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(Trans. by Lindsey E. DeWitt)

On a Kami Image in the *Reikiki* 麗氣記 “Shintaizu” 神体図 Section

The *Reikiki* is the longest and most important among medieval Shinto texts, and greatly influenced later Shinto materials. However, its content is much more complex and difficult when compared with theoretical books of Ise Shinto (Watarai Shinto), and therefore there is no comprehensive research on *Reikiki* and its world. I am a member of the “Medieval Shinto seminar” (Chūsei shintō kenkyūkai 中世神道研究会), which is currently preparing an annotated translation of the second half of *Reikiki*, following up on the first part edited several years ago by the Shinbutsu shūgō kenkyūkai 神仏習合研究会, in which I also participated. This article is an attempt to find clues to understand the second half of the *Reikiki*.

The *Reikiki* consists of eighteen chapters; the last four are iconographic chapters collectively called “Shintaizu” 神体図 (images of the kami body). Among the first fourteen chapters, the first six and the last one (entitled “*Reikiki* of Buddhism and Shinto,” Buppō shintō *Reikiki* 仏法神道麗氣記) are relatively long, but the remaining seven chapters are short. Four of the short chapters contain sacred images and their explanations. In contrast, the “Shintaizu” chapters are composed only of icons. It appears that brief references to the images of “Shintaizu” can be found in other chapters, but they are not sufficient to formulate a full interpretation of the icons’ meanings.

The sacred images in “Shintaizu” can be divided into two groups: images of deities, and symbols such as jewels and swords. Among the first group, the image of a female deity riding a horse is especially remarkable. Accompanied in the front and the rear by numerous armed male deities and female deities in court ladies attire, it is appropriate to consider her the principal icon. In this article, I offer textual and iconographical elements to better understand this elusive horse-riding goddess.

In a previous paper I suggested the possibility that the image of this goddess was part of a lineage of images of horse-riding deities widely diffused in East Asia, such as Memyō bosatsu 馬鳴菩薩 (Sk. *Aśvaghōṣa*), Batō myōō 馬明王像, the Daoist Diguan 地官, and others, but I could only present that as a hypothesis (Kadoya 2010). In the present article, I will focus on that particular kami image in the “Shintaizu.” Just as we can dig from both sides of a mountain when drilling a tunnel, I would like to approach that image from different angles. In fact, the horse-riding kami image depicted in the

“Shintaizu” shows considerable differences depending on the version of the text in which it occurs, but there are as yet no studies that have discussed it in detail. Perhaps the most well-known version of the image is the one from *Tenchi reikiki* 天地麗氣記 included in the *Kōbō Daishi zenshū*, which is based on an Edo-period printed book. Comparing the versions, it turns out that the “Shintaizu” of that printed book is quite peculiar. Therefore, in this paper, I would like to address the characteristics of this image by comparing it to several horse-riding kami images drawn in manuscript copies.

Images of the Horse-Riding Deity

First of all, I will list the versions of the *Reikiki* that include the “Shintaizu” chapter. Here, I classify the various versions into A group, B group, and C group according to the classification system proposed by Morimoto Sensuke 森本仙介 (2006), and add a brief explanation for each. For convenience, versions are numbered from ① to ⑩.

A group versions (order of the chapters unknown)

① Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫 version Shintaizuki 神体図記

Annotated version belonging to Kenna 剣阿 of Shōmyōji 称名寺. Believed to be a copy dating to the early fourteenth century.

B group versions (begin with the chapter “Nisho daijingū Reikiki” 二所太神宮麗氣記)

② Jingū bunko 神宮文庫 version

Text belonging to Arakida Moriasta (also Moritoki) 荒木田守晨, senior priest (*negi* 禰宜) of Ise Jingū Inner Shrine. Perhaps copied around Meiō 明応 4 (1495).

C group versions (which begin with the chapter “Tenchi Reikiki”)

③ Kōyasan Hōjuin 高野山宝寿院 version

Date unknown, but perhaps from the early sixteenth century. The chapter “Shintaizu” is severely damaged.

