

Itō Satoshi

## The Idea of a Pure Land on Mt Takakura at the Outer Shrine: Beliefs about Kōbō Daishi at the Ise Shrines [Part 1]

*Translator's preliminary remarks:*

The article translated here is part of Professor Itō Satoshi's research on medieval beliefs in the Great Deity of Ise included in the volume *Chūsei Tenshō Daijin Shinkō no Kenkyū* 中世天照大神信仰の研究 under the title *Gekū takakurasan jōdokō—Ise Jingū ni okeru Kōbō Daishi shinkō* 外宮高倉山浄土考—伊勢神宮における弘法大師信仰 (Itō 2011, 285-325). I wish to thank Professor Itō for allowing me to translate another of his works, but also Professor Nishigai Kenji and the editor, Professor Yoshinaga Shinichi, for helping me to understand the old Japanese texts, and last but not least, my friend Edmund Skrzypczak and this journal's copy editor for once again getting my English into good shape.

About twenty years have passed since I had the privilege to become acquainted with Reverend Yoshikawa Tātsumi, a priest of the Ise Shrines, who at the time was working at the Shrines' museum, the Jingū Chōkokan. One day I told him that I was doing research on medieval and pre-Meiji Ise pilgrimage (*Ise mairi* 伊勢参り), focusing on pilgrims' travelogues and on the so-called *Ise sankei mandara* 伊勢参詣曼荼羅, the painted illustrations of the precincts of the two Ise Shrines and of the numerous places within these precincts that pilgrims were invited to visit as a not-to-be-missed part of their pilgrimage. By perusing these two kinds of sources I was hoping to become acquainted with not only the geography of the sacred areas but also, or even more so, the religious feelings these sacred places fostered in the hearts and minds of the pilgrims.

From early on in that research I noticed to my surprise that the pilgrims' experiences and religious feelings quite naturally blended two kinds of beliefs; those in *kami* and those in Buddhas. The reason for my surprise was my view of the Ise Shrines as they exist today, as purely Shinto institutions. In fact, once I had been told by a shrine priest that the Ise Shrines have no relationship at all with Buddhism. His statement, I believe, reflects the situation at the present-day Ise Shrines, but the medieval sources I had been researching told me quite a different story. Yet it was a story of whose background I knew almost nothing.

Two events that occurred on the same day in the summer of 2005 triggered a decisive change in my understanding of the phenomenon of Ise and its shrines. On the day before I had received a phone call from Priest Yoshikawa, who told me that, due to some work at the Jingū Chōkokan, it had been necessary to move the *Ise sankei mandara*

temporarily to an empty room, and I could view it there but would have to come very soon. Of course, I did not hesitate a moment and the next day I was on my way to Ise.

At the museum I was given all the time I needed to view the *mandara* and absorb what I saw. With my eyes I followed in the pilgrims' footsteps on their route from its entry to the sacred area at the Miyagawa riverbank to the precincts of the Outer Shrine, from there passing over Mt Takakura behind the Outer Shrine and over the ridge of the *Ai no Yama* 間の山 to the Inner Shrine, and then still further to Mt Asama, from where Mt Fuji becomes visible in the distance. While I followed this road with my eyes, I noticed that it proceeded on two layers, one obvious and easily recognized, the other rather hidden and recognizable only in pieces. The obvious one was the road the pilgrims would walk from one Shinto sanctuary to the other, while the hidden one was mainly an imagined road through the Buddhist otherworld, where the pilgrim first passed before a hall in which an old woman was sitting, holding a piece of white cloth in her hand. She seems to be *datsue ba* 奪衣婆, the woman who sits at the bank of the *sanzu no kawa* 三途の川, the river that is the border to the otherworld, and snatches the clothes of the deceased who want to cross the water. Where this road reaches its end on Mt Asama, it grants the pilgrim a serene view of Mt Fuji, the symbol and promise of the Pure Land. The *mandara* at the Jingū Chōkokan is probably a work of the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Keichō Period, and was meant to serve as a guide to the Shrines for ordinary pilgrims. We might, therefore, consider it an indication that the old Ise pilgrimage was an emotionally moving experience in which two worlds, that of the *kami* and that of the Buddhas, were blended into one another and experienced together.

What strikes the eye most strongly when looking at the Jingū Chōkokan *mandara* are the great number of buildings and the pilgrims moving back and forth between them. However, in the mountains that make up the background of the sacred precincts, some natural features are included, along with the image of a stone cave in front of which a *kagura* dance is performed for a group of pilgrims. But from behind the stone slabs of the cave's entrance a woman, dressed as a shrine maiden *miko*, peeks out. One is reminded of the scene in Japanese myths, where Amaterasu Ōmikami peeks out of the heavenly cave where she had been hiding. Yet the cave depicted on the *mandara* is not a mythical but a real thing: the remains of an ancient burial mound, a *kofun* 古墳, on Mt Takakura, a mountain in the southern vicinity of the Outer Shrine. This cave and the performance of a *miko* there are often mentioned in pre-Meiji travelogues as a location where pilgrims experienced strong emotions and the conviction that there the *kami* was present when they visited the site and watched the performance before the man-made cave.

This mountain and its ancient tomb had to do with the second event that provoked a change in my thinking about the medieval world of Ise and the pilgrimage to its shrines. On the day of my visit to Ise in order to view the *mandara*, a further strike of good luck was waiting for me: the chance to meet Mr Murase Masayuki of the Jingū Forest Administration, who kindly offered to guide me to Mt Takakura and show me the mysterious cave. Together we climbed the mountain following the old path as

much as it was still recognizable. While listening to Mr Murase's explanations I was also thinking about all those pilgrims who once walked that narrow path harboring manifold expectations about what was waiting for them on the mountaintop. When we finally exited from the wooded slope, there it was! A sizeable mound with its dark open entrance facing us. The mound is now overgrown by trees and shrubs, but it still stirred a very special feeling in me—that this was the very spot where pilgrims for hundreds of years had felt they really met Ise's deities. But today the location is utterly deserted and closed to pilgrims. Nothing of what can still be seen offers the faintest suggestion of the lively activities that once took place there. (For a photograph of the cave's entrance, see Knecht 2006, 231.)

When I came across Professor Itô's article, the memory of all the experiences on that unforgettable day at Ise vividly returned. Even more, it provided a good background for, and a fascinating explanation of, the forms the blending of seemingly disparate religious traditions, Shinto and Buddhist, could take in the mind and in the real world of ordinary people. Even if today's shrine priests may not acknowledge such blending and insist that the Ise Shrines have nothing to do with Buddhism, older traditions tell a different, and intriguing, story. I hope that the article translated below will help to open for the reader a road to a world of Ise that today is largely hidden, if not even forgotten.

(Peter Knecht)

### Introduction—"The Mountains South of the Outer Shrine"

South of the Outer Shrine of Ise Jingū, the Toyouke Daijingu 豊受大神宮, there is a mountain called Mt Takakura 高倉山. Mt Takakura is the common name for a group of peaks that extend south of the Outer Shrine and includes the peaks Hiwashi, Keisoku, Otonashi, and Fujioka. About twenty stone caves – some large, some small – are scattered on the top of Mt Hiwashi (116m), the highest of these peaks. It is a cluster consisting of an opened, round *kofun* 古墳 [burial mound] and a number of its lateral mounds; all of these structures are assumed to have been built in the mid-to-late sixth century. The central round *kofun* (Mt Takakura *kofun* 高倉山古墳) is 32 m long and 8 m high. The total length of its now-exposed path of access [to the burial chamber within the *kofun*] is 9 m. The burial chamber's total length is 9.6 m and its height in the center is 4.4 m. With such measurements this *kofun* is equal in size to the Ishibutai *kofun* 石舞台古墳 in Nara and, on a national level, can be counted as one of a limited number of megalithic horizontal chamber mounds (*yokoana kofun* 横穴古墳).<sup>1</sup>

1. Ise Shi Kyōiku Iinkai Shakai Kyōikuka, ed. 1981: 70-71.

In the surroundings of Mt Takakura, whose top is crowned with such an enormous mound, we find scattered, besides the Outer Shrine, a number of shrines and ritual areas related to the Watarai clan (Wataraiishi 度会氏), such as the subsidiary shrine (betsu-gū 別宮) Takanomiya 高宮 of the Outer Shrine, the Watarai no Kuni Miyakko Mijinja, and the Watarai no Ōkuni Tamahime Jinja. This shows that Mt Takakura and its surroundings have since antiquity been a ritual center for the Ise no Miyakko (伊勢国造) and for the Watarai clan that took its origin from that line.<sup>2</sup>

However, some time before the medieval period the mounds were vandalized, making this cave appear to be just another stone cave with an exposed access path to the burial chamber. Its role as a burial mound was forgotten. The condition of this mound is described in a text dated to the Nanbokuchō period 南北朝期 (1332–1392). In ‘Section 7, Matters of the Great Shrine’s Secret Places’ found in the first part of the text *Jingi Hishō, jō* (神祇秘抄 上 Secret Comments about the Deities), we find:

