

Negotiations Between the *Kami* and Buddha Realms: The Establishment of Shrine- Temples in the Eighth Century

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Introduction¹

THIS paper takes up legends that record the establishment of four eighth-century shrine-temples (*jingūji* 神宮寺, also *jinganji* 神願寺): Kehi Jingūji 氣比神宮寺, Wakasahiko Jinganji 若狭比古神願寺, Usa Hachimangū Mirokuji 宇佐八幡宮弥勒寺, and Tado Jingūji 多度神宮寺.² The impetus for such an investigation arose from musings about ways in which we might productively consider the ontological status of *kami* 神. I will therefore make a foray into the metaphysical with the aim of shedding light on the historical.

Jingūji are combinatory worship sites where Buddhist temples were built adjacent to shrines. The purpose of a *jingūji* was to provide a site where Buddhist monks could recite sutras (*dokyō* 読経) and perform

rituals for the *kami* of the shrine, who were believed to be suffering and in need of Buddhist salvation.³ There exist records of shrines and temples from the seventh century and earlier, but the establishment of *jingūji* was a new phenomenon in the early eighth century, and resulted in a close association⁴ between the Buddha realm and *kami* cults.⁵

There has been a tendency in scholarship about *jingūji* to refer to *kami* and their shrines as having been subsumed or subjugated by Buddhism. This Bud-

1 This paper is adapted from a paper presented at The Third IMAP in Japanese Humanities Symposium on Pre-Modern Japanese Culture at Kyushu University, Hakozaki Campus, January 21–22, 2016, and at Networks and Negotiations, a graduate student conference at the University of California, Santa Barbara, February 12–13, 2016.

2 There are extant records of sixteen *jingūji* that were established in the eighth century. For a chart listing these *jingūji* and the primary sources where they are recorded, see Tsuji Hidenori, *Hachimangūji seiritsushi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruiji Kanseikai), 396–7.

3 See Tsuda Tsutomo's discussion of *engi* describing Buddhist rituals and their rationale at *jingūji*. "Shinbutsu shūgō no tenkai to Hachimanjin," *Shintō shūkyō* 1, no. 204–205 (2007), 85.

4 The scholarly term for this early association is *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合, a neologism that was coined in the early modern period (1600–1867). Itō Satoshi, "The Medieval Period: The Kami Merge with Buddhism," in *Shinto—A Short History*, ed. Inoue Nobutaka (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 68–9. In my view, the genericity of the term *shinbutsu shūgō* does not account for the complexity of early interactions in Japan.

5 Kuroda Toshio argues that it is ahistorical to refer to early *kami* cults as 'Shinto.' Kuroda, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion," trans. James C. Dobbins and Suzanne Gay, *Journal of Japanese Studies* 7, no. 1 (1981): 4–6. Mark Teeuwen and Bernhard Scheid propose using the term "kami worship" instead. Teeuwen and Scheid, "Tracing Shinto in the History of Kami Worship," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29, nos. 3–4 (2002): 200.

dhist-centric approach tends to construct a totalizing narrative of Buddhist domination and colonization of the cultic landscape, implying passivity on the part of the *kami*. The interaction between Buddhism and *kami* cults, however, was far from totalizing. As we will see, legendary accounts highlight the complexity and diversity of these interactions. Furthermore, the *kami* were far from being passive. The legends record negotiations between the divine and human realms, emphasizing that it was the *kami* who requested the construction of *jingūji* and dictated the terms. The legends thus construct narratives that trace the intersection of the metaphysical category of *kami* with historical time.

Actor-Network Theory

To understand how we might account for the voices of *kami* in these legends, I turned to the work of Bruno Latour and Actor-Network Theory (henceforth ANT).⁶ ANT is not so much a theory, but a method of tracing the relational associations between actors in a given situation. ANT attempts to account for the agency of human and non-human actors or actants. For example, if a particular situation includes gods and other spiritual beings, Latour argues that we should be attentive to them in order to account for “the diversity of agencies acting at once in the world.”⁷ Here Latour is not only pointing to multiple realities, but proposing that agency is not the sole domain of human actors.⁸ By acknowledging that intentional agency can be prompted or impelled by material and immaterial agents, including dreams, texts, ideas, and gods, ANT flattens out onto-

logical hierarchies that privilege human actors. This is not to claim symmetry between humans and non-humans; the point is rather to attempt to understand how different agencies act. According to Latour, what matters about agency in ANT is that actors must contribute to making something happen. Thus, an ANT study observes how sets of actors are assembled, traces their activity, and reveals how they are associated in networks that generate observable outcomes.⁹ In the legends, the outcomes are *jingūji*, and the actors include shrine priests, Buddhist monks, notions of *karma*, and *kami*. According to the founding legends that we will look at, the most crucial actors were the *kami*.

