map detailing both routes for travellers was included on the reverse of the back cover in the *Narita mōde bunshō* 成田詣文章 (*Narita Travel*

⁴⁶¹ Shinshōji hosted the exhibition for Zenkōji’s Amida for five days (*Shiryō* 5.102–103). On Zenkōji, see McCallum (1994).

⁴⁶² On pilgrimage and travel in the Edo Period, see Blacker (1984), Vaporis (1989), Kouamé (1997), and Shinno (2002), and Thal (2005).

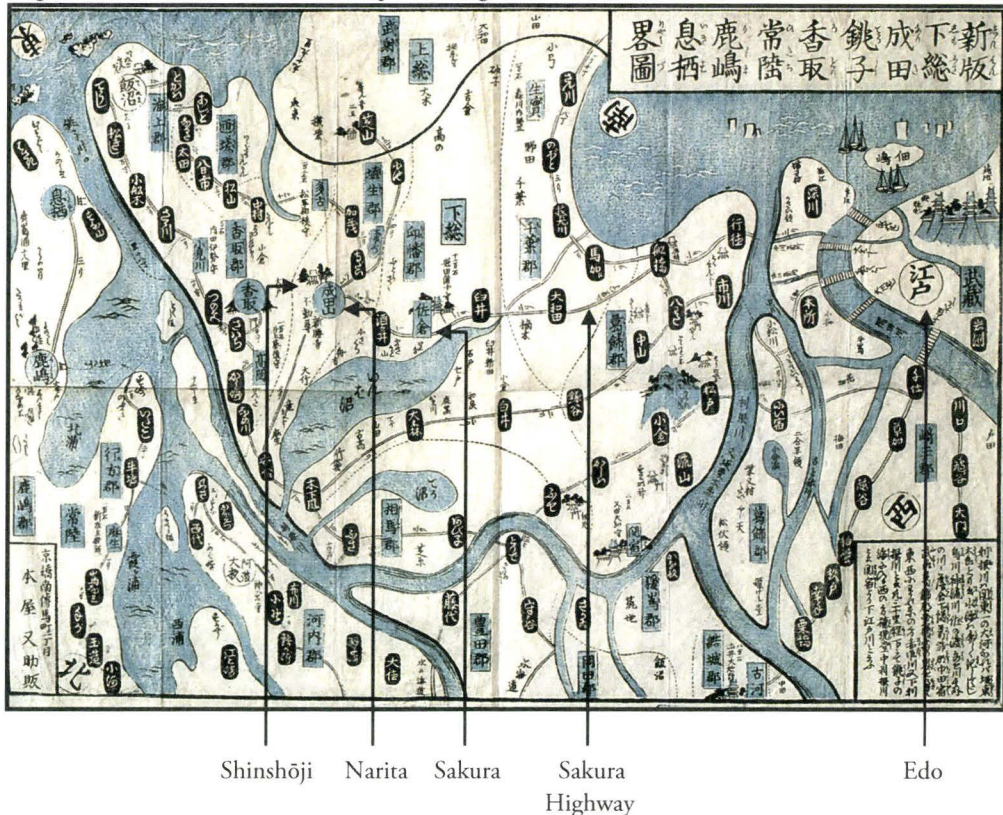
⁴⁶³ Also popularly known in English as *Shank’s Mare*, the title of Thomas Satchell’s 1960 translation.

⁴⁶⁴ The first route set out from Nihonbashi northbound to Senju 千住, Nijuku 新宿, and crossing the Edogawa into Shimōsa and arriving at Ichikawa 市川. From there one proceeded to Funabashi 船橋. Alternatively, for a fare of fifty *mon* 文, one could reduce time and distance by taking a ferryboat from Fukagawa 深川 and sailing up the Edogawa 江戸川 River to Gyōtoku 行徳. This second route was popular with women and children (Ono 1978: 83–4). From there one walked on foot to Funabashi, converging with the first route. Funabashi neared the halfway point, and suitably so: sitting at the hub of four major arteries it was a bustling rest stop with many inns and a booming nightlife. One then continued along the Sakura Road passing through the Ōwada 大和田 plains, Usui 臼井, Sakura 佐倉 Castle Town, Shisui 酒々井 (all of which ran inns to accommodate pilgrims) and finally to Narita Village.

⁴⁶⁵ Murakami (1968: 227).

Book (figure 4.16) published in Edo in 1821.⁴⁶⁶ Toward the end of the Edo Period, *ukiyo*e artists were depicting amusing scenes of pilgrim life along the routes.⁴⁶⁷

Figure 4.14. Shimōsa Provincial Map Detailing Main Route from Edo to Narita (late Edo Period)⁴⁶⁸



⁴⁶⁶ Attributed to Tō Kōtoku 藤耕徳, a late Edo-period writer of travel literature and children’s textbooks (*ōraimon* 往来物).

⁴⁶⁷ For example, *Orei mairi hiiki fune no zu* 御礼参り最良船之図 (*Patrons on Pilgrimage by Boat*, Kaei 嘉永 era, 1848–1853) by Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国 III (1786–1864), *Naritasan sankei Koganegahara no zu* 成田山参詣小金ヶ原之図 (*Naritasan Pilgrimage at Koganegahara*, 1855) by Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 II (1823–80), *Kōyōkiku mi no Narita mōde* 紅葉菊身の成田もうで (*Narita Pilgrimage Among Red Autumn Leaves and Chrysanthemums*, 1858) by Utagawa Kunisada II, and *Yokimichizure haru no hatsutabi Narita mōde no zu* 好同行初春始旅成田詣の図 (*First Visit of Travelling Companions En Route to Narita in Early Spring*, 1859) by Utagawa Kunisada II. See Ogura (1986: 25–27) for images.

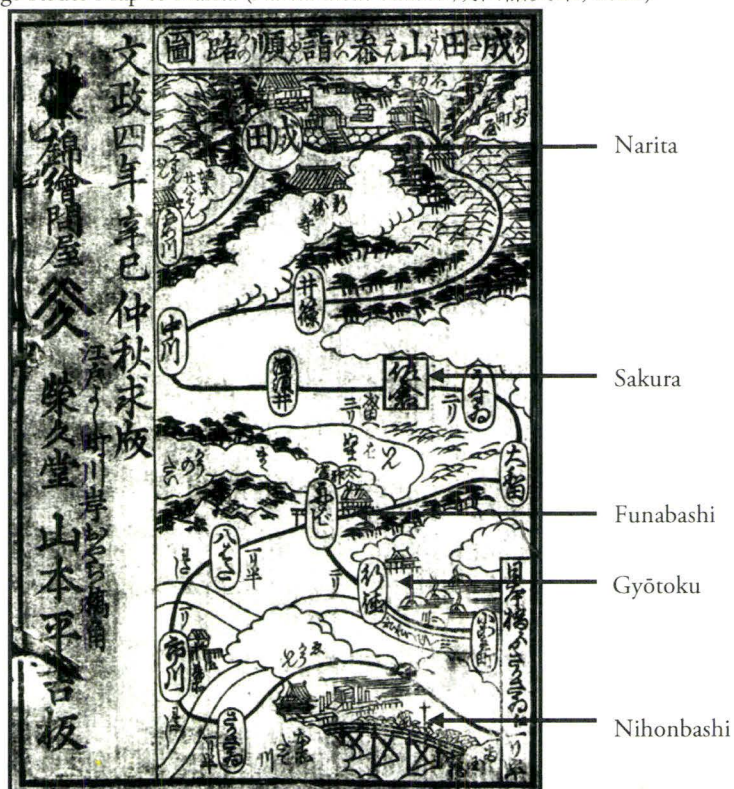
しんぱんしもうさなりたてうしかとりひたちかしまいきすりやくづ

⁴⁶⁸ Title reads: 新版下総成田銚子香取常陸鹿嶋息栖畧圖 (“New Edition Map of Shimōsa, Narita, Chōshi, Katori, Hitachi, Kashima, and Ikisu”).

Figure 4.15. Major Pilgrimage Routes from Edo to Narita⁴⁶⁹



Figure 4.16. Pilgrimage Route Map to Narita (*Narita mode bunshō* 成田詣文章, 1821)⁴⁷⁰



⁴⁶⁹ Figure adapted from Naritasan Reikōkan ed. (1988: 2). The *Narita meisho zue* included a more detailed itinerary in similar chart form in its opening pages as a handy reference to travellers. See Ono 1973: 42–43 and Suzuki 1980: 252 for a reproduction.

⁴⁷⁰ Title reads: “Naritasan sankei junro no zu” 成田山参詣順路圖 (“Naritasan Pilgrimage Route Map”).

It is difficult to determine when the Naritasan pilgrimage first began or when the route became firmly established, but it seems to have been well into operation by the mid-1700s following the temple's initial flourishing during the Genroku Period. Laurence Kominz notes that pilgrims to Narita inspired by Danjūro I's plays in the early 1700s were so numerous that the temple had trouble accommodating their numbers.⁴⁷¹ The peak popularity of the Narita pilgrimage during Edo times, however, was the Bunka-Bunsei Period (1804–1829),⁴⁷² Japan's first travel boom.⁴⁷³ This growth in pilgrimage matches various other notable developments examined above: the emergence of the Yūten tale, the appearance of the Amakuni Sword exhibitions in both Edo and Narita, the growing frequency of *kaichō* exhibitions in general, as well as Danjūrō VII's theatrical patronage in Narita. Consequently, we see a noticeable increase in the number of travel diaries chronicling visits to the temple during this time,⁴⁷⁴ and half the sign posts (*michi shirube* 道標) erected from the late 1700s to 1860s along Sakura Road guiding pilgrims with distances and directions date from this period.⁴⁷⁵ The route had become so frequented by Narita pilgrims that at the turn of the nineteenth century Sakura Road (officially named so by the government) carried the alternate designation the "Narita Highway" (Narita Kaidō 成田街道). Not surprisingly, the period also had an effect on the growth of Narita itself. Records show that the town's population was growing, and the number of houses had doubled since the beginning of the Edo Period.⁴⁷⁶

With the growing Shinshōji pilgrimage and the all-around popularity of travel fiction, it was only time before fictional, light-hearted accounts of the Edo-Narita trip appeared. For example, in 1812 there was published an illustrated *kokkeibon* 滑稽本, "funny book," a type of comical fiction often centering on townspeople and their journeys (of which the most famous example is *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige*, entitled *Narita dōchū kogane no koma* 成田道中黄金の駒.⁴⁷⁷ The book's protagonists are two bumbling commoners who set off into the "floating world" of hedonistic adventure. Here our two characters are nicknamed Kongara Gonpachi 矜

⁴⁷¹ Kominz (1997a: 91).

⁴⁷² Miura (1977: 45).

⁴⁷³ Vaporis (1989: 463).

⁴⁷⁴ For details on these writings, see Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 585–600).

⁴⁷⁵ For a list of these sign posts and their dates, see Naritasan Reikōkan ed. (1988: 20).

⁴⁷⁶ Murakami (1968: 124–125); Ono (1978: 88–92). According to the *shūmon aratame chō* 宗門改帳 registry submitted to the Sakura office by Narita in 1848, the town's population was 858 with 165 houses (not including temples, hermitages, etc.), up from 81 in 1606, suggestive of the Bunka-bunsei influence (the annual rice yield of *koku*, however, had remained the same at 385). See *Saru no toshi ninbetsu o aratame chō* 申年人別御改帳 (*Shiryō* 6.816–46) and *Meisaisho agechō* 明細書上帳 (*Shiryō* 6.791–92).

⁴⁷⁷ See Bōsō Bunko Kankōkai ed. (1930: 1–25) for a reproduction of the tale.

迦羅權八 and Seitaka Sorobei 制多迦候兵衛, and re-enact the Narita pilgrimage starting from the ferry in Gyōtoku and pass through notable stops like Funabashi before arriving in Narita.⁴⁷⁸ A similar *kokkeibon*, entitled *Narita dōchū hizakurige* 成田道中膝栗毛 (1856), was written by the famed Kanagaki Robun 仮名垣魯文 (1829–1894).⁴⁷⁹ The text’s similarity in title to the *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* is telling of Ippensha’s influence on Kanagaki. Its two heroes in fact share the same names as those of Ippensha: Kitahachi 喜多八 and Yajirōbei 弥二郎兵衛 (though Ippensha wrote the latter’s name as 弥次郎兵衛), possibly as an homage to Ippensha, or to boost sales. Instead of heading east for Ise, Kita and Yaji leave Kanda in Edo for Narita after hearing about a *kaichō* being held at the temple. Like Gonpachi and Sorobei, they follow the standard route along Narita Highway, enjoying booze, women, and misadventure along the way.

Yūten as Paradigm

It was precisely during this Bunka-Bunsei boom that the monk Taijō Keijun made the pilgrimage to Naritasan and recorded in his *Yūreki zakki* a lengthy account of his experiences there (two and half times longer than the space he devotes to Meguro Fudō). Keijun paints one of our most vivid descriptions of the layout and location of buildings, shops, inns, and otherwise notable features in Narita, remarking on the town’s popular merchants and the large amount of visitors.⁴⁸⁰

But what catches our attention is how Keijun’s most detailed discussion of Naritasan was devoted to the temple’s seclusion huts (*komoridō* 籠堂) or fasting huts (*danjikidō* 断食堂), where worshippers could fast and pray for a set amount of time. More interesting yet is that, set within the centre of this discussion is a retelling of the Yūten tale (though devoid of the sword-swallowing scene). The logic of the tale’s appearance in this section is that, in addition to secluding himself at Naritasan, Yūten is said to have further engaged in ritual fasting, or *danjiki* 断食. In fact, fasting acts as the prime mover of the Yūten tale. His biographies describe how, in response to his poor condition, Yūten secluded himself at Zōjōji in Edo, prayed and fasted, whereupon an old man (who identified himself as the temple’s founder) magically appeared and directed him to continue his fasting at Naritasan for twenty-

⁴⁷⁸ As their names suggest, Gonpachi and Sorobei are modeled after Fudō’s two best known acolytes, Kongara 矜迦羅 (Sk. Kimkara) and Seitaka 制多迦 (Sk. Ceṭaka), representing each other’s antithesis: the former the ideal reverential type, and the latter the unsubmissive heretic. Gonpachi is accordingly one who does not drink and eat in excess, while Sorobei does nothing but consume alcohol.

⁴⁷⁹ For an annotated translation of the tale, see Saitō (1990).

⁴⁸⁰ For details, see ES.3.211–212.

one days.⁴⁸¹ The Yūten narrative thus functioned not only as an invitation to Naritasan, but also as an advertisement for religious fasting at the temple's special confinement huts, one each for men and women (located in the lower eastern area of the precinct). Yūten's journey to Naritasan may have offered worshippers an inspirational model to emulate, thus making pilgrimages from Edo and fasting at Narita potentially a re-enactment of the Yūten narrative. As we see in a similar miracle tale in which a local Fudō of Kyōto pierces a devotee's mouth with a sword,⁴⁸² we find the Yūten miracle tale used as a basis for pilgrimage to a particular Fudō temple. Here we might also recall the noh play discussed above in which the audience is encouraged to visit Shinshōji in the spirit of Dōyo.⁴⁸³

Though Keijun makes no explicit mention of the Amakuni Sword, we see the Yūten tale at work in Narita in yet another way. As figure 4.11 shows, there was an increase in *igaichō* exhibitions at the temple following the turn of the nineteenth century, coinciding with the spread of the Yūten tale in Edo, as well as the all-round popularity of religious and recreational travel. The appearance of *igaichō* at this time is particularly significant considering that, prior to this time, Shinshōji had conducted only a single *igaichō*, its very first, over a century earlier in 1701. The catalyst for the re-emergence of *igaichō* may have stemmed in part from the Amakuni Sword's popularity in Edo. With the exception of the 1807 *igaichō*, all subsequent home exhibitions from 1815 to 1855 (five in total) were "treasure *kaichō*" (*hōmotsu kaichō* 宝物開帳) starring the Amakuni Sword.⁴⁸⁴ As in Edo, the temple posted signboards along the pilgrimage route in key locales such as Funabashi and Gyōtoku advertising the sword as a star attraction of the temple, though records show that dozens of additional treasures were also on display, some even associated with Dōyo

⁴⁸¹ Takada (1991: 183–4).

