

The Role of Fujiwara no Michinori and His Descendants in the Compilation of Shingon Mikkyō Iconography during the Insei Period

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Introduction:

This study focuses on two Shingon 真言 priests of the late-Insei 院政 period whose role in the compilation of compendia of esoteric iconography has heretofore gone unnoticed. In fact, the lives of both men are largely undocumented. Both Shōsai 生西 (or Shōsei), whose secular name was Fujiwara no Sadanori 藤原貞憲 (1123?-80?), and Jōgen 貞玄 (1171-1209?) were descendants of Fujiwara no Michinori 通憲 (1106-59), often known by his Buddhist name, Shinzei 信西. He was a learned man and powerful political figure closely associated with the regimes of Toba-in 鳥羽院 (1103-56) and Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河 (1129-92). His short-lived political triumph and grisly demise in the mid-12th century have overshadowed legends of his intellectual prowess and proud cultural legacy. The study of these two priests, one a son and the other a grandson of Shinzei is part of a larger project designed to situate the Shinzei Ichimon 一門, the descendants of Michinori-Shinzei, within the context of the creation of Insei culture and particularly its visual aspects.

Before delving into specifics of the 12th century history, I would like to consider the problem of the significance of visual culture in the widest context. All Americans know that Confucius counseled that, “a picture is worth a thousand words.” The sage, however, does not appear to have actually uttered this truism. The words are evidently a product of the American advertising industry of the early 20th century, but the sentiment is undoubtedly older. Skepticism of the power of language to fully convey reality seems likely to be universal and has probably been with us since the first caveman got his tongue tied. Nevertheless, it is true that the Chinese may have been the first to come up with a pithy maxim, summing up the problem, i.e. 百聞不如一畫, *hyakubun wa ichiga shikazu* in Japanese.¹ It is the utter genius of Chinese civilization that this profound challenge to the power of logos

¹ *Daikanwajiten* 大漢和辭典 gives the source as the “Biography of Zhao Chongguo” 趙充國伝 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, vol. 8, p. 61.

could be encapsulated in, ironically, words, and words brief enough to fit within a fortune cookie.

The fortune cookie brings us to Japan because, as those who are informed of recent North American controversies will know, there has been a heated debate whether that American delicacy really comes from China, or has its roots in West Coast “Chinese” restaurants run by immigrants from Hiroshima and thereabouts. Origins are tricky things to nail down. Verifying the first cookie, particularly given the propensity to crumble, is no simple matter--so much more so for the origins of ideas.

Similar sentiments questioning the efficacy of language and extolling imagery were recorded by Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 Kūkai 空海 (774-835) in his *Shōrai mokuroku* 請来目録. He warned that, “the Dharma is beyond speech...,” that, “Esoteric Buddhist teachings are so profound as to defy expression by writing, they are revealed through the medium of painting...,” and the “secrets of the sutras and commentaries are for the most part depicted in the paintings, and all the essentials of the Esoteric Buddhist doctrines are, in reality, set forth therein.”² Whether Kūkai actually learned this truth from his mentor, gleaned it from the classics, or discovered it in his dessert is unclear. Buddhism itself appeared as “a religion of images” 像教 or 象教 to the Chinese, and the Buddhist Esoterism inherited by Kūkai was quintessentially bound up with imagery as can be seen in his assertions.

Kūkai observations promoting imagery accompanied that portion of his report that included the two fundamental mandalas of the Shingon tradition. A mere glance at the myriad deities embedded within those matrixes conveys a sense of the challenge in transmitting that tradition. To the extent that the knowledge of the tradition is in fact esoteric and the transmission secret, the difficulty of conveying and disseminating it is compounded. The teeming multitude of all-too-similar visages is only the orthodox core of the visual tradition, which was elaborated and supplemented over the centuries by divinely inspired practitioners in various Shingon lineages. In order to conduct esoteric rituals, the proper form of individual deities or combinations of deities had to be confirmed, studied and reproduced. Until the Insei period, transmission of esoteric knowledge including its iconography was in principle piecemeal from master to disciple, an arduous and time-consuming process.

During the Insei period, spanning roughly the last decades of the 11th century through the first decades of the 13th, an apparently novel solution to the dilemma

² Hakeda 1972, pp. 145-46.

posed by the complexity of transmitting esoteric knowledge and particularly its visual component was reached in the Shingon school. Encyclopedic compendia of esoteric lore accompanied by the appropriate iconography illustrations, known as *zuzō* 図像, began to appear. The motivation behind such a strategy, apart from the utilitarian, is beyond the scope of this study. The urgent need to preserve knowledge in the age of *mappō* 末法, is often cited, but it should be noted that similar strategies of collecting, ordering, and commentating were also carried out with secular literary genres during the same period.

The Familial Context

Before focusing on the roles of the relatively unknown Shōsai and Jōgen, it will be useful to place them within the context of the family of Michinori/Shinzei, which, as such, has never been associated with the production of Shingon esoteric iconography. Recently, however, I have argued that Shinzei himself was acquainted with both Ejū 恵什 (1060-145) and Shinkaku 心覚 (1117-80), two of the leading compilers of compendia of Shingon iconography during the Insei period. Evidence detailed in my earlier study suggests that Shinzei may have also been acquainted with Chinkai 珍海 (1091-1152), reputed the “greatest Buddhist painter in the realm.” The historical record further hints that Shinzei may have served as the agent of Toba'in 鳥羽院 in ordering the creation of the *Zuzōshō* 図像抄, the earliest extant collection of Shingon iconography, from Ejū, and, surprisingly, he may have also have been a conduit, providing esoteric knowledge to the scholar-priest Shinkaku.³

Although the family has not been associated with the collection and production of iconography, Shinzei's son Shōken 勝賢 (1136-96), who served as abbot of Daigoji 醍醐寺 and Tōdaiji 東大寺, has long been recognized as a mentor of Kakuzen 覚禅 (1143 to at least 1213), the compiler of the most extensive collection of the *zuzō* genre from the period, the *Kakuzenshō* 覚禅抄. The extent of Shōken's involvement with several other priests who were painters or compilers of Shingon iconography has not been fully recognized.