Two Aspects of the *Kami*

To understand why *kami* play a leading role in these legends, we need to consider people’s relationship with *kami* in the premodern period and ask why they would have listened to *kami*. One very compelling reason was that *kami* were potentially dangerous—ignoring their wishes could incur their wrath.

Kami had a gentle, beneficial aspect (*nikimitama* 和御魂), but they also had a rough, malevolent aspect (*aramitama* 荒御魂) and could curse or kill individual people, including the emperor. For example, according to the *Record of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki* 古事記), Emperor Chūai 仲哀天皇 (r. 192–200, trad.) was in Kyushu, planning a military campaign to attack the Kumaso 熊襲 in the south. Jingū Kōgō 神功皇后 (r. 201–269, trad.), Chūai’s chief consort, entered a trance and received a divine oracle from the *kami* advising Chūai to attack the Korean peninsula instead. Chūai ignored the oracle, and died shortly afterwards.¹⁰ It was believed that *kami* killed him for disobeying the oracle. According to the *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀), Emperor Tenmu 天武天皇 (631–686, r. 673–686) fell ill because of a curse from the sacred Kusanagi sword (*Kusanagi no tsurugi* 草薙之劍, lit. Grass Cutter Sword) and later died.¹¹

Kami could also inflict natural disasters and disease. This not only caused great suffering for the populace,

6 Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

7 *Ibid.*, 48.

8 This is very much in step with recent trends in scholarship that emphasize object-oriented ontologies and seek to account for the agency of spirits and suprahumans. See, for example, Michael Stausberg, “Distinctions, Differentiations, Ontology, and Non-humans in Theories of Religion,” *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 22 (2010): 369–72; Patrice Ladwig, “Can Things Reach the Dead? The Ontological Status of Objects and the Study of Lao Buddhist Rituals for the Spirits of the Deceased,” in *Engaging the Spirit World: Popular Beliefs and Practices in Modern Southeast Asia*, ed. Kirsten W. Endres and Andrea Lauser (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011); and Janet Hoskins, *The Divine Eye and the Diaspora: Vietnamese Syncretism Becomes Transpacific Caodaism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press: 2015).

9 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 128–30.

10 *Kojiki*, SNKBZ 1 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1997), 247.

11 Tenmu 14.6.16 (686). W. G. Aston, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, Vol. 2 (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 1972), 377.

but was interpreted as evidence of failure on the part of the emperor who, as chief sacerdotal ritualist, was responsible for controlling the dangerous aspects of *kami*. Control of dangerous and violent *kami* was therefore perceived to be a matter of vital state importance, and official *kami* rituals were administered through the Ministry of Kami Affairs, the Jingikan 神祇官.¹² As *kami* were capricious and unpredictable, there was a need for almost constant propitiation, as is attested to in many official records and courtier diaries.

The *Kami* Encounter Karma

In the early eighth century, *kami* began to express remorse for their malevolence. This is recorded in the *jingūji* legends, and indicates a new development compared to older tales of the wrath of the *kami*. The impetus for this change arose from the confluence of *kami* cults with Buddhist cosmological notions of *karma* (*gō* 業)¹³ and rebirth.

According to these notions *karma* from the good or bad deeds of one's previous lives determined rebirth in one of the Six Realms (*rokudō* 六道) of existence.¹⁴ These are the realms of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, fighting demons, humans, and gods. In this cosmology the realm of the gods is just one of the realms in the cycle of birth and death (Jp. *rinne* 輪廻, Sk. *samsāra*), and like all the other five is marked by suffering. The malevolent side of the *kami*—the *aramitama*—therefore began to be interpreted as evidence of negative karma that was causing the *kami* to suffer. As we will see in the *jingūji* legends, *kami* began to speak through

dreams and oracles about their malevolent aspect in terms of suffering, karma, and release.

