Tracing Yamashinadera

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In Yamashina, a thatched hall
was built. Great Minister Fuhito was
fond of this hall and moved it to
the fields of Kasuga. Based on its
original name, it was called Yamashinadera.[1]

Introduction

Upon exiting Nara Station and heading towards Nara park, visitors today can quickly discern the large five-storied Muromachi-period pagoda of the temple Kōfukuji 興福寺. Although most tourists might be distracted by the freely roaming deer and be on their way to the nearby monumental Tōdaiji 東大寺, this pagoda, the recently reconstructed Central Golden Hall (Chūkondō 中金堂), the museum, and the Northern Octagonal Hall (Hokuendō 北円堂) are reminders of Kōfukuji's rich and often tumultuous past.[2] Many remaining premodern documents and picture scrolls, such as the *Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (*Kasuga gongen genki* 春日権現験記), attest to the importance that the temple complex once played as one of Japan's main religious, ritual, and economic centers. Founded in the Nara period (710–794), the temple grew into a major landholder throughout the Heian (794–1185) and Kamakura (1185–1333) eras and, over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it developed into a decentralized complex, consisting of "imperial cloisters" (*monzeki* 門跡), all with their own distinct lineages and administration. The position of abbot (*bettō* 別当) would come to alternate between the two most illustrious of these imperial cloisters, Ichijōin 一乗院 and Daijōin 大乗院, turning the monastery into a de facto dual form of governance. The temple became the center of the Japanese "Mind Only" school (Hossō 法相). When the monk Genbō 玄昉 (?–746) returned from China in 735, representing one of several transmissions of Mind Only Buddhism to Japan, over five thousand exoteric and esoteric texts were stored at Kōfukuji.[3] Throughout the Heian period many, if not most, of the temple's monks were also ordained in esoteric lineages, and in this sense, the temple, its rituals, and lineages became illustrative of exo-esoteric Buddhism (*kenmitsu*

1 This passage is taken from the *Personal Record of the Pilgrimage to the Seven Great Temples* (*Shichi daiji junrei shiki* 七大寺巡礼私記) from 1140 as cited by Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 120. The author's translation is from *Shichidaiji nikki, Shichidaiji junrei shiki*, pp. 51–52.

2 The monastery's Central Golden Hall was reconstructed and completed in 2018. An opening ceremony was held on 7 October 2018. See for example coverage of the event in the *Asahi Shinbun* of that day, https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASLB2551PLB2PLZU002.html.

3 Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, pp. 151–52. Fukihara mentions Genbō as the fourth transmission of Mind Only Buddhism to Japan, representing Kōfukuji's "northern lineage." Fukihara, *Nihon yuishiki shisō shi*, p. 176. The first transmission is ascribed to Dōshō 道昭 (629–700) from Gangōji who traveled to China in 653. Nagashima, "Kōfukuji no rekishi," pp. 5–6.

bukkyō 顕密仏教), with many of its learned monks being exemplary of a Hossō-Shingon 法相真言 identity.[4] Although the Kamakura period has often been portrayed as an age of change with the gradual rise of the Pure Land and the Zen schools, Kōfukuji (and many of the other older temples) remained a powerful religious and economic player until the early Ashikaga 足利 period (1392–1573). It was not until the large-scale confiscation of its landholdings by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598) in 1585 that the temple's financial basis, many of its rituals, and its population would truly disappear. In 1717, the temple burned down almost completely, with only a few buildings being rebuilt.[6] Kōfukuji's last properties were confiscated in 1871 and the temple's monastic lineage ceased to exist during the Meiji government's suppression of Buddhism.[7] In 1881, however, a new priest from Kiyomizudera 清水寺, originally one of Kōfukuji's branch temples, took residence at what remained of its once grand head temple and at present, there are seven ordained monks who continue to reside at the temple. In addition, it seems that the recent reconstruction of the monumental Central Golden Hall has put the temple back on the map.

Some of the oldest documents or passages in the official histories related to the history of Kōfukuji or its rituals reveal an interesting designation in referring to the temple. Instead of directly mentioning the name Kōfukuji, the name Yamashinadera 山階寺 is often used. We see this phenomenon not only in Nara-period sources, for example in the *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本記 or the *Shōsōin monjo* 正倉院文書, but also in Heian- and Kamakura-period texts such as the famous *Tales from Times Now Past* (*Konjaku monogatarishū* 今昔物語集), or the *Shichidaiji junrei shiki* quoted above.[8] In addition, texts detailing participation in one of premodern Japan's major rituals, Kōfukuji's Yuima-e 維摩会 or Vimalakīrti Assembly, at times refer to the temple's monks as belonging to Yamashinadera. The *Combined Record of the Three Assemblies* (*San'e jōichiki* 三会定一記), a list of monks who attained the position of lecturer (*kōshi* 講師) in the Yuima-e, the Misai-e 御斎会, and the Saishō-e 最勝会 rituals, also often prefers to mention the name Yamashinadera over Kōfukuji.[9] The second recorded session of the Vimalakīrti Assembly in *San'e jōichiki* adds an additional name to refer to Kōfukuji. In this entry it is written that this session was carried out by the monk Chihō 知寶 (n.d.) in Keiun 慶雲 5 (708), after the ritual had been discontinued for forty-eight years since the first recorded session of the fourth year of Sovereign Saimei's 斉明天皇 (594–661) reign (658). The source adds that after these forty-eight years, "it was ordered that the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* should be lectured upon at Umayasakadera." "Umayasakadera" here refers to Kōfukuji as well, since the ritual took place in Wadō 和銅 5 (712), after the temple's official founding.[10] In other words, the temple Kōfukuji is often referred to by two other names, Yamashinadera or Umayasakadera. As we will see below, these two temples are considered the direct predecessor and points of origin of the later Kōfukuji.

