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MIYATA, DAIKI
Fukuoka Art Museum : Curator

JAMENTZ, E. MICHAEL

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The Production of the Healing Buddha at Kokusenji and Its Relationship to Hachiman Faith

DAIKI MIYATA

TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL E. JAMENTZ

Preface

A statue depicting the Healing Buddha (Jp. Yakushi nyorai 薬師如来; Sk. Bhaiṣajyaguru) at Kokusenji 谷川寺, a temple in the city of Yame 八女, Fukuoka Prefecture, is one of the oldest extant statues in northern Kyushu (figures 1–4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 18, and 19). The standing figure, henceforth generally referred to as the Kokusenji statue,¹ can be dated to the first century of the Heian period (794–1185) based on its sculptural configuration and style. Recent studies have made clear that statue types of northern Kyushu, the region of Japan located closest to continental Asia, differed from those that de-

This article is a slightly adapted translation of Miyata, “Kokusenji, Yakushi nyorai ryūzō,” including revisions made by the author for publication here. Permission to publish and adapt was given by the author and original publisher. Additional notes have been added by the translator. Footnote numbers from the original appear in brackets at the end of the notes, e.g., [n1].

- ¹ [Translator’s note] Art historical conventions used in identifying and referring to Buddhist sculpture differ significantly in Japanese- and English-language scholarship. As is standard practice in Japanese scholarship, the author of the original article always distinguishes whether a statue is standing (*ryūzō* 立像) or seated (*zazō* 座像) and specifies the status of the divinity, whether a buddha (*nyorai* 如来), bodhisattva (*bosatsu* 菩薩), or deva (*ten* 天). As such distinctions are often dispensed with in Western scholarship, they are sometimes omitted herein.



Figure 1. Yakushi. Early 9th c., Heian period. Wood with polychrome. H 96.5 cm. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, frontispiece. All figures in this article are reproduced with permission from *de arte*.

veloped elsewhere, and some scholars have attempted to place the Kokusenji statue within the stylistic context of other works from the region.²

Another reason for the ongoing attention given the Kokusenji statue is its close resemblance to the renowned statue of the Healing Buddha at Jingoji 神護寺, Kyoto, an early ninth-century work considered representative of early Heian-period statues carved from a single block of wood (*ichiboku chōzō* 一木彫像), more commonly called *ichibokuzukuri* 一木造り, a term also describing the technique. Elsewhere I have focused on the background of numerous Buddhist statues in northern Kyushu that display a combination of both regional styles and the principal style of the capital area. One of these articles dealt chiefly with the monks who were appointed to the post of Kanzeonji Lecturer (*Kanzeonji kōji* 観世音寺講師), a position that can be traced back to the Kaidan'in 戒壇院 at Tōdaiji 東大寺, and I noted that these *kōji* were placed in charge of all monks and temples in the provinces of Saikaidō 西海道 (present-day Kyushu and nearby islands).³ I believe it is possible to elaborate on this earlier research by applying it to the study of the circumstances behind the production of the Kokusenji statue. Moreover, as recent studies have provided us with a new understanding of the Jingoji statue from the viewpoint of the syncretic faith in Shinto and Buddhist deities (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合), this perspective must also be addressed.⁴ Elucidating the circumstances behind the production of the Kokusenji statue will not only clarify specific reasons for the acceptance of the central style of the capital area in northern Kyushu but is also likely to provide useful observations concerning the production of syncretic Shinto-Buddhist sculpture promoted by the Kanzeonji Lecturer.

The argument presented in this study, which is based on the points noted above, proceeds as follows. I first examine the style of the Kokusenji statue and assert that the statue appears to date to the first half of the ninth century, the early Heian period. Second, I focus

on the project to transcribe the entire Buddhist canon (*issaikyō shosha jigyo* 一切經書写事業), led by the Kanzeonji Lecturer Eun 恵運 (798–869), and hypothesize that this massive sutra-copying project, which was devised to bring the Hachiman deity 八幡神 from Jinganji 神願寺 to Jingoji,⁵ provided the impetus that allowed knowledge of the appearance of the Jingoji statue to reach Kanzeonji 観世音寺. Lastly, I touch on the possibility that the Yame area, the site of Kokusenji, may have been controlled by Usa Hachimangū 宇佐八幡宮 and administered by Dazaifu 大宰府 from the Nara period onward. I conclude by hypothesizing that knowledge of the appearance of the Jingoji statue may have been brought from Kanzeonji to Kokusenji, and that knowledge of the statue's appearance led to the production of the Kokusenji statue.

An Overview of the Statue and Kokusenji in Yame

After Fukuoka Prefecture designated the Kokusenji statue a prefectural Cultural Property (*shitei bunkazai* 指定文化財) in 1993, research on the statue was begun at Kyushu University.⁶ Kusui Takashi then argued for the statue's importance.⁷ Detailed descriptions of the statue also appeared in *Chikugo Yame Kokusenji* 筑後八女谷川寺, a volume edited by the Kyushu Historical Museum (Kyūshū Rekishi Shiryōkan 九州歴史資料館).⁸ Descriptions of the statue likewise appeared in a number of illustrated exhibition catalogues.⁹

² The following scholars have addressed the issue of the special characteristics of the sculpture of northern Kyushu: Igata, "Sōsetsu Fukuoka no shinbutsu no sekai"; Sueyoshi, "Kyūshū"; Sueyoshi, "Fukuoka." Igata has dealt specifically with Kokusenji in Igata, "Gozusan Kokusenji no butsuzō." [n1 and n2]

³ See Miyata, "Kanzeonji ni okeru kōji to zōzō: Heian jidai zenki o chūshin ni." [n3]

⁴ See Maruyama, "Shoki shinzō chōkoku no kenkyū"; Sarai, "Jingoji Yakushi nyorai zō no shiteki kōsatsu." [n4]

⁵ [Translator's note] The precise relationship between Jinganji and Jingoji, about which there is much scholarly debate, is addressed below in the section titled "Buddhist Sculptural Forms in Northern Kyushu in Relation to Kanzeonji and Jingoji." The character of faith in the Hachiman deity is taken up in the conclusion, but several basic points regarding that faith should be noted here: first, faith in this *kami* seems to have arisen in the Usa region of northern Kyushu prior to the establishment of the eighth-century Japanese state located in Nara; second, by the eighth century, Hachiman was associated with the rulers of the central state as an ancestral deity; and third, Hachiman was considered a bodhisattva, a Buddhist divinity and protector of that faith, from the same century onward.

⁶ See Kikutake et al., "Tachibana-machi Kokusenji chōsa." [n5]

⁷ Kusui, "Chikugo Kokusenji." [n6]

⁸ Kyūshū Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Chikugo Yame Kokusenji*. [n7]

⁹ See, for example, Kūkai to Kyūshū no Mihotoke Ten Jikkō linkai, *Kūkai to Kyūshū no mihotoke*; Kyūshū Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Fukuoka no shinbutsu*; and Kyūshū Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Yame no meihō*. [n8]

The discussion by Kokushō Tomoko in the *Chikugo Yame Kokusenji* volume is undoubtedly the most complete study of the statue to date, describing in addition to basic information on the Kokusenji statue the special characteristics of its sculptural form and the date of its production.¹⁰ Although there is little to be added to her discussion, I wish to summarize her findings and include new knowledge gained in preparation for this article.¹¹

The following charts highlight the distinguishing characteristics of the Kokusenji statue. Sections 1–3 of table 1 confirm the buddhalogical status of the statue as

that of a buddha (*nyorai* 如来) and adumbrate the special characteristics of the carving that allow it to be dated and placed within a specific geographic context. Section 4, describing the clothing, is crucial in documenting the uncanny resemblance of the statue to that at Jingoji. Section 5 on the pose, on the other hand, is vital in demonstrating an important difference to the Jingoji statue. The last sections (6–8) describe in detail the current state and physical appearance of the statue, and identify later restorations, thereby permitting us to visualize how the statue must have originally appeared.

Table 1. Major Characteristics of the Kokusenji Statue

1. Height: 96.5 cm; height to the hairline (<i>hassaikō</i> 髮際高), a traditional measure of the height of statues, 86.5 cm	
2. Characteristic features of a buddha of particular relevance to descriptions herein	2.1. Large semihemispherical cranial protuberance (<i>nikkei</i> 肉髻; Sk. <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>) (figure 2) 2.2. Now-lost spiral “snail-shell” knots of hair (<i>rahotsu</i> 螺髮) (figure 3) 2.3. Now-lost curl of hair in the middle of the forehead that radiates light (<i>byakugōsō</i> 白毫相)
3. Selected features of the statue’s carving	3.1. Eye sockets 3.2. Oblong unpierced earlobes (<i>jida kanjō fukan</i> 耳朶環狀不貫) 3.3. No openings for the nostrils or ear holes 3.4. Nostrils represented by small protuberances 3.5. Vertical groove between the nose and upper lip 3.6. Mouth with pursed lips 3.6a. V-shaped bulge at the center of the upper lip 3.7. Contours of the chin 3.8. Three grooves around the neck (the <i>sandōsō</i> 三道相, one of the thirty-two characteristics of a buddha) 3.9. Chest and midsection each represented by a protruding bulge 3.10. Concave curve of the spine clearly rendered (figure 4)

¹⁰ Kokushō, “Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō.” [n9]

¹¹ The research was conducted in June 2017 by the author, along with Nagata Yasushi 永田寧 (of the Yameshi Bunka Shinkōka 八女市文化振興課), Igata Susumu 井形進 and Hino Ayako 日野綾子 (of

the Kyushu Historical Museum), and Nakagawa Maho 中川満帆 (of Kyushu University). [n10]

4. Clothing	<p>4.1. Skirt-like undergarment (<i>kun</i> 裙)</p> <p>4.2. Shoulder-covering undergarment (<i>fugen'e</i> 覆肩衣)</p> <p>4.2a. Not tucked into the formal outer robe on the right side, as is generally the case in other statues</p> <p>4.3. Formal outer robe (<i>daie</i> 大衣) completely covering only the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder partially exposed (<i>hentan uken</i> 偏袒右肩)¹²</p> <p>4.3a. Robe crosses over the left chest and shoulder and covers the entire back; a portion hangs slightly over the right shoulder and wraps around the right side, from where the upper edge is folded back twice. After crossing the midsection, the robe is flung back over the left shoulder so as to cover the upper left arm. (Although the first layer of the main robe appears on the left forearm, this portion does not conform to any rational representation of the clothing.)</p>
5. Pose	<p>5.1. Faces straight forward</p> <p>5.2. Right hand bent at an acute angle with the palm facing outward, left hand lowered with the palm facing upward and holding a medicine jar (<i>yakko</i> 藥壺)</p> <p>5.3. Stands upright with the feet aligned</p>
6. Material and Sculptural Composition	<p>6.1. Wood, probably <i>kaya</i> 榿 (<i>torreya nucifera</i> or Japanese nutmeg)</p> <p>6.2. Carved from a single block with the exception of the wrists and hands</p> <p>6.3. Eyes carved directly into the surface of the wood in the technique known as <i>chōgan</i> 彫眼, in general use throughout most of the Heian period</p> <p>6.4. Central core of the tree evident on the lower portion of the back of the statue</p> <p>6.5. Not hollowed in the <i>uchiguri</i> 内刳 method in which wood from the interior of the torso and sometimes the head and torso of a statue is removed to prevent cracking</p> <p>6.6. The lotus seed pod portion (<i>rennikubu</i> 蓮肉部) of the dais, apparently from the same block of wood as the head and body, reduced from its larger form to a peg-like tenon (figure 6)</p>
7. Coloring	<p>7.1. Very dark, nearly black</p> <p>7.2. Entire surface displays a reddish-brown tint</p> <p>7.3. Red pigment remains on the lips and at the edges of the eyes; white pigment on the whites of the eyes, and <i>sumi</i> 墨 ink on the eyeballs</p>
8. Later Restorations	<p>8.1. Wrists, hands, and the medicine jar from later restorations</p> <p>8.2. Area from the third to fifth toe of the left foot a later addition</p> <p>8.3. Pedestal (<i>daiza</i> 台座) and halo-like mandorla (<i>kōhai</i> 光背) are not original</p> <p>8.4. Shell of both ears, earlobes, and the main robe on the back to waist formed with <i>kokuso</i> 木屎 (paste made from wood dust mixed with lacquer, <i>urushi</i> 漆)</p>

¹² [Translator's note] There is some inconsistency among scholars regarding to the terminology used to describe the garments worn by Buddhist divinities and monks. The key terms here are *fugen'e* (also *fukun'e*), literally "shoulder-covering garment," which refers to an undergarment, and *daie* (also *taie*), the most formal, outermost robe of the three robes (*san'e*, also *sanne* 三衣), prescribed for a Buddhist monk. Often made of nine panels, the formal robe is also referred to as a *kesa*, which is often translated as "surplice" in English. Note, however, that *kesa* is also used on occasion for the other two varieties of priestly robes. For a lucid overview of the complex issue of the proper terminology for Buddhist robes, see Yoshimura, *Butsuzō no chakui to sōi no kenkyū*, particularly the first chapter.