④ Kyoto Institute, Library and Archives 京都府立京都学・歴史館 version

Kyōroku 享禄 5 (1532) copy of a text belonging to a senior monk of Kongō Sanmaiin 金剛三昧院 on Mt. Kōya.

⑤ Library of the Imperial Household Agency 宮内庁書陵部 version

Tenbun 天文 19 (1550) copy.

⑥ Tenri Library 天理図書館 version

Keian 慶安 2 (1649) copy of the version now at Kyoto Prefectural Library and Archives (nr. ④ above).

Other versions

⑦ Version belonging to Takahashi Yasuo 高橋泰郎 (reproduction)

A collotype reproduction entitled "Takahashi Yasuo zō Memyō bosatsu zō" 高橋泰郎氏蔵馬鳴菩薩像. The format is the same as the original, a scroll, and an explanatory booklet by Mochizuki Shinjō 望月信成 is attached. There is no publication information, but it seems that it came out around 1941 or 1942 because in the commentary it is written "Recently (actually, February 15, 1941)." Mochizuki, an expert in Buddhist art, seems to have not known the *Reikiki*—the content of the commentary is all about the explanation of Memyō Bosatsu and it notes "Because of my superficial knowledge I cannot yet clarify the source of the twenty-one divinities in this scroll." Therefore, we do not know the history of this "Shintaizu" owned by Takahashi, but it is certain that it is one version of *Reikiki*'s "Shintaizu."

⑧ *Shintō Taikei* 神道大系 version

Based on the text from the Motoori Bunko now at the University of Tokyo Center for Japanese Literature (Tōkyō daigaku kokubungaku kenkyūshitsu zō Motoori Bunko 東京大学国文学研究室蔵本居文庫). Origin unknown.

⑨ *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集 version

Based on an Edo-period printed book. Original year of publication unknown.

⑩ Edo period printed version

Originally preserved at Kongōbuji Kangakuin 金剛峰寺勸学院. It contains the indication that it was published by Kusakabe Kizaemon 日下部喜左衛門 in Kanbun 寛文 12 (1672).

Currently, the Takahashi version (nr. ⑦ above) and the Kongōbuji Kangakuin printed version (nr. ⑩ above) are in my personal possession.

Below, I will describe the various versions of the horse-riding image. I will discuss them not in the order noted above, but by arranging them in groups based on iconographic similarities.



Figure 1.

① Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫 version



Figure 2.

⑦ Takahashi Yasurō 高橋泰郎藏 version

① Kanazawa Bunko version

A scale is in the right hand, a sun disk in the left. Two vine-like metal fittings are on the crown. A ribbon-like cloth flutters from the shoulder. On the horse's head there is a silver mask, a bell is suspended and affixed to the rear, and a flaming jewel is placed on top of the rear.

⑦ Takahashi Yasuo version

A scale is in the right hand, sun wheel in left hand. Jeweled necklace hangs from the tip of metal fittings that extend from the top of crown. Six ribbon-like cloths flutter from the head and the shoulders. Three jeweled necklaces hang down on the breast. Silver mask on the horse's head, and bells hang down affixed to its chest and rear. Flaming jewel placed on the buttocks. Two ribbon-like cloths are on the horse's head.

Common features can be seen in these two images, such as the arms of the principal image, the angle of the scale, the position of the horse's legs, the ribbon-like cloth drooping from the lotus-shaped treads. They clearly seem to be copies of the same type. Points of difference are also evident, however, such as the presence or absence of jeweled necklaces on the chest, cloth fluttering from the shoulder, and the bell affixed to the chest of the horse.



Figure 3.
⑧ *Shintō Taikei* 神道大系 version



Figure 4.
④ Kyoto Institute, Library and Archives
京都府立京都学・歴彩館 version

⑧ *Shintō Taikei* version

A scale is in the right hand, a sun disk in the left. A ribbon-like cloth flutters from both shoulders. Three jeweled necklaces hang down on the chest, and other three from the belly-band. The back of the crown is turned back. On the horse's head there is a silver mask, and jeweled necklaces hang down from the chest and rear. Flaming jewels are placed on top of the rear.