In this article I will provide a concise overview of the accounts of Kōfukuji's origins involving Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera and problematize the traditional account that the temple indeed had these two precursors and was moved twice to its current location. I will suggest an alternative explanation for the occurrence of these two temples and suggest that they were rather a creation of the eighth century, after the founding of Kōfukuji in the new capital Heijōkyō 平城京. I will point out that the creation of a point of origin was necessary to provide Kōfukuji with the necessary status and legitimacy as one of the state's Great Temples (*ōdera* 大寺).

4 Kojima no Shinkō 子島眞興 (934–1004) or Chūzan 仲算 (935–976) are examples of Heian-period Kōfukuji monks whose writings reveal a strong Hossō-Shingon identity. See for example Tomabechi, "Heian-ki Kōfukuji." The terms "exoteric" and "esoteric" Buddhism refer to *kengyō* 顕教 and *mikkyō* 密教 respectively. The former in general refers to the Nara schools, whereas the latter refers to Shingon (or Tendai). After Kūkai 空海 (774–835), teachings from the Nara schools and Shingon integrated at the doctrinal, ritual, and institutional level. For a detailed description and definitions, see Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, pp. 10–11.

5 Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, pp. 87–89.

6 In 1717, the Central Golden Hall, the Lecture Hall (Kōdō 講堂), the Western Golden Hall (Saikondō 西金堂), and the Southern Octagonal Hall were all lost. Very limited reconstruction took place until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Kawasaki, "Kōfukuji no rekishiteki chigakuteki kankyō," p. 20.

7 Izumiya, *Kōfukuji*, pp. 209–10.

8 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 158; Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," pp. 120–21.

9 For example, the name occurs when referring to the abbot Shūen 修圓 as "Yamashinadera bettō" 山階寺別当. SJ, p. 291.

10 SJ, p. 289. The first session was supposedly carried out by the monk Fuliang 福亮 (n.d.) from Gangōji.

The Temple's "Prehistory"

Although Kōfukuji at its present location was founded at the beginning of the Nara period, its origins are said to predate the eighth century.[11] Basically, the temple and many works on Japanese Buddhism acknowledge that the temple's origins go back to two earlier temples, Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera, a narrative that can be found both in academic and popular accounts. In his introductory history *Kōfukuji*, Izumiya Yasuo starts his account of the temple with the name "Yamashinadera" and points out that this temple and Kōfukuji's precursor already was a Fujiwara clan temple (*Fujiwara uji no ujidera* 藤原氏寺).[12] Although much more detailed in his account, Nagashima Fukutarō also connected Kōfukuji with Yamashinadera in his earlier study. Today, the temple itself is quite clear about its illustrious origins (abridged):

> In the eighth year of the reign of Emperor Tenji, Kagami no Okimi, consort of Nakatomi no Kamatari, founded a Buddhist chapel in Yamashina … to pray for Kamatari's recovery from illness. In this temple, which came to be known as Yamashinadera, Kagami no Okimi enshrined a Shaka triad.… In the wake of the relocation of the capital as a result of the Jinshin Rebellion of 672, the temple was disassembled and moved to Umayasaka in Nara prefecture, where it was re-erected and named Umayasakadera. Shortly after the establishment of the Heijo Capital in 710, Yamashinadera relocated to its present location. The temple was now called Kōfukuji.[13]

The temple here is mainly echoing the narrative found in earlier mainstream overviews of Japanese Buddhist history, such as Tsuji Zennosuke's *Nihon bukkyō shi* which clearly states that Yamashinadera was founded by Kamatari, and even included a Golden Hall and housed a large Buddha triad.[14]

The foundational history of these two earlier temples coincides with the earliest developments of the Fujiwara family and the establishment of the Buddhist tradition in Japan. As stated by Kobayashi, these temples also follow three consecutive capitals: Yamashina is said to have been close to Ōtsu 大津, Umayasaka was located near Fujiwarakyō 藤原京, and finally Kōfukuji was constructed near the grounds of Kasuga as part of the Nara capital, Heijōkyō.[15] In addition to Kōfukuji's foundational history, several Japanese and Western scholars have touched upon the relation between the patriarch of the Fujiwara family, Nakatomi no Kamatari 中臣鎌足 (614–669), and the foundation of the temple's main ritual, the Vimalakīrti Assembly.[16]

Although no comprehensive history of Kōfukuji exists in either English or Japanese, many scholars have addressed the temple's origins. In essence, all these works are more or less the same and accept a narrative found in the ninth-century *Kōfukuji Origin Chronicle* (*Kōfukuji engi* 興福寺縁起) composed by the courtier Fujiwara no Yoshiyo 藤原良世 (823–900).[17] Composed two centuries after the alleged founding of the temples at Yamashina and Umayasaka, it seems that the text might have been based on an earlier account taken from the Nara-period *Origin Chronicle of the Buddhist Community* (*Garan engi* 伽藍縁起).[18]

After describing some of the basic events that led to the Taika 大化 reforms of 645, the ninth-century *Origin Chronicle* states that Nakatomi no Kamatari's wife Kagami no Ōkimi 鏡王女 (?–683) installed images of the Buddha, along with bodhisattva attendants and Celestial Kings, at their residence,[19] which became Yamashinadera in 669. The same source details that this temple was moved to Umayasakadera in 672 where it was then renamed Umayasaka Temple.[20] It is this structure that was supposedly moved to the new capital of Heijōkyō by Fujiwara no Fuhito 藤原不比等 (659–720) at the beginning of the eighth century. No documents

11 Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjō, p. 8.
12 Izumiya, *Kōfukuji*, p. 13.
13 http://www.kohfukuji.com/english.html#english01.
14 Tsuji, *Nihon bukkyō shi*, p. 83. Kameda states that according to traditional accounts, Kōfukuji started from Yamashinadera and that its old name was Yamashinadera or Umayasakadera. Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 43.
15 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, pp. 27–28. Ōhashi, "Heijō sento to kokka kanji no iten," p. 114.
16 See for example Takayama, *Chūsei Kōfukuji no yuima-e kenkyū*, pp. 63–64.
17 See for example Izumiya, *Kōfukuji*, p. 13; Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods*, p. 49; Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, p. 68. The *Kōfujkuji engi* text used here is published in DNBZ, vol. 119, pp. 320–26.
18 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 158.
19 KE, p. 320.
20 Ibid.