Figure 2. Yakushi, back view. Early 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 96.5 cm. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 6, fig. 1.



Figure 3. Yakushi, right view. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 6, fig. 2.



Figure 4. Yakushi, left view. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 6, fig. 3.

Kokusenji is located in the Yame region on a gentle hill called Tsujinoyama 辻の山 that forms the border between Fukuoka and Oita prefectures on the southern side of the middle reaches of the Yabegawa 矢部川, a river that runs westward from the mountain called Shakadake 釈迦岳.¹³ Although the historical significance of the immediate Kokusenji area is unclear, it is of note that the Yame region was situated near the borders of the ancient provinces of Chikugo 筑後 and Bungo 豊後 as well as on the border between Chikugo and Higo 肥後 (between modern Saga and Kumamoto prefectures).¹⁴

In addition, if one travels east from Kokusenji along the Yabegawa, one encounters Yametsuhime Jinja 八女津媛神社 with its massive *iwakura* 磐座, a sacred rock outcropping associated with the shrine's female tutelary deity, Yametsuhime 八女津媛. Yametsuhime is

mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (*Chronicles of Japan*, 720), which explains that the placename Yame is derived from the deity.¹⁵

Under the *ritsuryō* system 律令制 of government, the Yame region was incorporated into the jurisdiction of Kamizuma no kōri 上妻郡 (also read Kōzuma no kōri) and Shimotsuma no kōri 下妻郡, districts within the province of Chikugo. The *Register of the Gods of Chikugo Province* (*Chikugo kokunai jinmei chō* 筑後国内神名帳), which has a colophon dated Tenkei 天慶 7 (944), mentions two female gods, Kami Yame tsu megami 上八目津女神 and Shimo Yame tsu megami 下八目津女神.¹⁶ The existence of a pair of upper (*kami* 上) and lower (*shimo* 下) gods suggests that the god enshrined at the *iwakura* on the mountain was brought down from the summit, and it also hints at the possibility that the cult of Yametsuhime spread widely over the plain that included Kokusenji.

¹³ For descriptions of the geology and history of Yame and Kokusenji, the author has consulted Kyūshū Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Chikugo Yame Kokusenji*; Kadokawa *Nihon chimei daijiten*; and Heibonsha Chihō Shiryō Sentā, *Fukuoka-ken no chimei*. [n11]

¹⁴ Igata, "Gozusan Kokusenji no butszō," p. 61. [n12]

¹⁵ *Nihon shoki*, Keikō tennō 景行天皇 18.7.7, KST vol. 1, p. 209. [n13]

¹⁶ Kurumeshishi Hensan linkai, *Kurumeshishi*, vol. 7, Kodai, pp. 23–32. [n14]



Figure 5. View of the city of Yame from Tsuji no Oka, 17 June 2017. Photograph by the author. From *de arte* 34, p. 8, fig. 4.

To the north of Kokusenji, across the Yabegawa, are located the Yame tumuli (*kofungun* 古墳群); they spread along the hills that form a strip of land extending east and west for about ten kilometers. At the center of these tumuli is the Iwatoyama Kofun 岩戸山古墳 that is said to be the tomb of Tsukushi no kimi Iwai 筑紫君磐井, who led a revolt in 527 known as the Iwai no Ran 磐井の乱, the largest instance of warfare during the Kofun period (ca. 3rd–7th c.). Given the excavation of what appear to be Korean gold ear accessories from the Eighth Tomb at Mount Tateyama (Tateyamasan Hachigōfun 立山山八号墳, which was built around the same time as Iwatoyama Kofun), Matsukawa Hirokazu claims that Tsukushi no kimi likely maintained his own diplomatic channels across the Ariake Sea 有明海.¹⁷

Regarding the history of Kokusenji, some early modern gazetteers (*chishi* 地誌), such as *Chikugo chikan* 筑後地鑑 and *Dazai kannai shi* 太宰管内志, as well as the temple's own tales of origins (*engi* 縁起),¹⁸ which are assumed to have been compiled around 1881 (Meiji 14), recount that Kokusenji was established by Gyōki 行基 (668–749) in Jinki 神亀 5 (728) and rebuilt by Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199) in Kenkyū 建久 5 (1194). Considering the lack of historical sources that can be traced back to medieval times, however, it is difficult to regard these accounts as accurate; historical records that would directly describe the background of the creation of the Kokusenji statue are completely absent.

Nevertheless, it has been ascertained that the Yame area, where Kokusenji is located, was not only the home of an ancient *gōzoku* 豪族, a powerful local clan, but also an important hub for land and sea transportation as well as a region thoroughly dominated by the cult of Yametsuhime, enshrined there at her massive *iwakura*.

Given that scattered atop Tsujinoyama are a number of tombstones that probably date from the early modern period or later, and that from the summit the entire downtown area of Yame can be seen (figure 5), it is easy to imagine how this mountain came to function from ancient times as a place of worship and prayer.

We can presume that these geological and historical factors were latent causes leading to the production of the Kokusenji statue, one of the oldest and rarest wood-carved images in Kyushu.

The Date of Production and Special Characteristics of the Sculptural Form

In this section, I would first like to discuss the statue's style and the date of its production in light of previous research. The entire statue, with the exception of both wrists and hands, was carved from a single block of coniferous wood, probably *kaya*, without employing the *uchiguri* method of hollowing out the statue. It is thought that the *rennikubu*, the core of the lotus flower, which served as the dais would have been carved from the same block of wood as the head and body (figure 6). This is indicative of an older mode of production common to statues made from a single block of wood during the early Heian period. It has been pointed out that because the surface was tinted reddish brown, there is a possibility that the statue was a *danzō* 檀像, a statue made in imitation of those carved from ox-head sandalwood (*gozu sendan* 牛頭梅檀).¹⁹

Viewed from the front, the most striking feature of this statue is the size of the head in relation to the body. The statue appears broad considering its height, and overall it presents a rather squat appearance. And when viewed from the side, both the head and body of the figure are strikingly thick in appearance. This is especially evident in the emphasis on the contours seen in the modeling of the flesh of the chest, midsection, and legs.

¹⁷ Matsukawa, "Sōron Yame no meihō." [n15]

¹⁸ Kyūshū Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Chikugo Yame Kokusenji*. [n16]

¹⁹ Igata, "Gozusan Kokusenji no butsuzō," p. 64; Kokushō, "Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō," p. 35. [n17]



Figure 6. Yakushi, base. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 9, fig. 5.

These features are prominent characteristics of works from the early Heian period, but as demonstrated by Fujioka Yutaka, a new trend appeared in the capital region (Kinai 畿内) during the Jōwa 承和 era (834–848) as each part of the body became less clearly articulated and sculptors tried to contain the whole body within an encompassing silhouette.²⁰ Although Fujioka's observation, which has been associated with developments in the capital area, cannot be applied uncritically to works in northern Kyushu, if we compare the standing figure of a buddha from Ukidade Jinja 浮嶽神社 (figure 7), made around the middle of the ninth century, with that from Kanzeonji (figure 8), probably made in the first half of the tenth century, the latter clearly shows less articulation of each body part.

Thus, although it may be useful to recognize that the trend to capture the whole body within a larger outline grew stronger among the sculptures of the northern area of Kyushu during the early Heian period, the Kokusenji statue displays characteristics common to an earlier period before this trend began to dominate.

The sculpture's taut pose with protruding head thrust forward and anterior pelvic tilt leaving the lower back slightly arched is common to those of other standing sculptures produced in northern Kyushu during the early Heian period, such as the standing Buddha at Ukidade Jinja, but the Kokusenji statue shows a greater curvature when compared with the others as is evident in a comparison of the figures. This characteristic, combined with the representation of the deeply carved musculature of the back, gives the entire work a sense of latent power (figure 9).

²⁰ Fujioka, "Yōshiki kara mita Shin Yakushiji Yakushi nyoraizō," p. 47. [n18]

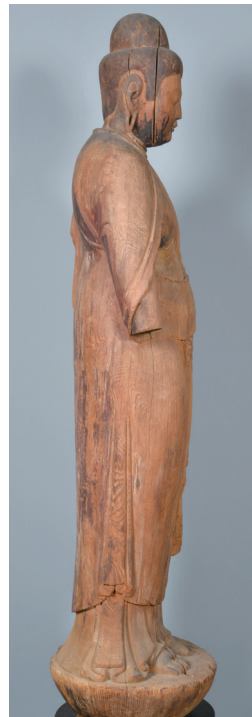


Figure 7. Buddha (*nyorai*), right view. Mid 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 180.2 cm. Ukidade Jinja, Fukuoka Prefecture. From *de arte* 34, p. 9, fig. 6.

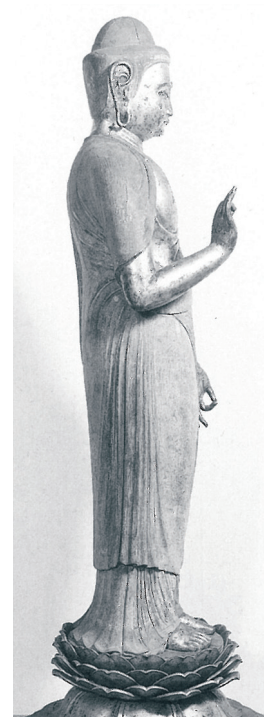


Figure 8. Yakushi, right view. First half of the 10th c., Heian period. Wood. H 167.3 cm. Kanzeonji, Fukuoka Prefecture. From *de arte* 34, p. 9, fig. 7.

In considering the representation of the face, one notes the statue has a thick head of hair covering its scalp and a high bowl-shaped *uṣṇīṣa* atop it (figure 2). There are clear signs that it once had large knots of spiraling "snail-shell" hair (*rahotsu* 螺髪) that have all been lost (figure 3). The appearance of the head in its original form must have been considerably more impressive than at present (figure 10).

The relatively small facial features concentrated in the lower half of the face, the outline of which is nearly circular, are a unique characteristic, evoking the charm of a child's face. Nevertheless, as previous studies have pointed out, this facial expression fundamentally exhibits a certain stern severity.²¹ The upward-tilted eyes and the clearly carved eye sockets, as well as the curled upper lip, are expressions of a stately restraint called *shingen* 森厳, which is common among sculptures of the early Heian period.

²¹ Kokushō, "Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō," p. 35. [n19]

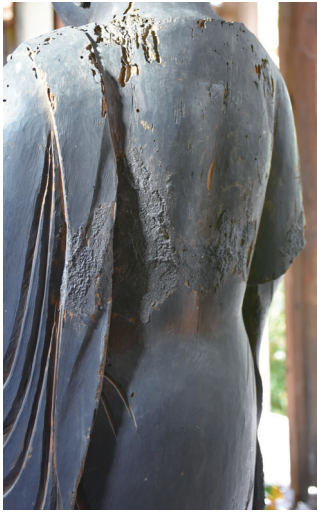


Figure 9. Yakushi, detail. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 9, fig. 8.



Figure 10. Yakushi, detail. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 10, fig. 9.

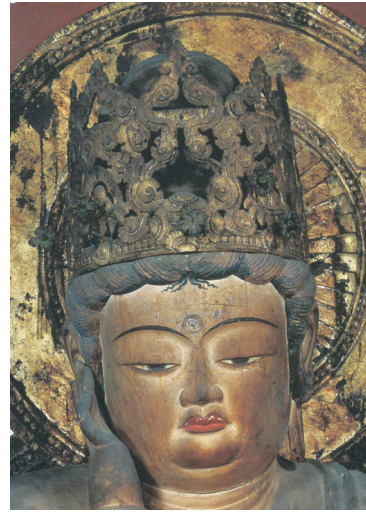


Figure 11. Nyoirin Kannon, detail. 825–850, Heian period. Wood. H 109.4 cm. Kanshinji, Osaka Prefecture. From *de arte* 34, p. 10, fig. 10.



