

Hie-Sanno Mandara:
The Iconography of Kami and Sacred Landscape
in Medieval Japan

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Abstract

Hie-Sannō Mandara: The Iconography of Kami and Sacred Landscape in Medieval Japan

Meri Arichi

This study on Hie-Sannō *mandara* from medieval Japan examines the pictorial representations of the *kami* and the landscape of the Hie Shrine, and considers the religious, historical, and cultural constituents that formed the iconography of Shinto-Buddhist *mandara*. The cult of Hie-Sannō flourished during the medieval periods in close association with the Enryaku-ji on Mt.Hiei, the historic sanctuary of Tendai Buddhism. The *kami* of the Hie Shrine, Sannō Gongen, were perceived as the protectors of the temple, and the images of Sannō Gongen developed under a strong Buddhist influence.

The wide dissemination of the *honji-suijaku* theory, particularly during the Kamakura period (1185-1333), encouraged the development of a new genre of religious paintings that are distinguished from the authentic Buddhist mandalas by the term Shinto-Buddhist *mandara*. They exemplify the nature of the medieval Japanese religiosity in which various elements from the indigenous belief, the Buddhist philosophy, and the Daoist tradition were entwined in a complex web of associations. In this study, examples of Hie-Sannō *mandara* are categorized according to their subject matters into three basic types, *honji-butsu mandara*, *suijaku mandara*, and *miya mandara*.

The visual images are naturally the central concern, but in order to elucidate the iconography of *mandara*, I have adopted an interdisciplinary approach and referred to studies in religion, history, and literature as well as art history and archaeology. The first chapter provides the historical background to the development of the Hie-Sanno cult, and the second and third chapters examine the iconography of the *kami*, while the fourth and fifth chapters discuss the iconography of landscape and attempt to define the concept of sacred space in historical context. Each chapter focuses on particular images that reflect the philosophical and functional requirements of the period, and where necessary, comparisons and references were made to relevant contemporary images.

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Acknowledgement

I first came to SOAS in April 1993, intending to do just one term of study in the History of Japanese Art, one module of the SOAS / Sotheby's Asian Art Course. Having studied only the history of western art before, the experience of learning about the art and culture of my own country in London from an outsider's perspective was stimulating and full of new discoveries. This beginning led to two more terms, the Chinese and Indian modules, then to a one year MA in the following year. I am indebted to Dr. Youngsook Pak and Professor Rodrick Whitfield for their encouragement to continue my study at SOAS.

I consider myself very fortunate that Dr. Timon Screech accepted my application to study under his supervision in 1996. My initial research topic needed to be narrowed down at the end of the first year, and there were times when I felt doubtful about the worthiness of this research. It has taken a very long time to finally put this study together, and I am sincerely grateful to Dr. Screech for his positive encouragement to pursue this topic. Despite his busy schedule, he was always generous with his time and gave me discerning comments on my work throughout these years.

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It was fortuitous for me that the British Museum hosted the exhibition “Shinto: Sacred Art of Ancient Japan” in London in 2001, which offered a great chance to see at close hand many artefacts related to my research topic, some of which are rarely shown even in Japan. I would like to thank Mr. Victor Harris, the Keeper of Japanese Antiquities at the British Museum and the organizer of the exhibition, for giving me the opportunity to work with him, doing translation for the catalogue entries. The international symposium during the exhibition also provided a chance to learn about the latest researches in the field of Shinto studies. I would like to thank, in particular, Mr. Shinichirō Gyōtoku from the Agency for Cultural Affairs for his advice.

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Introduction

The cult of Hie-Sannō was one of the major Shinto-Buddhist cults that flourished in medieval Japan, yet visual images related to this cult are probably one of the less studied areas of religious expression from the period. A distinct genre of paintings, now termed as Hie-Sannō *mandara*, developed from the late twelfth century to visually represent the *kami* of the Hie Shrine, Sannō Gongen (Avatar of Mountain Kings). The fine quality of the surviving examples from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries attests the significance of the cult. Similar examples of medieval Shinto-Buddhist *mandara* survive today from other major cultic centres such as Kasuga, Iwashimizu-Hachiman, and Kumano, among which Kasuga *mandara* are by far the largest in number and therefore the most well known. In spite of recent interests in the study of Shinto-Buddhist inter-relationships, Hie-Sannō *mandara* have so far attracted much less attention than they deserve, and no major research paper, neither in Japanese nor in western language, has been published in the art historical field since Kageyama Haruki's research from the 70's.¹ My study was inspired to fill that gap by focusing on the iconography of Hie-Sannō *mandara*, and by doing so, I hope to shed a new light onto the historical and cultural importance of this cult.

The Hie Shrine (the present day Hiyoshi Shrine) in the province of Ōmi (the present day Shiga prefecture) was one of the sacred locations in Japan where the worship of *kami* was practised from ancient times, long before the transmission of Buddhism to Japan in the sixth century AD. The establishment of the Enryaku-ji on Mt.Hiei by Saichō in the late eighth century marked the beginning of the long and

¹ Kageyama Haruki, *Shinto bijutsu*, Yūzankaku, 1973.

intimate association with Tendai Buddhism, out of which grew a typical medieval structure of the temple-shrine complex. The Enryaku-ji on Mt.Hiei, situated in the direction of north-east from the capital Heian-kyō, enjoyed imperial patronage from the early stage of its development. It was certainly one of the most powerful religious institutions in Japan that exerted an immense political pressure on the government and the court during the medieval times. The cult of Hie-Sannō is particularly important because of its connection to Tendai Buddhist philosophy which provided a profound inspiration on the development of the literary and visual culture of the period as well as on religious theories. The images associated with the Hie-Sannō cult were created under the strong influence of Tendai Buddhist art, and they functioned in conjunction with the ritual practices in the Tendai tradition. Therefore, the iconography of the Hie-Sannō *mandara* can only be deciphered by considering the religious, historical and cultural background of the temple-shrine relationships in that particular period.

The images I propose to analyze in this study were created mostly in the Kamakura (1185-1333), Nanbokuchō (1333-92) and Muromachi (1392-1573) periods, which are generally bracketed together as *chūsei*, or the medieval period of Japan. The prominent characteristic of the Japanese religiosity of the period was shaped by the theory of *honji-suijaku* (Origin and Manifestation) which culminated in the systematic pairing of Buddhist deities and the indigenous *kami*. From the late twelfth century, several types of Hie-Sannō *mandara* developed to express the theory in visual terms, and they display characteristics that are particular to Japan in both iconography and style. These images reflect the complex fusion of religious practices of the period as well as visual and spatial perceptions that are distinctively "medieval".

The study of *mandara* is essentially about understanding the medieval way of representing the invisible in visual terms. After all, the *kami* and the concept of sacred space are invisible ideas that did not have concrete forms originally. Only by giving the anthropomorphic forms to the *kami*, and by making the shrine landscape into an icon, were these invisible ideas translated into images that illuminate an aspect of medieval Japan to us. The term "medieval Japan", though, needs to be addressed with care. As Thomas Keirstead wrote:

the adjective "medieval", no matter how vague its boundaries or disputed its contents, names a span in a narrative of historical progress; -- ancient, medieval, modern. The ideology of time to which we subscribe accords special value to these flows and thereby assure us that a term like "medieval" attached to Japanese history or literature or painting, and so on, will seem an intelligible way of defining a field.

However, this intelligibility entrails certain costs. Especially at this juncture, as cultural trends and theoretical debates focus on the conditions that have provided for the seemingly inherent meaningfulness of gesture toward time, these costs urge us to reconsider how to speak of such thing as the medieval. Instead -- of taking the time period as the ready-made certifier of significance, it behooves us to consider the contributions of time's excluded Other. This essay [Gardens and Estate: Medievality and Space] takes shape therefore as an argument for a spatial definition of medievality.²

In his essay, Keirstead examines what he regards as two exemplary organizations of space, the garden and the estate (*shōen*), and treats them as "potential metaphors for the medieval, loci that were invested with great political, economic, and social significance".³ The garden and the estate were both enclosed spaces, a landscape where nature was defined by mankind. In a similar sense, the sacred landscape of shrines were also an enclosed space, and I suggest it was no exception to the medieval "loci that were invested with great political, economic, and social significance".

The apparent physical continuation of the landscape of the Hie Shrine as a sacred landscape from ancient time to the present day has created an impression that the ancient cult has survived through centuries with little change. However, the modern Japanese partiality to tradition and customs often obscures the vicissitude of religious ideas and practices. Visitors to temples and shrines are more often than not under the impression that the place existed in the present day form from "long ago", and functioned in a more or less similar manner. The emphasis on the continuity of sacred space at Hie, or many other sacred places in Japan for that matter, seems to have belittled the changes in meaning and the people's perception of the location. But with its focus on medieval times, the changes, rather than the continuity, in the notion of sacred landscape are considered in this study.

The medieval periods in Japan saw great political and social upheavals with the new ideology of the warrior class enforcing several important structural changes to the fundamental order of the country. Besides the internal reforms such as the change in the *shōen* (private estate) system and judicial procedures, one of the most important external factors that triggered the religious and philosophical debates during this period were the threat of Mongol invasion, which occurred in 1274 and 1281. Following these events, the reassessment of national values encouraged the theoretical development of native belief. Radical changes in Buddhist institutions were also carried out by new religious leaders such as Hōnen (1133-1212), Eisai (1141-1215), Shinran (1173-1262), Dōgen (1200-53), Nichiren (1222-82), and Ippen (1239-89), all of whom studied on Mt.Hiei in the early stages of their lives, but later established their own sects. Studies on Kamakura religion have chiefly placed the emphasis on these

² Thomas Keirstead, "Garden and Estate: Medievality and Space", *Positions* 1-2, 1993, pp.296.

³ *ibid.* P.297.

new sects. However, as Kuroda Toshio's works lucidly point out, the traditional institutions such as the Enryaku-ji on Mt.Hiei and the Kōfuku-ji in Nara continued to exert substantial influence in the political, philosophical and cultural spheres.⁴

The Hie Shrine was an integral part of the religious system based on Mt.Hiei, and it is absolutely vital to acknowledge the aspects of Shinto-Buddhist association within the Tendai Buddhist framework in order to clarify the religious shape of the period. As Allan Grapard wrote, "it is erroneous to study Buddhism alone in order to show what changed in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries" and only by studying the relationship between the Hie Shrine and the Enryaku-ji, can we begin to understand the iconography of Hie-Sannō *mandara*.⁵ As much as the medieval textual sources such as the *Yōtenki* (Record of Bright Heaven) of 1223, and the *Keiran shūyōshū* (Collection of Leaves Gathered in Stormy Streams) of 1348, visual images in Hie-Sannō *mandara* provide vivid testimony to the complex shape of Shinto-Buddhist inter-relationships.

Only about twenty Hie-Sannō *mandara* from the medieval period survive today. (The number varies depending on the definition of *mandara* according to medium, dating, interpretation of iconography, etc.) The relative rarity of artefacts related to the Hie-Sannō cult is partly due to the catastrophic fire of 1571 instigated by Oda Nobunaga (1534-82) who was determined to eliminate any opposition to his authority. The fire destroyed the entire temple-shrine complex on Mt.Hiei, taking with it a large number of lives and countless religious texts and works of art. Further damage was

⁴ Kuroda Toshio, *Kenmitsu bukkyō to jisha seiryoku*, Kuroda Toshio chosakushū vol.3, Hōzōkan, 1995.

⁵ Allan Grapard, "Keiranshūyōshū: A Different Perspective on Mt.Hiei in the Medieval Period", Richard Payne (ed.) *Re-Visioning "Kamakura" Buddhism*, University of Hawaii Press, 1998, p.56.

inflicted in the late nineteenth century when the Meiji government issued the edict *Shin-butsu bunri-rei* in 1868, enforcing the artificial separation of Shinto from Buddhism.⁶ It was followed by the extreme movement of *haibutsu kishaku* (Anti-Buddhist iconoclasm) which forced the reorganization of Buddhist related artefacts belonging to shrines, and in many cases resulted in the consequent destruction of valuable objects. The damage was particularly serious at the Hie Shrine where all Buddhist related objects were burnt in the October 1870 riot, instigated by the shrine priest Juge Shigekuni (1822-84).⁷ While I am acutely aware that the small number of surviving *mandara* may not fully represent the chronological development of the art of Hie-Sannō, by studying the iconography of images, they can serve as valuable clues for understanding the little-known aspects of the cult. Furthermore, by considering the role of images in ritual practices, I hope to establish the medieval perception of *kami* and the sacred space.

Previous Studies and sources

The leading scholar in the field of shrine-related works of art was Kageyama Haruki who started his research in the 1950s. His book, *Shinto bijutsu* (Shinto Arts), a compilation of essays, published in 1973, remains the most comprehensive overview on this topic, but new researches by other scholars and more recent discoveries have added layers on to this foundation. Kageyama's book covers sculpture and painting as

⁶ The Meiji government issued the first of the decrees on the separation of Shinto and Buddhism in March 1868 which stated: "There is no Shinto temple, be it ever so small, in which the title of its kami has not been designated ever since the Middle Ages by a Buddhist term, such as such -and-such Avatar of Gozu Tenno. Each of those temples shall, as soon as possible, submit a notice containing the detailed history of the temple. -- Any jinja which regards a Buddhist statues as its *shintai* shall change it immediately. Moreover, any jinja which has a Buddhist image hung in front of it or is equipped with a Buddhist gong, bell or other instruments, or which has adopted some Buddhist theory, etc. shall abandon it as soon as possible." Quoted by Susan Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga seen through its Art*, University of Michigan, 1992, p.76.

⁷ Uchikawa Yoshimi et al.(ed.) *Meiji nyusu jiten vol.1*, Mainichi Communications, 1983, p.338.

well as wide variety of decorative arts preserved as shrine treasures. Christine Guth has translated and adapted this book into English as *The Art of Shinto* which provided a concise, general introduction to the field in the West.⁸ The exhibitions devoted to the topic at the Kyoto National Museum in 1964, and at the Nara National Museum in 1974 contributed greatly to the recognition of shrine-related arts in Japan, while the exhibition "Shinto Arts: Nature, Gods and Man in Japan" at the Japan House Gallery, New York, in 1976 raised the awareness of the genre in the West. However, the use of the term "Shinto Arts" has been misleading since it gave an impression of a category of arts which exclusively belonged to a religion called "Shinto". As I hope to prove later in this study, many of the images related to Shinto shrines, especially the Hie-Sannō *mandara*, were originally created for Buddhist temples, most probably by Buddhist painters, according to Buddhist iconography, and functioned in Buddhist ritual contexts.

As these images were impregnated with complex theories based on the inter-relationships between Buddhist philosophy and the Shinto tradition, they can not be categorized simply as Shinto or as Buddhist. In order to distinguish the genre, the term "*suijaku-ga*" (painting of manifestation) was, and is sometimes still, used by Buddhist art historians. Although Kageyama maintained that *suijaku-ga* was one aspect of Shinto art, Buddhist art historians argued that *mandara* of *kami* could only have been produced under the influence of the *honji-suijaku* theory from the Buddhist perspective, and therefore should be categorized as a kind of Buddhist painting.⁹ Their different interpretations have created some confusion over the grouping of these

⁸ Kageyama Haruki, (trans. Christine Guth) *The Art of Shinto*, Arts of Japan 4, Weatherhill / Shibundo, 1973.

⁹ Sekiguchi Masayuki, *Suijaku-ga*, Shibundō, 1989, p.20. Zōki Ryūsuke, *Yamato bunkakan no Nihon kaiga*, 2000, p.50.

paintings. While the term *suijaku-ga* is more suited to one particular type of *mandara*, that of images of *kami* in their native manifestations, the use of this term for all shrine-related *mandara* does not adequately convey the multifaceted expressions found in the genre. More recently, as the term "*shinbutsu shūgō*", literally *kami*-buddha amalgamation, is favoured in Japan for the study of Shinto-Buddhist inter-relationship, I have adopted the term "*shinbutsu shūgō no bijutsu*" (arts of *kami*-buddha amalgamation), and used the term "Shinto-Buddhist" as the translation of *shinbutsu shūgō* throughout. Shinto-Buddhist *mandara* in this study are divided into sub-categories of *honji-butsu mandara* (paintings of Buddhist deities), *suijaku mandara* (paintings of *kami*) and *miya mandara* (paintings of shrine landscape). By adopting the term *mandara*, I have tried to distinguish those invented in Japan from the authentic Esoteric Buddhist mandala, but this will be explained more thoroughly in the relevant chapter.

The confusing and flawed interpretation of Shinto and Buddhism as two separate religions was created in the late Edo period (1615-1868) with the development of Fukko Shinto which was advocated by the scholars of *kokugaku* (National Learning), led by Motoori Norinaga (1729-1801) and Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843). The influence of Buddhism, a foreign religion, on Shinto, the native belief, was played down, and resulted eventually in the official endorsement of Shinto as a national religion by the Meiji government in 1868. The far-reaching effect of this artificial separation has obscured the true nature of Japanese medieval religious practices for a long time. As John Breen and Mark Teeuwen wrote, it was the "established" view until relatively recent times that "Shinto is the indigenous religion of Japan, and has continued in unsevered line from prehistoric times to the present --- The emphasis is

on continuity and changelessness".¹⁰ Thus, images of *kami* and various shrine-related objects were assumed to be "Shinto arts" as relics of ancient, indigenous belief that survived centuries without change.

The recent scholarly interests in the historical development of *shinbutsu shūgō* have resulted in a number of publications that display the increasing trend for a more interdisciplinary approach. The inclusion of a volume dedicated to "*Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*" (*Kami* and buddha amalgamation, and *shugen* ascetic practice) in the series *Zusetsu Nihon no bukkyō* (Illustrated History of Japanese Buddhism), and a volume entitled "*Kami to hotoke no kosumoroji*" (Cosmology of *kami* and Buddha) in the series *Nihon no Bukkyō* (Japanese Buddhism), attests the recognition of a distinctive field, still within the larger Buddhist studies, but treated as one topic.¹¹ Both of these publications examined the religious phenomenon of *shinbutsu shūgō* from diverse angles in studies of Buddhist theory, social history, and anthropology, and contributed to greater awareness of the previously less studied ritual practices and visual images. The intimate relationships between ritual practices and visual images offer valuable insight into the nature of medieval Shinto-Buddhist cults.

In the field of studies in Shinto-Buddhist cults, the Kasuga cult has attracted a number of scholars both in Japan and abroad whose researches in the 90's contributed greatly to a better understanding of this important shrine and its connection to the Buddhist temple Kōfuku-ji. Royall Tyler's *The Miracles of Kasuga Deity* (Columbia University, 1990) offered the translation and commentary on the *Kasuga Gongen*

¹⁰ John Breen and Mark Teeuwen (ed.) *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami*, Richmond, 2000, p.4.

¹¹ Sueki fumihiro and Shimizu Zenzō et al. (ed.), *Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen, Zusetsu Nihon no bukkyō vol.6*, Shinchō-sha, 1989. Nihon bukkyō kenkyūkai (ed.) *Kami to hotoke no kosumoroji, Nihon no bukkyō vol.3*, Hōzōkan, 1995.

kenki, introducing the medieval legend concerning the *kami* of Kasuga in English language, and showed how the *kami* of Kasuga were perceived by contemporary people. *The transformation of Pure Land Thought and the Development of Shinto Shrine Mandala Painting : Kasuga and Kumano* (University of Michigan, 1983) by Leonard Bruce Darling and *The Cult of Kasuga seen through its Art* (University of Michigan, 1992) by Susan Tyler both examined the historical development of the cult through visual representations, and considered the relationships between the shrine landscape and Buddhist paradise. The significance of the cult of Kasuga was most extensively discussed by Allan Grapard in his *Protocol of Gods* (University of California, 1992) which offer a thought-provoking and thorough analysis of the temple-shrine complex at Kasuga.

The study of the Kasuga cult has benefited immensely from the abundant examples of shrine-related artefacts, in various media and many of them in fine quality. The Nara National Museum's exhibition "Kasuga shinkō no bijutsu" in 1997 included a wide variety of objects such as *shinpō* (shrine treasure) including everyday objects that were made specially for the *kami* and dedicated to the shrine by aristocratic patrons, miniature reliquary shrines as well as several types of paintings that are called Kasuga *miya mandara*, Deer *mandara*, *honjaku mandara* and Kasuga *jōdo mandara*. The recent studies by Gyōtoku Shinichirō has shown the importance of referring to contemporary textual sources, both religious and secular, in order to grasp the underlining philosophy in every detail of Kasuga *mandara*.¹²

¹² In particular, two of his recent essays have provided valuable information for this study. Gyōtoku Shinichirō, "Kasuga miya mandara-zu no fūkei hyōgen – busshō to shinsei no katachi", *Museum*, no.541, 1996, "Yōgō to shizen to – Yōmei bunko-zo Kasuga shika mandara-zu", *KK*, no.1173,

The genre of Japanese religious paintings called “mandala” was the subject of Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis’s *Japanese Mandala: Representations of Sacred Geography* (University of Hawaii, 1999) in which chapters on Kasuga and Kumano provided a clear distinction within the genre that includes Esoteric and Pure Land mandalas. Most recently, the British Museum’s exhibition “Shinto: Sacred Art of Ancient Japan” in London in 2001 offered a rare opportunity to see the fascinating collection of Shinto related artefacts under one roof. The exhibition, despite its title, included not only ancient (Jōmon, Yayoi and Kofun period) objects, but excellent examples of medieval Shinto-Buddhist *mandara* and sculptures, and shrine treasures made in traditional style as recently as 1993. The diversity of objects themselves speak for the ambiguity of “Shinto”, and the complex fusion of indigenous belief with Buddhism, Daoism, and Shamanistic practices was clearly observable in many exhibits. Whether Jōmon clay figurines qualify as Shinto objects or not can provoke arguments at several levels, but certainly a positive contribution of this exhibition can be reaped through the increased awareness of the multifaceted nature of “Shinto”. The exhibition and its accompanied international Shinto symposium at the British Museum no doubt stimulated enthusiasm for the art historical contribution in the study of Japanese religiosity, and indicated several areas of interdisciplinary issues that need to be addressed.

In this study of Hie-Sanno *mandara*, apart from the images themselves, the historical and philosophical backgrounds of the cult have been researched through the rich textual sources preserved in the Eizan bunko library in Sakamoto, Shiga.¹³ I have referred extensively to other primary manuscripts that are published by Shinto taikai

¹³ The Eizan bunko, originally established from the core collection of Tendai Buddhist texts belonging to Head Abbot Tenkai (1536?-1643), holds over 1,000 documents related to the Hie Shrine.

hensankai in the series *Shinto taikai* (1983), as well as *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*.

Medieval poetry collections such as the *Shūgyokushū* (Collection of Gathered Jewels) by Jien (1155-1225) and the *Ryōjin hishō* (Dust on the Beams: Secret Book of Songs), diaries such as *Gyokuyō* (Jewelled Leaves) by Kujō Kanazane (1149-1207) and *Meigetsuki* (Record of the Bright Moon) by Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241), and legends from the genre of *engi* (Origins of temples and shrines) especially the *Sannō reigenki* (Miracles of Sannō), were the vital sources that provided clues to the medieval perception of the *kami* Sannō.

Approach and organization

Many aspects of medieval Shinto-Buddhist inter-relationships are extremely complex, and contemporary sources are ambiguous at best and confusing in general. The classification and names of the *kami* and shrines can be different according to periods and authors in many cases, which presents problem for maintaining consistency. In this study, medieval names are used throughout, for example the Hie Shrine instead of Hiyoshi and the province of Ōmi instead of Shiga prefecture. Images are naturally the central concern, but as already mentioned, I have adopted an interdisciplinary approach in order to interpret the iconography and symbolism in depth, and tried to place the *mandara* in the context of medieval religious practices.

I have treated *mandara* as functional images in ritual contexts as far as possible, and not as “art” displayed in museums. The designation of objects which originally functioned in temples and shrines as religious “Art” is a modern notion created in the Meiji period primarily by an American, Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908) and his pupil and later colleague Okakura Tenshin (1862-1913). Their reaction against the rapid

westernization of Japan in the 1880's, and the effort to rescue some Buddhist artefacts that were under the threat of destruction amid the *haibutsu kishaku* movement have guaranteed the survival of religious images reincarnated as "*bijutsu*" (art). The term *bijutsu* created as the translation for the German word *schonekunst* ("fine arts" in English) in the late nineteenth century symbolized the preoccupation with the aesthetic value that changed the perception of religious images in Japan. In 1884, when Fenollosa and Okakura discovered Guze Kannon in the Hōryū-ji, Nara, the reluctance of the monk to disturb the *hibutsu* (secret image) wrapped in yards of cloth and hidden from view for most of its thousand year history was in sharp contrast to the scholarly interest of Fenollosa.¹⁴ Once it was exposed, the efficacy of the image in religious context was no longer relevant, but the aesthetic value within the art historical context symbolized the modern Japanese pride in its past. John Rosenfield wrote "rehabilitation of Buddhist images" in the late nineteenth century as below:

Meiji government officials sought to create for the nation a new cultural identity in which the visual arts were given a vital role. Inspired by Western examples, these officials built palatial art museums, devised new systems of art education, and created their own histories of Asian art. The new cadre of art administrators and historians discovered in the hundreds of images still preserved in temples and shrines a huge ready-made corpus of "art" dating from the long periods of time whose secular imagery had largely vanished. Even though Buddhist doctrines no longer occupied a central place in state ideology, Buddhist painting and sculpture were thus given great prominence in the new order of artistic values.¹⁵

The new interest in Buddhist art as a cultural identity was maintained in the post-Meiji era as well when books such as *Koji junrei* (Pilgrimage to Ancient Temples) by Watsuji Tetsurō, first published in 1919, attracted an enthusiastic response, enforcing the notion of "noble" art and the awareness towards the rich heritage among the

¹⁴ Okakura Tenshin, *Nihon bijutsu-shi, Okakura Tenshin zenshū*, vol.4, Heibonsha, 1980, pp.36-7.

¹⁵ John Rosenfield, "Japanese Buddhist Art: Alive in the Modern Age", Michael Cunningham (ed.), *Buddhist Treasures from Nara*, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998, p.236.

general public. Watsuji's subjective assessment of Buddhist images and the sentimental writing stressed the aesthetic quality of images, reflecting the general tendency of the twentieth century approach in which religious images were isolated from the original function and elevated to "Art". However, Shinto images, *shinzō*, seems to have attracted much less attention during that period, partly because they were customarily kept out of view deep inside shrines and the traditional attitude of shrine priests towards *goshintai* (sacred body / icon) prevented scholars examining them as research material. According to Yashiro Yukio, this attitude only changed after World War II.¹⁶ I suspect another reason for the lack of interest was the apparent technical simplicity of *shinzō* which were mainly made from a single block of wood, and perhaps seen as primitive or aesthetically unsophisticated.

The principal effect of religious images being recognized as "fine art" was the isolation of images from their original context. Sculpture and painting were scrutinized in a museum environment and judged for their beauty in terms of style and craftsmanship. In their original role, surely the beauty must have been perceived in terms of spiritual power imbued within the image, and the efficacy of image was enhanced by rituals conducted in a suitable environment. The study of religious painting and sculpture (both Buddhist and Shinto) in the twentieth century placed emphasis on the aesthetic value, and concentrated on the classification of iconography, stylistic development, and technical achievements. The approach was identical in most of the beautifully illustrated series of books on religious "Art" in Japan, and the tendency for specialization within the rigid chronological and stylistic framework of established categories has led to certain works that did not fit neatly

¹⁶ Yashiro Yukio, *Nihon bijutsu no saikentō*, Perikan-sha, 1987, pp.124-5.

into a category being either neglected or in some cases, ignored. In the case of Shinto-Buddhist *mandara*, they were often casually mentioned as an appendix to the study of Esoteric mandala, or included in the survey of temple collections without logical consideration for their *raison d'etre*.

This study attempts to place Shinto-Buddhist *mandara* as a distinct genre of religious painting, and not as Buddhist or Shinto art. In reality, especially in the case of the Hie-Sannō cult, as I try to show later, aspects of *kami* worship and Tendai Buddhism were so thoroughly entwined, it defies any attempt to separate the two. Hie-Sannō *mandara* represent one aspect within the wider category of Shinto-Buddhist expressions, including sculpture and decorative works of art. However, in the case of Hie-Sannō cult, as so much of the shrine treasures including the shrine architecture were destroyed in the 1571 fire, only a limited number and variety of artefacts survive today. In comparison to the diversity of objects preserved in the Kasuga Shrine, the present day Hiyoshi Shrine holds very little in terms of historical material. As there is no assemblage as such of Hie-Sannō artefacts, individual examples of Hie-Sannō *mandara*, dispersed to temples outside Mt.Hiei and museums all over the country, are the most important and almost sole legacy from the medieval period when the cult was at its most prosperous.

The study is organized in five chapters. The first chapter examines the evolution of the Hie-Sannō cult from the pre-Buddhist period, and considers the historical and geographical conditions that shaped the early belief based at this location around the sacred mountain. A brief survey of the present day Hiyoshi Shrine complex attempts to show how the ancient sacred place has physically survived to this day despite the

several catastrophic events in the history of the shrine. The arrival of Tendai Buddhism and the philosophical background to the temple-shrine relationships are discussed next in order to clarify the nature of the medieval Shinto-Buddhist cultic centres, which developed independently and therefore display individual characteristics according to their locations and affiliations. The examination of the picture scroll *Sannō reigenki* provides an insight into the way the *kami* Sannō were perceived by medieval people.

In chapter two and three, the iconography of anthropomorphic images of the *kami* is discussed by examining relevant examples of Hie-Sannō *mandara*. The development of Hie-Sannō *honji-butsu mandara* with images of *kami* depicted as their Buddhist counterparts is examined first in relation to the theory of *honji-suijaku* (Origin and Manifestation). In order to elucidate the reason for the *kami* to be depicted as Buddhist deities seated in a shrine-like interior, contemporary literary works as well as religious texts are referred to. The examination of several types of *mandara*, including reliquary shrines, provides evidence for the strong Buddhist theoretical input at the period. In chapter three, the other manifestations of *kami* in their native *suijaku* form are considered in relation to the reversal of *kami-buddha* relationships according to the theory of *han honji-suijaku* which increasingly influenced the perception of *kami* from the thirteenth century. Other issues addressed are the significance of the constellation of Ursa Major in Tendai ritual practices, and the gender of the *kami*.

Chapters four and five examine shrine *mandara* and related images, and consider the medieval concept of sacred space that these images attempted to define. While

chapter four is a more general survey of sacred landscape in visual images, chapter five is focused on one particular image, Hie-Sannō *miya mandara* now in the Nara National Museum. The representations of landscape are considered as mirrors that reflect the related activities such as pilgrimage and travel, and also social and political factors that constituted the iconography of landscape. The recent interest in a more interdisciplinary approach have encouraged the study of images by scholars in the areas other than art history, for example scholars of literature, religious studies and anthropology acknowledge images as a rich source of information. At the same time, the boundary of art history has become much more flexible. Therefore this study of Hie-Sannō *mandara* is as much a study of images as a study of the Hie-Sannō cult and the cultural significance of the Shinto-Buddhist inter-relationships in medieval Japan.

Chapter One

The Sacred Mountain: Genesis of the Hie Shrine

*Yo no naka ni
Yama tefu yama wa
Ookaredo
Yama towa Hie no
Miyama wozo iu.*

Though in this world
there are mountains
in abundance,
the Mountain
is the sacred mountain of Hiei.

Jien, *Shūgyokushū*.¹

1. Mt.Hiei and the *kami*

Mt.Hiei is one of the ancient sacred mountains of Japan where the *kami* worship has been practised continuously since the early centuries to the present day. The mountain covered in thick forests, is situated in south west of Lake Biwa, and the highest point, the Ōbie (the Great Hiei) peak is 848 metres above the sea level (Map 1). The mountain range stretches to the north to another peak, Obie (the Little Hiei), also called Shaka peak, and these two main areas are surrounded by several valleys and four other peaks, Shimei-ga-take, Tendai-mine, Mt.Miishi and Mt.Hachiōji. The whole mountain range is called Mt.Hiei. The name of Mt.Hiei is synonymous to the Enryaku-ji, the head temple of Tendai Buddhism, which has been based here since the late eighth century.

According to the principle of Chinese geomancy, Mt.Hiei is situated in the direction of *kimon* (the demon gate) in north east of Heiankyō, and the Enryaku-ji there was presumed to protect the capital, and in extension the emperor and the nation, from malevolent forces. The imperial patronage ensured the growth of Tendai Buddhism and at the height of its prosperity in medieval times, the Enryaku-ji temple is estimated to

¹ Jien, *shūgyokushū* (The Collection of Gathered Jewels), KT. vol.3, Kadokawa shoten, 1985, p.671.

have maintained three thousand monks and a large conglomerate of Buddhist halls and monk's residences on Mt.Hiei. Despite the catastrophic fire of 1571 and various political upheavals, Tendai Buddhism still flourishes on this historical mountain today. Buddhist structures are concentrated in the three main areas of Mt.Hiei, the Tō-tō (Eastern Pagoda), the Sai-tō (Western Pagoda) and Yokawa. The Hie Shrine at the foot of Mt.Hachiōji on the eastern side of the mountain range enshrines Sannō Gongen (Avatar of the Mountain King), the *kami* who are regarded as the *jishushin* (proprietor) of Mt.Hiei, and the *gohōshin* (protector) of Tendai Buddhism.

The origin of the Hie Shrine and the religious significance of the area can be traced back to the pre-Buddhist period when the shape of Japanese state was still in its infancy. The archaeological evidences suggest that primitive rituals were held at the *iwakura* (the large sacred rock) near the summit of Mt.Hachiōji within the Hie Shrine's compound (fig.1). This 378 metres high conical mountain has been venerated as the *shintaisan* (sacred mountain) of the Hie Shrine from the ancient times to this day. From the vantage point of the sacred rock, a panoramic landscape spreads across the plain just below towards the expanse of water and sky, separated by a distant outline of mountain range on the far side of Lake Biwa. The flat surface of the sacred rock, measuring approximately 2.5 metres x 1.5 metres, faces south-east, and reflects the rays of the rising sun which create an impression of the rock emitting a golden light. It is easy to imagine the effect the sight of a golden rock near the summit of mountain in an area of great natural beauty generated in the consciousness of the ancient people. Designating such a location as sacred was a way of formulating an order to the immediate geography, as Mircea Eliade points out:

For profane experience, the space is homogeneous and neutral, ---
Revelation of a sacred space makes it possible to obtain a fixed

point and hence acquire orientation in the chaos of homogeneity.²

The recognition of the sacred rock, in extension the whole mountain, as the abode of *kami* follows a typical pattern of early agricultural society in which the worship of *kami* evolved around the seasonal changes. The *kami* of the mountain was occasionally invited to descend to the field below where rituals for rich harvest and thanks giving were conducted. The origin of the *kami* of Hie seems to have been such a *kami* of the mountain who was venerated by the local community.

Kami is often translated as "god" in English, but the Japanese concept of *kami* is markedly different from the absolute god in the monotheistic culture. As the term *yaoyorozu no kami* (eight million gods) indicates there are multifarious assembly of *kami* in the Shinto pantheon. *Kami* can be benevolent as well as being wrathful to humans, and they can manifest themselves as natural phenomena such as thunder and lightening, volcanic eruption or even as a slightest of breeze. *Kami* includes mythological ancestors of the imperial family, ancestral spirits of clans (*ujigami*), or historical figures such as Sugawara no Michizane (845 - 903) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542 - 1616) who were deified after their death. Motoori Norigana (1729 - 1801) defined *kami* as:

Kami are the deities of Heaven and Earth described in the ancient texts, and they are the sacred spirits enshrined in shrines. Furthermore, birds and animals, trees and grass, mountains and sea, whatever that seems extraordinary, possesses the quality of excellent virtue, and inspires a feeling of awe is called *Kami*. The excellence is not confined to things that are noble, good or brave, but even the things that are evil and strange, if they possess an extraordinary quality, they can be called *kami*.³

The worship of *Kami* was an expression of respect, sometimes fear of wrathful *kami*, and many of the rituals were held to pacify them.

² Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and Profane*, Harcourt Brace Joranovich, 1975, pp.22 - 3.