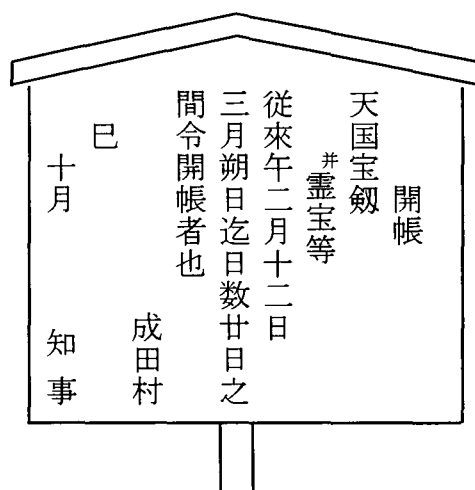
⁴⁸² See note 287.

⁴⁸³ The practice of fasting likely included cold water austerities (*suigyō* 水行, *mizu kori* 水垢離) much like at Ryūsenji, as are still practiced today at Shinshōji. This may also explain why the *koriba* was built beside the fasting huts at Shinshōji.

⁴⁸⁴ Not surprisingly, we start spotting additional swords at Shinshōji exhibitions at this time. In the 1815 and 1822 *igaichō* catalogues of items on display, recorded for the first time are over a dozen swords treated as objects connected to Fudō's miraculous powers, perhaps replicating the Amakuni Sword as material evidence of a patron's favour by Fudō (*Shiryō* 5.253–255; 256–257). Illustrated lists of donated items at the exhibitions from this time also include swords (see for example, *Naritasan kaichō hōnō banzuke* 成田山開帳奉納番付 [*Itemized List of Naritasan Kaichō Donations*, 1814], *Shiryō* 5, inside front cover). At the 1821 Fukagawa exhibition, Keijun also records that he had seen double-edged replica (*tsukurimono* 作り物) swords given as offerings by patrons (ES.6.230). Present-day temple records claim approximately two hundred swords among their sacred treasures collection, with several dated to the Edo and Meiji Periods (see *Naritasan Shinshōji* ed. 1968: 227–243).

and Yūten.⁴⁸⁵ Figure 4.17 reproduces from temple records a typical signboard used during the 1822 *igaichō*.⁴⁸⁶

Figure 4.17. 1822 *Igaichō* Advertisement Signboard⁴⁸⁷



Kaichō Exhibition

An exhibition featuring the Amakuni Treasure Sword with additional miraculous treasures will be held in the coming [Year of the] Horse [1822], for twenty days from the twelfth of the second month to the first of the third month.

Narita Village

[Posted] the tenth month, [Year of the] Serpent [1821]
Director [of Temple Affairs]⁴⁸⁸

Moreover, according to Murakami Shigeyoshi, the 1844 sword exhibition helped establish a regular annual temple event lasting three days during the town's Gion 祇園 festival.⁴⁸⁹ This event was the "Anointing of the Treasure Sword" (*hōken chōsai* 宝劔頂載) (still practiced to this day⁴⁹⁰) which is said to bestow various benefits such as curing madness, healing sickness, removing evil hindrances, and providing good health.⁴⁹¹ The sword's "anointing" (*chōsai* 頂載) and its ability to

⁴⁸⁵ Records from the 1815, 1822, and 1855 *igaichō* list over fifty items each, mostly statues of deities attributed to several famous monks including Kūkai, Gyōki, Nichiren, or Hōnen. Each list also contains hanging scrolls by Yūten and Dōyo adorned with calligraphy of the *nembutsu* (*Shiryō* 5.253–255; 256–257; 531–532).

⁴⁸⁶ Though the sword would have been a common sight at most *kaichō* exhibitions, its value is evidenced by the fact that Naritasan hosted six exhibitions (two *degaichō*, four *igaichō*) in the late Edo Period celebrating the sword (Naritasan Shinshōji ed. 1968: 208–209).

⁴⁸⁷ Image reproduced from *Shiryō* 3.231.

⁴⁸⁸ *Shiryō* 3.231.

⁴⁸⁹ Murakami (1968: 225).

⁴⁹⁰ Today the sword is housed in the Kōmyōdō 光明堂, hidden beneath thick cloth wrapping, with *igaichō* and *kaji* 加持 rites held throughout the year.

⁴⁹¹ Murakami (1968: 225). The miraculous properties of the sword did not seem to stop there. A provincial record from Shimōsa entitled *Kokon Sakura masago* 古今佐倉真佐子 (ca. mid-eighteenth century) describes additional magical abilities: "The sword was originally made by Amakuni. When it is wielded, birds flying over the temple drop dead. When it crosses in front of a horseman, he falls

cure “madness” (*kyōran* 狂乱), we may recall, comes directly from Kakugen’s *Daiengi* as discussed in chapter three.

The connection between the anointing ceremony and the *engi* raises an important question central to our discussion: was the localized brand of the Narita Fudō in fact working, in that people actually understood, talked about, and visited the temple for reasons related to the *engi* and its miracle tales? We already have substantial evidence that this was in fact so: the Amakuni confraternity, Keijun’s attention to the temple’s fasting huts, the presence of swords at the temple, and in particular, the popularity of the Dōyo/Yūten tale in both official biographies and temple lore outside Naritasan, and its reproduction in non-clerical circles, suggest the working presence of the Naritasan *engi*. To these we can add travel diaries written by various individuals detailing their experiences and impressions as they visited the temple.⁴⁹² In 1815 the poet and nativist (*kokugaku* 国学) scholar Shimizu Hamaomi 清水浜臣 (1776–1824) visited the temple during a sword *igaichō* in spring. Following a description of the temple, the Kūkai-Kanchō provenance of the Fudō statue, and a description of temple precincts, Shimizu writes: “One can see many old paintings and an abundance of ancient swords, in particular among them the Amakuni Sword passed down by the temple” (此の寺に伝える天国のたちをはじめ古刀多く又古画あまた見す).⁴⁹³ A few years later another nativist academic, Takada Tomokiyo 高田与清 (1783–1847), wrote in his *Sōma nikki* 相馬日記 (*Sōma Diary*, 1818) a detailed *engi* account containing both the main Kanchō and Dōyo miracle stories. In that account, and again in his later *Kashima nikki* 鹿島日記 (1820), Takada draws attention to the popularity of the fasting huts and the number of people who make the trip to conduct austerities there: “Today still there are those who participate in severe austerities such as naked pilgrimage [*hadaka mōde*] and fasting in seclusion, and even quite a bunch of pushy folks offering worship” (今日もはだかまうで断食ごもりなどいふおそろしき行をつとめて、いりもみ奉る輩さへすくなからず).⁴⁹⁴ The use of the term *hadaka mōde* recalls the Yūten version of the tale, in which the monk is stripped bare on his way to the temple by

from his mount. Thus it is a treasured object and is wielded in secret” (剣来天国らいあまくにの作なり。此の剣御持ち候と堂の上飛行く鳥落ちて死す。前を馬乗りにて通ると落馬する。依って宝物にして蔭の剣御持ち候。) (Naritasan Shinshōji 1968: 184).

⁴⁹² See Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 585–600) for a list.

⁴⁹³ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 590).

⁴⁹⁴ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968, 591). Here Takada also makes reference to three old and sacred sites devoted to Fudō in the Bandō (i.e., Kantō) region: Ōyamadera in Sagami Province (Ōyama Fudō), Takahatadera 高幡寺 in Musashi Province (Takahata Fudō), and Shinshōji (he identifies Shinshōji as the most popular of the three). This grouping is still popular today, and is generally known as the “Three Fudōs of Kantō” (Kantō san Fudō 関東三不動).

bandits. In addition to Yūten’s pilgrimage and fasting, his lack of clothes may have offered an additional narrative basis for both practices, though there is no evidence to substantiate this. Finally, the fact that patrons donated votive tablets (*ema* 絵馬, literally, “picture horse”) depicting Narita-specific subjects such as the sword-swallowing tale⁴⁹⁵ further attests to the desire to venerate Shinshōji’s deity and acquire the benefits promoted by the temple’s miracle tale traditions.

Shinshōji at its Finest: the Narita meisho zue

With the momentum of Shinshōji’s Bunka-Bunsei prosperity, Shinshōji and Narita were showing little if any signs of wear at the end of the Edo Period. The Bakumatsu Era (1850s–1860s) saw a particular increase in the production of not only travel diaries, but also illustrated books and miracle tales about the Narita Fudō. These were written both within and without temple circles, some by notable figures. Kanagaki Robun, for example, continued to write on Naritasan and authored the *Naritasan gorishōki*⁴⁹⁶ 成田山御利生記 (*Account of the Divine Benefits of Naritasan*, 1855) in two volumes, the first comprised of the Masakado-Kanchō tale, and the second of the Yūten story. This sustained literary interest was moreover paralleled by a continued artistic one: Narita and Shinshōji were still appearing in *ukiyoe* prints such as the series, “One Hundred Famous Views from the Provinces” (*Shokoku meisho hyakkei* 諸国名所百景, 1859) by Hiroshige II, in which Shinshōji and its *monzenmachi* (“Shimōsa Naritasan keidai” 下総成田山境内) appeared first in sequence.

However popular these sources may have been, the crowning jewel of Shinshōji’s literary achievements during the Edo Period was the five-volume *Narita sankei ki* 成田参詣記 (*A Record of the Pilgrimage to Narita*), also titled *Narita meisho zue* 成田名所図会 (*Illustrated Guide to Famous Places in [and on the Way to] Narita*), completed in 1858 and attributed to two *terazamurai* 寺侍 (samurai who held administrative positions at temples)⁴⁹⁷ under the supervision of two generations of chief priests. The very existence of the *Narita meisho zue* attests to the temple’s sustained prosperity in late Edo times; religious sites were rarely wealthy enough to produce their very own large-scale guidebook on a scale such as this.

⁴⁹⁵ See Ōno (1979: 17) for two Edo-period examples. On the form and function of *ema* in general, see Reader (1991).

⁴⁹⁶ In contrast, the text’s *naidai* 内題 (“internal title”) alternatively reads *Naritasan reigenki* 成田山靈驗記 (*Accounts of the Miraculous at Naritasan*).

⁴⁹⁷ Viz., Nakaji Sadatoshi 中路定俊 (1783–1838) and his son Nakaji Jōtoku 中路定得 (1821–1870). See Yuasa (1999: 268–271) for an alternate theory on the text’s authorship.

If we recall, Kakugen's production of the *Daiengi* coincided with Shinshōji's newly constructed main hall in the early eighteenth century. The decision to build an even larger main hall⁴⁹⁸ in 1841 possibly provided an similar incentive for the *Narita meisho zue*'s production. Both the *Narita meisho zue* and the main hall were completed in 1858 only months apart, with the new hall again celebrated with consecration ceremonies.⁴⁹⁹

The objective of the *Narita meisho zue* was to strengthen the temple's public relations activities by providing a handy guidebook catering to visitors seeking both religious and recreational pursuits. As the different titles suggest, the book addressed both pursuits by aligning itself with two distinct, though related, literary genres of the period: travel guides (*sankei ki* 参詣記) and illustrated handbooks of famous places (*meisho zue* 名所図会). As a travel guide, this text steered the pilgrim from Edo's Nihonbashi, along the Narita Highway, and finally to Narita via the various rest-stops such as Funabashi. Its contents are arranged in itinerary-format, and the preface contains a convenient detailed map complete with the major towns, rest stops, and distances.⁵⁰⁰ As a recreational and sightseeing handbook, it recorded the history of famous places between Edo and Narita, quoting frequently from similar works, gazetteers, historical records, and temple and shrine legends (thus functioning as a proper gazetteer itself) and it sported over one hundred illustrations. Only volume five contains information about Narita; the majority of the text is devoted to histories and illustrations of the dozens of temples, shrines, villages, and geographical landmarks on the way to Shinshōji. Much like *meisho* texts written for urban centres like Kyōto and Edo, the *Narita meisho zue* was equally an exploration of provincial history and lore, providing Shimōsa with its own narrative identity as one encountered it travelling the Narita Highway.

⁴⁹⁸ The present-day Shakadō 釈迦堂. The old main hall was moved atop the rear hill in 1855 to become the Yakushidō 薬師堂 Hall. Expenses for the new hall were in part funded by the 1842 *degaichō* and 1845 *igaichō* (Ono 1978: 102), as well as donation of fifty silver pieces from the local lord Hotta Masayoshi 堀田正睦.

⁴⁹⁹ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 754).

⁵⁰⁰ A summary of the *Narita meisho zue*'s contents and itinerary runs as follows: volume 1: Suwada 須和田 Village, Ichikawa 市川 Station, Komatsugawa 小松川 Village; volume 2: Kurihara Hongō 栗原本郷 Village, Nakayama 中山 Village, Hachiman 八幡 Station; volume 3: Usui 臼井 Station, Miyama 三山 Village, Ōdawa 大田和 Village, Kayada 萱田 Station, Ino 井野 Village, Funabashi 船橋 Station; volume 4: Sakura 佐倉, Honsakura 本佐倉 Town, Ijino 伊篠 Village, Daisakura 大佐倉 Village; volume 5: Naritasan 成田山 Temple, Kakema 欠真 Village, Kōzu Daikata 公津台方 Village, Funakata 船方 Village, Shimo Iwahashi 下岩橋 Village, Teradai 寺台 Village.

Volume five represented the single most detailed piece of published information on the temple to date,⁵⁰¹ offering pages of detail on temple history, Kanchō's biography, the Masakado rebellion, and Dōyo, with descriptions of the precinct and temple treasures. Interestingly, at a time when Yūten was enjoying more popularity than Dōyo, the *Narita meisho zue* concentrated on Dōyo almost to the exclusion of Yūten (only a brief gloss is afforded to the latter). This may be explained by the fact that the *Narita meisho zue*'s geography was primarily concerned with Shimōsa Province, and that the location of Dōyo's Daiganji lay near the Narita Highway.⁵⁰² Dōyo therefore would have been the natural selection as the book was meant to promote such local sites as Daiganji. The *Narita meisho zue* not only recounts the standard Dōyo tale (illustrated with a diptych, figure 3.4), but gives detailed information on Daiganji's history. These details include illustrations for three of the temple's sacred treasures: a seated wooden image of Dōyo, a gong (*kane* 鉦) owned by the saint, and the bloody robes of Dōyo (figure 4.12). Where volume five concentrates most, however, is Masakado, with one third of the space given to the rebellion. It quotes extensively from historical sources (such as the *Masakado ki*), providing illustrations of the event and even a map of the battles. And, as with Dōyo's robes, the book depicts material objects proving the authenticity of the event: a war banner used by Masakado (owned by one Mr. Kuramoto of Ozakimura Village to the north) as well as his battle drums (owned by Shigisan 信貴山 Temple in Nara). Like the objects and locations connected to Dōyo and Masakado, volume five also highlights eleven pages of additional temple treasures, those associated with both "esoteric" and "non-esoteric" schools, the latter including a drawing attributed to Yūten counting his one hundred recitations of Amida's name (Yūten Shōnin hyappen myōgō 祐天上人百遍名号).

Despite its extra detail, volume five represents a relatively faithful account of Shinshōji's miracle tale lore as established 250 years earlier by Kakugen's *Daiengi*. This faithfulness however is somewhat curious. Noticeably absent is any mention of the deity's evolution since 1700 within the worlds of art, literature, and theatre as explored above. Though Shinshōji's clergy was in all likelihood fully aware of these developments, they may have not included them owing to lack of immediate ownership. At any rate, the gap between Shinshōji and the commercial, artistic world of Edo reinforces the extent to which the Narita Fudō had spread across a network of traditions and taken on new lives outside Shinshōji.

⁵⁰¹ Its contents can be summarized as follows: detailed temple history with *engi*, Kanchō biography, Masakado rebellion, Dōyo miracle story, precinct description, description of sacred temple treasures, and places of interest beyond Narita.

⁵⁰² The text includes an illustration of a temple monument on the highway honouring Dōyo.

Though a major literary accomplishment for Shinshōji, the glory of the *Narita meisho zue* turned out to be somewhat short-lived. With the coming Meiji Restoration a decade following its publication, technological and political changes in Japanese society effectively rendered the *Narita meisho zue* an outdated guide. Hence the need for new publications advertising changes in temple life, such as new steam trains linking Tōkyō and Narita which literally rewrote the book on pilgrimage. As we shall see in the following chapter, these changes brought with them fresh miracle tales, and the next evolution of the Narita Fudō brand.