Located before the Outer Shrine, there is a rock grotto. Nowadays people call it the rock grotto of Takakura (*Takakura no iwaya* 高倉岩屋). The rock grotto is one *jō* 丈 two *shaku* 尺 [about 3.6 m] high, one *jō* five *shaku* [about 4.5 m] wide, and two *jō* and five *shaku* [about 7.5 m] deep. On three sides of this grotto stones are erected to form a wall. The ceiling is made from eight slabs of flat stones. It is not known who the builders were .... At this rock grotto 84,000 deities gather. Here is where they [the deities] ponder, depending on sentient beings’ deeds, whether they are good or evil, whether their fortune is good or bad ....<sup>3</sup>

Although the rock grotto is, according to this account, evidently a man-made structure, it gave rise to various oral traditions and mysterious tales. For example, because the place was likened to the Heavenly Rock Grotto, people stopped to pray here on their pilgrimages to the Outer Shrine from the medieval to premodern periods. In addition, during the medieval period, based on an interpretation of the Shrines inspired by esoteric Buddhism, a variety of mysterious tales related to this mountain emerged.<sup>4</sup>

In the present essay I intend to elucidate the general character of the medieval secret tales related to Mt Takakura. I begin with a legend reported by the monk Mujū 無住 (1226–1312) in his *Shasekishū* (沙石集 Sand and Pebbles). It is the second tale in the first volume under the title ‘The Venerable Gedatsubō of Kasagi’s Pilgrimage to the Great Shrine.’

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2. Okada Seishi 1970: 328-330.
  3. Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999: 379.
  4. Ōba 1941, republished in Ōba 1977: 97-102. Wada 1992: 188-194.

A shrine official informed me that the late holy man of Kasagi [Jōkei, 1155–1213] once confined himself in the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine to pray for his enlightenment, and the deity revealed itself to him. “It is not within my power to arrange this. Go to the Great Shrine at Ise to make your request,” said the god in his dream. And he was given explicit travel instructions.

In the dream he imagined setting forth and before long he was traversing the mountain to the south of the Outer Shrine. On the mountain peak he saw a pond full of lotuses, large and small, some in bloom and others budding, whose color and fragrance were truly wonderful.

“The lotuses in bloom are the priests of this shrine who have already been born into the Pure Land,” someone remarked. “Those yet to attain this [stage] are the buds. By the skillful means of the gods who soften their light, many are born into the Pure Land. The large lotus there is a deacon known as Tsunemoto who is to attain that blessed birth.” Gedatsubō then entered the shrine and even heard the sound of Buddhist scriptures being chanted.

Upon waking he strapped on his implement box and set out alone, following the instructions he had received. His course did not deviate in the slightest from what he had seen in the dream, except that there was a wide road winding around the foot of the mountain south of the Outer Shrine, and no trail leading to the summit. But this was the only point of difference, the layout of the mountain being exactly as he had envisioned it.

He spoke to a young layman, inquiring if there was a deacon [*negi* 禰宜, a low ranking Shinto priest (Knecht)] called Tsunemoto at that place.

“Truly, that is my own name,” came the reply. “But although I will eventually become a deacon, I am not one now.” Gedatsubō then took three measures of gold from his implement box; presenting them to the man, he took lodging at his house and questioned him in detail about the shrine. Tsunemoto told him that when he had not attained release from the round of birth-and-death, he vowed that when he was again born into the human world, he would come as a priest of the shrine and rely on the skillful means of the gods who soften their light for his salvation.

Since I heard this from a shrine priest who was close to Tsunemoto, I know that it actually happened.<sup>5</sup>

This narrative contains the following parts:

- ① In a dream the holy man of Kasagi, Gedatsubō Jōkei 解脱坊貞慶 (1155–1213), is advised by the [deity] Hachiman of Iwashimizu to make a visit to the shrines of Ise.
- ② In that dream he [Jōkei] traversed “the mountain to the south of the Outer Shrine” to make the shrine visit.

5. Morrell 1985: 75-76. For the Japanese text, see: Watanabe, annot. 1966: 62-63.

- ③ The top of the mountain was covered with large and small lotus flowers, some of them blooming, others budding.
- ④ Someone told him what this meant: that the lotuses that are open are those of shrine priests who are already reborn in the Pure Land, the flowers of those who are to be reborn from now on are still closed; by the skillful means of softening their light many priests of this shrine will attain the Pure Land; and the particularly large yet still closed lotus is that of the *negi* [禰宜 priest] Tsunemoto.
- ⑤ After he woke up from his dream he indeed undertook the shrine pilgrimage and found things to be mostly as he saw them in his dream. However, to “the mountain south of the Outer Shrine” there was no mountain path. So he passed by the foot of the mountain to proceed to the Inner Shrine.
- ⑥ At the Inner Shrine, he asked a cleric there about Tsunemoto, and the man answered that he himself was Tsunemoto (but that he was not yet a *negi*).
- ⑦ He offered three gold *ryō* (兩) and stayed overnight in the priest Tsunemoto’s house. The two conversed about shrine matters.
- ⑧ Jōkei, relating his reminiscences, said: “If, in my next life too, I should be reborn in the world of humans, I wish to be born as a priest at Ise Jingū and so to apply the skillful means of softening the light.”<sup>6</sup>
- That is the content of this tale.

Here we can assume that the “mountain to the south of the Outer Shrine” that Jōkei says he climbed in his dream is, indeed, Mt Takakura. Because a pilgrim to Ise should first visit the Outer Shrine and then from there proceed to the Inner Shrine, what Jōkei saw must have been the sights between the two shrines. Up until premodern times the route from the Outer Shrine to the Inner Shrine led from the first *torii* of the Outer Shrine to the village Okamoto, from where it passed over the mountain *Ai no yama* (間の山). Since Jōkei mentions that “there was a wide road winding around the foot of the mountain south of the Outer Shrine, and no trail leading to the summit,” we can assume that this was the actual road he took. Yet, for the benefit of the pilgrims who visited the Heavenly Rock Grotto on Mt Takakura, a mountain road (‘the rock grotto slope’ *iwado saka* 岩戸坂) was newly cut in the seventeenth year of Kan’ei (1640) to lead from Mt Takakura directly into

6. The same tale may be found in the twelfth volume of *Sangoku Denki* (三国伝記 Tales of Three Countries) as tale 27 with the title ‘A Matter of Kasagi Gedatsu Shōnin’ (Gentō 1969: 301-303).



Okamoto village.<sup>7</sup> It seems that this was the road ordinarily used in premodern times. Because it says in Jōkei's dream that he "traversed the mountain south of the Outer Shrine directly," it means that in his dream he did not descend to Okamoto but crossed Mt Takakura and from there approached the Inner Shrine by going over the mountain ridges. In any case, it is possible to recognize the top of Mt Takakura in the mountain-top scenery full of lotus flowers Jōkei saw in his dream.

Jōkei's pilgrimage to Ise is related in several texts and in various ways, but in relation to the pilgrimage in the tale mentioned here, its basis is not clear.<sup>8</sup> This tale begins

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7. In the chapter 'Okamoto Village (里 *Sato*)' of the fourth volume of *Ise Sangū Meisho Zue* (伊勢参宮名所図会 Illustrated Maps of Famous Places on the Pilgrimage Route to Ise) it says: "In the east of this town is the Oda Bridge, in the west Mt Takakura. Some years ago the administration office had the Rock Grotto Slope cleared, so that now there is a direct road [as a link] between the first *torii* of the Outer Shrine and the Inner Shrine. This was done in the ninth month of the seventeenth year of Kan'ei [1640]. Before that, one would first go northward from the first *torii*, cross the 'Dismount the Horse Bridge,' alight at the Rock Pond, and then get out halfway to Okamoto" (Dainihon meisho zusho kankōkai, ed. 1919: 347).
8. For texts that tell the story of Jōkei's shrine pilgrimage, see volume twelve *Chikusa Dono narabini Monkan Sōshō Shashi no koto tsuketari Gedatsu Shōnin no koto* 千種殿并文觀僧正奢侈事付解脱上人事 of *Taihei Ki* (太平記 The Record of the Great Peace) [Suzuki et al. 2007: 72-73], the Noh play *Dai Roku Ten* (第六天 The Sixth Heaven), *Kasagi-dera Engi* (笠置寺縁起 The Origin Tale of the Temple Kasagi-dera), and the foreword to the third part of the sixteenth volume of *Kasuga Gongen Kie* (春日権現記絵 Illustrated Account of Kasuga Gongen), but all of them are from a later period. The only text whose factuality is high is *Tōdai-ji Shuto Sankei Ise Daijingū Ki* (東大寺衆徒参詣伊勢大神宮記 Report on the Pilgrimage to the Great Shrines of Ise by Tōdai-ji Temple Priests), a text kept at the temple Shinpuku-ji. According to this text, in the fourth month of the sixth year of Kenkyū (1195) Jōkei is chosen as the officiating priest at a *Hōraku* 法樂 ceremony [a Buddhist rite to appease deities] held at the Jingū, sponsored by Chōgen. This *Hōraku* was intended for both the Inner and the Outer Shrine. The story of Chōgen's visit to the Shrines in the sixth year of Kenkyū can also be found in some other texts besides the one just mentioned, such as in an entry for the twelfth day of the third month in the sixth year of Kenkyū in *Azuma kagami* (吾妻鏡 Mirror of the East) and in the *Tsūkai sankei ki* (通海参詣記 Report on Tsūkai's Pilgrimage) (Jōkei does not turn up in any of these texts). The passage is also found in an addition to a pilgrimage report of the second year of Bunji (1186), and its content is the story of a divine revelation according to which Chōgen is to have become aware of a precious jewel (*hōju* 宝珠) from the shrine of the wind (*Kaza no Miya* 風宮). The other two texts are of the same content, and as records of Chōgen's shrine visit in the sixth year of Kenkyū all likely refer to it. Hagiwara Tatsuo (1978: 343) takes the shrine pilgrimage of the sixth year of Kenkyū itself to be a later tradition, while