Figure 12. Hōkai Kokūzō, detail (from the Five Great Kokūzō). 825–850, Heian period. Wood and polychrome. H 100.9 cm. Jingoji, Kyoto. From *de arte* 34, p. 10, fig. 11.



Figure 13. Yakushi, detail. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 11, fig. 12.

Features that have been pointed out in earlier research, such as the firm round face, long narrow eyes, small nose and mouth, and the taut modeling of the flesh on the jowls, are common elements in early Shingon esoteric (*Shingon mikkyō* 真言密教) statues made during the second quarter of the ninth century, such as the seated figure of Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪觀音坐像

(Sk. Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara) at Kanshinji 觀心寺 (figure 11) and the five seated figures known as the Godai Kokūzō 五大虚空蔵菩薩坐像 (Sk. Ākāśagarbha) at Jingoji (figure 12).²² In addition, the V-shaped bulge at the center of the upper lip is a common feature often seen in works from this period.

The manner of dress seen here includes a basic shoulder-covering undergarment (*fugen'e*) that is worn in a style exposing the right shoulder (*hentan uken*). The upper portion of the main outer robe (*daie*) covering the midsection is clearly shown as layered; after being wrapped around the right side, the top edge is folded back twice (figure 13).

This manner of wearing the main robe in the *hentan uken* style with the upper edge folded back twice is often found in works produced during the

ninth century, such as the standing figure traditionally identified as Nichira 日羅 at Tachibanadera 橘寺 (figure 14) and the standing Jizō 地藏菩薩 (Sk. Kṣitigarbha) at Akishinodera 秋篠寺 (figure 15); however,

²² Ibid., p. 36. [n20]



Figure 14. Traditionally identified as Nichira, detail. 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 145.7 cm. Tachibanadera, Nara Prefecture. From *de arte* 34, p. 11, fig. 13.



Figure 15. Jizō, detail. 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 96.7 cm. Akishinodera, Nara. From *de arte* 34, p. 11, fig. 14.



Figure 16. Miroku, left view. First half of the 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 39 cm. Tōdaiji, Nara. From *de arte* 34, p. 12, fig. 15.



Figure 17. Buddha (*nyorai*), right view. First half of the 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 95 cm. Kongōshin'in, Kyoto. From *de arte* 34, p. 12, fig. 16.

this characteristic element almost completely disappeared after the tenth century. This change seems to be related to the shift away from the rippling (so called “wave-buffed”) pattern and complexly folded edges of the robe, both common during the early Heian period, toward a more orderly and restrained representation of clothing from the end of the ninth century onward, as seen on the seated statue of Amida Buddha (Sk. Amitābha) 阿弥陀如 at Ninnaji 仁和寺 and the seated statue of Amida 阿弥陀如 at Seiryōji 清凉寺.

A notable feature related to the representation of clothing is the “wind-blown effect” (*fūdō hyōgen* 風動表現) on the clothing of the Kokusenji statue.²³ Viewed from the side, the hems of the sleeves appear to be inflated and blown backward, as if struck head-on by the force of the wind. This kind of representation can also be seen in other statues such as the seated form of Miroku 弥勒仏 (Sk. Maitreya) at Tōdaiji (figure 16) and the standing statue of a Buddha at Kongōshin'in 金剛心院 (figure 17), which were made during the first half of the ninth century.

However, the Kokusenji statue differs from these examples produced in the Kinai capital region whose dynamism was enhanced by a forward-leaning pose coupled with the wind-blown effect. In contrast, the Kokusenji statue curves backward, giving the impression that it has been bent by the wind (figure 4). Thus it cannot be said that the wind-blown effect contributes to any sense of movement here. Although this difference indicates a gap in the levels of skill between the sculptors of the Kinai region and those in northern Kyushu, the attempt to represent the wind-blown effect on the clothing of the Kokusenji statue can surely be seen as illustrating popular trends taking place around the first half of the ninth century.

23 Matsuda, “Heian shoki chōso no seiritsu.” [n21]



Figure 18. Yakushi, detail. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 13, fig. 17.



Figure 19. Yakushi, detail. Kokusenji, Fukuoka Prefecture, with the permission of the temple. From *de arte* 34, p. 13, fig. 18.

One of the characteristics of the representation of the *emon* 衣文, the pattern of the creases and folds of the robes of the Kokusenji statue, is the use of numerous shallow incised lines (*inkokusen* 陰刻線). Compared with the many sculptures produced during the early Heian period that skillfully depict three-dimensionality and evoke a feeling of movement in the robes by employing various carving techniques such as the *honpashiki* 翻波式, a style in which the drapery folds resemble rolling waves with alternating sharp and rounded crests, the Kokusenji statue, especially on the front, goes no further than very plain and simple carving. Nevertheless, it can be surmised, as explained below, that the representation of the drapery folds achieved chiefly by the shallow incised lines was deliberately employed to faithfully reproduce a work that served as its model.

In fact, it is the delicate blade cuts of the carving between the drapery folds on the sides of the statue, which resemble the modeling of fine clay (*sodo* 塑土), that demonstrate the sculptor's true skill. This manner of representation effectively shows the texture and movement of the robes (figure 18). Although it is difficult to find examples of this carving technique in Kinai, a study by Mizuno Keizaburō demonstrating that

sculptors working in wood imitated the expressiveness of molded clay (*nenso* 捻塑) from the Enryaku 延暦 (782–806) through the Jōwa era is relevant when considering the date of the Kokusenji statue.²⁴

Additionally, as has previously been noted both by Igata and Kokushō, the hem of the formal outer robe, *daie*, draped over the left arm, is sharply pointed, a V-shaped pattern is repeated on the hanging sleeves, and a vertical ridge connects the apexes of these V shapes (figure 19). This type of representation is often seen in works produced in the early Heian period in northern Kyushu, such as the standing

Buddha statues at Ukidake Jinja and Kanzeonji.²⁵

Each of the techniques and types of representation mentioned above are characteristic of the early Heian period: the carving of the entire statue, including the lotus core, from a single block of wood; the thick body with highly articulated modeling; and the robe worn with the right shoulder exposed and edge folded back twice rarely appear on works produced from the tenth century onward. As previous studies have indicated, we can surely conclude that this statue was made in the ninth century. When this opinion is combined with a consideration of the facial features and the wind-blown effect, this statue can confidently be dated to the first half of the ninth century.

Regarding the origins of the sculptor who produced the Kokusenji statue, the expression of the V-shaped pattern of the left sleeve provides a hint. Because this type of sculptural expression is a unique, local style limited to northern Kyushu during the early Heian period, this statue must undoubtedly have been made in this

24 Mizuno, "Murōji kondō honzonzō to Heian shoki mokuchōzō no tenkai." [n22]

25 Igata, "Gozusan Kokusenji no butsuzō," pp. 63–64; Kokushō, "Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō," p. 37. [n23]

area. However, when compared to the statue at Ukidake Jinja, which exhibits the same local style but also demonstrates more advanced carving techniques, such as the *honpashiki* alternating wave pattern, the Kokusenji statue shows a less refined and somewhat artless quality due to the sculptor's lack of technical skill.

If this discrepancy is due to the backgrounds of the sculptors, it is reasonable to assume that the Ukidake Jinja sculpture was made by a sculptor from Kinai, while a local sculptor would have carved the Kokusenji statue. Even if we were to attribute this statue to a local artisan, there would still be various complicating factors to consider. Judging from the close relationship between this statue and Kanzeonji, discussed below, the sculptor of this statue is likely to have been active in the environs of Dazaifu.

Based on the above, we can conclude that the Kokusenji statue was made during the first half of the ninth century in northern Kyushu by a local sculptor. Moreover, what has drawn the attention of previous scholarship besides the statue's age is its close resemblance to the famous standing figure of the Healing Buddha at Jingoji, which is considered representative of early Heian-period sculpture. The next section is devoted to a discussion of this issue.

Similarities with the Standing Healing Buddha at Jingoji

The similarities between the Kokusenji and Jingoji statues have drawn attention for some time, and the following section reaffirms them in light of the views of conservator and art historian Kokushō Tomoko.²⁶

Some of the most obvious similarities between the Kokusenji and Jingoji statues are the overall proportions, the Y-shaped pattern of the folds of the robe, and the U-shaped expression of the drapery between the legs, which emphasizes the distended thighs, and the unnatural disjuncture of the drapery patterns of the main robe over the midsection and on the thighs (figure 20). The disjuncture between such *emon* patterns is an extremely rare feature, visible only on these two statues.

The representation of the *fugen'e* on the Kokusenji statue must not be overlooked. It is generally the case



Figure 20. Statue of Yakushi. Early 9th c., Heian period. Wood. H 170.6 cm. Jingoji, Kyoto. From *de arte* 34, p. 14, fig. 19.

that works produced during the early Heian period show the *fugen'e* draped over the right shoulder and tucked into the formal robe on the right side, but the garments on both the Kokusenji and Jingoji statues hang downward inside the upper right arm and are not tucked in. There is, however, a difference between the two in that a shawl-like *ōhi* 横披 hangs over the Jingoji statue's right forearm,²⁷ while the equivalent role is played by the broad *fugen'e* of the Kokusenji statue.

²⁶ Kokushō, "Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō." [n24]

²⁷ Asai, "Jingoji, Yakushi sanzonzō o megutte (III)," p. 4; Asai, "Jingoji, Yakushi nyoraizō (sakuin kaisetsu)," [n25]

What is truly remarkable is that both these statues share the nearly unprecedented style in which these garments are not tucked into the formal outer robe.

Considering these similarities, it is highly probable that the Kokusenji statue was made with knowledge of the Jingoji statue. As the examination in the previous section has revealed, the Kokusenji statue must have been made in northern Kyushu by a local sculptor. This sculptor would probably have had no opportunity to see the actual Jingoji statue. How then would he have known how to emulate the style and proportions? Before addressing this issue, I wish to call attention to the differences in representation of the drapery patterns between the Kokusenji and Jingoji statues. If we compare the two statues, we see the arrangement of *emon* lines is quite similar. However, the folds of the robes of the Kokusenji statue are depicted with shallow carving using the grooved *inkokusen*, while the folds of the Jingoji statue have sharply raised ridges created by carving in high relief (*yōkokusen* 陽刻線). In other words, the statues employ contrasting techniques of either raised or grooved (*in'yō* 陰陽) drapery folds. But, as shown above, the representation of the drapery folds produced with the grooved *inkoku* lines is concentrated on the front of the Kokusenji statue, while the sides show carving of a different character with a gentler, more relaxed feel.

Based on the points addressed above, and as demonstrated in earlier studies,²⁸ there is ample room for speculation that knowledge of the Jingoji statue obtained through visual information may have been utilized in producing the Kokusenji statue. In short, it is likely that the frontal view was the result of the sculptor's earnest attempt to duplicate an image of the Jingoji statue that he had seen. His mode of expression relied chiefly on the grooved *inkokusen*, but for other parts, he relied in contrast on his own basic skills and sense of sculptural form, as on the sides of the statue, where the results resemble works made of molded clay.

These two statues also show remarkable differences in terms of their mudras, symbolic hand gestures also known as *insō* 印相. It must be noted that the Kokusenji statue forms an ordinary mudra, with its right hand raised and the left hand lowered, while the Jingoji statue bends both arms upward in front of its chest. The Kokusenji statue probably employs

a mudra that differs from that of the Jingoji statue because it followed more faithfully some canonical exemplar. The views of Igata Susumu are helpful in this regard.²⁹ Igata argued that the Kokusenji statue adopts the mudra of four Yakushi statues (no longer extant) said to have been carved by Saichō 最澄 (767–822) at Kamadosanji 竈門山寺, a temple on Mt. Kamado 竈門山, Dazaifu, in Enryaku 22 (803) when he awaited repairs for his ship before setting off on the voyage to China as a member of the embassy to the Tang court (*kentōshi* 遣唐使). According to one source, each was a six *shaku* 尺 (roughly 180 centimeters) *danzō* (sandalwood-style) statue of the Healing Buddha. Saichō is said to have made the four Yakushi images as part of his supplication for safe passage. Careful study is still needed in regard to the mudra of this statue due to discrepancies in interpretations found in books detailing ritual practice (*jisō* 事相) involving Yakushi,³⁰ but there is a distinct possibility that the *danzō* Healing Buddhas carved by Saichō had a canonical character in northern Kyushu and that their influence may have been similar to, or even more powerful than that of, the Jingoji statue. Another possibility is that the pose of the Kokusenji statue with one hand raised and the other lowered was simply the most common at this time, and the mudra used for the Healing Buddha may have simply conformed to popular practice, while still relying on the Jingoji statue as the basic model.