④ Kyoto Institute, Library and Archives version

The right hand holds a scale, and the left hand a red sun disk. A short ribbon-like cloth hangs down from both shoulders. A jewel is placed on the center of the crown. Three jeweled necklaces hang from the chest. On the horse's head there is a silver mask and a pair of small bells are affixed to the chest and rear; a flaming jewel is placed on the rear.

Despite the differences, there are many common points in these two images, such as the shape of the scale and the pose of the horse; they seem to belong to the same type. The *Shinto Taikei* version (⑧) has a somewhat different appearance, with clothing like a Tang court dress and a crown that is not like that typical of Buddha images.

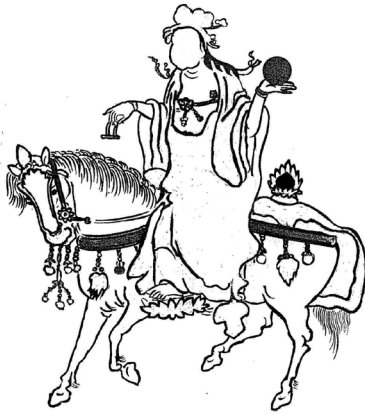


Figure 5.

② Jingū bunko 神宮文庫 version
(tracing)

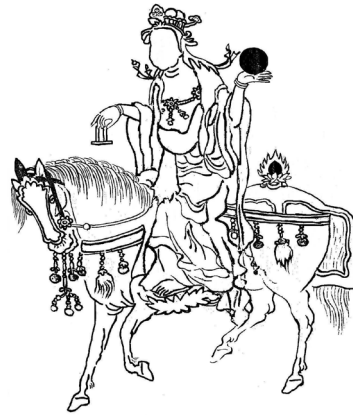


Figure 6.

⑥ Tenri Library 天理図書館 version
(tracing)

② Jingū Bunko version

A scale is in the right hand, and a red sun disk in the left. A ribbon-like cloth hangs from both shoulders. A three-petal jewel is on the crown, and a knot-shaped decoration on the chest. On the horse's head there is a silver mask, and apricot-tree leaves hang affixed to the chest and rear. A flaming jewel is placed on top of the rear.

⑥ Tenri Library version

A scale is in the right hand, and a red sun disk in the left. A ribbon-like cloth hangs from both shoulders. A three-petal jewel is on the crown, and a tie strap-shaped decoration on the chest. On the horse's head there is a silver mask, and apricot leaves hang affixed to the chest and rear. A flaming jewel is placed on top of the rear.

These two images match up nicely up to the details, and are obviously copies of the same type. According to Morimoto's commentary, ⑥ Tenri Library version is a copy of ④ Kyoto Prefectural Library and Archives version, but the figures are different. It is peculiar in that it is an apricot leaf and not jeweled necklaces or bells that hang down from the chest and rear.



Figure 7.

⑨ *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集 version

Figure 8.

⑩ Early-modern printed version

⑨ *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* version

A scale is in the right hand, and a sun disk in the left. A flaming jewel is placed on the crown and three jeweled necklaces on the chest. The horse is not wearing a silver mask, but round decorations hang from its chest and rear. A cloud jewel is placed on top of the rear.

⑩ Printed book version

A scale is in the right hand, a sun disk in the left. A flaming jewel is placed on the crown and three jeweled necklaces on the chest. The horse is not wearing a silver mask, but round decorations hang from chest and rear. A cloud jewel is placed on top of the rear.

As for the *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* version (⑨), the printed book is the original, but the printed book in my possession shows discrepancies in the details and the print seems to be different. However, one could argue that it is basically the same figure. The major characteristic of the manuscript image is that the horse's posture seems to be galloping, which is different from other copies.



Figure 9.

③ Kōyasan Hōjuin 高野山宝寿院 version
(tracing)



Figure 10.