In attempting to grasp this aspect of Shōken's life, it is first important to note that, like his brother Chōken 澄憲 (1126-1203), the putative founder of the Tendai Agui 安居院 school of preachers, Shōken was an author of *hyōbyaku* 表白 and *ganmon* 願文, the major genres of *shōdō* 唱導, Buddhist preaching. I have reconstructed a lost collection of such works, which I call the *Shōken hyōbyakushū* 勝賢表白集. (Despite

³ Please see my forthcoming “Shinzei ichimon no shinzoku nettowāku to inseiki kaiga seisaku” 信西一門の真俗ネットワークと院政期絵画制作 in *Rokuon zasshū* 鹿苑雑集, vol. 10 (2008.3).

this title, not all the items in the *hyōbyakushū* are *hyōbyaku*—most are not—, and it is not clear whether all the items were written by Shōken—but most probably were.)⁴

The *Sōkakuki* 相覚記, a catalogue of the Muromachi-era Daigoji priest Sōkaku 相覚 (1352-92) of the Hōren-in 法蓮院, lists Shōken's collection, *Hyōbyakushū* 表白集 among twelve other works.⁵ The following three items accompany it in the last portion of the list: *Konkai nenju fu* 金界念誦賦, in one scroll, *Kōshō* 香鈔, and *Yakushō* 藥鈔, each one scroll.

Just as his composition of *shōdō* genres, which are inherently exoteric in nature, has not garnered much attention, Shōken has not been considered a painter or compiler of *zuzō*. There is, however, a catalogue of paintings from the Jizō-in 地藏院 cloister at Daigoji, which was founded by his disciple Jinken 深賢 (1179-1261), that indicates Shōken was responsible for painting at least one image, a Shō-Kannon 聖觀音, by which he was remembered in the late thirteenth century.⁶ Moreover, Shōken has been associated with the one important example of *zuzō*, a copy of the *Takao mandara* 高雄曼荼羅図像, the most authoritative version of the two fundamental mandalas of the Shingon esoteric tradition, which can be traced back to those that Kūkai had had produced.⁷ Shōken's name on one of the scrolls is thought to indicate that he had the scrolls copied from those of Shinkaku. Shinkaku had evidently inherited the scrolls from his own master Ken'i, or Kenni, 兼意 (1073 to at least 1158). Seigen 成賢 (1162-1231), a nephew and disciple of Shōken and also abbot of Daigoji at the close of the Insei period, later inherited the work, which is now found in the collection of Hasedera.

Shōken and Shinkaku are known to have shared works from esoteric core of the Ono 小野 branch of the Shingon tradition, and several important manuscripts in the Daigoji collection can be traced back to Shinkaku via Shōken. A text that appears to be traceable even further back, to Shinkaku's mentor Ken'i is Shōken's *Kōyakushō* 香藥鈔, now in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library. Shōken

⁴ Two fascicles of the *Shōken hyōbyashū* appear under the title *Hyōbyakushū* in the ZGSR vol. 28.1. The *Shunjūkeiden shikkai shihai Hyōbyakushū* 春秋経伝集解 紙背表白集 in the Kyoushoku 杏雨書屋 collection of the Takeda Pharmaceutical Co. Ltd. comprises the final four fascicles of Shōken's collection. These combined with the *Misshū hyōbyaku* 密宗表白 at Ōsu Bunko 大須文庫 of Shinpukuji 真福寺 form the entire five-fascicle collection.

⁵ A list of Shōken's works, including those from the *Sōkakuki* are found in the third fascicle of *Shoshū shōshoroku*, 諸宗章疏録, pp. 175-6.

⁶ The "Daigoji Jizō-in kyōzō mokuroku" 醍醐寺地藏院経蔵目録 is dated Kenji 1.8.14 (1275) and found in the Tanaka Yuzuru shi kyūzō tenseki monjo 田中譲氏旧蔵典籍文書 No. 246-79-3.

⁷ Yanagisawa 1967, p. 98. Yanagisawa provided photographs of the colophons of both Shōken and Seigen.

copied Shinkaku's manuscript in Eiman 1.6 (1165) at the Ūjō-in 往生院 on Kōyasan, where the two frequently traded knowledge during the period of Shōken's exile from Daigoji. This illustrated work is an example of Shōken's facility with the brush and talent in reproducing images. The manuscript is now part of a set of three scrolls. It is accompanied by a scroll of images known as the *Kōyakuzukan* 香藥図卷, also thought to be in Shōken's hand, and the *Hōyōshō* 寶要鈔, said to have been copied by Seigen.⁸

The *Kōyakushō* illustrates the difficulty in assigning authorship to manuscripts that are either essentially copies of an earlier work by one's master or an assemblage of bits from several such works.⁹ Whoever the original "author" may have been, the many citations and quotations in the work demonstrate his prodigious learning and familiarity with Chinese sources, including the secular works such as various *fu* 賦, rhyme-prose pieces. It is unclear at which stage in the accretion of the text that these references, particularly those on the reverse of the manuscript, first appeared. Intriguingly, Shōken's *hyōbyakushū* claims the *fu* was the specialty of his brother the Shōkō 相公, whom I take to be Toshinori 俊憲 (1122-1167), Shinzei's first son. In the terms of the knowledge reflected in the work, we know from Shinkaku's *Kakurinshō* 鶴林鈔 and other scriptural sources, that Shinzei was an expert in incense and instructed at least one high-ranking Shingon prelate its secrets.¹⁰ This erudition is also reflected in his *Tsūken zōsho mokuroku* 通憲藏書目錄, where there are several titles on related matters such as medicinal plants (*honzo* 本草), a principle source for this variety of Buddhist text.