In either case, the Kokusenji statue must have been created with knowledge of the appearance of the Jingoji statue. If this assumption is accepted, we must consider the following: How was knowledge of the Jingoji statue obtained in northern Kyushu? And what environment permitted this transfer of knowledge? An attempt to answer these questions is made in the next section.

Buddhist Sculptural Forms in Northern Kyushu in Relation to Kanzeonji and Jingoji

The previous section analyzed the sculptural form of the Kokusenji statue and demonstrated the following points:

²⁹ Igata, "Gozusan Kokusenji no butsuzō," p. 64. [n27]

³⁰ For example, the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 describes this mudra as the right hand forming Semuiin 施無畏印 with the left hand at the chest and holding a wish-fulfilling jewel (*hōin* 宝珠). TZ zuzō vol. 4, pp. 438–39. [n28]

²⁸ Kokushō, "Kokusenji no Yakushi nyorai ryūzō," p. 37. [n26]

1. It dates to the early Heian period, and probably to the first half of the ninth century.
2. It is thought to have been produced in northern Kyushu because it incorporates local styles.
3. Due to the two sculptures' remarkable resemblance, the sculptor must have had access to visual knowledge of the Jingoji statue.

The second and third points in particular indicate the coexistence of elements of both the local and the central style of the capital area as a principal characteristic of the production of this statue, as has been repeatedly noted above. However, this kind of coexistence of styles can be seen to a certain degree in most statues in northern Kyushu produced during the first half of the ninth century.³¹ Therefore, an overview of the sculptural composition of Buddhist sculpture in northern Kyushu, of which the Kokusenji statue is only one example, is needed before addressing this statue specifically.

In conducting this overview, the roles of Dazaifu and Kanzeonji must be examined. Dazaifu was a political institution that ruled over all the provinces of the Saikaidō, literally the Western Sea Circuit. Described in the early ninth century as being “neither a capital nor a province, but occupying a unique intermediate place” (*kyō ni arazu koku ni arazu chūkan ni kokyo su* 非京非國中間孤居),³² Dazaifu functioned as a large-scale regional government office (*kanga* 官衙) whose operations were analogous to those of the central government under the *ritsuryō* system. Kanzeonji provided religious backing for the Dazaifu's rule. The definitive difference between Kanzeonji and other temples in the region is that the regulations of the *Engishiki* 延喜式 stipulated that the “*kōdokushi* of Kanzeonji in Dazaifu should supervise the governance of all the *kōji* and *do-kushi* of the provinces within its jurisdiction” (*oyoso Dazai Kannonji kōdokushi wa kannai shokoku kōdokushi no mōsu tokoro no matsuorigoto o yochi su* 凡太(ママ) 宰観音寺講読師者、預知管内諸国講読師所申之政).³³

Kōdokushi 講読師 is a collective term indicating the Lecturers and Readers (*dokushi* 読師) who were re-

gional monk-officials (*sōkan* 僧官) dispatched to each province by the central government in order to administer the Buddhist services within their jurisdiction. In the case of the Dazaifu jurisdiction, the Kanzeonji *kōdokushi* were appointed to administer all the provincial *kōdokushi*. As the role of the Kanzeonji Reader is unclear due to a paucity of historical records, the considerations in the following section will apply only to the Kanzeonji Lecturer.

The post of Kanzeonji Lecturer is said to be the successor of that of the Precept Master (*kaishi* 戒師), which was created in Tenpyō Hōji 天平宝字 5 (761) when the Kaidan'in was established at Kanzeonji. The Kanzeonji Lecturer first appears in historical sources in Kōnin 弘仁 11 (820).³⁴ These sources confirm that the Kanzeonji Lecturer gradually increased his influence during the first half of the ninth century while strengthening cooperation among the provincial temples (*kokubunji* 国分寺) and the government-endowed temples called *jōgakuji* 定額寺 in Saikaidō. It is thus thought that the office of the Kanzeonji Lecturer, as the general supervisor of Buddhist services conducted in Saikaidō (as stipulated in the *Engishiki*), would have been established during this period.

Another significant characteristic of the Kanzeonji Lecturer that cannot be overlooked is the fact that the origins of the post can be traced back to the Kinai region. It is known that the post of Lecturer was also established at Shimotsuke Yakushiji 下野薬師寺 in Kashō 嘉祥 1 (848).³⁵ On that occasion the post was described as being the

equivalent to that at Daizaifu Kannonji,³⁶ and is to be selected from the Ten Masters of the Ordination Platform (*kaidan jisshi* 戒壇十師) who are adept at practice and equipped with knowledge; and upon recommendation of the company of monks, is to be appointed Lecturer and to additionally be an esoteric master (Jp. *ajari*; Sk. Ācārya) who confers the precepts (*jukai no ajari ni naru* 授戒之阿闍梨).

31 Miyata, “Kanzeonji ni okeru kōji to zōzō.” Hereafter some parts of the discussion on Kanzeonji overlap with this essay, but the author reiterates those parts in order to develop the argument. [n29]

32 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 6, Kugegoto, Daijōkanpu 太政官符 dated Jōwa 5 (838).6.21, KST vol. 25, p. 266. [n30]

33 *Engishiki* 21, Genbaryō, KST vol. 26, p. 540. [n31]

34 *Heian ibun* 4900, Kōnin 11 (820).3.4, vol. 10, p. 3801. [n32]

35 [Translator's note] Yakushiji in Shimotsuke Province (modern-day Tochigi Prefecture) was designated one of only three temples in Japan where monks could be ordained.

36 [Translator's note] Kannonji is an alternative name for Kanzeonji.

准大宰府觀音寺、簡_レ 圀戒壇十師之中智行具足、為_レ 衆所推者、充_二 任講師_一、便為_二 授戒之阿闍梨_一³⁷

In other words, the Shimotsuke Yakushiji followed Kanzeonji's precedent in choosing a Lecturer from the Ten Masters of the Ordination Platform. Earlier studies have pointed out that the Ten Masters of the Ordination Platform were identical to the Ten Masters (*jissshi* 十師) at Tōdaiji Kaidan'in.³⁸ Thus, the post of Kanzeonji Lecturer was derived from that of the Precept Master at the Kaidan'in of Tōdaiji.

Based on the above, it can be surmised that the Kanzeonji Lecturer had significant influence on the establishment of sculptural works in northern Kyushu that display the coexistence of both the local and central style of the capital area styles. This conclusion is likely applicable to the Kokusenji statue. Thus, when examining the accomplishments of the Kanzeonji Lecturer again from the viewpoint of the relationship between Kanzeonji and Jingoji, one is struck by the fascinating example of the project to transcribe the complete set of the Buddhist canon led by the monk Eun.

Eun was from Tōdaiji, and had studied under Jitsue 実惠 (?–847), one of the leading disciples of Kūkai 空海 (774–835). Eun had gone to China in Jōwa 9 (842), and when he returned to Japan in Jōwa 14 (847), he brought with him many ritual manuals (*giki* 儀軌), sutras, and treatises (*kyōron* 經論), and images of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and the patriarchs, as well as mandalas (*mandara* 曼荼羅). Eun is also celebrated as one of eight Japanese monks who went to China (Nittō Hakke 入唐八家), as are Saichō and Kūkai.

The following passage from the *Anshōji Ledger of Assets* (*Anshōji shizaichō* 安祥寺資財帳) (henceforth, Source 1) indicates that Eun, who was seen as the founder (*kaiki* 開基) of Anshōji, was involved in the sutra-copying project as Kanzeonji Lecturer:³⁹

An edict had quickly been issued [ordering him] to examine the copying and collating of the Buddhist canon in Bandō [Eastern Region], which

had taken more than four years to complete. In the tenth year of the Tenchō 天長 era, an imperial edict was issued hailing [him] as the Kannonji [Kanzeonji] Lecturer and also the Lecturer of Chikuzen Province in Chinzei. As the leader of the monks of Kyushu and the two islands, he, Eun, should not be permitted to decline being specially appointed to manage the matter of copying the canon and should be compelled to do his duty.

忽然有_レ 勅、檢_二 校写_一 一切經於坂東、歷_二 四年_一 強功畢、天長十年、奉_レ 勅、被_レ 拜_二 鎮西府觀音寺講師兼筑前國講師_一、以為_二 九國二嶋之僧統_一、特勾_下 当写_二 大藏經之事_上、惠運固辭不_レ 許、強赴_二 任所_一

Source 1 explains that after Eun had spent four years editing a transcription of a complete set of the Buddhist canon (*issaikyō* 一切經) in Bandō, he was designated both Kanzeonji Lecturer and Lecturer of Chikuzen Province (*Chikuzen no kuni kōshi* 筑前國講師) in Kyushu by imperial order (*chokumei* 勅命) in Tenchō 10 (833). He had first declined the positions, but eventually accepted them, and was placed in charge of the monks in the Saikaidō region, with a special charge of copying the Buddhist canon (*daizōkyō* 大藏經). The following entry from the *Shoku Nihon kōki* 続日本後紀 (hereafter Source 2) for the 28th day of the 10th month of Tenchō 10 is closely related to this sutra-copying project:⁴⁰

In accord with the oracle produced by Hachiman Daibosatsu in the years of the Keiun 慶雲 era, Dazaifu was ordered to have the entire Buddhist canon copied during the years of the Tenchō era and to have it kept at Mirokuji and now it is further ordered to copy another set of the canon to be kept at Jingoji.

緣_二 景雲之年八幡大菩薩所_一 告、至_二 天長年中_一、仰_二 大宰府_一 写_二 得一切經_一、至_二 是便安_一 置_二 彌勒寺_一、今更復令_下 写_二 一切經_一 置_中 之神護寺_上

Thus, the court ordered that in accordance with the oracle of the Hachiman deity issued during the years of the Jingo Keiun 神護景雲 era (767–770), Dazaifu was to have the complete Buddhist canon copied in the

37 Dazaifu Kannonji ni jun ji, kaidanjissshi no naka no chigyō gusoku nishite shu no tameni osu tokoro no mono o kantakushi, kōji ni junnin shi sunawachi jukai no ajari to nasu. Ruijū sandaikyaku 3, Shokoku kōtōji, Kashō 1 (848).11.3, KST vol. 25, p. 130. [n33]

38 Okano, "Tsukushi Kanzeonji no jiin kikō" p. 33. [n34]

39 [Translator's note] *Anshōji shizaichō*, pp. 10–11, 92.

40 [Translator's note] *Shoku Nihon kōki* vol. 2, KST 3, p. 17.

Tenchō era (824–834) and preserved at Mirokuji 弥勒寺, the shrine-temple (*jingūji* 神宮寺) of Usa Hachimangū in modern-day Oita Prefecture. It also ordered that another set of the canon should also be copied and kept at Jingoji. The close relationship between the Buddhist canon with which Eun was involved as the Kanzeonji Lecturer (Source 1) and kept at Mirokuji, and the second Buddhist canon ordered copied and placed at Jingoji (Source 2) was noted as early as 1971 in a study of transcriptions of the Buddhist canon by Horiike Shunpō.⁴¹ Moreover, a recent study by Kawajiri Akio has confirmed that the contents of these two canons match one another.⁴² Therefore, it is clear that during the Tenchō era there was a relationship among Dazaifu, Kanzeonji, and Jingoji via the canon-copying project. The following argument is a more detailed study of this canon-copying project drawing on and amplifying the results of these earlier studies.