⑤ Imperial Household Library
宮内庁書陵部 version
(tracing)

③ Kōyasan Hōjuin version

A scale is in the right hand, a sun disk in the left. It is not wearing a crown. There are no bell decorations on the horse, but a jewel. This is fairly simplified image.

⑤ Imperial Household Library version

A scale is in the right hand, a sun disk in the left. A ribbon-like cloth flutters from the right arm. There are symmetrical vine-like decorations on the crown. On the horse's head there is a silver mask, and bells hang down affixed to the chest and rear. A flaming jewel is placed on the rear.

Iconological Commentaries

When we compare the ten kami images above, commonalities are the scale-like object in the right hand, the sun disk reverently held in the left hand, and the fact that it is riding on a horse. Apart from this, there are considerable differences depending on the version. The three elements shared by all versions correspond to the description in the “Shingyō chū Reikiki” 神形注麗氣記, fasc. 11 of the *Reikiki*.

The kami body is a figure like Memyō bosatsu, riding a white horse. It holds a sun disk in the left hand and a scale in the right, with which it measures the good and evil dharmas of all sentient beings. The four great heavenly children (*shidai tendō* 四大天童) create the world and plant seeds. The eight great vajra kami (*hachi dai kongōshin* 八大金剛神) hold white staffs; they walk in front of the kami [of the

image], calling out "Ohh" and subjugating all evil beings. In addition, the eight great vajra kami in the rear guard of the kami hold three-pronged spears with which they subjugate demons and fiends (*Reikiki*, p. 74).

According to this text, the figure "riding a white horse, holding a sun disk in the left hand and a scale in the right" is explained as "like Memyō Bosatsu." The same description appears in the "Tenchi Reikiki" chapter, fasc. 4 of *Reikiki*.

Izanagi no mikoto. Diamond Realm. The figure is male, with the body of a layperson. It looks like Memyō Bosatsu, riding a white horse and holding a scale in the hand, with which it measures the good and evil deeds of all sentient beings (*Reikiki*, p. 29).

This is a simplified account compared with the description in the "Shingyō chū Reikiki," but it draws our attention to the statement that the image represents the goddess Izanami and is thus a "male" figure.

Why is this kami described as being "like Memyō Bosatsu?" First, let us see the explanations provided by the various commentaries of the *Reikiki*.

For example, the *Reiki seisakushō* 麗記制作抄, the oldest commentary on *Reikiki*, writes:

Fasc. 1. Image in the appearance of a bodhisattva (*songyō*). This figure is like Memyō Bosatsu. It is the figure of the kami of the outer shrine. It is accompanied by four kami preceding it, and together they represent the Five Wisdom Buddhas. The eight kami on each side are the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas. Eight of them hold white staffs, single-pronged vajras (*tokko* 独鈷). It is related to the ritual performed today in which people hold white staffs and utter "Ohh." The other eight kami hold three-pronged spears, as in the ritual of subjugating the army of the devil (*Reiki seisakushō*, p. 165).

There is no explanation for this kami looking like Memyō Bosatsu, who supposedly is the deity of the Outer Shrine of Ise. The four kami walking in front of it and the eight kami to each side refer to the attendant kami depicted to the front and back of this image. (See Figure 11).



Figure 11. *Reikiki* fasc. 15 "Shintaizu"

Next, Fasc. 11 of the *Reikiki shishō*, written by the Jōdo scholar-monk Shōgei 聖岡 (active from the end of the fourteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century), states:

Regarding the sentence “the kami body is a figure like Memyō Bosatsu,” I do not know which of the six Memyō it refers to. One commentary says that the figure of the fundamental god (Dōgenshin 道元神) in the *Kongō Hōzanki* 金剛宝山記 and the icon of Memyō Bosatsu are images of deities that came to earth from heaven.

In my opinion, even though I do not really understand the meaning of that figure, it is doubtless that the image exists. Perhaps one can understand it if we consider it a representation of Daitendō (great heavenly child). Memyō Bosatsu who I am speaking of now is the six-armed silkworm kami. Two of the six arms are holding a sun disk and a scale. That is why I say it is Memyō Bosatsu. Dōgenshin is its kami-body. A drawing of Memyō Bosatsu and six arms.