with “A shrine official informed me” and closes with “Since I heard this from a shrine priest who was close to Tsunemoto, I know that it actually happened.” An earlier Ise Jingū-related tale, ‘Eminent matters of the Great Shrine’ (*Daijingū Onkoto* 大神宮御事) similarly begins by saying that it is an account of what had been told by a Jingū priest in the Kōchō Period (1261–1264). As I have argued elsewhere (Itō 2011: 118-143), this earlier tale is a legend about an agreement between Amaterasu Ōmikami and the Demon King of the Sixth Heaven of Desire (*Dairokuten Maō* 第六天魔王). Mujū may have heard both tales from Jingū priests on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Ise. If that was the case, then we can at least conclude that the anecdotes about Mt Takakura and Jōkei were being told at the Jingū at the time when Mujū made his pilgrimage in the Kōchō years.<sup>9</sup>

Even so, why would such a tale have appeared? In the one considered here, the description of the scene on the mountain says that “On the mountain peak he saw a pond full of lotuses, large and small, some in bloom and others budding, whose color and fragrance were truly wonderful.” This shows that the sight on the mountain meant Mt Takakura was imagined as being a kind of Pure Land. But what kind of Pure Land was Mt Takakura thought to be? Answering this question is the aim of my essay. By searching for and collecting major medieval discourses on Mt Takakura, and by investigating their connections, I will elucidate one aspect of the background of medieval beliefs concerning Ise Jingū and Mt Takakura.

### 1. Takakura Hishō

(高庫藏等秘抄 *Secret Comments about Takakura*)

One of the central documents dealing with Mt Takakura in the medieval period is *Takakura Hishō* (Secret Comments about Takakura), known also by the variant name *Sekkutsu Hon'en* (石窟本縁 Origin of the Stone Cave). It is a collection of tales related to Mt Takakura, and the most fundamental text about the subject.

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Kobayashi Katashi’s minute study ‘A Chronology of Shunjōbō Chōgen’ (*Shunjōbō Chōgen Nenpu* 俊乗坊重源年譜) does not acknowledge a pilgrimage for that year (Kobayashi 1971). Yet, among other works that refer to Chōgen’s shrine pilgrimage in the sixth year of Kenkyū, those by Kojima Shōsaku (1985), Kubota Osamu (1973), Hosokawa Jun’ichi (1991), and Kamizuma Matashirō (1983) all acknowledge the pilgrimage as historical fact. The present author also thinks that the shrine pilgrimage of the sixth year of Kenkyū is a historical fact, but it must be noted that Tsunemoto 經元, who turns up in this connection, was still a child of eight years at the time. Therefore, the event is assumed to have been that of a pilgrimage of much later years (for more about Tsunemoto see Itō 2011: 586-606).

9. For more details refer to Itō 2011: 118-143, 586-606, and 607-656.



*Takakura Hishō* consists of four texts: (1) *Sekkutsu Hon'en Ki* 石窟本縁記, (2) *Okazaki Myōken Hon'en* (岡崎妙見本縁 Origin of the Okazaki Myōken), (3) *Takakura Iwaya Higi* (高倉岩屋秘儀 Secret Rites at the Takakura Rock Grotto), and (4) *Kōyasan Okuin Issō Karasu Hon'en* (高野山奥院一双鳥本縁 The Origin of a Pair of Crows at the Inner Sanctuary of Mt Koya).<sup>10</sup> *Sekkutsu Hon'en* 石窟本縁 or *Sekkutsu Hon'en Ki* (石窟本縁記 Record of the Origin of the Stone Cave) is used as cover title for the whole group of texts, because it is the title of the collection's first text, (1). Among these texts, text (2) is not related to Mt Takakura, but explains the origin of the Myōken Hall at Okamoto. However, this Myōken Hall, like Mt Takakura, was a site sacred to the Watarai clan of the Outer Shrine.<sup>11</sup>

The characteristic feature of this text is that it quotes a great number of Shinto texts, primarily Ryōbu and Ise Shinto, and that a great part of the book's main text consists of these quotes. Here is a list of those texts whose titles are given: *Jingigu Himon* 神祇供秘文, *Yamato Hime Seiki* 倭姫世紀 (the original), and *Jingū Zakki* 神宮雜記 (these are included in (1) above); *Shinki* 神紀, *Dai Nihonshū Daishū Hifu* 大日本洲大宗秘府, *Hiki* 秘記, *Myōken Hiki* 妙見秘記 (included in (2) above); *Kōso Kōbō Daishi Ki* 高祖弘法大師記, *Kogo* 古語, *Hiki* 秘記, *Tenchi Reiki Furoku* 天地麗氣府録, *Okazaki Denki* 岡崎伝記, and *Chikumokume Ki* 竹木目記 (included in (3) above). This demonstrates that this book was established as a kind of edited compilation after the books on heavenly and earthly deities mentioned above had appeared.

Among the texts<sup>12</sup> that have come to my attention, several share a noteworthy preface that gives insight into the production date of *Takakura Hishō*. The texts are

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10. In the oldest extant copy of this text, *Shinpuku-ji bon* 真福寺本, there is a table of contents at the beginning that lists 'The matter of the origin of the rock cave/The matter of the changed [lowered] appearance of Dai Benzaiten / The matter of Okazaki Myōken together with the matter of the rock cave in front of the shrine/The matter of a golden circle with one letter [in it]/The matter of the secret rites at the Takakura rock cave/ The items of the groundbreaking ceremony and other matters/The matter of the sacred mirrors at the foot of the Taka no Miya slope/The matter of the pair of crows at Kōyasan.' This list represents a further refined classification based on the content of the main text.
  11. For further discussion of this Myōken Hall 妙見堂 see Matsugi Sogen 1919, Satō 1943, and Yamamoto 1989. Today, however, this Myōken Hall no longer exists. See Itō 1997.
  12. Extant copies of *Takakura Hishō* 高庫藏等秘抄 are, among others, the *Shinpuku-ji* version, the Yoshida Bunko version (Tenri Library), the Kano Bunko version (Tohoku University Library), the Cabinet Library copy, the Imperial Agency, Archives, Mausolea Department copy, the Kokugakuin University copy, the Seikidō Library 成實堂文庫 copy, the Jingū Library copy (several copies), the Tawa Library 多和文庫 copy, and the Ōkura

those housed at Naikaku Bunko [内閣文庫 Cabinet Library] (from the third year of Shōtoku 正徳 [1713], copied by Watarai Takahiko), at the Kano Collection [狩野文庫] at Tohoku University (from the second year of Empō 延宝 [1674], copied by Wakai Shigekazu (若井重員), at Kokugakuin University (second year of Kambun 寛文 [1662], copied by Watarai Tsunemoto), and at Ōkura Seishin Bunka Kenkyūsho [大倉精神文化研究所 Ōkura Institute for the Study of Spiritual Culture] from the seventh year of Genroku 元禄 [1694], copied by Arakida Ujimasa 荒木田氏任. The preface is as follows:

In an earlier book it is written

On the eighth day of the second month in the second year of Eihō 永保 [1082]  
Seijun, *bettō* of the temple Jōmyō-ji, has finished writing this  
copy

(One) proofreading is completed

On the nineteenth day of the sixth month in the year *hinoe saru* 丙申 [1356]  
copied this in writing  
the *negi* of the fifth lower rank, the Watarai *kan'nushi*  
Akihisa (章尚). [Seal]

In the haste in which the book was written, [Chinese] characters have  
been omitted, mistakes have occurred to a degree that is beyond  
mentioning so that later criticisms will be unavoidable

Writing from the early hours of the snake to the early hours of the horse I have  
produced the copy Is Yukitada *kan'nushi* the author?

At times

On the twenty-second day in the seventh month of the first year *hinoe saru*  
Embun [1356] I, Ieyuki *kan'nushi*, received an order from the  
head Muramatsu, accordingly I wrote the copy.

This I have forwarded. Then I wrote a copy for later records

This book contains suspicious places. Several places I could not  
compare [with other copies].