The early worship of *kami*, surmised from the archaeological evidences, was centred at sacred spots where the presence of supra-human energy was experienced. A huge rock such as the Mt.Hachiōji's sacred rock, a tall tree, a waterfall, or the whole mountain was perceived as *yorishiro* (receptacle) where *kami* came to dwell temporarily. These locations often deep in mountains were set aside from the ordinary living space, and marked by a rope (*shimenawa*).⁴ The inaccessibility of steep mountains and the awe-inspiring natural beauty encouraged the imagination of ancient people, and the religious system of mountain worship developed into the practice of mountain asceticism which played important roles in the religious experience of space in the following centuries.

The salient feature shared by such sacred locations was the symbolic value of mountain that was conceived on a "non-symbolic" level by the early inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago, as Joseph Kitagawa explains:

In early Japan, which held monistic world of meaning, symbols were not understood symbolically. The epistemological basis of non-symbolic understanding of the early Japanese was their aesthetic, magico-religious apprehension of the primeval totality as well as everything within it not as representation of *kami* but as *kami*.⁵

The Japanese word *shintaisan*, literally "mountain of *kami*'s body" appropriately expresses the kind of veneration the physical presence of mountain has inspired. Several mountains became a tangible focus of worship replacing abstract, invisible *kami*. Archaeological evidences of ritual instruments, such as human-shaped stone carvings, food vessels and weapons excavated from many locations on or at the foot of mountains suggest that the

³ Motoori Norinaga, *Kojiki den 3*, Motoori Norinaga zenshū vol.1, Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1926, p.135.

⁴ *Shimenawa* is a rope, traditionally of twisted straw, with hanging strips of zig-zag paper or cloth which is tied to mark the sacred locations. Its origin is said to be the *Shirikume-nawa* (bottom-tied-rope) which according to the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* was used to seal the Rock Cave of Heaven after Amaterasu had been lured out, but it is not clear since when it has been used. Brian Bocking, *A Popular Dictionary of Shinto*, Curzon, 1997, p. 164.

⁵ Joseph M.Kitagawa, *On Understanding Japanese Religion*, Princeton University Press, 1987, p.45.

practice of mountain worship existed from the Final Jōmon period (1500-300 BC).⁶ The tradition continued in the Yayoi (300 BC - AD 300) and Kofun (c.300 - 542 AD) periods.⁷

Mt. Miwa in the province of Yamato (the present day Nara prefecture) is one of these oldest such locations where mountain itself has been worshipped as *kannabi* (abode of *kami*) to this day, and there is no shrine building to house the *kami*. The prominent characteristic of Mt. Miwa and many sacred mountains of Japan, represented by Mt. Fuji, as well as Mt. Hachiōji is their symmetrical triangular shape that creates an impression of stability and harmony, which indicates that the natural beauty of these mountains probably contributed considerably to the perception of sacredness. The primitive rituals seem to have been held at a temporary outdoor altar at the summit or at the foot of these mountains. The image of the sacred mountains embodied a mixture of feelings - fear of unknown and the physical danger, gratitude for the source of water, rich minerals, fruits and herbs, and fascination for the natural beauty. The mountain worship and its ritual practice were established long before the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century.

It is not clear for exactly how long Mt. Hiei has been revered as a sacred location, but the numerous *kofun* (tumuli) burial sites scattered within the Hie Shrine compound suggest the existence of pre-Buddhist religious activities in the area at least from the middle of the Kofun period (AD c. 300 - 550) (fig.2). According to Sagai Tatsuru, approximately seventy remains of *kofun* have been located within the Hie Shrine compound during the survey conducted by the Ōtsu City Educational Trust in 1981 (Map 2).⁸ Including these, there are over six hundred small *kofun* in the vicinity of Mt. Hiei on the western shore of

⁶ Victor Harris (ed), *Shinto: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, The British Museum Press, 2001, p.70.

⁷ Ono Shinichi, *Saishi iseki*, Kōkōgaku Library 10, p.65.

⁸ Sagai Tatsuru, *Hiyoshi Taisha to Sannō Gongen*, Jinbun shoin, 1992, p.261.

Lake Biwa, suggesting the importance of the area at the time.⁹ The structural style of these *kofun* which are small stone chambers for group burial of the ruling class is the *yokoana* (horizontal cave) style, dug into the mountain slope with a side passage for entry. They are concentrated on the mountain slopes, separate from the residential and agricultural space on the plain. The separation of the areas for the dead and living created basic distinction of space, and the area reserved for the dead was inextricably associated with the ancestor worship and the mountain cult.

The existence of burial sites within the shrine compound defies the conventional understanding of Shinto shrines as purified space. The concept of death as pollution that should be totally excluded from the sacred Shinto space originates from the mythology of Izanagi no mikoto, the *kami* who created the country of Japan. After visiting his wife Izanami, who died of childbirth, in the land of dead (*yomi no kuni*), he performed ablution in the sea to get rid of defilement and negative elements.¹⁰ The purification of space, body, and mind with water or salt is central to Shinto ritual, and the custom of rinsing hands and mouth is still observed by visitors to shrines today. Yet the evidences suggest that in the early stage of religious evolution at Mt.Hiei, and indeed at other locations, the burial in the mountain seems to have fostered the idea that the spirit of the dead would join the *kami* in another realm. Six out of seven shrines, including Hie, in the Shiga district of the province of Ōmi listed in the *Engi shiki* (The Procedures of the Engi era, 927) either have *kofun* within the shrine compound, or situated adjacent to it.¹¹ This phenomenon itself does not prove that the death was not perceived as pollution in the early period, but provides a link between the ancestral worship and mountain worship.

⁹ Nakai Kunishige, *Hie-shin no nazo*, Nohon ado kikaku, 1982, p,45.

The section of *banka* (Laments) in the eighth century anthology *Man'yōshū* (The Ten Thousand Leaves) contains many poems which mention mountain tombs and the spirits of deceased in the mountain. The poems below by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (d.c.708 / 715) were composed upon the death of his wife:

The autumn moon crosses the heavens
as it did when I watched last year,
but my wife, who watched with me --
the drift of the year has taken her.

Leaving my wife on Hikide Mountain
by the Fusuma Road,
I think of the path she has taken,
and I am hardly alive.

I come home
and gaze inside:
facing outward
on the haunted floor,
my wife's boxwood pillow.¹²

The significance of mountain as burial place is even more poignant in the poems by Ōtomo no Yakamochi (d.785) who also laments the loss of his wife:

Though it is destined
to come but to this,
my wife and I trusted in life
as if it would last
a thousand years.

My wife departed from our home,
I could not hold her back
so I have hidden her
in the mountain,
and my heart has lost its bearing.

Though my mind knows
that life never comes
but to this,
how I cannot bear
these painful feelings!

¹⁰ W.G.Aston, *Nihongi*, Tuttle, 1993, p.31.

¹¹ Sagai Tatsuru, *Hiyoshi Taisha to Sannō Gongen*, p.260.

¹² *Man'yōshū* (The Ten Thousand Leaves), translated by Ian Hideo Levy, Princeton University Press, 1987, Book Two, Poems 214 - 216, p.139.

Each time I see the mist
Trailing on Saho Mountain,
I remember my wife -
 There is no day
When I do not weep.

In the past
I glanced at it casually,
but now that I realise
my wife's grave is there,
how beloved is Saho Mountain.¹³

The tombs in deep mountains encouraged the belief in a mysterious space, *takai* (another world) where the souls of ancestors could exist among the supernatural entities. This belief persisted throughout the history despite its philosophical incompatibility with the Buddhist idea of afterlife, and can be still observed in folk religious tradition today as Ian Reader points out with an example;

Mountains --, were regarded as the abode of the souls of the dead. This belief, found throughout Japan in pre-modern times, is still widely found today, as at places such as Osorezan (the name means 'fearful mountain') in northern Japan, whose desolate volcanic landscape of barren rocks and sulphurous fumes seems to confirm to the onlooker its folk religious reputation as a place where the souls of the recently departed congregate.¹⁴

The concentration of *kofun* within the Hie Shrine compound and the nearby area clearly indicates that Mt.Hiei was regarded as the abode of departed, and was associated with the religious practice of ancestor worship from the Kofun period.

The earliest textual reference to Mt.Hiei and its *kami* appears in the early eighth century history of Japan, the *Kojiki*. The passage from the chapter "Genealogy of the Descendants of Ōtoshi-no-kami mentions:

Next (these was born the child) Ōpo-yama-gui-no-kami [Ōyamagui

¹³ Ibid. Book Three, Poems 470 - 474, pp.234 - 5.

¹⁴ Ian Reader, "Japanese Religion", Jean Holm (ed) *Sacred Place, Theme in Religious Studies*, Pinter, 1994, pp. 190-1.

-no kami], also named Yamasue-no-oponushi-no-kami [Yamasue-no-onushi-no-kami]. This deity dwells on Mount Piye [Hie] in the land of Tika-tu-apumi [Chikatsu afumi] and also dwells at Matu no wo [Matsunoo] in Kaduno [Kadono]. He is the deity who holds the humming arrow.¹⁵

Ōyamagui-no-kami was a direct descendant of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess and the mythological ancestor of the imperial family. The appellation Yamasue-no-ōnushi-no-kami suggests his character as the proprietor of the mountain, and indicates that the genealogy of *kami* was entwined with the history of the nation and the notion of territory by the early eighth century.

Mt.Hie in the *Kojiki* is written with two ideograms 'sun' and 'branch' (日枝), which was renamed Hiei (比叡) by the imperial decree in 810 after the establishment of the Enryaku-ji temple.¹⁶ The oldest surviving text related to the Hie Shrine, the *Hiesha negi kudensho* (1047), lists four variations (日枝)(比叡)(日吉)(裨衣) which were all pronounced 'Hie'. Hie (日吉) was the original reading of Hiyoshi, but these two characters only appear for the first time in the ninth century text *Sandai jitsuroku* (887) as 'Hie in the province of Ōmi'.¹⁷ By the tenth century, these characters seem to have been adopted as the official name of the shrine, 'Hie jinja' (日吉神社) as they appear in the *Engi shiki* (927).¹⁸ However, the characters same as Mt.Hiei continued to be used concurrently until the eleventh century, as the name 'Hie onsha' (比叡御社) can be found frequently in Heian diaries such as the *Shōyuki* by Fujiwara no Sanesuke (957 - 1046).¹⁹ As these characters also appear on the Heian period bronze seal (fig.3), it seems the name of the

¹⁵ *Kojiki* (The Records of Ancient Matters), translated by Donald L. Phillippi, Princeton University Press, 1969, p.118.

¹⁶ Ōyama Kōjun, *Shinbutsu kōshōshi*, Tōhō shuppan, 1989, p.132.

¹⁷ Sagai, *Hiyoshi taisha to Sammō Gongen*, p.11.

¹⁸ ST. *Engi shiki*, Shinto taikai, (K) 11, 1991,

¹⁹ Fujiwara no Sanesuke, *Shōyuki 3*, Dainihon kokiroku, Tokyo daigaku shiryō hensanjo, Iwanami shoten, 1964, p.32.

shrine as it is today was not standardized until the end of the Heian period. The distinction between Hiei (比叡) for the mountain and Hie (日背) for the shrine only became clear in the twelfth century.

The scholars' opinions are divided whether Mt.Hie in the *Kojiki* denoted the whole mountain range of Mt.Hiei as it does today, or one particular peak. Late Kageyama Haruki, the leading scholar of the Hie-Sannō cult, interpreted Mt.Hie in the *Kojiki* as Mt.Hachiōji from the existence of the ancient ritual site, *iwakura*, and this opinion was not challenged until recently. However, Murayama Shūichi points out several medieval textual references regarding Ōyamagui-no-kami as the *kami* of Obie (the Little Hiei), the alternative name for Ni-no-miya, and suggests reconsideration of Kageyama's interpretation..²⁰ Since the historical records confirm that Ōnamuchi-no-kami of the Ōbie (the Great Hiei), also called Ōmiya, was introduced to Hie only in the seventh century, Ōyamagui-no-kami was the only *kami* of the area until then. Following the arrival of more prestigious *kami*, Ōyamagui-no-kami was probably relegated to the lesser position to Ōbie. It seems more natural to regard Ōyamagui-no-kami as the deity of the whole of Mt.Hiei rather than such a small area of Mt.Hachiōji. The *iwakura* on Mt.Hachiōji was easily accessible from the plain and more convenient for holding regular rites than the highest Ōbie peak. As Mt.Hachiōji is situated in front of the Ōbie peak, seen from Lake Biwa side, it could have functioned like an altar in front of the main icon.

The area mentioned as 'the land of Chikatsu afumi', literally 'the land of freshwater sea near the capital', was the ancient name for the province of Ōmi (the present day Shiga prefecture) in south west of Lake Biwa. The largest lake in the Japanese archipelago

provided a rich source of food and an excellent network of transport by boat. The province of Ōmi also attracted many immigrants from the continent who travelled across the Japan Sea to the province of Wakasa (the present day Fukui prefecture) whence it was a relatively short overland journey to the northern side of Lake Biwa where easy transport by boat was available. Ōyamgui-no-kami's connection to Matsunoo Shrine, which is the tutelary shrine of Hata clan of continental origin, suggests the active involvement of immigrants in the religious development of the area too. According to the *Nihongi*, following the political conflict on the Korean peninsular, four hundred refugees from Paekche are known to have settled in this area in 665, and a further seven hundred in 669.²¹ The extent of continental influence in the area prior to this period is difficult to assess, but further archaeological survey of *kofun* may reveal some clues, if there were any links to the continental religious practice.

The geographical advantage of Mt.Hiei's proximity to Lake Biwa and the fertile plain to the south of the lake, suited for agriculture, were the main factors that attracted the ruling class and later the Yamato court to this area. Emperor Tenji (r.662 - 673) established his capital Ōtsu-kyo in 667, and the *kami*, Ōnamuchi-no-kami from Mt.Miwa was solicited to dwell on Mt.Hiei following the move of the court. Ōnamuchi-no-kami is identified with Ōkuninushi-no-mikoto, who is enshrined at the Izumo Shrine as well as Mt.Miwa. He has been associated with the mythological origin of Japan and the imperial family, and the association with this important *kami* certainly enhanced the prestige of the Hie Shrine. Though it is in much smaller scale, the conical shape of Mt.Hachiōji is similar to Mt.Miwa, and the visual reminder might have encouraged the association too.

²⁰ Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan-shi*, Tokyo bijutau, 1994, pp.3 - 8.

The arrival of Ōnamuchi-no-kami from Mt.Miwa was a major event in the development of the Hie Shrine. The legendary journey of the *kami* across Lake Biwa is described here in the Muromachi period text on the Sannō Shinto, the *Gonjinshō*:

Ōmiya Gongen, who came from the Miwa Shrine in the province of Yamato, is [identified with] Miwa myōjin, who is Ōmono-nushi-no-kami, the son of Susanoo-no-mikoto, otherwise called Ōnamuchi-no-kami. During the reign of Emperor Tenji, [the *kami*] travelled to Sakamoto, but on the way he rested at the eight willows of Ōtsu, and from there travelled by a fishing boat to Karasaki in Shiga. The fisherman offered him a meal of millet on the way, and when they arrived at Karasaki, [he] revealed himself as a *kami*. When asked to show the proof [of being a *kami*], although [he] was in the boat one moment, next [he] appeared on top of the Pine Tree [of Karasaki].²²

The event is the origin of the annual ritual 'Awazu no goku' (The offering at Awazu), and the pine tree of Karasaki acquired the celebrity status of *meisho* (famous place) in the following centuries.²³ The food offering on the day of Middle Monkey is the climax of the Sannō festival which takes place annually in the fourth month. After the ceremony of *kencha sai* (festival of dedicating tea to the *kami*) (fig.4), and *yoimiya otoshi* (a evening ritual in which the male and female *kami* are symbolically united) on the previous day, the seven *mikoshi* (palanquins) carrying the *kami* of Hie are taken down to the shore of Lake Biwa. From there, they are taken by boats to another boat off the coast of Karasaki where the feast of millet is dedicated to the *kami*, accompanied by music. The continuation of the Sannō festivals to this day evinces the active involvement of the local community that sustained the belief in the *kami* Sannō for centuries.

²¹ Aston, *Nihongi*, pp.283 & 292.

²² *Gonjinshō*, ST 29, P.99.

²³ "Evening rain at Karasakai" was established as one of the Ōmi Hakkei (Eight Famous Views of Ōmi) in the Edo period, and the association of Karasaki with the pine tree is most famously represented in Ando Hiroshige's print "Evening Rain at Karasaki" from c.1834-5.

2. The Geography and Architecture of the Hie Shrine

The distinction of sacred space, separated from the outside world either by a natural boundary like a river or an artificial boundary in the form of fence, is fundamentally congruous to the concept of garden. The enclosure, or rather a conscious identification of certain area, is essentially a product of human thoughts, and can be commonly observed in any culture. However, in sharp contrast to the idea of garden where the landscape is shaped by human, the nature takes initiative in the landscape of shrine compound. Mountains, rivers, trees and rocks are left in natural environment as much as possible, and the shrine architecture is constructed to accommodate the geographical conditions.

It is not clear exactly when the first *shaden* (shrine building) was constructed at the present location in the Hie Shrine complex. The early worship of *kami* was probably conducted at temporary outdoor altar in front of the sacred rock, and it is thought that shrine buildings at Hie only developed around the seventh century under a strong influence of Buddhist architecture. *Hie-sha negi kudensho* (1047), the oldest surviving text concerning the Hie Shrine, mentions that the original Hie Shrine was located on Mt.Hachiōji, and both Ōbie Shrine (Ōmiya) and Obie Shrine (Ni-no-miya) were built in 669.²⁴ Other early text such as the *Yōtenki* dating from 1223 seems to place emphasis on the ancient origin of the *kami*, but is vague about the exact date of the construction of actual shrine buildings.²⁵ It is generally accepted that some kind of shrine building existed by the late seventh century, and the Hie Shrine as it is today gradually developed from the eighth century onwards. A brief history of the shrine recorded in the Edo period travel guide *Ōmi meisho zue* of 1814 mentions the following:

Hie-Sanno Shrine in the village of Sakamoto.

²⁴ Shinto taikēi, Hiyoshi, (29) 29, p.7.

²⁵ *ibid.* pp. 7 - 95.

It is said from the ancient times that, [the *kami*] came to dwell [here] during the reign of Emperor Tenji, and the shrines were built in the seventh year of Enryaku (789) during the reign of Emperor Kanmu. The first imperial visit took place in the third year of Enkyū (1072) when the retired emperor Gosanjō-in visited. The first government official was appointed to perform ceremonies in the fourth year of Enkyū (1073), and since then the festival was fixed to be held on the day of Middle Monkey in the fourth month annually. There are seven main shrines and fourteen subsidiary shrines.---²⁶

The description is accompanied by an illustration of the bird's-eye-view of the shrine complex which has not changed a great deal since (fig.5).

The present day Hiyoshi Shrine occupies an area of approximately 400,000 sq.m. in which seven principal shrines and numerous subsidiary shrines are scattered among the wooded natural environment (Map 3). Visitors today who arrive by rail would alight at the Hieizan Sakamoto station which is situated approximately 1 km. west of Lake Biwa, and walk west towards Mt.Hiei along the gently sloping road through the first *torii* (shrine gate). After the second *torii*, the conical shape of Mt.Hachiōji can be seen on the right of the long, wide *sandō* (shrine approach) which is lined with cherry trees and *satobō* (literally 'temples in the village') (fig.6). These temples with fine Edo period gardens, which were once retirement residences for the monks of Mt.Hiei, remind visitors of the historical past of Sakamoto which flourished as a *monzen machi* (a town in front of the gate) with the thriving trade and a busy port.²⁷ In its heyday during medieval times, the trade and industry controlled by the Enryaku-ji contributed substantially to the prosperity of the town and the Hie Shrine. In sharp contrast to the bustle of medieval *monzen machi*, the quiet *sandō* today provides a passage of transitional time for visitors before reaching the third *torii* at the main entrance of the present day Hiyoshi Shrine compound proper.

²⁶ *Ōmi meishozue*, Nihon meisho fūzoku zue 11, p.66.

²⁷ Neil McMullen, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth century Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1984, p.31.

Once inside the entrance, the road divides into two and each one lead to the sixteenth century stone bridges built above River Ōmiya which carries the clear, fast flowing water from Mt.Hiei. The shrine compound is dense with towering trees, and only the noise of rushing water resonates constantly in the still air, reminding visitors that they are now in the sacred area separated from the outside world by the river. The delineation of sacred space by natural geographical boundaries, especially by a river, is one of the characteristics shared by many shrines. River Isuzu at the Ise Shrine and River Daiya at Nikkō are but two of the most obvious examples. The association of water with ablution, and the physical act of crossing bridges symbolizes the distinction between the sacred and profane spaces.

After the bridges, the right road bends along the river towards the Ni-no-miya, the present day Higashi hon-gu (Eastern Main Shrine), where the original *kami* Ōyamagui-no-kami is enshrined within the walled complex (fig.7). The entrance to the walled area is a two-storey gatehouse, with white walls and vermilion painted wood frames in the style of Chinese temple gate. Another shrine, Jūzenji, is also situated within the complex just inside of the gate on the left (fig.8). Both shrines, constructed in 1590's, are equipped with *haiden* (prayer hall) facing the shrines, and several smaller shrines for lesser *kami* are also placed inside the enclosed area. The comparison of the present day appearance of the Ni-no-miya complex with the illustration from the *Tengu zōshi* of 1296, one of the earliest dated image of the Hie Shrine, displays clear similarity in the design of architecture (fig.9).²⁸

²⁸ Umezu Jirō (ed.), *Tengu zōshi*, Kadokawa shoten, 1978.

The left road from the main entrance of the shrine leads uphill to another *torii* which is built in the distinct Sannō style. The shape is peculiar to the Hie-Sanno shrines with the triangular pediment on top of the upper *kasagi* (horizontal beam) and painted in bright cinnabar red (fig.10). Beyond the *torii*, there are two modern buildings of shrine office and a hall on the left, and a small stable with a life size wooden sacred horse and a small cage with a monkey on the right. Monkeys have been valued as the messengers of the *kami* at Hie, and as deer are associated with the Kasuga Shrine, the *shin'en* (sacred monkey) has been a familiar symbol of the Hie Shrine since early times. Wild monkeys of Mt.Hiei were often mentioned in medieval literature, and images of monkeys were frequently added to paintings and *mandara* as a signifier of the location.

Along the gently sloping hill, there are three shrine buildings within a short distance of each other on the right hand side of the road. They are Marōdo Shrine, Shōshinshi Shrine, and Ōmiya Shrine, all facing south towards the road, and each equipped with a *haiden* in front. These roofed *haiden* with the raised floor are open on all four side, and used for rituals and performances, also as a temporary resting place for the *mikoshi* during the Sannō festivals. The present day appellation of shrines, Shirayama Shrine, Usa Shrine and Nishi-hon-gū (the Western Main Shrine) respectively, were adopted in the late nineteenth century after the official separation of Shinto and Buddhism.²⁹ The old names correspond to the present day names as below:

Old name	Present day name
Ōmiya 大宮 (Ōbie 大比叡)	Nishi hon-gū 西本宮

²⁹ The main shrines, except the San -no-miya, were renamed at the time with the new less-Buddhist appellation, but for the consistency old names are used throughout this study.

Shōshinshi	聖真子	Usa-gū	宇佐宮
Marōdo	客人	Shirayama-gū	白山宮
Ni-no-miya	二宮 (Obie 小比叡)	Higashi hon-gū	東本宮
Jūzenji	十禪師	Juge-gū	樹下宮
Hachiōji	八王子	Ushio-gū	牛尾宮
San-no-miya	三宮	San-no-miya	三宮

The Ōmiya Shrine, also called the Ōbie Shrine, at the far end of the shrine approach enshrines Ōnamuchi-no-kami, the principal *kami* of Hie, the Shōshinshi Shrine enshrines Tagori-hime-no-kami, and the Marōdo Shrine enshrines Shirayama-hime-no-kami. All three *kami* (the Nishi-hongū group) were invited to Hie from other locations, while the four other shrines (the Higashi-hongū group) enshrines the *kami* who are regarded as the native *jishushin*, Ōyamagui-no-kami and Kamo-tamayori-hime-no kami.

It is one of the qualities peculiar to *kami* that they were essentially ubiquitous, and their personification did not limit their ability to reside in several places simultaneously. Hence Ōnamuchi-no-kami could reside at Mt.Miwa as well as Hie, and Ōyamagui-no-kami could dwell at both Hie and Matsunoo. Furthermore, the spirit of *kami* was believed to be composed of *aramitama* (the rough spirit) and *nigimitama* (pacified spirit) which could be enshrined separately. In the case of Hie, the rough spirits of Ōyamagui-no-kami and Kamo-tamayori-hime-no-kami are enshrined in the Hachiōji and San-no-miya Shrines by the sacred rock near the summit of Mt.Hachiōji, while their pacified spirits are enshrined at the foot of the mountain in the Ni-no-miya and Jūzenji Shrines respectively. The arrangement reflects the ancient practice of the *kami* worship in which the *kami* of the mountain were invited to come down to the village for seasonal festivals.

The entrance to the Ōmiya Shrine complex is a two-storey gatehouse similar to the Ni-no-miya, with ornamental carvings of monkeys under the eaves in four corners of the roof (fig.11). A stone water basin on the left of the gate provides visitors with clear flowing water for ritual cleansing of mouth and hands before proceeding to the inner complex. The present day Ōmiya Shrine is the largest of the seven principal shrines at Hie which were all rebuilt in the similar style to the medieval buildings in the late sixteenth century after the fire of 1571 (fig.12). The architectural style is called the Hie *zukuri* (Hie style), also known as the Shōtai *zukuri* (Sacred emperor style), which is a synthesis of indigenous architectural style and the Chinese Buddhist temple architecture. The basic structure with a raised floor and a veranda with a flight of steps in front resemble the design of the Ise Shrine (fig.13) which is thought to derive from the style of granary from the Yayoi period (c.300 BC - AD 300). The influence of Buddhist architecture can be observed in the adoption of a stone foundation, a pair of *komainu* (guardian dogs / lions) at the top of the steps, and the gently curved roof. In stead of ceramic tiles, the roof is thatched with shingles of tree bark, and projects out generously over the veranda in front and sides. A small section of the roof extends over the central steps. The comparison between the front elevation of the shrine and the illustration of the imperial palace in the Heian period *shinden zukuri* (the residential style) architecture from the *nenjū gyōji emaki* (the Illustrated Calendar of Court Ceremonies) reveals obvious similarities, suggesting the Heian origin of the Hie Style (fig.14). As the personification of *kami* during the Heian period encouraged the custom of bestowing court ranks to *kami*, Ōnamuchi-no-kami received the rank of *shōichii* (Senior First Rank) in 880, and the shrine building was regarded as a palace where the *kami* resided permanently.³⁰

³⁰ The ranks of *kami* as recorded in the *Engi shiki*, ST. (K)11.

The *shaden* is surrounded on all sides by a narrow ditch with running water which demarcates the shrine physically and symbolically from the outer world. The separation by water emphasises the purity of the inner space within which only the *kami* resides behind the closed door. In sharp contrast to Buddhist temple halls where the congregation can join the ritual in front of an icon, the doors of *shaden* are firmly shut at all times, and the *goshintai* (the sacred body) remains an enigma to all. Although *shinzō* (anthropomorphic images of *kami*) were created from the eighth century onwards under a strong influence of Buddhist icons, they were never intended to be displayed in the same manner as devotional images in temples. The walls of *shaden* are closed on all four sides and the interior is not visible, but the ground plan of the building indicates that the interior is divided into two, the *naijin* (the inner space) and the *gejin* (the outer space) (fig.15). The *goshintai* is traditionally placed in the *naijin* where it is kept out of public gaze, and the presence of *kami* remains elusive and mysterious to all.

Five out of the seven principal shrines at Hie are built in the similar design, but the hierarchy of the *kami* is reflected in the size of their residences. The three main shrines, Ōmiya, Shōshinshi and Ni-no-miya, have a rectangular ground plan with the long side with five bays facing the front and the short sides with three bays to the sides, while Marōdo and Jūzenji shrines have a square ground plan with three bays all around. Two shrines by the sacred rock of Mt.Hachiōji, the Hachiōji Shrine and San-no-miya, also have a square ground plan with three bays, but their exterior design differs considerably from the other five in order to accommodate the geographical restriction (fig.16). The two shrines in the *butai zukuri* (stage style) are built to face each other as if to guard the sacred rock from both sides, and cling to the mountain slope with high supporting pillars on one side.

One of the most interesting and less known architectural features peculiar to all seven principal shrines at Hie is the use of *geden* (the lower hall). The basic structure of the Hie style shrines derives from the indigenous raised floor granary style, supported by pillars. The space below the floor is not empty, but the central area corresponding to the room above is enclosed by wooden walls, and is accessible through the door under the central steps. According to the research and diagrams provided by Sagai, this dark space below the floor is divided into two spaces corresponding to the *naijin* and *gejin* as the floor above (fig.17).³¹ The space is high enough for adults to stand upright, and the ground of the inner space exactly below the *naijin* is left uncovered, as it was perceived as the sacred ground. The layout of the central area is especially interesting in the case of the Jūzenji Shrine, which is built over a sacred spring. The position of the well is exactly below the *naijin* where the *goshintai* is placed (fig.18). This unusual arrangement suggests the original form of the worship of *kami*, which was focused around the sacred natural spots. Just as the sacred rock near the summit of Mt.Hachiōji was an important location, the spring at the foot of the mountain was probably a special spot long before the development of shrine architecture. Similarly the choice of location for other shrines too may have been influenced by some natural conditions or events which were perceived as the signs or wish of the *kami*.

The central space of *geden* is surrounded in three sides, except at the back, by the outer section which corresponds to the *gejin* above, and this area is covered by wooden floor. Buddhist icons were placed on altar in the centre, and Buddhist rituals were held here in the Pre-Meiji period.³² However, all Buddhist paraphernalia was destroyed during the

³¹ Sagai Tatsuru, *Hiyoshi Taisha to Sannō Gongen*, pp.140 - 171.

³² *Ibid.* pp.160 - 2.

iconoclastic movement immediately after the official separation of Buddhism and Shinto in 1868, and the detail of rituals in the *geden* is now lost. The development of *geden* as a Buddhist facility indicates the syncretic nature of religious practice at Hie during the medieval period. References to *geden* can be found in medieval text, the *Hie-Sannō rishōki* (The Efficacy of Hie-Sannō), which suggests that the *geden* was used as a facility to stay for people of all class who came to pray in seclusion at the shrine.³³ Such record indicates that the *geden* was an integral element of the shrine architecture at Hie from the very early stage of development.

Besides the seven main shrines, the Hie Shrine complex is dotted with numerous subsidiary shrines, some no bigger than a simple miniature shrine. Many of these small shrines house the *kami* from other locations, solicited during the medieval period. The historical accounts reveal that the shrine compound included many more structures, some of which were purely Buddhist in nature. The illustrations of the shrine complex from the Muromachi period *Sannō nijūishha tōezu* exhibit the conspicuous Buddhist presence in the form of a stone pagoda, a *tahōtō* (pagoda of many jewels), and a seven-storey pagoda (fig.19). They were mostly destroyed in the fire of 1571, and during the Meiji separation of Buddhism from Shinto. The only surviving Buddhist feature in the present day shrine complex, the stone pagoda in the forest on the west of the Ōmiya Shrine provides a tangible reminder to the complex fusion of Shinto-Buddhist elements which characterized the make-up of the Hie-Sanno cult in medieval period (fig.20).

³³ *Hie-Sannō rishōki*, vol.5, Shinto taikei (J)29 Hiyoshi, p.672.

3. Saichō and the development of the Hie-Sannō cult

<i>Akira keku</i>	Transmitting the light
<i>Nochi no hotoke no</i>	until the righteous day
<i>Miyo made mo</i>	of the Future Buddha,
<i>Hikari tsutaeyo</i>	burn brightly
<i>Nori no tomoshibi</i>	the torch of the Law.

Dengyō Daishi, *Shin shūishū*.³⁴

i) The encounter: *Kami* and Buddha

The development of the Hie-Sannō cult reflects the history of interaction between the Buddhist institutions and the local belief system that characterized the Japanese religiosity from the early stage of Buddhist transmission. The introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century and the subsequent adoption of the doctrine by the ruling class were no doubt a major turning point in the history of Japan, but the adoption of Buddhism did not necessarily accompany the rejection of belief in *kami*. In fact, the accommodating nature of Buddhist teaching towards local belief and customs resulted in the co-existence of two faiths from the early stage. One of the earliest references to such an attitude appears in a passage from the *Nihongi* which records that Emperor Yōmei (r.586 - 588) 'believed in the Law of Buddha and revered the Way of Gods (the *kami*)'.³⁵ The conscious distinction made between the two faiths in this passage highlights the contrasting nature of the traditions, but the emphasis was on co-existence rather than conflict.

The prominent characteristic of Buddhism in the early stage of establishment in Japan was its close relationship, ideologically and politically, with the imperial authority. The ideal of the government was in accord with Buddhism as a religion that promised to protect the emperor, the nation, and the country, and the Buddhist doctrine provided a

³⁴ Saichō Dengyō Daishi, *Shinshūishū*, KT.

³⁵ Aston, *Nihongi*, p.106.

philosophical framework for the unity of nation under the leadership of Prince Shōtoku (573 - 621) in the first half of the seventh century. According to the *Nihongi*, by the year 623, there were forty-six temples with 816 monks and 569 nuns in the country.³⁶ The rapid spread of Buddhism outside the immediate confines of the Yamato plain in the following period was achieved by the Buddhist institutions by establishing *jingū-ji* (temples affiliated to shrines) near the major shrines in provinces. As Inoue Tadashi points out, by the time Buddhist institutions began to extend their sphere of influence, the infrastructure of regional communities was already well established around the local shrine which occupied the most suitable position for communal worship.³⁷ In a mountainous country, building a temple on a flat plot within the existing shrine complex suited the needs of the growing, politically motivated Buddhist institutions.

One of the earliest examples of such temples was the Kehi Jingū-ji, built in 715, by Fujiwara no Muchimaro as an affiliated temple of Kehi Shrine in the province of Echizen (the present day Fukui prefecture), following the instruction of the *kami* who appeared to Muchimaro in a dream. According to the eighth century text by Enkei, the *Muchimaro den* (Legend of Muchimaro), the *kami* of Kehi confessed that his present state (as *kami*) was due to his sins from the previous lives (the reincarnations in a Buddhist sense), and he wished to pursue the way of the Buddha.³⁸ Kehi Shrine enshrined Izasa wake-no-mikoto, the *kami* of food, and was a historical shrine which the mythological figures such as Emperor Chūai (r.AD 191 - 200), Empress Jingū (r.201 - 269) and Emperor Ōjin (r.270 - 310) were associated with. Affiliating with important shrines in provinces was the first pattern of assimilation for Buddhist temples, and similar temples such as the Wakasa-hiko Jinganji in Wakasa (717 - 723) and the Usa Hachiman Jingū-ji in Bungo (725) were built

³⁶ *ibid.* p.154.

shortly afterwards. The establishment of at least twelve such temples, including at Hie, are officially recorded during the eighth century.³⁹ The founding of *jingū-ji* at Hie in 785 sowed the seed of enduring Shinto-Buddhist relationship, but it was the arrival of Saichō (767 - 822) on Mt.Hiei in the late eighth century that established the decisive influence of Tendai Buddhism to the development of the Hie-Sannō cult.

ii) Saichō and the *kami* Sannō

Saichō, known by his posthumous title Dengyō Daishi, was born locally at the location of present day Shōgen-ji temple which is situated only a few hundred metres from the main entrance to the Hie Shrine. Saichō's father, Mitsu no Obito Momoe was a descendant of immigrants from the continent and a devout Buddhist. The circumstance of Saichō's birth is described in the *Eizan Daichi-den*, edited by a Saichō's disciple Ninchū in 830 shortly after Saichō's death:

The Great Teacher [Saichō]'s father Momoe was a man of respectful conduct with a compassionate heart, and he was well informed in the studies of both our land and abroad. He paid great respect to the Buddha, chanting *sutras* regularly, and trained diligently at his home which he converted into a temple. As he had no children, he constantly prayed [to the Buddha] for granting him a son. He retreated to the mountain in search of a suitable location to stay, and after a few days came to a spot on the left slope of the mountain, on the right of the *jingū-ji*. The place was scented wonderfully, and he built a hut there. The present day Jingū-in is this spot. He pledged to stay for seven days, but after four days, on the fifth night he dreamt a good omen, and realized that a son was granted.⁴⁰

³⁷ Inoue Tadashi, 'Shinbutsu shūgō no seishin to zōkei' *Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*, Nihon no bukkyō 6, p.51.