Regarding the sentence “Eight great vajra kami etc.”: the later part describes the appearance of the kami while traveling (*Reikiki shishō*, in Suzuki 2012, p. 312).

The point to pay attention to here is Shōgei’s interpretation that Memyō Bosatsu is a six-armed silkworm kami, but because it holds a scale and a sun disk in two of the six arms, this particular kami is called Memyō Bosatsu. The objects held by the six-armed Memyō Bosatsu change according to image and are not always clear, but in general the left hands hold a thread, a shuttle, and a flaming jewel, and the right hands hold a scale and a cylindrical object and forms the *yogan’in* 与願印 mudra (signifying the granting of a wish). Normally these images do not hold a sun disk in the hand, but perhaps the flaming jewel stands for the sun disk.

The *Reikiki shin zuga shō* 麗氣記神図画鈔, in which Shōgei discusses images of the kami, explains the horse-riding kami image as follows:

Image of the worthy (deity) descended from heaven

The figure like Memyō Bosatsu is the august kami-body of the kami Ame no minakanushi no mikoto 天御中主尊, enshrined at the Outer Shrine of Ise. Including the four icons in front of it, together it represents the Five Wisdom Buddhas (*gochi nyorai* 五智如来). The eight beings on the left and the right together represent the sixteen great bodhisattvas. Eight of them hold a white staff; the white staff is a *tokko*. It is because of this that today the white staff is used to purify the place ahead of the emperor during his travels. Another eight beings hold three-pronged spears, which have the meaning of subjugating evil (in Suzuki 2012, p. 322).

As the *Reiki seisaku shō*, this text also regards the Memyō Bosatsu-like kami as the kami enshrined at Ise’s Outer Shrine, but indicates Ame no minakanushi as the name of that god. Ame no minakanushi, the first kami of the *Kojiki*, often appears in Ise Shinto texts, but it is unlikely to be considered a “descending” kami and its relationship with Memyō Bosatsu is very much unclear.

Next, let us look at the *Reiki kikigaki* by the scholar-monk Ryōhen 良遍, a contemporary of Shōgei. First, we will look at the commentary of “Tenchi Reikiki” (fasc. 4 of *Reikiki*).

A similar sentence appears in fasc. 11 of this book. The image in fasc. 15 riding a white horse is the same as in this passage. The master (Ryōhen) says: This kami is the image of the earthly kami and third imperial descendant Ninigi no mikoto who descended to this land. If we follow the sermon on King Ariju’s lotus leaves,¹ it should correspond to the sentence about the image dedicated with flowers and incense in fasc. 15, but this also does not sit on a lotus leaf seat. The Master (Ryōhen) says: This is the rite in which the divine descendant Ninigi no mikoto rules over the four seas. In this passage, there is no portrait of Izanagi and Izanami (*Reiki kikigaki*, p. 233).

Let us now consider the commentary on the chapter “Shingyō chū Reikiki” that was cited here as “appears in fasc. 11 of this book.”

Like Memyō... this is the image of Ninigi no mikoto when he descended to this land. A similar sentence appears in fasc. 4 of this book, but there it refers to Izanagi no mikoto. Here I am referring to the image in fasc. 10. This illustration has long been wrongly understood. Although it says that it holds a sun disk in the left hand, all write “it is like a wish-fulfilling jewel” (*nyoi hōju* 如意宝珠) (*Reiki kikigaki*, p. 262).

Here, it says that in the “Tenchi Reikiki” chapter it was an image of Izanagi no mikoto, whereas the one in the “Shingyō chū Reikiki” is the image of the divine descendant Ninigi no mikoto coming down to earth. Moreover, it argues that this picture has long been misunderstood—he points out that it is supposed to be holding a sun disk in the left hand, but all commentators see it a wish-fulfilling jewel. So far we have seen in our discussion of the “Shintaizu” that no image holds a wish-fulfilling jewel but rather all appear with sun disks, so it is unclear what this description is actually pointing to. Next, let us look at Ryōhen’s commentary on the “Shintaizu.”