The forward by Seijun, *bettō* of the temple Jōmyō-ji (常明寺), from the second year of Eihō (1082), which appears at the beginning, is of course hardly trustworthy.

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Institute for the Study of Spiritual Culture 大倉精神文化研究所 copy. However, the only copies accessible at present are the Shinpuku-ji copy, the Yoshida copy, the Kano copy, the Cabinet Library copy, and the Kokugakuin copy. Therefore, I ask the reader to keep in mind that opinions I am going to introduce in the text that follows are based on what I found in the five accessible copies mentioned.

The subsequent section shows that in the first year of Embun 延文 (1356) Watarai Akihisa 度会章尚 had submitted a copy of the text to the head, Watarai Ieyuki 度会家行, upon receiving an order from him. If we take into account that *Yamato Hime no Mikoto Seiki*, *Dai Nihonshū Daishū Hifu* and *Tenchi Reiki Furoku* are quoted in this text, it can be assumed that the text had been edited after the middle of the Kamakura period. If so, the suggestion that the question “Is Yukitada *kan'nushi* the author?” in the forward quoted above means that the original text was by Watarai Yukitada 度会行忠 (1236–1305) becomes even more important when we try to determine the period when the text was produced. It would mean that this text already existed during Yukitada’s lifetime in the middle Kamakura Period.

However, it seems that the colophon of the year Eihō had been added at an early stage. This can also be confirmed by the Shinpuku-ji 真福寺 text,<sup>13</sup> the oldest extant manuscript copy of these texts. However, although the line “in an earlier book it is written” is added after the main text in this book, the next part of it is scraped off. Because the phrase “second year of Eihō” is barely discernable in the section of the preface, it is likely that it is a colophon by Seijun. Based on this, we can surmise that the composition of the *Takakura Hishō* has from its outset been considered to be a work predating the eleventh century.

At this point, the fact that *Takakura Hishō* is taken to be a transcript written by a monk from Jōmyō-ji is [very] suggestive when we think about the character of this work. Jōmyō-ji was the clan temple (氏寺 *uji dera*) of the Watarai shi Nimon 度会氏

13. In the colophon of the Shinpuku-ji text’s transcription we find: “Written by Sami Gyōki 沙弥晧暁.” His secular name was Watarai Sanemi. This can be known because the name appears in the colophon of a text owned by Sakamoto Yūji (former collection of the Ryūmon Library 龍門文庫), the *Kamikaze no Ise Hōki Chinzu Tenku Kotogaki* 神風伊勢宝基珍因天口事書, where the colophon notes: “In the second year *hinoto tori* of Embun (延文二年丁酉) on the last day of the first month (*shōgatsu*) the copying of this text was completed. If asked by someone for this book, it is again forbidden to show it easily by the *negi* judge, chief Muramatsu [Watarai] Ieyuki/the long hair [man][a nickname for a Buddhist priest] Gyōki of the secular name *Gon’negi* Watarai Sanemi” (Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 164). He also made transcriptions of *Gochinza Hongi* (first year Embun <1356>), *Ise Nisho Daijōgū Shinmei Hisho* (third year Embun), *Ruijū Jingi Hon’en*, *Naikū Betsugū Hen* (seventh year Shōhei <1352>), *Ruijū Jingi Hon’en*, *Shinkyō Hen* (fourth year Jōwa <1348>), and *Ruijū Jingi Hon’en*, *Shinto Gengi Hen* (eighth year Shōhei <1353>). Formerly, in *Ryōbu Shinto Shū* in the series *Shinpuku-ji Zenpon Sōkan* (Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999), I wrote an explanation of the Shinpuku-ji text of *Takakura Hishō*. I took Gyōki’s preface to be the colophon of the transcript, but it must be the preface of the earlier book. Herewith I correct my earlier understanding (see Itō 1999: 531-532).

二門 and was located on *Ai no Yama*.<sup>14</sup> The Myōken Hall (*Myōken-dō* 妙見堂) that is described in *Okazaki Myōken Hon'en* (岡崎妙見本縁 Origin of the Okazaki Myōken), the second chapter in the text mentioned above, was situated on a side of this temple. It could be, therefore, that the hall was under the temple's administration. If that is the case, then the Eihō colophon may prove that the text had been edited by a monk from Jōmyō-ji. It is also possible that Yuktada himself, whose name appears in the colophon, was connected with the text's production. Whatever the case may be, this document is considered to be a text situated somewhere between texts of Ryōbu Shinto and Ise Shinto.

I will now examine the content of the first text, *Sekkutsu Hon'en Ki*. To begin, I will quote this text but will number each section (the original text I am using as a base for the following is the Shinpuku-ji text):

- ① The *Jingigu Himon* (The Secret Text Offered to the Heavenly and Earthly Deities) says: [A deity] opens the Heavenly Palace. Standing on the Floating Bridge [it] shows the sea below, and descends to Nihon. This is Amaterasu Kami of Ise. Further, the second mountain is Takakura 高庫蔵, this 'Great Storehouse' [高蔵] is the largest among five storehouses (*kura* 蔵). It contains, therefore, ten thousand treasures, [basic] sources of power to foster all people, monks and laypeople alike.
- ② A record says the name of Takakura is Heavenly Small Shrine; another name for it is Heavenly Rock Seat [Stone placing for a deity].
- ③ A variant says the Emperor of Heaven regulates affairs (機) on his throne (*genko* 玄厩). His virtue (德) is likened to that of Tanryō 丹陵. The *Shunjū Gōsei Zu* says: 'throne' is the name of the rock grotto. Again it says, when the Emperor sat on this throne and observed the river Rakusui, a phoenix held a map [in its beak] and deposited it before the Emperor. The Yellow Emperor paid reverence twice and accepted the map.
- ④ *Yamato Hime Seiki* says: One variant says: In the time of Emperor Kamu Yamato Iwarebiko [Jinmu Tennō] an evil deity became enraged so that many people died, a fire broke out, and the world had no peace. [The Emperor] dispatched, therefore, Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto to Ōnamuchi no Mikoto. He [Hiwake] reported to the Emperor [what he had done]. After he raised troops from the palace of the west to subjugate the country in the east, he respected Ōkuni (Kunitama) no Mikoto (Ōnamuchi no Mikoto) reverently and reported [back] again. The Emperor was highly pleased and gave order saying that he should take the country of Ise and that it would be in order to turn it into the homeland of Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto. But this place could not withstand fire and so he built an abode of stone on the peak of Mt Takasa in the country of Ise.

14. For more on the temple Jōmyō-ji 常明寺 see Matsugi Motohiko 1938.

- ⑤ *Jingū Zakki* relates: It is the rock cave of deities such as Kasukabe Takakura no Kami and Isetsu Hiko. After Toyouke Kōtaijin was enshrined in the plain of Watarai Yamada, the deity Kasukabe no Kami, being afraid of Takakura, on divine decree, changed its seat to the district (*gun* 郡) Takayasu in the Kawachi Province. This shrine is the so-called Amaterasu Ōmikami Jinja 天照太神社. That is the deity's name.
- ⑥ North of the spirit shrine, where the deity Ame no Murakumo no Mikoto (天牟羅雲命) resides at the sea of Miyazaki, there is a stone palace (*genko* 玄厩); it is the rock cave of Ogoto, the father of the priestess Princess Miyako. On the eighth day in the tenth month in the winter of the year *hinoe inu* of Emperor Kinmei [566], after he had been bestowed with and welcomed the Peacock King's miraculous stone from the Yamato treasure mountain [Mt Katsuragi] of the deities, he venerated it north of this rock cave.
- ⑦ A further account speaks of the Takakura rock grotto, namely [the dwelling of] Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto and the divine spirit Ōnamuchi no Kami. This is the place where an image of Dai Benzaiten Ugashin'ō (大弁財天宇賀神王) was installed in spring in the third month of the second year *kinoto ushi* of Manju [1025]. At the time when the first-rank *negi* Tsunechika was still a *gon negi* [an assistant priest], he engaged in a thousand-day ascetic practice as a sign of reverence. As a result he received great divine favor.<sup>15</sup>

The first two sections, ① and ②, take the rock cave to be the Heavenly Rock Grotto and the Plain of High Heaven. Section ③ also is a related passage; together they connect up with a portion of the argument I will develop later on. Here I will begin by investigating the content of section ④.