Concluding Remarks

From the foregoing discussion we can conclude the following. First, we can clearly link the two “golden ages” of popular, urban culture in the Edo Period—the Genroku and Bunka-Bunsei Eras—to a respective increase in temple prosperity. With its rapid development during the Genroku Era, Shinshōji was actively seeking to extend its reach into the flourishing capital in order to better access its wealth. The production of Kakugen’s *Daiengi* precisely at this time helped facilitate this. Though the Masakado Rebellion had occurred in Shimōsa, the event also had strong roots in nearby Edo and was recognizable to its citizens: many temples and shrines in the capital had similarly incorporated the rebellion into their *engi*, and Masakado’s spirit had long been considered to be enshrined at the famous Kanda Shrine. Thus the *Daiengi* served to position the temple in relationship to both the neighboring capital and to its local community in Shimōsa. In a similar manner, Dōyo and Yūten, as citizens of Edo, offered townspeople something to identify with, and provided a paradigm for travel to and worship at Shinshōji. The pilgrimage from busy Edo to rural Narita as represented by the Pure Land monks was premised on a transition from the everyday world to the realm of the sacred, and thus a process of transformation and even rebirth was made available to worshippers of the Narita Fudō. As the transformation process of the monks was a function of ritual fasting, their tales helped spread the lay practice among Edo’s citizens. As we will see in the following chapter, the paradigm of travel to and fasting at Shinshōji served as the basis for new narratives as the sword-swallowing tale became remapped onto additional characters.

Second, Shinshōji’s ties to Edo were to a large degree formed around religio-commercial activities (*kaichō*, kabuki, and pilgrimage) promoted by miracle tales. As these tales were often rooted in popular urban culture and entertainment, Shinshōji’s repertoire of tales and sacred treasures operated at the centre of these activities giving them form and meaning. A primary motivation for visiting a Fukagawa exhibition was to view the Narita Fudō that had subdued Masakado centuries past and that had violently appeared to Dōyo and Yūten in their times of need. There one could enjoy

and venerate material treasures from these tales like the Amakuni Sword or the bloody robes of Dōyo, and hear oral renditions of the *engi*. One could further participate in Naritasan tradition by attending a Danjūrō play, which eventually included the Yūten story itself.

Third, miracle tales and temple treasures helped facilitate a loose, trans-sectarian network between Shinshōji and other power structures. Daiganji, and the cult of Yūten, drew identity and reputation from affiliation with the Naritasan tale.⁵⁰³ Daiganji moreover enjoyed prestige in lending out Dōyo's robes to Shinshōji at exhibitions. The Yūten tale not only encouraged pilgrimage to, and worship at, Shinshōji and spread the word of the Narita Fudō as a personal, efficacious deity, but it also advertised a specific lay practice, that of fasting in solitude, as a possible objective (and reward) of pilgrimage to the temple. We also see how the popularity of the same tale led to the formation of another temple practice which survives to this day: the anointing of the Amakuni Sword, which, as suggested by the *engi*, was a re-enactment of the sword-swallowing episode though which patrons could hope to receive the curative benefits of the Narita Fudō.

Fourth, this commercialism, networking, and popularization of the Narita Fudō brand further fueled the evolution of the deity. Due to the success of Shinshōji's miracle tales and their adaptation in a variety of media outside its immediate circles, Shinshōji did not retain exclusive control over its own tales, treasures, and even Fudō himself. Rather, they became shared between different groups and took on lives of their own. As we have seen, our miracle tales became multivalent in that they could simultaneously function as biography, theatre, *ukiyoe*, travel guide, gazetteer, or even a vehicle for the Danjūrōs' celebrity, depending on their packaging. Shinshōji even considered some of these sources important enough to collect and copy down into its formal temple records.⁵⁰⁴ Thus we see how a deity like the Narita Fudō had become trans-sectarian and multi-layered in composition. The Shingon temple not only absorbed Pure Land elements in its realization of the Narita Fudō, but vice-versa: Pure Land temples like Dōyo's Daiganji and Zōjōji had incorporated Shinshōji tradition into their own, and the biographical traditions of Dōyo, Yūten, and even certain Danjūrō patriarchs, also drew significant identity from the miraculous efficacy of the Narita Fudō.

⁵⁰³ Other sites benefitted such as Zōjōji (the starting point of the Yūten tale), Yūtenji (an eponymous temple devoted to its founder in Edo), Ōyamadera to the south (which contained variations of the Yūten/Dōyo tale), as well as Fukagawa (the key source of the Narita Fudō's power in Edo).

⁵⁰⁴ We find, for example, the *Yūreki zakki*, *Sōma nikki*, and *Narita mōde bunshō* reproduced in Shinshōji's temple records (*Shiryō* 6.794–803).

CHAPTER FIVE

NEW TIMES, NEW TALES, A NEW NARITA FUDŌ

Despite our focus on early modern Japan, it would be remiss to treat the Meiji Restoration of 1868⁵⁰⁵ as the terminus of our discussion and neglect the Narita Fudō's subsequent development in the modern period.⁵⁰⁶ Since our discussion revolves around the production of miracle stories and their connection to localization and commercialization, we must pay heed to the sudden appearance of new tales at Shinshōji soon after the Restoration. Amidst the thousands of temples which fell victim to anti-Buddhist campaigns during the Meiji, Shinshōji's clergy were able to survive the persecutions by maintaining existing enterprises in addition to developing new ones. This success was reflected in the production of new miracle tales. In particular, the new tales reveal how the clergy quickly "rebranded" the temple and its deity to keep pace with a rapidly changing Japan to better speak to contemporary audiences and remain commercially attractive. As we will see, the most significant of these changes were those promoting the Narita Fudō's reinvention as a modern war deity, in tune with the temple's support of colonialist expansion on the continent.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to identify this new corpus of tales and analyze how it represented a significant development in the identity of both temple and deity. To what extent did these tales depart from the successful recipe established in the Edo Period? How did they reflect social, technological, and international changes affecting not only the temple, but the entire country at the time? This chapter will conclude our discussion of how the identity and function of local deities like the Narita Fudō were intimately embedded within their regional environments, illuminating not a character static across time, place, or tradition, but one that can only be understood, I argue, through processes of domestication.

The Meiji Restoration

Following the turn of the nineteenth century, the advent of Russian and western ships off Japanese shores seeking trade opportunities (thereby challenging two centuries of *sakoku* 鎖国 or "closed country" policy) both marked and helped precipitate the eventual fall of the weakening Tokugawa regime some fifty years later.⁵⁰⁷ The shift from the Edo to Meiji Period was marked by the 1868 Restoration,

⁵⁰⁵ Modern Japanese historiography traditionally treats the Restoration as the dividing line between pre-modern (pre-1868) and modern (post-1868) Japan.

⁵⁰⁶ Here I pay particular attention to the Meiji (1868–1912), Taishō (1912–26), and the pre-war Shōwa (1926–1945) Periods.

⁵⁰⁷ On the Meiji Restoration and the subsequent transformation of Japan, see Beasley (1972) and Jansen (1995; 1988–1999; 2000).

the total collapse of centuries of shogunal government and a “restoration” of imperial rule. Political power shifted from the old Tokugawa *bakufu* and Shōgun to a Meiji oligarchy and Emperor now centred in Edo, renamed Tōkyō, the “eastern capital.” Under a western-influenced aegis of “civilization and enlightenment” (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化) promoted by educators such as Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1835–1901),⁵⁰⁸ the early Meiji era saw profound, often chaotic, institutional changes on nearly every front: the abolition of the samurai class and its feudal domains, new trade relations with western powers, rapid industrialization and import of western technology, and militarization. At the centre stood a new constitution and elected government, first convened in 1890, whose primary concerns were modernization, nation-building, and the advancement of a newly-adopted nationalist ideology (*kokutai* 国体).

The new government’s reforms did not leave religion untouched. The quest for modernization prompted Meiji thinkers to restructure and re-categorize religion into something more befitting the new modern state. This restructuring or redefinition (characterized by the introduction of the foreign term “religion” translated into Japanese as “*shūkyō*”⁵⁰⁹ 宗教) was, however, anything but benign for Buddhism.⁵¹⁰ Almost immediately following the Restoration, a series of government statutes were issued to “separate” Buddhism from Shintō, a policy known as *shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離 (“separation of *kami* and buddhas”).⁵¹¹ The statutes, promoted by a new Jingikan 神祇官 (an administrative office governing rites and shrines) and members of the Neo-Shintō Kokugaku 国学 (National Learning) school,⁵¹² forcibly attempted to draw dividing lines between what could be considered Buddhist versus Shintō (thus providing a basis for the promotion of the state-sponsored and imperialist Kokka Shintō 国家神道 or State Shintō⁵¹³). For example, *shinbutsu bunri* prompted the removal of Buddhist clergy, temples, and ritual implements from shrines, putting an end to temple-shrine complexes (*jingūji* 神宮寺). The campaign likewise prohibited relationships between *kami* and Buddhist deities, undermining centuries of *honji suijaku* integration between local pantheons.

⁵⁰⁸ Craig (2005: 696).

⁵⁰⁹ For a discussion on the development of this and similar terms, see Josephson (2006).

⁵¹⁰ The redefinition of religion was not only limited to Buddhism, but also involved several other traditions such as Shugendō, practices such as divination and exorcism, and festivals such as *bon* 盆 (Ketelaar 1990: 50–51).

⁵¹¹ For studies on the Meiji persecution and transformation of Buddhism, see Grapard (1984), Hardacre (1989), Ketelaar (1990), and Josephson (2006).

⁵¹² Ketelaar (1990: 8). Key proponents behind the Office’s policy on Shintō-Buddhist separation were Kamei Koremi 亀井茲監 (1824–1885) and Fukuba Bisei 福羽美静 (1831–1907) (*ibid.*).

⁵¹³ For a monograph-length study on State Shintō, see Hardacre (1989).

The statutes further fueled harsh criticisms against Buddhism as a foreign and thus inferior religion (vis-à-vis the “indigenous” Shintō) with little social and economic value.⁵¹⁴ The attacks led to an anti-Buddhist campaign known as *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈 (“abolish Buddhism and destroy Shaka[muni]”) which included the defrocking of clergy and confiscation and destruction of Buddhist properties and treasures.⁵¹⁵ Tens of thousands of temples were forced to shut down,⁵¹⁶ while many others never again enjoyed the prosperity of Edo times.

Shinshōji During the Meiji: Continuity and Change

Shinshōji was naturally affected by the new Meiji policies toward religion. The clergy were forced, for example, to tear down the *torii* gates within the precinct (visible in figure 3.1) to disassociate the temple from the new Shintō.⁵¹⁷ Such setbacks were, however, relatively superficial, as the Meiji era policies did not hit the temple as hard as it did others.⁵¹⁸ Due to its popularization during the Edo Period, Shinshōji fortunately did not subsist solely on income from its parishioners and temple estates, and could still rely on commoner support, evident through its continued kabuki and *kaichō* events in Narita and Fukagawa. According to one story, Shinshōji was able to limit the impact of the anti-Buddhist campaigns by disguising its Narita Fudō as a *kami*. When government officials visited the temple to conduct an investigation, the chief priest Shōrin 照輪 is said to have explained that their deity was in fact the *kami* Ugokazu no Mikoto 動かさずの尊, “the Immovable Kami,”⁵¹⁹ a clever re-reading of the standard name Fudōson 不動尊. The pivotal term is “尊,” pronounced either “*son*” (using the *on’yomi* 音読 or Sino-Japanese reading) or “*mikoto*” (using the *kun’yomi* 訓読, or “native” pronunciation). The former reading is commonly used (though not exclusively) as an honourific suffix for Buddhist deities, while the latter is used for *kami*. By applying a Sino-Japanese reading to Fudō’s name, the priest shrewdly “transformed” him into a *kami*.⁵²⁰ However, the

⁵¹⁴ Ketelaar (1990: 17–18).

⁵¹⁵ For the social transformation of Buddhist clergy during the Meiji, such as the wide-scale adoption of meat-eating and marriage, see Jaffe (2001).

⁵¹⁶ Stone (1993: 583).

⁵¹⁷ Murakami (1968: 260).

⁵¹⁸ Murakami (1968: 260).

⁵¹⁹ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 736). See also Murakami (1968: 260) and Ketelaar (1990: 75, 249n73).

⁵²⁰ As James Ketelaar points out, the logic and ease of the transformation illustrates a natural confusion of the deity’s institutional identity (1990: 75) still lingering in the Meiji despite the Shintō-Buddhist separation. The priest’s description of Shinshōji as a shrine and use of the “Shintō” term *saijin* 祭神 (in place of the more “Buddhist” *honzon* 本尊) to describe Fudō is further indicative of the

historical veracity of this event, and if it actually aided the temple in any substantial way, is uncertain. Murakami Shigeyoshi describes the event as a story that has been passed down.⁵²¹ Yet nowhere in any tale literature, the first place we might expect it to appear, is there any promotion of the Narita Fudō as a *kami*.

Beyond the persecution, an immediate effect on Shinshōji had been the collapse of the *bakuban* system and consequent loss of centuries of support from the local Sakura lords.⁵²² Shinshōji had been in debt for the past few decades due to, among other things, the construction of the new main hall in 1858, and the eradication of Sakura Castle no doubt dealt a significant blow. To recover temple finances, the chief priest was forced to sell off the temple's *inkyosho* 隠居所 retreat for 300 *ryō* 両, 200 of which was used to repay debts to local merchants.⁵²³ However, the number of temple visitors did not decrease with the advent of the Meiji Period.⁵²⁴ In fact, with the rapidly expanding communications and transportation networks and significant rise of temple publications catering to visitors, pilgrimage likely increased. And thankfully so: around this time half the temple's income had been dependent on donations from visitors.⁵²⁵ Thanks to the continued support of kabuki, the Narita Fudō appeared in Tōkyō's art and theatre, and soon for the first time in Kansai: Ōsaka in 1871 and Nagoya in 1877.⁵²⁶ With the strong connection between the stage, popular tales, and now film (introduced around 1900), this popularity resulted in the temple figuring in some of Japan's first motion pictures.⁵²⁷ The

institutional complementarity of “Shintō” and “Buddhism” that had been the norm for a thousand years in Japan. As at Ryūsenji, a variety of *kami* could be found within Shinshōji's precincts, indicated by a stone *torii* once located at the entrance.

⁵²¹ Nonetheless, Shinshōji did in fact seem to be on good terms with the government. The temple was treated twice to a formal visit by Emperor Meiji himself in 1881 and 1882 while touring the area, and benefitted from the good press coverage in hosting the country's sovereign. For details, see Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1938: 373–451).

⁵²² Murakami (1968: 260). Yet while Shinshōji sorely missed the patronage of the local lords, it did receive a consolation prize: around thirty local samurai (*hanshi* 藩士) came to work for Shinshōji's administration, an unexpected boost in staff for the temple that had often found itself short-handed (Murakami 1968: 261–2).

⁵²³ Murakami (1968: 259).

⁵²⁴ Murakami (1968: 263).

⁵²⁵ Murakami (1968: 259).

⁵²⁶ For a list of Meiji-era plays connected to Shinshōji, see Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 648–650).

⁵²⁷ In 1909 and 1915, two films bearing the title *Narita rishōki* 成田利生記 (*A Record of Narita's Blessings*) were produced (the first by Yoshizawa Shōten 吉沢商店 Studio and the second by Komatsu Shōkai 小松商会 Studio) (Ehara 1999). Unfortunately, due to the scant records of pre-war Japanese film, we know little about their contents other than what their titles may suggest—a miracle story about Naritasan, likely dealing with the Narita Fudō.

Fukagawa exhibitions also remained popular,⁵²⁸ as did their frequent depictions in popular *ukiyo*e prints.

While the familiar religious culture of Shinshōji continued into the Meiji era, it did not preclude change. An almost immediate and visible harbinger of the temple's evolution was the construction of a national network of railway lines. In 1894 the first steam train connected Tōkyō to nearby Sakura. The following year Narita Rail (Narita Tetsudō 成田鉄道) was established, completing the line from Sakura to Narita in 1897.⁵²⁹ For the first time, visitors from Tōkyō could reach the temple by train in just over two hours, allowing the temple to maintain, even improve, its centuries-old connection to the wealthy capital. Pilgrims beyond Tōkyō could likewise access Narita in a more affordable and less time-consuming manner. The railways brought with them business opportunities, and Narita consequently grew at a much more rapid pace than it had in the Edo Period, in terms of size, population, institutions, and technology.⁵³⁰ Several temple publications included a series of illustrations or photographs of the temple, intended to show off the ever-prosperous precinct and *monzenmachi* (e.g., figure 5.1).⁵³¹

⁵²⁸ The Meiji Period in fact saw the highest frequency of exhibitions yet: five *degaichō* and six *igaichō* in twenty-nine years. Their dates and locations were: 1873 (Fukagawa), 1875 (Ōsaka), 1885 (Fukagawa), 1886 (Fukagawa), and 1898 (Fukagawa). The dates of the *igaichō* were 1880, 1884, 1891, 1899, 1901, 1902. The last overtly Amakuni Sword exhibition may have been in 1880; thereafter *igaichō* were strictly *honzon* or other memorial *kaichō*.