“Shintaizu” *Reikiki* fasc. 15: extremely secret, maximum effort to prevent this to be seen by outsiders

Above, eight deva who guard the inside.

Next, the image of inner and outer great compassion seems to be Memyō Bosatsu.

The master (Ryōhen) says: this august image is the earthly kami third divine

1. Because of potential corruption of the text, “King Ariju’s lotus leaves” 阿梨樹王の荷葉 could in fact be a reference to the branches of the *arjaka* tree 阿梨樹枝 from the *Lotus Sutra*, Dharani chapter (Editor’s note).

descendant Ninigi no mikoto. It represents his appearance when descending on earth. However, in fasc. 4 of this text it says that it holds a sun disk in the left hand and a scale in the right hand, for measuring the good and evil of all sentient beings. Although this is what is written in the text, this image is in fact Izanagi no mikoto.

Next there are four heavenly women (...).

Next there are eight devas who guard the outside (...).

The twenty-one kami above are the heavenly descendant Ninigi no mikoto and those who protect the inside and the outside (*Reiki kikigaki*, p. 269).

In this chapter as well, the divine image is identified with Ninigi no mikoto, described during his descent from heaven. In addition, although the description in the “Tenchi Reikiki” says “holding a sun disk and a scale” and identifies it as Izanagi no mikoto, “Shintaizu” claims it is a different kami. Ryōhen, moreover, understands the four heavenly women and the sixteen devas in “Shintaizu” in the front and back are the divinities accompanying Ninigi in his heavenly descent.

Both commentaries agree that this kami image seems to be Memyō Bosatsu, but apart from the scale in the right hand and the fact that it rides a white horse, the grounds for this identification are not clear.

In order to clarify this issue, I would like now to focus on Memyō Bosatsu. There are several sources on the iconography of Memyō Bosatsu, and I will first look at *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄 as the most representative one.

The *Hōrinden* 宝林伝 says: In the past there was a horse country on the border of India. The people of that country had hair growing on their body and their voices sounded like horses. Memyō Bosatsu once became a silkworm and was born in that country. She spit thread from her mouth and cause people to make it into clothing. People in the horse country reverently honored the bodhisattva, and everyone neighed. This is why she is called Memyō (lit. “horse neigh”).

One theory says: A bird with a wonderful voice appeared before the king of India. It only sang while watching horses, and never in other occasions. The king was delighted to hear the voice of the bird. To please the king, the bodhisattva appeared in the form of a horse, so it was called Memyō.

Another theory says: People in a certain country have horse heads and human bodies, and are naked. It is Memyō Bosatsu, for giving benefit to sentient beings.

The *Shaku makaen ron* 釋摩訶衍論 (Ch. *Shi Moheyan Lun*, Commentary on the Treatise on Mahāyāna) says: The origin of naming it Memyō is because it turned into a neighing horse.

(...)

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2. This refers to the *Memyō Bosatsu dajinriki muhi genbō nenju* 馬鳴菩薩大神力無比驗法念誦.

Third image

A ritual text says:² Drawn in the figure of a bodhisattva. The skin color is white and sits in a white lotus with hands joined in prayer. It rides a white horse and wears white garments. The body is decorated with jeweled necklaces. A lotus crown is on top of its head, and right foot droops.

A ritual text by Amoghavajra (Fukū) says: Drawn in the figure of a bodhisattva. Its figure has six arms or two arms, and the color is that of a crimson lotus. It rides a white horse. It is surrounded by a retinue of six great bodhisattvas (*Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄 Vol. 4, p. 1586).



