

“Origin Stories East and West: Holy Persons, Miracles, and Pilgrimages” Symposium

Symposiarch: Kazuhiro FUJIMAKI

Symposium Moderator: Satoshi KURODA

On March 19, 2008, we held the “Origin Stories East and West: Holy Persons, Miracles, and Pilgrimages (縁起の東西—聖人・奇跡・巡礼—)” symposium, the first project of the “Waseda Institute for Advanced Study (WIAS) Forum.” The results of the symposium have already been reported in a special feature of the same name in “Intriguing Asia” Issue 115 (Bensey Publishing Inc., October 2008), which included a number of essays on related topics in addition to the essay based on the report written on the day of the symposium. However we report the results again in this paper in English in order to communicate the details of the symposium to a wider overseas audience.

Kazuhiro Fujimaki, who has researched the religious literature and religious discourses of medieval Japan, particularly focusing on the origin stories of temples and shrines, met both Tsunehiko Sugiki, who specializes in the history of esoteric Buddhism in South Asia, and Hiroyuki Hashikawa, who specializes in the history of the Byzantine Empire, at the WIAS, a gathering place for researchers from various fields, and found that the study of origin stories, in other words, the study of documents and discourses describing origins, was taking place in regions outside of Japan as well. Then Satoshi Kuroda, who studies historical iconology and researches medieval Japan, just as Fujimaki does, joined the other researchers and they all decided to hold a symposium from the perspective of the “Origin Stories East and West.”

The “Origin stories” of temples, churches, and monasteries in South Asia and Europe not only resemble the origin stories of the temples and shrines of Japan in that they simply reveal the details of the establishment of the institutions, but they also have several other similar elements. Of course not all aspects are common ones but even as the regions and

religions are different, it is certain that discussing the origins is, in a sense, a special activity. What is meant by the disposition to regard this as something special? And what can be seen from this? Comparative cultural studies that transcend regions and do not assume the presence or absence of direct and indirect influence relationships are being done in all areas of literature and religious studies, etc., but discussing these studies from the perspective of “origin stories” is an unprecedented approach.

At the symposium, in addition to the four people from the WIAS, four participants from outside the university took the platform: Kensuke Chikamoto, Shinobu Yamaguchi, Hideki Aotani, and Professor Emeritus Hideichi Matsubara of Keio University. Fujimaki, Yamaguchi, and Aotani were panelists, Chikamoto, Sugiki, and Hashikawa were commentators, Kuroda was the moderator of the symposium, and finally Matsubara gave a lecture. The outlines of the panelists and commentators were as follows.

There were 140 attendees on the day of the symposium, the contents of each report were very valuable and the question and answer sessions were even more valuable. Furthermore, through this symposium, we believe that we were able to identify the two discussion points below for thinking about origin stories. First, elements such as “holy places,” “holy persons” and “holy relics” are important to the generation and development of origin stories. Also, such origin stories are historical movements that continuously repeat reproduction and modification. Using these results as a starting point, we intend to look ahead toward and work on the development of further research.

The Origin Stories of the Temples and Shrines and the Priest Legends of Japan: The Surroundings of Todai-ji and Hase-dera

Kazuhiro FUJIMAKI

Extracting the characteristic trends of, or investigating the background to the establishment of, the origin stories of the temples and shrines of Japan is a task that is unavoidable in thinking about the issue of the “East and West of Origin Stories” using comparisons with these stories in other regions. Having said that, many temples and shrines have origin stories and, in addition, it is not uncommon that a single temple or shrine has multiple origin stories recorded. Therefore, it is not easy to discover any elements that are common to all of these origin stories of the temples and shrines of Japan. For this reason, this report focuses on the origin stories of Todai-ji and Hase-dera as model cases, and looks particularly at the “holy persons” and “miracles” in “Holy persons, Miracles, and Pilgrimages,” the subtitle of the symposium.