⁵²⁹ Ono (1978: 128). Coach lines running between the capital and temple had been established earlier in 1883 and 1884. The trip took approximately eight hours (*ibid.*).

⁵³⁰ In 1886, the same year which Narita Village (Naritamura 成田村) was accorded the status of town (*machi* 町), there were 475 buildings on record. This had climbed to 790 in 1891 with a population of 4549, a significant increase since 1848 records which had listed a population of 858. By 1904, the population reached 4892, soon followed by the installation of telephones in 1909, and gaslight in 1911. By 1917, the population reached 6657, and 9140 by 1932 (Takeuchi 1984: 647). To meet the growing population, elementary and secondary schools were moved to or established in Narita during the Meiji, one of which was administered by the temple itself.

⁵³¹ Examples include the *Naritasan reijōshi* 成田山靈場誌 (1877: folio 8 recto–9 verso; folio 11 verso; folio 12 recto–12 verso), *Narita hanjōki* 成田繁昌記 (1877: ii), *Naritasan Fudōson reigenki* 成田山不動尊靈驗記 (1880: i-ii), and *Naritasan shi* 成田山志 (1897: 2). Some of the earliest photographs of Shinshōji and Narita can be found in the *Naritasan kan'nōki* 成田山感応記 (1910: iii–vii) and *Naritasan tsūshi* 成田山通志 (1911: 5–19).

Figure 5.1. Shinshōji Precinct and *Monzenmachi* in the Meiji Period
 (*Naritasan reijō jikki* 成田山靈場実記, 1885)⁵³²



In the attempt to sustain pilgrimage and tourism, Shinshōji clergy now included railway information for visitors in the temple's publications, replacing the old walking guides of Edo times. Most notable was the *Naritasan meisho zue* 成田山名所図会 (1903) (an updated version of its predecessor the *Narita meisho zue*), which included a twenty-seven page supplement detailing the different railway routes and sights along the way. Conversely, as the pilgrimage generated income for the railways, there soon developed commercial relations between the lines and Shinshōji. The guidebook *Sōbu tetsudō endō meisho an'nai* 総武鉄道沿道名所案内 (*A Guide to Famous Places Along the Sōbu Railway Line*, 1895), for example, devotes fifteen of its seventy-seven pages to Shinshōji, its treasures, *engi*, and miracle tales.⁵³³ While it is unclear if the new railways immediately affected the worship of the Narita Fudō, they clearly did so later. Both at Shinshōji and certain sub-temples, the deity would become famous in post-war Japan as a god of traffic safety (*kōtsu anzen* 交通安全)⁵³⁴ (more on this below).

Improvements in transportation and communications paved the way for institutional development. Recalling Murakami's historical classification of Shinshōji in chapter three, a key element to the temple's success from the Meiji Period to 1945

⁵³² Title reads: 成田山境内並市街全圖 ("Panoramic Scene of Naritasan Precinct and Town Streets").

⁵³³ The text is organized under the following three subheadings, with the second representing the fifteen-page section on Shinshōji: Guide to Famous Places Along the Sōbu Railway Line (*Sōbu tetsudō endō meisho an'nai* 総武鉄道沿道名所案内; 1–46), Miracle Tales of Narita, with Temple Precinct [Description] and *Engi* (*Narita reigenki, tsuke keidai oyobi engi* 成田靈驗記 附境内及縁起; 47–62), and Guide to Baggage, Fares, and Discounts for Sōbu Railway (*Sōbu tetsudō jōsha nimotsu chingin waribiki an'nai* 総武鉄道乗車荷物賃金割引案内; 63–77).

⁵³⁴ This may explain the construction of one of its primary sub-temples in 1934 by the Keihan 京阪 Railway Company in Ōsaka. For details, see Reader (1991: 143–5).

was its new franchise of branch or sub-temples.⁵³⁵ The first had appeared in the final years of the Edo Period, but new opportunities in the Meiji allowed for a more active expansion beyond the Narita-Tōkyō area. By 1938, Shinshōji managed an impressive twenty-one sub-temples spread across twelve prefectures primarily in the eastern half of Japan.⁵³⁶ All identified themselves using the title “Naritasan” as a *sangō* (“mountain designation”) prefix,⁵³⁷ a visible indicator of the growing national status of the Narita deity.⁵³⁸

The new network of sub-temples poses interesting questions regarding the issue of deity localization and regional identities. Though the institutional logic of a sub-temple was premised on the “transplanting” or “re-enshrinement” of the deity (a process known as *bunshin* 分身, “dividing the body,” or *bunrei* 分霊, “dividing the spirit”), to what extent did sub-temples draw their histories from Shinshōji? Did they automatically inherit the Narita Fudō, or did they produce their own individual brands? According to the *engi* of one sub-temple, Naritasan Kawagoe Betsuin Hongyōin 成田山川越別院本行院 in Saitama Prefecture, its founder, Shōon 照温, had sought the Narita Fudō to cure his blindness in the tradition of Dōyo and Yūten. Following a three-week fast before the deity he regained his eyesight. Overjoyed, he became a disciple of Shinshōji’s chief priest Shōa 照阿 (d. 1862) and toured the provinces proclaiming the divine grace of Fudō. Responding to the call of the locals of Kawagoe in Saitama, he built a temple where, with the permission of Shōa, he re-enshrined the Narita Fudō.⁵³⁹ The *engi* therefore established a clear hierarchy between both temples complete with a shared lineage (indicated by the eponymous naming of Shōon after Shōa using the character *shō* “照,” the traditional marker of Shinshōji chief priests). Another sub-temple in Odawara 大田原 carries a similar history: its founder had become a disciple of Shinshōji’s chief priest after being cured of illness while in prayer at Narita. Like Shōon, he soon established a sub-temple in gratitude.⁵⁴⁰ A third claimed its Fudō image to have been the shared property of Shinshōji and the Tokugawa family, that was later re-enshrined by Naritasan

⁵³⁵ Various classified as *betsuin* 別院, *matsuji* 末寺, *shucchōsho* 出張所, and *kyōkai* 教会. The most prominent for Shinshōji have been the *betsuin*.

⁵³⁶ For a detailed list, see Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1938: 272–346). This number grew to sixty-seven by 1968 (see Naritasan Shinshōji 1968: 273–348).

⁵³⁷ See note four.

⁵³⁸ With Shinshōji’s deep ties to Fukagawa, one of the earliest and most successful sub-temples was not surprisingly Naritasan Fukagawa Fudōdō 成田山深川不動堂 Temple built in 1881 beside Hachimangū Shrine. Other popular examples include Naritasan Yokohama Betsuin 成田山横浜別院 founded in 1870 in Yokohama, and Naritasan Ōsaka Betsuin Myōōin 成田山大阪別院明王院, built by Keihan Railway in 1934.

⁵³⁹ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 282–284).

⁵⁴⁰ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 314).

devotees in the area.⁵⁴¹ These cases suggest that at least some sub-temples did indeed draw explicit connection to the home location of the Narita deity and thus participated in a collective history. The subtemples were not, however, mere replicas either. Despite the strong institutional linkage, there still existed the need to develop individual histories for the locally manifested Narita Fudōs. Centrifugal expansion retained a sense of centripetal localization, reminiscent of how the Danjūrōs had previously acted as a secondary medium for the spread of the Fudō cult. That is, the remapping of Shinshōji's miracle tale lore onto new institutions had the reciprocal effect of absorbing the very media by which the tales spread, thereby producing a larger network of participating bodies. This dynamic oscillation between the "source" of Shinshōji, its satellite sub-temples, and their individual geographies, serves to further illuminate key issues addressed by this study: that the deity was not owned by a single group but shared among many; that this sharing, coupled with the changing times, resulted in a changing identity of the trademark Narita Fudō, so much so that one can argue for the existence of "multiple" Narita Fudōs; and thus that the deity operated as a key instrument by which institutions and their networks developed and operated.

New Tales for a New Temple

Aided by modern advances in printing technology (such as the use of less time-consuming movable type instead of older woodblock techniques), Shinshōji continued to publish books to meet the demands of its Meiji popularity. From the 1870s onward, it produced several texts containing miracle stories, the majority specifically devoted to them.⁵⁴² That we have no such extant formal tale collections

⁵⁴¹ Naritasan Yokohama Betsuin, founded in 1870. According to the *engi*, Shōhan had presented the statue to the Tokugawa family. The statue was later returned to Shinshōji before being moved to Yokohama. The move is said to have been precipitated by the arrival of U.S. Commodore Perry's in 1858 to Yokohama, causing the once quiet fishing village to suddenly erupt into a booming town. Naritasan patrons from Tōkyō and Chiba called for a re-enshrinement of their deity in the area, using the original Tokugawa statue (Naritasan Shinshōji ed. 1968: 289–291).

⁵⁴² These included the *Naritasan daiengi* 成田山大縁起 (publication date unknown), *Naritasan reijōshi* 成田山靈場誌 (1877), *Naritasan Fudōson reigenki* 成田山不動尊靈驗記 (1880), *Naritasan reijō jikki* 成田山靈場実記 (1885), *Naritasan reigen rishō goyuraiki* 成田山靈驗利生御由來記 (1885), *Narita shinhanjōki* 成田新繁昌記 (1888), *Naritasan daiengi* 成田山大縁起 (1896), *Naritasan shi* 成田山志 (1897), *Naritasan meisho zue* 成田山名所図会 (1903), *Naritasan kan'nōki* 成田山感応記 (1910), *Naritasan tsūshi* 成田山通志 (1911), and *Naritasan reigenki* 成田山靈驗記 (1938). The largest and most comprehensive of these publications was a more modern version of the *Narita meisho zue*, the *Naritasan meisho zue* (1903). Later this would be superseded by the *Naritasan shi* 成田山史 in 1938, a mammoth, 950-page history of the temple.

from the Edo Period may suggest an effort to organize and spread temple literature in recognition of their value in an ever-increasingly literate Japan.

Shinshōji made no attempt to move away from its successful *engi* or tale repertoire, nor their dissemination in art and theatre. The Amakuni Sword was still enjoying its title as the temple’s number one treasure,⁵⁴³ and Yūten’s violent encounter with the Narita Fudō appeared in nearly all *engi* and tale publications.⁵⁴⁴ It also continued to attract the attention of popular circles, as evidenced by an 1893 *ukiyo-e* print by the noted artist Toyohara Kunichika 豊原国周 (1835–1900) (figure 5.2).⁵⁴⁵ The Masakado rebellion likewise remained at the fore, usually occupying the first pages of temple publications.

Figure 5.2. (*Meijiza Shin Kyōgen*) *Fudō reigen no jō* (明治座新狂言)不動靈驗之場 (Scene from *Fudō’s Miraculous Efficacy: A New Kyōgen at the Meijiza*) (Toyohara Kunichika 豊原国周, 1893)⁵⁴⁶



⁵⁴³ The sustained popularity of the Amakuni Sword in the Meiji Period is suggested by a local gazetteer, *Katorigun shi* 香取郡誌 (1900), which in volume two briefly mentions a nearby temple, Shukkōzan Fudōin Shōtokuji 出興山不動院勝徳寺, which had claimed its very own Amakuni Sword as one of their most precious treasures (Yamada 1900: 53).

⁵⁴⁴ As contemporary temple literature and brochures distributed to visitors today show, the sword-swallowing tale no longer plays the major role it once did in Shinshōji’s miracle tale lore. The main core of the *engi* is now represented by the Masakado-Kanchō episode.

⁵⁴⁵ While such prints were meant to celebrate specific actors and plays, no such theatrical performance is recorded in the sources of the Danjūrō’s Fudō plays (Naritasan Shinshōji ed. 1938: 683–689; 1968: 645–651), and Ōno 1960: 11–12), nor have I been able to verify its existence in other sources. It is possible that the play was planned but ultimately never staged.

⁵⁴⁶ Cartouches (right to left) read: (1) 市川小團治 (“Ichikawa Kodanji as Yūten”); (2) 不動明王市川團十郎 (“Ichikawa Danjūrō as Fudō Myōō”); (3) 生田角太夫市川左團治 (“Ichikawa Sadanji as Ikuta Kakudayū”)

However, with new times came new stories. Here I wish to categorize these new Meiji tales into two general groups. The first are those celebrating colourful, heroic characters in the likeness of Kanchō, Dōyo and Yūten, and that were geared to commoner audiences as evidenced by their diffusion in popular circles. I will briefly discuss two such tales and what they can tell us about the changing face of the Narita Fudō. The second group consists of tales less faithful to the old corpus, but more in tune with Japan's changing landscape. As mentioned above, the most prominent of this type were war tales promoting the Narita Fudō as a patron deity of the military. Since this latter group arguably represents the most dramatic evolution of the deity at this time, it will occupy the bulk of the following discussion.

A New Cast of Naritasan Characters

Let us begin with the first class of tales. One of the most notable additions to the Naritasan cast was the sumō hero, Katsuragawa Rikizō 桂川力蔵.⁵⁴⁷ His story, set in the early 1700s, runs briefly as follows. Katsuragawa's father was killed in a sumō bout by a rival wrestler using an illegal technique out of cowardice. Overcome by grief but vowing revenge, the orphan traveled alone to Shinshōji and, helpless, conducted water austerities and fasted⁵⁴⁸ for twenty-one days in the tradition of Dōyo and Yūten.⁵⁴⁹ On the final night of prayer, Fudō appeared and granted the wrestler

⁵⁴⁷ I have found no evidence that Katsuragawa was a historical wrestler, nor his story based on real events.

⁵⁴⁸ The continued popularity of fasting at Shinshōji provided the frame for another miracle tale, notably that of the distinguished Ninomiya Sontoku 二宮尊徳 (1787–1856). An agriculturalist and economist, Ninomiya was famous for his rural farm restoration projects in the Kantō region, for which he is still celebrated today (Sontoku graced the one yen note issued after the war, though no longer in circulation). According to modern temple tradition, Ninomiya visited the temple in 1829 after encountering difficulties completing one such project to the north of Narita in Sakura Village. He secluded himself for twenty-one days, fasted, and prayed to Fudō. With his prayers heard, he returned to Sakura and successfully completed the agricultural restoration. The practice of ritual fasting at Shinshōji remains popular today, and is still advertised by the temple as one of several religious practices available to patrons. Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 458–464) gives detailed explanations and directions on the practice, and in the March 2004 issue of its monthly *Chikō* 智光 magazine, the temple included a piece on the practice of *danjiki* fasting, with an outline of the procedure, spiritual benefits, and health risks. The story of Sontoku's visit is included as an inspirational guideline, much like it may have been in the late Edo Period. The Katsuragawa tale continued the tradition of fasting at Shinshōji, suggesting again how religious life at the temple suffered little disruption despite the changing Meiji times.

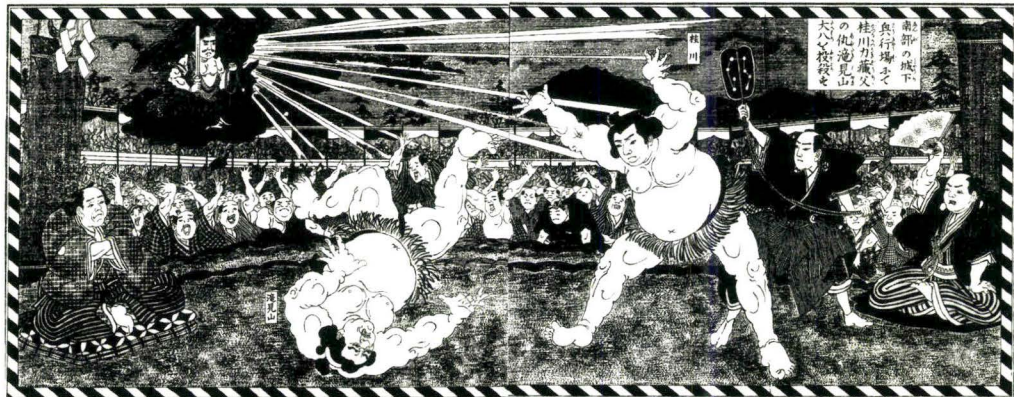
⁵⁴⁹ In a slightly different version found in the *Naritasan rishō no adauchi* 成田山利生之仇討 (*The Vendetta [of Katsuragawa] and the Divine Benefit of Naritasan Temple*, 1885), the connection between Katsuragawa and Yūten/Dōyo is more explicit. Following the three-week fast, Fudō appears in a dream, praises the wrestler, and drives his “demon-quelling sword” down his throat. Katsuragawa

superhuman strength. To the amazement of all, the wrestler heaved a boulder overhead as a display of his divine empowerment (figure 5.3). Overjoyed, he hunted down, challenged, and killed his enemy in the ring, thus completing the vendetta (figure 5.4).