³⁸ Enkei, *Muchimaroden*, *Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*, Nihon no bukkyō 6, p.52.

³⁹ Inoue, *Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*, Nihon no bukkyō, p.55.

⁴⁰ Ninchū, *Eizan taishi-den*, Ōyama Kōjun, *Shinbutsu kōshōshi*, Tōhō shuppan, 1989, pp.133-4.

This is the earliest reference to the *jingūji* at Hie which was repeated by the later writers with some elaboration. The *jingū-ji* remained on the northern side of Mt.Hachiōji until the fire of 1571.⁴¹

Saichō was educated at the Kokubun-ji, the state temple of Ōmi province, from the age of twelve, and was ordained three years later. His outstanding ability was recognised quickly and at the age of nineteen, he was accepted officially at the Tōdai-ji in Nara. His progress in the Buddhist establishment in the capital, however, was cut short when he returned to his native Shiga only after three months, and withdrew to a mountain hut on Mt.Hiei. Saichō's action was 'an almost unprecedented step for a young monk' as Paul Groner points out. Apart from the deep sense of 'the transience of life' mentioned in the *Eizan Daishi den*, Groner offers a number of possible explanations for Saichō's retreat: firstly, Saichō was influenced by his teacher Gyōhō who retreated to mountains for a prolonged period. Secondly, Saichō's temple, the Kokubun-ji of Ōmi was burnt down in the year Saichō moved to Mt.Hiei, making it impossible for him to return to it. Thirdly, Saichō may have retreated to Mt.Hiei to fulfill the vow his father had made to stay in the mountain for a prolonged period in return for granting him a son, but had not been able to keep.⁴² Besides these possible reasons, it is generally accepted that the main motive for Saichō to leave the capital stemmed from his disillusionment with the Buddhist institutions in Nara which were rife with corruption and political intrigues.

Saichō's decision to move to Mt.Hiei in search of true Buddhist ideals coincided with the decision of Emperor Kanmu (r.781 - 805) to move the capital to Nagaoka in order to wrest the political authority away from the old Buddhist establishments in Nara. In 788, Saichō

⁴¹ Sagai, 'Jingū-ji to shūgo kenchiku, *Hiyoshi taisha to Sannō Gongen*, pp.105 - 39.

founded a small temple Hieizan-ji, an embryonic body which would grow into the Enryaku-ji, the major centre of Buddhist study and the sanctuary of the Japanese Tendai school. He installed Yakushi, the Buddha of Healing, as the central icon, and also acknowledged the local *kami* of Hie as the protector of his temple, forging a sympathetic relationship between his temple and the indigenous tradition from the beginning.⁴³ Soliciting the local *kami* as the protector, and building a *chinju-sha* (a guardian shrine within the temple complex) was the second pattern of assimilation which became increasingly common from the early ninth century. As well as Saichō's example, Kūkai (774 - 835), the founder of the Shingon sect, is said to have invited the local deities, Kariba myōjin and Nibu myōjin, to be the protectors of his temple, the Kongōbu-ji on Mt.Kōya. Sōō (831 - 918), the Tendai monk and the founder of *kaihōgyō*, (the ascetic training on Mt.Hiei) also solicited the local *kami*, Shikobuchi myōjin, when he established the Katsuragawa myōō-in in the remote Hira mountain range. Such examples display the active and conscious attempts by Buddhist monks, especially of the Esoteric schools, to place *kami* within the Buddhist cosmology.

Saichō remained in the mountain for twelve years, studying the doctrine of Chinese Tiantai Buddhism founded by the priest Zhiyi (J.Chigi) (AD 538 - 597). The Tiantai teaching based on the *Lotus Sutra* (Sk. *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra*, J.*Myōho renga-kyō*) was introduced to Japan by Jianzhen (J.Ganjin) (687 - 763), the founder of the Tōshodai-ji, during the eighth century, but the study of the Tiantai doctrine was not taken up seriously by anyone before Saichō. The reputation of Saichō on Mt.Hiei attracted the attention of Emperor Kanmu who had chosen the location of Heian-kyō for another new

⁴² Paul Groner, *Saicho: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*, Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, 1984, p.27.

⁴³ Yamada Etai, 'Dengyo Daishi to Hiei zan' *Hiei zan to Tendai no bijutsu*, Tokyo National Museum, 1986, p.9 - 10.

capital after Nagaoka which had been plagued with series of problems. As already mentioned, Mt.Hiei is situated in the direction of north-east, the *kimon* (demon entrance) of Heian-kyō and having a temple there was considered to be a good omen. The imperial visit to the temple took place in 794 prior to the official establishment of the capital on the twenty-second day of the ninth month.⁴⁴ The fact that Saichō and his temple were independent from the old Buddhist institutions in Nara well suited the new government which was anxious to maintain a fresh start. The imperial patronage secured the prosperous future of the Enryaku-ji as a temple of *chingo kokka* (the protection of the nation), and Tendai Buddhism flourished in the Heian period.

In 804, Saichō travelled to the Tang as a member of *kentōshi* (the official envoy to the Tang) to further his knowledge of the Tiantai doctrine. Prior to his voyage, he is said to have visited the Usa Hachiman Shrine and the Kawara Jingū-in in Kyūshū to pray for the protection of *kami* during his travel. The sea journey to China was hazardous and only two of four *kentōshi* ships that left Japan that year managed to arrive safely. The legend tells that every time the ship Saichō travelled on was in danger on stormy sea, Kawara Daimyōjin manifested himself in a form of divine light and saved the ship from sinking.⁴⁵ This anecdote provides an interesting insight into the relationship of the *kami* with Japanese monks who had no philosophical difficulties in justifying the help from the *kami*. It is intriguing that it was not the Buddha or *bodhisattva* who saved the ship, but the *kami*.

While in the Tang, Saichō studied the Tiantai doctrine, received the Mahayana *bodhisattva* ordination (*Daijō bosatsu-kai*) from Dao sui, the initiation rite (*kanjō*) in

⁴⁴ Kyoto National Museum, *Hieizan to Tendai no bijutsu*, 1986, p.10.

⁴⁵ Masuda Hidemitsu (ed.) *Mikkyō no hon*, Gakushu kenkyusha, 1998, p.39.

Esoteric Buddhism from Shun xiao, and also practised Chan (J.Zen) meditation.⁴⁶ His extensive travels and enthusiasm can be judged by the large amount of Buddhist texts he obtained, four hundred and sixty scrolls, which he brought back to Japan the following year. The imperial permission was granted from Emperor Kanmu to establish the Japanese Tendai sect on Mt.Hiei. The Tendai teaching is broad and progressive, reflecting Saichō's all embracing approach which incorporated varied elements of Buddhist teachings he had encountered in the Tang as well as the Japanese belief in *kami*. The practice of Chan meditation, rituals in the Esoteric tradition, orthodox monastic rules, and the respect towards the indigenous *kami* were integrated into the doctrinal framework based on the *Lotus Sutra*. The contribution to the history of Japanese Buddhism by Saichō was often misinterpreted as a mere eclecticism in the past, and the Esoteric aspects of Tendai Buddhism introduced by the Saichō's followers, Ennin (794 - 864) and Enchin (814 - 91), were emphasized. Furthermore, the establishment of new sects in the Kamakura period by Hōnen (1133 - 1212), Shinran (1173 - 1262), Eisai (1141 - 1215), Dōgen (1200 - 53), Nichiren (1222 - 82), and Ippen (1239 - 89), all of whom once studied on Mt.Hiei, eclipsed the importance of fundamental changes Saicho had achieved to alter the conservative and insular Buddhism of Nara.⁴⁷

The most radical philosophical departure from the traditional view proposed by Saichō was the '*Hokke ichijō*' (One Vehicle doctrine of the *Lotus Sutra*) which stressed the existence of the Buddha nature in every living things. Saichō also accepted the essentially Esoteric concept of *sokushin jōbutsu* (Buddhahood in this very body) which claimed the possibility of attaining the immediate Buddhahood without going through the lengthy

⁴⁶ Enryaku-ji, *Hieizan konpon chudō*, p.3.

⁴⁷ The significance of Saichō's contribution in reforming the conservative Nara Buddhism is attracting a new wave of scholarly interests. See Sueki Fumihiko, *Nihon bukkyō shisōshi ronkō*, Ōkura shuppan, 1993, and *Heian shoki bukkyō shisō no kenkyū*,

cycle of reincarnation. This view was vigorously challenged by the monk Tokuitsu (780? - 842?) of the En'ichi-ji in Aizu who held the conservative Hossō sect's position. Tokuitsu maintained that the *nirvana* (extinction / escape from the cycle of reincarnation) was only obtainable by the chosen few after long study, training and many cycle of rebirth. The dogmatic Hossō view unequivocally opposed the Tendai philosophy of universal Buddha nature, and claimed that some sentient beings lacked the ultimate Buddha nature.⁴⁸

The acknowledgement of Buddha nature in every sentient being was advanced even further in the Esoteric teachings of both Tendai and Shingon which claimed that the omnipotence of the Buddha's Dharma was extended to non-sentient beings as well. The idea developed into the philosophy of '*sansen sōmoku shitsukai jōbutsu*' (Mountains and rivers, trees and grass, every thing can attain Buddhhood), which was particularly suited to the natural environment of Mt.Hiei or Mt.Kōya where monks lived and trained amongst the mountains imbued with the presence of the *kami*. The idiosyncratic combination of the Buddhist philosophy of compassion and the deep respect towards nature of the indigenous *kami* belief characterized the essence of Japanese cultural values.

Though there is no contemporary textual source to confirm it, Saichō is said to have adopted the name 'Sannō', literally 'Mountain King' for the *kami* of Mt.Hiei from the legendary Mountain King of Mt.Tiantai in China. According to the *Hiesha Shinto himitsu-ki* (1571) by Hafuribe Yukimaro, Sannō is the protector of three sacred mountains, the Vulture Peak in India, Mt.Tiantai in China, and Mt.Hiei.⁴⁹ The significance of Mt.Tiantai in China derived from the indigenous Daoist ideas which regarded certain mountains as sacred, and immortals with superhuman ability were believed to live in those remote

⁴⁸ Satō Hiroo, 'Tendai shisō no tenkai' *Hokke-kyō no shinri*, Shūeisha, 1989, pp.77 - 8.

⁴⁹ Hafuribe Yukimaro, *Hiesha Shinto himitsu-ki*, ST. (J) 29, Hiyoshi, p.331.

mountains. Just as the combination of Buddhism and the *kami* belief was crucial to the religious development of Japan, the Daoist elements played an important role in China. The ambiguous identity of the Mountain King may be the result of such a syncretism.

Several textual references to the *kami* are attributed as Saichō's words, one of the most well known being the inscription dated 820 on the *sōrintō* (the tower with nine decorative rings) situated in the Sai-tō (the Western Pagoda) area of Mt.Hiei.⁵⁰ The inscription, composed from sixteen lines, each consisting of sixteen Chinese characters in the groups of four, includes the following passage.

The peak of Mt.Hiei surpasses all,
and casts a shadow over the capital in the north in the morning.
The sacred mountain [*shingaku*.literally *kami*'s peak] is sublime,
and gazes the lake in the east in the evening.
The august Sannō, the mountain king,
Contemplates beyond the horizon.
He is called the Hōshuku [Buddha]
And vows to the Biru [Birushana Buddha].⁵¹

Ōyama Kōjun points out another passage attributed to Saichō, "*Kami* of the Heaven and Earth, the Great *Kami* of six places, will compassionately protect all spirit and wisdom" which is recorded in the *Hieizan Tō-tō engi*.⁵² Although none of the texts can be confirmed concretely as the Saichō's own words, many other later texts quote similar passages, indicating Saichō's deep respect towards the indigenous *kami*.

The appellation 'Sannō Gongen' (Avatar of the Mountain King) was used as a collective name of all the *kami* of Hie as the shrine developed to include more and more *kami* during the late Heian period. However, when Saichō adopted the name Sannō in the early ninth century, it is not clear just how many *kami* were already in situ at Hie. As most of the

⁵⁰ The *sōrintō* is similar in shape to the decorative rings on the top of pagodas. The original tower has been repaired many times, and the present day tower, 13.63 m. high, was reconstructed in 1895.

⁵¹ Enryaku-ji shikkōkyoku, *Hieizan*, 1993, pp.103-4.

early records surviving today were written in the Kamakura period or later, historical facts are often elaborated with legends or the later interpretations. The *kami* of the three main shrines, Ōmiya, Ni-no-miya and Shōshinshi, were collectively called the Sannō sansei (The Three Sacred Mountain Kings). The *Hiesha negi kudensho* (1047) mentions that the third *kami*, Tagorihime-no-kami was solicited in the third year of emperor Tenmu's reign (675) according to the wish of the previous emperor (Emperor Tenji). She is enshrined in the Shōshinshi Shrine which is situated on the right of the Ōmiya Shrine. This shrine is also called Usa Shrine, and the *kami* is identified with Hachiman. Since this origin of the shrine was recorded more than two centuries after the time of Saichō, its historical accuracy is questionable. It is more likely that the Usa Shrine was established at Hie sometime during the eighth century when the *kami* Hachiman became prominent figure after he had been solicited as the protector of the Tōdai-ji in 749.⁵³

The adoption of Sannō, a foreign deity, and the acknowledgement of the indigenous *kami* indicate Saichō's conscious effort to amalgamate popular beliefs into the Buddhist theoretical structure. The decision to accept of the local *kami* as the protector of their temples by both Saichō and Kūkai certainly must have eased the political and territorial issues that might have risen between the temples and the local inhabitants. This characteristic shared by Saicho and Kukai was noted in the following passage by Alicia Matsunaga:

If we were to epitomise in one word the most outstanding feature of the new Heian Buddhism of both Saichō and Kūkai, the term would be 'syncretism'. Both Tendai and Shingon sects literary embraced the entire history of Buddhism within their teachings ---. We find that this same

⁵² Ōyama Kōjun, *shinbutsu kōshōshi*, Tōhō shuppan, 1989, pp.134.

⁵³ Christine Guth, *Hachiman Imagery and its Development*, Harvard University Press, 1986, p.11.

outlook was directed towards the indigenous Japanese faith, and even more active effort made to assimilate it.⁵⁴

The receptive attitude towards the local belief was at the core of the Buddhist philosophy of compassion that was extended to all sentient beings, and the assimilation of local deities into the Buddhist pantheon had a long-established history in its birthplace India. The early examples were the indigenous Indian deities Indra (J.Taishaku-ten) and Brahma (J.Bon-ten) who often appear flanking Sākya-muni Buddha in the relief sculptures from Gandhara and Swat regions dating from the beginning of the Christian era (fig.21). With the rise of Vajrayana School (J.Mikkyō) under the strong influence of Hindu tradition from around the fifth century, the Buddhist pantheon expanded dramatically with many more deities deriving from the Hindu origin assimilated into the Buddhist cosmology.

There are literally hundreds of deities in the Esoteric pantheon, most of which were totally unknown in Japan until the introduction of Esoteric Buddhism by Saichō and Kūkai. The *Taizōkai* (Womb World) of the Mandala of the Two Worlds, the visual representation of the Esoteric universe, included over four hundred figures which were organized into the hierarchical structure according to the specification given in the *Dainichi-kyō* (*The Mahāvairocana Sutra*) (fig.22). Such a breadth and diversity of the Esoteric universe provided a capacious ground for the Japanese *kami* as well as deities from Chinese Daoist and folk traditions. Following the precedent of Sannō introduced from Mt. Tiantai by Saichō, his followers Ennin and Enchin both adopted the local deities they encountered while studying in the Tang, and enshrines them as Sekizan myōjin and Shinra myōjin on their return to Mt. Hiei (fig.23, 24).⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, Soha University, 1967, p.187.

⁵⁵ Shimizu Zenzo, 'Shinbutsu shugo no jittai' *Shinbutsu shugo to shugen*, Nihon no bukkyo 6, Shinchosha, 1989, p.154 - 5.

The syncretism fostered by Tendai Buddhism during the following periods incorporated wide ranging elements deriving from Chinese Yin and Yang principle, astrology, and divination into the Esoteric rituals, which as a result, produced a complex mixture of influences to the development of the Hie-Sannō cult. Throughout the medieval period, the Enryaku-ji was an important centre of learning where monks not only studied Buddhist scripture, but also cultivated their progressive knowledge in literature, music, science, architecture, mathematics, agriculture, medicine, astronomy, and visual arts.⁵⁶ The imperial or aristocratic background, in particular from the Fujiwara family, of many monks brought substantial financial benefits as well as a close contact with the court. As the Enryaku-ji grew powerful politically and economically during the Heian period, the significance of the Hie Shrine was enhanced as well. In 1039, the shrine was included in the system of the Twenty-two Shrines that enjoyed the imperial support. As Grapard points out, most of these twenty-two shrines were closely associated to Buddhist institutions:

By the middle of the Heian period the Twenty-two "Shrines" had become major shrine-temple multiplexes (*jisha*) consisting of complex combinations and interactions between autochthonous (or foreign) *kami* and imported buddhas and bodhisattvas, between sacerdotal lineages in the shrines and Buddhist lineages in the temples, between administrative and economic structures of the two types of institutions, and between modes of cults, all under the aegis of the state symbolized by the overwhelming presence of members of the Fujiwara house as the leading prelates of those institutions. ---

Of particular fame and importance were the shrine-temple multiplexes of Hie-Enryakuji, of Kasuga-Kōfukuji, of Iwashimizu Hachiman-Gokokuji, of Sumiyoshi-Shiragidera, of Gion-Kankeiji (Kanshin-in), and of Kitano-Kannonji.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Sato Hiroo, '*Hiei-zan no shukyō dentō' Hokkekyō no shinri*, Nohon bukkyō no sekai 3, Shūeisha, 1989, pp.130 - 53.

⁵⁷ Allan G.Grapard, 'Religious Practice' Chapter 8, *The Cambridge History of Japan*, (ed.) Donald H.Shively and William H.McCullough, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.528.

The strong Buddhist influence at Hie is apparent from the construction of the *kondō* (Golden Hall) with an image of Amida, followed by the *tahōtō* (pagoda of many jewels) in the shrine complex in 940.⁵⁸ Monks were assigned to serve the shrine, and the distinction between the Buddhist rituals and the worship of *kami* was increasingly blurred

The first official imperial visit to the Hie Shrine by Emperor Gosanjō in 1071 marked the period of growth when the structure of the seven major shrines was established.⁵⁹ Apart from the three main shrines, the Jūzenji Shrine was the earliest to be established. According to one legend, the *kami* of Jūzenji manifested himself as a young boy when Saicho was seeking a suitable location for his temple, but this topic will be addressed later in relation to the iconography of *kami*. The Marōdo Shrine (Marōdo literally means 'guest') was founded in the first half of the eleventh century by a shrine monk named Kōshū who was a devout believer of the *kami* Shirayama Gongen of Mt.Hakusan in the province of Echizen. The founding legend of the Marōdo Shrine claims that when Kōshū became too old and weak to visit the distant Mt.Hakusan, Shirayama Gongen manifested himself before him and instructed him to build a shrine on the land next to the Shōshinshi Shrine. As Murayama points out, the solicitation of Shirayama Gongen to Hie might have been an attempt by the Enryaku-ji to amalgamate the group of mountain ascetics based on Mt.Hakusan under the direct control of Tendai system.⁶⁰ The development was gradual but by the early twelfth century, all seven main shrines existed more or less at the same spot as the present day shrines.

During the Kamakura period, numerous shrines were systematized into three groups as the Upper Seven Shrines, Middle Seven Shrines and Lower Seven Shrines. These twenty-

⁵⁸ Murayama Shūichi, *Hiei-zan shi*, p.13.

⁵⁹ *ibid.* pp.18 - 9.

one main shrines became the nucleus of the Hie-Sannō cult which at its height of prosperity encompassed 108 inner shrines and 108 outer shrines. The strong Buddhist input is articulated in the number 108, as it was the number of spiritual impediments that had to be overcome in order to attain Enlightenment. The theoretical development of the Hie-Sannō cult, particularly from the Kamakura period onwards, was mainly formed by the monks of the Enryaku-ji, and was shaped within the philosophical framework of Tendai doctrine. The relationship of the *kami* of the Hie Shrine and Buddhism will be addressed again in the following chapters, but it is important to bear in mind that the distinction between Buddhism and the *kami* worship in medieval Japan can not be argued from our contemporary perspective.

Besides the historical records such as the *Hiesha negi kudensho* dating from 1047 and the *Yōtenki* from 1223, various legends and medieval literature such as *The Tale of the Heike* included accounts of historical events in which monks of Mt.Hiei took significant parts. Those included famous incidents of monks' protests involving the sacred palanquins of the Hie Shrine, and oracles of the Sannō *kami*, all of which reflect the medieval perception of *kami*. Among these literary works, the *Sannō reigenki* (The Miraculous Tales of Sannō), compiled sometime in the thirteenth century, provides a vivid account on the miraculous events surrounding the Sannō *kami*, and help us understand how they were interpreted by medieval people.

4. *Sannō reigen-ki emaki* : the lost masterpiece

The genres of *reigenki* (the Record of miraculous events), *shaji engi* (the Origin of temples and shrines) and *kōsō-den* (the Life of great monks) were popular themes for

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 18.

emaki (picture scrolls) in the Kamakura period. The *Kasuga Gongen kenki* (1309), the *Kitano Tenjin engi* (c.1219), and the *Ippen Shōnin eden* (1299) are three representative examples of the genres which provide valuable sources for the religious history as well as the detailed visual reference to the lives of medieval people. In comparison to these monumental works, the *Sannō reigenki emaki* only remains in fragments, some in a poor condition, and mostly in the later versions. The lack of attractive images was possibly the main reason for this *reigenki* to be relatively neglected, but as the complete text survives in copies, the examination of the text and the remaining images will provide useful insight into the contemporary views on the Sannō *kami*.

i) Kōan version

The oldest surviving fragment of the *Sannō reigenki emaki* is a scroll which, according to its colophon, was originally dedicated to the Hie Shrine () in the province of Suruga (the present day Shizuoka prefecture) in 1288 (corresponding to the eleventh year of Kōan), which is now in the Tokyo National Museum. Only one scroll survives today, and a possibility of this scroll being a part of larger set of *emaki* can not be totally ruled out, but no other fragment in similar painting style, or from the same period exists today. As Komatsu Shigemi suggests, it is more likely that the scroll was commissioned on its own from the beginning because of the connection of the episode to the origin of the Hie Shrine in Suruga.⁶¹ The scroll has been damaged by the damp storage condition over the centuries and some of the text and a considerable amount of pigments from the pictures has been lost. The scroll, approximately 37 cm.high, is nearly seven metres long, and includes four scenes with two sections of text. The general appearance of the scroll suggests that it was remounted in the second half of the seventeenth century with the

⁶¹ Komatsu Shigemi, '*Sannō reigenki*' '*Jizō bosatsu reigenki*' *Zoku Nihon no emaki* 23, Chūō kōronsha, 1992, p. 90.

contemporary taste.⁶² The cover of the scroll is a blue dyed paper with sprinkled gold decoration inside, and attached to a black lacquered roller. The original scroll was probably longer as the continuity of the episode is disrupted by apparent missing sections of the text.⁶³ Although the consistency of the calligraphy and painting style indicate that all sections belong to the same scroll, the order of the sections seems to have been mixed up when they were remounted. Part of the original scroll might have been discarded because of the damage.

The scroll starts with the text narrating the incident which occurred in 1095 when the Lord of Mino, Minamoto no Yoshitsuna killed the monk Enō of Mt.Hiei. Some characters have been obliterated by the damp, but the story can be roughly deduced as follows: When the messenger from Mt.Hiei were sent to the capital to complain about Yoshitsuna's crime, they were attacked by the vassals of the *Kanpaku* (Regent) Fujiwara no Moromichi, and some messengers, including priests of the Hie Shrine, were killed. In retaliation, the monks of Mt.Hiei took the Sannō *mikoshi* to the main hall of the Enryaku-ji, and placed a curse of Sannō on Moromichi. As a result, a malignant boil appeared near the hairline of Moromichi's face, and despite his dedication of a service by thousand monks at the shrine, he fell gravely ill.

The next section of text after the break abruptly goes back to the incident some sixty years before, which is recollected by Ōe no Masafusa (1041 - 1111). During the time of the *Kanpaku* Fujiwara no Yorimichi (992 - 1074), two monks of Mt.Hiei, Raiju and Ryōen, objected to the choice of Tendai Abbot proposed by the court, and consequently

⁶² Ibid. p. 83.

⁶³ Ibid. pp.83-4.

were banished. But the exile of monks angered the Sannō *kami*, and in order to appease the *kami*, Yorimichi held a pacifying ritual.

The first picture section depicts the battle scene by River Kamo where the mounted warriors attack the messengers of Mt.Hiei (fig.25). Although some areas are damaged and colours are subdued, the lively movement of horses and the animated actions of people are handled with strong and fluid brushstrokes. The energetic gesture and the individual facial expression of people display dynamic handling of figures similar to the opening scene of the *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, renowned for its outstanding treatment of crowd (fig.26). The movement of mounted soldiers chasing the priests from the right to left urges the viewers to follow the development of the story, and provide a vivid sense of excitement. The attention to details such as horse trappings, arms and armour, and costumes too indicates that the painting is the work of an accomplished artist from the capital, but the artist has not been identified.⁶⁴

The scene continues to outside the Fujiwara no Yorimichi's residence where visitors and ox carriages are gathering. The *shinden zukuri* residence is reached through two gates guarded by vassals, and a messenger carrying a box is hurrying towards the second gate (fig.27). The deliberation on the future of two monks of Mt.Hiei, Raiju and Ryōen, is taking place in the residence behind the shades, while in the front of the residence on the left, a ritual scene of pacifying the *kami* is depicted by using the *iji dōzu-hō* (the simultaneous narrative technique). A rare depiction of *mishōtai*, the sacred mirror of the Hie Shrine on the small table in the centre provides an intriguing aspect of rituals at the time (fig.28). The outdoor ritual space is surrounded by several wooden tables with

⁶⁴ Ibid. pp.91-2.

decorated stands of *nusa* (white paper hangings) on one side, and the participants are seated on the ground. Three men in black formal court dress with long train and *kanmuri* (black crown with projection at the back), all holding ceremonial sceptres, are bowing deeply to the mirror, probably the man in the centre being Yorimichi. Another figure in a black formal garment and *kanmuri* is seated by the side, with two attendants in white *kariginu* (hunting robe) and *eboshi* (black hat). Facing them on the other side of the mirror is a man in a pale brown *kariginu*, seated with what seems like a small pile of firewood in front of him.

A comparison of this illustration with the ritual scene of Abe no Seimei (921 - 1005), the famous *onmyōji* (Yin and Yang practitioner), in the *Fudō riyaku engi* reveals interesting similarities in ritual paraphernalia (fig.29).⁶⁵ In the scene of exorcism, Seimei, wearing black formal robe and a formal court hat, is seated on the ground in front of a table on which several stands of paper decoration similar to the *Sannō reigenki* are placed. A man dressed in white *kariginu* with black *eboshi* is seated on his left, and a small pile of firewood is lighted between them. The monstrous creatures at the back of the table are *ekijin* (demons of disease) which Seimei is attempting to expel from the body of monk Chikō. In both cases, the rituals are held in a temporary outdoor space, not at shrines or temples. The absence of Buddhist monks or devotional images reveals one aspect of multifarious medieval religious practices in which the involvement of Yin and Yang practitioners encouraged sorcery and exorcism.

The last scene depicts the interior of Moromichi's residence by using the *fukimuke yatai* (blown off roof) technique. The room is surrounded by the sliding doors with landscape

⁶⁵ *Fudō riyaku engi*, attributed to the *hōgen* Keion, dates from the first half of the fourteenth century. Takahashi Fujihiko, Minamoto Toyomune (ed.) *Fudō riyaku engi*, Nihon emakimono zenshū 30,

paintings, and the floor is covered with *tatami* mats with decorative trimmings.

Moromichi, who is gravely ill, is seated on his bed, surrounded by the women of his household (fig.30). In his dream, an arrow came flying from the direction of Mt.Hiei, and when he woke, a scar appeared on his back. The incident clearly indicates the seriousness with which medieval people feared the wrath of Sannō, and the importance of appeasing the *kami* by rituals and offerings.

The text in the last section narrates the vows Moromichi's mother made, wishing her son's recovery. She prayed in seclusion at the Hie Shrine and promised the Sannō *kami* to build a roofed corridor all the way up Mt.Hachiōji. Furthermore she commissioned to hold *Hokke-kō*, a series of lectures on the *Lotus Sutra*, at the shrine, but despite all her effort, Moromichi died at the young age of thirty-eight. The story does not end there, but it goes on to say that the wail of a man could be heard at the sacred rock of Mt.Hachiōji on rainy days. It was the ghost of Moromichi who was imprisoned between the rocks which swelled on rainy days and crushed him, yet the ghost claimed that his pain was lessened on the occasions of *Hokke-kō*. Upon hearing this, his mother continued to sponsor the *Hokke-kō* by donating her estate of Ōoka-sho in the province of Suruga to the Hie Shrine. The Hie Shrine in the Province of Suruga, to which this scroll was dedicated in 1288, was situated in the estate of Ōoka-sho.

This episode of Moromichi's demise is also narrated in the *Tale of the Heike*, in which the emphasis on reading the *Lotus Sutra* for the Sannō *kami* is further elaborated. The chapter of 'The Vows' illustrates the contemporary views and customs dealing with grave illness through the actions of Moromichi's mother: When Moromichi was taken ill, his

mother went to the Hie Shrine disguised as a woman of low birth, and prayed in seclusion for seven days and seven nights. She publicly made vows to present the shrine with generous offerings of entertainment, Buddhist *sutra* expositions and commission of Buddhist images. In addition, she made three secret vows. Though no one knew what these three secret vows were, on the seventh night, the Sannō *kami* possessed a young *miko* (shrine virgin) and announced:

The Kita no mandokoro [Lady of the North, Moromichi's mother] has completed her seven day retreat. She made three vows. First, if the Regent's life is spared, she vows to serve the shrine morning and night for a thousand days mingling with the cripples in the *shitadono* [*geden* - the space beneath the shrine floor] . --- Secondly, she vows to build a roofed corridor from the Ōmiya Shrine all the way up to the Hachiōji Shrine [on Mt.Hachiōji]. --- Thirdly, -- she will hold *Hokke-kō* [the *Lotus Sutra* lectures] at the Hachiōji Shrine everyday without fail. They are all good vows. I can do without the first two, but the daily lecture on the *Lotus Sutra* will indeed be most desirable.⁶⁶

The exposition of the *Lotus Sutra* at the Hie Shrine certainly pleased Sannō, as Moromichi was given three more years to live. But the killing of priests of the Hie Shrine by the Moromichi's vassals was such a grave sin, the *kami* did not forgive completely, and Moromichi died young.

The episode concerning the Moromichi's death also corresponds to the chapter 5 of the *Hie-Sannō rishōki* (The Efficacies of the Hie-Sannō), a collection of medieval stories mostly concerning the monks of Mt.Hiei and their experiences of encounter with the Sannō *kami*. Nine chapters of the *Hie-Sannō rishōki* plus one additional chapter, the *Zoku Hie-Sannō rishōki*, as recorded in the *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, are included in the *Shinto taikei*, and provide useful sources for comparison.⁶⁷ The text of the *Hie-Sannō rishōki* is divided

⁶⁶ *Heike monogatari* (The Tale of Heike), Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 29, vol.1, p.95.

⁶⁷ *Hie-Sannō rishōki*, ZGR shingibu vol.51, Gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1936, pp.654-706, also ST(J) 29, Hiyoshi, pp.649 - 95.

in regular intervals with the word 'picture', confirming that the original format was a set of *emaki*, possibly of nine or ten scrolls. Similar story also appears in chapter six of the manuscript entitled the *Sannō ekotoba*, consisting from fourteen chapters, which seem to have been copied from a set of *emaki* during the Muromachi period. The manuscript was only discovered in 1940's in the Myōhō-in temple in Kyoto (fig.31).⁶⁸ As the chapter fourteen of this version is unusually long, the original set of *emaki* was probably comprised of fifteen scrolls.⁶⁹ The original colophon copied in the manuscript states that the *Sannō ekotoba* was dedicated to the Jūzenji Shrine of Hie in 1314 by Saionji Kinhira (1264 - 1315) to commemorate the birth of his grand son, an imperial heir born to his daughter Yasuko and Emperor Gofushimi (r.1298 - 1301). This is also mentioned in the *Zoku Sannō rishōki*, which narrates the passage below:

During the eras of Enkyō and Shōwa, there was Kōgi mon'in [the imperial consort] who was a daughter of Saionji nyūdo [Kinhira]. On the second day of the seventh month in the second year of Shōwa [1313], an auspicious event, the birth of an imperial heir, took place. As the last child born during the Ōcho era was a girl, he [Kinhira] found it regrettable, and this time he prayed to the Sannō by asking the monk Kakushū of the Ango-in to performed the *honji-ku* [ritual] in seclusion at the Hie Shrine, and the prince was born safely ----. This could only be the blessing of the Sannō, when I [the monk] prayed to the Sannō, a monkey appeared in my dream by a large tree of mandarin orange, and held out a fruit. When I was about to receive it, I woke and found out that the prince was safely born.⁷⁰

Kinhira commissioned a set of *Sannō ekotoba* and dedicated it together with the *Lotus Sutra* scribed in gold on indigo paper to the Hie Shrine. Kinhira is known to have commissioned the *Kasuga Gongen kenki* in 1309 to commemorate the occasion of *judai* (becoming the imperial consort) of his daughter Yasuko, and it seems perfectly appropriate for him to commission another large set of *emaki* when the prince was born.

⁶⁸ Kondō Yoshihiro, *Sannō reigenki to sono seiritsu nendai*, Kokka 771, 1956.

⁶⁹ Komatsu Shigemi, 'Sannō reigenki' ZNE 23, 1992, p.80.

⁷⁰ *Zoku Sannō rishōki*, ST. Jinja-hen 29, Hiyoshi, p.692.

Kinhira's set of *Sannō ekotoba*, now lost, was obviously different from the *Sannō reigenki* dedicated to the Hie Shrine in Suruga in 1288, suggesting that more than one version of *Sannō reigenki* existed in the Kamakura period. As the birth of Kinhira's grandson took place in 1313, some thirty-five years after the first *Sannō reigenki* was dedicated to the Hie Shrine in Suruga, the episode was probably added as the *Zoku Sannō rishōki* to the late thirteenth century version of the *Sannō reigenki* when Kinhira commissioned the *Sannō ekotoba* in 1313 / 4. Considering Kinhira's connection to the *Kasuga Gongen kenki* which was commissioned only four or five years earlier, the possibility of the lost *Sannō ekotoba* having been painted by the same artist, the renowned court painter Takashina Takakane, is not totally implausible. The birth of his grandson, the imperial heir, was certainly a great auspicious occasion for his family, and a set of sumptuous *emaki*, painted in thick rich pigments on silk, similar to the *Kansuga Gongen kenki* would have been a suitable commemorative offering to the Hie Shrine.

The dedication of *emaki* such as the *Sannō ekotoba* and the *Kasuga Gongen kenki* to the relevant shrines illustrates that they were commissioned as an offering for the *kami*. In fact Kinhira dedicated the *Sannō ekotoba* to the Hie Shrine with a set of the *Lotus Sutra*, confirming the religious motivation of the donor, and probably no expense was spared to dedicate a gift that was fit for the *kami* and for his own position. Once these items were dedicated to the shrine, they were probably tucked away safely, only exposed to view in special occasions to the request of the privileged few, if ever. In comparison to other secular *emaki* created for entertainments or for didactic purposes, the function of *emaki* such as the *Sannō ekotoba* was limited, reserved for eyes of a very few people, and if survived from fire and other ravages of time, the *emaki* would have been preserved in excellent condition.

ii) Muromachi version

Apart from the textual reference to Kinhira's set of *Sannō ekotoba*, the existence of another set of *Sannō reigenki* in the Muromachi period is recorded in the *Tokitsugu kyōki*, the diary of Yamashina Tokitsugu (1507-79). In the entry on the fifteenth day in the fifth month of 1550, Tokitsugu mentions that there were fifteen volumes of *Sannō reigenki* in the possession of the monk Yūsō of the Getsuzō-in temple of Mt.Hiei.⁷¹ This version too is now lost, presumably in the fire of 1571, and only odd scrolls of the *Sannō reigenki* from the Muromachi period survive today to provide some idea of what the fifteen volumes of *Sannō reigenki* mentioned by Tokitsugu might have looked like.