Section ④ is an oral tradition about the rock cave related to the progenitor of the Watarai clan, the deity Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto. According to that tradition the rock cave of Mt Takakura (also known as Mt Tagasa 多賀佐山) is taken to have been constructed by Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto. Because this passage is introduced in the main text with the remark 'Yamato Hime Seiki says,' we know that it is a quote from the *Yamato Hime no Mikoto Seiki* (referred to below as *Seiki*), one that is added at the end of that volume but originally belonged to a part that had served as an endorsement. It was immediately preceded by the remark 'the endorsement checked (and recorded) says,' and was then followed by the text cited below:

A gazetteer (*fudoki* 風土記) says: The place is called Watarai District because here is the palace Unebinokashiwara, the abode of Kammu Yamato Iwarebiko no Sumera no Mikoto [Emperor Jinmu]. At the time he issued an order to Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto to look for a country, smoke arose [a fire broke out] at the Garisa peak 賀利佐嶺 of Watarai. Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto himself noticed it and said, "There might

15. See Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999: 371-372.

be a lord there.” He dispatched a messenger and told him to have a look. The messenger came back and reported, “There is the deity Ōkunitama.” When he arrived at Garisa, Ōkunitama no Mikoto sent a messenger to welcome Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto. Therefore he had a bridge built, but it could not be finished in time [for Ame no Hiwake’s arrival]. So he ordered to have the bridge made by the means of an *azusa* bow and made him [Hiwake] cross it. Here, Ōkunitama no Mikoto had Mizusasara Hime no Mikoto come with gifts and the two welcomed one another in the hamlet Okamoto of Tsuchihashi Village. When Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto came to inspect the country and met her he said: “Here I crossed and met [*watari ai* 渡会] a lady.” This is why the place was given its name.<sup>16</sup>

The above is an oral tradition about the name ‘Watarai,’ which is said to be a quote from a *fudoki*, or gazetteer (specifically *Ise no Kuni Fudoki* 伊勢国風土記 Gazetteer of the Country of Ise). In the main text of *Seiki*, the aforementioned section ② follows as a ‘variant version.’ The two overlap in content, but in regard to the main point of my discussion here, namely an explanation of the origin of the rock cave, they differ. However, the phrase ‘there arose smoke’ is also found in the *fudoki*. If we consider that this signifies the origin of the construction of the rock cave, then there is a strong possibility that this idea is based on the *fudoki*. Furthermore, in view of the statement in section ⑦ that mentions a “Takakura rock cave, namely [the dwelling of] Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto [and] the divine spirit Ōnamuchi no Kami,’ it seems that there also had been the idea of a rock cave of Ōnamuchi no Mikoto (Ōkunitama no Mikoto), who had surrendered this land.

The next section, ⑤, is said to be a quote from *Jingū Zakki* (Miscellanea of the Jingū). It presents the rock cave as the home of Kasukabe no Kami and Isetsu Hiko. It is not known what kind of document *Jingū Zakki* is. But an identical passage can be found in *Ise Nisho Kōtaijingū Michinza Hon'en* (伊勢二所皇太神宮御鎮座本縁 Origin of the Two Kōtaijingū Enshrinements at Ise, abbreviated below as Origin of the Enshrinements). It is the following passage in the section entitled ‘Deities of the Takakura rock cave’:

Takakura rock cave is the cave of Isetsu Hiko [and] Kasukabe Takakura Kami. In the period of Jinmu Tennō, an evil deity was angered, people perished, a fire broke out and the realm could not find peace. Because of this, Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto was dispatched as a messenger to Ōnamuchi no Mikoto. He reported that when he raised troops and had them proceed from the western palace to subjugate this eastern country, he fervently venerated Ōkunitama no Mikoto. This was his report. The Emperor felt

16. Tanaka et al., eds. 1993: 102.



great joy and issued an order saying the country of Ise may be taken and it may be made the land for the village of Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto. This world may not resist fire, but build a stone house on the summit of Mt Tagasa in the country of Ise and dwell there as in your home. At this time Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto followed the imperial order [and] invaded several hundred villages in the east. In these villages there was a deity of the name Isetsu Hiko. Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto asked, "Are you going to turn over your country to the heavenly grandson?" He answered: "I've lived in this country for a long time. By no means will I heed the Emperor's order." Ame no Hiwake raised his troops, wanting to kill this deity. Then the deity became frightened and gave in, saying reverently: "In that case I will stir up eight winds tonight, blow up the water of the sea, ride on the waves, and soon enter the eastern land. In this way I will retire." Ame no Hiwake stopped his troops to see what might happen. In the middle of the night a mighty storm came up on four sides, as if someone stirred up great waves with a fan. The light was bright like the sun. Both land and sea shone. Finally [Isetsu Hiko] rode a wave to the east. Later, after the deity Toyouke Kōtaijin was enshrined on the plain of Yamada in Watarai, Kasukabe Takakura no Kami became afraid of being on Takakura. So, following the deity's order, he transferred his abode to the district Takayasu in the country of Kawachi. This is the Amaterasu Ōkami Takakura Jinja.<sup>17</sup>

The double-underlined sections in the text above are relevant here. Those with a single line are roughly identical to the variant of the *Seiki* mentioned before, while the undulating line marks the quote from the second part of the first volume of Senkaku's *Man'yōshū Chūshaku* (万葉集註釈 Annotations to *Man'yōshū*, established in the sixth year Bun'ei 文永 <1269>), which is an almost identical quote of *Isekuni Fudoki*.<sup>18</sup> The postscript added at the end of the *Michin'za Hon'en* (御鎮座本縁 The Origin of the Enshrinement) provides the date as the 'fifth day in the eighth month of the third *hinoto hitsuji* year Ninna (887)', but this is, of course, a pretense. It is, rather, said that this text had been established on the basis of a number of texts of the Ise Shinto kind that preceded it. Accordingly, it is inferred that this passage has also been produced by mixing texts from the previously mentioned three books (however, in the case of *Sekkutsu Hon'en Ki* it could be that it is based on *Jingū Zakki*). Indirect evidence for this may be the contradiction in the written text, namely that first the rock cave is said to be that of [the deity] Isetsu Hiko, while later on the same deity is said to 'ride a wave to the east' because of being threatened by Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto.<sup>19</sup>

17. See Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 297.

18. Included in *Nihon Tosho Sentā*, ed. 1978: 39.

19. About one of the two deities, the deity Kasukabe, Tanahashi 1979 offers a detailed historical argument.

The next section, ㊦, tells of the spirit shrine (the rock cave) of Ame no Murakumo no Mikoto 天牟羅雲命, the grandfather of Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto, but does not mention its origin. This is not a rock cave on a mountain. It is a shrine mentioned in Watarai Ieyuki's *Ruiju Jingi Hon'gen* (類聚神祇本源 Collection About the Origin of the Deities), a text edited at a subshrine of the Outer Shrine. There it says that 'Miyazaki *uji jinja* is established at Miyazaki in Watarai county, and is the clan shrine [*uji jinja* 氏神社] of the Watarai *kan'nushi*. The remote ancestor of the Watarai *kan'nushi* clan is, as mentioned above, Ame no Murakumo no Mikoto (also named Ame no Futakami no Mikoto 天二上命, and still another name is Nochi no Ohashi no Mikoto 後小橋命).<sup>20</sup> It is, therefore, thought that this points to a shrine at the foot of Mt Takakura.

An alternative account has it that this is the rock cave of 'Ogoto, the father of the princely priestess (宮子齋王父小事 Miyako Saiō Chichi Ogoto),' where the 'spirit stone of the Pheasant King' from 'Mt Takara (宝山 [the treasure mountain]) of the deities of Yamato' is enshrined. The princely priestess [at the Ise Shrines] is the priestess of the eighth generation, the one that appears in *Saigū Ki* (齋宮記 Record of Shrine Priestesses) as 'Miyako, imperial princess, daughter of the great *kan'nushi* Ogoto, reigning for 29 years.'<sup>21</sup> Her father Ogoto is mentioned in section four of *Nisho Daijingū Reibun* (二所太神宮例文 Sample Texts from the Two Great Shrines) under the title 'Toyouke Daijingū, Circumstances of the Watarai Remote Ancestor's Service' where it says, "*Kan'nushi* Ogoto, the fourth son of Uru no Furu no Mikoto, serving at the time of Emperor Kinmei."<sup>22</sup> This note places him around the time of Emperor Kinmei. Regarding the shrine where Ogoto is enshrined, Watarai Yukiada mentions in his *Jinmei Hisho* (神名秘書 Secret Writings on the Names of Deities) the 'Tanoe Ōmizu Shrine', as the one where the spirit of the great *kan'nushi* Ogoto is enshrined. In the section (*aza* 字) Miyazaki of Tsuihashi village, at east Tanoe and west Ōmizu, there is a shrine before it.<sup>23</sup> Taking into account that this is the same location as the one of the Miyazaki Clan Shrine mentioned above, we can assume that this passage refers to the same shrine.

Yet, in regard to [the meaning of] such things as the spirit stones mentioned in *Yamato Jingi Hōzan* (大倭神祇宝山 Treasure Mountain [Mt Katsuragi] of the Deities of Yamato), it is not likely that this was based on old traditions. But, it was pointed out for a long time that, during the formative process of Shinto explanations in the area of the medieval Ise Jingū, groups related to Mt Katsuragi were in some way involved in

20. Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 647.

21. See Hanawa, ed. 1983: 1.

22. See Gomazuru, et al. eds. 1984: 285.

23. See Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 211.

this, because of the existence of such texts as *Jingi Hōzan Ki* (神祇宝山記 Record on the Deities of Mt Takara), which was often cited in texts attributed to Gyōki like *Yamato Katsuragi Hōzan Ki* (大和葛城宝山記 Record of Mt Takara of Katsuragi in Yamato) and *Reiki Ki* (麗氣記 Record of Subtle Qi).<sup>24</sup> It should be evident that references to the 'Peacock King' go back to references to En no Ozunu's practice of the magic of the Peacock King on Mt Katsuragi, as we find in the first book, section 28, of the *Nihon Ryōiki* (日本靈異記 Record of Miraculous Events in Japan, English translation in Watson 2013: 47-49). This very passage, too, has to be taken as a view formulated under the influence of that oral tradition.