The first subjects we cover are the two priests that were involved in the establishment of Todai-ji, Gyoki and Roben. Descriptions and biographies of the two priests can be found in historical documents but a large amount of the information in these documents is apocryphal. By reviewing these, we are representing what was added when depicting the actions of the figures as priests, as well as the transcendence or holiness of them as persons of religion, etc. Reaching a conclusion such as this can be a point of observation when discussing “holy person legends.” However, this report focuses on how such biographies of holy persons were incorporated into the origin stories of Todai-ji.

The origin stories of Todai-ji were recorded in various writings from the Heian period to the Muromachi period and there were also those that took the form of independent origin stories. Many story topics were added and removed and there were many variances among the origin stories but from these we extract some common elements and, limiting the focus to story topics about Gyoki and Roben, the following two points stand out. Namely, the gold to decorate the Great Buddha was in-

sufficient, but due to the prayers of Roben gold was produced from Mutsu Province, and Bodhisena visited Japan from India and exchanged waka (Japanese poetry) with the welcoming Gyoki. This was also spoken of outside the origin stories of Todai-ji, but because of its incorporation into the origin stories, it functions as an important motif within the origin stories. Especially with regards to Roben’s biography, heretical discourses other than this are incorporated into the origin stories. In other words it can be said that the various priest legends decorate the various phases of the origin stories. Also, many of these priest legends are described as being accompanied by “miracles.”

Next, such elements as holy persons and miracles that accumulated and were appropriately modified into context in the development of the origin stories of Todai-ji were received by the origin stories of other temples and the aspects which changed their appearance can be confirmed from the origin stories of Hase-dera, Ishiyama-dera, and Oyama-dera. Especially with Hase-dera, the “Four Holy Persons of Todai-ji” including Gyoki, Roben, Emperor Shomu, and Bodhisena, were modified, and Roben was rewritten as Tokudo (the founder of Hase-dera) and accredited as one of the Four Holy Persons of Hase-dera. It is acknowledged that the Four Holy Persons of Todai-ji are based on the theories scrupulously constructed by the doctrines of Shingon Buddhism and Kegon Buddhism, and if one of the priests is replaced by another, the meaning is lost. Hase-dera borrowed only the framework of the Four Holy Persons, and it can be said that it was not able to reach the true meaning of this concept. However, in contrast, by using the discourses of the origin stories of Todai-ji, modifications that make possible power enhancement exceeding this are acknowledged from cases such as that of the Ise Sangu pilgrimage route.

Of course, the origin stories of Hase-dera do not exist simply because of the modifications of the origin stories of other temples. Just as with Todai-ji, various origin stories of Hase-dera were told, and developed through the repetition of reproduction and modification. Also, biographical descriptions of Tokudo and other priests, as well as various miracle tales are included in these. Furthermore, it can be imagined that many discourses that did not

remain as written words developed in the background. This is similar in the case of Todai-ji and in the origin stories of other temples and shrines.

There are many discourses that exist outside the flow which is the conception and development of origin stories. These are sometimes incorporated and combined into origin stories, and new discourses are born. This report looked at the particular details of these, focusing on priest legends and miracle tales. We of course cannot explain all the special characteristics of the origin stories of temple and shrines of Japan by doing this, but we think we were able to show that elements such as “holy persons” and “miracles” were not small elements in the establishment of origin stories.

The Origins of Temples in South Asia: Myth and Pilgrimage of Śivaliṅga Temples in Hinduism

Shinobu YAMAGUCHI (Toyo University)

In India, many Hindu deities are worshipped. Among those deities, Śiva who destroys and recreates the world is very popular. Śiva is said to be originated from Rudra, the god of storm who appeared in one of the scriptures of Brahmanism named *R̥gveda*. Śiva became more important in the period of Hinduism.

Śiva seldom changes his appearance of an ascetic who has twisted locks of hair, and wears no upper garment. However, the phallic image called *liṅga* is worshipped as a symbol of the deity. The word *liṅga* means ‘mark or sign’ in Sanskrit. The cult of Śiva originated from Rudra in the *R̥gveda* and the phallic worship developed separately. It is said that Śiva and the phallic cult were connected first in the epic *Mahābhārata*, which was compiled by the third or the fourth century A.D.