Four scrolls of the *Sannō reigenki* from the Muromachi period are known today. They are two scrolls in the Kubo Sō Memorial Art Institute in Izumi City, Osaka, one scroll in the Egawa Art Institute, Hyōgo, and one scroll in the collection of the Enryaku-ji. These four scrolls display similar, painting style with thick, bright colours on paper, suggesting that they originally belonged to the same set of *emaki*. The paintings are traditionally attributed to Jakusai (1348? - 1428), a painter of the *Yamato-e* tradition, whose name appears in the colophon of the *Zoku Sannō rishōki*.⁷² Jakusai is sometimes called Rokkaku Jakusai, and has been associated with the Tosa School of painters who mainly produced works with Japanese themes in a detailed decorative style. As Melinda Takeuchi points out, the study of Muromachi *yamato-e* has been relatively neglected, compared to the Chinese style ink painting, because of "the implicit assumption that the Chinese-painting lineage is the more virile of the two, i.e., stronger, more authoritative, more public". "The

⁷¹ Yamashina Tokitsugu, *Tokitsugu kyōki*,

⁷² Jakusai is one of the contributors of the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi* (the Seiryō-ji version, c.1414). The colophon of the text *Zoku Sannō rishōki* includes the name of Jakusai as the painter. ST. Jinja-hen 29, Hiyoshi, p.695.

frustrating lack of documentation for Yamato-e results in the temptation to relegate objects not clearly in the Chinese manner to the workshop of Tosa Mitsunobu".⁷³ Hence, little is known about the painters of *emaki* such as the *Sannō Reigenki*. The calligraphy of the text was executed by several hands including the monks of the Shōren-in, the *monzeki* temple with imperial connection, affiliated to the Enryaku-ji. The text of the four scrolls corresponds to the *Sannō ekotoba*, suggesting that the original set possibly comprised from fifteen volumes.⁷⁴

The two scrolls in the Kubo Sō Memorial Art Institute, originally from the Renge-ji, Kyoto, each contain six pictures with six sections of text which roughly correspond to the chapter three and the first half of chapter fourteen of the *Sannō ekotoba*. The first picture of the scroll one illustrates the dramatic scene of the thunder gods on black clouds appearing in front of the monk Zōmyō (843 - 927), the tenth Tendai Abbot (fig.32). Zōmyō is depicted, seated on the ground, praying to Sannō Gongen to destroy the monster-shaped evil rock on Mt.Hiei which was causing the monks of the Western Pagoda area to die young. Answering to his prayer, Sannō Gongen sent the black cloud which engulfed the rock and with a thunderous bang, the rock was shattered into pieces.⁷⁵

Another illustration depicts an episode in which the *kami* of Jūzenji manifests as a child (fig.33). The illustrations are characterized by the abundant use of pale blue mist, stylised and delineated by the clear white outline. The ubiquitous mist stretching horizontally across the scenes is used in the classic *emaki* technique to indicate the passage of time, as well as to accommodate the spatial ambiguity. The human figures are relatively small, and

⁷³ Melinda Takeuchi, *World Seen and Imagined*, Exhibition of Idemitsu Screens, The Art Society New York, 1995, p.35.

⁷⁴ Biwako bunka-kan, *Hie-Sannō Gongen - Kami to hotoke no bijutsu*, pp.50 - 2.

⁷⁵ *Hie Sannō rishōki*, vol.2, St. J.29, p.656.

depicted in a lively, naïve style. These characteristics are also consistent in two other scrolls in the Egawa Art Institute and the Enryaku-ji.

The scroll in the Egawa Art Institute contains five illustrations and five sections of text which correspond to the chapter five of the *Sannō ekotoba*, also to some sections of the chapter three and six of the *Sannō rishōki*. In one episode, two brothers from the province of Suruga, Senga and Seikyū, received an oracle from Sannō who sent two bees as messengers (fig. 34). They were told to become monks at Mt. Hiei, and Senga later became a Tendai Abbot. Another episode narrates the life of Raigō (1002-84), a monk of the Mii-dera (the Onjō-ji). Raigō performed rituals for Emperor Shirakawa (1053-1129) who promised him any reward for the birth of an heir. When the Prince Atsufumi was born, Raigō requested for the imperial permission to build a *kaidan* (the ordination platform) at the Mii-dera, but it was refused as giving permission to Mii-dera would cause a serious friction between the court and the Enryaku-ji, the rival temple of the Mii-dera. In his fury, Raigō protested by starving himself to death, casting a curse on the young prince who died shortly afterwards. The monk of Mt. Hiei, Ryōshin prayed to Sannō, and another prince, who later became Emperor Horikawa, was born.⁷⁶

The Enryaku-ji scroll includes five illustrations with four sections of text narrating three episodes, corresponding to the *Zoku Sannō rishōki*, and the last section of the *Sannō ekotoba*. The first episode is the birth of Saionji Kinhira's grandson, the imperial prince, already quoted, while the second episode narrates the incident in 1314 when a fire broke out at the Ango-in temple. Although the fire destroyed the building which contained the seven scrolls of the sacred Sannō images, the paintings miraculously emerged at another

⁷⁶ *Zoku Sannō rishōki*, ST. Jinja-hen 29 Hiyoshi, pp. 661 - 6.

location - five by the residence of the Kamo Shrine's priest, and the other two by the well of the Ninna-ji (fig.35). The last episode narrates the sea journey of a man named Shinshū from the province of Ōkuma, who chanted the name of Sannō when the ship was in danger in the stormy weather. Immediately, two monks of the Sannō-dō manifested together with about thirty monkeys, and they baled the water out from the ship and saved it from sinking (fig.36).

The miscellaneous collection of episodes in the *Sannō ekotoba* and the *Sannō rishōki* are based on historical figures and their legendary lives, and the lively illustrations of *emaki* provide a wealth of valuable visual information on the history of the Hie-Sannō cult. The analysis of episodes firstly reveals that a large number of the episodes are concerned with the monks of Mt.Hiei, indicating that the worship of Sannō attracted ardent support from the monks of the Enryaku-ji. For that reason, the stories are sometimes called '*Sanmon sōden*' (Legends of the monks of the Mountain Gate).⁷⁷ The close relationship between the Enryaku-ji and the Hie Shrine is evident from the events, many of which took place in the temple context.

Secondly, many episodes reveal how important events, such as the birth and death of imperial heirs, were interpreted as the will of Sannō. Catastrophic events such as an untimely death (of the Regent Moromichi for example), epidemics, a fierce storm, and all sort of misfortunes were believed to be a direct result of Sannō's wrath for sins committed either in this or previous lives of the protagonists. Any unusual events, auspicious as well as bad, which defied logical explanation was assumed to be the signs of Sannō's will. Textual sources indicate that the monks of Mt.Hiei capitalized in the belief in Sannō

⁷⁷ The term Sanmon (the Mountain Gate) refers to the Enryakuji, while Jimon (the Temple Gate) refers to the rival branch the Onjō-ji (Mii-dera).

Gongen to a great extent to their advantage by exerting pressures on to the government and to the court. The monk's petitions accompanied by the Sannō *mikoshi* were famously effective in medieval times, and the political significance of the Hie-Sannō cult was not something to be overlooked lightly. The medieval superstition and fear of Sannō are vividly expressed in various descriptions of pacifying rituals and generous offerings people were prepared to dedicate to the Hie Shrine. The striking characteristic of these rituals and offerings is their Buddhist aspect, for instance the reading of *sutras* at the shrine was common, and the monks of Mt.Hiei took active roles in the rituals at the Hie Shrine.

Thirdly, the oracles or actions of Sannō were often conveyed by monkeys, the sacred animal of Hie, or transmitted by shamanic shrine maidens and medium child, or appeared as signs in dreams of people. The *kami* is perceived as an invisible entity and the anthropomorphic image of Sannō does not appear in the stories. The only mention of images is painted images, recorded in the episode of the fire at the Ango-in temple in 1290 in the *Zoku Sannō rishōki*. The seven scrolls of painting are described as '*Sannō no mitai*' (the sacred body of Sannō), and the two that miraculously transferred to the Ninna-ji were described as 'large figure painting in the *kara-e* (Chinese painting) style.'⁷⁸ The illustration of the event in the Muromachi period Enryaku-ji scroll depicts the paintings as hanging scrolls with images of the *kami*, and provides an evidence for the Sanno paintings existing in temples rather than shrines.

Visual representations of the *kami* in anthropomorphic forms developed, firstly in sculptural forms, during the Heian period under the strong influence of Buddhist images,

⁷⁸ *Zoku Sannō rishōki*, ST.Jinja-hen 29, Hiyoshi, pp.692 - 3.

but as I have already mentioned, the images of *kami* were not displayed publicly. The *mishōtai* of shrines remained behind the closed doors or screens, and they were not meant to be exposed to the scrutinizing gaze of mere mortals. The stories in the *Sannō reigenki* and other medieval tales confirm that *kami* remained elusive, and the presence of *kami* was felt rather than seen by medieval people. The absence of images, in what Timon Screech described as "the Iconography of Absence", enhanced the aura of the *kami*.⁷⁹ Then what was the impetus behind the creation of Shinto-Buddhist *mandara*? Where did the iconography of *kami* in paintings and sculptures come from? What was the function of these images? In order to consider these questions, the following chapters will examine different types of Shinto-Buddhist *mandara* created in connection with the Hie-Sannō cult.

⁷⁹ Timon Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture*, Reaktion Books, 2000, p.112.

Chapter Two

Appropriating *kami*: the Origin and the Manifestation

*Buppō hiromu tote
Tendai fumoto ni
ato o tare owashi masu
hikari o yawaragete
chiri to nashi,
higashi no miya tozo
iware owashi masu.*

The Buddhist Law shall spread
by the manifestations
at the foot of Tendai,
softening the light and
mingling with dust,
he is worshipped
in the Eastern Shrine.

Songs for *Kami*, *Ryōjin hishō*.¹

1. The *Honji-suijaku* theory and Shinto-Buddhist *mandara*

The receptive attitude towards the local belief fostered by Tendai Buddhism encouraged the development of *shinbutsu shūgō* (*kami*-buddha amalgamation) on Mt.Hiei during the Heian period, and the *kami* of the Hie Shrine, Sannō Gongen was venerated by the monks of the Enryaku-ji. The polytheistic nature of both Buddhism and the worship of *kami* shared a sympathetic outlook towards the other at the fundamental level, and the temple and the shrine co-existed in harmony. The relationship was based on the Tendai philosophy which, to certain extent, actively accommodated the *kami*, and the arrangement worked advantageously for the temple to negotiate political and territorial issues with the local community. The theoretical basis for the association was explained by the term "*wakō dōjin*", literally "soften light, and blend in with dust", meaning that buddhas concealed their true identity, and manifested in this world [Japan] blending in with dust [everyone].

The *imayō* song, literary "modern style", quoted above comes from the *Ryōjin hishō* (Dust on the Beams: Secret Book of Songs), a collection of popular songs compiled by

¹ *Ryōjin hishō*, Song 244, Iwanami shoten, 1995, p.49.

the retired emperor Goshirakawa in c.1169. These songs were markedly different from the sophisticated *waka* poetry enjoyed by the court circles, but they were popular songs from various provinces, made and sang by ordinary people, and in many cases performed by *shirabyōshi*. The song articulates that the *kami* of the Eastern Shrine (Ni-no-miya, the original *jishu gongen* of the Hie Shrine) is a manifestation of the Buddha who would spread the Buddhist Law. The song succinctly testifies the dissemination of the concept of "*wakō dōjin*" among the wide strata of society by the late Heian period. The term *wakō dōjin* is now explained by the modern term, *honji-suijaku shisō*, literally "the theory of the original ground and the trace / manifestation", which appropriated the Japanese *kami* from the Buddhist perspective as a temporary manifestation of the Indian buddhas.

The concept of 'origin and trace' at the fundamental level was analogous to the interpretation proposed by the Tiantai Patriarch Zhiyi in the sixth century in his commentary on the structure of the *Lotus Sutra*. Zhiyi divided the sutra into two parts, and defined the first half up to the chapter 14, the Comfortable Conduct (J.Anrakugyōhon), as the realm of trace (Ch.Jimen, J. Jakumon), and the second half as the realm of origin (Ch. Benmon, J. Honmon).² The origin and trace were both identified as aspects of truth, and complimented each other. The application of this theory to the relationships between *kami* and buddhas interpreted the Indian buddhas as the *honji* (origin) of the *kami* who appeared in the *suijaku* (manifestation) form in order to propagate the Buddhist Law to Japanese people.

² Tamura Yoshirō, Introduction to *The Threefold Lotus Sutra*, Kōsei Publishing, 1992, p.xv. Also Willa J.Tanabe, *The Paintings of the Lotus Sutra*, Weatherhill, 1988, p.6.

The *Lotus Sutra*, the sermons of the Buddha Sākyamuni in prose and verse, is the principal scripture of Tendai Buddhism. This foremost scripture of Mahayana Buddhism preached the possibility of salvation for all men as well as women, through the help of compassionate bodhisattvas, and expounded the wisdom of Buddhist philosophy by means of easy-to-understand parables for the lay devotees. One of the most popular of all was the parable of the burning house in the chapter 3. It explained the *hōben*, the expedient means, by the story of an old man who enticed his children out of the burning house by promising to give them attractive carts pulled by goats, deer and bullocks. When the children were safely out of the house, the old man offered them a magnificent cart pulled by a white ox, which was something much superior than the carts he had originally promised.³ The tactful way to save the children from the fire described in the parable provided the source for the interpretation of *kami* as the expedient means to teach the Buddhist Law to Japanese.

The *Lotus Sutra* transmitted to Japan was the Chinese language version, translated by Kumarajiva in the fifth century. From the earliest stage of Buddhist transmission to Japan, lectures and commentaries on the *sutra* were important, as recorded in the *Nihongi*, Prince Shōtoku lectured on the *sutra* in 606.⁴ In the Heian period, *The Lotus Sutra* was the most frequently copied Buddhist scripture as imperial and aristocratic devotees either copied the *sutra* themselves or commissioned them in order to acquire religious merits. It was particularly significant for women because of its positive encouragement for the possibility of women attaining Enlightenment.⁵ *Hokke-*

³ *The Lotus Sutra*, Kōsei Publishing, 1975, pp.85 - 8.

⁴ Aston (trans.), *Nihongi*, Charles E. Tuttle, 1993, vol.2, p.135.

⁵ In Chapter Twelve "Devadetta", an eight-years old Dragon King's daughter is described as "wise and of keen faculties, well acquainted with the karma arising from the roots of action of all creatures, -- and has deeply entered into meditations and penetrated into all laws." She presented a precious pearl to the Buddha, and he immediately accepted it, then "the dragon's daughter suddenly transformed into a male,

kō (Lotus Lectures) for lay devotees, especially women with little knowledge of the Chinese language, encouraged them to visit temples. The *Hokke hakkō* (Eight Lectures on the *Lotus Sutra*), usually held in memory of deceased family members, was one of the most frequently performed Buddhist rituals attended by the imperial family or the aristocracy in the medieval period.⁶ The passage below from the *Makura no sōshi* (*the Pillow Book*) by Sei shō-nagon confirms how the *Lotus Sutra* lectures provided meaningful occasions to visit temples for Heian women:

When I visited Bodai Temple to hear the Eight Lessons for Confirmation, I received this message from a friend: 'Please Come back soon. Things are very dreary here without you.'
I wrote my reply on a lotus petal:
 Though you bid me come,
 How can I leave this dew-wet lotus leaves
 And return to a world so full of grief?
I had been truly moved by the ceremony and felt that I could
Remain forever in the temple.⁷

The *Lotus Sutra* lectures were held not only in temples, but at shrines as well. The episode of Fujiwara no Moromichi in the *Sannō reigenki*, discussed in the previous chapter, mentioned that the *Hokke-kō* was sponsored by Moromichi's mother at the Hie Shrine to appease the *kami*. In the climate of *shinbutsu shūgō* in which the essence of *kami* was identified with Buddha, the reading of the *Lotus Sutra* at shrines was considered quite appropriate.

The tradition of the *Lotus Sutra* lectures is still observed at the Hie Shrine annually on the 26th May in the service of Sannō reihai-kō when the monks of the Enryaku-ji hold explications and debates on the contents of the *sutra* in the *haiden* of the Ōmiya Shrine

perfect on bodhisattva-deeds, who instantly went to the World Spotless in the southern quarter, where [she] sat on a precious lotus flower, attaining Perfect Enlightenment, with the thirty-two signs and the eighty kinds of excellence, and universally proclaiming the Wonderful Law to all living creatures in the universe." *The Lotus Sutra*, Kōsei Publishings 1992, pp.212-3.

⁶ Willa J. Tanabe, *Paintings of the Lotus Sutra*, p.39.

⁷ Ivan Morris (trans.) *The Pillow Book of Sei shōnagon* Penguin Books, 1967, p.55.

(fig.37).⁸ The origin of the ritual goes back to the year 1025 when all the trees in the shrine complex died mysteriously. The *kami* of Ōmiya manifested himself to the old shrine priest Hafuribe Marefō, and he lamented the idleness of monks and the decline of Buddhist Law on Mt.Hiei. In order to apologise to the *kami*, the monks were gathered from Mt.Hiei to conduct the debates on the *Lotus Sutra* in front of the shrine. It is said that soon after the ritual, the trees revived their original green.⁹ Such an episode reflects the Heian view of Sannō Gongen whose magical power as the protector of Tendai Buddhism was also closely associated with the land and nature.

The chanting of the *Lotus Sutra* for the Sannō *kami* can also be confirmed in the Muromachi period text, *Shichisha ryakki*, which describes the procedure of the Tozu seppō (Lectures at Tozu), the annual summer lecture series at the Tōnan-ji in Sakamoto. The event is said to originate from the time of Saichō who came down from Mt.Hiei once a year to lecture on the *Lotus Sutra* to the public, and the temple maintains the tradition to this day. On the first seven days of the event, the reading of one chapter from the *Lotus Sutra* was dedicated to individual *kami* of the Upper Seven Shrines of Hie. According to the *Shichisha ryakki*, the following chapters were read:

20th day of the sixth month, the *sutra of Innumerable Meanings* for the Ōmiya.

21st day of the sixth month, Chapter 1, 'Introductory' for the Ni-no-miya.

22nd day of the sixth month, Chapter 2, 'Tactfulness' for the Shōshinshi.

23rd day of the sixth month, Chapter 3, 'A Parable' for the Hachiōji.

24th day of the sixth month, Chapter 4, 'Faith Discernment' for the Marōdo.

25th day of the sixth month, Chapter 5, 'The Parable of the Herbs' for the Jūzenji.

⁸ Enryaku-ji shikkōkyoku (ed.) *Hieizan*, 1993, pp.147-9.

⁹ Murayama, *Hieizanshi*, Tokyo bijutsu, 1994, pp.13-7.

26th day of the sixth month, Chapter 6, 'Prediction' for the San-no-miya.¹⁰

The acknowledgement of the seven shrines by the temple reflects the respect towards the *kami* whose protective power ensured the successful rituals. Kageyama has suggested that the images of Sannō, possibly *mandara* could have decorated the temple hall for the occasion.¹¹ The text does not mention any image or does not describe how the hall was decorated, and it may be hazardous to make assumption, but the fact that many of the Hie-Sanno *mandara* were handed down and preserved in temples seems to confirm this theory that Shinto-Buddhist *mandara* were primarily created and functioned in Buddhist ritual context.

The wide dissemination of the *honji-suijaku* theory encouraged the pairing of Buddhist deities and *kami*, and the twenty-one main *kami* of Hie were each assigned with their Buddhist counterpart, *honji-butsu* by the Kamakura period (Appendix 1). The pairing was a gradual process, and the combination of each *kami* with their *honji-butsu* was not based on any one theoretical scheme, but often based on legends or historical associations. Consequently, many principal Buddhist deities were recognised as the *honji* of several *kami* of different locations, as for example Shaka was regarded as the *honji* of Ōmiya at Hie as well as that of Ichi-no-miya at Kasuga and Kanjō jūgosho at Kumano. Amida was the *honji* of the Shōshinshi Shrine at Hie as well as that of Shōjōden at Kumano and Hachiman of the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, while Yakushi was the *honji* of the Ni-no-miya Shrine at Hie as well as that of Ni-no-miya at Kasuga. These overlaps were inevitable as the pairing of buddhas and *kami* developed independently at different locations, each incorporating local legends and traditions, indicating that the phenomenon of *shinbutsu shūgō* was a fundamentally localized

¹⁰ *Shichisha ryakki*, ST, Jinja-hen 29, pp.127 - 35.

movement supported by populace, rather than a systematic religious movement enforced from the centre. As Grapard points out:

The term for the phenomenon is *shinbutsu shūgō*, which means, literally, combinations (*shūgō*) between *kami* (*sin*) and buddhas and bodhisattvas (*butsu*). Thus what we are confronting here is not syncretism between "Buddhism" and "Shinto", but specific relations between shrines and temples where those divinities were enshrined. It is, however, true that in most cases the combinations were grounded in a framework of interpretation issued either from the Tendai or Shingon philosophical systems; the Japanese themselves, during the medieval period, believed that most combinatory rationales had been authored by Kūkai and Saichō, the founders of Singon and Tendai schools.¹²

The disparate and gradual development of combinations resulted in many cases rather confusing overlaps and variations, and it was not until the late Kamakura period that the consistent systematization was established.

The combination of *kami* and buddhas at Hie accompanied the development of paintings of *kami*, both in their *honji* and *suijaku* forms in the Kamakura period when many of the Hie-Sanno *mandara* examined in this study were created. One of the earliest textual references to the painting of the Sannō *kami* appears in the passage in the *Gyokuyō*, the diary of the Regent Kujō Kanazane (1149 - 1207). In the entry below dated 1184, he mentions:

'Monk Sonchū brought a scroll of *zue* (painting) depicting the *mishōtai* (the sacred body) of the Hie Shrine, and asked for an inscription, to which I immediately obliged. --- ' ¹³

The description suggests that the painting depicted an image (or images?) of *kami*, but whether if it was in a *honji* or a *suijaku* form is not specified. The painting was brought

¹¹ Kageyama Haruki, *Shinto bijutsu*, Yūzankaku, 1973, pp.96 - 7.

¹² Allan Grapard, "Religious Practices" *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol.2, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.565.

¹³ Kujō Kanazane, *Gyokuyō* (the Jewelled Leaves), Kokusho kankōkai, 1908, p.54.

by a Buddhist monk, and not by a shrine priest. The use of word 'zue' suggests that the term 'mandara' was not used for images of *kami* at this stage.

This is confirmed by another almost contemporary textual reference in the *Meigetsuki*, the diary of Fujiwara no Teika. In an entry from 1199, Teika wrote:

Fourth day, fine weather, light rain in the evening.
I left the capital around the time of evening bell for Hie. ---
After visiting the shrines, I joined to attend a service.
The ritual space was made in the south-east corner of the
prayer hall in front of the Jūzenji Shrine by hanging shades
and placing screens. The leading monk sat in the southern
side while two monks responding sat in the north. ---
A mirror with the *mishōtai* of ten shrines welded on, and a
Buddhist hanging scroll with image of twelve *mishōtai*, were
hung, and copies of the *Jizō darani-kyo* were placed on two
temporary stands and an offering of flowers was placed as usual.¹⁴

Teika's description provides interesting and valuable information for the way the *haiden* was decorated for the occasion.

The mention of 'a mirror with the *mishōtai* of the ten shrine welded on' points to a bronze *kakebotoke* (literally 'suspending Buddha') which might have looked similar to the rare dated example of *kakebotoke* in the Nara National Museum (fig.38). The gilt bronze disc, 30.5 cm. in diameter, has an incised inscription on the reverse which includes the date corresponding to 1218, and the name, Taira no Kagetoshi, but his identity is unknown. The ten figures of the Sannō *kami*, each separately made in shallow relief, are attached to the base with rivets.¹⁵ Four monks, three male *kami*, two female *kami*, and a recumbent bull are identified by the inscription on the back as Ōmiya in the centre with clockwise from the top right, Hachiōji, Shōshinshi, Ni-no-miya, Daigyōji, Ushimiko, Hayao, Jūzenji, Marōdo, and San-no-miya. Such a *Kakebotoke* was

¹⁴ Fujiwara no Teika, *Meigetsuki* (the Record of the Bright Moon), Kobundō, 1911, p.107

¹⁵ Michael Cunningham, *Buddhist Treasures from Nara*, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998, pp.183.

suspended under the eaves of shrine halls often in multiple numbers as an illustration of the Shōshinshi Shrine in the *Hōnen Shōnin eden* (c.1307) indicates (fig.39).

The mention of 'one scroll of *mihotoke*' (Buddhist deity) with twelve *mishōtai* suggests that the painting was what is now called '*mandara*' with twelve images of *honji-butsu*, but as in the case of the '*zue*' (painting) in the *Gyokuyō*, the word *mandara* was not used. The two textual references confirm that paintings of the *kami* of the Hie Shrine were made at least from the late twelfth century, but they were not called '*mandara*' then. They also suggest that the paintings depicted *honji-butsu*, and they functioned in the Buddhist context, as the ritual which Teika observed was performed by monks although it was held at the prayer hall in front of the Jūzenji Shrine.

Images played essential roles in Buddhist rituals, especially in the Esoteric Buddhist tradition. An illustration in the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* shows how the Shingon-in hall in the imperial palace was decorated with mandalas and paintings for the occasion of the ritual *goshichi-nichi mishihō* (the Ritual of the latter seven days) (fig.40). Five hanging scrolls with images of Godai Myōō (the Five Great Kings of Light) are hung in the central wall, and the Ryōgai Mandala (Mandalas of the Two Worlds) are hung on the side-walls of this ritual space. These images were not mere decoration, but they were understood to embody the spiritual property of deities. As Robert Sharf noted:

Japanese Buddhist images were frequently treated, by elite monastics and unschooled laypersons alike, as more than mere didactic symbols, representations, or commemorations of divine figures or saints. Japanese Buddhist icons were regarded, more often than not, as living presences with considerable apotropaic and salvific power.¹⁶

¹⁶ Robert H. Sharf, "Prolegomenon to the study of Japanese Buddhist Icons", *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, Stanford University Press, 2001, p.8.

The inspiration for the creation of Shinto-Buddhist *mandara* and images of the *kami* was nurtured primarily in such an environment with the desire to solicit the *kami* to the occasion, and to have a tangible focus of veneration. Images served important roles in rituals, and they were not mere decoration or *shōgon* (to embellish as best as possible) for the hall.

The textual reference to the term '*mandara*' specifically treating the Shinto-Buddhist theme only appears in the fourteenth century. The often quoted passage below from the diary of Emperor Hanazono (1297-1348) mentions '*mandara*' depicting the landscape of the Kasuga Shrine in Nara on the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month in 1325:

This evening in the crown prince's palace, Kiyotsune told us that Kasuga *mandara* has been used past three or four years to imitate the ritual at the shrine. The painting depicting the scene of the shrine is called *mandarā*. Everyone seem to have one.¹⁷

The emperor's comment is supported by a large number of Kasuga *mandara* surviving today, and they testify the popularity of the Kasuga *mandara* in the second half of the Kamakura period.¹⁸

In comparison to Kasuga, only a handful of paintings of the Hie Shrine or the Sannō *kami* from the Kamakura period survive today, and the term 'Hie-Sannō *mandarā*' is not found at all in medieval texts. However, it does not imply that *mandara* of the Hie-Sannō cult did not exist or they were rare in the Kamakura period. The rarity of paintings related to the Hie-Sannō cult is partly due to the fire of 1571, and as I have already mentioned with the textual references, the term '*mandara*' was simply not used

¹⁷ Emperor Hanazono, *Hanazone Tennō shinki*, Shiryō taisei zokuhen 34, Naigai shoseki, p.158.

¹⁸ Kasuga *mandara* are most prevalent of all medieval Shinto-Buddhist *madara*, and approximately 160 Kasuga *mandara* survive today. Gyōtoku Shinichirō, *Shinto: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, The British Museum, 2001, p. 162.

for this kind of paintings. In the academic Buddhist community of Mt.Hiei, the term '*mandala*' was probably used strictly for the authentic Esoteric *mandalas* which were the geometric diagram of cosmology based on the specifications given in *sutras*, and the terms "*zue*" or "*mishōtai*" were used for paintings of *kami*.

This hypothesis is supported by my examination of the *Asabashō*, regarded as the most comprehensive compilation of visual images and ritual procedures, by the Tendai monk Shōchō from the mid-Kamakura period. The extensive list of *mandalas* with detailed diagrams of iconography does not include any mention of Hie-Sannō *mandara*, nor any images of the *kami*. However, a mention of image of Sannō can be found in a record of ritual '*Sannō-ku*' performed by the Shōchō's master, Chūkai in 1213 under the section of rituals.¹⁹ The detailed list of items needed in preparation includes one platform, two side tables, four torch stands, small amount each of vinegar, honey and wax, incense, offerings, rice, oil, five kind of cereals, two hundred cakes, fourteen quires of paper, one waxed cloth, one platform cover, three large curtains, five *tatami* mats, one hundred and fifty large earthenware vessels, five buckets, three ladles, ten mats, one chest, seventy bundles of firewood, and nine purified robes. The list is followed by an item '*gyōzō*' (image), indicating that some kind of image was used in the ritual which further confirms that the images relating to the Sannō *kami* was simply called 'painting' or 'sacred images', and not categorized as '*mandala*' or '*shinzō*'.

The term *mandara*, the Japanese pronunciation for the word *mandala*, was corrupted from the original Sanskrit term which derived from '*manda*' meaning 'the essence', and '*la*' meaning 'to attain'. The mandala can be interpreted as circle, magic circle, (solar or

¹⁹ Shōchō, *Asaba-shō*, TSD, zuzo vol.9, pp.556 - 7.

lunar) disc, halo, or group, which in Esoteric Buddhism came to be associated with graphic representations of Buddhist universe.²⁰ The word *mandala* is defined by Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis as 'a kind of cosmic ground plan or map, lays out a sacred territory or realm in microcosm, showing the relation among the various powers active in that realm'.²¹ It originally denoted outdoor ritual space in India, temporarily created by a rope stretched between four posts.²² The attempt to distinguish the sacred space for ritual purposes from the profane space has the fundamental similarity to the origin of the ancient Japanese religious practice in which the sacred spot was marked off by a *shimenawa*.

It is not clear just when the concept of *mandala* began to be translated into the two dimensional visual representation in India, but one of the earliest extant examples of painted *mandala* can be found in the caves of Bamiyan, Afghanistan, dating from the fifth / sixth centuries. The ceilings and walls of caves are decorated with Buddhist deities within the geometric pattern made of interlocking circles (fig.41). The composition is organized with the most important deity in the centre, surrounded by smaller circles containing the lesser deities, clearly displaying the doctrinal hierarchy. The subsequent development of the two-dimensional *mandalas* follow this basic principle of geometric structure, with the principal deity in the centre as observed in the case of the Nara National Museum's *kakebotoke* mentioned earlier.

When the word *mandala* was introduced to Japan by Saichō and Kūkai in the early ninth century, it connoted the formal geometric diagram of the Esoteric pantheon. The

²⁰ E Dale Saunders, in Ishida Hisatoyo, *Esoteric Buddhist Painting*, Kōdansha, 1987, p.20.

²¹ Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography*, University of Hawaii, 1999, p.2.

²² Ishida Hisatoyo, *Esoteric Buddhist Painting*, Kōdansha, 1987, p.31.

Goshōrai mokuroku, the list of Buddhist materials Kūkai brought with him on his return from the Tang in 806 (later copied by Saichō) included five kinds of *mandalas* - Dai-Birushana daihi taizō-kai dai-mandala, Daihi taizōhō mandala, Daihi taizō sanmiya ryaku mandal, Kongōkai kue mandala and Kongōkai hachijū-isson dai-mandala.²³ The Taizō-kai mandala was drawn up according to the specification given in the *Dainichikyō* (the *sutra of Mahavairocana*), while the Kongō-kai mandala was based on the *Kongōchō-kyō* (the *sutra of Vajrasekhara*). The pair formed the Ryōgai mandala which symbolized the realms of noumenon and phenomenon, and functioned as important visual aids to Esoteric Buddhist rituals (fig.42). The primary aim of Esoteric *mandala* was to express the complex structure of the Buddhist cosmos in visual terms in order to explain the relationships between the deities. In these *mandalas*, images of deities were placed on a plane background, and the space was treated as abstract expanse of an eternal time frame.

The adoption of foreign words often deviates or modifies the original meaning when they become absorbed in a different culture. In the case of *mandala*, it began to encompass the figurative depiction of the Western Paradise of the Buddha Amida in Japan. The image of this magnificent *saihō jōdo*, the Pure Land in the West was described in the *Kan-muryōju-kyō* (the *sutra of Meditation of the Buddha of Infinite Life*).²⁴ The image was first introduced to Japan in the form of silk tapestry which was most likely imported from the Tang in the eighth century. The large tapestry, nearly four metres square, was preserved in the Taima-dera in Nara, from which the name Taima mandara originated and became synonymous for the *jōdo mandara*. According to the temple legend, the tapestry was miraculously woven overnight by a princess with a help

²³ Yoritomi Motohiro, 'Kōbō daishi no mikkyō sekai' *Tō-ji kokuhō-ten*, Kyoto National Museum, 1995.

²⁴ Jōji Okazaki, *Pure Land Buddhist Painting*, Kōdansha, 1977, p.42.

of a nun, who was the manifestation of the Kannon, using the yarns made from the fibres of lotus plants (fig.43). The legend captured the imagination of devotees with the rise of Pure Land Buddhism, and although the original tapestry was badly decayed by the Kamakura period, many painted versions of the original image were created.

The composition and the details of Taima mandara are unmistakably similar to the paradise paintings on the walls of caves at Dunhuang from the High Tang period (c. eighth century), confirming beyond doubt the Chinese origin of the tapestry (fig.44). The images of various Buddha's paradise were called *bien shan* (J. *hensō*), literally 'transformed configuration' in China and Korea, and the term *mandara* was only coined in Japan. In sharp contrast to the schematic and abstract space of Esoteric *mandalas*, the Taima mandara depicted an illusionistic space similar to the human world with the use of perspective. The architectural framework provided the recession of space, and the image of the magnificent Pure Land enchanted the devotees with a sense of reality. The adoption of the term mandara for the image of the Pure Land must have been the direct influence on the naming of Kasuga Mandara, as the Kasuga Shrine was regarded as the Pure Land on this earth by the devotees of the Kasuga cult in the Kamakura period.²⁵ In Japanese, the term *mandara* came to denote all Buddhist World, and the adoption of the term for images of *kami* and the shrine landscape explicitly conveys the Buddhist perspective with which the universe was perceived in medieval times.

While the authentic diagrams of the Esoteric Buddhist cosmology in geometric structure should be called 'mandala', I have distinguished the Japanese versions of Pure Land paradise paintings and Shinto-Buddhist paintings as '*mandara*'. Although the

²⁵ Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography*, p.147.

paintings related to the Hie-Sanno cult were not called *mandara* in the Kamakura period for the reasons I have already stated, nevertheless, I shall use this modern term, Hie-Sanno *mandara* in order to establish the typology within the category of the Shinto-Buddhist paintings.