Figure 5.3. Ichikawa Gonjūrō as Katsuragawa Rikizō (Toyohara Kunichika, 1885)



Figure 5.4. The Narita Fudō and Katsuragawa Rikizō (*E iri shōsetsu Narita rishō sumō no adauchi* 絵人小説成田利生相撲之仇討, 1890)



wakes, and immediately finds himself possessed of great strength. Though the Amakuni Sword is not mentioned by name, the tale was clearly framed around the two Pure Land monks. The sword as the source of the wrestler's strength can also be seen in the *Narita rishō sumō no adauchi* 成田利生角力仇討 (*Sumō Vendetta and the Divine Benefit of Narita Temple*, 1881). Instead of Fudō, the text depicts the solitary sword (as Fudō's *samaya* 三摩耶 form) radiating light from the heavens as Katsuragawa kills his opponent. Both the Katsuragawa and Yūten tales also appeared together in the illustrated *Azuma no nishiki ukiyo kōdan* 東錦浮世稿談 (*Tales of the Floating World in Eastern Brocade*, 1867–68), a collection of tales of violence and revenge.

The tale's origins trace back to a local village theatrical performance (*mura shibai* 村芝居) in Shimotsuke Province during the Tenpō Era (1830–1843) before it was formally staged as the kabuki play *Yagurataiko Narita no adauchi* 櫓太鼓成田仇討 in Tōkyō in 1877.⁵⁵⁰ As the title suggests, the play belonged to the fashionable “*adauchi*” 仇討 or vendetta genre of storytelling popular since Edo times. The tale began circulating in the Tōkyō area around the 1860s, after which it appeared in *ukiyoe* prints,⁵⁵¹ illustrated books,⁵⁵² and, by the end of the Meiji Period, even silent film.⁵⁵³

What was the tale's significance and why did it appear at this time? There had been an ongoing relationship between the temple and the sport of sumō during Edo times, and wrestlers were known to have attended Fukagawa exhibitions to see Fudō.⁵⁵⁴ Temple documents offer us more concrete detail: in his diary, Shinshōji's

⁵⁵⁰ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 648).

⁵⁵¹ One such example attesting to Katsuragawa's popularity among Naritasan tradition is the amusing 1873 *ukiyoe* by Utagawa Yoshitora 歌川芳虎 called *Tō kaichō taware no kubihiki* 當開帳戲の首引 (*Having Fun with Tug of War at the Exhibition*) (the title and year of the image suggest the *kaichō* in question may have been the 1873 Fukagawa exhibition). The image depicts a type of tug of war game called *kubihiki* 首引 (“head-pulling”), where two contestants place a looped rope around the back of the neck and pull using the force of both the head and arms. The contest here is between the Narita Fudō and Kūkai, each assisted by five friends. Fudō's gang is comprised of popular Naritasan characters: the two acolytes Kongara and Seitaka, Saint Yūten, Fujiwara no Hidesato (the warrior responsible for Masakado's death), and the mighty Katsuragawa. See Ogura (1986: 36) for a reproduction of the image.

⁵⁵² These include the *Naritasan rishō sumō no adauchi* 成田山利生角力仇討 (*Sumō Vendetta and the Divine Benefit of Naritasan Temple*, date unknown) by Kanagaki Robun 仮名垣魯文, *Narita rishō sumō no adauchi* 成田利生相撲ノ仇討 (date unknown) by Ōnishi Shōnosuke 大西庄之助, *Narita rishō sumō no adauchi* 成田利生角力仇討 (1881) by Utagawa Yoshitora 歌川芳虎 (reprinted as *Naritasan rishōki* 成田山利生記 in 1911, possibly to coincide with the film adaptation in the same year), *Naritasan rishō no adauchi* 成田山利生之仇討 (1885) by Ōnishi Shōnosuke, and (*Eiri shōsetsu*) *Narita rishō sumō no adauchi* 絵入小説成田利生相撲之仇討 (1890, authorship unknown). Like Masakado, Dōyo, and Yūten, Katsuragawa became popular at religious sites outside Shinshōji. For example, we find the tale simultaneously linked to the Meguro Fudō in Tōkyō. The (*Kinko jitsuroku*) *Fudō reigen katami no adauchi* 今古実録不動靈験筐仇討 (1884) has Katsuragawa pray to the Meguro Fudō under the Tokko Waterfall (considerably more detailed than the Naritasan version). Strangely, the same text was reprinted in 1889 as (*Katsuragawa Rikizō Takimiyama Daihachi*) *Naritasan rikishi adauchi* 桂川力蔵滝見山太八成田山力士仇討 (*Sumō Vendetta and Naritasan Temple: Katsuragawa Rikizō and Takimiyama Daihachi*). Despite the title, the text contains no hint of the Narita Fudō, but only the Meguro Fudō.

⁵⁵³ Three silent films, all entitled *Katsuragawa Rikizō* 桂川力蔵, were produced in 1911 (Yokota Shōkai 横田商会 Studio), 1917, and 1919 (Nikkatsu Kyōto 日活京都 Studio). All starred the celebrated Onoe Matsunosuke 尾上松之助 (1875–1926) as Katsuragawa (Ehara 1999).

⁵⁵⁴ *Shiryō* 4.41–42.

chief priest Shōyo 照譽 (d. 1819) notes sumō matches held at the temple in 1809 as a commemorative fundraising performance (*tsuizen yorizumō* 追善寄相撲) to coincide with special memorial rites⁵⁵⁵ for the recent passing of the former chief priest.⁵⁵⁶ Later in the spring of 1826 the temple again played host, this time to two Edo wrestlers⁵⁵⁷ who held matches to raise money (*kanjin sumō* 勧進相撲), with *sake*, tea, and rice cakes sold during the event.⁵⁵⁸ The event lasted four days, and the wrestlers donated admission charges as an offering to Fudō.⁵⁵⁹ In 1854 two more wrestlers arrived from Edo and participated in *goma* (fire) prayers to Fudō.⁵⁶⁰ Shinshōji's chief priest during the 1850s, Shōtake 照嶽, was known to have been quite the sumō enthusiast, so much so that a local Shimōsa wrestler, in gratitude for support, took the professional sumō name (*shikona* 四股名) “Terugatake” 照ヶ嶽, an alternate pronunciation of the priest's name.⁵⁶¹ Modern temple records also state that by this time such sumō events were regularly held each year in the rear quarters of the temple precinct.⁵⁶² It is thus not surprising that Shinshōji's sumō activity of the 1850s foreshadowed the eventual incorporation of the sumō tale, possibly to lend weight to the sport's cultural tradition in Narita,⁵⁶³ one that continues to this day.⁵⁶⁴ Finally, we must also note how sumō had been undergoing significant transformation in Japan during the Meiji Period,⁵⁶⁵ when it evolved into the sport known today. With its local sumō tradition, the Katsuragawa tale made the ideal advertising medium through which Shinshōji was able to capitalize on the growing national pastime and attract potential patrons.

⁵⁵⁵ Viz., the *nibon* 新盆, the first *bon* 盆 festival following one's death.

⁵⁵⁶ *Shiryō* 3.108–109.

⁵⁵⁷ Genjiyama Kichidayū 源氏山吉太夫 (1786–1844) and Tagamine Tōkichi 田賀峰東吉 (1795–1832).

⁵⁵⁸ Among Shinshōji's collection of extant *ema* 絵馬 (“picture horse”) votive tablets is a Bunsei 文政 era (1820s) plaque depicting dozens of sumō wrestlers (whose names are unfortunately no longer legible), possibly donated by a patron. See Ono (1979: 33) for an image.

⁵⁵⁹ *Shiryō* 3.260–262. The four-day total sum raised was 71 *kan* 貫, 500 *mon* 文 in copper. The sumō ring is recorded to have measured two *ken* 間, one *shaku* 尺 (approximately four metres) square.

⁵⁶⁰ *Shiryō* 4.349.70.

⁵⁶¹ *Shiryō* 4.42.

⁵⁶² Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 578).

⁵⁶³ That sumō was popular at Shinshōji in the final years of the Edo Period is further evidenced by the fact that, of the twenty-eight extant sumō *ukiyoe* owned by the temple reproduced in Ogura (1986: 82–89), all but five date from the 1860s.

⁵⁶⁴ Wrestlers visit the temple each year during *setsubun* 節分 (the coming of spring) to participate in the festivities, drawing great crowds and even national television coverage.

⁵⁶⁵ On the Meiji evolution of sumō, particularly the tournament system and rankings, see Thompson (1998).

Be this as it may, it is interesting to note that the Katsuragawa tale seems to have appeared in few temple publications but was better known to popular sources. Based on a survey of a dozen temple publications from the Meiji and Taishō Periods, only one contains the Katsuragawa tale.⁵⁶⁶ This may suggest that, not only was the Narita Fudō a shared commercial object, but also how artistic traditions were actively associating themselves with the Narita Fudō in order to lend weight to their theatrics, tales, and characters. Much like the kabuki of the Danjūrō guild, the influence of these artistic traditions reveal that the temple itself did not necessarily represent the prime mover, or even benefactor, behind the evolution of its deity.

A Return to Roots: the Tale of Arami

Our second of two tales belonging to the first category of new Meiji-era narratives, that of the samurai Arami Saemon 荒海左衛門, dates to at least the late Edo Period,⁵⁶⁷ around which time it began to be included in Shinshōji's publications.⁵⁶⁸ According to the tale, while fighting in one of the countless battles of the *senjūku* 戦国 or civil war period (mid-fifteenth to late sixteenth centuries), Arami was fatally wounded and fell into a valley dead. Two divine acolytes (*dōji* 童子), Kongara and Seitaka, announcing themselves as servants of the Narita Fudō, appeared and resurrected the soldier's corpse. The acolytes informed Arami that, as a devotee of the deity, he exceeded the average person and is worthy of resuscitation. In a blaze of light, the acolytes flew away toward Narita. Arami woke from the dream-like encounter, found his fatal wounds magically healed, and returned home a happy man.

While we can yet again identify similarities with the sword-swallowing tale, the Arami episode was more closely modeled on the old legend of the Shingon monk Mongaku 文覚 (twelfth century), who had been resurrected by the same acolytes under the famous Nachi Falls in Kumano.⁵⁶⁹ The timing of these two stories is

⁵⁶⁶ Viz., the *Naritasan kan'nōki* 成田山感応記 (1910: 76–79).

⁵⁶⁷ The earliest source of the tale of which I am aware is the *Tonegawa zushi* (1855). See Suzuki ed. (1980: 175).

⁵⁶⁸ These included the *Naritasan daiengi* 成田山大縁起 (publication date unknown: folio 7 verso–8 recto), *Naritasan reijō jikki* 成田山霊場実記 (1885: 18–12), *Naritasan daiengi* 成田山大縁起 (1896: 18–19), *Naritasan shi* 成田山志 (1897: 82–87), *Naritasan kan'nōki* 成田山感応記 (1910: 73–75), and *Naritasan tsūshi* 成田山通志 (1911: 7–9).

⁵⁶⁹ The tale first appears in the *Heike monogatari* (*Tale of the Heike*, thirteenth century) and in Mongaku's biography (e.g., the fourteenth century *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書). After accidentally killing his lover Kesa Gozen 袈裟御前, the warrior Mongaku (lay name Endō Moritō 遠藤盛遠) enters the Buddhist clergy. To atone for his great sin, he resolves himself to extreme ascetic practices culminating with water austerities during the icy heart of winter under the famous Nachi Falls. Though dying of exposure, Mongaku's resolve for the popular form of Fudō worship while reciting the Spell of Compassion seems to catch Fudō's eye: his two acolytes Kongara and Seitaka swoop down

noteworthy: the Mongaku tale had been enjoying a noticeable increase in popularity during the late Edo and Meiji Periods around Kantō including Shinshōji.⁵⁷⁰ Since the two tales shared a similar theme—a fallen warrior and devotee resurrected by Fudō’s acolytes—we can understand the emergence of the Arami tale in light of the considerably more popular Mongaku tale that had been circulating in books, art, theatre, and even film.⁵⁷¹

More significant is how the tale appeared around the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) while Shinshōji was actively rebranding the Narita Fudō as a war deity. The possibility of escaping death on the battlefield through religious devotion would have appealed to soldiers of the period, and the tale may have held currency among military audiences. This brings us to the second and newer category of miracle tales that appeared at this time at Shinshōji.

Shinshōji and the Military

If we again recall Murakami’s classification of Shinshōji history, the Meiji Period marked the temple’s support of military policy.⁵⁷² In order to help improve their

and restore Mongaku to life (see McCullough 1988: 312–314 for an English translation of the *Heike monogatari* version). As with Dōyo, Yūten, Katsuragawa and Ninomiya, the tale marks the transition between a difficult past and subsequent brilliant career; Mongaku thereafter becomes an eminent Shingon monk active at famous temples around Kansai. Mongaku’s evocation of tragic love, penance, redemption, and transformation made for good drama, and it sold to Meiji audiences well. It appeared in several books, paintings, and was dramatized on stage several times during the Meiji: *Hashi kuyō bonji no Mongaku* 橋供養梵字文覚 (1883), *Ima Mongaku jomei no horimono* 今文覚助命刺繡 (1883), *Nachi no taki kisei Mongaku* 那智滝祈誓文覚 (1889, 1937), and *Hashi kuyō bonji no Mongaku* 橋供養梵字文覚 (1898) (Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 649–51). In 1911 Yoshizawa Shōten 吉沢商店 Studio produced a film bearing the same title as the 1898 play (Ehara 1999).

⁵⁷⁰ Though the Mongaku tale had no overt ties to the temple, it nonetheless became popular among Naritasan’s artistic and literary traditions. The classic image of Mongaku under Nachi Waterfall appeared in *ukiyoe* images connected to the temple and a few Meiji temple publications. Patrons also donated tablets depicting the famous waterfall scene (see Ono 1979: 18–19 for examples) dating from the late Edo and Meiji eras (temple records also mention a Mongaku tablet donated as earlier in 1814 at the Fukagawa *degaichō* [*Shiryō* 5.214]). Danjūrō kabuki had been part of this popular trend, and *ukiyoe* prints of their plays show that for the first time, the Fudō of the tale had been transformed into the specifically Narita Fudō. This Danjūrō-Shinshōji connection suggests a possible route for the temple’s incorporation of the tale, as the Danjūrō’s favour of Mongaku seems to predate the tale’s appearance in temple literature. The incorporation of Mongaku moreover made sense in that the monk had been the “restorer” (*chūkō*) of Kyōto’s Jingoji Temple on Mount Takao, the original home of the Narita Fudō. Mongaku, then, had always been part of Shinshōji’s extended family, and incorporation of the tale would have served to reinforce *engi* history, especially since Jingoji had adopted the tale into its own *engi* by the Edo Period.

⁵⁷¹ See note 569.

⁵⁷² For studies on Japanese Buddhism, nationalism, and the military since the Meiji Period, see Sharf (1993), Heisig and Maraldo (1994), Victoria (1997), and Hur (1999).

weakened position, Buddhists promoted their schools as instruments of the state and aligned themselves with the growing nationalism⁵⁷³ brewing among the oligarchy, hoping to prove that, despite being a “foreign” religion, Buddhism was still patriotic and could play important social and political roles.⁵⁷⁴ After all, one of the primary occupations of Buddhism since its arrival from Korea had been the promotion and protection of the state, manifest in the *ōbō* (“imperial law”)-*buppō* (“Buddhist law”) relationship. By the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), the relationship between Buddhism and militarism had been established,⁵⁷⁵ paving the way for Imperial-Way Buddhism (*kōdō bukkyō* 皇道仏教) in the 1930s⁵⁷⁶ (despite minor anti-war Buddhist movements⁵⁷⁷) with prominent Buddhist thinkers like Inoue Enryō 井上円了 (1858–1919) and Shaku Sōen 釈宗演 (1860–1919) justifying Japan’s military aggression with Buddhist teachings.⁵⁷⁸ Shinshōji’s support of the military was not out of the ordinary for a temple at this time.