Finally, there is section ⑦, which mentions that an image of Uga Benzaiten is enshrined in the rock cave and that, in the second year of Manju (1025) Tsunehika, who later became a first *negi*, had performed a thousand-day ascetic exercise there. This passage omits a [direct] quote, but it is an explanation about Uga Benzaiten and her following of fifteen children. In the text [*Sekkutsu Hon'en Ki*] as it is quoted above we find the head note [introduced below], which originally had been an endorsement:

An oral tradition from an old man says: For the two holy ones Ōnamuchi-Sukunahiko and the changed [lowered] form of Uga no Mitama-Daibenzaiten, the year of their installment and of their dedication is unknown. Of the two holy ones concerned, one is enshrined in the back of the rock cave, hidden in the stone chamber .... Shigemasa kan'nushi, a late grandchild of Tsunehika kan'nushi, has taken the other one into his house to venerate it there .... According to another story, this was done by Tsunemasa .... At present, these are the three kinds of sacred items enshrined in the back of the rock cave....<sup>25</sup>

In this note, Ōnamuchi no Mikoto and Benzaiten, who were mentioned in section ⑦, are understood as being linked with one another. From the early medieval period, Uga Benzaiten beliefs had permeated the Ise Shrines, centered around the *sake* halls (*sakadono* 酒殿) at both the Inner and the Outer Shrine, as Yamamoto Hiroko has already argued.<sup>26</sup> Referring readers to her essay for the details of that information, I only wish to point out, for my part here, that the rock cave on Mt Takakura, too, had some relation to Benzaiten beliefs.

From what we have seen above, we can conclude that there were various traditions in connection with the rock caves on Mt Takakura that existed simultaneously with

24. For a detailed study of oral traditions about medieval Mt Katsuragi see Kawasaki 2006 and 2007.

25. See Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999: 372.

26. See Yamamoto 1989–1990: Nos. 11-16.

each other. Still, this need not mean that they were contradicting one another. As I have already mentioned, the main rock cave existed together with several small rock caves. Therefore, it might be necessary to conclude that for each of these rock caves a separate tradition was transmitted. If we take all of them as being linked to ancestors of the Watarai clan and as exhibiting, with the exemption of sections ⑥ and ⑦, a slight Buddhist or syncretistic character, we can suppose that they belonged to an old tradition transmitted within the Watarai clan's shared traditions. Of course, because such a tradition would have developed after the origin of the cave as a rock tomb had been forgotten and the tomb's burial accessories removed, an early estimate of the time it had been discovered could not have been before the middle Heian period, but a more recent time, when such a tradition had been formulated due to a gradual process of myth-building.

## 2. Mt Takakura as Ame no Iwado and Takama no Hara

Notwithstanding the various traditions described above, the most important matter for the compiler of *Takakura Hishō* were sections ① and ②. The passage below from *Nakatomi Harae Kunge* (中臣祓訓解 *Readings and Explanations of the Nakatomi Purification Formula*, referred to below as *Readings*), a text produced some time between the end of the Heian period and the earliest years of the Kamakura period, is closely related to section ①:

*Takama no Hara*, the first *zen*-heaven [Shozen Ten 初禪天] of the visible world, is the heaven of the ordinary people [Bonshū Ten 梵衆天]. The heaven of the three lights [sun, moon, and [the star] Venus] in the south under the rose apple trees,<sup>27</sup> this is Takakura 高庫藏. Among five storehouses there is one large storehouse, which houses ten thousand treasures, sources [of power].

It is impossible to immediately determine whether the term 'Takakura' 高庫藏 [written with these characters] as it appears here in *Readings* means the physical mountain Takakura 高倉山 or not, because the High Heavenly Plain (*Takama no Hara* 高天原) in the first *zen*-heaven of the visible world, and 'Takakura' 高庫藏 under the rose apple trees [of Jambu], are conceived as setting heaven and earth apart from one another and as being positioned one against the other. That is to say, that 'Takakura' 高庫藏 signifies the High Heavenly Plain on Earth as opposed to the High Heavenly Plain of Heaven.

27. See Okada Shōji 1985: 6 and for a further reference see also the eleventh installment of Yamamoto's series (see note 26).

Since section ① adopts this understanding, we can accept that it interprets ‘Takakura’ 高庫蔵 as ‘Mt Takakura’ 高倉山. When we take the text to narrate how Amaterasu Ōmikami opened the Heavenly Palace (*tengū* 天宮, *Takama no Hara*, the High Plain of Heaven) and descended to earth, then we can conclude that it is telling the story of how the Great Deity descended to the land of the Ise Shrines that watch over the earthly *Takama no Hara*, which is identical with ‘Takakura’ 高庫蔵 (namely the mountain Takakura 高倉山).<sup>28</sup> In the ancient chronicles *Nihongi* and *Kojiki* Amaterasu Ōmikami herself is not supposed to have descended to earth, but in medieval times the motif of Amaterasu Ōmikami descending to earth has been a well-known motif. This is already explained in *Readings*:

In ancient times, at the beginning of the foundation of heaven and earth, at the time when the divine treasure Sun, Dainichi Nyorai, who is the *dharma* body of the *dharma* world [the universe] and the Ruler of the Hearts [心王], appeared in order to turn this over to the sentient beings, the lonely ones and those of bad *karma*, with his unlimited knowledge of every kind of skillful means. He enters the lotus flower place of deep concentration (*samadhi*), and utters a plea of great purity. He bestows mercy and compassion and shows the temporary form of his embodiment (*avatar*) as *kami*, by having his trace descend into the land of *Jambu-dvipa* [into this world].<sup>29</sup>

The name Amaterasu Ōmikami is not found in this text; however, considering it was written at a time when the identities of Dainichi and the Great Deity were connected through a relationship of origin and trace (*honjaku* 本迹), it is easily understood that the expression ‘the temporary form of his embodiment (*avatar*)’ is meant to signify the Great Deity (Ōmikami).

Furthermore, ‘the heavenly younger shrine’ (*ama no wakamiya* 天小宮) mentioned in section ② may mean the ‘younger shrine’ (*waka miya* 小宮) as being the earthly *Takama no Hara* in contrast to the ‘heavenly shrine’ (*ama no miya* 天宮), which stands to mean the heavenly *Takama no Hara* mentioned in the text of section ① as well as in *Reikiki* (*Tenchi Reikiki* 天地麗気記, the *Reikiki* of heaven and earth, [an alternate title of the same text]), *Ryōgū Keibun Shinshaku* 両宮形文深釈, and other texts. The ‘heavenly rock seat’ (*ama no iwakura* 天磐座) can be thought of as the rock cave on Mt Takakura, seen as the Heavenly Rock Grotto (*Ama no Iwado* 天岩戸).

28. In Yamamoto’s article this is interpreted in the sense that the two deities finally lower their halberd into the sea where they grope and find Amaterasu Ōmikami (Ise) (Yamamoto 1989/11: 49).

29. See Okada Shōji 1985: 3.

In this connection, as noted already in early Ise Shinto writings such as *Yamato Hime no Mikoto Seiki* and *Hōki Honki* 宝基本記, the words “having received a strict imperial order, the palace (*kamu yashiro* 宝基) of the ‘Hino wakamiya’ 日小宮 was moved and the two shrines at Ise were built”<sup>30</sup> would mean that the two shrines in Ise imitated the ‘Hino wakamiya’ (日少宮, the palace on the High Heavenly Plain). In the two Ryōbu Shinto texts, *Sengū-in Hibun* (仙宮院秘文 Secret Texts of the Temple Sengū-in) and *Ryōgū Keibun Shinshaku* (兩宮形文深釈 Deep Explanation of Texts about the Form of the Two Shrines), the expression ‘the precious shrine of the *Hino wakamiya*’ is replaced with ‘the shrine of Daibonten’ and inserted in this form without any further alteration. Furthermore, Ise Shinto texts such as *Shin’nō Jitsuroku* 神皇実録 and *Tenkō Jisho* 天口事書 (the copy housed at the Ryūmon Bunko) that appeared after *Yamato Hime no Mikoto Seiki* use expressions like ‘Takama no Hara Bongū’ (高天原梵宮 Palace of Bonten [Brahma] on the High Heavenly Plain), showing that in both Ryōbu as well as Ise Shinto explanations that combined Ise Jingū and *Takama no Hara* (viz. *Hi no wakamiya* and *Bonten*) were becoming more common.<sup>31</sup>

In other words, this passage describes a narrative in which Amaterasu Ōmikami, identical with Dainichi Nyorai, descends from the highest level in the heavenly world to the earthly world, with the result that the heavenly world appears in the lower [earthly] world. This is a common theme for passages such as the above-quoted section from *Readings*, “in order to turn it over for the sentient beings, the lonely ones and those of bad *karma* [...] (the deity) shows the [temporary] form of its embodiment (*avatar*) by lowering its trace into the land of *Jambu-dvīpa* [into this world]” or for the expression, “dim the light and become like dust,” a phrase widely used at the time to indicate an attribute of a *kami*. However, this sort of image is much more powerful and makes a much sharper statement about a *kami* as a redeemer. And it presents Mt Takakura itself as being nothing less than the likeness [*nisugata* 似姿] of the heavenly world on earth.