2. The development of Hie-Sannō *Mandara*

In this study, *mandara* related to the Hie-Sannō cult are divided into two basic types according to their mode of organisation:

1. Schematic *mandara*.
 - a). *honji-butsu mandara*
 - b). *suijaku mandara*
2. Figurative *mandara*. *miya mandara*

The first type is the schematic *mandara* in which the images of *kami* were organized in a hierarchical arrangement similar to the principle of the geometric *mandalas* of the Esoteric Buddhist tradition. These are further divided into two sub-categories: *honji-butsu mandara* with the images of *kami* as Buddhist deities, and *suijaku mandara* with the images of *kami* as native deities. The second type is the figurative *mandara* which depicts the landscape of the Hie Shrine in the naturalistic *Yamato-e* style. This type is generally called '*miya mandara*' in which the topographical feature of the shrine landscape was the focus of the painting. There are some overlaps between the typologies as some *mandara* can include both *honji* and *suijaku* images, and some *miya mandara* can contain figures of deities. The categorization is - at the risk of oversimplifying - purely for the organization of this study, and it does not imply that there was a clear distinction or rules between the types in the medieval times. The distinctive difference between the two types can be observed in their mode of organization, as the first type is organized according to the theoretical hierarchy of the

deities while the second type is organized more freely according to the physical geography.

i) The Enryaku-ji *mandara*

The earliest extant *mandara* of the Hie-Sannō cult is the *honji-butsu mandara*, thought to date from the early Kamakura period, in the Treasure Hall (Kokuhōden) of the Enryaku-ji (fig.45). A small silk painting, measuring 40.5 x 27 cm., portrays nine Buddhist deities who are regarded as the *honji* (origin) of the *kami* of the Upper Seven Shrines and two from the Middle Seven Shrines. The nine figures are arranged in three vertical rows. The principal *kami* of Hie, Ōmiya is represented by the Buddha Shaka in the top centre with the Buddha Yakushi for the Ni-no-miya Shrine in the centre and Jizō Bosatsu for the Jūzenji Shrine below. On the right, from the top are Senju Kannon for the Hachiōji Shrine, the Buddha Amida for the Shōshinshi Shrine, and Fudō Myōō for the Hayao Shrine. On the left row from the top are the Buddha Dainichi (or bodhisattva with the Diamond *mudra*) for the San-no-miya Shrine, Jūichimen Kannon for the Marōdo Shrine, and Bishamon-ten for the Daigyōji Shrine.²⁶

The seven deities of the Upper Seven Shrines form a circle with Yakushi in the centre, and they are all depicted facing the front. Their Indian style robe, covering only the left shoulder, conforms to the old type of iconography which was replaced in the later period by the Chinese style robe covering both shoulders with the stylized hem cascading in front of the pedestal. The two attendants, Fudō and Bishamon-ten, are depicted at the lower corners turning slightly inward. The symmetrical composition

²⁶ The distinction between the Buddha Dainichi and bodhisattva is sometimes not very clear, as the Cosmic Buddha Dainichi is depicted with a crown and jewellery, there is an iconographic overlap and this type of image is sometimes described as "Buddha in a bodhisattva form".

creates a sense of order that derives from the geometric structure of Esoteric Buddhist *mandalas*. The images of deities float on the plain background, as if to symbolize the metaphysical world of Esoteric Buddhist ideal, and there is no attempt to relate the space in terms of the three-dimensional phenomenal world.

The silk has discoloured and some pigments have been lost over the years, but the generous use of *kirigane* (the applied cut gold decoration) is preserved well. The seven deities of the Upper Seven Shrines are seated on lotus pedestals with petals delineated in gold, in front of a simple double halo consisting from a small circle behind the head with another larger circle behind the body. The figures of Buddhist deities are meticulously painted with delicate outlines, and the accurate and fine details of iconography suggest that they were painted by a Buddhist painter who was familiar with the iconography of the Esoteric Buddhist tradition. The facial expression of the deities is calm and content, with downcast eyes and small smiling mouth, giving an impression of compassion rather than severe dignity. A comparison of the figures with the detail from the Shingon-in Ryōgai mandara from the Tō-ji reveals obvious similarity in iconography and composition, suggesting that the images of the *honji-butsu mandara* were depicted according to the traditional Esoteric iconographic models (fig.46).

The inclusion of two guardian deities, Fudō Myōō and Bishamon-ten, also indicates a strong Tendai influence, as it was the Tendai convention established during the Heian Period to have these two deities as the principal attendants for icon. According to an early legend recorded in the *Sanmon dōsha-ki*, Bishamon-ten, the guardian of the direction north, was one of the three images (others were Yakushi and Shaka) Saichō

himself carved from a sacred wood for the main hall of the Enryaku-ji.²⁷ The authenticity of the legend put aside, Bishamon-ten was regarded as an important guardian of Mt.Hiei in the Exoteric tradition before the Esoteric influence became more prominent at the time of Saichō's followers Ennin and Enchin. The strong devotion to Fudō Myōō in the Tendai tradition was established in the ninth century by Enchin who is said to have visualized the image of Yellow Fudō whilst meditating (fig.47). The followers of Ennin and Enchin, Annen, Sōō, and Ryōgen all embraced the Fudō devotion during the following centuries. The Heian period (the twelfth century) example of a triad of sculptures, Fudō and Bishamon-ten flanking Senju Kannon, in the Myōō-in in Shiga displays the prevalent combination of icons in many Tendai temples (fig.48).²⁸ Many later Hie-Sannō *mandara* follow this convention, and include these two attendants, Fudō on the right and Bishamon-ten on the left, as seen in the Enryaku-ji *mandara*. In fact, every detail of the Enryaku-ji *mandara* is purely Buddhist, and only the combination of deities indicates that this painting is associated with the Hie-Sannō cult.

The emphasis placed on the visual images as an aid for rituals and meditation both in the Tendai and Shingon schools ensured the production of high quality painting and sculpture, but the strict adherence to the iconography did not encourage stylistic innovation. The monochrome diagrams and drawings with detailed specification brought from the Tang by Saichō, Kūkai and other monks of the Esoteric schools during the Heian period played a crucial role in the correct transmission of iconography. The ink drawings that are called *hakubyō zuzō* in the modern terminology

²⁷ Shimizu Zenzō, "Enryakuji ni okeru Tendai bijutsu no tenkai", *NKBZ vo.10, Enryaku-ji, Onjō-ji to Saikyō-ji*, Shūeisha, 1980, pp.98-106.

²⁸ For examples of Fudō and Bishamon-ten as a pair of attendants, see *Hieizan to Tendai no bijutsu*, Tokyo National Museum, 1986, exhibition catalogue nos. 183,194,197.

were then called *zuyō*, literally image style, and they were handed down through the teacher to pupil links within temples.²⁹ The tradition was sustained by monk painters who had the privileged access to study these original manuscripts, and consequently the conservative tendency prevailed. The historical development of a lineage of *ebusshi* (monk painter) in the Tendai tradition, or the actual circumstance of artistic production at Mt.Hiei are not clear, as no textual reference to artistic studio system or a teacher-pupil relationship has been found. However, Hirata Yutaka, one of the few scholars who focused his attention on the achievement of medieval monk painters, acknowledges a group of paintings which share the stylistic similarities, and calls the group the 'Tendai lineage'.³⁰

ii) The Nezu version - the Sannō *zushi*

Another early image of the Sannō *honji-butsu* is found in an unusual form of *zushi* (portable shrine) in the Nezu Institute of Art, Tokyo (fig.49). The wooden panel, measuring 97 x 57.8 cm., has two side panels attached with hinges which open from the centre like doors. The back of the panels is lined with a green silk. The *zushi* in such a simple construction and the relatively large size is extremely rare, and no other example of Hie-Sannō *mandara*, or Shinto-Buddhist painting in similar format is known. Eleven Buddhist images, painted on silk, are glued on to the central panel, and the door panels each have three images in vertical arrangement. All seventeen images are accompanied by rectangular cartouches inscribed with both Buddhist and Shrine names, and although some cartouches are damaged and the inscription is not legible, all images can be identified easily from the iconography.

²⁹ Hirata Yutaka, "Eyō to Kamigata" *KK 1015*, 1978, pp.5-10.

³⁰ Hirata Yutaka, '*Ebusshi no keifu*' *Kamakura kaiga*, Shibundō, 1983, p.87.

The central image, Shaka is surrounded by six other deities of the Upper Seven Shrines in a circular arrangement. Three deities from the Middle Seven Shrines (Nyoirin Kannon, Kokūzō Bosatsu, and Monju Bosatsu) and one from the Lower Seven Shrines (Seishi Bosatsu) are placed in the four corners of the central panel. The unusual choice of Seishi Bosatsu in the top left as the *honji* of the Kehi Shrine instead of Shō Kannon indicates that the system of the twenty-one shrine and the pairing of *honji-butsu* were not yet established completely at this stage, another reason for this *zushi* to be dated to the early Kamakura period apart from the stylistic ground. It was not until the late Kamakura period that the combination of the buddhas and *kami* became more consistent, although a variation of combination for the lesser shrines remained in the later *mandara* too.

The traditional Tendai attendant deities, Fudō on the right and Bishamon-ten on the left, are placed in the lower sections of the side panels. The right panel also has Daiitoku and Ryūju Bosatsu, and the left panel has Goin and Kichijō-ten. All eleven images in the central panel and two images in the middle row on the doors are seated on lotus pedestals, and double halo of small and large circles appear behind their body. They are placed on platforms similar to lacquered *raiban* which were used in temples for the head priest to sit on during ceremonies. All figures, except the fierce deities with flaming aureoles, are placed in front of three fold screens which are more often associated with images of *kami* rather than Buddhist images.

According to Mizuno Keisaburō, the bottom half of the central panel has been touched up sometime to hide the damage, but the overall painting style is delicate and

of high quality.³¹ The glowing complexion of deities is achieved by the technique of *urahaku*, applying a gold leaf from the back of the silk. The colours are generally well preserved and the generous use of *kirigane* decoration for the detail of robes and jewellery create a fine, bright painting style in the tradition of the Shingon-in Mandala of the Two Worlds. The similarities in halos which are delineated by a flaming edge in gold also suggest the hand of a Buddhist painter who was familiar with the Esoteric Buddhist iconography. The geometric patterns of *kirigane* on the background are executed precisely too, and Mizuno suggests the date in the first half of the Kamakura period, which makes this *zushi* one of the earliest extant examples of the Hie-Sannō *mandara*, contemporary to the Enryaku-ji example.

The unusual feature of this *zushi* is the figure of Goin in the top left who is depicted as a *karasu tengu*, legendary superhuman creatures with beak and wings who were believed to roam the remote mountains. According to the *Hie-Sannō Gongen chishinki*, Goin was a monk of the Western Pagoda on Mt.Hiei who served the Sannō Gongen, and he is regarded as the founder of the Juge house whose family members served the shrine as the hereditary priests.³² The story of Goin is also mentioned in the following passages from the volume three of the *Hie-Sannō rishōki* in relation to Emperor Gosanjō:

Emperor Gosanjō-in was the second son of Emperor Gosuzaku-in, and his mother was Yōmeimon-in, a daughter of Emperor Sanjō-in. On the twenty-sixth day in the first year of Kantoku era [1044], he became the crown prince at the age of twelve, but his brother Goreizei-in occupied the throne for twenty-three years, and the crown prince remained in insecure position. He instructed Abbot Meikai to deliver a vow (*ganmon*) to the Ni-no-miya Shrine.

Meanwhile the Jishu Gongen [the Avatar of the proprietor, Ni-no-miya] summoned Goin and instructed him to receive the crown prince's vow from the Abbot. -- Goin met the Abbot at a place

³¹ Mizuno Keisaburō, "Sannō Mandara" *Kokka* 857, 1963, pp.21-2.

³² ST. J.29. *Hiyoshi*, p.595.

called Kakinomoto, and announced that he was sent by the Jishu Gongen to receive the crown prince's vow.³³

In the next section of the story, Goin receives an oracle from the Ni-no-miya, and finds a skull buried in the mountain behind the shrine. The skull is supposed to be that of the crown prince's previous life, and Goin consecrate and reburies it. Soon after the event, the crown prince was enthroned as Emperor Gosanjō, and the first imperial visit to Hie took place in 1071.

The episode demonstrates how historical facts were elaborated and interpreted as Sannō's act in medieval minds. It also indicates the influence and power the shrine priests or mediums could exert on important decisions of government or even on life of individuals. Goin was deified after his death, and was enshrined next to the Daigyōji Shrine within the walls of the Ni-no-miya enclosure. His ability to communicate with Sannō Gongen must have been exaggerated over the years to create his legendary image as a *tengu*. Only one other *mandara*, an example from the Muromachi period, with the image of Goin exists, and added to its unique format, the Nezu *zushi* is noted for its rarity. It has been suggested that it was commissioned by the Juge family for their private worship.³⁴

The schematic arrangement of Buddhist deities on the plain or simple background as the Enryaku-ji *mandara* and the Nezu *zushi* was probably the prototype of all Hie-Sannō *mandara*. Only these two can be dated to the first half of the Kamakura period from their stylistic ground. Considering the strong Tendai Buddhist initiative for the

³³ ST. J. 29, *Hiyoshi*, pp.664-5.

³⁴ Shigetomi Shigeko, *Nachi no taki - Kumano no shizen to shinkō no zōkei*, Nezu Institute of Art (ed.) 1991, p.113.

development of the Hie-Sanno cult, and the Buddhist perspective supported by the *honji-suijaku* theory, it was logical that the paintings of the *kami* of Hie were created in their Buddhist form at first, using the available iconography.

iii) The Koln version

A *mandara* with seven Buddhist deities on a plain background in the collection of Museum fur Ostasiatische Kunst, Koln, is known as another example of Sannō *honjibutsu mandara* (hereafter *Koln mandara*)(fig.50).³⁵ The silk painting measures 78.2 x 38.2 cm., mounted as a hanging scroll, and is dated to the fourteenth century.³⁶ Seven Buddhist deities are depicted in symmetrical arrangement on a plain, dark background in a similar fashion to the Enryaku-ji *mandara*. The silk background has considerably darkened with age. The Buddha in the centre is Shaka who is flanked by Yakushi on the right and Amida on the left. The three buddhas correspond to the *honji-butsu* of Ni-no-miya, Ōmiya and Shōshinshi respectively, the Sannō sansei of the Hie Shrine. The bodhisattva with a golden crown and jewellery in the top left is probably Fugen, and the bodhisattva on the right with a figure of Buddha on his crown, holding a lotus bud in his left hand is Shō Kannon. These five figures of buddhas and bodhisattvas are all facing the front, and seated on colourful, multi-layered hexagonal pedestals. The two standing figures at the lower corners, Jizō (fig.50a) on the left and Fudō on the right, are turning slightly inward, and an incense burner and a pair of vases are placed on a small offering table covered with a red cloth in the centre.

³⁵ *Kerun tōyō bijutsukan – Catalogue of Japanese Art in Foreign Collection*, The Japan Society for the Conservation of Cultural Property, 1999, p.18.

³⁶ This painting was bought by the founder of the Museum fur Ostasiatische Kunst, Koln, Adolf Fischer (1857-1914) in Japan during one of his many trips to Japan in 1890's and 1900's. The Museum's catalogue number A30 suggests that it was one of his early purchases, but the provenance is not recorded.

The silk has frayed and pigments have been lost in some areas. The condition is particularly poor at the top of the painting where a canopy-like semicircular object appears, but the images of deities are generally well preserved. Three buddhas are depicted with golden complexion, wearing yellow garments which are decorated with patterns in *kirigane* on the surface (fig.50b). The generous use of gold to embellish the images of buddhas conforms to the interpretation of *shitsukai konjishin* (entirely body in gold) which became popular in the late Kamakura with the spread of the Pure Land Buddhist paintings.³⁷ The *kirigane* gold is also used for details such as the bodhisattvas's jewellery, and Fudō's hair and flame aureole. The stylized depiction of cascading hem of the buddha's robes and rather rigid posture of the deities suggest that it is a late Kamakura painting, possibly from the first half of the fourteenth century.

At a casual glance the Köln *mandara* is similar to the Sannō *mandara* of the Enryaku-ji, but a comparison of the deities reveals several obvious differences. Firstly, two of the seven deities, Shō Kannon and Fudō, do not represent the *honji* of the Upper Seven Shrines. Although some Hie-Sannō *mandara* include selective number of deities from the Middle and Lower Shrines, normally all seven deities of the Upper Seven Shrines are depicted. Secondly, as I have already mentioned, it was the Tendai convention to have Fudō and Bishamon-ten as the attendants, and no other Hie-Sannō *mandara* is known to include the combination of Fudō and Jizō as attendants. Thirdly, Shō Kannon is the *honji* of the Kehi Shrine which is one of the Lower Seven Shrines, and it seems odd to include such a relatively insignificant shrine within the principal seven. By the late Kamakura period when this image was painted, the combination of *honji* and *kami* of the seven main Hie Shrines was well established, and it is unlikely to have such an

³⁷ Ariga Yoshitaka, "Saishoku monyo to kirigane monyo" *Butsuga no kansho kiso chishiki*, Shibundo, 1996, pp.38-45.

unusual variation. These points strongly indicate that this image does not represent the Hie-Sannō cult, but based on another tradition.

An image with seven deities, exactly the same combination as the Koln *mandara*, can be found in the collection of the Tō-ji in Kyoto, which is identified as Shichison mandara-zu (Mandala with seven deities) (fig.51).³⁸ The silk painting, measures 77.5 x 38.5 cm, and dated to the Nanbokuchō period (the fourteenth century). The three buddhas, (from the top) Amida, Shaka and Yakushi, are depicted in the centre in a vertical arrangement. The bodhisattva in the top right is Shō Kannon, holding a lotus bud, and Fugen on the top left. Fudō, seated on the *shitsushitsuza* (stepped *sumeru* throne), is depicted in front of a stylized bright flame aureole in the lower right, and the seated figure of Jizō is placed in the lower left. All buddhas and bodhisattvas in this image are seated on hexagonal multi-layered pedestals that are similar to buddhas' thrones in the Koln *mandara*. The cascading hems of buddha's robes are even more stylized, and hung over the pedestals. Although the buddhas are arranged vertically, and not horizontally as the Koln *mandara*, the placement of other four deities corresponds exactly, and seems to suggest that the Koln and the Tō-ji images belong to the same belief system.

The particular combination of these seven deities is not traced to any existing Esoteric Buddhist mandalas prescribed in *sutras*, and therefore seems to indicate a tradition developed in Japan. As all seven deities are included in the group of Jūsan-butsum (the Thirteen Buddhist Deities) which became popular in the Muromachi period onwards, Izumi Takeshi suggests that the Tō-ji image was created in the developing

³⁸ Kyoto National Museum, *Tōji kokuhō-ten*, 1995, p.106.

stage of the Jūsan-butsu *mandara*.³⁹ The belief in the thirteen Buddhist deities was closely related to the belief of Ten Kings of Hell which incorporated elements of Daoist philosophy and the Chinese concept of Hell into the Buddhist teaching. The belief system is also closely related to the devotion of Jizō, the deity who is regarded as a saviour of people from the Hell, and was well established by the late Tang period (the ninth century) in China.⁴⁰ The *sutra of Enraō juki yōshū jūō shichisho ōjō jōdo-kyō*, abbreviation the *Jū ō-kyō* (the *sutra* of the Ten Kings) was created in China, and transmitted to Korea and Japan.

The Ten Kings of Hell were believed to judge and decide the category of reincarnation for the deceased people on their memorial days, altogether for thirteen times. These occasions were marked by memorial services first on the seventh day from their death, then on the twenty-seventh, the thirty-seventh, the forty-seventh, the fifty-seventh, the sixty-seventh, the seventy-seventh, one hundredth day, then on the first anniversary, the third, the seventh, the thirteenth and the thirty-third anniversary. The thirteen Buddhist deities were each assigned to the memorial services, and they were perceived as the *honji* of the Kings of Hell as below:⁴¹

7 th day	Fudō Myōō	Shinko ō
27 th day	Shaka Nyorai	Shokō ō
37 th day	Monju Bosatsu	Sotei ō
47 th day	Fugen Bosatsu	Gokan ō
57 th day	Jizō Bosatsu	Enma ō
67 th Day	Miroku Bosatsu	Hensei ō

³⁹ *ibid.* p.215.

⁴⁰ Miyazaki Noriko, "Seikado bunko bijutsukan-zo, Ju ō-zu, Ni shisha-zu ni tsuite", *Bukkyo no bijutsu, Buddhist Art from the Seikadō Collection*, 1999, pp. 22-30.

⁴¹ Sawa Ryūken, *Butsuzō zuten*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1963, pp.166-7.

77 th day	Yakushi Nyorai	Taisan ō
100 th day	Kannon Bosatsu	Byōdō ō
1 st year	Seishi Bosatsu	Toshi ō
3 rd year	Amida Nyorai	Godōtenrin ō
7 th year	Ashuku Nyorai	Renjō ō
13 th year	Dainichi Nyorai	Batsuku ō
33 rd year	Kokūzō Bosatsu	Jion ō

The custom of the memorial services with the image of the Thirteen Buddhist Deities seems to have developed in the Muromachi period predominantly at the folk religion level, and ten Kings of Hell were increased to thirteen. Hanging scrolls with images of thirteen Buddhist deities are still commonly used for memorial services today (fig.52).

The new practice reflects the essentially egalitarian outlook adopted by the new Buddhist schools which encouraged the shift of emphasis from the primarily aristocratic ritual practices to a more accessible customs. The philosophical reason for this change is explained by Bitō Masahide as below:

As the new Buddhist schools spread among the populace, they began to accommodate themselves to the prevailing conditions of society, a process that inevitably led to changes in their orientation. More specifically, there was a significant shift in their interpretation of what salvation of the individual entailed. That is, salvation came to be understood principally as the salvation of the spirits of the dead. Therefore, greater emphasis was placed on guiding these spirits to the realm of the buddhas, and less attention was paid to the question of how the individual should seek salvation during his or her own lifetime. As a result, people came to regard the holding of funerals and masses for the dead as the main religious function of temples and priests.⁴²

⁴² Bitō Masahide, "Thought and Religion: 1550-1700" John Whitney Hall (ed.) *History of Japan, vol4*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p.380.

The large number of extant painted and printed images of *Jūsan-butsumō* from the Edo period suggests the popularity of the belief, but the lack of early high quality paintings has not encouraged the art historical interest in this genre of paintings. The tendency to dismiss all Edo period Buddhist paintings as degenerative and uninteresting has not encouraged studies on this topic, and consequently the early form of *Jūsan-butsumō* images from the Muromachi period is not clear.

Although both the Tō-ji and Koln images depict seven deities from the thirteen, no definite link to the later images of the Thirteen Buddhist Deities has been established. The connection to the Tō-ji suggests that the Koln image probably is also related to the ritual practices in the Shingon tradition, rather than the Tendai tradition, but the lack of provenance highlights the difficulty of identification for some Buddhist (or “Shinto”) images which do not follow the prescribed specifications in *sūtras*. However from the comparison with other Hie-Sannō *mandara*, it seems fair to conclude that the Koln *mandara* does not represent the Hie-Sannō cult. The future studies on Edo period Buddhist paintings may uncover aspects of the cult of the Thirteen Buddhas which may be connected to the seven deities in the Koln *mandara*.

3. *Honji-butsumō Mandara*: Buddhas in the shrine

<i>Sakaki ha ni</i>	My heart rests
<i>Kokoro wo kakemu</i>	on the sacred decorations
<i>Yufushidete</i>	of the <i>sakaki</i> tree,
<i>Omoeba Kami mo</i>	and I think of <i>kami</i>
<i>Hotoke narikeri</i>	as the Buddha.

Saigyō, *Sanka-shū*.⁴³

⁴³ The preface for the poem states that this poem was composed when Saigyō visited the Grand Shrine at Ise. Saigyō, *Sanka-shū*, KT vol.3, Kadokawa shoten, 1983, p.596.

i) Tokyo National Museum's *honji-butsu mandara*

The next stage in the development of the Hie-Sannō *honji-butsu mandara* was the establishment of the composition integrating shrine architecture which became the signature of the Hie-Sannō *mandara* from the second half of the Kamakura period onwards. The *honji-butsu mandara*, now in the Tokyo National Museum, depicts seven *honji-butsu* of the Upper Seven Shrines in a simulated shrine interior (fig.53). The silk hanging scroll, measuring 85.4 x 40.6 cm, has discoloured and partly faded with age, and the provenance of the original owner is unknown, but the formal composition and the precise details of figures suggest that it was painted by a formally trained Buddhist painter. The Buddhist deities are seated on lotus pedestals which are placed on platforms, and three-fold screens are placed behind each figure in a similar style to the Nezu *zushi*.

The composition is framed by the raised curtain at the top and the steps in the lower centre which lead up to the veranda of typical Hie style shrine architecture. A small offering table with a pair of vases and an incense burner is placed at the top of the steps, and four smaller figures are seated in front of *torii*-shaped frames on the veranda. They are (from the right) Fudō Myōō, Monju Bosatsu, Kokūzō Bosatsu, and Bishamon-ten, who are the *honji* of four of the Middle Seven Shrines.⁴⁴ A pair of *komainu* is depicted on the wings, and two monkeys on the steps add a touch of informality and signify the location clearly. Unlike the plain background of the Enryaku-ji *mandara* or the Köln *mandara*, this image includes easily recognisable details of typical Hie style shrine

⁴⁴ The identification of the four deities is based on the catalogue *Hie-Sannō Gongen: Kami to hotoke no bijutsu*, Biwako bunkakan, p.38.

architecture, and indicates that the image was made to function in the rituals related to the Hie-Sannō cult without doubt.

The depiction of Buddhist deities in the shrine interior developed to accommodate the philosophy of *honji-suijaku* theory in which Buddha and *kami* were essentially identical. For the medieval devotees of the cult, visualising the *kami* in their Buddhist forms inside the Hie Shrine was perfectly logical, since the shrine interior was regarded as a sacred space in this world where Buddha manifested as *kami*. The visitors to the shrine could imagine the *kami* either in their Buddhist forms or in native *kami* forms seated inside the shrine, but the door of the shrine was permanently closed and images inside were not visible. As the poem by Saigyō quoted at the beginning of this section suggests the *kami* and Buddha were not two separate entities but two aspects of one reality to medieval visitors to shrines. The shrine setting for Buddhist figures, paradoxical it may seem to the modern eye, symbolized the medieval interpretation of the *honji-suijaku* theory in visual terms.

The symmetrical arrangement of deities in this *mandara* is similar to the earlier Enryaku-ji example, but the position of each deity has changed slightly. The centre of the composition is now occupied by the Buddha Shaka, surrounded by (from the top clockwise) Senju Kannon, Jūichimen Kannon, the Buddha Yakushi, Jizō Bosatsu, the Buddha Amida, and Fugen Bosatsu. The circular arrangement of deities with Shaka in the centre conforms to the fundamental principle of *mandala* in which the hierarchical order dictated the organization. The most significant difference from the Enryaku-ji *mandara* is the central position of Shaka and the adoption of Fugen Bosatsu for the San-no-miya, instead of the Buddha Dainichi. As the Tokyo National Museum *mandara*'s

arrangement seems to become the standard for the later *mandara*, the format of *honji-butsu mandara* was still in its developing stage when Enryaku-ji *mandara* was created in the early Kamakura period. Such discrepancy was inevitable at first as the pairing was not based on any one theory or scripture, but the systematization of the seven main shrines at Hie was complete by the second half of the Kamakura period, and Fugen became the standardized *honji* of the San-no-miya., and remained so throughout the later period.

ii) Enryaku-ji Nanbokuchō version

The Tokyo National Museum's *honji-butsu mandara* is one of the earliest images that employed the composition of a shrine-like space which was faithfully adopted in the later *mandara*, both in the *honji-butsu* and *suijaku* types. The example from the Nanbokuchō period (1333-92) in the collection of the Enryaku-ji reveals almost identical composition (fig.54). The silk hanging scroll, measuring 133.5 x 52.2 cm. features the circular arrangement of the seven deities, framed with the raised curtain with floral motif at the top and the flight of steps in the lower centre leading up to the *kairō*. The position of the seven main deities remains exactly the same, with Shaka in the centre and six other deities forming a circle. This arrangement was firmly established by then, as all other examples of both *honji-butsu* and *suijaku mandara* from the late Kamakura period to the Edo period conform to this arrangement of seven deities. They are seated on lotus pedestals placed on platforms with simple three fold screens behind them. The offering table at the top of the steps is similar too, with a pair of vases and an incense burner placed on a long cloth. The attendants are reduced to only two, the standing figures of Fudō Myōō on the right and Bishamon-ten on the left. The pair of *komainu* and monkeys are omitted too.

The painting is preserved in an excellent condition with bright colours and delicate *kirigane* decoration. Three buddhas in the centre are depicted with golden complexion, wearing yellow garments embellished with *kirigane*, displaying an influence of Pure Land images which became prevalent from the late Kamakura period. The precise handling of lines and fine details suggest that it was an expensive painting executed by an accomplished Buddhist painter. The main picture space, measuring 92.6 x 45.9 cm., is surrounded on all four sides by *kakibyōsō* (painted mount), simulating textile mount, with the alternating motifs of *rimpō* (the wheel of the Law) and *katsuma* (the interlocking *vajra*) in gold on the green background. Both *rimpō*, the symbol of the Buddhist Law, and *katsuma*, the symbol of evil destroying power, were the essential ritual instruments in the Esoteric Buddhist tradition, and such obvious Esoteric symbols further confirm the function of the *mandara* in a temple context.

The symmetrical arrangement of the deities and the architectural frame produce an impression of order and stability, which can sometimes be described as rigid or stiff. The formal structure of this *mandara* has been meticulously analyzed by Doi Michihiro who points out that the composition is mathematically organized by using the standard measurement of the period.⁴⁵ According to Doi's examination, the main picture space can be divided into six equal horizontal sections, each measuring approximately 15 cm. x 45 cm. (fig. 55) The top register contains the important feature of this *mandara*, the three lunar discs with the *shuji* (*Siddham* characters). Each disc contains seven letters, each on a lotus pedestal, symbolizing the Upper (centre), Middle (right) and Lower (left) Seven shrines at Hie. The centres of the three discs, each with the radius of 6 cm.,

⁴⁵ Doi Michihiro, "Mandara kōsei no kiten to kijun ni tsuite - Enryakuji-zō Sannō honji-butsu -zō o sozai to shite", *The Annual Report of the Biwako Bunkakan*, no.17, 2001, pp. 7-10.

are aligned with the vertical line running through the centre of deities below. The width of the painting (including the painted mount) can be divided into four equal parts of approximately 12 cm. by the imaginary vertical lines running through the centre of the deities. The centre of the composition is the middle of Shaka which matches the intersection of the vertical and horizontal central dividers. The measurements of the deities, regular intervals between the figures, and the exact measurement of the halos, lunar discs and the repeated motifs of *rimpō* and *katsuma* all points to the basic unit of 1 *sun*, corresponding to approximately 3.1 cm. The mathematical precision of composition confirms that the placement of each motif was not arbitrary, but calculated in accurate ratios, and provides a valuable case study for the structural principle of geometric *mandara*.⁴⁶

The inclusion of the lunar discs with *Siddham* characters, strongly associated with Esoteric Buddhist practices, further confirm the function of the Hie-Sannō *mandara* in Tendai temple context. In fact the *mandara* originally belonged to the Kannon-ji, a Tendai temple in Ashiura, Shiga. Both the Tendai and Shingon schools promoted the study of *Siddham* characters, which were written in decorative calligraphic style.⁴⁷ Each *Siddham* character symbolized Buddha or bodhisattva, and was considered to embody the essence of the deities. The *shuji mandala*, examples of the Mandalas of the Two Worlds entirely composed of *Siddham* characters, substituted the image of deities with the *shuji*, illustrating the symbolic significance of the characters (fig.56).

⁴⁶ 1 *sun* was approximately 3.1 cm. and 10 *sun* made 1 *shaku*. As the units varied slightly in provinces, the measurement of this *mandara* most probably indicates the standard unit used in the capital at the time.

⁴⁷ The *Siddham* characters, originally developed in India during the Gupta era (AD 320-647), were transmitted to Japan in the ninth century by Saichō and Kūkai who encountered Sanskrit *sutras* written in *Siddham* alphabet whilst studying in the Tang. John Stevens, *Sacred Calligraphy of the*

The principle of *shuji mandala* was employed for the rare example of Sannō *shuji mandara* which depicts three *Siddham* characters symbolising the three *honji-butsu* of the Hie Shrine (fig.57). The silk painting, 91.6 x 40.0 cm., depicts three dark blue *ensō* each containing a gold *Siddham* character, symbolizing Yakushi in the centre with Shaka (right) and Amida (left) placed below. All three *ensō* are placed on multicoloured lotus pedestals on the chequered floor. The raised curtain at the top and a pair of guardian lions at the bottom clearly indicate the shrine interior and the combination of the three buddhas confirm that this image was created in relation to the belief in the Sannō sansei, the three sacred deities of Sannō. Although no other Sannō *shuji mandara* or *mandara* with only three deities of Sannō survive today, Kageyama points out a Muromachi period manuscript in the Ninna-ji, *Shoshinbutsu mandara*, which includes two diagrams of Hie-Sannō *shuji mandara* (fig.58).⁴⁸ The characters are all written within circles with their names inscribed next to them for easy identification in both diagrams. No painted versions of these diagrams survive today, but the manuscript provides valuable information for the rich and varied tradition of medieval Sannō *mandara*, and also confirm the fact that the use of the term *mandara* becoming common for shrine-related images in the Muromachi period.

4. Kami and the cult of Buddha relics

The images of *honji-butsu* combined with relics provide an important testimony for the identification of the *kami* Ōmiya with Sākya-muni Buddha in the Sannō *mandara shari zushi*, dated to the fourteenth / fifteenth century, from the Shōjū raigō-ji, Shiga (fig.59). A small wooden structure with architectural roof, 22.7 cm. high, is lacquered

East, Shambhala, 1995, p.6.

black, and has a pair of doors that open from the centre on both the front and the back. When the doors are opened, an eight-petalled red lotus, similar to the central motif of the Womb World Mandala, with Buddhist deities seated on each petal is revealed. The centre of the lotus has a circular window in which several pellets are visible. The *zushi* was made to serve a quintessentially Buddhist purpose for containing the relics of Sākyamuni. Eight Buddhist deities surround the relics as if to protect them.

No other example of Hie-Sannō *mandara* with the motif of eight-petalled lotus survive today, but Kageyama points out a diagram in the *Wakō dōjin riyaku kanjō* which depict an eight-petalled lotus with the names of Sannō *kami* and the corresponding *Siddham* characters inscribed on each petal.⁴⁹ A similar composition can be found in the late Kamakura period Kumano *mandara* in the collection of the Kōzan-ji temple. The *mandara* depicts the Buddha Amida, the *honji-butsu* of the Shōjōden, the principal shrine of the Kumano cult, in the centre of the red lotus surrounded by the *honji-butsu* of the associated shrines on each of the eight petals (fig.60). The adoption of the lotus motif testifies the direct influence of Esoteric Buddhist mandalas on the development of Shinto-Buddhist *mandara*.

The front panel of the Shōjū raigō-ji *zushi* depicts, apart from the eight deities on the petals, the seated figures of two guardian deities, Fudō and Bishamon-ten in the lower corners. Further eight deities are depicted on the reverse in the central lotus with two more fierce deities, Daiitoku Myōō and Aizen Myōō, in the corresponding position to the front. Ten deities on the front panel and ten deities on the back panel together with Shaka symbolized by the relic in the central compartment represent the twenty-one

⁴⁸ Kageyama, "Shinshutsu no Sannō mandara", *Museum 170*, 1965, pp.21-4.

⁴⁹ Kageyama Haruki, *Shinto bijutsu*, Yūzankaku, 1973, p.109.

Sannō shrines. Above the lotus, the raised curtain with colourful floral motifs is added, and the green background is decorated with a geometric pattern in *kirigane*, creating a rich decorative effect. Inside of the four doors each has portraits of Tendai patriarchs, Tendai Daishi Chigi, Dengyō Daishi Saichō, Jikaku Daishi Ennin, and Jie Daishi Ryōgen.