In the background of the *liṅga* cult, there are two principles. The first is the principle of ‘pillar’ which stands in the centre of the world (*axis mundi*). The second is the principle of ‘fertility or reproduction’, which is common to the phallic worship. These two principles appear in the myths of the Purāṇas such as *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Śivapurāṇa* and so on. In such myths, the *liṅga* is not only the phallus of Śiva, but also the pillar of fire which flames and

burns the surrounding.

The twelve temples of *jyotirlinga* (the flaming *liṅgas*) are popular in modern Hinduism. In *Śivapurāṇa*, the origin of each *jyotirlinga* is mentioned. The origin of *Tryambakeśvarajyotirlinga* in Maharashtra, one of the twelve *jyotirlinga* temples, tells the worship of *liṅga* by the saint. Śiva was satisfied with the worship and decided to stay at the place with the celestial river Gaṅgā. Such story that Śiva manifests himself in front of the devotees and begins to stay at the place by the their request can be found in the other stories of the origins of the *jyotirlingas*, too. Those stories suggest that the cult of Śiva originated from the central tradition had expanded to the localities and had been established there as the *liṅga* cult.

Furthermore, the elements of ‘water’ often appear in the stories of *jyotirlinga*. For example, in the story of *Tryambakeśvarajyotirlinga*, the saint Gautama prays for rain and gets water. In the story of *Rāmeśvarajyotirlinga*, it is said that the one who bathes a *liṅga* in the water of Gaṅgā will be free from transmigration. Moreover, in the story of *Ghuśmeśvarajyotirlinga*, the female devotee made one hundred one *liṅgas* and threw them into the lake. With the boon of Śiva who was satisfied with her devotional act, she got a son. In the worships of *liṅgas* in modern Hinduism, people pour water or milk into *liṅgas*.

As mentioned above, the *liṅga* is the pillar of fire, or the symbol of reproduction. And the act of pouring water into a *liṅga* as the pillar of fire, which means the union of two elements, namely, fire and water, shows the symbolism of creation of the world which is different from reproduction.

Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Europe

Hideki AOTANI (Seisen University)

At European monasteries from the tenth to the thirteenth century, many foundation legends were formed and described in various sources as hagiographies, chronicles, liturgical texts etc. According to the previous general studies of the foundation legends in Germany and southern France, most of them appeared having a close relation to legal docu-

ments and their texts had some functions similar to legal sources such as cartulary. First, foundation legends were invoked in response to a conflict or a social tension between monasteries and nearby groups as other ecclesiastical institutions or secular aristocrats. Recourse to a monastic past permitted monks to defend their liberties and various rights of the property in those situations, similarly to legal documents. Secondly, foundation texts had a liturgical function to commemorate the saints or the lay nobility who had contributed to the foundation of the monastery. The sanctification and admiration of these persons by narrative texts also shared this kind of memorial function with legal sources assuring prayer for the dead contributing to the monastery. Finally, foundation legends played an important role to confirm historical identity of the monks by describing the holy origin of the monastery. The monastic and church reform from the tenth and the eleventh century required monks to reflect anew on the past of their monasteries and to rebuild their identity. The reform, thus, aroused them to create foundation legends. In this respect too, one must not overlook the feature of foundation texts often supplementing such legal sources as cartulary which enabled the monks to look over the history of their institution.

In the latter part, I chose and discussed an ideal example of tenth century Flanders to demonstrate the aforementioned functions of monastic foundation legends in medieval Europe. A foundation text appeared at the abbey of St. Peter in Ghent in the middle of the tenth century. In the city of Ghent, however, there stood another abbey of St. Bavon, which was founded by the same saint, at the almost same period, in the middle of the seventh century, as the abbey of St. Peter. They competed against each other to obtain the spiritual supremacy and claimed the older origin. The foundation text added to the head of a cartulary edited at St. Peter was a strong weapon to claim the supremacy until the twelfth century, while St. Bavon could not form any detailed foundation legend to prove their authority. The conflict over the memory of their foundations from the tenth to the twelfth century and its historical process clearly represent some typical characteristics of monastic foundation legends in medieval Europe.