A significant portion of the language and knowledge in Ken's "original" text was derived from earlier sources. The *Kōjishō* 香字抄, which at least one scholar has suggested may have been compiled by Shinzei, is chief among them.¹¹ The *Zenjōbō shoseki ketsu mokuroku* 禪上房書籍缺目録, a catalogue from Kōzanji 高山寺 lists a *Tanbashō* 丹波抄 in five fascicles and notes that lacunae in the text "were

⁸ Sorimachi 1968, p. 3.

⁹ Shōken's colophon indicates that he copied Shinkaku's edited version. To what extent the *Kōyakushō* can be considered either man's work is problematic. The *Kōshinshō* 幸心抄 identified it as having been written by Kakutō-in 覺洞院 [Shōken] on Kōyasan, but notes, in apparent contradiction, it may have been Jōki-in 常喜院 [Shinkaku's] work, T 2498 78, p. 734. Kawase Kazuma also pointed out that one early-modern manuscript of *Kōyakushō* contains a colophon of Jinken following that of Shōken and Seigen, Kawase 1986, p. 252.

¹⁰ The story of Michinori imparting secular knowledge of incense to Gezō-in no Miya 華嚴院宮 Shōe 聖惠 Hōshinnō (1094-1137) also appears in the *Jikkishō* 実婦鈔 T 2497 78, p. 76, and the *Tokoshō* 土巨鈔. Shōken appears to have been the ultimate source for the circulation of this account within the Ono tradition.

¹¹ Numoto 1981, p. 320.

supplemented in the ninth month of the second year of Eiman (1166) using the version of Shōkō Nyūdō.” Shōken’s signature follows this note. The next line states that together with the *Kōshō* and *Yakushō* (titles attributed to Shōken in the *Sōkakuki*) the scrolls comprise a set of five books. This annotation demonstrates the transmission of knowledge within the Shinzei Ichimon as it makes clear that Shōken had copied material from the manuscript of Shōkō Nyūdō, i.e. Toshinori.

As Shinzei’s heir, Toshinori would likely have inherited his father’s collection. Toshinori noted, “the patriarch [Shinzei] possessed thousands of scrolls of diaries.”¹² It is surely not unrelated that we find Shōken’s name on the back of one of the scrolls of Kyōto National Museum’s manuscript of the *Shunki* 奉記, diary of Fujiwara no Sukefusa 資房 (1026-54), with the date Eiman 2.¹³ The transmission of texts from Shinzei, to his heir Toshinori, and then from Toshinori to his brothers Shōken and Shigenori 成範 (1135-87), who possessed Toshinori’s *Kanshu hishō* 貫首秘抄 can be discerned here. This hypothesis is supported by Shōken’s praise for his brother Toshinori in the *Shōken hyōbyakushū* for having developed and mastered the genre of the Shin-fu 新賦 (New, or Innovative, Rhyme-Prose). Shinzei’s catalog of books also contains a *Shin-fu ryakushō* 新賦略抄, which is thought to have been a Japanese work because it does not appear in any of the voluminous Chinese catalogs of contemporary books.¹⁴ A variant course of the flow of manuscripts, however, is seen in the Daigoji *Suigenshō* 水言鈔, a version of the *Gōdānshō* 江談抄, which appears to have gone straight from Shinzei to Shōken and then to Seigen, without having passed through the hands of Toshinori.¹⁵

In a further example of the transfer of knowledge specifically involving iconographic imagery, the *Tokoshō* details the complex trail of the *Sonshō mandara* 尊勝曼荼羅, which is not only traced from Ken’i to Shinkaku and then to Shōken and finally Seigen, but is shown to have originally come from Toba Sōjō Kakuyū 覺猷 (1053-1140).¹⁶

In regard to *zuzō* in particular, there were, in addition to Shinkaku, a startling number of creators of *zuzō* and *zuzō* collections within Shōken’s circle. Six figures are particularly noteworthy. The first is the scholar-monk Rimyōbō 理明房 Kōzen 興然 (1121-1203) of the Jison-in 慈尊院 tradition at Kajūji 勧修寺 who was

¹² *Kanshu hishō*, pp. 280-81

¹³ *Fujiwara Michinaga: kiwameta eika, negatta jōdo*, p. 236

¹⁴ Miki 1995, p. 374.

¹⁵ Komatsu 1977, p. 126.

¹⁶ Makino 1987, p. 57.

perhaps the most prolific writer on *zuzō* during the Insei period.¹⁷ The second figure is Kōzen's disciple Shōnagon Ajari 少納言阿闍梨 Kakuzen, who appears as an attendant priest, in the record of Shōken's first conferral of the *denpō kanjō* 伝法灌頂, the rite of consecration in which a master anoints an adept, signaling his entrance into the ranks of esoteric masters.¹⁸ Kakuzen came under Shōken's tutelage in the course of his decades-long quest for esoteric knowledge and imagery. Several chapters of the *Kakuzenshō* and many comments in the work are derived from Shōken. The third figure is Monzenbō 文泉房 Rōchō 朗澄 (1131-1208) of Ishiyamadera 石山寺, who became legendary for his involvement in building up the collection of scripture at the temple.¹⁹ He received the *denpō kanjō* from Shōken late in both men's careers. Rōchō was a contemporary of Shōken's nephew Hanken 範賢 (1164 to at least 1205), the abbot of Ishiyamadera, and both Rōchō and Hanken were disciples of Kan'yu 観祐 (1110 to at least 1163), a well-known copyist of several extant *zuzō*. The fourth figure, Gyōzenbō 行善房 Shinkai 真海 (?-1184), had by Edo times earned the reputation as having been "the greatest painter in the realm" 本朝第一. He was said to have studied painting in China and won the praise of all the famed painters in that land. Various now-lost masterpieces were attributed to him and he was lauded as the mentor of Chinkai, who had earned a strikingly similar reputation.²⁰ Unfortunately, there is next to no evidence for any of these exploits. Shinkai did exist, for like Kakuzen, Shinkai served at Shōken's first conferral of the *denpō kanjō*, and Shōken composed a petition for appointment, *mōshibumi* 申文, for him—an item that is found in the *Shōken hyōbyakushū*. Shōken also led the dedication of Shinkai's Sakuramachi Naidō 桜町内堂 at Daigoji.²¹ Jōshōbō 浄勝房 Ken'zō 賢増 (1129-1205), the fifth figure, is more obscure than any of the others, but he was clearly a disciple of Shōken, having received the *denpō*

¹⁷ Kōzen's major published works in modern editions include *Shikan* 四卷, *Gojikkanshō* 五十卷抄, and *zuzō* related *Kongōkai shichishū* 金剛界七集, *Mandarashū* 曼荼羅集, and the *Zuzōshū* 図像集.