Under the slogan *fukoku kyōhei* 富国強兵 (“rich country, strong army”), the new Empire of Japan’s territorial expansion westward resulted in its first major international conflict in the modern era, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95. War with China consequently marked a distinct shift in temple rituals and clerical activities. Under the chief priest Shōkin 照勤 (1869–1924), large signposts were erected at the main hall inscribed with the words, “*goma* rites conducted so that our military fortune may be eternal, so that our armed forces may be in good health, and so that our nation may be peaceful” (武運長久軍隊健勝国家安穩護摩供修行). A *goma* performed daily was called “great *goma* prayer for a victorious Imperial Army” (皇軍戦捷祈願大護摩).⁵⁷⁹ For his continued support during the later Russo-Japanese War, Shōkin was awarded the Order of the Sacred Treasure, Silver Rays (*kunrokutō zuihōshō* 勲六等瑞宝章) in 1906.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷³ Victoria (1997: 6).

⁵⁷⁴ Victoria (1997: 12–13).

⁵⁷⁵ Victoria (1997: 30).

⁵⁷⁶ Victoria (1997: 79).

⁵⁷⁷ See Victoria (1997: 66–78).

⁵⁷⁸ Victoria (1997: 29).

⁵⁷⁹ Other *goma* rituals held at the temple from this time through the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), World War I (1914–18), the Manchurian Incident (September 18, 1931), the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), and World War II (1939–45) include those for national peace and protection (*heiwa kigan* 平和祈願, *chingo kokka* 鎮護国家, *kokka an’non* 国家安穩), the enhancement of national prestige (*kokui sen’yō* 国威宣揚), and the commemoration of war dead (*shōkonsai* 招魂祭, *ireisai* 慰靈祭, *daitsuichōkai* 大迫弔会). See Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 486–90) for details.

⁵⁸⁰ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1938: 96).

Accordingly, there was an increase in visitors to the temple praying for victory in China, many of whom were members of the military.⁵⁸¹ In September of 1894, a month following the start of the conflict, two infantry companies, with over two hundred troops each, visited the temple and participated in *goma* rites.⁵⁸² Soldiers visiting the temple were given protective talismans (*mamorifuda* 守札) and keepsakes to take with them to China.⁵⁸³ According to the temple's *Naritasan tsūshi* 成田山通志 (*A Complete Record of Naritasan*, 1911), Shinshōji also solicited significant contributions for the army and navy⁵⁸⁴ and subscribed to government bonds.⁵⁸⁵ Shinshōji clergy paid consolation visits (*imon* 慰問) to hospitals and participated in send-offs (*kansō* 歡送) and welcome home parades (*kangei* 歡迎) for soldiers.⁵⁸⁶ With the advent of new state policies for the memorialization of war dead (such as the construction of national shrines like Tōkyō's Yasukuni 靖国 Shrine), clergy also conducted memorial services for dead soldiers.⁵⁸⁷ The temple even sent clergy to Manchuria in 1935 to perform rites for soldiers abroad.⁵⁸⁸ In return for their support, Shinshōji received patronage and gifts from the military and their families.⁵⁸⁹ Its relationship with the government was further cemented in the 1920s

⁵⁸¹ See Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 484–485) for a detailed list of visits from notable members of the military during the Meiji Period.

⁵⁸² Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 485).

⁵⁸³ Murakami (1968: 294–5).

⁵⁸⁴ See Shiritsu Narita Toshokan ed. (1911: 139–142) for details.

⁵⁸⁵ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 490).

⁵⁸⁶ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 490).

⁵⁸⁷ These included *ireisai* 慰霊祭, *datsuichōkai* 大追弔会, and *shōkonsai* 招魂祭. See Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 487ff.) for details.

⁵⁸⁸ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 491).

⁵⁸⁹ For example, the *Naritasan daiengi* and *Naritasan shi* present a list of gifts donated by soldiers to commemorate their safe and victorious return home. Among the most impressive donations was a white Manchurian horse from Major-General and Baron (陸軍少将男爵) Nishi Kanjirō 西寛次郎 (1846–1912) captured during the Battle of Tianzhuangtai 田庄台 in the Liaodong 遼東 Peninsula. A stable was erected for the horse in the upper precinct. A plaque mounted on the stable is recorded to have explained how Nishi had captured two horses from the enemy commander during the battle, keeping one for himself and donating the second. Military-themed *ema* tablets were also common gifts at this time. These *ema* depicted warriors, some historical, others more legendary, such as Ōmori Hikoshichi 大森彦七 (fourteenth century), Musashibō Benkei 武蔵坊弁慶 (twelfth century), Minamoto Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159–1189), Minamoto Yoshiie 源義家 (1039–1106), as well as famous military conflicts like the Battle of Kawanakajima 川中島 (sixteenth century), the revenge of the Soga 曾我 brothers (twelfth century), and the legendary Duel at Kyōto's Gojō 五条 Bridge (between the aforementioned Benkei and Yoshitsune). See Ono (1979: 34–39) for examples. With few extant Edo-period *ema* for comparison, it is difficult to ascertain if these images represented an increase in such military-themed patronage during the Meiji.

and 1930s through the personal relationships the chief priest Shōtei 照定 had fostered with the imperial family.⁵⁹⁰

Thanks to Shinshōji's ties to the Masakado Rebellion, the Narita Fudō provided an ideal logic for the temple's war-time service.⁵⁹¹ As suggested by the *goma* rituals, from this moment forward, there developed a direct, immediate connection between war and faith in the deity, one that lasted through succeeding international military conflicts until the end of World War II.⁵⁹² Thus, despite the existing element of war imbued in the deity since the time of Kakugen's *Daiengi*, the Meiji Period demanded that the Narita Fudo, in his capacity as a militant deity, be updated to suit the times. Hence, in partnership with the new temple activities, there was a similar shift in the temple's miracle tale publications immediately following the close of the Sino-Japanese War. One example was the *Naritasan kan'nōki* 成田山感応記 (*A Record of Naritasan's Sympathetic Response*, 1910), the opening pages of which boast calligraphic works by decorated officers from the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars.⁵⁹³ Also included was a photograph of Shōkin sporting imperial medals of honour pinned atop his clerical robes (figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5. Chief Priest Shōkin, ca. 1910⁵⁹⁴



⁵⁹⁰ See Murakami (1968: 348–352) for details.

⁵⁹¹ This connection may have provided the impetus behind the 1932 film *Taira no Masakado tōbatsu emaki Narita Fudōson onreigenki* 平将門討伐絵巻成田不動尊御靈験記 (*Account of the Narita Fudō's Miraculous Efficacy and Illustrated Scroll of Taira Masakado's Subjugation*) produced by Gōdō Eiga 合同映画 Studio and directed by Nakagawa Shirō 中川紫郎 (1892–1958) (Ehara 1999). Unfortunately, like most pre-war Japanese films, virtually nothing is known about the film's contents.

⁵⁹² Murakami (1968: 295).

⁵⁹³ Viz., Admiral Itō Sukeyuki 伊東祐亨 (1843–1914), Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō 東郷平八郎 (1847–1934), and General Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典 (1849–1912).

⁵⁹⁴ Hishikawa (1910: iii).

Its preface is also noteworthy: it cites the 1890 *Imperial Rescript on Education* in full (by this time Shinshōji had become involved in local elementary and secondary education institutions) and encourages support of *kokutai* policy which the Narita Fudō is said to safeguard. In 1896 Shinshōji published the *Naritasan daiengi* 成田山大縁起 (*Great Engi of Naritasan*) which devoted its largest section to “The Blessings of Fudō during the Sino-Japanese War” (*Nisshin kōsen Fudōson no riyaku* 日清交戦不動尊の利益). The war section contains nine tales, ranging from how soldiers were saved from freezing to death during the harsh Chinese winter, how they survived enemy gunfire, to how they recovered from wounds. The following year the temple published the *Naritasan shi* 成田山志 (*A Historical Record of Naritasan*), which boasted how devout soldiers and their families visited the temple and offered donations in gratitude for a safe return from abroad.

The Narita Fudō and the Substitute Talisman

As with many religious sites at this time, Shinshōji’s war-time service reaped commercial benefits. These included increases in the sale of traditional protective amulets or talismans such as *omamori* お守り and *fuda* 札, which had been a common sight at temples and shrines. However, records show that around the time of the Sino-Japanese War, Shinshōji began distributing its own specific brand of talisman catering to soldiers, in particular those off to the front. This was the *migawari fuda* 身代札 or “substitute” talisman,⁵⁹⁵ designed to protect soldiers on the battlefield. Like the *nembutsu* 念仏 recitation of Amida Buddha’s name,⁵⁹⁶ it represents one of several examples illustrating how Buddhist faith was used to enhance a soldier’s performance at the front.⁵⁹⁷ That the talisman was in demand and mass-produced is evidenced by its distribution to over 1700 visiting infantrymen

⁵⁹⁵ By this time, a tale appeared at Shinshōji explaining the origins of the talisman and its particular connection to the Narita Fudō. In the spring of 1831, as the story goes, the carpenter Tatsugorō 辰五郎 was repairing the temple’s Niōmon 仁王門 Gate when he slipped and fell from its lofty rafters. A co-worker came running only to find Tatsugorō unharmed and standing upright in a daze (the *Naritasan shi* [1897] connects Tatsugorō’s salvation to resurrection). In the absence of any injuries they only found Tatsugorō’s work licence (*kansatsu* 鑑札), imprinted with the word “Naritasan,” now broken in two. Shinshōji’s chief priest heard the tale, and took the license as a sort of *mamorifuda* that could ward off evil (*yakuyoke* 厄除). (For details see Murakami 1968: 217–221.) The temple soon produced and distributed reproductions of the talisman among its patrons, said to have been inscribed on the back with *siddham* characters (possibly one of Fudō’s *mantras*). That the talisman was in demand and mass-produced is evidenced by the temple presenting 6,000 to the Imperial Headquarters (Daihon’ei 大本營) in Hiroshima alone in 1894 (Murakami 1968: 295; Ono 1978: 134).

⁵⁹⁶ Viz., “Namu Amida Bu[tsu]” 南無阿弥陀仏, “Praise Amida Buddha.”

⁵⁹⁷ See Victoria (1997: 31–37).

from various battalions in 1894 alone.⁵⁹⁸ The chief priest Shōkin is also said to have presented six thousand more to the Imperial General Headquarters (Daihon'ei 大本營) in Hiroshima that same year.⁵⁹⁹

The talisman's efficacy was soon promoted by miracle tale literature. One representative example from the aforementioned *Naritasan daiengi*, “How One Escaped Gunfire Attack at Victoria Peak” (太平山攻撃砲を免るゝ), runs as follows:

さいたまけんちちぶごほりみなのむら
 埼玉縣秩父郡皆野村設樂和藏二十七年二師團輜重卒にて太
 平山戦争玉樂押送の時敵の砲發激く同行卒一時手負死人の
 うちばんしいでかうめうあらは
 中萬死を出て高名を顯しますます無事に務めしがある夜
 くわいちうものやぶおときこえふしぎおもまもぶくろあらた
 懷中物の破れる音聞しにぞ不思議と思ひ守り袋を改めし
 ぬのけつこんああらたみがわふだやぶ
 に布に血痕あり中を開け改めしに身代り札三ツに破れてあ
 りしに當人は身の毛立程に感心し彌信心彌益して早々國元
 ゆうびんしんふだとよはだみぶじきそん
 へ郵便して新きの札を取り寄せ肌身をはなさづ無事に歸村せ
 しとぞ實に利益のいちじるしきを印るす。

Shitara Wakura was from Minano Village, Chichibu District, in Saitama Prefecture. [During the Sino-Japanese War] in the twenty-seventh year [of the Meiji Era (1894)], he was assigned to the Second Division Munitions Transport. While escorting munitions during the Battle of Victoria Peak [in Hong Kong], he came under fierce enemy gunfire. While the members of his company were instantly wounded or killed, he became renowned for having narrowly escaped certain death. Still yet, he continued to discharge his duty unscathed. Later one evening, however, he heard something inside his coat crack. Thinking this strange, he examined the pouch in which he kept his talisman only to find it stained with blood. Looking inside, he saw that his substitute talisman had been shattered into three [pieces]. His hair stood on end with amazement. Truly did his faith grow all the more. Hurriedly he sent a letter home for a new talisman to be sent. He was never without it at his side, and was able to return safely home to his village. This is truly a miraculous sign of [the Narita Fudō's] blessings.

⁵⁹⁸ Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 484).

⁵⁹⁹ Murakami (1968: 295); Ono (1978: 134).

Shitara's salvation shows how Shinshōji was reinventing an old ability of Fudō to fit modern times, that of *migawari*, “self-sacrificing” or “substitution for another.” As we saw in chapter one with the tale of Shōkū, *migawari* had long been associated with various divinities such as Fudō, where the faithful could be saved from sickness, danger or even death by the deity who would stand in the person's stead. In Shitara's case, the talisman, imbued with the power of Fudō, accordingly bleeds and expires on his behalf. We find a number of tales repeating the same formula circulating at Shinshōji at this time: soldiers escape deadly battle, only to find their talismans broken into pieces.⁶⁰⁰

The powers of the talisman to protect military patrons continued to appear not only in miracle tales, but also in temple-related and public newspapers as oral testaments during the succeeding Russo-Japanese War and Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945)⁶⁰¹ supporting the war effort. An article printed in the daily *Hōchi shinbun* 報知新聞 newspaper for October twenty-ninth, 1937, carried the headline: “Narita Deity acts as Substitute: Talisman Broken in Half by Enemy Bullet to the Heart; Private Matsumaru Saved” (成田様が身代り、心臓の敵弾に護符は真二つ・松丸一等兵は無事).⁶⁰² The article describes how Matsumaru, a local from Chiba, was shot in the chest while fighting in Dachangzhen 大場鎮, only to find the bullet luckily had been stopped by a fifty *sen* silver coin in his wallet. As his talisman had been broken in two, the article treated the event as witness to the presence of the Narita Fudō. A month later a similar headline appeared in the *Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun* 東京日日新聞 (*Tōkyō Daily Newspaper*): “The Protective Substitute Talisman: Lieutenant Yamazaki Miraculously Escapes Death” (お守り札身替り、奇蹟命拾いの山崎中尉).⁶⁰³ This time the lucky medic Yamazaki is saved from a similar bullet to the chest; upon inspection, in place of wounds or blood, he finds his talisman snapped in two.⁶⁰⁴ Another fortunate benefactor, naval engineer Fujiyama

⁶⁰⁰ See *Naritasan daiengi* (1896), Hishikawa (1910: 44–46), Imazawa (1941: 245–251), *Naritasan Shinshōji* ed. (1938: 497–503), and *Naritasan Shinshōji* ed. (1968: 477–484).

⁶⁰¹ See *Naritasan Shinshōji* ed. (1968: 477ff).

⁶⁰² *Naritasan Shinshōji* ed. (1968: 482–83).

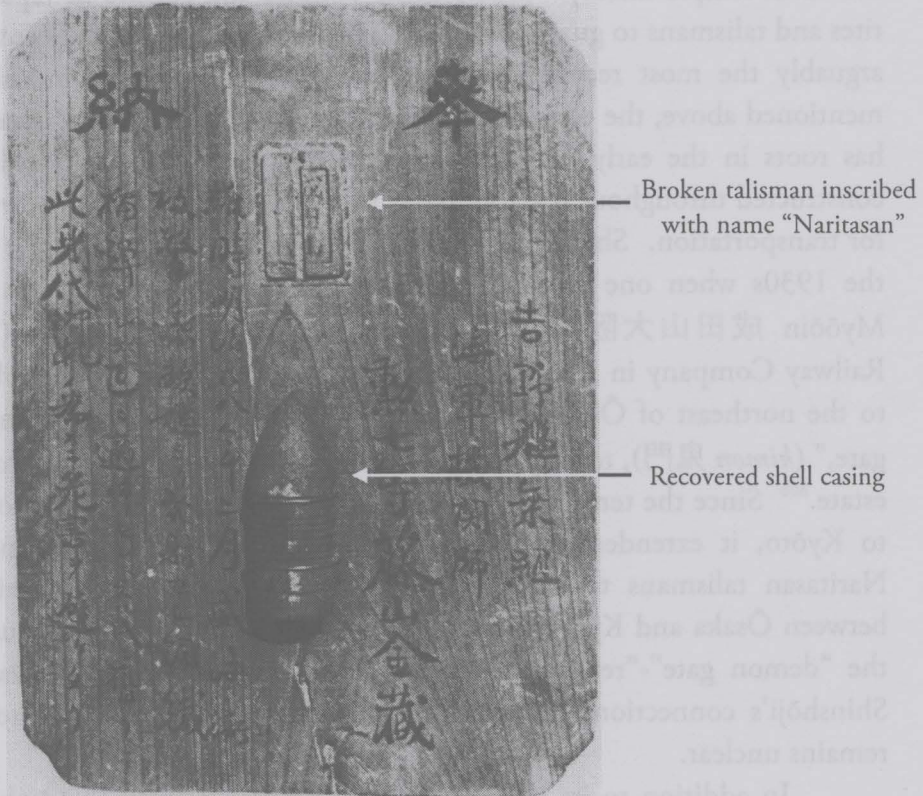
⁶⁰³ *Naritasan Shinshōji* ed. (1968: 483).