Words and Acts Pertaining to the Inheritance and Rebuilding of Holy Sites: A Perspective Based on Oracles and Pilgrimages Concerning the Faith in Shotoku-Taishi

Kensuke CHIKAMOTO (University of Tsukuba)

This paper discusses how oracles and pilgrimages affected the inheritance and rebuilding of holy sites in the Kamakura era using the examples of the holy sites (e.g, Shitenno-ji, Horyu-ji, and Tachibana-dera) associated with Shotoku-Taishi.

Rebuilding of Todai-ji following the destruction of the Nanto by Taira-no-Shigehira in 1180 (4th year in the Jisho era) was led by a section of the Shomu-tenno-gokimon that prophesized that “the world would prosper if Todai-ji prospers, yet the world would deteriorate if Todai-ji deteriorates.” The rebuilding of Todai-ji was connected with the belief that Shomu-Tenno was a reincarnation of Shotoku-Taishi.

Similarities are identified between the Shomu-tenno-gokimon and the Shitenno-ji Goshuin-engi that was found in 1007 (4th year in the Kanko era) at the Shitenno-ji built by Shotoku-Taishi, which suggests the influence of the Shitenno-ji Goshuin-engi on the Shomu-tenno-gokimon. The Shomu-tenno-gokimon prophesized that Taishi would be reincarnated to be people at all classes ranging from Emperor/Empress to the poorest and that he would help raise and disseminate Buddhism.

The choice of the Shitenno-ji as a base for his pilgrimage to Nanto by Goshirakawa-in when he rebuilt Todai-ji seems to suggest his faith in Shotoku-Taishi.

Keisei was a priest who played a significant role in the betterment of Horyu-ji in the Kamakura era. Keisei was relieved when he received an oracle from Hirasankojin that his deed of repairing the holy remain of Shotoku-Taishi’s was acknowledged. Furthermore, Keisei helped as a liaison for Kujo-Michiie to see the holy remains of Shotoku-Taishi’s.

Tachibana-dera has been believed to be the Shotoku-Taishi’s birth place. Tachibanadera-Hongan-Suiko-Tenno-Gotakusen was addressed by Suiko-Tenno to priests at the development office of

Tachibana-dera who were about to give up on the capital campaign for renovation of Tachibana-dera during the Katei period. The Gotakusen contained an oracle that prophesized with certain degree of specifications that two individuals would appear to donate once fundraising began and that one of them would be an ordinary individual in Kyoto and the other would resite in Kinpusen. Oracles of this sort that specified unique identities must have become strategic words that people found impossible to refute.

Reexamination of the Shitenno-ji Goshuin-engi reveals that the prophesy of Shotoku-Taishi’s reincarnating into various people at all classes to raise and disseminate Buddhism seems to have influenced the future generations regardless of their class. Anyone had the possibility of sensing the reincarnation of Taishi within him/herself. In other words, there was no one who could be free from the Taishi’s prophesy.

Examination of the examples of several temples associated with Shotoku-Taishi leads to the conclusion that “words” such as prophesies and oracles and “acts” such as pilgrimages were closely associated with the inheritance and rebuilding of holy sites.

The Expansion of Sanskrit-cultural Area and the Formation of Holy Sites in Ancient and Early Medieval South Asia

Tsunehiko SUGIKI

The Gupta and post-Gupta eras witnessed the expansion of Sanskrit-cultural area in South Asian continent. This expansion was promoted and accelerated by the rulers of this era, who granted lands, often with judicial and economic privileges of the lands, to the carriers of Sanskrit culture such as Brahmins and other religious specialists. The Brahmins and other religious specialists, who spread to various parts of South Asian continent through the ruler’s land-grant practice, developed a loose cultural network between themselves.