Note first that the phrase “In accordance with the oracle produced by Hachiman Daibosatsu in the years of the Keiun era” (*Keiun no toshi Hachiman daibosatsu no tsugeru tokoro ni yorite* 縁_景雲之年八幡大菩薩所告) in Source 2 is critically important. This records that the project was carried out on the basis of an oracle issued by the Hachiman deity during the Jingo Keiun era. This obviously relates to the “Incident of the Oracle of Hachimangū in Usa” (Usa Hachimangū shintaku jiken 宇佐八幡宮信託事件),⁴³ when the powerful monk Dōkyō 道鏡 (700–772) attempted to succeed to the royal rank (*kōi* 皇位) and Wake no Kiyomaro 和氣清麻呂 (733–799) was sent to Usa Hachimangū, where he received Hachiman’s oracle declaring that Dōkyō should not be allowed to become emperor. The following is an account of that famous episode from the *Ruijū kokushi* 類從国史 (*Classified National History*, 892), henceforth Source 3, that describes the content of the oracle issued at that time:⁴⁴

[The heavenly sovereign Junna, in the first year of Tenchō (824) ... designated that] Takaodera was to be made a *jōgakuji* temple, and the ordinands, scripture, and ritual practices were determined. Governor of Kawachi, Wake no Matsuna 和氣真綱 (783–846) of the Senior Fifth Rank Lower Grade, and Junior Clerk of the Board of Censors, Wake no Nakayo 和氣仲世 (784–852) of the Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade, are subjects who heed (the adage) “what fathers prepare, sons complete,” and this is called great filial piety, and their contributions to the public good are called the epitome of loyalty. In considering matters of loyalty and filial piety, who would fail to conform to their example? Long ago during the [Jingo] Keiun era, the monk Dōkyō, employing flattery and deception, rose to the pinnacle of power, disgracefully usurping the title of Dharma King (Hōō 法王). He harbored pretensions and evilly appealed to the assembled gods and made league with the treacherous Tachibana. The Hachiman, Great God (Ōmikami), was pained by the fragility of the heavenly succession and greatly resented this ruffian’s ascendancy. The warriors of the god sharpened their spears, but the demons fought continuously for many years. They were numerous, and we were few: the wicked were strong and the righteous weak. Bemoaning the threat to its own majesty, the Great God called on the miraculous powers of the Buddhas for protection. Then, entering the dream of [Empress Shōtoku] (713–770; r. as Shōtoku 称徳 764–770), (the god) requested an envoy. There was an imperial order issued by [Shōtoku] to assemble her noble subjects so that the Minister of Popular Affairs Kiyomaro of the Junior Third Rank appeared before the throne and [she] told him of the dream. In regard to abdicating the heavenly position to Dōkyō, [Shōtoku] ordered this be addressed to the Great God, and Kiyomaro was summoned to carry this appeal to Usa Jingū. At that time, the Great God issued an oracle, stating, “There are various gods great and minor, who are unlike in their preferences. Good gods dislike licentious rites, and greedy gods [like to] receive improper offerings; I, who exalt the imperial lineage, will aid the state (if you) copy the entire Buddhist canon and produce a Buddhist image, recite ten thousand scrolls of the Saishōōkyō, and build a temple. [These actions]

41 Especially p. 128 in his “Heian jidai no issaikyō shokyō to Hōryūji issaikyō” 平安時代の一切経書写と法隆寺一切経 in Horiike, *Nanto bukkyōshi no kenkyū* (ge), pp. 119–81. [n35]

42 According to Kawajiri, the *Jingoji godaidō issaikyō mokuroku* 神護寺五大堂一切経目録 at Kōyasan Daigaku Library corresponds to the catalogue of the canon supervised by Eun. Kawajiri, “Jingoji godaidō issaikyō mokuroku’ no seikaku.” [n36]

43 Fukuyama Toshio has previously indicated that the sutra-copying project is related to the Dōkyō shrine oracle incident. Fukuyama, “Shoki tendai shingon jiin no kenchiku,” pp. 29–30. [n37]

44 *Ruijū kokushi* 180, Tenchō 1 (824).9.27, KST vol. 6, pp. 259–60. [n38]

will eliminate evil in a day, solidifying the sacred altars for eternity. You [Kiyomaro] must heed these words and not fail to deliver them.” Kiyomaro vowed before the Great God, “After the state has become peaceful, I will certainly report this to the next emperor who will fulfill this sacred vow (*jin-gan*). Even if this costs (me my) life and my bones are ground to dust, I will not mistake these sacred words.” Returning to the capital, [Kiyomaro] reported these words (to the throne). But the time was not right and [Kiyomaro] met with ill fortune, being imprisoned and exiled to the wilds. Fortunately, by grace of the sacred power, he returned to the imperial capital. And during the reign of Go-tahara Tennō 後田原天皇 [Emperor Kōnin 光仁, r. 770–781] in the eleventh year of the Hōki 宝亀 era [780] he repeatedly reported this matter (to the throne). The emperor was astounded and personally drew up a royal proclamation, but before it could be implemented, he abdicated his position. Then in Ten’ō 天応 2 [782] [Kiyomaro] again reported the matter to the former emperor Kashiwara [Emperor Kanmu 桓武, 737–806; r. 781–806], who immediately took the earlier proclamation and had it promulgated throughout the land. Finally, in the Enryaku era [782–806], a private temple was built, and it was called Jinganji. The emperor [Kanmu], in celebration of [Kiyomaro’s] previous meritorious deeds, made Jinganji an endowed temple (*jōgakuji*). Now the ground where this temple is located has been defiled and should not be the site of a sacred altar. We [Wake no Matsuna and Nakayo] humbly implore that it be replaced by Takaodera and (the new temple) also be made a *jōgakuji*. It will then be named Jingo Kokuso Shingonji. Through the power of its one Buddhist icon and the great benevolence of the Taizō (Womb World) and the Kongōkai (Diamond World) (mandalas), twenty-seven monks versed in Shingon (mantras) will be appointed to practice the Three Mysteries in perpetuity for the benefit of the nation. If there is a vacancy among these monks, a practicing monk should be selected to fill it. In addition, twenty-seven novice monks of righteous fidelity should be selected to conduct a ritual reading of the *Sutra to Protect the Sovereign*

of the Nation (*Shugo kokkai ōkyō* 守護国界王經)⁴⁵

and also scriptures to calm the winds and rains and ensure the ripening of the five grains, which will be conducted day and night so the sound of their voices will be unceasing. Seven years later, after having received the newly tonsured monks, first, the great vow of Great God will be fulfilled, and second, calamities will be eliminated from the nation. [The emperor] ordered that in each year of his reign a novice should be tonsured (at the temple) and that twenty *chō* of paddy fields in the province of Bizen should be awarded for two generations as merit fields, thus completing the temple. And if the sacred vow is thus fulfilled, this benefice will be extended further for two generations, and the rest in accord with the request.⁴⁶ (Underlined emphasis added by the author)

This is the central government directive issued by the Great Council of State (*daijōkanpu* 太政官符) in response to a plea that Jinganji, which had been built during the Enryaku era and which was later named a *jōgakuji* (endowed temple),⁴⁷ be replaced by Takaodera 高雄寺 (Takaosanji 高雄山寺) because the topography of Jinganji was defiled (*chisei oe* 地勢汚穢). The request was granted, giving Takaodera the status of *jōgakuji* and renaming it Jingo Kokuso Shingonji 神護国祚真言寺—the official name of Jingoji—which was to serve in perpetuity as a place of practice (*dōjō* 道場) for the Shingon faith.

The first half of this source recounts the history of Jinganji, the forerunner of Jingoji. The underlined part is highlighted because it explains that the Hachiman oracle directed Kiyomaro to produce a set of the entire Buddhist canon, a Buddhist icon (*butsuzō* 仏像), and to build a temple. Kiyomaro responded by vowing to

45 The more common title is *Shugo kokkai shū darani kyō* 守護国界主陀羅尼經.

46 [Translator’s note] This is a modified version of the translation by Suzuki, “The Founding of Jingoji,” pp. 130–31 in Suzuki, *Medicine Master Buddha*. See the appendix at the end of this article for the original *kanbun* text of Source 3.

47 [Translator’s note] There is no scholarly consensus on the exact benefits that would accrue to a temple by being designated a *jōgakuji*, and the meaning of the term *jōgakuji* itself is uncertain. One important point agreed on by nearly all historians is that the designation gave a private institution state recognition, thereby elevating its status. For a lucid discussion of the issue regarding Jinganji/Jingoji, see the first chapter (pp. 5–35) of Nakano and Kasuya, *Bukkyō bijutsu o manabu*.

the Hachiman deity that he would definitely fulfill this sacred vow (*jingan* 神願). It was due to the reception of this oracle that Jinganji was built during the Enryaku era, but the canon-copying project was finally completed only later in Tenchō 10 (833).

Then, as can be seen in Source 2, two sets of the canon were completed based on the Hachiman oracle. One of them was finished prior to Tenchō 10 and enshrined at Mirokuji in Usa. When the copying of the second set was started, Eun had already been designated Kanzeonji Lecturer. But the question of who took charge of copying the first set remains unanswered. The following discussion attempts to examine this issue in detail.

On the 19th day of the 5th month of Tenchō 6 (829), ten monks conducted a ritual reading (*tendoku* 転読) of the complete canon at Mirokuji in Usa,⁴⁸ and thus the transcription of the first set of the canon must have been completed prior to Tenchō 6. The monk Kōhō 光豊 (n.d.) was then the Kanzeonji Lecturer. The first appearance of Kōhō in historical sources is on the 28th day of the 2nd month of Tenchō 5 (828). His request made as Kanzeonji Lecturer for the revitalization of the monks of the provincial temple and its approval are recorded.⁴⁹

In addition, Kanzeonji Lecturer Kōhō and Mirokuji Lecturer Kōe 光恵 (n.d.) jointly submitted the following three-article petition (*sankajō* 三箇条), which was also approved, regarding Usa Mirokuji in Tenchō 7 (830):

- 1) *Nenbundosha* 年分度者, the annual cohort of ordinands at the temple, should be chosen from those who have lived at Usa Mirokuji for at least three years and the Lecturer and Shrine Administrator (*gūji* 宮司) shall choose them by testing the candidates' proficiency at sutra-chanting (*dokyō* 読経).⁵⁰
- 2) Tax collected from sustenance households (*fūbutsu* 封物), used to support Usa Hachimangū, should be used for the alms (*fuse* 布施) and robes (*hōfuku* 法服) provided to the Lecturer and

Reader at Mirokuji in Usa at New Year (*shōgatsu* 正月), the summer study retreat (*ango* 安居), and on other occasions.⁵¹

3) Six of the twenty-four shrine workers (*jinpu shichō* 神封仕丁) should serve Usa Mirokuji.⁵²

Article 1 was aimed at improving the quality of those who would become monks at the temple, while articles 2 and 3 tried to stabilize the economic basis of Usa Mirokuji. The enshrining of the canon in the previous year, Tenchō 6, likely expedited the revamping of the temple's organization. Additionally, a *chōbun* 牒文, an official document exchanged between government offices, states that Usa Mirokuji did not originally have a Lecturer or a Reader, and that they were designated by two central government directives issued on the 1st day of the 2nd month and on the 10th day of the 5th month of Tenchō 6.⁵³ Kōhō seems likely to have been involved in the establishment of the post of Mirokuji Lecturer, and it can be surmised that he had great influence on the events related to the enshrining of the canon. Given these circumstances, it is reasonable to conclude that Kōhō led the project to transcribe the first canon.

Although Kōhō stepped down from the post of Kanzeonji Lecturer to make way for Eun when the second sutra-copying project began, he later returned to this position. In Jōwa 2 (835), two years after the copying of the second set of the Buddhist canon in Tenchō 10, his name appears on a record as Kanzeonji Lecturer.⁵⁴ By that year at the latest, the second canon-copying project must have been completed, and Eun seems to have resigned his post at that time. Eun had become Kanzeonji Lecturer only for this project, as he is described as "specially appointed to manage the matter of copying the Buddhist canon" (*tada daizōkyō o utsusu [no] koto o kōtō su* 特勾下当写大藏經之事).⁵⁵ Just after Eun became Kanzeonji Lecturer in the first year of the Jōwa era, his spiritual master Jitsue was designated abbot (*bettō* 別当) of Jingoji.⁵⁶ Thus, it is highly likely that Jitsue was involved in the canon-copying project,

48 *Ruijū kokushi* 180, Tenchō 1 (824).9.27, KST vol. 6, pp. 259–60. [n39]

49 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Tenchō 5 (828).2.28, KST vol. 25, p. 114. [n40]

50 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Tenchō 7 (830).7.11, KST vol. 25, p. 135. [n41]

51 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 2, Tenchō 7 (830).7.11, KST vol. 25, p. 94. [n42]

52 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Jōgakuji no koto, Tenchō 7 (830).7.11, KST vol. 25, pp. 119–20. [n43]

53 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Shokoku kōdokushi goto, KST vol. 25, p. 94. [n44]

54 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Jōwa 2 (835).8.15, KST vol. 25, p. 120. [n45]

55 [Translator's note] *Anshōji shizaichō*, pp. 10–11, 92.