Shrine-Temple Founding Legends

Founding legends appear in a number of different genres, including official histories, biographies of monks and other people, and founding documents entitled *engi* 縁起 (lit. karmic origins).¹⁵ These records often include fantastic or miraculous events, but are nevertheless of great historical value for what they reveal about religious beliefs and practices.¹⁶

The earliest recorded shrine-temple is Kehi Jingū-ji,¹⁷ founded in Echizen 越前 province (the northern part of present-day Fukui prefecture) in 715,¹⁸ and recorded in the biography of the statesman Fujiwara no Muchimaro 藤原武智麻呂 (680–737).¹⁹ According to the biography, a strange person appeared in a dream to Muchimaro. This person explained that, due to karma, he had been reincarnated in the body of a *kami* and was suffering. He therefore wished to “convert to the way of the Buddha” (*kie butsudō* 帰依仏道), and asked for a temple to be built to release him from his suffering. The apparition in the dream also conveyed to Muchimaro that even though he wanted to convert he did not

12 Shōji Okada, “The Circular System of Rites Linking the Emperor and the *Kami*,” trans. Jesse LeFebvre, Articles in Translation, Kokugakuin University, http://k-amc.kokugakuin.ac.jp/DM/detail.do;jsessionid=0F25550519EB2DEAF7D46806C3944667?-data_id=75430&class_name=col_jat (accessed March 1, 2016). Originally published in Japanese. “Tennō to kamigami no shunkangata saishi taikai: Kodai no tatarigami,” *Shintō shūkyō* 199/200 (2005), 8.

13 The Buddhist doctrine of *karma* explains that actions in this and in past lives determine the level of one's rebirth: evil actions lead to rebirth in one of the lower *rokudō* realms, while good actions lead to rebirth in one of the higher realms. “Gō,” *Sōgō bukkyō daijiten* (Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 2005), 363–5.

14 The Six Realms, or Six Destinies (*rokushu* 六趣), are mentioned in many early sutras, including the *Golden Light Sutra* (*Konkōmyōkyō* 金光明經, T 663), which was known in Japan from at least 677, when Tenmu ordered it to be chanted. Tenmu 5.11.20 (677). Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. 2, 335.

15 Heather Blair and Kawasaki Tsuyoshi discuss taxonomic classification and genre in regards to *engi*, but conclude that *engi* cannot be defined by monothetic criteria because of the diversity of the texts and the complex situations from which they arose. Heather Blair and Kawasaki Tsuyoshi, “*Engi*: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 42, no. 1 (2015): 12–8.

16 Gorai Shigeru, *Jisha engi to denshō bunka*, vol. 4 of *Gorai Shigeru chosakushū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2008) 3–4.

17 A story in the *Miraculous Tales of Japan* (*Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記, compiled ca. 810–24) mentions Mitaniidera 三谷寺, a temple that was built for the *kami* sometime during the reign of Emperor Tenji 天智天皇 (626–672, r. 661–671) in Bingo 備後 province (eastern part of present-day Hiroshima prefecture). I have not included it here because the temple was not named a *jingūji*. Kyōkai, *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon Ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai*, trans. and ed. Kyoko Motomochi Nakamura (London: Routledge, 2007), vol 1, no. 7, 116–8.

18 Records did not use uniform terminology or dating, and it is therefore unclear whether the dates refer to when the *jingūji* was vowed, built, or dedicated. Tsuji, *Hachimangūji seiritsushi no kenkyū*, 396.

19 *Biographies of the Fujiwara Clan* (*Tōshi Kaden* 藤氏家伝), a biography of eminent members of the Fujiwara family 藤原氏, was written by Fujiwara no Nakamaro 藤原仲麻呂 (706–764) and the priest Enkei 延慶 (fl. early eighth c.) and completed in 760. The only three extant biographies are those of Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足 (624–669), the monk Jōe 藤原貞惠 (643–665), and Fujiwara no Muchimaro.

want to give up his *kami* body. When he awoke, Muchimaro asked a monk to interpret the dream. The monk explained that the strange apparition in the dream was in reality the Kehi *kami* 気比神. Muchimaro then commissioned the construction of a temple next to the shrine of the Kehi *kami*, thus transforming the shrine into a *jingūji*.²⁰