Religious scriptures compiled in this era give many instructions on the practices centered on holy sites that spread in various parts of South Asian

continent. This should be understood in the historical context mentioned above. The formation of the holy site Kamarupa (modern Assam, east India) is one of the instances.

Historical sources and mythological or religious texts suggest that the land Kamarupa, which had already been a habitation area in the 4th century, became a habitat of the Hindu twice-born classes (i.e. Brahmin, Kshatriya, and Vaishya) who invaded or immigrated into this site in early medieval age. This site was developed into one of the centers of Brahmanic, Puranic, and Tantric beliefs and practices in east India. The rulers of this site legitimated their political authority by connecting their royal line with the family line of Naraka, who was a son of the Hindu god Vishnu and became a human to govern this site. The site was regarded as a place where the womb of Sati, Shiva’s previous wife, had fallen after her death. The indigenous divinity was identified with the goddess Kamakhya, Shiva’s wife. Further, many religious scriptures of Buddhist Tantrism and some archaeological sources suggest that this site was not only a Hindu but also a Buddhist site. A work ascribed to Naropada, one of the prominent Buddhist masters who flourished in this era, tells that the sacral center of this site is a rock Dharmodaya and a Linga, which seems to be the Buddhist counterpart of Hindu Yoni and Shivalinga (i.e. marks or manifestations of Shiva’s wife and Shiva himself, respectively) in this local context. The site Kamarupa was a place of syncretism between the native, Hindu, and Buddhist beliefs and practices.

It is possible to see that certain scriptures of both Hinduism and Buddhism of this era have the idea of three dimensions or aspects of the practice centered on holy sites: (A) external holy sites as geographical locations, (B) external holy sites seen as separated from specific locations, and (C) internal holy sites. Holy sites in dimension (A) refer to geographical locations which the scriptures describe as pilgrimage sites. Holy sites in dimension (B) are regarded as separate from any particular geographical location and take the form either of an external mandala to be drawn and to be visualized or of verses to be recited. Holy sites in dimension (C), which are also seen as separate from actual geographical locations, take on the form of an internal

mandala identical with the structure of one's body (more exactly stated, the subtle body i.e. transmigratory soul in one's physical body). In short, holy sites in dimensions (B) and (C) takes on the form of symbols practiced in meditation or recitation. The holy site in question, Kamarupa, also has these three dimensions. It should be noted here that the scriptures compiled outside east India tend to describe Kamarupa as a site of dimension (B) and/or dimension (C) (presumably because it was hard for the practitioners living outside east India to make a long journey to Kamarupa for pilgrimage). This shows that the compilers of the texts outside east India played a certain role in the development and diffusion of the meditation or recitation practice of Kamarupa.

As invested above, it may be concluded that the holy site Kamarupa and its practice were formed and developed (1) through the cultural interchange between Sanskrit literates and native people, which was brought about by the immigration of the Sanskrit literates, and (2) through the cultural network between Sanskrit literates of east India and outside it.

Miracles in Constantinople: Regarding Patriarch Athanasios

Hiroyuki HASHIKAWA

This paper concerns the miracles that reportedly took place around a late Byzantine saint, Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople (1289–93, 1303–09). During his lifetime, Athanasios became renowned as a miracle worker in the Byzantine society, where people continued to venerate the living monks who distinguished themselves in terms of their faith and asceticism, and several decades after his death, he was canonized as an Orthodox saint. The aim of this paper is to consider the types of miracles that were said to have occurred around Athanasios and how the Byzantines perceived them.