To pursue this line of thought still further, I now wish to consider section ③. This is a passage about the alternative name ‘palace’ (*genko* 玄窟) for the rock cave. This section, prefaced by ‘a variant says,’ is an excerpt taken directly from the appendix

30. The present quote from *Yamato Hime no Mikoto Seiki* is a section in an oracle on “the work of building a (the) shrine” from the twenty-first year of Emperor Yūryaku (Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 77), but in *Hōki Honki* it is part of a pronouncement made by Yamato Hime no Mikoto in the twenty-sixth year of Emperor Suinin (Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 47).

31. See *Kōbō Daishi Zenshū*, vol. 5, p. 149 for *Ryōgū Keibun Shinshaku*; Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999: 400-401 for *Sengū-in Hibun*, and Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 145 for *Shin’nō Jitsuroku* and p.159 for *Tenkō Jisho*.



described as ‘an edict of the tenth day in the twelfth month of the first year of Shōwa [834]’ found in *Ryō no Gige* (令義解 Annotations to the *Ritsu* Rules), especially the underlined passages:

Genko 玄扈 (the ‘throne’) is [an institution] to govern affairs 機. [Inserted note] *Shunjū Gōsei Zu* 春秋合誠図 says: At his enthronement the Yellow Emperor was seated on this throne (*genko*). On [the river] *Raku* a phoenix held a map in its beak and bestowed a treasure. A note says: Genko is the name of a rock cave. And further it says: The Emperor sat on that throne (*genko*). Wanting to see he went to [the river] *Raku*. A phoenix held a map in its beak and deposited it in front of the Emperor. The Yellow Emperor repeatedly paid reverence and accepted the map. It was a map of the river. Sōko went for the Emperor in the south to hunt and climbed the mountain Shuyō. The Emperor headed for the throne at the river *Raku*. There, a spirit turtle carried a text, blue letters on a red carapace, and turned it over. Here it surfaced. Virtue 德 is likened to Tanryō. [Inserted note] *Katoroku unpō* 河図録運法 says: Gyō was born in the land Tanryō.<sup>32</sup>

This quote from *Shunjū Gōsei Zu* (Ch. Chūn qiū hé chéng tú, an *isho* 緯書, or esoteric Confucian text) is the origin tale *Katoraku sho* 河図洛書. ‘Throne’ (*genko* 玄扈, Ch. *xuán hù*) is the name of a mountain in the west of the Shaanxi Province’s Luonan County, where the Yellow Emperor resided (the edict uses the name in this way). And yet it is also the name of a river that flows from there (into the *luo he* 洛水, J. *rakusui*). The term ‘throne’ (*genko*), which appears later in the text in relation to Sōko 蒼頡 (Ch. *cāng xié*), makes use of that meaning, probably because the editor of *Sekkutsu Hon’en Ki* (石窟本縁記 Record of the Origin of the Rock Cave) had a primary interest in the phrase *genko* is the name of the rock cave.’ (But when we look at the above quote we notice that the text in question does not come from the main text of the *Gōsei Zu*, but is an excerpt from a note to it and, therefore, lacks accuracy. Besides, because of an identical passage quoted from *Gōsei Zu* in *Shogakki* (Ch. *Chu Xue Ji* 初学記, volume 30, *Hō dai ichi* 鳳第一, we can know that the note quoted here is by Sō Kin 宋均).

In addition, the term *genko*, ‘throne,’ has attracted attention because it was a term for the place where the Yellow Emperor resided, and so it is highly likely that it referred to the place of the [Japanese] Emperor’s residence. As is seen in the following line from the preface to *Kojiki* “Ruling in the Purple Pavilion [*shishin* 紫宸], her virtue extends to the limit of the horses’ hoofprints; dwelling in the Concealed Palace [*genko* 玄扈], her influence illumines the furthest extent of the prows of the boats” [translation by Philippi 1980: 42], the term is used as an antonym to the term *shishin* 紫宸 (originally

32. Included in Kuroita, ed. 2000: 346.

the name of a star where the Heavenly Emperor resided), which also means the imperial palace, as it is well-known in Japan, too. It was therefore fitting to use 'genko' as a name for Mt Takakura, the place to which Amaterasu Ōmikami descended (even the more so, since it also had the meaning of 'rock cave').

From then on the word 'genko' is frequently used as a name for Mt Takakura (and for the rock cave). For example, according to Yōdaōji Motonaga's collection *Ei Daijingū Nisho Jingi Hyakushu Waka* (詠太神宮二所神祇百首和歌 Hundred Waka-poems Composed for the Deities at the Two Grand Shrines), established in the second year of Ōnin (1468), 'Mt Genko' (*genko san* 玄屬山, *genko* being pronounced here as *wohe* ヲへ using the term's Japanese reading of the Chinese *xuán hú*) was one of the names used for the peak of Mt Takakura.<sup>33</sup> This shows that the name had become firmly established as a variant name for Mt Takakura.

Concerning the origin of the name 'Takakura' (高庫藏), both section ① and its original text *Kunge* 訓解 say that it refers to 'the great storehouse among five storehouses' (*gozōchū daizō* 五藏中大藏) that was said to 'house ten thousand treasures, sources [of power]' (*hō man'pō no shu* 納万宝之種). The passage cited below from the chapter *Takakura Iwaya Higi* (高倉岩屋秘儀 Secret Rites at the Rock Cave Takakura) in *Takakura Hishō* 高庫藏等秘抄 corresponds with this:

*Kōso Kōbō Daishi Gyoki* (高祖弘法大師御記 A Record of the Eminent Founder Kōbō Daishi) says: That I know Ryōbu Dainichi is a fact. From now on this will show that we are usually together. The rock cave at *Obeno Mine* 尾妙峯 is named Takakura rock cave, that is, where numerous deities converse and enjoy themselves greatly. This place is *Ichi Embudai*, where great and small deities congregate. They are enshrined in the Yamada Plain close to the rock cave. It is the secret place where carefully pacified means and three kinds of sacred items are secretly hidden. There are also eleven spirit mirrors at that place. The end of time is a corrupt age, misfortune will intrude through [lay] women who do not take tonsure [*upāsikā*]. I am afraid of such intrusion. Oh, how frightening, how frightening! There are gold and silver images of deities, images of humans and of serpents, of the three kinds mentioned above. There are also one-pronged *vajra*, three-pronged *vajra*, five-pronged *vajra*, bells, and plates, the five kinds just mentioned. Here is also the Great King Brahma 大梵天王, who makes and directs ten kinds of divine treasures to the place for the country. All combined there are eighteen [objects]. It is a secret storehouse, a secret storage room of divine treasures. Here is how it is told:

33. "Twenty various poems, group 'Ivy': In a note on the left side to this text it says 'Leaving behind the rock cave of Isetsu Hiko, pushing into the deep mountain by stepping over the moss, nobody passes here...' (Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 811.)

An old tale says: Yamato Hime no Mikoto resides up in heaven, she concludes a secret pledge with me....

A secret record says: Yamato Hime no Mikoto manifests herself in this world for about a thousand *kalpa*.

In *Tenchi Reiki Furoku* and also in *Shaki* (社記 Shrine Record) it says: At the great shrine located in the plain of Yamada in Watarai there are tools for rituals to pacify the state. Refined gold from the Heavenly Gold Mountain is used to create and prepare halberds of the Heavenly Sun, mirrors, long swords, figures of deities and humans, Yasaka *magatama* jewels, floating bells, tools assembled for a ritual, and various [other] sacred treasures. On top of Mt Takasa 高佐山 [a different name for Mt Takakura] of Watarai, at the Lotus mountain, a ritual is performed to pacify the state. Next, the ceremony to choose the *shin no mihashira* 心御柱 [the Heart Pillar of the Ise Shrines] is held like the foregoing ritual. This is the beginning of the shrine's [renewed] construction. Mt Hiwashi Takasa is the place where the pacification of the Japanese State is achieved. There are twelve rock chambers that are called 'thrones' (*genko*). Here is the abode of Ōnamuchi no Mikoto and Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto, and also the rock cave of Isetsu Hiko no Kami, and the spirit cave of Kasukabe no Kami. The common name for all of these is Mt Takakura. Usually, heavenly maidens riding on white clouds descend and amuse themselves at the foot of pine and oak trees, and intone exquisite sounds of heavenly music that at such times reverberate on the neighboring mountain. Its name is "Sound of the Wind". On this one peak, Sound of the Wind, there is a storehouse that holds such things as drums of white silver, images with faces of gold and silver, and precious bells. This is the divine appearance of the heavenly maiden Yamato Hime....<sup>34</sup>

Here I want to refer to two texts, *Kōso Kōbō Daishi Gyōki* and *Tenchi Reiki Furoku*, which both mention that in the rock caves and on the peaks of Mt Takakura precious things [treasures] were stored away and various kinds of secret rituals related to them were performed. One of the two texts, the first one, is found in the Ryōbu Shinto text entitled *Ryōgū Kōrin Hon'en* (両宮降臨本縁 Origin of the Descent of the Two Shrines). Although it is a short text, it contains a dialogue consisting of questions and answers between "I" (Kūkai) and Yamato Hime no Mikoto about the beginnings of the establishment of the Ise Shrines and of the sacred mirrors.<sup>35</sup> The second text, too, is a Ryōbu Shinto text, and it can be found in almost identical wording in a text of the same

34. Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999: 375-376.