As Brian Ruppert points out, "Buddha relics were among the most valued of objects in early medieval Japan and continued to be so throughout the medieval and modern eras."⁵⁰ In Japan the Buddha relics were originally deposited at the base of the central pillar of pagodas in special containers in the Asuka and Nara periods, but it gradually became common to place them in a more easily accessible location. In 754 when Ganjin, the Chinese founder of the Tōshōdai-ji, brought with him three thousand grains of Buddha relics, they were deposited in a specially constructed store within the temple ground. According to the *Tōshōdai-ji konryū engi* (Origin of the founding of Tōshōdai-ji), relics were kept inside a miniature pagoda:

There was a treasure store in the east of monk's dormitory, and Buddha relics belonging to the priest [Ganjin] were kept there. They were the remaining three thousand grains after the relics were distributed to kings and ministers [in India]. There were three kinds of relics, those of flesh, bone and hair, and they were deposited inside the glass tube in a bronze pagoda. The images of four Buddhas from the Diamond World decorated the exterior of the pagoda, surrounded by scrolling plant motifs (*karakusa*). Main leaves were decorated with four Sanskrit characters, and a bronze lotus flower was placed under the pagoda.⁵¹

The cult of relics was further encouraged in the early Heian period by Kūkai and Ennin, both of whom acquired relics during their travels in the Tang.

⁵⁰ Brian D. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan*, Harvard University Press, 2000, p.261.

⁵¹ *Tōshōdai-ji konryū engi*,

Numerous miraculous legends surrounding relics associated with famous figures in history affirm the fascination and significance placed on relics. Saichō's biography, *Eizan Daishi-den*, claims that Saichō discovered a relic among the ash inside an incense burner while praying at the Hie Shrine, and when he founded the temple Hieizan-ji, the predecessor of the Enryaku-ji, he enshrined the relic in the statue of Yakushi in the main hall.⁵² Such legend was probably created by his followers to enhance the personal aura of Saichō, indicating that the association with Buddha relics was an important means to enhance the aura of the founder of the Tendai sect. The relics, the supposed to be remains of the historical Buddha Sākyamuni, played an important role in the context of the worship of *kami* as well as the Buddhist rites performed for the well-being of the emperor and the prosperity of the nation. From the late ninth century or early tenth century, the imperial government offered Buddha relics to the major shrines of the land at the occasions of *Daijō-e* ceremony, held once in each reign after the succession. Ruppert writes that "the state conducted this offering, usually called *ichidai ichido busshari (hōken)* (Buddha Relic Offerings), as part of a ritual effort to confirm the legitimacy of imperial rule", and lists the twenty-two occasions between the late ninth and thirteenth centuries when the ceremonies were recorded.⁵³

The Buddha relics were offered to over fifty shrines which also received *shinpō* (sacred treasures) from the imperial house in *ichidai ichido daishinpō hōhei* (The Great Treasure Offering) after the accession of new emperors. According to Ruppert, the shrines of Ise, Usa and Iwashimizu Hachiman were especially highly regarded, but the Hie Shrine was also one of the recipients of *shinpō*, along with such important shrines

⁵² Kageyama Haruki, *Shari shinkō*, Tokyo bujutsu, 1986, p.77.

⁵³ *ibid.* pp.44-47.

as Kamo, Kasuga, Inari, Atsuta and Sumiyoshi.⁵⁴ As one of the twenty-two shrines prescribed in the *Engi shiki* of 927, it is most likely that the Hie Shrine was also one of the recipients of Buddha relics. As the *honji* of the main *kami* of Hie, Ōmiya was Shaka, it was perfectly fit to treasure Buddha relics at the shrine, but what the shrine did with the relics or where they were kept are unknown.

Relics were often deposited inside Buddhist images, or they were kept in small reliquary containers made from precious materials which were frequently placed in a miniature pagoda. A thirteenth century (1284) example from the Saidai-ji displays typical design of single storey *tahōtō* (pagoda of many jewels) which are associated with Esoteric Buddhist temples (fig.61). Textual evidences indicates that two *tahōtō* existed in between the two main shrines in the Hie Shrine complex in medieval times, but the function of pagodas in shrine context is not been clearly defined. According to the manuscript preserved in the Eizan bunko, *Hie-Sannō chishinki*, the first pagoda was constructed during the time of Emperor Suzaku (r.930-46) to commemorate the Sannō Gongen's assistance in defeating Taira no Masakado who revolted against the imperial authority in the eastern provinces.⁵⁵ As this manuscript dates from many centuries after the event (*Hie-Sannō chishinki* is attributed to the Edo period), it can not be taken as a totally reliable historical record, but assuming it to be correct, the construction of pagoda at Hie coincided with the beginning of the cult of relics. The *tahōtō*, according to the *Hie-Sannō chinshinki*, housed the Buddha of Five Wisdom, and images of the Shaka triad, Jizō triad, and Sansei *shinzō* (*kami* images of the three Sannō). The interior was decorated magnificently with images of the thousand Amida buddhas and Jizō Bosatsu on the wall behind the main icon, images of deities from the Mandalas of the

⁵⁴ Ibid. p.55.

⁵⁵ *Sannō Gongen Chishinki*, in the collection of Sōgen-in, Eizan bunko Library.

Two Worlds on the four pillars, the Hokke Mandala, Kannon and Seishi Bosatsu, the Sixteen disciples, and the Ten Rasetsu-nyo (the guardians of the *Lotus Sutra*) on the remaining walls, and images of Bon-ten, Taishaku-ten, Four Heavenly Kings, Nikkō and Gakkō Bosatsu on the doors on four sides. Could this be a suitable location for storing the precious relics?

As the *Lotus Sutra* was the principal scripture of the Tendai teaching, storing the relics in a pagoda conformed to the sutra's emphasis on the meritorious act of building *tahōtō*. Chapter Eleven "Beholding the Precious Stupa" from the *Lotus Sutra* describes the precious *stupa* of many jewels that magically appeared in front of the Buddha and his disciples:

At that time in front of the Buddha a stupa of the seven precious things, five hundred yojanas in height and two hundred and fifty yojanas in length and breadth, sprang up from the earth and abode in the sky. It was decorated with all kinds of precious things, splendidly adorned with five thousand parapets, thousand of myriads of recesses, and countless banners and flags; hung with jewel garlands, with myriads of kotis of gem bells suspended on it; on every side exhaling the fragrance of *tamalapatta* sandalwood, filling the whole world. All its streamers and canopies were composed of the precious seven, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstone, agate, pearl, and carnelian, reaching up to the palaces of the four heavenly kings.⁵⁶

The cult of relic and the significance placed on the *tahōtō* can be observed in a painting, now called Hie-sha hōtō mandara, a rare image of *tahōtō* as an icon (fig.62). The silk hanging scroll, of the pagoda with the Buddha triad is guarded by the Four Heavenly Kings, in front of mountainous landscape, and the pine tree in the foreground is identified as the pine tree of Karasaki by Lake Biwa.

⁵⁶ *The Lotus Sutra*, Kōsei Publishing, 1992, p.195.

Although no other painting of pagoda or Sannō *zushi* containing relics is known today, several examples of Kasuga reliquary *zushi* from the similar period survive to attest the popularity of the cult of relics in shrine context. Relics were treasured and promoted not only by the imperial family, but also by religious leaders, aristocrats and warriors throughout the medieval periods. The Kasuga Gorintō gansō *shari zushi* from the Futai-ji, Nara, displays the almost identical structure to the Sannō *shari zushi*, albeit the loss of its roof (fig.63). The black lacquered *zushi*, in similar dimensions (h.19.8 cm.) to the Sannō *shari zushi*, has a gilt bronze *gorintō* (pagoda with five sections) which contain the relics.⁵⁷ The back panel has a painting of Kasuga Daimyōjin riding a deer on one side and a scene of *Pari Nirvana* (the death of the Buddha) on the other. Inside of the four doors are each painted with a figure of Four Heavenly Kings in colourful, decorative style.

Another *zushi* connected to the Kasuga cult is the *Shinroku shari zushi*, dated to the Nanbokuchō era, which displays the similar structure with the roof and the doors (fig.64). A gilt bronze statuette of the sacred deer with the reliquary shaped like a wish-fulfilling jewel on its back is placed on the stylized cloud. The jewel is made of crystal and bronze ornamental flames are attached on three sides. It represents the *yōgō* (manifestation) of the Kasuga Myōjin who arrived to the land of Kasuga riding a deer. As the *honji* of the Kasuga Myōjin is Shaka, he is symbolized here by the relic. The reliquary shaped like a wish-fulfilling jewel was particularly popular from the late Kamakura period in the Shingon temples in Nara such as the Saidai-ji, where the cult of

⁵⁷ The adoption of *gorinto* for reliquary is particularly associated with Eison (1201-90) and the Saidai-ji, Nara. See Paul Groner, "Icons and Relics in Eison's Religious Activities", *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, Stanford University Press, 2001, p.133.

relics was promoted by Eison (1201-90).⁵⁸ Paul Groner points out the significance of relics as an icon in the circle of Eison:

Besides being worshipped in the anthropomorphic form found in sculptures and paintings, Sākyamuni could be worshipped in the form of *shari* or “relics”. The term suggests the physical remains of a person, a concept that reinforces the notion that Sākyamuni is no longer physically present in the world. But – the reliquaries commissioned by Eison and his writings suggest otherwise: the relics themselves testified to Sākyamuni’s continuing presence. Relics, along with certain *dhāraṇi* that served as relics, helped to empower the images commissioned by Eison.⁵⁹

Both Groner’s and Ruppert’s works demonstrate that relics were perceived by medieval people not as a physical material symbolizing Sākyamuni, but as icons invested with magical power. The Sannō reliquary shrine in the Shōjū raigō-ji testifies that the cult of relics was also important in the Tendai tradition, and demonstrates how the identification of the *kami* Ōmiya with Sākyamuni Buddha encouraged the cult of relics and appropriated *kami* within the Tendai Buddhist framework.

⁵⁸ For more examples of Kasuga reliquary shrines, see *Kasuga shinkō no bijutsu*, Nara National Museum, 1997.

⁵⁹ Paul Groner, “Icons and Relics in Eison’s Religious Activities”, *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, p.126.

Chapter Three

The Iconography of *Kami*: *Suijaku Mandara*

Makoto niwa
kami zo hotoke no
michi shirube,
ato wo taru towa
nani yue nizo ifu.

Truely,
Kami is the guide who
leads the Buddha,
why do we call him
a manifestation ?

Jien, *Shūgyoku-shū*.¹

1. Images of *kami*

The elusive nature of *kami* who manifested themselves as invisible natural energy did not encourage the creation of concrete image or icon in the pre-Buddhist society. The large number of *dogū* (clay figurines) from the Jōmon period (10.000 - 500 BC) and *haniwa* (terracotta figurines) from the Kofun period (AD c. 300 - 550) excavated from all over the country indicate that the absence of image of *kami* was not technical limitation. The lack of images was more a hesitation to depict *kami* as mere human. The transmission of Buddhism in the sixth century, accompanied by the introduction of icon, provided a new dimension to the perception of *kami*. The famous passage below from the *Nihongi* vividly describes the reaction of Emperor Kinmei when he was presented with an image of Buddha:

King Syong-myong of Paekche sent Kwi-si of the Western Division, ---, with a present to the Emperor of an image of Shaka Butsu in gold and copper, and a number of volumes of 'Sutras'. --- he [the king] lauded the merit of diffusing abroad religious worship, saying:-"This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain, and hard to comprehend. ---

This day the Emperor, having heard to the end, leaped for joy, and gave command to the Envoy, saying,-"Never from former days until now have we had the opportunity of listening to so wonderful a doctrine. --- The countenance of this Buddha which

¹ Jien, *Shūgyoku-shū*, Kokka taikan vol.3, Kadokawa shoten, 1983, p.686.

has been presented by the Western frontier State is of a severe dignity, such as we have never at all seen before."²

The 'severe dignity' of the image, by which the emperor was profoundly impressed, can only be imagined now by the early Asuka Buddhist sculptures in the Hōryū-ji, Nara. The subsequent adoption of Buddhism changed the concept of icon, and encouraged the development of devotional images in Japan.

The first images of *kami* in anthropomorphic form began to appear in the second half of the eighth century, inspired by the rich visual stimulus from Buddhist sculpture. One of the earliest textual references to an image of *kami* appears in a passage from the *Tado jingūji garan engi narabini shizai-chō*, compiled in 801. The circumstance in which the monk Mangan created an image of *kami* is described below:

In the past, -- in the seventh year of Tenpyō-hōji [763] a shrine was located in the north where there was a well. Mangan zenshi resided in this sacred place and respectfully made one *jō* six *shaku* [statue of] Amida. At this time there was a man, who by divine oracle, said: "I am Tado-jin. In the past, for many ages I committed grave sins. As a result I became a *kami*. Now I hope to rid myself of my *kami* form and desire to take refuge in the three jewels of Buddhism." This sort of oracle, though unclear, was repeated time and again. Therefore Mangan zenshi cleared the southern slope of Shinza-san, erected a small temple, and made an image of the deity. He named it Tado Daibosatsu."³

The passage asserts the obvious Buddhist interpretation of the *kami* Tado-jin whose image was made by a Buddhist monk and it was placed in a temple, and was called a bodhisattva. Unfortunately the description does not give any clue about the actual appearance of the image. As it was called bodhisattva, it was probably not so different from Buddhist images.

² Aston, *Nihongi*, pp. 65 - 6.

³ *Tado jingū-ji garan engi narabuni shizai-chō*, GR vol.27, 1935, pp.350-55, translation by Christine Guth, *Shinzo: Hachiman Imagery and its Development*, Harvard University Press, 1986, pp.11-2.

The most well known case of *kami* transforming into a bodhisattva was Hachiman, the *kami* of metal mining and warfare, who was solicited from Usa in Kyūshū to become the protective deity of the Tōdai-ji in 749. Following the oracle in which the discovery of gold for gilding the Great Buddha of the Tōdai-ji was predicted, a shrine was erected in the temple compound, and Hachiman received the title 'Great Bodhisattva' in 783. From the moment the *kami* was invited to reside within the temple, it was a natural progression for the increased desire to create a visible icon in the manner of Buddhist images. However, the process of invisible *kami* taking a human form was a gradual one, and before the emergence of sculptures we now call *shinzō* (literally *kami* image), there was a developing stage, a kind of trial period when the iconography of *kami* did not have uniform visual language.

It is important to acknowledge that images of *kami* as monks or secular figures dressed in Japanese robes did not suddenly appear as the established genre of *shinzō* as we know today. Examples of early *danzō* (sandal wood sculpture) from the eighth century with unusual iconography may be the prototypes of *kami* images which were created by adapting the available visual vocabulary in Buddhist images.⁴ This theory is convincingly argued by Inoue Tadashi with the examples of two images, so-called bodhisattva-style Yakushi, in the Kōryū-ji, Kyoto.⁵ The first *danzō*, 101.8 cm. high, is carved from one piece of Japanese cypress, and left unpainted (fig. 65). According to the temple legend, the image was carved from a sacred tree in front of the Otokuni Shrine which enshrined a *kami* named Mukō Myōjin, in the province of Yamashiro. It is said that the tree was very old and dead, but it occasionally emitted a bright light.

⁴ The term *danzō* was at first used for sculptures carved from imported sandal wood, but was later used also for sculptures made from other indigenous scented wood such as camphor trees.

One day a woodcutter came to rest in front of the shrine, and miraculously carved the image in an instance, chanted "Namu Yakushi-butsu", and dedicated it to the shrine. The woodcutter immediately disappeared, and people realized that he was the manifestation of Mukō Myōjin.⁶ The legend provides an interesting aspect of Shinto-Buddhist amalgamation in which the Buddhist image of Yakushi was carved from a *shinboku* (sacred tree) by the woodcutter who was regarded as a manifestation of the *kami*, and it was then placed in the shrine. It was moved to the Kōryū-ji in 864 by the monk Dōshō who performed a ritual of recovery for Emperor Seiwa from illness in front of this image of the Healing Buddha Yakushi.

The iconography of the image is unusual for Yakushi, as he is depicted as a bodhisattva wearing a Chinese style garment. His hair is tied in a large top knot, similar to the clay figure of Bon-ten (first half of the eighth century) in the Hōryū-ji (fig.66). He has Buddha's attributes such as the elongated earlobes and three lines on his neck, but has no *urna* (the third eye) nor *usnisa* (cranial protuberance). Both arms are bent from the elbow and the hands are stretched forward, in a *mudra*-like pose, but with unusual gesture (the hands may not be the original). The style of dress is not the Buddha's *kesa* (*kesaya*, a monastic robe), but a Chinese style robe with a long under skirt, more often associated with heavenly guardian deities, as seen in the figure of Tamon-ten (c.650) in the Golden Hall of the Hōryū-ji (fig.67). The round face and head is proportionally large for the body, creating an overall impression of sturdiness.

The second image of Bodhisattva-style Yakushi is similar in size, 97.9 cm. high, with a similar proportion, and also carved from one piece of wood except for the

⁵ Inoue Tadashi, 'Shinbutsu shūgō no seishin to zōkei' *Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*, pp. 50 - 100.

⁶ Saishō, *Kōryū-ji yuraiki*, *Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*, p.60.

details such as hands (fig.68). He holds a jewel in his left hand (Yakushi Buddha would normally hold a medicine pot), and his right hand is held out with the index finger pointing upward. The details of hairstyle and the costume are more elaborate, and it is coloured in bright pigments. The similar posture and iconography indicates that it was copied from the first image during the Jōgan era (859 - 77). The ambiguous identity of these two figures indicates that they were not based on the authentic Buddhist iconography, but were created in Japan by adapting and mixing the various styles and available iconography. These examples indicate that some apparently Buddhist images were probably created as *kami* originally, and were housed in shrines, although their ambiguous appearances have created some confusion after many centuries. Many of these Buddha-like *kami* images in shrines were either removed or destroyed, together with images of *honji-butsu*, during the iconoclastic movement of *haibutsu kishaku* in the Meiji period, making the study of this kind of images extremely difficult. The early development of *kami* images offers intriguing issues for further research, but the study of sculpture is outside the scope of this study. However, in order to stress the ambiguity of iconography in the process of *kami*'s metamorphosis, a brief examination of early sculptures of the Sannō *kami* will provide some ideas on the origin of the painted images in the Hie-Sannō *suijaku mandara*.

A group of ten small sculptures formerly in the Keisoku-ji, ranging approximately 20 to 30 cm. in height, dates from the twelfth century.⁷ They are each carved from one block of Japanese cypress (apart from the details of attributes which are made from separate pieces of wood) and left unpainted. The deities are collectively called the

⁷ *Hie-Sannō Gongen: Kami to hotoke no bijutsu*, Biwako bunkakan, p.134.

Jussho Gongen (Avatar of Ten Locations), the *kami* of the Ikagusaka Shrine near the summit of Mt.Kodakami in the remote region north of Lake Biwa.⁸ According to the *Kodakami-yama engi*, written by a Tendai monk Shunzen in 1407, the ten deities were solicited to the shrine to protect the Keisoku-ji, a mountain temple founded by Saichō in 799. The ten figures represents Shaka (the *honji* of Hie Ōmiya) (fig.69), Jizō (Hie Jūzenji), Dainichi (Yoshiro Daimyōjin), Amida (Kumano Daigongen), Amida (Hachiman Daibosatsu), Jūichimen Kannon (Shirayama Daigongen), Batō Kannon (Yokoyama Daimyōjin), Shō Kannon (Takebe Daimyōjin), Jizō (Ikagu Taisha) and Miroku (Konpusen Daigongen) (fig. 70).

The most conspicuous and startling image is that of monkey representing Shaka, the *honji* of the Ōmiya Shrine at Hie. Monkeys have been traditionally associated with the Hie Shrine, and as we have already noticed in the episodes in the *Sannō rishōki*, the wild monkeys of Mt.Hiei were often seen as the messenger of the Sannō *kami*. A pun of *masaru*, literally 'true monkey', to 'evils departing' or 'to excel' symbolizes the association of monkeys with the *kami*. But as messengers of Sannō Gongen, monkeys were also feared to cause havoc. When the great fire destroyed much of the capital including the imperial palace in 1177, it was feared that the wrath of Sannō had caused the disaster. *The Tale of the Heike* describes people having nightmare in which two to three thousand large monkeys came down from Mt.Hiei with torches in their hands and burnt everything in the capital.⁹

⁸ The set of ten sculptures was enshrined in the Gongen Hall of the Ikagusaka Shrine on Mt.Kodakami throughout the Pre-Modern period, but was moved to the more accessible Yoshiro Shrine in c.1940, then to the Kokō kaku in 1963. They are kept as *hibutsu* (secret image) and are brought out three times a year. Shimizu Zenzō, '*Shinbutsu shūgō no jittai*' *Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*, p.148.

⁹ '*Dairi enjō*', *Heike Monogatari*, Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 29, Shōgakukan, 1973, pp.101 - 6

The notion of sacred animal had another dimension in which monkeys were regarded as the manifestation of the *kami* as in the case of Jussho Gongen sculpture.

The manifestation of Sannō Gongen as a monkey is narrated in the text *Shichisha ryakki* (Short History of the Seven Shrines) as below:

Tendai Daishi [Zhiyi] is the holy priest of the four teachings. There is a temple Enshū-in in the direction of south-west from the glorious summit of Mt. Tiantai. There, the inscription on a stele in the bamboo thicket states that the Buddha's Law will spread east like the natural growth of bamboo forest, and the sacred light will shine for the benefit of all living things. One night in the tenth year of Taiken, Tendai Daishi encountered in his dream a holy monk who was sixteen feet tall [*jōroku*] with a golden crown. ---.

When the holy monk disappeared into the thicket, Tendai Daishi saw a large monkey which chanted the sacred words---¹⁰

The depiction of *kami* as monkey was probably inspired by such a legend, and indicates the origin of monkey-faced *kami* which became the established iconography for the *kami* of the Daigyōji and Shingyōji Shrines in *suijaku mandara*.

Two other figures from the set of Keisoku-ji sculptures, a monk-like figure of Jūzenji, and Dainichi, the *honji* of Yoshiro Daimyōjin, both display a noteworthy variation of iconography. The *honji* of Jūzenji is Jizō Bosatsu, but this image does not hold *hōju* (the wishing jewel) nor *shakujō* (metal staff with six rings), the usual attributes of Jizō. He is depicted as a monk, wearing a simple robe and his hands are hidden inside the sleeves. The gesture is shared by the figure of Dainichi whose hands are also concealed inside the sleeves. The posture is commonly associated with *shinzō*, as observed in the case of the ninth century image of Ōyamagui-no-kami from the Matsunoo Shrine (fig.71). The confusing mixture of iconography testifies the ambiguous identity of the *kami* who were perceived as Buddhist deities and Japanese

¹⁰ *Shichisha ryakki*, ST. (J) 29, Hiyoshi, PP.134 - 5.

kami simultaneously. In comparison to the highly sophisticated technique such as the *yosegi zukuri* (the multiple block technique) and *gyokugan* (inserted crystal eyes) available for Buddhist sculptures at the time (the twelfth century), the small scale simple single block sculptures of the Jusso Gongen suggest that they were created by provincial craftsmen. Unlike the works by the established Buddhist sculptors working in the large workshops in the metropolitan areas who followed the prescribed iconography faithfully, the works by local craftsmen reflect the osmosis of Shinto-Buddhist amalgamation which was nurtured by the common people.

According to the *Hie-Sanno Gongen chishinki* compiled by the monk Gōkan in the Edo period, the earliest reference to the appearance of the *suijaku* images of the seven Sannō *kami* was recorded by the monk Sōō (831 - 919) who opened a *zushi* containing the sacred images in 908. Gōkan copied the descriptions below from the *Sōō oshō kenpuiki*.

Ōbie Daimyōjin: seated secular figure, with unusual jewelled crown, thin garment of vermilion colour, holds a ceremonial sceptre with both hands, his appearance resembles Daigenshuri Bosatsu, his beard is parted to both sides, age about forty. Daigenshuri Bosatsu is the protector of the relic on Mt. Tiantai in the land of Tang.

Obie Daimyōjin: seated figure of monk, in yellow garment with a *nōhi* [a long sash worn over the left shoulder], with his hands in the Diamond *mudra*, age over seventy.

Shōshinshi Hiei Daimyōjin: seated figure of monk, in yellow garment with a *nōhi*, holding a ceremonial fan in his right hand and its handle in his left hand, age about fifty.

Hachiōji: seated secular figure, in formal winter robe, holding a ceremonial sceptre with both hands under the sleeves, age over thirty.

Marōdo: seated female figure, in Chinese style dress, with a golden crown on her tied hair, holding a circular object with both hands, age over twenty.

Jūzenji: seated figure of monk, in monastic robe of winter with a *nōhi*, holding a scroll of *sutra* in his right hand, and a fan in his left, age over twenty.

San-no-miya: seated female figure, in Chinese style dress, with a golden crown on her tied hair, holding a Chinese fan with both hands, age over twenty.¹¹

The description is accompanied by two sets of monochrome drawings, with slight differences in the *kami* of the Lower Seven Shrines (fig.72). If Gōkan's claim about the Sōō's record is correct, the iconography of the Sannō Gongen as seen in these drawings was already established in the early tenth century. Since no image of Sannō Gongen from that period survives today neither in sculptural nor painted forms, there is no evidence to support the authenticity of Sōō's description. The historical evidences suggest that not all seven main shrines were established during Sōō's lifetime, and it is more likely the attribution was based on Sōō's legendary reputation. As the details of drawings correspond with many of the *suijaku mandara* from the late Kamakura and Muromachi period, it is more likely that the drawings in the *Hie-Sannō Gongen chishinki* were copied from a Kamakura period text or one of the early *suijaku mandara*.

The oldest known set of seven Sannō *shinzō*, inscribed with the date 1242, survives in the Shaka-in, a Tendai temple in the present day Kumamoto prefecture (fig.73). Four images of monks, one male figure in formal court robe and two female figures in Chinese style robes are all sculpted from Japanese cypress tree, and each measures approximately 40 cm. high. The iconography corresponds to the description in the *Hie-Sannō Gongen chishinki* except for the main figure of Ōbie (Ōmiya) who is depicted as a monk, and the figures of Hachiōji and Marōdo have been switched. The

¹¹ *Hie-Sannō chishinki*, ST. Jinja-hen 29, Hiyoshi, p.471.

monk figure of Ōmiya is depicted with Buddhist hand gestures, his right hand in *yogan-in* (the gesture of giving) and his left hand in *semu-in* (the gesture of fear not), but the hands of six other figures are all concealed under the sleeves in the manner of typical *shinzō*. The depiction of Ōmiya as a monk corresponds to the second set of drawings in the *Hie-Sannō Gongen chishinki* and some *suijaku mandara*, and indicates that there were two traditions, one showing Ōmiya in Chinese robe and the other showing him as a monk, from the Kamakura period.

2. The Development of *Suijaku Mandara*

The examples of sculpted images indicate that the iconography of the Sannō *kami* in the *suijaku* form was established by the mid-thirteenth century, but no Hie-Sannō *suijaku mandara* dating from the first half of the Kamakura period is known. As I have suggested in the previous chapter, the prototype of all Hie-Sannō *mandara* was the *honji-butsu* type, and the textual sources suggest that they were created at least from the late twelfth century. In the case of *suijaku mandara*, the earliest extant example dates from the late thirteenth / early fourteenth centuries. There are at least six surviving examples, dating from the Kamakura and Nanbokuchō periods. Five more *suijaku mandara* from the Muromachi period are recorded, while no Muromachi period *honji-butsu mandara* other than the Shōjū raigō-ji's reliquary shrine have been found, suggesting the preference of *suijaku* images over *honji-butsu* type from the second half of the Kamakura period onwards. Examples of Shinto-Buddhist *mandara* from other locations, such as Kasuga, Iwashimizu Hachiman, and Kumano, also indicate that the period between the late thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries was the peak of demand for Shinto-Buddhist *mandara*, many of them with *suijaku* images.

The development of *suijaku mandara* in the case of the Hie-Sannō cult, coincides with the increasing trend in the role reversal of *kami* and Buddha, which is now termed as *han-honji-suijaku* theory. The relationship between *kami* and Buddha in the early stage of Shinto-Buddhist amalgamation fundamentally functioned with the Buddhist assumption that the *honji* (Origin = Buddha) was superior than the *suijaku* (Manifestation = *kami*). The shift in emphasis occurred from the thirteenth century on, when the influence of the Tendai philosophy of Original Enlightenment (*hongaku shisō*) began to create a paradoxical interpretation of the theory. According to the *hongaku* theory's positive affirmation of the ultimate reality of the present in this world, the Japanese *kami* were regarded superior than Indian Buddhas of the past.¹²

The reversal of hierarchy encouraged the development of so-called "Tree Theory" which identified Shinto as the root, Confucianism as the branches and leaves, and Buddhism as the flowers and fruits.¹³ However, the development of the *han honji-suijaku* theory was "not strictly anti-Buddhist, nor do they question the coexistence of *kami* and buddha".¹⁴ Rather, it was the vicissitude of religious interpretation essentially created by the monks of Mt.Hiei, and the importance placed on the *suijaku* images of the *kami* can be considered in terms of a shift of values within the Shinto-Buddhist inter-relationship. According to this theory, Japan was not a "small land" (*shōkoku*) situated on the periphery of the vast Buddhist universe, but the special land protected by the *kami* where Buddhism could flourish. Prior to considering the

¹² Kuroda Toshio, "Historical Consciousness and *honjaku* Philosophy in the Medieval Period on Mount Hiei", *The Lotus Sutra in Japanese Culture*, Honolulu, 1989, p.144.

¹³ *Ibid.* P.145.

¹⁴ Bernhard Scheid, "Reading the Yuiitsu Shinto myōhō yōshū: A modern exegesis of an esoteric Shinto text", *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami*, (ed.) John Breen & Mark Teeuwen, Curzon, p.119

possible function of these images of *kami*, it is first necessary to examine the iconography of *suijaku mandara*.

i) Jōgen-in Sannō Gongen-zō

One of the earliest Hie-Sannō *suijaku mandara* is the Jōgen-in Sannō Gongen-zō which is regarded as a representative image of the Hie-Sannō *suijaku mandara* (fig. 74). The silk hanging scroll, measuring 136 x 56.5 cm., depicts Ōmiya Gongen as a monk, surrounded by six other *kami* of the Upper Seven Shrines, all seated in front of individual three fold screens in a shrine interior. Six more *kami*, selected from the Middle and Lower Seven Shrines are placed under the main seven deities in slightly reduced scale, and further three small figures of monks and a pair of *komainu* are added in the bottom row. The painting is executed in precise Buddhist painting technique with fine *kirigane* details for textile, but the stiffness of lines and the stylization of robes indicate the date to be the late Kamakura period.

The composition is similar to the Tokyo National Museum's *honji-butsu mandara*, with the raised curtain at the top and the steps in the lower centre defining the shrine interior (fig. 53). The distinctive front elevation of the Hie Shrine is easily recognizable from the raised floor and the central steps with the red railings. The compositional device seems to appear in the late Kamakura period, and was employed for both the *honji-butsu* and *suijaku* types of Hie-Sannō *mandara*. It became the standard feature of Hie-Sannō *mandara* from the fourteenth century onwards, and the format was later copied for Shinto-Buddhist *mandara* of other locations such as Kumano and Shirayama, and continued to be used well into the Edo period.

The image of Ōmiya as monk is partly damaged from the loss of pigment in the central section of the Jōgen-in *mandara*, but other figures remain in good condition. The six *kami* surrounding Ōmiya can be identified by comparing them with the monochrome drawings in the *Hie-Sannō Gongen chishinki*.¹⁵ The figures in the top row are Hachiōji on the right as a young courtier holding a ceremonial sceptre, and San-no-miya on the left as a young female *kami* in Chinese-style robe. On the right of Ōmiya is Ni-no-miya, and on the left is Shōshinshi both as monks. The lower right of Ōmiya is Jūzenji as a monk, and on the lower left is Marōdo as a female *kami* again in Chinese-style robe. The arrangement corresponds to the *honji-butsu* of the Nezu *zushi*, but while the *honji-butsu* figures are all depicted facing the front, the subsidiary figures in *suijaku mandara* are usually depicted from a diagonal angle, facing towards the centre.

The strong Buddhist influence on the development of iconography of the Sannō *kami* is evident in the four monk figures. The images of *kami* as monks conformed to the model, most famously represented by *sōgyō* Hachiman (Hachiman in the guise of monk) whose iconography developed in the Heian period.¹⁶ The interpretation of *kami* desiring to enter monastic life in order to follow the Buddhist teaching was obviously compatible to the Hie-Sannō cult which was theoretically rationalized by Tendai monks. The iconography of two female *kami* in Chinese-style dress also displays a clear Buddhist influence in their similarity to the iconography of female Buddhist deities such as Kichijō-ten and Benzai-ten. Adoption of the Buddhist-orientated iconography for the female *kami* was perhaps an attempt to dissociate the

¹⁵ ST.J.29 *Hiyoshi*, pp. 494-504.

¹⁶ According to Christine Guth, "Hachiman's portrayal as a Buddhist monk, *Sōgyō* Hachiman, begins in the ninth century. He is first represented in monastic garb with shaven head in statue in Tōji and Yakushiji. This iconographic convention endures throughout the history of *shinzō*." Christine Guth

kami from mortal women who were excluded on Mt.Hiei. Only one *kami*, Hachiōji, in the formal court robe is depicted as a secular figure in this *mandara*, evincing the salient Buddhist contribution to the development of the iconography of Hie-Sannō *suijaku mandara*.

A white bowl with flaming jewels is placed in front of Ōmiya, and below it two male *kami* in formal court dress, one in front of a *torii* and the other in front of a three-fold screen, are seated in the centre. The ambiguous identity of these figures highlights the problem of identification often associated with *kami* images. Unlike the Buddhist iconography with easily recognizable attributes and paraphernalia specified in *sutras*, many images of *kami* are dressed in similar costume, and hardly distinguishable one from another as in this case. The hierarchy of *kami* is expressed by the size of figures, with the largest figure of Ōmiya dominating the centre. The smaller size of the two male *kami* indicates that they are of lesser importance from the main seven *kami*, but their position in the centre of the composition suggests that they had some significance connected to the function of the image or the person who commissioned it.

On the right of the male *kami* in dark court robe is another *kami* in almost identical robe, seated in front of a *torii*, but he can be identified almost certainly as Hayao whose *honji-butsu* is Fudō Myōō, one of the regular guardian deities of Hie-Sannō *mandara*. On the left hand side in the corresponding position is the *kami* with the face of monkey, Daigyōji, whose *honji-butsu* is Fudō's companion, Bishamon-ten. Above the figure of Hayao on the right is a *wakamiya* (young *kami*), representing the Ōji

Kanda, *Shinzo: Hachiman Imagery and its Development*, Harvard University Press, 1985, P.46.

Shrine, and above Daigyōji is a female *kami* holding a *biwa* (lute), the attribute of Benzaiten the *honji-butsu* of the Iwadaki Shrine.

The number of *kami* included in *suijaku mandara* varies greatly from a simple *mandara* in the Gakuen-ji (fig.75) with only seven figures to a much busier composition of the Shōgen-ji *mandara* (fig.76) with twenty-seven figures.¹⁷ Apart from the *kami* of the Upper seven Shrines and the two guardian deities of the Middle Seven Shrines, the selection of other *kami* seems arbitrary now, but they must have been selected for reasons significant at the time. The arrangement and the size of deities were strictly hierarchical, and the composition was divided into three zones, the *naijin* (the inner sanctuary) for the seven main *kami*, *gejin* (the outer sanctuary) for the *kami* of subsidiary shrines, and *kairō* (the veranda) for the *komainu* and additional figures. The surviving examples does not seem to display any apparent scheme or theory for the choice of lesser deities at first, but, as I discuss later in this chapter, certain patterns emerged by comparing the iconography of individual figures.

The unusual feature of the Jōgen-in *mandara* is the addition of three small monks, seated on the veranda flanked by the *komainu*. They are identified as Jikaku Daishi Ennin (right), Dengyō Daishi Saichō (centre) and Jie Daishi Ryōgen (left).¹⁸ The elevation of three Tendai patriarchs into the pantheon of *kami* provides an evidence for the reverence shown to historical figures, nurtured in the tradition of teacher-pupil transmission of doctrine in Esoteric Buddhism. The portrait of one's own teacher was treasured, and the long tradition of Tendai or Shingon *soshizu* (images of patriarchs) testifies the devotion and legendary status commanded by some of the prominent

¹⁷ See Appendix 3. P.

¹⁸ *Hie-Sanno Gongen - Kami to hotoke no bijutsu*, Biwako bunkakan, p.43.

figures. The inclusion of the monks in this *mandara* set in the shrine interior indicates the close association of these prominent Tendai figures with the Hie-Sannō cult, and highlights the ambiguity between the revered historical monks and the *kami*.