ANT analysis shows how this founding legend assembles a group of actors into a network that operates like a relay: from the strange person in Muchimaro's dream to the monk's revelation about the Kehi *kami*, and back to Muchimaro, who commissions the temple. Each actor in this network plays a critical role, but it is the Kehi *kami* who requests the temple, and states the terms: he will convert to the way of the Buddha, but he will keep his *kami* body. This was one of two modalities of *kami* conversion, the other of which was to convert and separate from the *kami* body (*shinshin ridatsu* 神身離脱),²¹ which we will see in the next example.²²

The next recorded shrine-temple is Wakasahiko Jinganji, established some time between 717 and 724 in Wakasa 若狭 province (the southern part of present-day Fukui prefecture), and recorded in the *Classified Records of the National Histories* (*Ruijū kokushi* 類聚国史, 892).²³ According to this record, the Wakasahiko *kami* announced through an oracle that he was suffering, which in turn caused the populace to suffer from drought and epidemic. He therefore wanted to embrace the Three Treasures (*sanbō* 三宝),²⁴ that is, to convert to the way of the Buddha. Unlike the Kehi *kami* mentioned previously, however, this *kami* announced that he wanted to separate from his *kami* body. A tem-

ple was then built at the site of the shrine for the Wakasahiko *kami*, transforming it into a *jingūji*.²⁵

This legend traces a network that includes disease and failed crops, starving people, and the *kami* who realizes that he is the cause of the suffering. He negotiates the terms, asking to convert and opting to separate from his *kami* body. The result is a new *jingūji*.

The third *jingūji* was established in Buzen 豊前 province (the northern part of present-day Ōita prefecture) for the *kami* Hachiman 八幡神 in 737. It is recorded in the *The Founding Legend of Usa Hachimangū Mirokuji* (*Usa Hachimangū Mirokuji konryū engi* 宇佐八幡宮弥勒寺建立縁起, 844). The story of this *jingūji* actually begins in 720, when the central government sent prayers asking the *kami* Hachiman to help suppress the Hayato 隼人 rebellion in southern Kyushu.²⁶ Shrine priests carried Hachiman into battle in a *mikoshi* 神輿 and, according to legend, Hachiman helped the imperial army to slaughter the Hayato.²⁷ Afterwards, however, Hachiman expressed remorse through an oracle at having participated in the bloody massacre. In order to expiate the negative karma from the killing and to appease the souls of those who had died, Hachiman requested the performance of a Buddhist rite of animal release (*hōjōe* 放生会), in which birds, fish, and other creatures are freed from captivity as an act of atonement.²⁸ According to the founding legend, a shaman-monk named Hōren 法蓮 (fl. late seventh–early eighth c.) performed the rite for Hachiman.²⁹ Hōren

20 Tōshi Kaden, *Kaden shita Sō Enkei*, Kodaishi dassai, http://www004.upp.so-net.ne.jp/dassai1/kaden/kaden02_frame.htm (accessed March 11, 2016).

21 Murayama Shūichi suggests that Buddhist priests devised the modality of *shinshin ridatsu* as a way of propagating Buddhist teachings among the general populace in the provinces whose sympathies would resonate more with suffering *kami*. Murayama Shūichi, *Honji suijaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1994), 48.

22 For a discussion of patterns of *kami* conversion, see Tsuda, “Shinbutsu shūgō no tenkai,” 87–8.

23 The *Ruijū kokushi*, an historical text commissioned by Uda Tennō 宇多天皇 (867–931, r. 887–897), is a compilation of events from the Six National Histories (*Rikkokushi* 六国史) classified according to a wide variety of categories including gods, rulers, and customs. It was completed by Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903) in 892. Yanagi Kōtarō, “Ruijū kokushi,” *Kokushi daijiten* 14, 680.

24 There are different interpretations of what constitutes the Three Treasures, but the basic group contains the Buddha, the Dharma (teachings of the Buddha), and the *sangha* (the community of Buddhist monks and nuns). Sōgō bukkyō daijiten, 502.

25 *Ruijū kokushi*, cited in Tsuji, *Hachimangūji seiritsushi no kenkyū*, 399.