⁶⁰⁴ The story is told by Yamazaki's own parents:

去月十三日吳淞クリークの戦闘の際、川辺で負傷兵の手当を施し立ち上った際、胸部にパチンと云う音がした。見れば敵機関銃弾がポケットに命中していたが、傷をうけていないので、不思議に思い調査したところ、ポケットへ入れてあった不動尊のお守りが真二つに割れており、お守りが身代りになったものと判った。(Naritasan Shinshōji ed. 1968: 483)

Kanezō 藤山金藏, saw it fit to donate a commemorative plaque in gratitude. Its inscription explains how Fujiyama had been saved in 1895 from a shell from an enemy ship; upon impact his talisman had shattered, leaving him unscathed. Embedded into the plaque as material witness is the very talisman (split in half) and shell (figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6. Substitute Talisman Memorial Plaque (1895)⁶⁰⁵



On a final note, the efficacy of the substitute talisman was such that it survived the end of World War II when the Narita Fudō was yet again rebranded, this time as a guardian against motorized vehicle traffic accidents.⁶⁰⁶ Reminiscent of the soldiers' accounts, a book published in 1958 by the Traffic Association (Kōtsū

On the thirteenth of last month, during the engagement at Wusong Creek [near Shanghai], he had been treating wounded soldiers by the bank when he heard a cracking sound in his chest. He looked down and saw that he had been hit in the pocket by enemy machine gun fire, but that he had sustained no injuries. Thinking this strange, he found upon inspection that the Fudō talisman inside his pocket had been snapped in two. He knew that the talisman had acted as his substitute.

⁶⁰⁵ Naritasan Reikōkan ed. (1998: 16).

⁶⁰⁶ The substitute talisman remains popular at Shinshōji today, advertised in temple pamphlets and on the temple's website (<<http://www.naritasan.or.jp/cellphone/omamori.html>>).

Jinkyōkai 交通人協会), *Kōtsū jikobōshi taisaku ron* 交通事故防止対策論 (*Preventive Measures Against Traffic Accidents*), presented five testimonies of people who attributed their miraculous survivals from car accidents to the talisman. Following each incident drivers discovered the broken talisman, bearing material witness of the divine presence of the Narita Fudō.⁶⁰⁷ Traffic safety today represents the latest evolution of the Narita Fudō, and one of the most commercially successful moves in temple history. While many temples and shrines in Japan today provide rites and talismans to guard its patrons against traffic accidents, Shinshōji has become arguably the most recognized religious site in the country in this capacity. As mentioned above, the connection between the Narita Fudo and travel safety possibly has roots in the early Meiji Period, when modern roads and railroads were first constructed throughout the country as part of the government's new national system for transportation. Shinshōji's connection to traffic safety may have been present by the 1930s when one of its sub-temples outside Ōsaka, Naritasan Ōsaka Betsuin Myōōin 成田山大阪別院明王院, was built by the Keihan ("Kyōto-Ōsaka") Railway Company in 1934. According to Ian Reader, Keihan had built the temple to the northeast of Ōsaka, the traditional unlucky direction known as the "demon gate," (*kimon* 鬼門), to negate the area's unlucky character and improve the local real estate.⁶⁰⁸ Since the temple also sits along the company's main line connecting Ōsaka to Kyōto, it extended its sphere of protection to Keihan passengers by adding Naritasan talismans to every train car, and logically so: the main Keihan Line between Ōsaka and Kyōto travels on a southwest-northeast axis, thus running along the "demon gate"- "rear demon gate" axis.⁶⁰⁹ Whether Keihan was motivated by Shinshōji's connection to traffic safety, or whether this was a later development, remains unclear.

In addition to its partnership with Keihan Railway in Ōsaka, the increased number of cars and sightseeing tour buses in the post-war period have increased Shinshōji's patronage. In the 1950s, the temple established a prayer office to bless cars and protect them from road accidents (*jidōsha hōrakusho* 自動車法楽所). Today the temple's website (<http://www.naritasan.or.jp/benefit/car.html>) advertises its Traffic Safety Prayer Hall (*kōtsū anzen kitōden* 交通安全祈祷殿) with the slogan, "no accidents with the Buddha's mind behind the wheel" (仏心で握るハンドル事故はなし), where one can pay ¥5000 to ¥7000 (approximately CAN\$50 to \$70) for a thirty-minute car blessing (talisman included).

⁶⁰⁷ The tales appear under the section, "Traffic Safety and Faith" (安全運転と信仰). See Fujimori (1958: 101–6).

⁶⁰⁸ Reader (1991: 145).

⁶⁰⁹ Ōsaka Naritasan's official website claims it to have been the first temple in Japan to offer such services for motorized vehicle safety (<<http://www.osaka-naritasan.or.jp/pray/anzen.html>>).

Concluding Remarks

Our look at Shinshōji and its miracle tales during the modern period reveals the following. First, despite the profound social, technological, political, and religious changes affecting Shinshōji and the country as a whole, there was, in contrast, no significant, immediate break in the prevalence of the temple's Edo tales and their treatment of Fudō. Masakado, Kanchō, Dōyo, and Yūten continued to dominate miracle tale publications following the Restoration of 1868, and their sustained popularity provided a foundation for new narratives such as that of Katsuragawa and Arami. Though these tales were of disparate origins, and did not explicitly presume the presence of one another, their presentations of Fudō collectively functioned as invitations for fasting and austerities, still popular among the temple's laity, and further attracted worshippers seeking a personal, miraculous encounter with the deity.

Second, in response to Japan's growing militarization, Shinshōji drew on Fudō's old *engi* characterization as guardian of king and country for his reinvention as a tutelary deity for the military, consequently producing one of the most profound changes in the deity's history. The need to update and rebrand the Narita Fudō was a response to Shinshōji's desire to remain popular and commercially attractive to military patrons. Tales of substitute talismans protecting local soldiers and promoting victory abroad reinforced this, lending the temple political and national prestige.

Third, the appearance of war tales represent Shinshōji's changing identity during the Meiji. They were not, like those of the first group, organized around a local event such as the Masakado Rebellion, a place such as Narita or even characters like Kanchō or Dōyo, nor did they have any lasting affect on popular art and literature. Instead, their catalyst was Shinshōji's need to speak to larger social changes, to situate itself within a new modern Japan, and, aided by the institutional expansion of its sub-temples, to develop itself and its deity on a national scale. The use of Fudō's *goma* rituals in the Meiji and his classic sword and flames to subdue the modern enemy emphasizes yet again how canonical tradition functioned not as the definitive, exclusive character of the deity, but as a magnet for attracting layers of localization according to circumstance. Interestingly, Shinshōji's need to revisit Fudō's canonical war characterizations during the Meiji brought it full circle—from a local tenth-century military conflict to modern international war. This evolution effectively returns us to the key issue of this study: how the identity and profession of a deity were intimately embedded within the local, cultural landscape, precluding any permanent, singular personality. Even *engi* traditions of Edo times could not have predicted that the Narita Fudō would one day become a guardian of motorized vehicles, whether they be trains, cars, or most recently, airplanes—a far cry from his early days born from a local rebellion.

CONCLUSIONS

I began this dissertation by addressing the undervalued role of local geography, commercialism, and material culture in the current academic study of the Japanese deity Fudō Myōō. In the introduction, I highlighted a noticeable gap between scriptural characterizations of the deity on the one hand, and his representations in local cultic sources such as miracle stories on the other. I argue that his discontinuity can be explained by the fact that this cultic deity functioned not merely as an object of worship defined by doctrinal and sectarian traditions alone. Rather, the deity also operated as a dynamic instrument central to the identity and activities of specific religious and commercial institutions. As this instrument, Fudō evolved from local agencies in addition to Mikkyō scripture and iconography. These agencies, as revealed by *engi* and miracle tale literature, included historical events, geography, famous figures, and material objects. I defined this tension, somewhat artificially, as an intersection between the “canonical” and the “local.” The crux of this study therefore centred around the relativity of Fudō’s symbols and characteristics across time and place, his great variety of regional transformations, and how such regionally-specific forms challenge certain assumptions of the deity as presented by canonical scriptures.

To address these issues, I proposed an examination of Fudō “on the ground” in order to reveal how the deity functioned across local institutions, religious or otherwise. This would reveal how, and the extent to which, regional factors co-existed with canonical tradition in the origins, development, and operation of local Fudō cults. Due to its popularity and a large body of extant sources, I investigated the Narita Fudō of Shinshōji Temple as the primary case study. My study of the Narita Fudō cult examined in detail extra-canonical, trans-sectarian sources of information such as miracle tales, since they provide insight into the selective process whereby particular canonical elements were adapted to specific circumstances. I also included a smaller, though detailed, examination of a second cult, that of the Meguro Fudō in Edo. This provided a point of comparison allowing further insight into the deity’s diffusion across various institutions, both religious and secular.

Chapter one began discussion of these issues by identifying the basic features of Japanese miracle tales and their relevance to the study of local cults. In contrast to the few Fudō narratives found within the extant Mikkyō canon, the prominent form of Fudō miracle tales that emerged in Japan were associated with the genre of *reigenki*, “records of miraculous efficacy.” Influenced by Indian and Chinese precedent, *reigenki* developed through amorphous relationships with other literary genres. I identified those genres most relevant to this study to be the *setsuwa*, biographies of famous Buddhist masters, and, in particular, the *engi*. *Engi* literature represented a central key to my study as it served as a means to establish the origins

and history of religious sites, and to map religious and commercial meaning onto a particular location, often by incorporating elements from the biography and miracle tale genres.

Using the example of the well-known tale of the Tendai monk Shōkū of Miidera Temple, I identified key features of the *engi* in order to understand the process of localization and commodification central to my study. First, using a narrative convention of a miraculous encounter between a famous Buddhist patriarch and a local deity, the *engi* incorporated regional elements into the character of the deity to create a localized and therefore regionally-specific brand deity. This brand was generally indicated by assigning the deity particular attributes or specializations designated by name (in this case, the Naki or “Weeping” Fudō of Miidera). Second, this localization and branding promoted by the *engi* became central to the construction of distinct regional identities for both the deity and its temple. *Engi* provided religious sites with the means to distinguish themselves and their deities, and thus served commercial interests by advertising any recreational or religious attractions. These attractions might include the miraculous benefits available through worship of the deity, or the opportunity to visit the location of a famous historical event. Third, this localization and commercialization promoted by the *engi* reveals how canonical elements might assume new meanings as they came into contact with local, trans-sectarian power structures. This intersection illuminates the limitations of what canonical sources can tell us about the evolution of the deity under local conditions. Chapter one thus served to set in motion the key issue of this study: that deity cults devoted to Fudō were composite creations of time and place, and thus require an understanding of the regionally-specific treatment of canonical elements as revealed by localization and commercialization.

Chapter two applied the *engi* model provided in chapter one to the case of the Meguro Fudō at Ryūsenji Temple, arguably Edo’s most prominent Fudō cult in early modern Japan. By situating Fudō within the specific cult at Meguro, and, more generally, Edo’s religious climate, I explored this *engi* model in action. Ryūsenji’s *engi* revealed how the Meguro Fudō was truly a unique, composite creation informed as much from the local as the canonical. The deity’s character drew from regional geography (*tokko* waterfall), famous events and people (Shōgun Iemitsu’s patronage), and existing religious traditions (the Yamatotakeru cult). Canonical rituals devoted to weather-control provided a key for Fudō’s conceptualization at Meguro as a deity of water, given the presence of the temple’s well-known *tokko* waterfall. Similarly, his wrathful appearance and importance in subjugation rites were used to identify him with the local *kami* Yamatotakeru. This composition illustrated that the contact between the canonical and local provided a key ingredient for the localization process. Aided by a large body of data from the gazetteer *SMFK*, the identification with Yamatotakeru further illustrated that the Meguro Fudō was neither an exclusively

Mikkyō or even Buddhist deity. His celestial status within the Mikkyō pantheon (such as his being a manifestation of Dainichi Nyorai) provided little definition at Meguro. Moreover, the influence of the local *kami* cult showed that localization was not a haphazard or random process, but operated by a purposeful logic; Fudō's trademark sword, rope, and flames provided a set of symbols which was used to identify him with the *kami*, and thus a reason for the deity's existence in the area.

Using the case of Ryūsenji as a point of comparison, chapter three analyzed the Narita Fudō cult at Shinshōji Temple through a similar examination of local *engi* and miracle tale traditions. As with the Meguro Fudō, the formation, operation, and attraction of the unique Narita Fudō was a process of adapting specific canonical and iconographical elements to local geography. Drawing on the tradition of Fudō's ritual worship for state-protection, the *engi* incorporated the famous Masakado rebellion as the logic for the deity's appearance at Narita. Fudō's iconic sword, perhaps his most visible identifying feature, proved a particularly powerful instrument for localization. As a weapon of subjugation, it was associated with Shinshōji's celebrated treasure the Amakuni Sword (while at Meguro it had been instead identified with the famous Kusanagi Sword). With their associated miracle stories set forth by the *engi*, the rebellion and Amakuni Sword produced a stylization of the deity that was meaningful to the Narita community. Despite its distinctive qualities, however, the Narita Fudō, like the Meguro Fudō, was non-exclusive. The temple's miracle tales, and the spread of its material culture, established a shared history between Shinshōji and the nearby Daiganji, as well as other sites loosely connected to its history such as Edo's Zōjōji Temple.

Having established the distinctive brand of the Narita Fudō, chapter four examined how the cult became a marketable commodity by generating patronage among the religio-commercial world of the Narita-Edo area. The process of mapping religious meaning onto an area simultaneously created a commercial value for religious sites. *Engi*, miracle tales, biographies, and guidebooks doubled as advertisements, spreading knowledge of the activities and miraculous benefits available to worshippers. The sword-swallowing tales of Dōyo and Yūten, for example, acted as a guide for the lay practice of fasting at Shinshōji. Exhibitions of Shinshōji's temple treasures such as the Narita Fudō statue, the Amakuni Sword, and Dōyo's bloody robes, generated substantial income for over two centuries.

Commodification thus becomes one of the primary ways in which we can observe the complex, composite, and non-exclusive nature of a deity cult in operation. The commercial success of the Narita Fudō cult allowed it to become "portable" merchandise. Though Shinshōji may have acted as the cult's *axis mundi*, it never retained complete ownership over the deity, its miracles, or their associated personalities and treasures. With the spread of the sword-swallowing tale, Dōyo's robes, the Amakuni Sword, and the Narita Fudō became significant to Pure Land

Appendix 2

Kurikara Fudō's Conquest of Heretics (from the *Bussetsu Kurikara dairyū shō gedōbuku darani kyō* 佛說俱利伽羅大龍勝外道伏陀羅尼經)

如是我聞。一時佛在王舍大城。爾時寶幢陀羅尼菩薩白佛言。俱利伽羅大龍。以何因緣吞飲利劍。及以四足被繞。佛告寶幢陀羅尼菩薩言。昔色究竟天魔醯首羅知勝城。¹⁰ 無動明王與外道論。共致種種神變成智。時無動明王變成智火之劍。時有九十五種外道。其首人名智達。又成智火劍。時無動明王智火大劍。變成俱利伽羅大龍有四支。降三世軍陀利琰魔都伽金剛夜叉等四大明王也。頸王有蓮名智火含字俱利伽羅。高十萬由旬也。從口出氣如二萬億雷一時鳴。聞之外道魔王捨惡疑邪執。¹¹

Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha resided at Rājagṛha. At that time Ratnaketudhāraṇī Bodhisattva addressed the Buddha and asked: “For what reason does the great *nāga* Kurikara swallow the sharp sword¹² and encoil it so with its four legs?”