The quasi-deified status of the monks is clearly expressed in the portrait of Jie Daishi (912-85), from the Kamakura period, in the Kakurin-ji (fig.77). The seated figure of the monk on the *raiban* platform, holding a rosary and a *vajra* is placed under a canopy, and a raised curtain similar to shrine *mandara* in the upper section suggests his exalted position. His *kesa* is beautifully embellished with *kirigane* decoration, creating an impression of Amida Buddha's golden robe, and three more small figures of Tendai patriarchs are added underneath. Three circular motifs, modified from the Esoteric Buddhist eight-petalled lotus motif, appear above the main portrait. Each motif contains seven *honji-butsu* of the Upper Seven (centre), the Middle Seven (right), and the Lower Seven (left) of the Hie Shrine, evincing the Jie Daishi's close relationship with the Hie Shrine.

Jie Daishi, also known as Ganzan Daishi, was the eighteenth Tendai Abbot, and renowned for his superhuman ability which is symbolized by the dragon with a jewel in the lower border in this image. One of the most remarkable episodes among the legends associated to this extraordinary character is narrated in the *Hie-Sannō rishōki* as below:

A *yamabushi* [mountain ascetic], while praying to visualize an image of worship in Nachi, encountered a dragon in the waterfall. The name of Jie Daishi was inscribed in gold on the head of the dragon. Thinking it strange, the *yamabushi* travelled to Yokawa on Mt.Hiei to meet the Daishi, who welcomed the *yamabushi*,

saying that they have already met at Nachi. He is the manifestation of the dragon king Manasu.¹⁹

The *Hie-Sannō rishōki* recorded many such stories accounting the supernatural ability of eminent monks which set them apart from ordinary people. The inclusion of these figures in the *mandara* attests the medieval Tendai interpretation in which these monks were elevated to *kami*-like status after their death.

ii) Nikkō Sannō *mandara*

The iconography of Ōmiya as a monk seems to be well established in the Nanbokuchō / Muromachi period, and several similar examples survive today. The Sannō *suijaku mandara* from the Mii-dera (fig.78) and the Nikkō Sannō *mandara* from the Rinnō-ji, Nikkō (fig.79), both dated to the Muromachi period, represent the typical composition depicting the *kami* of the Upper Seven Shrines in a shrine interior. The iconography and the position of the seven *kami* correspond to the Jōgen-in *mandara*, and though the position has been switched, the two guardian deities, Daigyōji with the face of monkey on the right and Hayao as a young courtier on the left, match the standard iconography. The similarity in composition and the painting style indicate that they were both created from a same iconographical model, and were probably copied from a kind of pattern books for such types of *mandara* which were handed down and circulated in Tendai temples as an established model in the Muromachi period.

The Nikkō Sannō *mandara* includes one more deity, a female *kami* in Chinese robe holding a flaming jewel, in the centre beneath Ōmiya. This figure and the two male *kami* beside her have been previously identified as Nikkō Sansho Gongen, the three

¹⁹ ST (J) 29, *Hie Sannō rishōki*, p.657.

kami of shrines in Nikkō, hence the name “Nikkō Sannō *mandara*.”²⁰ Nikkō was associated to the cult of Hie-Sannō since the eighth century when a Tendai monk established the Futarasan Shrine on Mt.Nantai and solicited the *kami* of the Hie Shrine, Ōnamuchi-no-kami and Tagorihime-no-kami, to Nikkō. The two *kami* and their offspring Ajitsuki-takahikone- no-mikoto became known as Nikkō Sansho Gongen, and they were paired with their *honji-butsu*, Amida, Senju Kannon and Batō Kannon by the Kamakura period. A late Kamakura period *suijaku mandara*, Nikkō Sansho Gongenzō, depicts the three *kami* in an unusual composition facing each other, and their *honji-butsu* in circles appear above the main shrine setting (fig.80). Although the female *kami* is depicted in Chinese robe similar to Nikkō Sannō *mandara*'s figure, she does not hold the flaming jewel, and neither one of the male *kami* is depicted as monkey.

A comparison of the female *kami* with the jewel in the Nikkō Sannō *mandara* with another Hie-Sannō *suijaku mandara*, a Muromachi period work in the Manju-in, Kyoto, which is inscribed with the name of deities next to each image, provide a clue to identify the female *kami* (fig.81). The Manju-in *mandara* identifies her as Seijo, one of the Middle Seven Shrines which enshrines Shitateruhime-no-kami whose *honji-butsu* is Nyoirin Kannon. The similarity in iconography and the jewel, the attribute of Nyoirin Kannon, suggests that this figure is not Tagorihime-no-kami of Nikkō Sansho Gongen, but Shitateruhime-no-kami of the Seijo Shrine from Hie. The iconography of two male *kami* too, one with the face of monkey, matches to the Daigyōji, and the other conforms to figure of Hayao of the Hie shrines. These

²⁰ Sugawara Shinkai and Yamamoto Kenkichi, *Nikkō Rinnō-ji*, Koji junrei – Tōgoku 2, Tankō-sha, 1981, p.123, p.150.

iconographical details suggest to me that the so-called Nikkō Sannō *mandara* should be identified as an example of regular Hie-Sannō *suijaku mandara*.

The combination of the seven main deities, two guardian deities, and Nyoirin Kannon / Seijo Shrine matches exactly to an Edo period Hie-Sannō *honji-butsu mandara* (fig.82), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, further confirming the possibility of Nikkō Sannō *mandara* being an example of regular Hie-Sannō *suijaku mandara*. The case of the Nikkō Sannō *mandara*, as in the case of Kōin *honji-butsu mandara*, highlights the problem of identification associated with Shinto-Buddhist *mandara*. More often than not, the numerical coincidence seems to have caused the confusion, and led to misidentification of some examples with vague provenance. The significance of the female deity with the flaming jewel in the Nikkō Sannō *mandara* in the context of the Hie-Sannō cult becomes clearer by examining the other types of Hie-Sannō *suijaku mandara*, those with the figure of Ōmiya in Chinese robe.

3. The Seven Stars of Heaven and the Seven Shrines on Earth

<i>Aini aite</i>	Meeting again
<i>Hie no sora zo</i>	the sky of Hie
<i>Sayaka naru</i>	is serene
<i>Nanatsu no hoshino</i>	in the light
<i>Terasu hikari ni</i>	of the seven stars

Hafuribe Narishige, *Shingosen waka-shū*.²¹

i) Saikyō-ji *suijaku mandara*

Two iconographical traditions in the image of Ōmiya seem to have existed concurrently from the late Kamakura period. One tradition depicted him as an elderly monk, as in the Jōgen-in *mandara*, while the other tradition depicted him as an exotic figure in red Chinese-style garment and a golden crown on his head just as the description in the *Hie-Sannō Gongen chishinki*. The *suijaku mandara* from the Saikyō-ji, Shiga, is an important example of the second type with the figure of Ōmiya in a red garment seated in the centre of the *naijin* (fig.83). This distinctively non-Japanese appearance of Ōmiya includes a peculiar detail of beard that is parted in the centre as described in the *Sōō oshō kenpūki*, copied by Gōkan.²² The strange iconography of “split beard” is similar to the painting of Kasuga Daimyōjin, a fourteenth century copy of the early thirteenth century original, in the Kōzan-ji, Kyoto (fig.84). In her study on the relationship between Kasuga Daimyōjin and the monk Myōe (1173-1232), Karen Brock traces the possible origin of the “split beard” iconography to the late twelfth century *Kegon gojūgokasho emaki (Zenzai dōji emaki)* in the Tōdai-ji which shows two *Baramon* (Brahman) with such beard (fig.85).²³ She suggests that the adoption of this distinctive beard for the Kasuga deity is Myōe’s conscious attempt to emphasize the deity’s connection to India (the *honji* of the Kasuga Daimyōjin being Sākya-muni). She comments:

At first glance it seems decidedly odd that Myōe should choose such a “Western” appearance for a Japanese *kami*. However since Myōe perceived Kasuga as both a devotee of, and a surrogate for, Sākya-muni himself, the representation of Kasuga as an “exotic other” further connects the deity to India.²⁴

²¹ Hafuribe Narishige, *Shingosen waka-shū*, KT. C. Vol.1, P.403.

²² ST (J) 29, p.471

²³ Karen L. Brock, “My Reflection should be your keepsake”: Myōe’s vision of the Kasuga Deity, *Living Images : Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, Stanford University Press, 2001, pp.49-113.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p.82.

The iconography of the “split beard” may have reference to Brahman originally as she suggests, but it seems by the time the Saikyō-ji *mandara* was created, it vaguely indicated the foreign origin of the deity, and this strange detail gradually seems to have lost its significance as the later images of Ōmiya no longer sported the “split beard”.

The Saikyō-ji *mandara* is painted on silk, 124.5 x 40.0 cm., and follows the conventional composition of shrine interior with the raised curtain at the upper section and the flight of steps in the lower centre. Apart from the different appearance of the main figure, six other *kami* of the Upper Seven Shrines are placed in the corresponding positions, in very much similar style to the Jōgen-in *mandara*, all seated in front of a simple three-fold screens. The background is richly decorated with a geometric pattern in *kirigane*, and together with the attention to the detail of textiles, create a highly decorative effect. Beneath the main seven deities, three deities (one male, one female and one boy) in slightly smaller scale are placed side by side, and two guardians, the monkey-faced Daigyōji and the male *kami* in court robe Hayao, both seated in front of *torii*, are added below. The female *kami* in the centre is prominently depicted directly below Ōmiya and the offering table, wearing a red Chinese-style robe with an elaborate head ornament, holding a jewel. The iconography corresponds to the Manju-in *mandara* and Nikkō Sannō *mandara*, suggesting that the *kami* of the Seijo Shrine had a significant role possibly connected to the function of this *mandara*. The connection of this *kami*, Shitateru-hime-no-kami with the *nyoi hōju* (wish-fulfilling jewel) reflects the identity of her *honji-butsu*, Nyoirin Kannon whose attributes were the wish-fulfilling jewel and the Wheel (of the Law). The name of the shrine, Seijo, literally “sacred woman”, and her attribute wish-

fulfilling jewel are also associated with the Dragon King's daughter from the *Lotus Sutra*.²⁵ The story of the eight-year old dragon girl who presented the jewel [of the Law] to the Buddha, and instantaneously turned into a male and attained Enlightenment was one of the most well known episodes from the *Lotus Sutra* that offered women to aspire for the Buddhist goal.

Other figures included in this *mandara* are seated figures of a fierce deity with red body (right), a bearded man in red robe with a kneeling boy attendant, and a male *kami* in court robe on the veranda. The inscriptions on the Manju-in *mandara* again help to identify these figures as Emperor Gozu (the *kami* of the Gion Shrine), Sekizan Myōjin (the Chinese deity solicited to Mt.Hiei by Ennin), and Kitano Tenjin (the deified Sugawara no Michizane) respectively. Soliciting important deities from other locations to the Hie Shrine and building small subsidiary shrines was a practice adopted from the early stage of shrine history.²⁶ The same three deities, Emperor Gozu of Gion, Sekizan and Tenjin, also appear in another *suijaku mandara*, a Muromachi period example, also in the Saikyō-ji (fig.86). In this case, all twenty-one *kami* of the Upper, Middle and Lower Seven Shrines are joined by the three deities mentioned above as well as Goin, the unusual figure of *karasu tengu* that appeared in the Nezu *zushi*. All figure apart from the Upper Seven Shrines are accompanied by rectangular cartouches with their names clearly inscribed, facilitating the identification of each deity, but the significance of the four deities in the lower-most row has not been clarified.

²⁵ *The Lotus Sutra*, Chapter Eleven "Devadatta", Kōsei Publishing, 1992, pp.212-3.

²⁶ Small shrines for Yasaka Shrine (Gion Shrine) and Kitano Shrine (Tenjin) are situated on the east of Marodo Shrine in the present day Hiyoshi Shrine (Map 3).

The important feature of the Saikyō-ji Kamakura period *mandara* is the addition of the Hokuto shichisei, the seven principal stars of the Ursa Major (Great Bear), popularly known as the Big Dipper, at the top of the composition. Each star of the constellation is represented by a gold *ensō* containing the personification of the star. The depiction of stars as such must have been inspired by star mandalas, such as the beautiful Hokuto Mandala in the Hōryū-ji, Nara, dated to the mid-twelfth century (fig. 87).²⁷ In this star mandala, the seven stars of the Big Dipper, Donrō-sei, Kyomon-sei, Rokuzon-sei, Monkyoku-sei, Reintei-sei, Bukyoku-sei, and Hagun-sei, are depicted in the inner most ring just above the central deity Shaka. Star mandalas organized from concentric circles such as the Hōryū-ji example was devised by Tendai Abbot Keien (949-1019), while the rectangular star mandalas represent the Shingon tradition.²⁸ The procedure of the ritual Hokuto-hō recorded in the *Monyōki* (Record of Leafy Gate) mentions the *honzon* (main icon) of the hall to be “En mandara” (the character “en” of Keien, also meaning circle), confirming the function of star mandara in the Tendai rite of Hokuto-ku.²⁹

The Hokuto shichisei was one of the most important constellations in the astrology introduced to Japan in the early Heian period by monks of the Esoteric schools who studied in the Tang capital Chang'an. The studies of astronomy and astrology flourished there in the international environment, bringing together the scientific knowledge from Persia, India and China, but the constellation of Ursa Major gained a greater significance in China than in India, as it could be seen in the northern hemisphere much brightly than the locations nearer to the Equator like India. Even

²⁷ For Star Mandalas, see Takeda Kazuaki, *Hoshi Mandala no kenkyu*, Hōzōka, 1995. Also ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography*, 1999, pp.116-21.

²⁸ Takeda Kazuaki, *Hoshi mandara no kenkyu*, Hōzōkan, 1995, p.9.

²⁹ Son'en, *Monyōki vol.162*, TSD.p.510.

before the transmission of Esoteric Buddhism to China, the Polar Star and the Constellation Ursa Major were regarded as important stars in Daoist tradition.³⁰ The transmission of Esoteric Buddhist scriptures related to the Indian astronomy and astrology encouraged the combination of knowledge in stars. The principal Buddhist scripture on the theory of stars, the *Sukuyō-kyō*, translated and adopted into Chinese by Amoghavajra (J.Fukū, 705-774)³¹ incorporated the theory of zodiac from the Hellenistic origin and the twenty-eight (twenty-seven in Fukū's later version) constellations from the Indian and Chinese astronomy.³²

The discovery in 1987 of a reliquary shrine with a schematic image of Ursa Major on the inside wall of a jade tube among the Esoteric Buddhist objects excavated from the Famen-xi temple, testifies the significance accorded to the constellation in the Tang period (fig.88). The relic, described as a finger relic, is placed in a silver inner tube, protected by the jade tube which resembles a partial human finger bone, and is contained in a pure gold architectural shrine on a square base with a jewel-shaped finial on the roof.³³ Adding the image of the constellation to such a precious object, in a place that is not visible in normal circumstances, seem to suggest that the magical power of the constellation Ursa Major was expected to protect the relic.

The Tang theory of stars was transmitted to Japan by monks of the Esoteric schools who were at the forefront of specialist knowledge in astrology, astronomy, yin and

³⁰ Takeda Kazuaki, p.84.

³¹ Among the *Goshōrai mokuroku* (The List of Buddhist texts Kūkai brought back from the Tang in 805) was the *Monjusuri Bosatsu oyobi shosen shosetsu kicchō jiji zenaku Sukuyō-kyō* (The Sutra of the bodhisattva Manjusri and various sacred places and sayings on fortunes of days) which came to be known in the abbreviated name of *Sukuyō-kyō* in Japan.

³² Yano Michio, "Hoshi no shinko: Mikkyō no toseijutsu", *Shinbutsu shugo to shugen*, Nihon no bukkyō vol.6, Shinchōsha, 1989, pp.104-12.

³³ Wu Limin and Han Jinke, The Studies on Esoteric Mandala from the *Famen-xi temple*, Zhonggao fujiao wenhua chuban, 1998, pp.68-9.

yang principles, geomancy, calendar making and divination, all of which contributed to the complex fusion of Japanese religious practices. The studies of stars undertaken by Esoteric Buddhist monks gradually spread during the Heian period, and the related concept such as the days of week was adopted by Japanese as the well-known example of Fujiwara no Michinaga's diary, *Midō kanpaku-ki* from the early eleventh century suggests. A portrait of *sukyōji* (astrologer) in the fourteenth century *emaki*, *Tsurugaoka Hōjō-e shokunin uta-awase emaki* (The Tsurugaoka Poetry Competition among Persons of Various Occupations), depicts him as a monk, indicating that the astrologer was an occupation monopolized by monks (fig. 89).³⁴

The seven stars of the Hokuto shichisei became important in Japan from around the tenth century as they were believed to exert a great influence on the individual human destiny as well as ruling natural cycle and important incidents. According to the theory of stars in Daoist origin, elaborated by Esoteric Buddhist scriptures, one of the seven stars was designated as the personal star of individuals by using the combination of twelve signs of zodiac and the date of birth, and the belief in personal stars played a considerable role in the everyday life of medieval people.³⁵ The eclectic nature of the religious practice was recorded by Fujiwara no Morosuke (908-60) in the *Kujō ujōshō ikai* (The Memoirs of Kujō the Great Minister of the Right with Advice for Later Generations):

When I rise in the morning, firstly I recite the name of my star seven times ---. Next I look into a mirror and at the

³⁴ The poetry competition was held at the Trsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine after the ceremony of *Hōjō-e*, in which captive birds were released to symbolise the Buddhist precept against killing, and twenty-four poets of various occupations composed two poems on the topic of Love and Moon. Mori Tōru (ed.) *Tsurugaoka Hōjō-e Shokunin Uta-awase emaki*, Nihon emekimono zenshū 28, Kadokawa shoten, 1979.

³⁵ One of the most influential Daoist texts on star theory was *Gogyō taigi*, compiled during the Sui Dynasty. Esoteric scriptures such as *Hokuto shichisei enmeikyo*, *Hokuto shichisei nenju giki*, *Sukyō giki*, *Hokuto shichisei goma hiyo giki* were also influential to the development of belief in stars in Japan. Takeda Kazuaki, p.84.

calendar to find out the fortune of the day. Then, I clean my teeth and wash my hands facing the west. Next, I recite the name of Buddha, followed by a prayer to the venerable shrine, then record the events from the day before.³⁶

Buddhist rites focusing on stars were performed frequently to encourage good fortune, or to eliminate the negative forces of the stars in both Tendai and Shingon temples from the tenth to thirteenth centuries.³⁷ In the Tendai tradition, the rites such as the Hokuto-ku (Rite of the Big Dipper), Nyoirin kashō-ku (Rite of Nyoirin Star), Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō (Rite of the Seven Buddhas of Healing) and Shijōkō-hō (Rite of Light-emitting) promoted the devotion to the seven stars.

The association of Nyoirin Kannon with the Hokuto shichisei was based on the sutra *Shichisei Nyoirin himitsu yōkyō*, translated into Chinese by Fukū, and transmitted to Japan in the ninth century. The devotion to the wish-fulfilling jewel and Nyoirin Kannon was particularly significant in the Shingon lineage of Esoteric Buddhism from the time of Kūkai, and the worship of wish-fulfilling jewel continued to flourish in the Kamakura period.³⁸ The ritual Shichisei nyoirin-hō was performed in Shingon temples with a mandala which depicted an image of Nyoirin Kannon surrounded by personification of the seven stars and Kariteimo (sk.Hariti).³⁹ The Saikyō-ji *mandara* indicates that the connection of Hokuto shichisei with Nyoirin Kannon and her wish-fulfilling jewel was also important in the Tendai lineage, and draws attention to the significance of this now forgotten shrine. The Seijo Shrine was renamed as Usa Wakamiya after the official separation of Shinto and Buddhism in the late nineteenth

³⁶ Fujiwara no Morosuke, *Kujō ujōshō ikai*, Nihon shiso taikai 8,

³⁷ Yano Michio, "Hoshi no shinko: Mikkyō no toseijutsu" *Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*, 1989, p.112.

³⁸ Brian Ruppert points out Kūkai's connection to the texts related to wish-fulfilling jewel and Nyoirin Kannon, and the continuation of worship in Shingon temples, especially the Tō-ji and Daigo-ji where the production of physical wish-fulfilling jewels was an important aspect of ritual practices. B.Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, pp.145-77.

century, and the connection with the *honji-butsu* Nyoirin Kannon has been obliterated from people's memory. The small Usa Wakamiya Shrine, situated on the east of the Usa-gū (previously known as Shōshinshi), is so modest, it is hardly noticeable in the present day shrine complex. The name Wakamiya, literally "young shrine", denotes a *kami* in the form of boy in general. With the change of name, even the gender of the *kami* seems to have changed, and the association with the wish-fulfilling jewel or stars has been lost.

The identification of the Hokuto shichisei with the seven Sannō shrines seems to have developed in relation to Buddhist rites of stars performed on Mt.Hiei where the protective role of the *kami* of the Hie Shrine was already integrated into the Tendai philosophical framework. One of the earliest textual references to the association appears in the thirteenth century text, *Sanke yōryakki* (Short history of Mountain Home), which attributes the passage "Seven stars of Ursa Major of *yang*, seven shrines of *yin*" to Jie Daishi (Ryōgen, 912-985). The attribution suggests the identification was already established in the tenth century, but without evidence.⁴⁰ The definition "the seven stars of Heaven and the seven shrines on Earth" appears in the *Keiran shūyōshū* by Kōshū who also identifies the seven stars with the seven Buddhas of Healing in the East (Tōhō shichibutsu Yakushi) in the same passage.⁴¹ The diagram from the sixteenth century set of scrolls *Sannō nijūissha tōe-zu* (dated 1579) illustrates the relationships between the seven stars and the corresponding shrines in geographical terms (fig.90).⁴² Another Muromachi text, *Shichisha ryakki*

³⁹ Yoritomi Motohiro, *Mandara no kanshō kiso chishiki*, Shibundō, 1993, pp.168-9.

⁴⁰ *Sanke yōryakki vol.6*, Takeda, p.40.

⁴¹ Kōshū, *Keiran shūyōshū*, TSD, vol.76, p.515.

⁴² The set of scrolls, now in the Eizan bunko, were commissioned by Hafuribe Yukimaro after the 1571 fire with a purpose to preserve the tradition of the medieval shrine. *Sannō nijūissha tōezu*, ST (J) 29, P.394.

also identifies the seven *kami* with the Hokuto shichisei.⁴³ These references evince the connection of the Hie-Sannō cult with the Tendai ritual related to the seven stars of Ursa Major, and explain the significance of the stars depicted at the top section of the Saikyō-ji *mandara*.

ii) Shōgen-ji Hie-Sannō *suijaku mandara*

The seven stars were also depicted in the top section of other *suijaku mandara*, such as a Nanbokuchō period example from the Shōgen-ji (fig.76) and a Muromachi period example of Manju-in, Kyoto (fig.81). The constellation in the Shōgen-ji *mandara* is partially lost from the damage to the top of the painting, but the personified figures of stars in the remaining circles indicate that the original composition extended a few inches above the present state of the *mandara*, and included the seven stars placed in the shape of the constellation as seen in the sky similar to the Saikyō-ji *mandara*. The stars in the Manju-in *mandara* are placed in straight line above the raised curtain, and although one star is completely lost and two others damaged from the loss of pigments, they can be identified as the personified Hokuto shichisei.

The unusual feature of the Shōgen-ji *mandara*, 151.0 x 55.0 cm., is the inclusion of seven sacred palanquins of the Hie Shrine below the stars. No other early *mandara* depicts the palanquins, making this painting one of the earliest depictions of medieval palanquins. The *mandara* is also unusual for the large number of figures included. Apart from the main seven deities of the Upper Seven Shrines in the top half of the composition, twenty smaller figures, each seated on platforms in front of three fold screens, are neatly depicted in the lower half of the shrine interior. The colourful

⁴³ *Shichisha ryakki*, ST (J) 29, P.130.

costumes of deities and rich *kirigane* decoration for details create a highly decorative *mandara*.

All three *mandara* with the seven stars of Hokuto shichisei (Saikyō-ji, Shōgen-ji and Manju-in versions) depict the central deity Ōmiya as an exotic figure in red Chinese-style robe and a golden crown, indicating that the association with the stars played major role in the way Ōmiya was depicted. Since the seven stars were not depicted in any of the *suijaku mandara* with the figure of Ōmiya as monk, the iconography of Ōmiya in Chinese-style robe ought to be considered in relation to stars. As ten Grotenhuis points out, in star mandalas, "all the personified stars were shown in Chinese (Tang dynasty) dress, reflecting the Chinese influence in the synthesis of astrological knowledge"⁴⁴ The description from the twelfth century *Kakuzen shō*, specifies the personified Hokuto shichisei to be depicted as below:

The images of Hokuto shichisei to be placed in seven small lunar discs. In the south-west, the Donrō-sei in red and black, holding the sun in his left hand. In the west, the Kyomon-sei in white [and?] yellow, holding the moon in his right hand. In the west [also], the Rokuzon-sei in red black, holding a flaming jewel in his left hand. In the north lunar disc, the Monkyoku-sei in blue black, with water running from his out-turned left hand. In the north east lunar disc, the Rentei-sei in yellow, holding a jewel in his right hand in laying down posture. In the east lunar disc, the Bukyoku-sei in blue, holding a willow stuff in his left hand. In the south-east lunar disc, the Hagan-sei in white red, holding a sword in his right hand. The images should be in the style of *yasha* [Heavenly guardians] with red hair, and finely decorated with a crown and jewellery.⁴⁵

The iconography of the Hokuto shichisei in the exotic *yasha* style with a crown seem to resemble the appearance of Ōmiya which probably developed to suggest his association with the star deities. These references strongly indicate that Hie-Sannō

⁴⁴ Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, 1999, p.116.

⁴⁵ Kakuzen, *Kakuzenshō*, TSD.(Z) vol.5, p.398.

mandara with the image of Ōmiya in the Chinese-style robe and a crown was created and functioned in Tendai rituals related to the stars.

The rituals related to the seven stars, particularly Shijōkō-hō was one of the most important Tendai rites performed at the time of unusual astronomical movement such as solar or lunar eclipse, and at the time of natural calamity for ensuring the well being of the emperor. Satō Masato points out that from the tenth century the seven *kami* of the Sannō shrines were included in the seventy protective deities such as the Twelve Devas and the twelve signs of zodiac for each of whom a candle was dedicated during the Shijōkō rites.⁴⁶ According to the *Asabashō*, Shijōkō-hō was performed fifty-four times between 845 and 1305, and Tendai Abbot Jien was an especially ardent practitioner of the rite.⁴⁷ In 1205, Jien commissioned a temple Daishihō-in for the retired emperor Gotoba with two purpose built halls for the protection of the state in mind. One was Amida-dō, and the other was Shijōkō-dō where he performed the rite Shijōkō-hō in 1206, 1207 and 1208.⁴⁸ The retired emperor's *ganmonn* (vow) from 1208, recorded in the *Monyōki*, provides valuable information on the hall:

Shijōkō-dō with three bays on all four sides. The main icon is the gilt bronze *shuji* (Sanskrit symbol) of Ichiji Kinrin measuring eight *shaku* [appx. 2.5 m.]. – [The following images were in the hall.] Yakushi Buddha with Nikkō and Gakkō Bosatsu, Jūni shinshō [Twelve guardian deities of Yakushi], Fudō Myōō with his boy attendants Seitaka and Kongura, Bishamon-ten and Kichijō-ten, *Honji butsu bosatsu of kami of Hie*, five mandalas of Ichiji Kinrin butsugan, **Hokuto**, Ryōgai, Hokke, and Kokūe. –

Apart from the every day services, annual services of Shijōkō-hō, Ichiji Kinrin butsugan, Yakushi-hō, Hokke-hō and Fudō goma each lasting seven days are held. In addition, Shichijūten-

⁴⁶ Satō Masato, "Sannō Shinto keiseishi no ippan", *Shūkyō kenkyū* 266, 1985, pp.29-53.

⁴⁷ Shōchō, *Asabashō vol.58,59*, TSD.

⁴⁸ Satō Masato, p.44.

ku (Rite for seventy Heavenly beings) is held on the first day of the month, and **Sannō-ku** (Rite for Sanno deities) on the last day of the month. In the remaining twenty-eight days, rites for Yakushi, Kinrin, Butsugan, and Fudō are held in turns. On seven days between the seventh and thirteenth day [of the month], **Hokuto-ku** (Rite of the seven stars of Ursa Major) are held, and on the third day, Jie Daishi-kō (Lecture of Jie Daishi) is held. — These services should be held every month, every year.⁴⁹

The description proves beyond doubt the participation of the *kami* of the Hie Shrine in Tendai ritual practices. As Jien was well known for his devotion to Sannō, the placement of images “*honji-butsu bosatsu of kami of Hie*” may have been his influence. This description also confirms that *honji-butsu*, rather than *suijaku* images were prevalent in the early thirteenth century. The use of the term “*zo*” for various images in this text seems to indicate both sculpture and paintings.

Although no evidence of the seven *kami* of Sannō being identified with the seven stars of Ursa Major can be detected from this early thirteenth century record, Satō points out the record of Hokuto-hō (the rite of Ursa Major) performed by Tendai Abbot Dōkaku in 1249 in which prayers for the seven shrines of Sannō were included, and suggests that the identification became established around the mid-thirteenth century.⁵⁰ As noted before, the seven stars of Ursa Major were regarded to possess powerful influence on destiny of individual as well as natural phenomena, and the rites of stars were frequently performed at times when people were confronted with unusual astronomical occurrence such as solar or lunar eclipse, and natural disasters that are beyond their control. As the second half of the thirteenth century was the time when Japan faced the fear of unknown external power for the first time, and the attempted Mongol invasions in 1274 and 1281 prompted the reassessment of the role of *kami*. The development of *han honji-suijaku* theory from the late thirteenth century and the

interpretation of *kami* as the protector of Japan can be considered as important factors for the prominence of the *suijaku* images from the late Kamakura period.

All surviving examples of *suijaku mandara* date from the second half of the Kamakura period and later, coinciding the time of social anxiety and seem to indicate an increased demand for images of *kami* for ritual purposes. According to the reversal of *kami*-Buddha relationships, it would not be surprising if images of *kami* in their *suijaku* form became more desirable. The sudden increase of *mandara*, especially that of *suijaku mandara* in the case of Hie-Sanno in the late thirteenth century, therefore, should be considered in relation to the development of *han-honji suijaku* theory rather than the *honji-suijaku* theory as they have previously been associated with. It is also important to acknowledge that the *han honji-suijaku* theory was not a simple self-denial on the part of Buddhists, or an reaction of "Shinto" to reassert their power. On the contrary, it was a perspective proposed by the Tendai monks in order to define the role of *kami* in Buddhist theoretical framework. I would like to discuss this point further in relation to the philosophy of *shinkoku* in the next chapter, but in short, the iconography and the function of *suijaku mandara* were essentially conditioned by the Tendai Buddhist theories. The image of Ōmiya as the exotic figure in red Chinese-style robe with a golden crown must have developed in such a climate in the second half of the thirteenth century in association with the Hokuto shichisei and its related rituals which were performed for the protection of the country.

The most recent discovery of the previously unrecorded Sannō *suijaku mandara* from the Nanbokuchō period confirms the iconography of Hie-Sannō *suijaku mandara*

⁴⁹ Son'en, *Mon'yōki vol.134*, TSD (Z) 12, PP.313-4.

⁵⁰ Satō Masato, pp.46-7.

that developed in relation to the Hokuto shichisei (fig.91).⁵¹ The silk hanging scroll, 109.1 x 37.6 cm., depicts ten deities (seven *kami* of the Upper Seven Shrines, two guardian deities, and a female *kami* holding a jewel) of the Hie Shrine, seated in a shrine-like interior which conforms to the standard Hie-Sannō *mandara* format. A large pine tree with spreading branches is placed in the foreground, and a few small boats on the water and a *torii* on the far left indicate the location, Karasaki by the shore of Lake Biwa. A similar large pine tree is depicted in the corresponding position of the Hie-sha Hōtō Mandara (fig.62), a *suijaku mandara* in the Manju-in and another in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig.92), suggesting that the huge pine tree with spreading branches did already exist in the medieval period. The development of iconographic shape of the pine tree of Karasaki in the Ōmi Hakkei images from the sixteenth century onwards can be traced to these *mandara* in which the pine tree of Karasaki had a symbolic significance as a *yōgō matsu* (pine tree of the *kami*'s manifestation) with its connection to the arrival of Ōnamuchi-no-kami from Mt.Miwa.

The image of Ōmiya in the exotic red garment with a golden crown in this *mandara* matches to the previously mentioned three *mandara*, all of which included the seven stars in the upper most section. The stars in this *mandara* are placed in a straight line above the raised curtain at the upper most section, similar to the Manju-in example. The figure of female *kami* with elaborate head-dress, holding a jewel, is placed prominently under the central deity Ōmiya, again confirming the connection of the Seijo Shrine with the worship of Hokuto shichisei and provides evidence for the significance of this deity.

⁵¹ I like to thank Timon Screech and Koichi Yanagi for the information on this *mandara*.

4. Gender and the *kami* of Hie-Sanno

i) Women and the *kam*

<i>Na ni shiohaba</i>	Known in the name
<i>itsutsu no sawari</i>	of the body
<i>aru mono o</i>	with five impediments,
<i>urayamashiku mo</i>	I envy the flowers
<i>noboru hana kana</i>	climbing the mountain.

Izumi Shikibu, *Shinsenzaishū*.⁵²

Mt.Hiei was a sacred mountain of Buddhism where women were excluded for over one thousand years until the late nineteenth century. The poem above by Izumi Shikibu (c.976-?) was composed when she saw a monk walking past her house with a bunch of maiden flowers which he was taking to dedicate to the Buddha on Mt.Hiei. Only once a year on the eighth day of the fourth month, on the day of Sākyamuni Buddha's birthday, women were allowed half way up the mountain path to the Hanatsumi-dō (literally hall of picking flowers) where the legend says that Saichō met his mother who came visiting him with flowers for the Buddha.⁵³ The evidence of the strict rule of *kekkaï* (sacred area separated from outside world) observed in pre-modern Mt.Hiei can still be witnessed in a stone marker carved with words "off limit for women, horses and bulls", left by the road side as a monument from bygone days (fig.93).

In sharp contrast to such a male orientated Buddhist community on Mt.Hiei, women were free to visit the Hie Shrine, except during the monthly cycle, in medieval period. As already evinced in the episode of Fujiwara no Moromichi's mother, narrated in the *Hie-Sanno rishōki* and *The Tale of the Heike*, medieval women took active part in

⁵² Izumi Shikibu, *Shinsenzaishū*, KT.(C) vol.1, p.618.

visiting shrines, sponsoring rituals, and spending days in seclusion for special prayers. Pilgrimages to shrines and temples (especially nunneries) were important religious activities, and many literary and visual sources attest the popularity of pilgrimage among women. Women were also heavily involved in shrine life as *miko* (shrine maiden) who sometimes acted as shamanistic messengers of *kami*, or *shirabyōshi* who dressed as man and performed sacred dances at shrines. In the above episode, a young shrine maiden was possessed by the *kami* of Sannō, and prophesied the Sannō's wish to Moromichi's mother.

The prominence of women in the realm of shrine is connected to the shamanistic character of the ancient female rulers of Japan, Himiko and Empress Jingū, who were revered for their ability to communicate with *kami*. The tradition of matriarchal social structure originating from the Jōmon period produced many female rulers of Japan during the early history of the nation.⁵⁴ According to the *Nihongi*, Empress Jingū discharged the office of priest in the Palace of worship, and then communicated with the *kami* herself.⁵⁵ The pantheon of *kami* too had obviously female orientated outlook with its emphasis on the Sun Goddess Amaterasu as the ancestor of the imperial family. The role of female *kami* was therefore historically and socially significant in early Japan, yet the male-female balance seems to be reverse in the case of Hie as far as images in *suijaku mandara* indicate.