¹⁸ *Jishōki* 治承記, T. Vol. 78, pp. 414-22. A clear statement identifying Kōzen as a disciple of Shōken appears in colophon No. 1917 of the *Nyohō sonshō-hō shidai* 如法尊勝法次第, *Kanazawa Bunko komonjo* 11, *shikigohen* 2 金沢文庫古文書十一、識語篇二.

¹⁹ Tanaka Minoru 田中稔 has pointed out that in addition to building up the temple collection and a hall to house it, Rōchō maintained a *buguruma* 文車, a mobile library, for his collection, and by the time of the painting of the early-14th century *Ishiyamadera engi-e*, 石山寺縁起絵, the story of his vow to protect the scripture of the temple as a demon in the company of a band of strange creatures was visualized for posterity, 石山寺校倉聖教について、石山寺の研究—校倉聖教・古文書篇, *Hōzōkan* (1981) p. 639.

²⁰ *Zoku dentōkōroku* 続伝燈広録 Vol. 8, p. 160.

²¹ *Daigoji shin'yōroku* p. 674.

kanjō in Bunji 5 (1189). His name is found on a manuscript of miracle tales of Jizō bosatsu, a manuscript that appears to have evolved into an *emaki*.²² This collection apparently inspired the sixth figure, Shōken's disciple Jinken of Jizō-in, who copied it, to name his priestly quarters after the deity.

Fujiwara no Sadanori, Shōsai

Shōken's brother Sadanori, who also lived at Daigoji, was Shinzei's second son. He too has not been linked with the visual arts in general or Shingon iconography in particular due undoubtedly to the fact that little is known of his early life and next to nothing about his career after he took the tonsure.

The outline of Sadanori's secular career, prior to its abrupt end with the demise of his father's regime in the Heiji uprising, can be traced in entries from the chief courtier diaries of the period, i.e. *Taiki* 台記, *Heihanki* 兵範記, and *Sankaiki* 山槐記. His ultimate rank and office, achieved in 1159, were junior-fourth lower-grade and Uchūben 右中弁. The highlights of his government service appear to have been directing various court ceremonials on the imperial calendar, such as the Hosshōji midokyō 法勝寺御読經. Perhaps his greatest honor was his role as royal emissary in a ceremony in which he received three Buddha relics, which were thought to have originated in India and to have been brought to Japan by Kōbō Daishi Kūkai, from Kanpen 寛遍 Sōjō (1100-66), the chief abbot of Tōji 東寺 in Hōgen 3 (1158). In addition to his government service, Sadanori also served as an official in the households of retired emperors and empresses.

The invariably brief biographical entries on Sadanori found in historical reference works seldom fail to note that he was a poet whose verse is found in the imperial anthologies. It is no easy task to find any poetry attributed to Sadanori anywhere, other than the one verse included in *Senzaiwakashū* 千歳和歌集, which is also found in a slightly variant form in the roughly contemporaneous *Tsukimōdewakashū* 月詣和歌集.

The headnote of verse No. 592 in the Laments section, book nine, of the *Senzaishū* explains the circumstances and attributes the following verse to Sadanori.

Composed when Kii no Nii also died when he was still in mourning for his mother

母の服に侍りけるほどに、又紀伊の二又身まかりける時、詠みて侍りける

²² Makino Kazuo 1990, p. 730. Gien 義演 identified Jinken as the copyist of the *Jizō bosatsu ōgenki*, *Daigoji shin'yōroku*.

As there are limits, I wear not two layers of the mourning blue.

It is my tears instead that are doubled.

限りありて 二重は 着ねば 藤衣 涙ばかりを 重ねつるかな²³

The earlier *Tsukimōdeschū* headnote, uses the phrase “adoptive mother” *yashinahitaru haha*, rather than Kii no Nii 紀伊二位 (?-1166).²⁴ Fujiwara Shunzei 俊成 (1114-1204) apparently substituted the proper name when preparing the imperial anthology for a wider readership who would be unfamiliar with the circumstances of Sadanori’s family. We learn from the original headnote that Kii no Nii appears to have assumed the maternal lead in the Shinzei household, and since Kii no Nii is thought to have died in early 1166 (Eiman 2), we know that Sadanori’s biological mother must have died shortly prior to Kii’s death.

Sadanori does appear in one other imperial anthology--but not as poet. His name is found in the headnote of another’s verse. The early 14th century *Gyokuyō wakashū* 玉葉和歌集 attributes the following poem to the famed poet Kenshō Hōkyō 顕昭 (1130-1209+).²⁵ The headnote explains:

When I visited his monk’s quarters in Ōhara, after Fujiwara no Sadanori had taken the tonsure and gone into reclusion on Kōya, I saw that he had written moving words on the shoji, and I wrote this beside his.

藤原貞憲朝臣出家の後、高野にこもり侍りける時、大原の坊にまかれりけるに、あはれなる事を障子にかきて侍りけるをみて、そのかたはしにかきつけ侍りける。

Seeing in the gem-like message, his deepest thoughts,

I feel as if I were conversing with their author

おもひける 心のみゆる 玉章は めしにかたらふ こちこそすれ

²³ This poem is alternatively numbered 591, KT vol. 1, p. 198. Teramoto Naohiko points out this verse has been influenced by Genji’s lament for Aoi no ue, in the “Aoi” chapter of the *Genji monogatari*, Teramoto 1984, p. 719. That verse has been translated by Edwin Cranston in the following manner, Cranston 2006, p. 736.