26 The Hayato rebellion was a simmering conflict that started around the beginning of the eighth century and was finally crushed by the central government in 720. The official account of this rebellion is recorded in *Shoku Nihongi*. Yōrō 4.2.29 (720), 4.8.12, and 5.7.7 (721), *Shoku Nihongi* 2 (SNKBT 13), 66, 76, 100.

27 According to legend, Hachiman was ritually transferred to a small pillow made of wild rice (*komo makura* 薦枕). This pillow, known as a *shintai* 神体 (lit. ‘god body’), was placed inside an ornate palanquin (*mikoshi* 神輿) and carried to the battle against the Hayato. This legend was related to me by the head priest of Komo shrine 薦神社, Ikenaga Takashi 池永孝 (July 22, 2015).

28 This basic form of ritual animal release was practiced in Japan from at least 677, when Tenmu ordered the release of living creatures in all provinces. Tenmu 5.8.17 (677). Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. 2, 333–4. The animal release rite performed for Hachiman, however, is significant because it is the first recorded instance of a Buddhist rite performed for a *kami*.

29 Most records give the date of 720 for the establishment of *hōjōe* at Hachimangū, and most scholars concur. A few records, however, give alternate dates ranging from 718 to as late as 777. See Tsuji, *Hachimangūji seiritsushi no kenkyū*, 275–9.

then built a meditation hall adjacent to Hachiman's shrine in 725. With the support of government funding and help from monks and local clan members, Hōren built a large temple (dedicated to Miroku 弥勒, the Buddha of the Future) close to a newly constructed shrine for Hachiman in 737. Monks resided at this large shrine-temple complex, known as the Usa Hachimangū Mirokuji, where they recited sutras and performed rites for Hachiman. Shrine priests and monks continued to perform the animal release rite, which became an important annual event in the ritual calendar of the *jingūji*.³⁰

The Hachiman legends construct a series of interlocking networks, including the Hayato rebels, government soldiers, warrior priests, and the shaman-monk Hōren. It was the *kami* Hachiman, however, who provided the rationale for the whole enterprise through his request of animal release rites to expiate his guilt and to appease the souls of the massacred Hayato. Unlike the other *kami*, he did not make a statement regarding whether or not to separate from his *kami* body.

The last *jingūji* to be considered in this paper is Tado Jingūji 多度神宮寺, established in Ise 伊勢 province (present-day Mie prefecture) in 763, and recorded in the *Record of the Founding Legend and the Holdings of Tado Jingūji* (*Tado Jingūji garan engi shizaichō* 多度神宮寺伽藍縁起資材帳, 801). According to this record, the Tado *kami* appeared to the monk Mangan zenshi 満願禪師 (ca.720–816). He told Mangan he was suffering, and therefore wanted to separate from his body, and convert to Buddhism by embracing the Three Treasures. Mangan then built a small worship hall, and enshrined an image of the *kami* that he had carved and named Great Bodhisattva Tado (*Tado Daibosatsu* 多度大菩薩).³¹ With the establishment of the hall and installation of the image, Tado shrine was transformed into a *jingūji*.

Once again, it was the Tado *kami* who initiated the conversation with Mangan, expressed his suffering in Buddhist terminology, and dictated the terms of his

conversion. This record is notable for containing the earliest mention of the title “Great Bodhisattva” in connection with a *kami*. It does not necessarily mean, however, that the Tado *kami* became a bodhisattva. Scholars argue that the title “Bodhisattva” applied to a *kami* in this time period may have more likely been a mark of respect.³² This record also contains the earliest mention of an image of a *kami* (*shinzō* 神像). Unfortunately, the Tado Bodhisattva image, if it ever actually existed, is no longer extant.

Concluding Remarks

The founding legends discussed above appear to gain narrative elements, an accretion that suggests that *jingūji* legends themselves became actors³³ in a wider network of associations that provided the impetus for the production of more texts and the construction of more *jingūji*. I would need to conduct more research to ascertain if this trend continues through the rest of the eighth-century founding legends. Here, I draw attention to the fact that the legends examined above record series of networks in which *kami* are portrayed as social beings in dialogue with humans. And in all the legends, the dialogue between the divine and the human realms results in the establishment of material *jingūji*. In other words, the legends are concerned with the power of the oracular and the visionary to impel human action. The result was not only the construction of buildings, but the performance of ritual.