56 *Tōji chōja bunin* 1, Jōwa 14 (847), ZZGS vol. 2, p. 468. [n46]

as well as the appointment of Eun.⁵⁷ Considering that Wake no Nakayo and other donors (*dan'otsu* 檀越) of Jingoji consigned the temple to Kūkai,⁵⁸ Kūkai himself may have had some influence on the canon-copying project.

Nevertheless, the different standpoints of Kōhō, whose background was in the former capital of Nara, and Eun, who was associated with Kūkai's Shingon tradition, must be carefully considered. In particular, the extent to which Kūkai was involved in the appointment of Kōhō to the post of Kanzeonji Lecturer is unclear. A series of articles by Abe Ryūichi about the relationship between Kūkai and the temples of the former capital is useful in assessing this problem.⁵⁹ In his discussion of this issue, Abe emphasized the role of the Nara temples in determining that Kūkai's esoteric Buddhism was quickly accepted as orthodoxy. In support of his argument, Abe specifically introduces an event from Kōnin 7 (816) when Gonsō 勤操 (754–827) and his disciples from Daianji 大安寺 visited Takaosanji to receive the esoteric consecration (*kanjō* 灌頂) from Kūkai.⁶⁰ Abe also points to Kūkai's building of the Kanjōdō 灌頂堂 at Tōdaiji in Kōnin 13 (822).⁶¹

Particularly important in our focus on the relationship with the Kanzeonji Lecturer is the latter example of the building of the Kanjōdō. This is apparent in the central government directive of the first year of the Kashō era (848), which stipulated that the Lecturer at Shimotsuke Yakushiji was to be the equal of that at Kanzeonji and that both the Lecturer at Shimotsuke Yakushiji and Kanzeonji are described therein as “Ajari who administer the precepts” (*jukai no ajari* 授戒之阿闍梨).⁶² The act of building the Kanjōdō is thus understood as having been devised to consolidate the functions of Buddhist ordination at Tōdaiji by combining the traditional ordination (*jukai* 受戒) system employed there, inherited from Ganjin, with the *kanjō*, the *jukai* system of esoteric Buddhism, which Kūkai had learned in Tang

China.⁶³ The phrase “Ajari who administers the precepts” indicates that the Lecturers at both temples had themselves received the *kanjō*. Kōhō may have been one of the monks who received the *kanjō* from Kūkai, and this relationship might in fact have been the reason for his appointment as Kanzeonji Lecturer.

The discussion above has securely established that the canon-copying project at Kanzeonji carried out during the Tenchō era was based on the Hachiman oracle. But what requires additional attention here is the fact that the Hachiman deity requested the building of temple grounds (*garan* 伽藍) as well as the production of the Buddhist canon and an icon. As mentioned above, Jinganji (later Jingoji) was built as a result of this request. There has been a long-standing debate whether the extant Healing Buddha at Jingoji was originally installed in Takaosanji, the earlier name of Jingoji, or at Jinganji.

The results of recent studies demonstrate that it is highly probable that the Jingoji statue was originally installed in Jinganji and that it was produced in order to fulfill the Hachiman oracle.⁶⁴ If that is indeed the case, it is easy to imagine that when the canon-copying project was carried out at Kanzeonji, the Jingoji statue, whose creation was likewise based on the oracle of Hachiman, would have attracted renewed attention. Key to this argument is the hypothesis that this resulted in an image of the Jingoji statue being brought to Kanzeonji via Eun, and that this eventually led to the creation of the Kokusenji statue.

As was noted, two sets of the Buddhist canon were made during the Tenchō era. One set was enshrined at Usa's Mirokuji and the other was dedicated at Jingoji. At the risk of reiterating the point, it was the Hachiman deity's oracle that had instructed Kiyomaro to produce the canon, statue, and a temple. If he were to fulfill this oracle straightforwardly, it seems that it would have been sufficient to enshrine one set of the canon at Jinganji (later Jingoji), which was built at Hachiman's request. Why then were two sets of the canon produced?⁶⁵

57 Kawajiri, “Jingoji godaidō issaikyō mokuroku’ no seikaku,” p. 46. [n47]

58 *Jingoji ryakki*. [n48]

59 Abe, “Kūkai to Nanto bukkyō saikō”; Abe, “Nara-ki no mikkyō no saikentō”; Abe, “Tennō no seiken kōtai to kanjō girei.” [n49]

60 Abe, “Kūkai to Nanto bukkyō saikō,” p. 277. Abe cites “Kozō sōjō Gonsō daitoku eisan narabi nijo,” p. 542. [n50]

61 Abe, “Kūkai to Nanto bukkyō saikō,” p. 278. Abe cites *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 2, Jōwa 3 (836). 5.9, KST vol. 25, p. 68. [n51]

62 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Kashō 1 (848).11.3, KST vol. 25, p. 130. [n52]

63 Abe, “Kūkai to Nanto bukkyō saikō,” p. 278. [n53]

64 Sarai, “Jingoji Yakushi nyoraizō no shiteki kōsatsu,” pp. 122–24. [n54]

65 Sarai also has argued this point. She asserts that “in order to fulfill the Hachiman deity's request, the one transcribed canon at Mirokuji temple would have been sufficient and there would have been no need to make two transcriptions.” She infers that “the impetus for having the *issaikyō* enshrined at Jingoji was

In considering this question, it is particularly significant that the Hachiman deity was invited to Iwashimizu 石清水 in the Heian capital from Usa in Jōgan 貞観 2 (860). According to the *Iwashimizu senza ryaku engi* 石清水遷座略縁起 (Abbreviated tales of karmic origins of the transfer of the god to Iwashimizu, 995), the monk Gyōkyō 行教 from Daianji was chosen as the imperial envoy (*chokushi* 勅使) to Usagū 宇佐宮, the shrines of Usa, in Tennan 天安 2 (858), and he left for Usa in the following year (Tennan 3).⁶⁶ At the same time, a project at Mirokuji to transcribe the Buddhist canon was underway led by the monks Anshū 安宗 (813–887) and En'en 延遠 (n.d.), who were both Dentō daihosshii 伝燈大法師位 (the third of the nine priestly ranks).

This example clearly shows that when Hachiman was invited to Iwashimizu, the canon-copying project was being carried out at Mirokuji, the shrine-temple of Usa Hachimangū. As can be seen in Source 2, Jinganji was merged with Takaosanji, and the temple then became Jingoji in the first year of the Tenchō era. It must have been at that time that the set of the Buddhist canon was enshrined at Usa Mirokuji so that Hachiman, who had been invited to Jinganji, would be transferred to Jingoji instead.⁶⁷

That the project to transcribe the complete set of Buddhist scripture, which was led by the Kanzeonji Lecturer Eun, could have been the impetus behind the image of the Jingoji statue being brought to Kanzeonji, and that this image could have become a source for the Kokusenji statue, seem a natural conclusion based on the above. But even if this hypothesis is accepted, the question why the Kokusenji statue was created remains unanswered. An effective way to address the question is to explore the relationship between Yame, home of Kokusenji Temple, and the cult of Hachiman (*Hachiman shinkō* 八幡信仰). The next section will discuss this relationship.

Worship of Hachiman and Kokusenji Temple in Yame

The argument in the previous section hypothesized that the canon-copying project, which was led by the Kanzeonji Lecturer Eun and based on the oracle of Hachiman, may have triggered the creation of the Kokusenji statue that closely resembles the Jingoji statue. Therefore, in considering the background of the statue's creation, an exploration of the relationship between Kokusenji and the worship of Hachiman would be productive, and we find that previous scholarship on this issue is, in fact, instructive. It was Kusui Takashi, for example, who determined that the territory of Kōzumashō 上妻莊, an estate controlled by the Kitain 喜多院, a sub-temple of Mirokuji in Usa, included a swath of land south of the present-day city of Yame where Kokusenji is located.⁶⁸

The Kitain was built during the Kankō 寛弘 era (1004–1012) at Mirokuji at the request of the regent's house (*sekkanke* 摂関家), the Northern House of the Fujiwara clan that produced sons who could be appointed to the regental posts of Sesshō 摂政 or Kanpaku 関白.⁶⁹ It is said that the Mirokuji Lecturer Genmei 元明 (n.d.) and Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1028), who strongly supported Genmei, were involved in the establishment of this sub-temple. It is also assumed that the territory of the Kitain was instituted by these two men.⁷⁰ The Kōzumashō estate must therefore have been established after the Kankō era, when the Kitain was built, and any relationship between Kokusenji and Usa Mirokuji in the Tenpyō 天平 era, when the Kokusenji statue was created, cannot be clarified by reference to this later relationship.

Of greater relevance is a theory put forth by Nakayama Shigeki that provides circumstantial evidence of a relationship between Kokusenji and Usa Mirokuji prior to the establishment of the Kitain.⁷¹ Nakayama proposes that some *fuko* (封戸), sustenance households

due to the view that a transcription of the *issaikyō* based on Hachiman's oracle should naturally be kept at Jingoji." Sarai, "Jingoji Yakushi nyoraizō no shiteki kōsatsu," pp. 123–24. [n55]

66 *Usa jingū-shi shiryōhen* 2, pp. 148, 173. [n56]

67 The sutra-copying project was probably carried out at Kanzeonji because Usa Mirokuji did not have an *issaikyō* from which to copy. When the *issaikyō* sutra was later copied at Usa Mirokuji during the Jōgan era, the sutras dedicated during the Tenchō era would have been used as the source texts. [n57]

68 Kusui, "Chikugo Kokusenji." Regarding the presumed location of the Kōzumashō estate, I consulted Matsuzaki, "Kōzumashō no seiritsu to tenkai." [n58]

69 *Kamakura ibun* 9161, Bun'ei 文永 1 (1264).9.23, vol. 12, p. 368. [n59]

70 Iinuma Kenji has repeatedly made this claim. See Iinuma, "Hachiman Usagū to Hachiman Iwashimizugū no tōgō," pp. 188–89; Iinuma, "Kenmon toshite no Hachimangūji no seiritsu," p. 98. [n60]

71 Nakayama, "Usa Hachimangū fuko to iden no saikentō." [n61]

whose taxes were allotted to courtiers, shrines, and temples, and *iden* (位田), fields assigned to those of the fifth rank or above, had been allotted to the Usagū, the shrines at Usa. These lands were later transformed into estates (*shōen* 莊園) that became Mirokuji territory. Before making a detailed consideration of Nakayama's theory, a firm understanding of the *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū is necessary. The *fuko* and *iden* of Usagū can be subdivided into the Hachiman portion and the Himegami 比咩神 portion. In essence, they were rewards for the divine help of the gods in the year following the creation of the Great Buddha (*daibutsu* 大仏) at Tōdaiji in Tenpyō Shōhō 天平勝宝 2 (750).⁷²

The *Hachiman Usagū Go-Shinryō Ōkagami* 八幡宇佐宮御神領大鏡 (Great Mirror of the Divine Territory of the Hachiman Shrine at Usa), abbreviated *Usa Ōkagami* 宇佐大鏡, details the Usagū territories (*shoryō* 所領) in medieval times and indicates that the estate called Jūkagō-Sankashō 十箇郷三箇庄 was based on *fuko* of the Himegami portion.⁷³ This example makes clear that some *fuko* of the Usagū were transformed into the territory of the Usagū estates in medieval times.⁷⁴

Care must be taken, however, because only the Himegami portion of the households is described as the source of *shoryō* in *Usa Ōkagami*. Nothing indicates that the Hachiman portion became Usagū estate territory in medieval times.