There are boundaries,
And the pale gray weeds I wear
Show that shallowness,
But these tears have turned my sleeve
Into a chasm deep with bloom. .

²⁴ *Tsukimōde wakashū*, No. 980, Sugiyama 1987, p. 274.

²⁵ Miscellaneous, Book 3, No. 2263 or 2271, KT vol. 1, p. 467.

Inspired by this headnote, Tsunoda Bun'ei 角田文衛 employed his considerable knowledge of the Shinzei Ichimon to envision a scenario based on the *yomihonkei* 読み本系, “read” versions, of the *Heike monogatari* that identify Awa no Naishi 阿波の内侍, a lady-in-waiting to Kenreimon'in 建礼門院, as the daughter of Ben Nyūdō 弁入道 Sadanori. Tsunoda reasoned that Sadanori's abode in Ōhara had evolved into the Jakkō-in 寂光院, where the “Kanjō no maki” 灌頂巻, the final section of the tale, unfolds.²⁶

In addition to the poetic bond with Kenshō, one of the leading poets of the day, we learn from this headnote that Sadanori had taken the tonsure and resided at times both in Ōhara and on Kōyasan. Consulting the late-Kamakura *Denpō kanjō shishi sōshō kechimyakushū* 伝法灌頂師資相承血脈集,²⁷ a record of the Shingon masters and their disciples in the Ono tradition of Shingon esoterism, we see that a priest called Shōsai 生西 appears to have originally been named Sadanori. This Shōsai was a disciple of Matsuhashi Ikō 松橋已講 Ichikai 一海, or Ikkai, (1116-79), the putative founder of the Matsuhashi school, which was centered at Muryōju-in 無量寿院, atop Mt. Daigo, and we also see that Shōsai's sobriquet, derived from the name of his quarters, was Jōrenbō 乗蓮房.

Basic information about Sadanori's life as the priest Shōsai is found in the *zokuhen* portion of the mid-Edo-era *Dentōkōroku* 伝燈廣録.²⁸ The extremely compact biography offers little more information about Shōsai than what is found in the *kechimyaku*, other than a reminder that he was the father of the celebrated Gedatsu Shōnin 解脱上人 Jōkei 貞慶 (1155-1213) as well as a son of Michinori/Shinzei. This bare-bones biography is reiterated in the modern reference works such as the *Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten* without further elaboration. Critical dates, such as that of his reception of the *denpō kanjō* from Ichikai and his death, are nowhere to be found.

These dates, however, can be confirmed. The date of his consecration into the mysteries of the esoteric Dharma from Ichikai is recorded as Nin'an 2.2.28 (1167) in the unpublished “Kechimyaku, Matsuhashi-ryū” 血脈 松橋流 section of “Daigoji Muryōju-in inmu hōryū sōshō” 醍醐寺無量寿院務法流相承, in Volume 25 of the Sanbō-in monjo. The date of his death is less certain but has been estimated as the eleventh month of Jishō 4 (1180). The date depends on interpretations of couplets from several *fujumon* 諷誦文 found in the *Sanbutsujōshō* 讃仏乗鈔, a collection of

²⁶ Tsunoda 1977, pp. 512-14.

²⁷ *Denbō kanjō shishi sōjō kechimyakushū*, p. 59.

²⁸ *Dentō kōroku*, vol. 8, p. 164.

shōdō materials, now recognized as having been composed by Sadanori's son Jōkei.²⁹

Both Nakano Genzō 中野玄三, writing in 1970 about the then-newly discovered inscriptions within the Niō statues at Bujōji 峯定寺,³⁰ and Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎, in his groundbreaking essay “Hōju to ōken,” from 1989,³¹ made mention of Shōsai in passing but did not identify him as Sadanori. Abe cited a document from the Daigoji monjo but did not quote the annotation on the document that reads, “this Shōsai is the son of Shōnagon Nyūdō Shinzei...he resided at Myōtokudani at Kami-Daigo.”³² This note closely resembles an entry in the diary of Gien Jugō 義演准后 (1558-1626), the early 17th century abbot of Daigoji, who was instrumental in preserving the temple's documents. Gien's nearly identical entry for Keichō 7.3.11 (1602) simply confirms the names and identifies his source as a certain book.³³

Myōtokudani 妙徳谷 appears to be the location of Muryōju-in, since the place name was associated with Ikyō Shōnin 意教上人 Raiken 頼賢 (1196-1273), who was a prized disciple of Sadanori's nephew Seigen, and also of Sadanori's grandson Jōshin 浄真 (1191-1240), who inherited control of Muryōju-in (Matsuhashi) from another of Sadanori's grandsons, Zenken 全賢 (1184-1233).

Tracing the name Zenken through the colophons of the vast store of scripture housed at Kanazawa Bunko leads to a previously unrecognized corpus of texts that represent a startling number of extant *shōgyō* 聖教 copied by Shōsai. The colophon of one of the several redactions of the manuscripts that are labeled *Zōshō* 雑鈔 (possibly *Zasshō*) and *Besson hō naraubeki koto* 別尊法可習事 (Nos. 43.4, 127.6.1, 127.6.2; 128.15.1, 128.5.2, and 118.4) indicates that Zenken, the 3rd head of Matsuhashi, conveyed his grandfather's manuscript of what was then called the *Matsuhashi Atsuzōshi* 松橋厚造紙 to Kōken 孝賢 Risshi (fl. 1213-1231), a painter and intimate of Seigen 成賢 at Sanbō-in. Seigen then edited his uncle's book and had it copied. Thereafter the book appears to have circulated more widely among the priests of the Sanbō-in tradition rather than at Matsuhashi. A check of this and

²⁹ Although extant portions of the *Sanbutsujōshō* found in the Kanazawa Bunko were published as part of the *Agui shōdōshū*, the contents are clearly written from the point of view of someone associated with Kōfukuji and not a by a Tendai priest. Several items in this volume of the *Sanbutsu jōshō* in the Tōdaiji Toshokan make clear that their author must have been Jōkei.

³⁰ Nakano 1984, pp. 49-81 *passim*.