Kami were not transferred out of their shrines at *jingūji*; they remained in their respective shrines, and shrine priests continued to make propitiatory offerings and prayers to control the dangerous potential of the

30 Construction of these temple and shrine buildings is recorded in *The Founding Legend of Hachimangū Mirokuji*. Nakano Hatayoshi, *Usa*, vol. 47 of *Shintō taikai: Jinjihen* 神道大系: 神社編 (Tokyo: Shintō Taikai Hensankai, 1989), 4–11.

31 *Tado Jingūji garan engi shizaichō*, “Tado Jinja,” *Shinto Jinja Database*, Kokugakuin University, <http://21coe.kokugakuin.ac.jp/db/jinja/070101.html> (accessed March 11, 2016).

32 Suzuki Shōei parallels this to the use of the title of “Bodhisattva” that was given to Buddhist practitioners in the Nara period in recognition of their good works, such as Gyōki 行基 (668–749) who was the chief fund-raiser for the Tōdaiji Great Buddha project sponsored by Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701–756, r. 724–749). Suzuki Shōei, “The Development of *Suijaku* Stories about Zaō Gongen,” trans. Heather Blair, in *Cahiers d’Extrême Asie* 18, ed. Bernard Faure et al. (2009), 144.

33 Catherine Bell stresses the importance of recognizing texts as actors. Bell, “Ritualization of Texts and Textualization of Ritual in the Codification of Taoist Liturgy,” *History of Religions* 27, no. 4 (1998), 366–92, 390. Blair and Kawasaki discuss founding legends as “social actants” that are not only the effect of literary and artistic production, but also “a cause for social situations.” Blair and Kawasaki, “*Engi*,” 11.

shrine's resident *kami*.³⁴ The duties of shrine priests at *jingūji*, therefore, were not significantly altered. One significant change, however, was that Buddhist monks came to reside at the temple. These monks, known as shrine-monks³⁵ (*shasō* 社僧), were specially trained to officiate at shrines in order to perform rituals for the *kami*, including sutra recitation and rites of taking refuge in the Three Treasures. This brought Buddhist ritual technologies within the sphere of *kami* cults where they were integrated into the existing ritual calendar at *jingūji*. In my view, this maintained continuity with ritual shrine practices by providing an additional modality of propitiation through which the malevolent aspects of *kami* could be appeased.³⁶ This challenges the standard narrative of Buddhist domination and subjugation, and offers us another way to consider the interactions between the *kami* and the Buddha realms.

What we learn from these four founding legends is that the establishment of *jingūji* in the eighth century was far from being totalizing or uniform. Instead, each case was unique, as we have seen from the specific situations, the diverse associations of actors that were assembled, the modalities of conversion, and the events that subsequently unfolded. The close association between monks and shrine priests served to integrate the overlapping and combinatory aspects of *jingūji*, and provided multiple modalities of appeasing angry *kami*.

In these legends, however, the *kami* were the key actors.³⁷ The encounters were initiated by *kami* through the mediums of dream, oracle, and apparition, and each one of the *kami* negotiated the outcome of the encounter, requesting the construction of temples or the performance of Buddhist rites. The *kami* also dictated the modality of their conversions, choosing either to remain in or to separate from their *kami* body.

This prompted correlate human intentional action that resulted in the establishment of *jingūji*. Although *kami* cannot be said to have the same intentional agency as humans, we should nonetheless take careful note of their depiction in the *engi* as formative actors in the founding legends of *jingūji*.

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34 This maintained the integrity of shrines (*seigōsei* 整合性), even when temples were built within shrine precincts. Tsuda, "Shinbutsu shūgō no tenkai," 88.

35 Ordination of monks for shrine service dates from the eighth century. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, "Introduction: Combinatory Religion and the *Honji Suijaku* Paradigm in Pre-Modern Japan," in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, ed. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London: Routledge, 2003), 15.

36 The result is something of a soteriological dichotomy: on the one hand, Buddhist ritual maintained continuity with propitiatory *kami* rites at shrines, and on the other hand, new Buddhist notions placed *kami* within a cosmology that provided an explanation for their malevolence.

37 I would need to conduct more research on other founding legends to draw wider conclusions than are offered here.

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