The Buddha replied to Ratnaketudhāraṇī Bodhisattva: “Long ago in the Akaniṣṭha Heaven of Maheśvara, Fudō Myōō engaged heretics in debate, both sides manifesting spiritual transformations demonstrating their wisdom. When Fudō Myōō manifested his flaming sword of wisdom, Perfected Wisdom, the chief of ninety-five classes of heretics, likewise manifested a flaming sword of wisdom. Then the great flaming sword of wisdom of Fudō Myōō transformed into the great four-legged *nāga* Kurikara [and devoured Perfected Wisdom].¹³ Gōzanze, Gundari, Enmataka, and Kongōyasha formed the four [legs] of the great Myōō.¹⁴ On his neck was a lotus flower called the wisdom-fire *hām* syllable.¹⁵ Kurikara spanned one hundred thousand *yojana* and vital breath issued from his mouth as though two billion thunderclaps were sounding at once. All those heretics and evil lords who heard it abandoned their evil temptations and heterodox ways.

¹⁰ “Castle of Victorious Wisdom” (知勝城) is unclear. TZ.7.3119.23c.7-20 gives 智處城 and TZ.7.3119.23c.27-24a.29 智所城.

¹¹ T.21.1206.37c.12-23; cf. TZ.7.3119.23c.7-20; TZ.7.3119.23c.27-24a.29; TZ.9.3190.336a.16-24.

¹² Viz., the sword of Fudō.

¹³ My interpolation is based on a later version recorded in TZ.7.3119. A passage describing Budong's destruction of the enemy—and thus the answer to the first of Ratnaketudhāraṇī Bodhisattva's two questions that sets the narrative in motion—is missing here.

¹⁴ These four deities—Gōzanze 隆三世 (Skt. Trailokyavijaya), Gundari 軍荼利 (Skt. Kuṇḍali), Daiitoku 大威德 (Skt. Yamāntaka), and Kongōyasha 金剛夜叉 (Skt. Vajrayakṣa)—together with Fudō, comprise the Godai Myōō 五大明王. Their order of appearance follows their standard clockwise placement around Fudō.

¹⁵ *Hām* 𑖦 (Jpn. *kan*), viz., Fudō's standard *bija*.

impurities so as to eradicate them. [Budong] then ordered [Maheśvara] seized and brought before the Buddha. There [Maheśvara] said: “You are all to me but *yakṣa* while I am the lord of these heavens. How is it that I should take orders from you?” With that he fled. Seven more times did this all come to pass.

At this time Budong Mingwang addressed the Buddha: “World Honored One, how is it that this being has transgressed against the *samaya* and *dharma* of the buddhas of the Three Ages. Truly, what shall be done to subjugate him?”

The Buddha replied, “He must be destroyed.” Budong Mingwang straightforwardly seized [Maheśvara] and with his left foot crushed the crescent moon atop his head, and with his right foot crushed the crescent moon atop the head⁶ of his queen.⁷ It was then that Maheśvara’s life was instantly extinguished. ...

Then Budong Mingwang addressed the Buddha: “What should now be done with Maheśvara?”

The Buddha replied: “You must revive him.” With that Budong Mingwang uttered the Mantra Which Produces the Dharmadhātu,⁸ whereupon Maheśvara was immediately resurrected.⁹ Overjoyed, he addressed the Buddha: “How extraordinary is this! When you first summoned me, I asked what sort of being was this *yakṣa* [Budong] as I did not understand. You replied that he was the lord of the buddhas. But then I wondered how he could be their master, as the buddhas are the Blessed Ones among all beings. Though I did not understand then, I have now come to realize this!

⁶ Z.36 adds: “jeweled crown” 寶冠 and “crown” 冠 respectively to Maheśvara and Umā (Z.36.360.verso.b12, 13).

⁷ Note that immediately prior to the tale, the text describes two rituals where Budong is said to crush and destroy the head of what seems to be demons and their obstructions, and therefore create a sort of ritual frame for the subsequent narrative. The depiction of Budong stomping demons matches surviving Indian, Nepalese, and Tibetan images, and is described in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa tantra* (thirteenth century): “he kicks with his right foot, crushing / the Four Demons [*caturmāra*]” (George 1974: 59-60).

⁸ 法界生真言. This is later explained by Yixing as: “南謨三曼多佛陀南。達摩馱都(法界也)薩嚩婆嚩(性也)俱哈(我也)” (T.39.1796.715a21-22; cf. T.21.1201.15a.16-17).

⁹ Z.36 adds: “He attained a state of perfect conviction” 到無畏處 (Z.36.361.recto.a6).

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Budong's Subjugation of Maheśvara (from the *Daibirushana jōbutsu kyō sho* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏)

佛初成正覺。大集會一切漫荼羅所攝三界之衆。有摩醯首羅者。即是三千世界之主。住三千界之中。心慢故不肯從所召命。而作是念。我是三界之主。更有誰尊而召我耶。復作是念。彼持呪者畏一切穢。我今化作一切穢污之物。四面圍遶而住其中。彼所施呪術何所能為。時不動明王承佛教命召彼。見其作如此事。即化受觸金剛（即是不淨金剛也）。令彼取之。爾時不淨金剛。須臾悉噉所有諸穢令盡無餘。執令彼來至佛所。彼復言爾等是夜叉之類。而我是諸天主。何能受爾所命耶。尋即逃歸。如是七返。爾時不動明王白言世尊。此有情何故犯三世諸佛三昧耶法。當以何事治之。佛言即當斷彼也。時不動明王即持彼。以左足蹋其頂半月中。右足蹋其妃首半月上。爾時大自在天尋便命終。。。時不動明王白佛言。此大自在天當更云何。佛言汝應起之。時不動明王即說法界生真言。爾時大自在者即復蘇息。生大歡喜白言。甚希有也。我初召至已問佛。此夜叉是何等類我所不解。佛言是諸佛之主。我作是念諸佛一切之尊。云何以此而更為主耶。是我所不解。今乃知之。¹

When the Buddha first obtained perfect enlightenment, living beings of the Three Realms who are part of all *maṇḍala* gathered into one great assembly [before him]. [However,] there was a being named Maheśvara, lord of a great chiliocosm, who, dwelling within the trichiliocosm,² was given to pride and did not obey the [Buddha's] summons. He thought: "I am the lord of the Three Realms. What Blessed One is there who commands me?" He also thought: "Those who possess magical spells fear all impurities. I shall manifest all things defiled and surround myself on all sides [with impurities]³ and dwell within. What could anyone do to me by practicing their magical spells?"

Then Budong Mingwang was summoned by the Buddha, and upon learning of this, manifested⁴ Ucchuṣma Vajra⁵ (this is "Impure Vajra"), whom he commanded to remove [the impurities]. Then in an instant Ucchuṣma Vajra devoured the

¹ T.39.1796.678c.26ff; cf. Z.36.360verso.a17ff.

² Z.36 gives: "he dwelled in the midst of the two realms, Form and Desire" 住於諸世界最中色欲二界之間 (Z.36.360verso.b1-2).

³ Z.36 gives: "around my palace" 宮城之表 (Z.36.360verso.b5).

⁴ 化. Z.36 gives "ordered" 命 (Z.36.360.verso.b6).

⁵ Ucchuṣma's appearance here parallels his inclusion in the Tibetan version of the tale recorded in the *Guhyaḡarbha Tattvaviniścaya* (Davidson 1991: 203).

appreciate the intricacies of local geography, sectarian tradition, and artistic and commercial forces in Japan's religious culture.

In closing, our examination points out the inherent limitations of sectarian-based studies, and the necessity of considering locality in order to fully appreciate the complex processes by which deities were constructed, labelled, and employed by religious and commercial institutions. Fudō's position in the Mikkyō pantheon, his esoteric ritual and scriptural roots, and his iconography are valuable to the study of his cults inasmuch as they allow us to understand the process of localization and commodification relative to religious sites. I would like to return to a metaphor introduced in the first chapter, that of "co-dependent origination." As a deity that became a product of local "causes and conditions," there are few features that might be termed part of an "essential" Fudō. Fudō was, and continues to be, no more an independent, distinct object than the larger Mikkyō tradition. Despite his name, Fudō was anything but "immovable."

symbols, characteristics, and iconography of a deity supplied by canonical sources were neither etched in stone nor represented the end point of a deity's evolution. Instead, they functioned as a multivalent "template" onto which local invention could be grafted. This grafting highlights both the relativity of Fudō's characteristics across time and place and how they could take on new life and meaning at religious sites. Localization thus allows us to understand how and why particular canonical attributes such as the sword, flames, ritual elements like state-protection and subjugation, or pantheonic features were preserved or ignored at particular religious sites, and how they took on new meanings through co-existence with regional culture. Importantly, we have encountered no evidence to suggest that these local forms of Fudō were understood by their communities as a deviation from a "pure" or "authoritative" standard set forth by canonical Mikkyō materials. Rather, it seems that their currency as cultural hubs for religious, commercial, and artistic communities became a validation of their authenticity.

These processes of localization and commodification thus underline the difficulty in speaking about a homogenous, common "Fudō." The production of unique miracle stories particular to time and place emphasizes the regionally-specific and shifting meaning of the deity. The cults at Meguro and Narita reveal an ongoing, selective process by which the deity evolved to keep pace with time and place. By situating the canonical within the local and exploring the relativity of Fudō's symbols and attributes under specific circumstances, I have attempted to challenge common assumptions of Fudō as informed by his iconography (that he was a wrathful god of fire) or the Mikkyō pantheon (that he was a manifestation of Dainichi Nyorai and leader of the Godai Myōō). As we have seen, while certain canonical features or symbols (such as the sword) evolved relative to local conditions, others (such as Fudō's ritual and iconographic connection to fire, and his position in the Mikkyō pantheon) played marginal roles. As attested by their different regional names, the Meguro and Narita Fudōs were radically distinct from one another, both in form and operation. To complicate matters, it may have even been the case that one local Fudō had less in common with another, but more with other deities bearing similar local specializations.

Though I have focused specifically on the case of Fudō, the results yielded by this dissertation may be applied to other cults. Key issues I have examined here—localization, commodification, miracle tale literature, pilgrimage, exhibitions, and entertainment—were not specific to Fudō cults but common to many popular deities of the time, both "Buddhist" and "Shintō." This is evidenced, for example, by the widespread act of naming cultic images after their location or profession throughout Japanese history. With scholarship recognizing more and more the important contributions of regional culture to the evolution of Japanese religion, my study of deity cults as cultural hubs can serve as a guide for further studies seeking to

temples and lineages outside Shingon tradition. With the spread of the cult in Edo, the capital's artistic and theatrical communities, particularly the kabuki of the Danjūrō guild, absorbed Shinshōji's miracle tale culture and became a secondary medium for its diffusion. Since the Danjūrōs drew identity and prestige from their association with Shinshōji, the Narita Fudō became as much a property of the guild as he was of the temple.

In chapter five I examined changes in the worship and character of the Narita Fudō and its miracle tale culture following the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Though there was no distinct shift away from the existing corpus of miracle stories popular in the Edo Period, new narratives emerged in response to the changing times. While we can identify several new individual tales, the most prominent body of new narratives were those promoting was the deity as a modern war god. This rebranding served two related functions. First, it allowed Shinshōji's clergy to identify themselves as loyal supporters of an increasingly militant, colonialist government amidst the regime's persecution of Buddhist institutions. Second, rebranding perpetuated the deity's commercial attraction. With the pro-colonial climate at Shinshōji, the reinvention of the Narita Fudō as a military patron appealed to soldiers and their families. The success of this rebranding was evident by newly published miracle tale compilations following the end of Sino-Japanese War in 1895. For example, these texts revealed that Shinshōji's clergy began marketing a new protective talisman to soldiers known as the *migawari* ("self-sacrificing") *fuda*. To promote the efficacy of the talisman, the miracle tales contained accounts of Japanese soldiers who were saved from certain death by the mere possession of the charm. The accounts preserved the commercial viability of the Narita Fudō to keep pace with recent changes in weapons and technology. The ease at which the Narita Fudō adapted to the shifting cultural landscape of the Meiji Period underlines two important threads running throughout the study: first, the ongoing processes of localization and commodification central to popular deity cults; and second, how the identity and profession of a deity were intimately embedded within the local, cultural landscape, precluding any permanent, singular personality.

To restate the foregoing, the cases of the Meguro Fudō, and, in particular, the Narita Fudō, have allowed us to observe a negotiation between the canonical and the local in the formation of deity cults. The identity and function of regional deities such as these were intimately embedded within their environments, illuminating not a character static across time, place, or tradition, but one that, I argue, can only be understood through processes of domestication.

Thus the value of considering Fudō "on the ground" is that local power structures such as history, geography, and religio-commercial networks provide insight into the trans-sectarian, syncretic, and fluid nature of the deity, and thus the diversity of his regional forms not directly discernable in Mikkyō scripture. The

Appendix 3

Shrines with Fudō as *Honji* and/or *Shintai* in Musashi Province (SMFK, 1810)

Shrine	<i>Kami</i>	<i>Honji</i>	<i>Shintai</i>	District
1. Shirahigesha	Shirahige Daimyōjin?	Fudō	Ganzan Daishi	Katsushika
2. Shirahigesha	Shirahige Daimyōjin	Fudō	?	
3. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	Fudō	?	Tachibana
4. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	Fudō	Fudō	
5. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	Fudō	<i>Kamen</i> 仮面 mask	
6. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	Fudō	Fudō	
7. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	Fudō	?	
8. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	Fudō	?	
9. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	?	Fudō	
10. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	?	Fudō	Tsuzuki
11. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	Fudō	?	
12. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	?	Fudō	
13. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	?	Fudō	
14. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	?	Fudō	
15. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	?	Fudō	
16. Sugiyamasha	Sugiyama Daimyōjin	?	Fudō	
17. Tsurugisha	Tsurugi Myōjin	Fudō	?	Tama
18. Uenosha	?	Fudō	?	
19. Koyasu Myojinsha	Koyasu Myōjin	Fudō	“Non-existent” ¹⁶	Tama
20. Beppu Gongensha	Beppu Gongen?	?	Fudō	
21. Yu no Gongensha	Yu no Gongen?	?	Fudō	
22. Jōdono Gongensha	Jōdono Gongen?	?	Kurikara Fudō	Hatara
23. Nara Jinja	?	Fudō	?	

¹⁶ “*Shintai wa naku*” 神體はなく.

Appendix 4

Chronology of Shinshōji *Kaichō* Exhibitions, 1701–1857¹⁷

Year	Location	Type	Date / Duration	Main Display
1701	Shinshōji	<i>igaichō</i>	3.24–4.23	Narita Fudō
1703	Fukagawa	<i>degaichō</i>	4.27–6.28	--
1721	Shimōsa	<i>junkō</i>	--	--
1726	Hitachi & Shimōsa	<i>junkō</i>	--	--
1733	Fukagawa	<i>degaichō</i>	7.1–9.21	Narita Fudō
1751	Edo (Tōmyōji)	<i>degaichō</i>	3.22–?	Narita Fudō
1762	Fukagawa	<i>degaichō</i>	7.1–9.2	Narita Fudō
1764	Shimōsa, Kazusa, Hitachi, Musashi	<i>junkō</i>	3.29–10.11	--
1789	Fukagawa	<i>degaichō</i>	4.1–6.1	--
1806	Fukagawa	<i>degaichō</i>	3.1–5.1	Narita Fudō & Amakuni Sword
1807	Shinshōji	<i>igaichō</i>	3.12–4.1	Temple treasures
1809	Kentokuji, Yōkaichiba, Shimōsa	<i>degaichō</i>	3.20–?	Amakuni Sword
1814	Fukagawa	<i>degaichō</i>	3.1–5.1	Narita Fudō
1815	Shinshōji	<i>igaichō</i>	3.12–4.12	Amakuni Sword & temple treasures
1821	Fukagawa	<i>degaichō</i>	3.15–5.16	Narita Fudō & Amakuni Sword
1822	Shinshōji	<i>igaichō</i>	2.12–3.1	Amakuni Sword & temple treasures
1833	Fukagawa	<i>degaichō</i>	3.20–6.1	Narita Fudō & Amakuni Sword
1835	Shinshōji	<i>igaichō</i>	3.18–4.7	Amakuni Sword & temple treasures
1842	Fukagawa	<i>degaichō</i>	3.3–5.3	Narita Fudō & Amakuni Sword
1844	Shinshōji	<i>igaichō</i>	3.1–?	Amakuni Sword & temple treasures
1855	Shinshōji	<i>igaichō</i>	3.28–4.18	Amakuni Sword
1856	Fukagawa	<i>degaichō</i>	3.20–7.1	Narita Fudō & Amakuni Sword
1857	Shinshōji	<i>igaichō</i>	--	--

¹⁷ Adapted from Naritasan Shinshōji ed. (1968: 208–209).

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