35. The complete text of the section *Ryōgū Kōrin Hon'en* (両宮降臨本縁 Origin of the Descent of the Two Shrines) is included in *Shintō Kanpakuryū Zatsubu* 神道関白流雑部. A copy of this text from the third year Ōei (1523) is kept in the collection of the Jingū Library in Ise. I discuss this text at some length in Ito 2011: 326-338.

kind, the *Reiki Ki* 麗氣記, [but it is a different text]. These texts demonstrate that in the Kamakura Period Mt Takakura was a location where secret rites were performed. The idea of a storehouse (*takakura* 高庫藏) containing ten thousand [that is, a great amount of] treasures was, therefore, not just an idea based on fantasy, it was something that by means of such secret performances could be substantiated without end.

In the quote from *Gyoki* (a text included in *Ryōgū Kōrin Hon'en*) used above, the point that attracts special interest is the passage introduced as words of Kūkai about the treasures stored away: “The end of time is a corrupt age, misfortune will intrude through women who do not take the tonsure (*kyō ubai* 凶優婆夷).” This passage uses as its direct source the twenty-fifth section of *Goyūigō* (御遺告 Testament [of Kūkai]), whose title is ‘*Moshi masse kyōba hinitō atte, mikke en wo hasen to giseba, masani shuhō subeki engi*’ (若有末世凶婆非禰等擬破蜜華園応修法縁起 [approximate translation]: ‘Reason why incantations must be held, when at the end of time threatening women and beings unworthy of veneration will destroy the flower garden of esoteric Buddhism’). We may, therefore, think that this reflects the circumstances of the Ise pilgrimage as they related to Mt Takakura at that time.

The shrine pilgrimage of the great monk Chōgen 重源 who raised funds for the temple Tōdai-ji 東大寺 provided the starting point for the great surge in enthusiasm for the Ise shrine pilgrimage in the Kamakura Period. As a result of that surge, thefts of sacred treasures and the like frequently occurred at the shrine’s lesser sanctuaries, such as *betsugū* 別宮, *sessha* 摂社, and *massha* 末社. For example, at a subsidiary (*massha* 末社) of the Inner Shrine, the Koasama shrine (*Koasama-sha* 小朝熊社, also called *Kagami no miya* 鏡宮 ‘Mirror Shrine’), the sacred mirrors were stolen four times: in the first year of Chōgan (1163), in the first year of Shōji (1199), in the second year of Tempuku (1234), and in the sixth year of Bun’ei (1269).<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, in the second year of Gen’ō (1320), the sacred mirror and other items were stolen from the *Taka no miya* 高宮, the subsidiary shrine (*betsugū*) of the Outer Shrine at the foot of Mt Takakura (more about this shrine below).<sup>37</sup> The culprit in the incident of the Shōji year was an individual named Jōchō 貞長 (Jō Amida Butsu 定阿弥陀仏), a disciple of Chōgen. Thirty years later, in the second year of Kanki (1230), he confessed to burying the sacred mirror at Mt Inari. The culprit in the Tempuku incident was a ‘Kumano pilgrim ascetic’

36. See Hagiwara Tatsuo 1978: 354-362.

37. See Yamamoto Hiroko 1994: 55-87. For the basic documents about this incident, *Taka no miya nusubito ran'nyū kaii koto* 高宮盗人闖入怪異事 and *Gen'ō ninen Taka no Miya Onkoto* 元応二年高宮御事, see Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 2005. Comment by present author (Itō 2005: 800-818).

named Namu Myōbō 南無妙房. The purpose of these individuals' actions was not profit-making, though. Jōchō's motivation, for example, was 'advice received in a dream' (*Koasama Shinkyō Sata Bumi* 小朝熊神鏡沙汰文, Report About the Incident of the Sacred Mirror of Koasama found in *Chūgū no sukesuke yori no migyōsho* 中宮亮資頼御教書). He confessed that "Deep in my heart I had the urgent wish to take the thing. If the Wonderful King could manifest himself at this time, then he should have" (*Kōtei Kishō* 皇帝紀抄 Imperial Annals, entry of the eight month in the second year of Kanki). Before Mt Inari, he had buried the treasure temporarily at Kohata 木幡 and at the Daigoku Hall 大極殿.

The line, "Misfortune will intrude through women who do not take the tonsure [female lay believers]," may perhaps point to figures like Jōchō and Namu Myōbō. To itinerant solicitor monks (*kanjin hijiri* 勧進聖) and Kumano pilgrim ascetics (*Kumano dōja* 熊野道者) on pilgrimage to the Shrines, the various treasures of the Shrines were indeed crystallizations of spirit power. If they could get hold of a treasure, they hoped it would increase their own spiritual capacities. No doubt the divine treasures of Mt Takakura, the 'treasure trove' (*takakura* 高庫藏), have repeatedly been stolen by such individuals. A passage from *Gyoki* 御記 (in *Ryōgū Kōrin Hon'en* 両宮降臨本縁) supports this fact.

Mt Takakura and the rock cave, as images of the Plain of Heaven (*Takama no Hara* 高天原) and of the Heavenly Rock Grotto (*Ama no Iwado* 天岩戸), were conceived to be places where deities assembled, as *Gyoki* states: "This place is *Ichi Embu* 一閻浮, the locality where great and little deities gather." In *Nakatomi Harae Chūshō* (中臣祓注抄 Notes to the Nakatomi Purification), a text compiled in the early Kamakura Period under the influence of *Kunge* 訓解, there is a note inserted about the Heavenly Plain (*Takama no Hara*): "It is the place where Brahma (Bonten 梵天) and eighty-four thousand deities convene. They are the divine ancestors."<sup>38</sup> However, in the text quoted above from the first part of *Jingi Hishō*, section seven *Daijingū Hisho no Koto* (太神宮秘所事 About a Secret Place at the Great Shrines), it says: "At this rock cave the eighty-four thousand deities congregate and convene here. It is the place where, based on the deeds of the sentient beings, the deities decide whether they are good or evil, whether they deserve a good or a bad fortune." This appears to be a text based on *Chūshō* 注抄.

And still further, a passage in *Tenchi Reiki Furoku* tells how "Heavenly maidens usually mount white clouds, descend to the base of pines and oaks to amuse themselves and perform heavenly music of wondrous sounds," and combines this with the image of a paradisiacal land. Saka Shibutsu 坂土仏 writes as follows about this matter in the text

38. Okada Shōji 1985: 31.

*Ise Daijingu Sankei Ki* (太神宮參詣記 Report on a Pilgrimage to the Grand Shrines of Ise), compiled in the first year of Kōei 康永 (1342):

Moreover, behind this Shrine is a wondrous great crag where all the deities assemble and here supernatural visitants are always present, it is said. It is believed too that there are forty-eight caves, and there are some places on the stones that are quite warm, so that it is evident that someone has just been sitting on them. And sometimes people meet a strange unearthly old man here. Chinese scholars speak of the thirty-six heavenly caves. These are the ancient ones where the Taoist magicians perform their rites, but in this mountain there are forty-eight of them, and are hallowed resorts and fairy confines where the deities and spirits hold their revels.

And those who go to view the flowers and autumn tints at times see houses of no ordinary kind that belong to a hamlet hidden from mortal eyes, while sounds of music and merrymaking fall on their ears and their eyes are dazzled by stately equipages and rich apparel. At dusk they return home and tell their friends what delightful things they have experienced and the next day a number of them go together to that place, but there is nothing at all to be seen. Without doubt this is a fairy village. They are not like Liu/Yuan in China who came back after such an experience to find that seven generations had passed, for they can tell their tale to their friends, but rather like the fisherman at Wu-ling, who found a certain path one day, but when he went back, could not find the village. And so these miraculous events go on one after another.<sup>39</sup>

Here, the explanation of Mt Takakura as *Takama no Hara* and *Ama no Iwado* goes beyond the level of a mysterious tale. By creating a number of additional traditions, it goes on to prepare realistic facts for beliefs about a spiritual location. And undoubtedly, by these traditions it also provides further support for the popularity of visits to the Heavenly Rock Grotto in premodern times.

(To be continued)

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