remain regarding the actual construction of the early temple but work must have started between 710 and the Yōrō 養老 years (717–724), dates that seem to be confirmed in the *Record of Kōfukuji* (*Kōfukuji ruki* 興福寺流記), a twelfth-century compilation of more than ten much older texts.[21] Throughout the eighth century the temple complex gradually grew, with some of the earliest buildings being the Golden Hall (Kondō 金堂) of 714, the Octagonal Hall built in 721, the Eastern Golden Hall (Tōkondō 東金堂) from 726, and the Five-Storied Pagoda (Gojū no tō 五重塔) constructed in 730. Work continued till well into the Heian period, with the Southern Octagonal Hall (Nan'endō 南円堂) built in 813.[22]

The account in Yoshiyo's *Origin Chronicle* is, however, not the oldest source available to us; the earliest sources on the temple's history can be found in the *Kōfukuji ruki*. We will return to this text in more detail below. What is striking is that the most famous eighth-century imperial history, the *Nihon shoki*, does not mention the temple's predecessors.[23] This is rather surprising, given Kōfukuji's later central position as the main Fujiwara temple in the political and religious spheres of the court.

Some of the earliest modern academic works on Kōfukuji's history, such as Nagashima Fukutarō's "Kōfukuji no rekishi," describe the temple's early history completely in the light of the *Origin Chronicle*. Although Nagashima points out the importance of the *Yamashina ruki*, he does clearly state that Kōfukuji's history predates Fuhito and goes back to Yamashinadera.[24] Nagashima's conclusions and acceptance of the *Origin Chronicle*'s narrative were taken in by most Western and later Japanese scholars. For example, Allan Grapard's *The Protocol of the Gods*, Susan Tyler's *The Cult of Kasuga Seen Through Its Art,* and Royall Tyler's *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (all published around the same time in the early 1990s) all refer to the basic narrative accepted by Nagashima.[25] Several later Japanese works such as Izumiya Yasuo's introductory *Kōfukuji* are no exception either and basically take over the account that the temple originates in, or is somehow linked with, Yamashinadera.[26] However, not everyone simply accepts this traditional narrative. In his work on the early Fujiwara, Miyai Yoshio raised doubts concerning the existence of Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera.[27] In addition, Kameda Hiroshi doubted whether the traditional account reflects historical truth, and he does so by referring to earlier scholarship by Fukuyama Toshio.[28] In his 1968 study *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, Fukuyuma provided a short overview of Kōfukuji's early construction and starts with the traditional narrative of Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera. However, as he points out, no documents remain, no archaeological data are available, and no mention of these temples can be found in the *Nihon shoki*. For this reason, Fukuyama concluded, nothing can be stated about the form or even the existence of these temples.[29]

In 1996, Oboroya Hisashi even stated that Yamashinadera's origin story was nothing but "folklore" (*denshō* 伝承).[30] More recent textual research, for example by Kobayashi Yūko, urges us to include a comparative analysis of the different parts of the *Kōfukuji ruki* to reassess Kōfukuji's origins and question the very historicity of the temple's precursors. I would argue that an inclusion of this analysis in addition to the archaeological record might help us arrive at an account different from the traditionally accepted "Yamashinadera-Umayasakadera-Kōfukuji" timeline.

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21 Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjō, p. 8; Ōhashi, "Heijō sento to kokka kanji no iten," p. 115.

22 Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjō, p. 8; Kawasaki, "Kōfukuji no rekishiteki chigakuteki kankyō," p. 11.

23 This is also noted in Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, p. 328.

24 Nagashima, "Kōfukuji no rekishi," pp. 1–2.

25 Tyler states literally: "Perhaps the best survey history of Kōfukuji is an article by Nagashima Fukutarō. What follows will often rely on that work." Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, p. 68. Although Nagashima, and thus Tyler, mention other sources as well, the basic "Yamashinadera-Umayasakadera-Kōfukuji" pattern is followed. Grapard refers to the construction at Yamashina as "Yamashina Chapel." It is not clear what word "chapel" here refers to (and this is significant since in the primary sources several words are used to refer to whatever existed at Yamashina), but of importance to us is that Grapard rejects the possibility that this chapel could have housed statues of bodhisattvas and celestial kings (however, "chapels" usually do contain statues, so it is not clear what the word refers to). Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods*, pp. 48–49.

26 Izumiya, *Kōfukuji*, pp. 14–15. The present Kōfukuji abbot, Tagawa Shun'ei 多川俊映, also describes the temple as originating in Yamashinadera. Tagawa, *Nara Kōfukuji*, *ayumi, oshie, hotoke*, pp. 14–15.

27 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, pp. 160–61.

28 Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 44. Ōhashi doubts the traditional account in a similar way. Ōhashi, "Heijō sento to kokka kanji no iten," p. 114.

29 Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, pp. 327–28.