Nakayama harbors doubts about this discrepancy between the Himegami and Hachiman portions, and focuses on the Great Council of State directive of the 11th day of the 12th month of Enryaku 17 (798) in which the *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū were incorporated into the Official Storehouses of Dazaifu (Dazaifuko 太宰府庫) as “assets to build a shrine temple” (*zōjingūjiryō* 造神宮寺料).⁷⁵ Prior to this directive, all *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū had been returned to the court (*chōtei* 朝廷) in Tenpyō Shōhō 7 (755).⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the Himegami

portion was reallocated to the Usagū in Tenpyō Jingo 天平神護 2 (766).⁷⁷ Working from this knowledge, Nakayama hypothesized that it was the Hachiman portion of the *fuko* and *iden* that was allocated “for the building of a shrine temple” and later made into a *shōen* that became Mirokuji territory.

According to Nakayama's theory, the Kōzumashō, the estate where Kokusenji was located, also originated from the Hachiman portion of the *fuko* and *iden*. In that case, we can conclude that Kokusenji had already established a relationship with the worship of Hachiman by the Tenchō era, when the Kokusenji statue was produced. However, the *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū have a complicated history due to various changes in political circumstances over time. In addition, the process that led to their becoming Usagū territory during the medieval period is still unclear because of the paucity of historical sources. Thus, it must be admitted that Nakayama's theory is no more than a surmise based on circumstantial evidence.

Nevertheless, because there are insufficient grounds to completely reject Nakayama's theory, it remains at present one of the most influential hypotheses.⁷⁸ When making the assumption that the area around Kokusenji was once the Hachiman portion of the *fuko* and *iden*, the three-article petition submitted by Kōhō and Kōe in 830 (Tenchō 7) deserves renewed attention. Although I have addressed them above, the most significant points, 2 and 3, bear repeating here:

- 2) Tax collected from sustenance households (*fūbutsu*) and alms (*fuse*) made to Usa Hachiman should be used for the priestly robes (*hōfuku*) of the Lecturer and Reader of Usa Mirokuji for the New Year (*shōgatsu*), the rainy-season retreat (*ango*), and other occasions.⁷⁹

72 *Shoku Nihongi*, Tenpyō Shōhō 2 (750).2.29, KST vol. 2, p. 209. [n62]

73 Ōita-ken Shiryō Kankōkai, vol. 24 of Ōita-ken shiryō, part 1, Usa Hachimangū monjo 1, pp. 120–58. [n63]

74 Nishitani, “Chiiki kenmon kara mita shōen kōryō sei no keisei.” [n64]

75 *Shinshō kyakuchokufushō*, Jinpu 神封, Enryaku 17 (798).12.11/21?, KST vol. 27, p. 8. [n65]

76 *Shoku Nihongi*, Tenpyō Shōhō 7 (755).3.28, KST vol. 2, p. 223. One year prior to this record, in the 11th month of Tenpyō Shōhō 6 (754), the Yakushiji monk Gyōshin 行信 (n.d.) as well as Ōga no Tamaro 大神多麻呂 (n.d.) and Ōga no Morime 大神杜女 (n.d.) from Usa Hachimangū shrine were exiled because it was said

that they had plotted together to curse their enemies; *Shoku Nihongi*, Tenpyō Shōhō 6 (754).11.24 and 11.27, KST vol. 2, p. 222. The return of *fuko* and *iden* may have been related to this incident. [n66]

77 *Shoku Nihongi*, Tenpyō Jingo (766) 2.4.11/12, KST vol. 2, p. 331. [n67]

78 Nishitani mentions that although this assumption is based on circumstantial evidence, it is highly likely the Hachiman portion became the source of Usa Mirokuji territory. Nishitani, “Chiiki kenmon kara mita shōen kōryō sei no keisei,” p. 154. [n68]

79 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Shokoku kōdokushi goto, Tenchō 7 (830).7.11, KST vol. 2, p. 94. [n69]

3) Six of twenty-four shrine workers (*jinpu shichō*) should serve Usa Mirokuji.⁸⁰

As previously mentioned, these articles may have been devised to strengthen the organization of Usa Mirokuji at the time of the *tendoku* ceremony involving the ritual reading of the canon. Because the Hachiman portion of the *fuko* was employed to support the economic foundations of Mirokuji, this surely indicates the possibility of its later transformation into Mirokuji territory. As seen above, after the *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū were returned to the court, they were placed under the administration of Dazaifu. On the basis of these findings, it is highly probable that the image of the Jingoji statue brought to Kanzeonji, which had been prompted by the canon-copying project, was then transmitted to the *fuko* and *iden* of the Usagū. In that case, the Kokusenji statue can surely be regarded as one example of such a transfer.

Conclusion

This article has concentrated on the statue of the Healing Buddha at Kokusenji in Yame and offered the hypothesis that the statue likely dates to the first half of the ninth century, and further, that it was made by a local sculptor who was active in the Dazaifu area. The article then posited the possibility that knowledge of the statue of the Healing Buddha at Jingoji was conveyed in the form of an image via Kanzeonji, and this transfer of visual knowledge resulted in the close resemblance between the Kokusenji and Jingoji statues. In support of this hypothesis, I have focused specifically on the canon-copying project led by the Kanzeonji lecturer Eun during the Tenchō era and demonstrated how this event triggered the connection between Kanzeonji and Jingoji. This massive sutra-copying project was based on the oracle of Hachiman issued at the time of the event known as the Incident of the Usa Hachiman Oracle. Considering these factors together, I have contended that because the canon-copying project was based on the oracle issued by the Hachiman deity at the time of that incident, renewed attention was placed on the Healing Buddha at Jingoji, which had been built as a result of the same

oracle, and that an image of the Jingoji statue was then transmitted to Kanzeonji. Lastly, because the southern area of Yame, the location of Kokusenji, had been the Hachiman portion of the *fuko* and *iden* since the Nara period and Dazaifu administered this area, I hypothesized that the image of the Jingoji statue was first transmitted to Kanzeonji as a result of the canon-copying project, then later conveyed to Kokusenji.

Although difficult to prove, the rise of Hachiman worship in both Kinai and the northern Kyushu area as well as their mutual influence on one another's development may well have had great significance as underlying factors in the creation of the Kokusenji statue. In place of a definitive conclusion at this point, I wish instead to consider the prospects for addressing the issue of the upsurge in faith in Hachiman in forthcoming research.

The Hachiman deity displayed multiple characteristics, being seen as a god of war (*gunshin* 軍神), a god who protects the state (*chingokokkashin* 鎮護国家神), and as an imperial ancestor god (*kōsoshin* 皇祖神) but, in terms of the ninth century with which this study is concerned, Hachiman as imperial ancestor is the most significant of these identities. The idea of Hachiman as imperial ancestor can be traced back to the Oracle Incident in which Hachiman influenced the imperial succession, but the definitive factor was the identification of Hachiman with the legendary Emperor Ōjin 応神天皇 (trad. r. 270–310) that took place during the reign of Kanmu.⁸¹ As a result, Hachiman was frequently summoned to insure the legitimacy of the imperial succession, such as during the Kusuko Incident (Kusuko no hen 葦子の変), which stemmed from a conflict between Emperor Saga 嵯峨天皇 (786–842; r. 809–823) and Emperor Heizei 平城天皇 (773–824; r. 806–809), when Tōji Chinju Hachimangū 東寺鎮守八幡宮 was founded.⁸² Another example is the enthronement of the youthful Emperor Seiwa 清和天皇 (850–881; r. 858–876), when the god was invited to the newly built Iwashimizu Hachimangū, just south of the Heian capital.⁸³

As noted above, the massive sutra-copying project for the Buddhist canon seems to have been devised in

80 *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 3, Jōgakuji no koto, Tenchō 7 (830).7.11, KST vol. 25, pp. 119–20. [n70]

81 Hasebe, "Hachiman daibosatsu seiritsu no zentei: Kōtō no tankan to Hachimanshin no tensei," pp. 61–62. [n71]

82 Takahashi, "Tōji Hachiman san shinzō no seisaku haikai ni kansuru kōsatsu." [n72]

83 Yoshie, "Iwashimizu Hachimangūji sōshi no shūhen." [n73]

order to invite (or transfer) Hachiman from Jinganji when Jingoji was established. We should probably accept the supposition of Kawajiri Akio that because the statues and the building of the Godaidō 五大堂 at Jingoji were built at the behest of Emperor Junna 淳和天皇 (786–840; r. 823–833), the canon-copying project was also likely done upon his request.⁸⁴ If we exercise our imagination a little further, we can envisage that the merger of Jinganji and Takaodera to become Jingoji in the first year of the Tenchō era (824) signified a guarantee of the legitimacy of Emperor Junna's succession in the previous year, Kōnin 14 (823).

Based on his demonstration that the statues of the Five Great Wisdom Kings (Godai Myōō 五大明王像) sponsored by Emperor Junna for the Godaidō and the seated statues of the Five Space Repository bodhisattvas (Godai Kokūzōbosatsu 五大虚空蔵菩薩) sponsored by Emperor Ninmyō 仁明天皇 (810–850; r. 833–850) for the pagoda were likely based on knowledge gained from images with which Kūkai and Emperor Saga were involved, Sasaki Moritoshi made clear that “copies of iconography” (*zuzō utsushi* 図像うつし) had special significance in validating the imperial succession from Saga, to Junna and Ninmyō.⁸⁵ Another notable aspect of Sasaki's theory is the possibility that Kūkai influenced the merger of Jinganji and Takaosani to become Jingoji, as well as the designation of the statue of the Healing Buddha of Jinganji as the chief object of worship (*honzon* 本尊) at Jingoji.⁸⁶

Working from these suppositions, we must conclude that the creation of the Kokusenji statue had more significance than simply its link to the rise of the worship of Hachiman. In short, the statue of the Healing Buddha, whose transfer from Jinganji to Jingoji was inspired by the enthronement of Emperor Junna, played an even more powerful role than heretofore imagined, functioning to insure the legitimacy of the imperial succession. It is thus easy to conceive that from the time of its creation, the Kokusenji statue would have been expected to perform a function similar to that of the Jingoji statue. The fact that Eun was appointed by imperial order (*choku* 勅) to head the canon-copying project as Kanzeonji Lecturer also buttresses this supposition.

Coincidentally, another notable achievement of Eun as Kanzeonji Lecturer was the trade he carried out with Silla 新羅 merchants.⁸⁷ According to the *Anshōji Ledger of Assets*, the Kanzeonji Lecturer Eun employed alms (*fuse*) from National Lectures on the Sutras (*kokka kōkyō* 国家講經) to purchase Buddhist ritual implements (*butsugu* 仏具) from Silla merchants, and when he later established Anshōji 安祥寺, he donated these ritual implements to the temple. Although the exact meaning of the term “National Lectures on the Sutras” is not clear, Eun certainly received some financial support from the government for them. Also, the fact that Eun, in the position of Kanzeonji Lecturer, donated goods derived from the trade to Anshōji, which had not yet been completed at the time, cannot be ignored. Anshōji was established and developed with the support of Fujiwara no Nobuko 藤原順子 (809–871), an official consort (*nyōgo* 女御) of Emperor Ninmyō. Eun had thus built up close relationships with people around the emperor. It is quite natural that Eun, Jitsue—who had chosen Eun to be Kanzeonji Lecturer—and Kūkai focused on the Hachiman deity as a sacred imperial ancestor.