Figure 12. Memyō bosatsu, *Asabashō*

The *Hōrinden* mentioned here is considered to be one of the earliest sources that mention Memyō Bosatsu as a silkworm kami, and in addition to the *Asabashō*, the *Byakuhōshō* 白宝抄, the *Jikkanshō* 十卷抄 and other texts contain approximately the same passage. The second interpretation, the story of the bird singing when it saw a horse, is somewhat simplified in the *Asabashō* and more detailed in the *Byakuhōshō*. The section "Memyō Bosatsu hōzōshū" (Miscellaneous Dharma stories on Memyō Bosatsu) in the *Byakuhōshō* states:

In the distant past there was a heavenly king whose name was Rinda 輪陀. He kept a thousand swans, who all sang with beautiful voices. When the swans sang, the virtues of the great king increased, and when they did not sing, the virtue of the great king decreased. Whenever they saw a white horse, the swans sang, and when they did not see any they did not sing. Then, the great king searched everywhere for white horses but could not find any. He said the following: If non-Buddhists

make these birds sing, I will persecute Buddhism and follow the heretics' religion; if disciples of the Buddha make these birds sing, then I will persecute the non-Buddhists and follow Buddhism. At that time, the bodhisattva, thanks to his supernatural powers, manifested a thousand white horses and a thousand swans; he thus made the true dharma prosper without persecutions. Thereupon the people revered the bodhisattva and called him Memyō (*Byakuhōshō*, vol. 10, p. 956c).

This story also appears, among others, in Nichiren's 日蓮 letters and the *Enkyōkushō* 宴曲抄, showing that it was widely circulated. However, as I will mention below, there seems to be some confusion regarding this myth of Memyō Bosatsu.

Considerations

To summarize our discussion so far, the *Reikiki* and several of its commentaries consider the true kami-form of this image of Memyō Bosatsu to be one of the following options: (1) the kami of Ise's Outer Shrine; (2) Izanagi; (3) Izanami; (4) Ame no minaka nushi; and (5) Ninigi no mikoto. In the case of Ninigi, the divinities accompanying this image are envisioned as his retinue when he descended on earth. Strangely, however, nowhere is this image considered to represent Amaterasu. This kami holds a sun disk in the left hand, and as Iyanaga Nobumi 彌永信美 points out (Iyanaga 2002, p. 492), the sun deity 日天 in the original Womb Mandala (*genzu taizōkai mandara* 現図胎藏界曼陀羅) is riding in a horse-drawn carriage. Thus, it could have been to identify this kami with the sun deity, and it is strange that no commentary points to Amaterasu.

However, the *Byakuhōshō*, in the section "Ni bosatsu honji myōji no koto" 二菩薩本地名字事 (On the original grounds and the names of the two bodhisattvas), we find the following interpretation:

The same record states: According to the *Kongō shōchigyō* 金剛正智經, Memyō (Aśvaghōṣa) is the Buddha of Great Light (Daikōmyōbutsu 大光明仏) and Ryūju 龍樹 (Nāgārjuna) is the Buddha of the Wondrous Cloud (Myōunsōbutsu 妙雲相仏). According to the *Daishōgon sanmaikyō* 大莊嚴三昧經, Memyō is the Thatāgata of infinite light reaching everywhere (Henjō tsūtatsu muhen nyorai 遍照通達無辺如来) and Ryūju is the First born all-encompassing Tathāgata (Henpuku shoshō nyorai 遍覆初生如来). According to the *Jinjin dōjōkyō* 甚深道場經, Memyō is Sun-moon-planets-stars Tathāgata (Nichigetsu shōmyō nyorai 日月星明如来) (*Byakuhōshō*, vol. 10, p. 957b).

Although this interpretation is about the original buddhas (*honjibutsu*) of real person Aśvaghōṣa (Memyō), as we can see from the fact that he is discussed side by side with Nāgārjuna (Ryūju 龍樹), it is interesting that Memyō's original buddhas are indicated as Daikōmyō butsu 大光明仏, Henjō tsūtatsu muhen nyorai 遍照通達無辺如来, and Nichigetsu shōmyō nyorai 日月星明如来. Various ritual texts, not only the *Byakuhōshō*,

tend to mix up explanations about Memyō Bosatsu as kami and explanations of Aśvaghōṣa as an existing person, and the two are often confused. The theory that Memyō's original form is Daikōmyō, Henjō, and Nichigetsu shōmyō may be somehow related to the fact that the kami appearing as Memyō Bosatsu held a sun disk.