30 Quoted in Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 120.

Beyond Fujiwara no Yoshiyo's *Origin Chronicle*

The largest source on the temple's early history is the *Kōfukuji ruki*, a collection of passages composed of more than ten older texts.[31] Due to its rather erratic organization and repetition, the *ruki* is hard to follow and the origin of several parts of the text remains unknown. The main sources it draws from are the *Records of Old* (*Kyūki* 旧記), the *Record of the Jewelled Characters* (*Hōjiki* 宝字記), and the *Records of the Enryaku Years* (*Enryakuki* 延暦記), but in addition to these, at least nine other possible origin texts have been identified.[32] Kobayashi Yūko has argued that the *Kōfukuji ruki* can be divided into three parts.[33] The first describes the temple's origins, dedication of Buddha statues, and the construction of some of its oldest buildings such as the Tōkondō or the Saikondō 西金堂.[34] The second is the *Records of Yamashina* (*Yamashina ruki* 山階流記) and contains a more detailed description of certain aspects of the early temple, drawing from some of the oldest passages of the *Hōjiki*, the *Enryakuki*, and the *Record of the Kōnin Years* (*Kōninki* 弘仁記).[35] Passages from the *Kyūki*, possibly the oldest Kōfukuji sources available to us, are also included in this part. Here we find the basic narrative that the temple was founded in Yamashina, moved to Umayasaka, and finally ended up in the new capital, Heijōkyō.[36] The text includes the name of the alleged author of this *Yamashina ruki*: Senshi 僊之 (n.d.), an otherwise unknown monastic who probably was a Kōfukuji monk.[37] The third and last part of the *Kōfukuji ruki* is largely borrowed from the much later Heian-period *Abbreviated Record of Fusō* (*Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記). First, it clarifies the connection between Kamatari and Prince Naka no Ōe 中大兄 (the later sovereign Tenji 天智天皇; 626–671), an aspect that was already included in the second part of the text, and then goes on to describe specific events that impacted the buildings and the monastic community.[38] It is unclear when these three parts were put together as one source, but most scholars seem to agree that the *Kōfukuji ruki* was compiled in the late Heian period by an unknown Kōfukuji monk.[39]

The oldest part of the *Kōfukuji ruki*, the *Kyūki*, starts its account with the death of sovereign Jomei 舒明天皇 (593–641) and the subsequent rise to power of the Soga clan.[40] It mentions that Fujiwara Naidaijin Kamatari 藤原内大臣鎌足 (Great Minister of the Interior Kamatari) took a vow to construct a six-foot statue of the Buddha Śākyamuni. In other words, the beginning of the *Kyūki* starts its account of Kōfukuji by connecting the position of the Fujiwara patriarch Kamatari with the events that led up to the Taika reforms of 645, demonstrating that the temple's history and rise to power of the Fujiwara are thoroughly connected. This narrative can be found in other sources as well, such as the mid eighth-century *History of the Fujiwara House* (*Tōshi kaden* 藤氏家伝), in which Kamatari's line is constructed as inseparable from the line of sovereigns and the court.[41]

The order of events described in the *Kyūki* can be summarized as follows. First, after the Taika revolt of 645, Kamatari erects a statue of the historical Buddha, possibly an entire triad to which Four Heavenly

31 *Kōfukuji ruki*, in DNBZ, vol. 123, pp. 1–28.

32 Shibuya, "Kōfukuji ruki ni tsuite," p. 52. Other examples of sources included in the *Kōfukuji ruki* are the *Tenpyōki* 天平記, *Tenpyō zenki* 天平前記, *Tenpyō jūroku nenki* 天平十六年記, *Tenpyō ruki* 天平流記, and the *Kōninki* 弘仁記. Shibuya adds that especially the *Enryakuki* and *Hōjiki* are cited most often in the text, ninety-eight and sixty-eight times respectively. See also Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 54.

33 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, pp. 37–38.

34 KR, p. 1.

35 Ibid., p. 4. Kobayashi, "Heijō kyō ni okeru Kōfukuji no zōei kaishi jiki," pp. 49–50. Nagashima also mentions these sources. Nagashima, "Kōfukuji no rekishi," pp. 1–2. Fukuyama also mainly relies on these oldest sections to refer to the temple's early construction. Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, pp. 328–29.

36 As argued by Kobayashi, there are several debates arguing that the *Kyūki* is the older source. She notes, based on research by Shibuya, that in the *Kyūki* citations sovereign Genmyō 元明天皇 is referred to as Daijō Tennō 大上天皇, whereas parts of the *Hōjiki* refer to Genmyō as the "former" Daijō Tennō 先大上天皇. This clearly suggests that the former was composed during that sovereign's reign and the latter after. In addition, based on this reference to the sovereign, she suggests the *Kyūki* was composed between 715 and 723. Tanimoto Akira also identifies the *Kyūki* as older, arguing that the *Hōjiki* is an elaboration based on the former. Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, pp. 46–48.

37 Ibid., p.38.

38 KR, p. 20.

39 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 38. Not everyone agrees on this dating. Shibuya Wakiko estimates that the text was compiled in the early Heian period. Shibuya, "Kōfukuji ruki ni tsuite," p. 54.

40 KR, p. 6.

41 Bauer, "The Chronicle of Kamatari," pp. 477–79. The story regarding Kamatari's vow is very similar to the *Kōninki*'s account of the events, a passage likewise included further on in the same *Kōfukuji ruki*. However, this latter source adds that Kamatari's vow consisted in constructing a statue in addition to Four Heavenly Kings.

Kings were added as well. Second, Kamatari falls ill and his consort Kagami no Ōkimi builds Yamashinadera. Third, this temple is moved to Umayasaka. Fourth, the building is reconstructed in the new capital, Heijōkyō, marking the beginning of Kōfukuji's monastic complex. This has become the commonly accepted early history of the temple and based on this account the following summarized timeline could be suggested:

645 Taika revolt involving Nakatomi no Kamatari and Imperial Prince Naka no Ōe
657 A "temple" (*shōja* 精舎) is built at Kamatari's mansion[42]
658 A ceremony dedicated to the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* is held at this mansion
669 Yamashinadera is founded following Kamatari's illness
673 Yamashinadera is moved and renamed Umayasakadera
710 Umayasakadera is moved to the new capital near the area of the Kasuga Shrine and renamed Kōfukuji[43]

Although the narrative and sequence of events described above seems clear enough at first, several aspects of the text and the terminology urge us to rethink this rather idealized description of Kōfukuji's origins. Below, we will focus on the following elements. First, in the passages of the *Kyūki*, the "temple" is not referred to as *dera* but as *hōden* 宝殿 (Jewelled Hall). The same can be said for the parts of the *Hōjiki* where the term Shin'in 眞院 (Hall of Truth) instead of *dera* can be found.[44] As mentioned by Yabunaka, this term might indicate that whatever the construction was, it was not considered a *dera*.[45] This latter term is also used in the later *Kōfukuji Origin Chronicle* when referring to the temple's earlier phase. Second, the time frame in between the different stages of the temple's development is very tight, urging us to take into consideration the number of years it typically took to construct temple buildings: was it possible to do so? In addition, why were none of these buildings included in one of the imperial histories? And finally, is there any archaeological record to back up the existence of these "temples"?