In considering instead the Hachiman deity from the viewpoint of Dazaifu and Kanzeonji, it is noteworthy that the rise of the worship of Hachiman and the strengthening of the Kanzeonji Lecturer's control within his jurisdiction had developed in concert. The canon-copying project led by Eun examined here symbolizes this mutual development. It can be anticipated that the rise of faith in Hachiman would have led to further development of *shinbutsu shūgō*, the ideology of the unity of native and Buddhist deities, in the provinces of the Saikaidō. As recent studies have clearly demonstrated, *shinbutsu shūgō* was a strategy to restructure the context of the national order, interpreting various local gods as good spirits who protected the dharma (*gohōzenshin* 護法善神).⁸⁸ One example seen in northern Kyushu is the case of Fujiwara no Hirotsugu 藤原広嗣 (d. 740), who was once feared as a vengeful spirit, but whose character was transformed so that he became a guardian deity of safe voyages.⁸⁹

84 Kawajiri, “Jingoji godaidō issaikyō mokuroku’ no seikaku,” p. 41. [n74]

85 Sasaki, “Jingoji godai kokūzō bosatsu zazō saikō,” pp. 85–86. [n75]

86 Ibid., pp. 84–85. [n76]

87 *Anshōji shizaichō*, p. 43, 109. [n77]

88 Inamoto, “Shinbutsu shūgō no ronri to zōzō: Indo, Chūgoku kara Nihon e,” p. 226. [n78]

89 Sueyoshi, “Kyūshū,” pp. 10–13; Sueyoshi, “Fukuoka,” pp. 33–36. [n79]

For the Kanzeonji Lecturer who was deeply tied to the development of the concept of the unity of native and Buddhist deities, popular faith in the Hachiman deity, who was understood as having quickly become a believer in Buddhism and a leader of other gods, would have been most welcome. With the rise of the worship of Hachiman in the circles around the emperor, the Kanzeonji Lecturer deepened cooperation with Usa, the seat of Hachiman faith. The actions of the Kanzeo-

nji Lecturer can be seen as an attempt to transform the local gods into tutelary deities (*gohōshin* 護法神) and to incorporate these gods into the system of control centered around Kanzeonji. Without the Kanzeonji Lecturer, who had close ties to the central government as well as strong influence on the provinces within his jurisdiction, the sculptural form of the Kokusenji statue that blended both the central style of the capital area and local styles could not have been created.

Table 2. Chronology of Related Events⁹⁰

Year	Day and Month	Kanzeonji Lecturer	Events
Tenpyō Shōhō 2 (750)	29th day, 2nd month	n/a	800 <i>fuko</i> and 80 <i>iden</i> allotted to Usa Hachiman of the First Rank, as an additional 380 <i>fuko</i> added to the original 420, and 30 new <i>iden</i> added to the original 50; additionally, 600 <i>fuko</i> and 60 <i>iden</i> awarded to Second-rank Himegami-shin (<i>Shoku Nihongi</i>)
Tenpyō Shōhō 7 (755)	28th day, 3rd month	n/a	Oracle of Usa Hachiman proclaims that 1,400 <i>fuko</i> and 140 <i>iden</i> are not needed, and they are returned to the court; however, the original <i>shinden</i> are ordered to be retained (<i>Shoku Nihongi</i>)
Tenpyō Jingo 2 (768)	11th day, 4th month	n/a	6,000 <i>shinpu</i> households are bestowed on Himegami-shin (<i>Shoku Nihongi</i>)
Jingo Keiun 3 (769)	25th day, 9th month	n/a	Wake no Kiyomaro conveys the oracle of Usa Hachiman, and is exiled to Ōsumi Province (<i>Shoku Nihongi</i>)
Enryaku 12 (793)	circa this year	n/a	In response to the oracle of Usa Hachiman, Wake no Kiyomaro builds Jinganji (<i>Ruijū kokushi</i>)
Enryaku 17 (798)	21st day, 12th month	n/a	After this date, Usa Hachiman Daibosatsu and Himegami-shin transfer 1,410 <i>fuko</i> and 140 <i>iden</i> to government coffers at Dazaifu (<i>Shinshō kyakukan fushō</i>)
Kōnin 10 (820)	4th day, 3rd month	unknown	Dazaifu sends an order to Kanzeonji stating that the Kanzeonji Lecturer is to lead the Shitennōji Keka rite hereafter (<i>Heian ibun</i>)
Tenchō 1 (824)	27th day, 9th month	unknown	Takaosanji is elevated to <i>jōgakuji</i> status and renamed Jingokoku-soshingonji (abbreviated Jingoji) (<i>Ruijū kokushi</i>) and a Standing Healing Buddha was received by the temple
Tenchō 2 (825)	28th day, 2nd month	Kōhō	Dazaifu's petition, which was based on a written request from Kanzeonji Lecturer Kōhō, asking that five of the twenty monks over sixty years of age who had been appointed to serve at provincial temples should be replaced with newly tonsured monks who are over twenty-five years of age, is approved (<i>Ruijū sandaikyaku</i>)
Tenchō 6 (829)	19th day, 5th month	Kōhō	10 monks are ordered to perform a <i>tendoku</i> ritual reading of the Buddhist canon at Mirokuji in Usa (<i>Nihon kiryaku</i>)
	same year	Kōhō	Wake no Nakayo and others award Jingoji to Kūkai (<i>Jingoji ryakki</i>)

90 For the "Events" listed in the table, I consulted Shigematsu, *Dazaifu kodai shi nenpyō*; Asai, *Nara jidai II: Tōdaiji, Shōsōin to Kōfukuji*; and Itō, *Heian jidai I: Mikkyōjin kara Byōdōin e*.

Tenchō 7 (830)	11th day, 7th month	Kōhō	Kōhō, the Kanzeonji Lecturer, and Kōe, the Usa Mirokuji Lecturer, make a three-article petition that is approved; the petition requested that the annual cohort of ordinands (<i>nenbundosha</i>) be selected from those who had resided at the temples for over three years and that the Lecturer and Shrine Administrator test them on sutra-recitation (<i>Ruijū sandaikyaku</i> 2); that the <i>fubutsu</i> from Usa Hachiman-shin sustenance households be applied to alms and robes of the monks during New Year's and the summer retreat and that six of the twenty-four shrine workers be put in service to the temples (<i>Ruijū sandaikyaku</i> 3); and the petition revealed that the Lecturer and Reader from the temples were first appointed in two central government directives from the 1st day of the 2nd month and the 10th day of the 5th month of Tenchō 6
Tenchō 8 (831)	7th day, 3rd month	Kōhō	Kanzeonji lecturer Kōhō was ordered by Dazaifu to distribute 500 kernels of <i>shari</i> to the <i>kokubunji</i> and <i>jōgakuji</i> temples within its jurisdiction (<i>Nihon kiryaku</i>)
Tenchō 10 (833)	26th day, 10th month	Eun	Dazaifu is ordered to have the Buddhist canon copied in accordance with the oracle of Hachiman-shin in the Keiun era and to keep it at Mirokuji, and another set is to be copied and kept at Jingoji (<i>Shoku Nihon kōki</i>)
	same year	Eun	Eun was appointed Kanzeonji Lecturer and Lecturer for Chikuzen Province specially to oversee the copying of the Buddhist canon (<i>Tōji chōja bunin</i>)
Jōwa 1 (834)	this year	Eun	Eun appointed the abbot of Jingoji (<i>Tōji chōja bunin</i>)
Jōwa 2 (835)	25th day, 8th month	Kōhō	Kanzeonji lecturer Kōhō petitions for five monks to be appointed to Miroku Chishikji 弥勒知識寺 in Matsura no kōri 松浦郡, Hizen Province; Dazaifu forwards the request to the Great Council of State of the central government (Daijōkan 太政官), which approves it (<i>Ruijū sandaikyaku</i>)
Jōwa 9 (842)	5th day, 5th month	Eun?	Eun resigns posts of Lecturer at Kanzeonji and Chikuzen in preparation for a voyage to Tang China (<i>Anshōji shizaichō</i>)
Jōwa 14 (847)	28th day, 11th month	unknown	On his return from Tang, Ennin 円仁 (794–864) sojourns at Daisenji 大山寺 from this day until the 3rd day of the 12th month, during which time he conducts a <i>tendoku</i> ritual reading before Hachiman Daibosatsu, Kawara Myōjin 香春明神, Kamado no Ōkami 竈門大神, Sumiyoshi no Ōkami 住吉大神, Kashii Myōjin 香椎明神, Chikuzen Myōjin 筑前明神, and Matsura Shōni no Kumo 松浦少二の雲 (<i>Nittō guhō junrei kōki</i> 入唐求法巡礼行記 by Ennin 円仁)
Kashō 1 (848)	8th month	unknown	Eun establishes Anshōji (<i>Anshōji shizaichō</i>)
	3rd day, 11th month	unknown	Shimotsuke Province 下野国 petitions that Yakushiji in Shimotsuke be recognized as the equal of Kanzeonji and that a monk be appointed to the post of Lecturer; the petition is recognized (<i>Shoku Nihon kōki</i> , <i>Ruijū sandaikyaku</i>)
Jōgan 1 (859)	8th month	unknown	Based on an appeal by Gyōkyō 行教 (n.d.), a Hōden hall is constructed at Iwashimizu Otokoyama 石清水男山 in Kyoto in order to invite Hachiman from Usa (<i>Iwashimizu Hachimangū Gokokuji ryakki</i>)

Continued study of the intricate circumstances behind the production of the Kokusenji statue is necessary, but the existence of a statue that was the product of complexly interwoven motives in both Kinai and Dazaifu offers a perspective that will be useful in considering the history of the subsequent creation of other Buddhist statues in northern Kyushu.

Appendix: Source 3

以_二高雄寺_一、為_二定額_一、并定_二得度經業等_一、正五位下行河内守和氣朝臣真綱、從五位下彈正少弼和氣朝臣仲世等言、臣聞、父構子終、謂_二之大孝_一、當_レ公獻_レ可、謂_二之至忠、惟忠惟孝、不_レ可_レ不_レ順者也、昔景雲年中、僧道鏡、以_二佞邪之資_一、登_二玄扈之上_一、辱僭_二法王之号_一、遂懷_二窺覲之心_一、偏_二邪幣御群神_一、行_二權橋御佞党_一、爰八幡大神、痛_二天嗣之傾弱_一、憂_二狼奴之將_レ興、神兵尖_レ鋒、鬼戰連_レ年、彼衆我寡、邪強正弱、大神歎_二自威之難_レ當、仰_二仏力之奇護_一、乃入_二御夢_一、請_二使者_一、有_レ勅、追_二引臣等故考從三位民部卿清麻呂_一、面宣_二御夢之事_一、仍以_二天位讓_二道鏡_一事_上、令_レ言_二大神_一、清麻呂奉_二詔旨_一、向_二宇佐神宮_一、于_レ時大神託宣、夫神有_二大少_一、好惡不_レ同、善神惡_二淫祀_一、貪神受_二邪幣_一、我為_二紹隆皇緒_一、扶_二濟國家_上、写_二造一切經及仏_一、誦_二最勝王經一万卷_一、建_二伽藍_一、除_二凶逆於一旦_一、固_二社稷於万代_一、汝承_二此言_一莫_レ有_二遺失_一、清麻呂對_二大神_一誓云、國家平定之後、必奏_二後帝_一奉_二果_一神願、粉骨殞命、不_レ錯_二神言_一、還奏_二此言_一、遭_二時不遇_一、身降_二刑獄_一遂配_二荒隅_一、幸蒙_二神力_一、再入_二帝都_一、後田原天皇、寶龜十一年、敷_二奏此事_一、天皇感嘆、親製詔書、未_レ行之間、遇_二讓位之事_一、天應二年又奏之、柏原先帝、即以_二前詔_一、普布_二告天下_一、至_二延曆年中_一、私建_二伽藍_一、名曰_二神願寺_一天皇追嘉_二先功_一、以_二神願寺_一為_二定額寺_一、今此寺地勢汚穢、不_レ宜_二壇場_一、伏望、相_二替高雄寺_一、以為_二定額_一、名曰_二神護國祚真言寺_一、仏像一依_二大悲胎藏及金剛界等_一、簡_二解_二真言_一僧二七人_上、永為_二國家_一修_二行三密法門_一、其僧有_レ闕、折_二有_二道行_一僧_上補_レ之、又簡_二貞操沙弥二七人_一、令_レ轉_二誦守護國界王經及調和風雨成熟五穀經等_一、晝夜更代、不_レ斷_二其聲_一、七年之後、預_二得度_一、一則果_二大神之大願_一、二則除_二國家之災難_一者、勅、一代之間、每年聽_レ度_二一人_一、又備前国水田廿町、賜_二伝_二二世_一、為_二功田_一者、入_二彼寺_一充、果_二神願_一者、更延_二二世_一、自余依_レ請

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▪ Abbreviations Used

- KST *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 新訂増補国史大系. 66 vols. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929–1964.
T *zuzō* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* 大正新修大藏經圖像. 12 vols. Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1933–1935.
ZZGS *Zokuzoku gunsho ruijū* 続々群書類従. 16 vols. Kokusho Kankōkai, 1906–1909.

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