³¹ Abe 1989, p. 123.

³² “Futama Kannonki” 二間観音記 in *Daigoji monjo shōgyō mukuroku* 醍醐寺文書聖教目録 vol. 6, p. 338.

³³ *Gien jūngōki*, vol. 3, p. 26.

related manuscripts at Kanazawa Bunko indicates that there are several additional volumes of scripture, hundreds of pages in length and bearing many colophons that confirm the dates and contents of Shōsai's numerous receptions of esoteric lore from Ichikai over the course of nearly two decades, from 1160 to 1178.³⁴

Recently, the name Shōsai has appeared in yet another context, one apparently linked to the creation of iconographic imagery. Scholars of Japanese literature, history and religion have devoted considerable energy to the study of *mokuroku* 目錄, catalogues or bibliographies, in the past decade in an attempt to map the contours of the episteme of medieval Japan. Annotations in what appears to be the earliest catalogue of Shinkaku's many works suggest that Shōsai was collecting information on the content of Shinkaku's oeuvre within the latter's own lifetime and that Shōsai was also a patron of Shinkaku.³⁵ Intriguingly, among the titles in the catalogue is an entry for Shinkaku's major compendium of *zuzō*, the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記, in six fascicles.³⁶

³⁴ In addition to the *Zōshō* / *Besson hō naraubeki koto*, these colophons are found in the *Kyōshō* 教鈔 (No. 128.5) and the *Kakuyō hihō* 各経秘法 (Nos. 120.2.1, 120.2.2), which appear to represent a major portion of Shōsai's original version of the *Matsuhashi Atsuzōshi*. I was able to discover and identify the contents of these volumes as a result of the work of Takahashi Shūei 高橋秀英 of Kanazawa Bunko, who first pointed out the existence of references to Ben Nyūdō Shōsai (Sadanori) in scripture at Kanazawa Bunko, Takahashi 1991.3. He also published a number of colophons related to Shōsai, Takahashi 1994.3. I also relied on the advice of Shibata Kenryū 柴田賢龍, an *ācārya* in the Daigoji tradition, who is a scholar of the history of esoteric practice.

³⁵ Following the title *Taiinshō* 胎印抄 is an annotation indicating that it was "composed on the order of Ben Nyūdō." An ambiguous note divides the catalogue into two parts. The first part of the note begins, "I assembled the above selection according to the decree of Jōrenbō (Ben Nyūdō Sadanori) which is not easily denied, I have humbly created the catalogue, eleventh day, ninth month Angen 1." The note continues, "Ryūhen Hōin made this catalogue." Read as a single note, the wording seems to indicate that Shōsai and Ryūhen 隆遍 (1145-1205) worked together to compile the catalogue. If, however, the annotation is seen as two separate notes and the first part by Shinkaku, then Shōsai can be understood as having had Shinkaku prepare the first half of the catalogue in Angen 1 (1175). Ryūhen would then have supplemented it--perhaps at a much later date since Ryūhen was not of Hōin status until the final years of his life. Yamazaki Makoto 山崎誠 introduced two manuscripts of the catalogue containing nearly identical versions of the annotation mentioning Shōsai. The *Jōki-in sakushū mokuroku* 常喜院作集目錄, copied in Gen'ō 2 (1320) is found at Shinpukuji. The other, called the *Jōki-in sakumokuroku* 常喜院作目録, which was copied in Kagen 2.10.27 (1304), is at Kongōzanmai-in 金剛三昧院, Yamazaki 2005, pp. 634-68.

³⁶ It has been argued that this, Shinkaku's major collection of *zuzō*, was not named until several decades after his death. Abe Yasurō has pointed out the possibility that the *Besson zakki* was a part of the *Shinshō* 心抄, a collection of Shinkaku's work that was apparently edited by Shukaku 守覚 Hōshinnō 法親王 and kept at Ninnaji 仁和寺, Abe 2005, p. 683.

The unpublished *Tokoshō* 土巨抄 is a treasure trove of information on several members of the Shinzei Ichimon, including Shōsai. The work, whose title is derived from the characters for Jizō 地藏, contains Kakutō-in Shinkai's 親快 (1215-76) record of Shingon and other secret lore recounted by Jizō-in Jinken at their many encounters. The teachings transmitted by Jinken are primarily those received from his mentor Seigen, and they often concern Shōken with whom Jinken also studied.³⁷

A section of the *Tokoshō* titled “Sadanori Ben Nyūdō's reception of the dharma” begins with the words

“[T]he mentor [Seigen] said that Ben Nyūdō, Sadanori, frequently received the Dharma from Ichikai Ikō and Ryōe 亮恵 Ajari. However, when the Nyūdō died prior to his two mentors, his son Gedatsubō followed his will that guaranteed that the secret oral teachings that he had received from his mentors and had written down be sent back to them. I [Shinkai] note that small booklets that had been conveyed from Ryōe are called the *Besson zakki*. The mentor [Jinken] had seen a version of this book that had been copied by Jōshinbō at Shigi[san], so I copied it out. The original is an extremely fundamental book...”³⁸

First, it is certain that this episode detailing Shōsai's relationship to Ryōe resulted from neither a slip of the narrator's memory nor a leap of the copyist's imagination. Ryōe (1098-1186), called Shinjōbō 真乗房, was an *ajari* assigned to the Sanbō-in at Daigoji, and received the *kanjō* at the Kongō-in 金剛王院 located there. He is most celebrated for having introduced Shingon Mikkyō elements into Uchiyama Eikyūji 内山永久寺, a Hossō 法相 temple in Yamato 大和, which became the site of an intriguing blend of Shingon and Hossō traditions. This amalgam can be seen in the list of annual events that were celebrated at the temple and in the roster of priest-benefactors read out at one of those events from early Kamakura times. Among the names of the influential clerics, which included the highest-ranking Hossō prelates, who were also associated with Kōfukuji 興福寺, and Ryōe and his esoteric Buddhist successors, is the name Ben Nyūdō Shōsai. Unfortunately, I am

³⁷ I have examined five manuscripts of the *Tokoshō*, including the early variant found at Eizan Bunko, under the title *Shohimitsuki* 諸秘密記. The following tale is not found in all manuscripts. It seems to have been eliminated from manuscripts that circulated at Tendai temples. The translation is based on a microfilm version of manuscript from the Kotodō Bunko 琴堂文庫 obtained from the Kokuritsu Kokubungaku kenkyūsho 国立国文学研究所 (No 12.6.863).