Were Kōfukuji's Precursors "Dera"?

The *Kyūki* formulates the foundation of *Yamashinadera* as follows:

> In the tenth month of winter in the eighth year since the enthronement of Tenji, the Great Minister of the Interior (Kamatari) was bedridden and felt ill. His consort Kagami no Ōkimi declared: "I respectfully request to build a temple (*garan* 伽藍) and enshrine a statue of the Buddha." The Great Minister did not allow it and she stated it again three times. Finally, he agreed. Then, in Yamashina, she started the construction of a Jewelled Hall (*hōden*). When the sacred palanquin was moved south [i.e., the capital was moved], it was relocated to Umayasaka. In the third year of Wadō of the heavenly Sovereign Genmei, following the wish of the people, the capital was fixed in Heijō. The Great Minister of State (*daijō daijin* 太政大臣), who had inherited the determination [from his father Kamatari], heard of the hallowed grounds of Kasuga and built there the temple (*garan*) of Kōfuku.[46]

This version reveals two important elements. First, the building is not referred to as a *dera* 寺 but a *dono* 殿 or "hall." Second, whatever its size might have been, it apparently must have been large enough to house statues.

Another section of the *Kōfukuji ruki*, taken from the *Hōjiki*, provides the following similar account:

> In the tenth month of winter the Great Minister of the Interior became ill and fell into a coma. For seven days he was not well. His consort Kagami no Ōkimi declared: "I wish to build a temple (*garan*) and dedicate a statue." The Great Minister refused until she had asked three times and then he allowed it. Following this, she established a Hall of Truth (Shin'in) in Yamashina. This would become Yamashinadera.[47]

42 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 161.
43 KR, p. 6. See also Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 44.
44 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 160; KE, p. 320; Kameda," Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 44; Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 14.
45 Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 120.
46 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, pp. 46–47; KR, p. 6; Tanimoto, "'Kōfukuji ruki' no kisoteki kenkyū," pp. 91–92. The Great Minister here mentioned is Fujiwara no Fuhito; author's translation. Yabunaka "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 120.
47 KR, p. 7, author's translation. Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," pp. 120–21. Tanimoto, "'Kōfukuji ruki' no kisoteki kenkyū," p. 92.

In other words, both passages mention Kamatari's illness and the decisive role played by the patriarch's wife in the construction of Kōfukuji's precursor.

Although this text states further on that this later became Yamashinadera, without adding a specific year, it is clear that the first building is referred to as an *in* 院. This is significant since there was an important institutional difference between a *dono* or *in* on the one hand and a *dera* on the other.[48] As mentioned in the *Nihon shoki*, Kōfukuji did not receive the official status of *dera* until Yōro 養老 2 (720) when the sovereign, Genshō (元正天皇; 680–748), created the position of *Zō kōfukuji butsuden shi* 造興福寺佛殿司 in the wake of Fujiwara no Fuhito's death.[49] This appears to be the earliest extant application of the term *dera* to refer to Kōfukuji. In the first and also earliest part of the *Kōfukuji ruki*, the term *dera* is avoided, but the latter (and later) part of the Tenpyō 天平 era of the text suddenly utilizes the term frequently. Not only does this exemplify the nature of the text as a composite of parts from various eras (an earlier and a later part), it also demonstrates that the temple was referred to in different ways throughout its early period. The parts that do utilize *dera* were likely written after 720 when the temple had already received an official, public status. It has been argued by Kobayashi Yūko that not only did the original *Kyūki* form the basis for the accounts of the *Hōjiki* but also that the former originally consisted of an earlier and a later part written by two different people, an assertion she made on the basis of stylistic change between two parts.[50] In addition to the style, however, the latter part of the *Kyūki* is where we find the term *dera* to refer to Kōfukuji's predecessors. As stated above, this might be because this latter part was composed when the temple had already received the official designation *dera*.

The imperial history *Shoku Nihongi* mentions in an entry for the year 797 a system referred to as the "Four Great Temples" (*shi daiji* 四大寺).[51] However, this is not the earliest occurrence in the *Shoku Nihongi* of Kōfukuji as a *dera*. There are no less than seven earlier examples in the same source showing that Kōfukuji was referred to as an official temple. It is mentioned for the first time as such in 720, and in 735 (Tenpyō 7) and 745, Kōfukuji is referred to as one of the Four Temples (*shi ji* 四寺), along with Daianji 大安寺, Yakushiji 薬師寺, and Gangōji 元興寺.[52] In 749 (Tenpyō Shōhō 天平勝宝 1), the temple is included in the list of the Five Great Temples (*go daiji* 大五寺), comprising of the original four plus Tōdaiji.[53] It is in the relation between this group of officially recognized temples and the construction of the new capital from 710 that we might find an alternative explanation for Kōfukuji's origins. The Four Great temples of 735 located in and around Heijōkyō share an important feature, or at least three of them clearly do: all official temples had clear origins. Gangōji goes back to the famous Asukadera 飛鳥寺 and the latter's high position in the seventh century justified its transfer.[54] Daianji had Kudara Ōdera 百済大寺 as its predecessor, and Yakushiji near Heijōkyō was based on a temple with the same name near the prior capital, Fujiwarakyō. In other words, all three temples had a clear, verifiable ancestor, providing them and their patrons with the necessary legitimacy. But what about Kōfukuji, the temple whose status and rituals would in time eclipse the other three from the latter half of the Nara period?

Challenging the Timeline

The latter half of the seventh century saw a veritable surge in temple construction, differing in status and adherence or patronage. For example, Prince Shōtoku's original Ikarugadera 斑鳩寺 coincides with the earliest stage of Japan's temple construction, but so would have Kagami no Ōkimi's Yamashinadera, built from

Nagashima also mentions this passage and notes the resemblance between the *Hōjiki* and the *Origin Chronicle*. Nagashima, "Kōfukuji no rekishi," p. 1. The following passage of the same source is also quoted by Fukuyama to describe when the temple was moved to Kasuga at a later stage. Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, p. 328.