Furthermore, as Lucia Dolce (2006–2007) and Bernard Faure (2016, p. 220) point out, as with this kami, images of female kami holding sun disks and scales in their hands and riding a white horse were hung as the principal icons (*honzon*) at the site of Shintō initiation rituals (*shintō kanjō* 神道灌頂) as so-called “rock cave icons” (*iwato honzon* 岩戸本尊). As their name suggests, these kami images were likely regarded as representations of Amaterasu when she came out of the heavenly rock cave (*ama no iwato*), but in the *Reikiki* and its Muromachi-period commentaries at least, we cannot find this kami image connected to Amaterasu and the heavenly rock cave. In other words, there is a missing link between kami images in the “Shintaizu” chapter of *Reikiki* and the “rock cave icons.” It is necessary to investigate further why the kami of *shintō kanjō* and of the “Shintaizu” chapter have the same images.

Final Remarks

Finally, I would like to conclude with an issue concerning the horse that the kami rides. As I mentioned when compared the various versions of the image, except for the early-modern printed version, this horse is wearing a silver mask and has adorning jeweled necklaces and bells attached to its chest and rear. In contrast, the horse Memyō Bosatsu rides in the images in the *Asabashō* and other ritual texts does not wear a silver mask and the decorations it carries are much simpler. Where did the horse of the “Shintaizu” come from?

To explore this issue, I would like to focus on the *tsurubuchige no on'eriuma* 鶴斑毛御彫馬, a decorated horse of Ise Jingū. This decorated horse, which is offered to Ise Jingū every time the shrine is reconstructed, at a glance closely resembles the horse in the “Shintaizu”: it has a silver mask, chest and rear fittings, as well as cloud jewels 雲珠 (*uzu*) on the rear (see figure 13) (Kyushu Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., 2000). In particular, this horse is quite close to the image included in the Jingū Bunko version and the Tenri Library version, in that the ornaments that hang down from the chest and rear are apricot-tree leaves. However, the horse wearing apricot leaves only appears in these two versions so far, and is somewhat different from the one in the other versions.

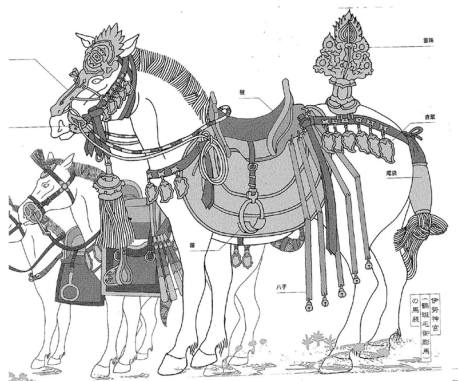


Figure 13. Horse of Ise Jingū



Figure 14.

Kasuga shinden kazariuma-e 春日神殿饗馬絵

We could also take into consideration the kami horse of Kasuga that is drawn on the *oaibei* 御間塀, which is the wall between the main buildings of the Kasuga Shrine. Let us look at the *Kasuga shinden kazariuma-e* 春日神殿饗馬絵, which reproduces a drawing on this *oaibei* from the Edo period (Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan ed., 1990, fig. 31–002).

Here the chest and rear decorations have become bells, with shapes similar to the images in the Kanazawa Bunko version and the Kyoto Prefectural Institute and Archives version; the shape of the silver mask is also very similar. At the moment, the closest thing to the horse guise of the horse the kami rides in “Shintaizu” of *Reikiki* is the decorated horse of Kasuga Shrine. Why do the horses of “Shintaizu” of *Reikiki* resemble the divine horse of Kasuga? The question also arises as to when this adorned horse at Kasuga took such a style.

As we can see, several questions are still open regarding the iconography of the “Shintaizu” chapter of the *Reikiki*, its variants, and their relations with the iconographic corpus of medieval Japanese religions.

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