³⁸ Since Jinken is known to have been at Shigisan 信貴山, where he copied out the *Hakushi shingakufu ryakui* 白氏新樂府略意, the first person pronoun probably refers to Shinkai and the second mention of the mentor would refer to Jinken.

unaware of any evidence that would clarify why Shōsai was honored as a benefactor of the temple.³⁹

Returning to the question of the *Besson zakki*, one sees that the *Tokoshō* attributes the work to Ryōe, so it may be the case that there were two different works with this admittedly generic title, one compendium by Shinkaku and the other by Ryōe. I note, however, that in 1924 a slender catalogue was issued for an exhibition of scripture hosted by the library at Kōyasan Daigaku, and the catalogue provided the colophons as well the titles of each scripture on display.⁴⁰ Among the many rare works and fascinating colophons are two that involve Shōsai.

The first is for a manuscript titled the *Shoson zakki* 諸尊雜記. It was copied by the priest Kenryō 顯良 (fl. 1208-1239) at Bodaisen 菩提山 [Shōryakuji 正暦寺] in Yamato in Jōgen 2 (1208). The colophon tells a familiar story. The work had been received by Ben Nyūdō Sadanori at Uchiyama from Shinjōbō Ajari [Ryōe], and on Shōsai's death, his son Gedatsubō Jijū Ikō Jōkei sent the work back in accordance with his father's will. The colophon then continues with some new information, stating "thereafter Zendōbō 禪堂房 of Uchiyama conveyed this book to one Zenjunbō 禪順房 who copied it, and thus I have copied this at Bensanji 弁山寺."⁴¹

On the basis of this first colophon, we might assume that the *Tokoshō* had simply confused Ryōe's *Shoson zakki* with Shinkaku's *Besson zakki* and the problem would end there. However, the next colophon in the catalog complicates matters. There we find a note on a work titled *Besson zakki* that was also copied at Bodaisenji. The note claims that it was in same hand-- that of Ben Nyūdō Sadanori. Shōsai and the *Besson zakki* are clearly linked here.⁴²

There is some additional circumstantial evidence that also hints at Shōsai's involvement with Shinkaku's *Besson zakki* and the Yamato region. There are two

³⁹ The name Ben Nyūdō Shōsai appears among a roster of benefactors that were apparently read at the Spring and Autumn Higan Bonmō kuyō 二季彼岸梵網供養. The names were first used in Karoku 2.8.27 (1226) according to the *Uchiyama no ki*, p. 46.

⁴⁰ *Kōyasan chinretsu tosho mokuroku*, p. 15.

⁴¹ The final temple name Bensanji is an error for Bodaisenji 菩提山寺. The abbreviation of the characters for *bodai* resembles that for *ben*. Kenryō 顯良, the copyist, later became a disciple of Kenjin 憲深 (1192-1263) at Daigoji according to the *Denbō kanjō shishi sōjō kechimyaku* p. 54. Zenjunbō 禪順房 was the sobriquet of Shingen 信源 (dates unclear), the sole disciple of Ryōe's own disciple Jigen 慈源 (dates unclear), who was called Zendaibō 禪台房, *ibid* p. 70. Zendōbō thus seems likely to be an error for Zendaibō.

⁴² The ambiguous colophon mentions the book of Ichirenbō 一蓮房, which may refer to Ichiren Shōnin Shinson 一蓮上人真尊. Makino Kazuo has dealt with Shinson's relationship to Shakusen Shōnin 寂仙上人 Hen'yū 遍融 and *Shichi tengu ekotoba* 七天狗繪詞 and the *Heike monogatari*, Makino 2006

mid-Kamakura-era scrolls of the *Besson zakki* owned by Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 (a temple strongly influenced by Jōkei in the early decades of the 13th century), and they are signed by Raiken, a favorite of Seigen and a priest in the Matsuhashi tradition of Shōsai.⁴³ Further evidence of circulation of Shōsai-copied scripture in Yamato is a scroll from the *Kongōburōkaku issai yugayugikyō* 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 with a colophon dated 1169.1.14 (Nin'an 3) and signed by Shōsai in the collection of Bodaisen Shōryakuji.⁴⁴

Rishubō Jōgen

I next wish to focus on Shōken's nephew Rishubō 理趣房 Jōgen 貞玄 of Kajūji 勧修寺. He was the sole *kanjō deshi* of Kakuzen, the compiler of the *Kakuzenshō*.⁴⁵ Like his uncle Shōken, Jōgen was also associated with Tōdaiji and his name is found among the legions of monks participating in the rededication of Kenkyū 5 (1194). Jōgen perhaps best epitomizes the character of the clerical wing of the Shinzei Ichimon in that he was both an accomplished *shōdōka* 唱導家, and *zuzōka* 図像家, producing eloquent words and authoritative images. The capacity for such production in literary and visual spheres was surely influenced by the store of knowledge built up over the generations within the Ichimon.

In his apparently brief lifespan, Jōgen was frequently a participant, first as a questioner and finally as a lecturer, at the palace Saishōkō-e 最勝講会 and in the Hosshōji mi hakkō 法勝寺御八講,⁴⁶ a venue long associated with the Insei and an event for which participation was often critical for advancement in the clerical hierarchy. Jōgen was also a lecturer at the Yuima-e 維摩会 at the Kōfukuji, and second most frequently quoted priest of the fifty-nine scholar priests of the Sanronshū 三論宗 whose erudite responses to selected topics for debate are found in the *Enichi kokōshō* 恵日古光鈔.⁴⁷

Jōgen's involvement with the compilation of *zuzō* rather than his rhetorical skills is a chief concern of this study. Nearly forty extant volumes of the *Kakuzenshō* bear

⁴³ The manuscripts were copied by Raiken in Bun'ei 7 (1260), *Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūsho nenpō* 奈良国立文化財研究所年報, 1963, p. 20. There is also a scroll from the same Tōshōdaiji set of the *Besson zakki* in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library.