48 In relation to Asukadera 飛鳥寺, Akiko Walley mentions the following passage from the *Nihon shoki* from 594: "To construct a Buddhist Hall for the glory of the heavenly sovereign. These are called 'temples.'" Walley, *Constructing the Dharma King*, p. 116. The term in the *Nihon shoki* used for "Buddhist Hall" is *bussha* 佛舎 and for "temple" is *dera* 寺, showing there was an institutional difference between the two. *Nihon shoki*, Suiko 推古 2 (594).2.1.

49 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 164.

50 Kobayashi points out that both the *Kyūki* and the *Hōjiki* are written in four-character sentences (*yojiku* 四字句). However, based on stylistic differences, she states that the former and the latter part of the *Kyūki* must have been composed by two different authors. Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 48.

51 McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, p. 2.

52 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, pp. 25–26.

53 Ibid., p. 26.

54 McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, p. 253.

669. And what would have been the nature of Kagami no Ōkimi's site of worship, constructed at Kamatari's mansion in 657?[55] Here, we could draw a parallel with the examples of Soga no Iname's 蘇我稲目 (?–570) house temple from 552 or Soga no Umako's 蘇我馬子 (?–626) from 584.[56] These were small adjacent buildings for the purpose of venerating an image of the Buddha. Wouldn't Yamashinadera have been very similar to these cases? At first sight it might, but a closer look at the motivation to construct Ikarugadera, or for Soga no Umako to add a modest construction to his mansion, reveals that perhaps there was a significant difference.

As revealed by the narrative described in several sources mentioned above, Kamatari's illness and prayers for his recovery are depicted as the main reason for Yamashinadera's construction. This means that the reason for this temple's existence (and ultimately also for the later Kōfukuji) has to be situated within the Fujiwara clan, turning the temple into a private matter. This is intrinsically different from the founding reasons of many other official temples. For example, the *Nihon shoki*'s accounts of Soga no Umako's Hōkōji 法興寺 (Asukadera), predecessor of the later Gangōji of 588, or Prince Shōtoku's Shitennōji 四天王寺 from 593, seem to suggest a clear emphasis on strengthening the court through the construction of these temples.[57] In other words, in the case of these temples, there seems to have been a state-protecting function, while Yamashinadera's original reason for existing was a private matter: the strengthening of Kamatari's position within the Fujiwara. This "private aspect" might explain the absence of any information regarding Yamashinadera's creation in the *Nihon shoki*: whatever the temple at Yamashina looked like (and whatever its size), it was not an official temple and therefore not mentioned in the official history. This element seems also to be supported by the Yuima-e's origin story. Just like the temple, this ritual is described as having been founded when Kamatari fell ill.[58] In time, it was fixed at Kōfukuji and held on the tenth day of the tenth month, the commemorative day of the patriarch.[59] In other words, both the temple and its main ritual are rooted in a private Fujiwara matter.[60] In time, Kōfukuji's main Buddhist services would not be services for the historical Buddha or the Hossō patriarch, Kuiji 窺基 (632–682): the grand ritual Yuima-e commemorated the patriarch and other rituals were also held to commemorate certain members of the Fujiwara. The Hokke-e 法華会 ritual in honor of Uchimaro 藤原内麻呂 (756–812) is a good example of this.[61]

The actual orders to build temples seem to have been recorded only if the temple was of importance to the state, in other words, if the temple fit the *Nihon shoki*'s imperial and court-centered narrative. In this sense, the absence of orders, in addition to the omission of their origins in the official histories, has to be noted. However, from the construction of Heijōkyō onwards, Kōfukuji became an integral part of the new capital. The problem might have been that this grand monastery remained without an official point of origin. Gangōji, which would become, along with Kōfukuji, one of the two main Japanese Hossō branches in the eighth century, could trace its origins back to the illustrious Asukadera. Although precise construction records for most of Japan's temples are lacking, we are able to reconstruct a timeline for Asukadera. In 588, the space for the temple was cleared. Two years later, in 590, wood for the temple was prepared and in 592 the Buddha Hall was erected. The next year, in 593, relics were placed at the base of the pagoda, and by 596 the basic temple outline seems to have been finished.[62] Two monks took residence there and by 605 a bronze statue was ordered. In 606 it was finished and placed in the temple's central hall.[63] Gangōji's example shows that the construction of

55 Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," pp. 121–22.

56 Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, p. 171.

57 Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," pp. 117–18. Ōhashi describes how Asukadera evolved from the Soga clan's private temple to an official temple after the clan's power was repressed under Shōtoku Taishi. Ōhashi, "Asukadera no sōritsu ni kansuru mondai," p. 10. Walley points out that "Asukadera was a project of the Yamato state" but mentions Katō Kenkichi's statement that this temple had a "dual nature," being on the one hand an *ujidera*, but on the other having a function that went beyond its own clan, the Soga. Walley, *Constructing the Dharma King*, p. 116.

58 Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga Seen Through Its Art*, pp. 97–98.

59 Bauer, "The Yuima-e as Theater of the State," pp. 162–63. The SJ states that the ritual was allocated to Kōfukuji in Enryaku 延暦 20 (801); SJ, p. 290. Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 65.

60 The evolution of the Yuima-e falls outside the scope of this article, but of note is the description of the ritual's origins as formulated in an edict issued by Fujiwara no Nakamaro 藤原仲麻呂 (706–764) in 757 and contained in the *Shoku Nihongi*. Here, Nakamaro refers to the ritual as originating in Kamatari's residence. See for example Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, p. 331.

61 Miyai, *Ritsuryō kizoku*, p. 179.

62 For a comparative timeline on the construction of Asukadera in relation with other temples built before 700, see Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, p. 159.

63 Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, p. 172.

a full-fledged temple along with the instalment of an image of worship took at least four years and involved a large enterprise worthy of being recorded. However, did Kōfukuji, which like Gangōji would become one of the official Four Great Temples, have a predecessor worthy of having been recorded?