Except among the experts on late Byzantine history, Athanasios, who is commemorated annually on October 28 in the Orthodox Church, is undoubtedly less famous than his two holy namesakes, Athanasios the Archbishop of Alexandria—one of the Fathers of the Greek Church—and Athanasios

the Athonite—the founder of the monastery of the Great Lavra. However, Athanasios of Constantinople played an equally important role in history because as a rigorous ascetic patriarch, he attempted an unparalleled moral reorganization of the Church and the society as a whole, and his persistent efforts had both positive and negative impacts on his contemporaries, which are reflected primarily in the historical narrative of Georgios Pachymeres, an eminent intellectual and ecclesiastic of the Great Church, and the hagiographical works of Theoktistos of Stoudios. It is highly likely that Athanasios was deposed by the synod in 1309 and remained displaced until his death, which is thought to have taken place by 1323 at the latest, though the dead Athanasios succeeded in obtaining an overall favorable reputation by the late fourteenth century. It appears as though his miracles have contributed to the shift in his position from a controversial monk-patriarch to a revered saint.

According to the hagiographer Theoktistos, two of Athanasios' miracles took place while he was living with his monastic disciples on Mount Ganos, where he settled after escaping Emperor Michael VIII's religious persecution against the anti-unionist Athonite monks during the late 1270s. His miracles were witnessed by the local inhabitants near Ganos. One is related to a gift that was offered by a priest named Constantine. After he delivered comb honey to Athanasios, who was suffering from a food shortage, everything that Constantine and his family ate tasted as sweet as honey for one week. The other miracle regards the experience of an ailing woman, Mami. After throwing a stone at one of Athanasios' disciples, her arm became paralyzed, and this lasted for one year, until she confessed her sin to Athanasios. Interestingly, the former received negative comments by Pachymeres, who was among the Patriarch's major antagonists (Pachymeres considered the honey incident as a concoction of the imaginations of Constantine and his family). Since there is no evidence that Theoktistos relied on Pachymeres' history to describe the miracles, it is likely that both extracted necessary information independently from certain sources (Theoktistos clearly interviewed some monks who had lived with Athanasios on Ganos). In this regard, what matters is that the

miracle tradition of Athanasios was circulating in Constantinopolitan society before he was appointed as Patriarch in 1289, and it reached the ears of Pachymeres. During the early reign of Emperor Andronikos II, who abandoned the Church Union of Lyons, Athanasios moved from Ganos to Constantinople with his miracle tradition and became influential as a symbol of the restored Orthodoxy.

Another one of Theoktistos’ works also shows that Athanasios’ miracles had a specific historical context. As the miracles that occurred around Ganos increased his political and religious influence, those that occurred after his death were effective enough to decrease the amount of criticism and hostility that was expressed toward him. With his miraculous healing power, he became a ray of hope for those who were suffering not only from disease but also from the difficult circumstances of the empire. The story of Katenitzina and her husband exemplifies this. When Prousa fell into the hands of the Ottomans in 1326, they were among the many inhabitants who were captured and imprisoned. Due to her long-term mental illness, Katenitzina was released by the Turkish emir (almost certainly Orhan, the son and successor of Osman). She fled to Constantinople, where she visited many holy places in hope of being healed. Eventually, she recovered her sanity in Athanasios’ monastery and became a nun. This news traveled to her husband, who remained captive in Prousa. He had a dream in which Athanasios appeared, and with the advice that he gave him, the husband was able to escape from prison and come to the same monastery in Constantinople. Grateful to Athanasios, he accepted the tonsure, like his wife. It is evident that the disastrous situation in Byzantine Asia Minor from about 1300 onward provides a highly significant context for the miracles that the troubled couple reportedly experienced.

Thus, what is important is not so much to question whether these miracles really took place, but to ask why contemporary sources cite them. Pachymeres represents a negative reaction and Theoktistos, a positive one. The former felt threatened by the radical policies that Athanasios pursued, though his critical description also attests to the major spiritual authority that one rigorous monk wielded in the turbulent society. It can be concluded that

Athanasios was a saint for Orthodox Christians, created not only by the irretrievable (yet theoretically retrievable) rift between the Eastern and Western Churches, but also by the deepening crises of the Byzantine Empire.