⁴⁴ Nishizaki 1999, pp. 15-18.

⁴⁵ *Kechimyaku ruijūki*, fascicle 7 p. 155.

⁴⁶ The records of Jōgen's appearances are found in the *Hosshōji mi hakkō mondōki* and the *Saishōkō mondōki* reproduced in Hiraoka 1958, vol. 1, *passim*.

⁴⁷ Nagamura 1998, p. 336. Several of the most frequently quoted scholars and priests in this work were members of the Shinzei Ichimon.

colophons of Jōgen. It has been surmised that he may well have copied all the scrolls in that collection.⁴⁸ All Jōgen's colophons follow directly after those of Kakuzen and are dated within the lifetime of his mentor. As the existence of holographic scrolls in the hand of Kakuzen have not been confirmed,⁴⁹ it is likely that Jōgen worked in tandem with his mentor and was a leading figure in producing much, if not all, of the compendium.

On the basis of the series of colophons that follow Jōgen's name on scrolls that are not holographic, Jōgen's version of the *Kakuzenshō* was called the Matsuhashi-hon 松橋本, after the Muryōju-in at Daigoji, which his kin controlled during the late-Insei period. On these scrolls Jōgen's colophons are almost invariably followed by those of Raiken (noted above as a leading disciple of Seigen and the copyist of scrolls of the *Besson zakki* now at Tōshōdaiji), who copied or had copied the scrolls in the 1240s at Hokkesanji 法華山寺.

Raiken's colophon on the "Godai kokūzō-hō" 五大虚空藏法 section of the Mantokuji 万徳寺 version of the *Kakuzenshō* is particularly revealing. Dated Kangen 3.3.27 (1245), Raiken's colophon does not mention Jōgen by name, but refers to a copy in the hand of the late-Rishu-in Rishshi, Jōgen's residence and title. It also mentions that it was missing from Matsuhashi because Tōnan-in 東南院 Hōin Jōhan 定範 (Shōken's nephew who followed as the Intendant there) had borrowed it from one Myōgen 明玄 (1178 to at least 1215), which is the name of Jōgen's cousin at Tōdaiji.⁵⁰ Here, we can see a concrete example of how the network of the Shinzei Ichimon operated in conveying such visual information.

Conclusion

This final case involving the *Kakuzenshō* reveals a pattern that follows bloodlines across narrow sectarian boundaries. We see the network of the Shinzei Ichimon extending like a circulatory system reaching in its capillaries to ever more remote sites of production. Shōsai and Jōgen are but previously undocumented examples of a broader phenomenon. The roles of Shōsai and Jōgen, however vague, echo that of Michinori/Shinzei and Shōken. In each case the precise role of these men in the production of Shingon iconography is unclear, but this very ambiguity may tempt

⁴⁸ Nakano 2004, p. 37.

⁴⁹ Kawakami Michio thoroughly explored the claim that the manuscript of the *Nyohōsonshō-hō* 如法尊勝法 at Ōsu Bunko 大須文庫 is in the hand of Kakuzen, but he was unable to confirm the fact unequivocally, Kawakami 2006, p. 591.

⁵⁰ *Kakuzenshō*, *Zuzō shūsei* IV, p. 46. Photographic reproductions of several holographic scrolls in the hand of Jōgen have recently been published in the Kajūji version of the *Kakuzenshō*.

one to suppose this family was the driving force behind the creation of these compendia, but I think that is unlikely and is surely beyond proving.

The continued proximity of members of the family to sites of production of esoteric iconographies should be seen in the context of the wider role of the family in the production of other visual works of the period. While we have only speculation about the role of Shinzei's wife, Kii no Nii, in the creation of the *Genji monogatari emaki* 源氏物語絵巻 and the so-called "Menashikyō" 目なし経, we know that the latter passed through the hands of Seigen and Jinken and ended up with Shōken. And while we have only the suggestion that Shinzei promoted the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* 年中行事絵巻, it is certain that he, in fact, had the *Gensō-tei emaki* 玄蔵帝絵巻 prepared for Go-Shirakawa's edification. It has long been known that Shinzei's son Jōken 静賢 (1124 to at least 1201), brother of Shōken, produced the *Go-Sannen kassen-e* 後三年合戦絵 for his royal patron, and it now appears that the *emaki* circulated at Daigoji after leaving the Rengeō-in 蓮華王院 treasury, which was under Jōken's supervision. Shōken's eldest brother, Toshinori, played a similar role in supervising the production of at least one *emaki*, and I have argued he was the author of Taira no Kiyomori's 平清盛 *ganmon* for the *Heike nōkyō* 平家納経 and thus he may have played some role in the production of that most pictorial of scriptural projects. Shōken's brother Chōken is famed for having preached at the dedication of scrolls of the *Lotus Sutra* that were decorated with images of the *Genji monogatari*, and his Agui school of preachers also painted *engi emaki* 縁起絵巻 for temple fund-raising campaigns. Given these many "co-incidences," one cannot help but speculate as to why members of the Shinzei Ichimon were involved with so many projects that featured the visual arts.

There is no concrete evidence that any of these figures were themselves painters (although such an hypothesis cannot be rejected out of hand) nor is there any proof that they did more than participate in the planning and supervision of the production of these works. It is certain that they often served in proximity of the throne, and particularly the courts of the various In and Nyoin. Many of these works received imperial patronage, and whether members of the Ichimon were merely the agents of the imperial personages or provided the creative impetus that animated the royals is unclear. It is clear that without their talent for organization, management, and knowledge they could not have played the active role they did in the creation of Shingon iconographies and other contemporary works of visual arts.

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