If Kōfukuji's predecessors Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera were indeed larger constructions rather than small sites of worship at a private residence, two problems seem to arise. First, there does not seem to have been enough time to actually build temples that would fit the profile of being an official temple's origin similar to Asukadera and Gangōji. Second, the alleged construction of Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera, in addition to the final move to the Nara capital, does not seem to correspond with two contemporaneous developments: the creation and abandonment of the Ōtsu (667–672) and Fujiwara (694–710) capitals, and the career of Kamatari's son Fuhito, one of the main architects of Heijōkyō. If the construction of Yamashinadera was indeed started in 669, then the temple was commissioned, built, and abandoned in merely three years. This would certainly be possible in the case of a small structure within Kamatari's residence, but for a temple with a basic layout this is not possible. As pointed out by Ōhashi, it took at least four years to complete a temple in the classical period and it seems that the alleged construction at Yamashina would have had three years maximum.[64] In other words, if there was a temple at Yamashina it cannot have been but a small construction.[65]

The Problem of Location

As described above, the timeframe described in the primary sources casts doubt on Yamashinadera and Umayasakadera's very existence. Another problem, unfortunately often ignored in many overviews of Kōfukuji's origins, consists of the archaeological record. Not too far from the present-day Kintetsu Railway station Kashihara Jingū Mae in Nara Prefecture, lies at first sight an unassuming archaeological site. Here, in between some small fields and houses, a rectangular, elevated shape can be discerned, a site overgrown with small bushes and trees. For some, this is considered the site of Umayasakadera, the place Yamashinadera was moved to and thus one of Kōfukuji's two predecessors. In reality, however, it is just one of several places that claim this honor and no conclusive evidence seems to exist to allocate the name Umayasakadera to any of these sites. The question remains: is there any archaeological evidence to support the timeline Yamasahinadera–Umayasakadera–Kōfukuji? It is not my purpose here to provide a detailed analysis of the archaeological record, but to point out that no conclusive physical evidence exists regarding the location, or even the existence, of Kōfukuji's two precursors.

In the case of Yamashinadera, in 1919, Nishida Shinji identified archaeological remains (*ato* 跡) in Ōyake (Ōyake Haiji 大宅廃寺), Kyoto Prefecture, as the remains of Yamashinadera. Even today, in front of a local middle school, one can find a marker identifying the site as the Ōyake Haiji ato 大宅廃寺跡 or remains of Ōyake Temple. First excavated in 1917, several tiles were found and, based on these, another scholar, Umehara Suehara, decided in 1920 that this had to be the site of Yamashinadera.[66] However, as pointed out by Yabunaka, the recovered tiles seem to be those of an official temple while Yamashinadera, as described in the sources, must have been part of a private residence. Therefore, Yabunaka concludes, Ōyake Haiji cannot have been Yamashinadera.[67] In addition, Ōyake Haiji's site is fairly large and in 1958 the main contours of all the buildings was unearthed, with several buildings being identified as the Golden Hall, the Lecture Hall, a central gate, and monks' quarters.[68] It is unlikely that this compound could have been constructed in the short timeframe described above.

Three sites attracted attention as possibly being Umayasakadera: the Jōroku site (Jōroku iseki 丈六遺跡) and Uranbō ウラン坊, both located to the south of the city of Fujiwarakyō, and finally Kumedera 久米寺. The actual date or even the year the temple moved from Yamashina to Umayasaka is not mentioned in the sources but supposedly took place after the Jinshin 壬申 wars (672) and the construction of the Kiyomihara Palace by Prince Ōama (the later sovereign Tenmu).[69] The Jōroku site was identified as Umayasakadera for the

64 As cited in Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 15. Ōhashi, "Asukadera no sōritsu ni kansuru mondai," p. 13.
65 Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 15.
66 Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 126.
67 Ibid., p. 131.
68 Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 45.
69 Ibid., p. 46.

first time in 1915, but in 1961 Suenaga Masao raised the possibility of it being the private mansion of Soga no Iruka 蘇我入鹿 (?–645) instead.[70] However, a few years later, in 1963, Oi Jujiro dismissed that theory and raised the possibility of the site being Umayasakadera. In any case, no clear consensus seems to have been reached regarding its identity. Not too far from this location we find the Uranbō site. In 1932 Yasui Yoshitarō identified it as Soga no Umako's residence but Fukiyama Toshio concluded it had to be Umayasakadera. No consensus was ever reached.[71] As for the third possibility, during excavations at Kōfukuji, tiles from a temple called Kumedera were uncovered. When a temple was relocated, the tiles usually were moved along and reused. For example, at Yakushiji, excavations revealed that 75 percent of the unearthed tiles came from the original temple. Mori concluded that by this logic the Kumedera tiles found at Kōfukuji were reason enough to consider the possibility of Kumedera being Kōfukuji's precursor.[72] However, as pointed out by Yabunaka, only eight percent of the tiles found at Kōfukuji could be identified as Kumedera's, a number significantly lower than the ones in Yakushiji's case. Also, since tiles from various temples were found at Kōfukuji, it might make more sense to conclude that materials from various locations were used or at least manufactured in the same area. In any case, the "evidence" for identifying Kumedera as Umayasakadera seems weak and once again no conclusive evidence supports the thesis that Kumedera originally was Umayasakadera.[73]

Conclusion

The Heian-period *Fusō ryakki* describes how Nakatomi no Kamatari fell gravely ill in 656. Upon request, a Buddhist nun from Kudara recited a passage from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, whereupon the courtier recovered from his illness.[74] Following this episode, Kamatari constructed a site of worship where he started a ritual. This is said to have been the origin of Kōfukuji's grand Vimalakīrti Assembly and the site that he constructed formed the point of origin of the temple itself. Thus, the Nakatomi (the later Fujiwara), Kōfukuji, and the Vimalakīrti Assembly were forever unified in their origin.

When the new capital of Heijōkyō was constructed at the beginning of the eighth century, the Buddhist tradition had been around for roughly two centuries. Well-known passages from the *Nihon shoki* talk of the strife that ensued between the Nakatomi, the Mononobe, and the Soga clans about the acceptance of the Buddhist scrolls and the gilded statue donated by the monarch from Paekche. Not too long thereafter, temples and sites of worship were constructed, and by the eighth century Buddhism was thoroughly entrenched in the Japanese state. The construction of the new capital was therefore accompanied by the building of several official temples as well: Daianji, Yakushiji, Gangōji, and Kōfukuji, the so-called Four Great Temples. However, as pointed out above, there is one thing that set Kōfukuji apart from the other three temples: its point of origin, the enigmatic temple Yamashinadera. Indeed, Daianji could trace its origin back to Kudara Ōdera, Yakushiji to an older temple of the same name, and Gangōji had Asukadera as its ancestor. In Kōfukuji's case, later sources tell us that it had two predecessors: first there was Yamashinadera, then the temple was moved to Umayasaka, and finally it ended up at the new capital in close proximity to the hills of Kasuga. In general, this origin story was accepted by most Japanese and Western scholars dealing with developments from the seventh to the eighth century. However, I suggest that this narrative is problematic.

First of all, it is important to not just look at the *Kōfukuji Origin Chronicle*, but to include the *Kōfukuji ruki*, a text composed of several older texts that probably served as a source of inspiration for the *Kōfukuji Origin Chronicle*. As stated above, it is clear that the nature of the site of worship at Yamashina cannot be determined and that several terms were used to refer to whatever

70 Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 133.
71 Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 46.
72 Mentioned in Yabunaka, "Kōfukuji no zenshin," p. 134.
73 Kameda, "Kōfukuji: Maboroshi," p. 49.
74 This episode can also be found in the *Kōfukuji Origin Chronicle*: "The Prime Minster was overcome by illness. In order for him to recover, a meditation nun from Kudara named Hōmyō told the Prime Minister: 'I practice the Great Vehicle and there is a Sūtra called the Vimalakīrti in which a chapter on illness is included. I will read and recite it for you and maybe you will recover from your illness.' Before she had even finished one chapter, the illness of the Prime Minster settled. At that time, the Prime Minister bowed his head, folded his hands and spoke: 'Continuous life cycles return in accordance with the teachings of the Great Vehicle. The meditation nun will become lecturer and lecture on the Vimalakīrti Sūtra incessantly for a period of three days.'" Bauer, "The Power of Ritual," p. 23; KE, pp. 321–22.

the building was. I would argue that if there was indeed a site of worship at Kamatari's residence, then it was a small, private structure and not a full-fledged *dera*. Second, and in relation to the first point, the timeline as laid out in the sources poses some problems. As suggested by other scholars such as Ōhashi Katsuaki, if the dates in the sources are correct, then there simply was not enough time to build an official temple.[75] It is of course still possible, and probably very likely, that a Buddhist altar existed at Kamatari's home, or that part of his mansion was converted into a site of worship, but this was not a larger building, let alone an official temple. There are similar examples of this practice of places of worship at private residences, such as Soga no Iname's mansion from 552, or the construction at Soga no Umako's house.[76] However, this practice is significantly different from building an official temple such as Asukadera. Finally, it has to be noted that these temples at Yamashina and Umayasaka have never been found: there is no archaeological record. There is no base and there are no tiles that would confirm their existence. Of course, the absence of these finds does not prove that the temples did not exist, but in addition to the other elements mentioned above it certainly adds more doubt to their historicity.

Then why does the story exist at all? It is clear that one should not start one's journey in 710 to understand Kōfukuji's origins. As mentioned above, the temple's beginnings are described as intrinsically linked with the foundation of the Fujiwara and both the earliest and later sources, despite containing many discrepancies, share important elements. It is clear from the textual sources that Kamatari is connected with some kind of ritual space connected to his private mansion, but the exact nature of this construction remains unclear and ultimately can never be fully answered. What can be established is that, if they existed, both Yamashina and Umayasaka must have been private in nature and only received their higher, public state status in the Nara period when their meaning coincided with Kōfukuji's. I suggest that the temple's prehistory had to be created. The person in charge of the construction of the new capital was Fujiwara no Fuhito and it is no exaggeration to state that the creation of Kōfukuji as part of the new city was a reflection of his and the Fujiwara's established status at court.[77] I therefore argue that, despite the existence of the narrative, Kōfukuji's roots historically cannot be traced back to Kamatari and that the creation of the story involving Yamashina and Umayasakadera was part of a larger eighth-century process providing the temple and its clan with the necessary legitimacy. Pivotal in this process was the creation of a direct connection between the main Fujiwara of the eighth century and their patriarch, Nakatomi no Kamatari: it is in his figure that the origin of the clan, the temples, and its main ritual, the Yuima-e, converge. The narrative that Kamatari and his wife Kagami no Ōkimi constructed the temple, that it housed what would become one of premodern Japan's largest Buddhist rituals, and that this ritual site was eventually moved to the new capital designed by Fuhito, all contributed to legitimizing the Fujiwara's position in the Nara period. This process continued under successive Fujiwara courtiers and most notably under Fuhito's grandson Nakamaro who would ultimately be the one to finally provide a financial basis to the Yuima-e, and thus Kōfukuji, around 760. Kōfukuji was now one of the main temples at the capital and possessed a legitimate point of origin in Yamashina and Umayasaka.

75 Cited in Kobayashi, *Kōfukuji sōkenki no kenkyū*, p. 15.

76 Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh*, p. 171. Regarding the location and construction of a site of worship at Soga no Umako's residence, see Fukuyama, *Nihon kenchiku shi kenkyū*, pp. 229–30.

77 Ōhashi, "Heijō sento to kokka kanji no iten," p. 114.

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KE *Kōfukuji engi* 興福寺縁起. DNBZ 119, pp. 320–26.
KR *Kōfukuji ruki* 興福寺流記. DNBZ 123, pp. 1–28.
SJ *San'e jōichiki* 三会定一記. DNBZ 123, pp. 289–431.

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