The two principal *kami* of the Hie Shrine are Ōyamagui-no-kami of Ni-no-miya, the original *kami* of the location, and Ōnamuchi-no-kami of Ōmiya who was solicited from Mt.Miwa during the time of Emperor Tenji in the seventh century. They are

⁵³ Kageyama Haruki, *Hieizan-ji, Dōhōsha*, 1978, p.29.

depicted as monks, or in the case of Ōmiya sometimes as a man in Chinese-style robe in *suijaku mandara*. Other five *kami* of the Upper Seven Shrines of Hie are depicted as two more monks, a male *kami* in formal court attire, and two female *kami* in Chinese-style dress in all the surviving examples of *suijaku mandara*. Only two out of the seven *kami* are female. However, when the identities of the *kami* enshrined in each of the seven shrines are compared to their appearance in *suijaku mandara*, a strange and confusing picture emerges. The diagram below shows the comparison:

Shrine	<i>kami</i> (M-male, F-female)	<i>suijaku</i> image
Ōmiya	Ōnamuchi-no-kami (M)	Monk (or man in Chinese robe)
Ni-no-miya	Ōyamagui-no-kami (M)	Monk
Shōshinshi	Tagori-hime-no-kami (F)	Monk
Marōdo	Shirayama-hime-no-kami (F)	Woman in Chinese dress
Jūzenji	Kamotamayori-hime-no-kami (F)	Monk
Hachiōji	Ōyamagui-no-kami (<i>aramitama</i>) (M)	Man in court robe
San-no-miya	Kamo tamayori (<i>aramitama</i>) (F)	Woman in Chinese dress

As far as the names of *kami* are concerned, only three *kami* are male, yet the *suijaku mandara* consistently depict five male *kami*. It seems that the original *kami* of the Shōshinshi Shrine, Tagori-hime-no-kami, was identified with Hachiman during the medieval period, and was depicted as a monk from the association with the popular imagery of *Sōgyō* Hachiman. Another *kami* Kamo-Tamayori-hime-no-kami of the Jūzenji Shrine was originally regarded as female, as she is mentioned in the earliest

⁵⁴ Victor Harris, *Shinto: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, The British Museum, 2001, p.34.

⁵⁵ W.G.Aston,(yans.), *Nihongi*, Charles E. Tuttle, 1993, pp.225-6.

extant record of the shrine *Hie-sha negi kudensho*.⁵⁶ Yet she is usually depicted as a monk in *suijaku mandara*, probably from the association with its *honji-butsu* Jizo Bosatsu. The iconography of the *kami* as monks seems to reflect the tacit interpretation of male-orientated Buddhist theory created on Mt.Hiei in medieval times.

The confusion again seems to have occurred at the time of Shinto-Buddhist separation in the late nineteenth century when shrine names were changed to new names with less Buddhist connotations. The modern emphasis on the "ancient " origin of the shrine creates a misleading notion of the continuation of tradition, and seems to ignore the changes. The previous studies of Hie-Sannō *mandara* all acknowledged the change of shrine names that occurred in the Meiji period, but ignored the changes in the identities of the *kami*. As I have already mentioned in the case of the Seijo Shrine, the gender of some deities was switched from one to the other. When the Seijo Shrine became the Usa Wakamiya Shrine, the shrine's Buddhist connection to the wish-fulfilling jewel and its *honji-butsu* Nyoirin Kannon was erased. Similarly, the Shoshinshi Shrine and the Jūzenji Shrine were reincarnated in the Meiji period as the Usa Shrine of Tagori-hime-no-kami, and the Juge Shrine of Kamo-Tamayori-hime-no-kami, and the shrines were dissociated from the Buddhist images of monks in *suijaku mandara*.

ii) Jūzenji: the Cult of Wakamiya

*Kami no ie no
Kokintachi wa
Yawata no wakamiya,
Kumano no nyaku-ōji*

Noble young princes
of the house of *kami* are
the young *kami* of Iwashimizu Hachiman,
the young princes of Kumano,

⁵⁶ *Hie-sha negi kudensho*, ST.(J) 29, pp.

*Komori omae,
Hie niwa Sannō Jūzenji,
Kamo niwa kataoka,
Kifune no Daimyōjin.*

the august Komori
Sanno Jūzenji of Hie,
Kataoka of Kamo,
And the august *kami* of Kifune.

*Ryōjin hishō, Songs for Kami.*⁵⁷

The iconography of the *kami* of the Jūzenji Shrine was established as a young monk in all *suijaku mandara* in medieval times, but another type of Jūzenji image as a young boy *chigo* developed a little later from around the fourteenth century. The image of Jūzenji, now in the Enryaku-ji collection, depicts him as a young aristocratic figure with long straight hair, tied by the side of his ears (fig.94). The portrait of Jūzenji is not a *mandara*, but provides an interesting variation in the iconography of the *kami* that reflects an aspect of the medieval Sannō devotion. The young Jūzenji in this image is seated on a platform, holding a *hossu* (ceremonial fly-whisk, originally a symbol of authority from the ancient Indian iconography) in his right hand. Two monkeys are depicted in the foreground, and four lines of eulogy in Chinese characters on *shikishi* are attached to the upper section. The calligraphy reads:

*Kimei chōrei Jūzenji
Hido seijokukōdo
Gyoō zaga shiigi
Danjo issai bonnōen*

Homage to the life of Jūzenji,
This land of eternally tranquil light is pure,
Observe the four significances of training,
Detach all spiritual impediments with flame.

The image, 56.8 x 25.2 cm., is painted on paper, and the condition is rather poor, but the graceful facial expression and the refined use of colours indicate that it was painted for a discerning patron. It was probably not intended for a formal ritual use, as mandalas were, but painted as an icon for personal devotion.

⁵⁷ *Ryōjin hishō*, Iwanami bunko, 1995, p.48.

The manifestation of Jūzenji in the form of a young boy was connected to the legend of Saichō which claimed that he encountered the deity in 785 when he first came to stay on Mt.Hiei for a prolonged seclusion.⁵⁸ However this legend has no historical proof, and it is more likely that it was generated in the Kamakura period according to the popularity of *wakamiya*, a young *kami*. As the *honji* of the Jūzenji Shrine was Jizō Bosatsu, the connection of Jizō Bosatsu as the saviour of souls from Hell in the popular belief of the Ten Kings of Hell in the thirteenth century may have been another reason for the attention. Jizō Bosatsu was regarded also as the protector of children, which may have encouraged the association with *wakamiya*.

One of the earliest extant *yōgō-zu* (painting of manifestation) of *kami* as a young boy is the image of Kasuga *wakamiya*, that appears on the frontispiece of the sutra *Kongō hannya haramita-kyō* (The Diamond Heart Sutra) with a colophon dated 1273 (fig.95). The circumstance of commissioning this painting is revealed by the colophon which states that the sutra was placed together with a Buddha relic from the Tōshōdai-ji inside the statue of Monju bosatsu commissioned by a monk of the Kōfuku-ji, Kyōgen. The *ganmon* (vow), also discovered inside the statue, discloses that Kyōgen regularly visited the Kasuga Shrine to pray for the completion of the Monju statue, and when the statue was nearly finished, the *kami* of Kasuga as a young boy manifested in his dream amongst the blossoming cherry trees in the field of Kasuga.⁵⁹ Kyōgen, overjoyed with this auspicious dream, copied the sutra himself and commissioned the Buddhist painter Kōden to record the image of the *wakamiya* on the frontispiece.

⁵⁸ Bernard Faure points out Saichō's encounter with Jūzenji recorded in the *Sanke yōryakki*, dated 1315. *Buddhist Approaches to sexuality*, Princeton University Press, 1998, p.255.

A distinctive genre of paintings termed as *yōgō-zu* arose in and around the thirteenth century. "For medieval people, the presence of *kami* was sensed in minute signs in nature, such as a breeze, an encounter with animals that were seen as messengers of *kami*, and a flickering reflection in a mirror. Since the medieval period, the elusive presence of *kami* has been described as a shadowy appearances (*yōgō*), and paintings depicting the moment of a *kami's* appearance were called *yōgō-zu*." ⁶⁰ The manifestation of *kami* as *wakamiya* is also visible in the painting *Wakamiya Hachiman*, from the fourteenth century (fig.96). The image of a plump young boy in the elegant courtly dress is strikingly different from the normal *suijaku* image of Hachiman whose iconography was established as a middle-aged monk at least from the ninth century. ⁶¹ These images of young *kami* symbolized "the renaissance implicit in the yearly festival in which the *kami* of many shrines are believed to manifest themselves and to renew their spiritual vitality and power." ⁶² The image of Jūzenji conforms to this tradition, and depicts the *kami* as a young boy who manifested in front of Saichō.

The predilection for *wakamiya* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seems to coincide with the cult of Shōtoku Taishi whose portrait as a young boy was produced in great number during the Kamakura and Nanbokuchō periods. As Barnard Faure points out, images of young Shōtoku Taishi embodied the "Divine Child" mystique:

The figure of the child was idealized and sometimes perceived as a youthful incarnation of bodhisattvas Kannon, Monju, or Fugen. The same feeling of love and respect was addressed to the figure of Kūkai and Shōtoku Taishi as *chigo*. Until the Insei period they

⁵⁹ Kageyama Haruki, *Shinto bijutsu*, Yūzankaku, 1973.

⁶⁰ Gyōtoku Shinichirō, "Kami and Buddha", *Shinto: the Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, The British Museum, 2001, p. 161.

⁶¹ Christine Guth Kanda, *Shinzo: Hachiman Imagery and its Development*, Harvard University Press, 1985, p.46.

⁶² Kageyama Haruki & Christine Guth Kanda, *Shinto Arts*, Japan House Gallery, 1976, p.92.

were represented as adults, and it is only from that time onward that they came to be represented as children.⁶³

The renewed interests in Shōtoku Taishi in medieval periods peaked in the occasions of his death memorial services, the five hundredth in 1121, the six hundredth in 1221, and the seven hundredth in 1321, and he was regarded as the historical Buddha of Japan.⁶⁴ The analogy to the life of Sākyamuni encouraged the productions of Shōtoku Taishi *eden* (picture biography) and the interest in his early life is evident in the large number of his images, both in sculpture and paintings, as a child. The popularity of Shōtoku Taishi *dōgyō-zō* (image in child form) can be surmised from the abundance of similar paintings, as witnessed in the recent exhibition Shōtoku Taishi-ten at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum where more than ten images of young Shōtoku Taishi, all dating from the Kamakura and Nanbokuchō periods, were exhibited together.⁶⁵

The iconography of young Shōtoku Taishi in painting developed in two basic types, one seated and the other standing. The seated image of Jūzenji resembles closely to the portrait of Shōtoku Taishi, as seen in the examples from the fourteenth centuries (fig.97, 98). The young Shōtoku Taishi, seated cross-legged on a platform, is wearing a high-collared formal garment with a monk's *kesa* on top, and his long straight hair is tied by his ears, and falls in front of his body, in a similar fashion to the image of Jūzenji. In the foreground, two smaller figures in formal court robe and formal hat are depicted from the back, facing the Prince, in place of the monkeys in the Jūzenji painting. He holds an incense burner in one painting, and a ceremonial fan in the other British Museum painting, whilst the Jūzenji image is depicted with a ceremonial fly

⁶³ Bernard Faure, *The Red String: Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality*, Stanford University Press, 1998, p.249.

⁶⁴ *Shōtoku Taishi-ten*, Tokyooto bijutsukan, NHK Promotion, 2001, p.105.

⁶⁵ *ibid.* pp.144-57.

whisk. All three figures are depicted from a similar angle, suggesting that the image of Jūzenji was created according to the iconographic model of the Shōtoku Taishi.

A conscious replication of Shōtoku Taishi iconography to the *wakamiya* image of Jūzenji is clearly detectable in the two paintings in the Jōbodai-in temple, Shiga, both painted on silk, and dating from the fourteenth / fifteenth centuries (fig.99,100). The standing figure of a young boy in both paintings holds a wish-fulfilling jewel in his left hand and a red lotus flower with a multi-coloured banner topped with flaming jewels in his right hand. In one painting, he is wearing an ornately decorated green outer garment over trousers with floral motifs, and stands under a raised curtain with a floral motif. In the other, He is depicted in an orange outer garment delicately decorated with motifs of phoenix in gold, and the background is plain except for the gold Wheel of the Law above his head. The images are both finely painted, expensive works in hanging scroll format.

A comparison of these images with the thirteenth century standing image of Shōtoku Taishi from the Hōryū-ji, Nara, provides evidence of the influence clearly (fig. 101). The iconography of the Hōryū-ji painting conforms to the representative image of young Shōtoku Taishi known as *kyōyō-zō* (image of filial piety) which depicts him with an incense burner in his hand, supplicating the repose of his parents. His hair is tied in loops by his ears, and the end of his monastic sash *ōhi* off his right shoulder is held with the little finger of his left hand. Typically he is shown wearing shoes with upturned, scalloped toes. The *kyōyō-zō* was in fact the most prevalent image of Shōtoku Taishi in the Kamakura period, both in sculpture and painting.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Ibid. pp.120-1.

Due to the similarity of iconography, the Jōbodai-in paintings were regarded as images of Shōtoku Taishi in the Edo period, but the inscription on the back of one painting and the unusual attributes of jewels and lotus flower for Shōtoku Taishi confirm the images to be that of Jūzenji.⁶⁷ These examples testify that the *wakamiya* images of Jūzenji emulate the Shōtoku Taishi model, but why was only Jūzenji singled out to be depicted as *wakamiya* out of seven *kami* of Hie ?

The association of Jūzenji with a young boy highlights two aspects of the Hie-Sannō cult, which are closely related to each other, in medieval times. Firstly, the *kami* of Jūzenji was associated with frequent oracles which were conveyed by *miko*, the shaminic shrine mediums. According to the *Sannō rishōki*, oracles of Sannō were more frequently conveyed by Jūzenji than any other *kami* of the Hie Shrine.⁶⁸

Although *miko* was associated with young female in general, in the case of the Jūzenji Shrine, often young boys were possessed by the *kami*. An episode from *The Tale of the Heike* represents a typical scene in front of the Jūzenji Shrine where monks of Mt.Hiei were conferring whether to recover Abbot Meiu by force from his exile:

An eight year old youth named Tsurumaru, the servant of the Mudōji monk Master of Discipline Jōen, suddenly took leave of his senses, writhing and perspiring. "The Jūzenji god has possessed me," he announced. "Whether this is the latter end of the Law or not, our Abbot must not be removed to another province. I could never recover from the grief, no matter how many times I might be born into new existences. It is useless for me to stay at the foot of this mountain if such things are to happen."⁶⁹

Sceptical monks demanded for proof, throwing their rosaries at him, then asking him to return the right rosary to each one of the five hundred monks. Tsurumaru collected all the rosaries, then returned each one to the correct owner, proving the super-natural

⁶⁷ Ibid. pp.170-1.

⁶⁸ Sato Masato, "Chusei Hie-sha no miko ni tsuite", *Kokugakuin zasshi*, vol.85, 1984, P.51.

⁶⁹ *The Tale of the Heike*, (trans.) Helen Craig McCullough, Stanford University Press, 1995, p.60.

power of the Jūzenji (Fig.102). The popularity of such miraculous stories certainly indicates the seriousness with which the activities of shrine mediums were treated.

Bernard Faure points out the existence of a lineage of male mediums, called *rō no miko*, literally "august children of the corridor", whose activities were centred around the Jūzenji Shrine.⁷⁰ Satō Masato also points out the text *Rō no moko-ki* (Record of august children of the corridor), dated 1603, which records the history of shrine mediums of the Jūzenji Shrine. The author claimed that the lineage of *rō no miko* went back to the time of Tendai Abbot Jien, as he was the descendant of the first *rō no miko*, he was related to the house of Fujiwara (Jien's family). According to it, the *kami* of Jūzenji manifested himself as a young boy and regularly visited Jien. A child was born between them and was brought up in the corridor between the Jūzenji Shrine and the adjacent Daigyōji Shrine (hence the name *rō no miko*), and grew up eating the food dedicated to the *kami* of the Daigyōji Shrine.⁷¹

The miraculous birth of a child between Jien and the *kami* of Jūzenji who manifested as a *chigo* highlights the second aspect which is Jien's devotion to the Jūzenji Shrine. Jien's deep devotion to the *kami* Sannō is evident from abundant textual sources and the *waka* poetry. His poem quoted at the beginning of this chapter describes *kami* as *michi shirube* (guiding post) for Buddha, almost suggesting the pre-eminence of the Japanese *kami* over the Indian Buddha. Although there is no evidence of the *han honji-suijaku* theory developing as early as the time Jien (the early thirteenth century, Jien died in 1225), the strong sentiment towards the *kami*, expressed by a leading Buddhist figure such as Jien, can be interpreted as one of the

⁷⁰ Bernard Faure, *The Red Thread: Buddhist Approach to Sexuality*, Stanford University Press, 1998, pp.255-8.

germinating elements in the evolution of *kami*-buddha role reversal in Shinto-Buddhist theories. Jien was renowned as a prolific *waka* poet, and apart from his other significant contribution the *Gukanshō*, he is credited for collections of poetry some of which he dedicated to the Hie Shrine. The *Jichin oshō jika-awase* (A poetry match with oneself by Priest Jichin = Jien), c.1198, was structured from seven sets of fifteen pairs of poems, and each set was dedicated to each of the seven shrines at Hie.⁷²

The dedication of *waka* to shrines by Buddhist monks such as Saigyō and Jien highlights the similarity in the structure of *waka* and *kagura* (shrine songs).⁷³ While *waka* consists of five parts, with the thirty-one syllables divided into five, seven, five, seven, seven, *kagura* consists of six parts with an extra seven syllable section added at the end. The ancient origin of ritual songs suggests an aspect of primordial belief in the magical power of words chanted with rhythm. As monks of Esoteric schools (Saigyō from the Shingon sect and Jien from the Tendai sect), they were certainly familiar with the efficacy of *mantra*, the magic spell. The dedication of *waka* to the Hie Shrine by Jien indicates his interpretation of *waka* as the Japanese equivalent to the Buddhist *dharani* (prayer). A passage from the *Shaseki-shū* (Sand and Pebbles, 1279-83) by Mujū (1226-1312) defines the identification "waka soku dharani (poetry corresponds to dharani):

The way of poetry has an effect of calming a disorderly heart and brings about calmness and serenity. A few words can express the richness of heart and deliver the correct conduct. The correct conduct corresponds to *dharani*. The *kami* of our country are the manifestations of buddhas and bodhisattvas, and they are one and the same. Susanō no mikoto within the eight layered fence at Izumo initiated the thirty-one syllable poetry which are no different from

⁷¹ Satō Masato, *Kokugakuin Zasshi*, vol.85, 1984, pp.47-8.

⁷² Jien, *Jichin oshō jika-awase*, KT. (S) vol.5, PP.333-340.

⁷³ Towards the end of his life, Saigyō compiled two *jika awase*, *Mimosuso-gawa uta-awase* and *Miyagawa uta-awase*, and dedicated them to the Inner and Outer Shrines at Ise. Burton Watson, *Poems of a Mountain House*, Columbia University press, 1991.

Buddha's words. *Dharani* of India is the language of that land, and the Buddha preached the Law with it.⁷⁴

According to this theory, if the Buddha were identical *kami*, *dharani* corresponds to *waka*, and if chanting *dharani* were a devout Buddhist action, reciting *waka* was an expression of religious sentiments towards *kami*. Certainly the wide spread practice of dedicating of imagery of the thirty-six poetic sages to shrines attests the religious motivation of the identification.

Textual sources indicate that the relationship of Jien with the Hie Shrine was focused on the Jūzenji Shrine, particularly towards the end of his life. According to Satō Masato, Jien dedicated the *Shōtoku Taishi ganmon* (Vow for the Prince Shōtoku) to the Jūzenji Shrine and the prince's mausoleum in 1216 after realizing the appearance of Shōtoku Taishi in his dream. Jien's *ganmon* states that he received an image of Sannō and a poem from Shōtoku Taishi in his dream.⁷⁵ In 1223, despite his advanced age and ill health, he undertook one hundred days seclusion at the Jūzenji Shrine, and initiated the new *reihai-kō* (Buddhist lectures) in front of the Jūzenji Shrine in 1224, following the precedents of *reihai-kō* at Ōmiya and Ni-no-miya Shrines⁷⁶. Jien's patronage of the Jūzenji Shrine was accompanied by financial aids, donations from estates belonging to the Shōren-in, the *monzeki* temple he was associated with.

As Faure observes, "the image of Jūzenji as *chigo* was perceived by priests like Jien as that of a medium-child".⁷⁷ The evidence of innocent children being regarded pure

⁷⁴ Quoted by Yamada Shōzen, "Waka soku darani no tenkai" *Shinbutsu shugo to shugen*, 1989, p.101.

⁷⁵ Bernard Faure, *The Red String: Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality*, p.256.

⁷⁶ Satō Masato, "Chūsei Hie-sha no miko ni tsuite", *Kokugakuin zasshi*, 19884, p.50.

⁷⁷ Bernard Faure, p.257.

from defilement of the world, hence more desirable as medium for shrine ceremonies can be still observed in the tradition of children taking parts in formal shrine rituals, such as the ceremony of the *Jinchi-sai* (Pacification of the land) prior to the regular rebuilding of the Ise Shrine.⁷⁸ The medieval proliferation of *chigo monogatari* (tales of *chigo*), many of them concerning monks of Mt.Hiei, indicates that *chigo* were often perceived as *avatars* of Buddhist deity or *kami*, and helped monks to attain Enlightenment.⁷⁹ Images of *chigo* appear frequently in medieval *emaki* such as the *Ashibiki emaki* (Fig.103) and the *Tengu zōshi* (fig.104), and evince an aspect of Mt.Hiei where young boys, many from aristocratic families, were sent to attend eminent monks and to attain cultural accomplishments as well as religious studies.

Textual and visual sources indicate Jien's devotion to Jūzenji and *chigo*. The images of Jien in several scenes from the volume fifteen of the *Hōnen shōnin eden* appear invariably accompanied by his attendant *chigo* (fig.105). It did not take great imagination for the perception of *chigo* as a medium who conveyed oracles of Jūzenji to transform into the identification of *chigo* with the *kami* of Jūzenji. With the popularity of images of Shōtoku Taishi as a child, images of Jūzenji were created to emulate them, and as the image of Shōtoku Taishi as a child was explicitly understood to be an image of the same Shotoku Taishi as an adult only younger, perhaps the images of Jūzenji as a *chigo* was an image of the same monk in the *mandara*, only younger.

⁷⁸ *Oise-san no sengū*, Ise Shima henshūshitsu, 1993, p.33.

⁷⁹ *ibid.* P 243, 257.

Chapter Four

Images of the Sacred Space: Kami and the Geography

*Ōmiya Gongen wa omoeba
kyōsu no Shaka zokashi,
ichido mo konochi wo fumu hito wa
Ryōzankai-e no tomo to sen.*

Think of Ōmiya Gongen
as our Lord Sakyamuni,
once you visit this land,
a bond is tied with the Vulture Peak.

*Ryōjin hishō.*¹

1. *Miya Mandara* : Images of shrines

In sharp contrast to the schematic and symmetrical arrangement of the *honji-butsu* and *suijaku mandara* I have discussed in the previous chapters, *miya mandara* (shrine mandalas) have much freer composition with a strong emphasis on the natural beauty of shrine landscape. The attention was paid to the geographical relationships between the architecture and the surrounding natural elements in order to reconstruct a topographically recognisable image on two-dimensional surface. In this chapter, I shall examine examples of Hie-Sannō *miya mandara* as well as other forms of representation of sacred space, and consider the relationships between the concept of sacredness and landscape in visual images.

Examples of *miya mandara* dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries survive from all four major cultic centres, Kasuga, Iwashimizu Hachiman, Kumano, and Hie-Sannō, as well as a few other isolated examples such as the Ikoma Mandara (fig. 106), indicating the keen interest and demand for the images of sacred locations. By far the

¹ The *imayō* (modern style) popular song is recorded in the *Ryōjin hishō* (Dust on the Beams: Secret Book of Songs), compiled by the retired emperor Goshirakawa in 1179. *Ryōjin hishō*, 411, Iwanami bunko, 1995, p. 73.

most well known and abundant examples of *miya mandara* are those of the Kasuga Shrine in Nara which depict bird's-eye view of the shrine landscape with the sacred mountain Mt.Mikasa, often juxtaposed with the images of Buddhist deities. According to Gyōtoku Shinichirō whose recent research on Kasuga *mandara* has greatly contributed to a better understanding of the genre of medieval Shinto-Buddhist paintings, approximately 160 Kasuga *mandara* are known today, and about half of them are *miya mandara*.²

The earliest textual reference to a painting of the Kasuga Shrine can be traced back to the late twelfth century. In the entry on the seventeenth day of the fifth month in 1184, Kujō Kanezane recorded in his diary, *Gyokuyō*, the following passage:

I received a scroll of painting (*zue*) of the Kasuga Shrine from the Priest of Nara. After purifying myself early, I dressed in my formal robe with swords as usual, and took the offerings (*heihaku*).³ I took six small offerings because the interior was small. I bowed twice to pray in front of the two altars as always, then while still in my formal robe, the Heart Sutra was chanted one thousand times. After that, offerings were made to each of the four shrines, Wakamiya, Isagawa, and others, then I retired to undress. All this is extremely tiring. For seven days from today, the family members will chant the sutra for ten thousand times. I shall visit the Hall every day wearing the purified robe.⁴

The painting was probably used as an icon in the service which was performed in the Hall (the word "*dō*" indicates some kind of room constructed for religious purposes), most likely within his residence. The word *zue* is used for the painting which, I believe, was an early example of *miya mandara*, which may have looked like the Kasuga *mandara* in the Nezu Institute of Art, Tokyo (fig.107). This example is one of the earliest surviving Kasuga *mandara*, believed to date from the early Kamakura period,

² Victor Harris (ed.), *Shinto :The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, The British Museum,2001, p.162.

³ *Heihaku* refers to the white paper decorations attached to a stick offered to shrines.

⁴ Kujō Kanezane, *Gyokuyō*, Kokusho kankōkai, 1908, vol.3, p.22.

and displays unique composition which predates the established format of Kasuga *mandara* prevalent in the second half of the Kamakura period. Unlike the later, more common versions which depict a small bird's-eye-view of the shrine complex, the four main shrines are depicted prominently from the front in this example with four lunar discs containing the Sanskrit symbols of each *honji-butsu* immediately above the shrines. It has been suggested that the antique style of the shrine architecture may reflect the appearance of the shrine complex before the fire of 1180.⁵ Kanezane may have prayed to the Kasuga *kami* in front of a similar painting and although he presented the *heihaku*, the customary offering for shrines, the service was not conducted by a shrine priest. Instead of the *norito* chanting traditionally associated to the *kami* worship, the *Heart Sutra* was chanted. The service, typically for the period, combined elements from the Buddhist tradition and the *kami* related rituals.

The image of the Kasuga Shrine as an icon seems to have developed into the genre now called *miya mandara* during the thirteenth century, and as I have already mentioned earlier, the retired emperor Hanazono-in observed that "everyone" owned a Kasuga *miya mandara* in 1325. The possible reason for such a demand for the image of the Kasuga Shrine was its function as a substitute for physically visiting the shrine in Nara. Since most of the aristocrats, including the Fujiwara clan whose tutelary deities were enshrined at Kasuga, lived in the capital, a visit to Nara would have involved at least a few days away from home and their duties at the court. Just as Kanezane participated in the ritual he described, the devotees could worship the *mandara*, visualising himself walking along the shrine approach among the beautifully painted landscape without leaving the capital.

⁵ Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, *Hyakkasen*, 1991, p.27.

The function of *miya mandara* as a substitute for actually visiting the shrine can also be surmised from the passage regarding a painting of Kumano in the diary of the retired emperor Gotoba. In the entry on the eighth day of the fourth month in 1214, he recorded:

Today I received a painting of the shrines on three sacred mountains of Kumano with the august images (*mishōtai*) --- for the prayer to be held on the eighteenth day of every month, and today a service was held for it. The corridors and everything were depicted without any difference [from the real shrine].⁶

The retired emperor Gotoba was an ardent devotee of the Kumano cult who undertook pilgrimage to Kumano twenty-nine times, and knew the location well.⁷ His remark suggests that the painting was a realistic depiction of the shrines, and confirms that regular rituals were held with the image.

The wide dissemination of the Tendai philosophy of *hongaku shisō* which advocated the positive affirmation of reality on this earth encouraged the belief that identified the shrine landscape as the earthly paradise during the Kamakura period. The intermingling of Buddhist cosmology and the *kami* worship reflects the medieval understanding of sacred location which attracted pilgrims from wide strata of the society. In the case of Kasuga, the religious confraternities *Kasuga-kō* were formed by devotees in the provinces who participated in group pilgrimage to Nara.⁸ As ten Grotenhuis points out, many of the *Kasuga mandara* may have been commissioned by these groups of devotees who lived some distance away from Nara, and needed their own icon for regular services.⁹

⁶ *Gotoba-in shinki*,

⁷ Wada, "Kumano mōde eno michi", *shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*, 1989, pp.199.

⁸ For Kasuga-ko, see Susan Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga seen through its Art*, 1992, pp.148-51.

⁹ Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, 1999, p.156.

i) Kasuga miya mandara, Yugi Art Institute, Osaka

Typical characteristics of Kasuga *miya mandara* can be observed in the example in the Yugi Art Institute (fig.108). This *mandara* is considered as a representative image, not only because of its artistic quality and the good condition, but also because of the inscription which provides the name of the artist, *hokkyō* Kanshun, and the date of execution, the year 1300. The refined composition of this image suggests that the basic pattern of Kasuga *miya mandara* was well established during the thirteenth century, and the design continued to be reproduced with little innovation in the fourteenth century.¹⁰ The Yugi *mandara* with the definite date acts as a yardstick for dating and evaluating other shrine *mandara* most of which are undated. The eulogy by the retired emperor Kameyama on *shikishi* (coloured writing paper) pasted at the top of the *mandara* provides additional information on the circumstance of commissioning the work.¹¹

The official Buddhist title *hokkyō* before the name of Kanshun indicates that he was an established artist, and the character "kan" of his name indicates that he belonged to the lineage of painters working in the Shiba-za, a workshop operating within the Kōfuku-ji in Nara.¹² Hirata Yutaka confirms the existence of two *edokoro-za* (the painter's ateliers), mentioned in the Tōdai-ji official records in 1241, and further three ateliers seems to have existed in the Kōfuku-ji by the end of the Kamakura period.¹³ As a large Buddhist institution equal to the Tōdai-ji and the Kōfuku-ji, the possibility of the

¹⁰ According to Gyōtoku, approximately 50 examples of Kasuga shrine *mandara* with similar composition survive today. "Kasuga miya mandarazu no fūkei hyōgen - busshō to shinsei no katachi", *Museum no.541*, Tokyo National Museum, 1996, p.13.

¹¹ On the colophon, see Gyotoku, "Yugi bijutsukan shozō Kasuga Mandarazu", *De Arte* 8, 1993, pp.18-28.

¹² Hirata Yutaka, *Ebusshi no jidai*, Chuō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1994, p.40.

¹³ *ibid.* P.38.

Enryaku-ji maintaining a group of painter monks who were responsible for the creation of *mandara* associated to the Hie-Sannō belief is highly feasible.

Prior to the discussion of the Hie- Sannō *miya mandara*, however, a brief examination of the Kasuga Mandara of the Yugi Collection is helpful to clarify the characteristics of shrine *mandara*, and to distinguish the intrinsic quality of the images of sacred locations. The composition of the Yugi Kasuga Mandara is dominated by the green landscape of the shrine complex which occupies nearly three-quarters of the picture space. The vertical hanging scroll format is utilized to its advantage by the long shrine approach running through the centre from the vermilion *torii* gate at the lower centre leading to the bird's-eye view of the four main shrines on the left and the subsidiary Wakamiya Shrine on the right. At the top centre, the conical shape of Mt.Mikasa, delineated by the dark faraway Kasuga mountain range, indicates the boundary of the shrine complex.

Five lunar discs containing the *honji-butsu* of the Kasuga *kami*, (from the right to left) Monju Bosatsu of the Wakamiya Shrine, Shaka of the Ichi- no-miya, Yakushi of the Ni-no-miya, Jizō of the San-no-miya, and Jūichimen Kannon of the Shi-no-miya, appear in the sky, confirming that the Kasuga Shrine was perceived as the Pure Land of buddhas as well as the sacred land of the *kami*. The use of gold pigment for the shimmering shrine approach enhances the precious and surreal quality of the image, and indicates the popular identification of Kasuga as the Pure Land on this earth. The map-like depiction of the shrine complex would have been easily recognisable to the contemporary viewers, but the image also incorporated the religious ideas by embellishing the landscape with precious pigment.

The image was also studded with literary references to the location that enriched the visual language of the period. For example, the moon shining bright just above the left shoulder of the mountain not only symbolized the Esoteric Buddhist significance of *gachirin* (lunar disc), but it can also remind the viewers of the famous poem by Abe no Nakamaro (ca.700-770):

<i>Ama no hara</i>	As I gaze out, far
<i>furisake mireba</i>	across the plain of heaven,
<i>Kasuga naru</i>	ah, at Kasuga
<i>Mikasa no yama ni</i>	from behind Mount Mikasa,
<i>Ideshi tsuki kamo.</i>	it's the same moon that came out then. ¹⁴

The literary association of the moon with Mt.Mikasa was firmly embedded in the poetic repertoire in the following centuries, and many poets of the Heian period celebrated the beauty of the moon seen above Mt.Mikasa.

The traditional association can also be found in a passage from the *Koshaki dankan* (Fragments from the Records of the Ancient Shrine), a Kamakura period manuscript describing the history of the Kasuga Shrine:

In our land of Japan, there is no place better than Mt.Mikasa to admire the moon, and there is no place better than the field of Kasuga to enjoy flowers.¹⁵

Given the intimate relationship between the literary references and visual images nurtured by the courtly tradition, it is not surprising if the image of the moon encouraged the contemporary viewers to peruse deep into their mind landscape, which enhanced their appreciation of the natural beauty in this *mandara*.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Kokinshū* 9 (406), translation by Joshua Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart*, 1996, p.161.

¹⁵ Quoted by Gyōtoku, *Shinto: the Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, 2001, p.166.

¹⁶ Scholars opinions are divided whether the disc above the Mt.Mikasa is the sun or the moon. Royall Tyler suggests the disc can be both, symbolising the nonduality of *kami* (sun, Ise) and buddhas (moon, India), or of emperor (sun, sovereign) and Fujiwara (moon, minister). Tyler, *The miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, 1990, pp.133-4. Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis favours the scene to be a "nocturnal vision". Ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, 1999, p.154.

The seasonal reference was also an integral element of the *yamato-e* tradition, and the landscape is dotted with cherry blossoms adding the classic seasonal reference to Kasugano, literally "a field of the spring sun". The association of the sun to the disc above Mt. Mikasa can not be totally ruled out from this connection, but in comparison to the abundance of poems on the moon, the sun was never a major theme in the Japanese literary tradition.¹⁷ As the name of Kasugano was an *utamakura*, associated with *wakana tsumi* (gathering of young herbs), it conjured up images of spring rather than the sun. One of the earliest poems associating Kasugano with *wakana tsumi* was a poem by the priest Sosei (act. 859-97) in the early tenth century *Kokinshū*, and the association with spring continued to be adopted in the Kamakura period when many of the Kasuga *mandara* were created.¹⁸

Another reminder of the location was the addition of several small deer, the sacred animal of the Kasuga Shrine, among the flowering trees. The symbols such as the moon, cherry blossoms, and deer provided easily recognisable visual aids for identifying the location, and added layers of meanings as well as providing decorative motifs to the composition. However, deer were traditionally associated with autumn in the Heian poetry, and it was the connection of sacred deer and the shrine depicted in Kasuga *mandara* that encouraged the combination of deer and spring in other secular images as well. In other words, the strong combination of Kasugano and spring has drawn deer from its original Heian association with autumn to the completely opposite season of spring in the Kamakura period.

¹⁷ Tamamushi Satoko points out that there are only twenty poems on the sun against seventy-three on the moon in the *Kokin waka rokujō*, reiterating the preference for the moon in the Japanese literary and artistic tradition. Tamamushi Satoko, "Higetsu no kazari monogatari" *Nihon no bigaku* 14, 1989, pp. 4-28.

¹⁸ Chino Kaori, "Kasugano no meisho-e" *Akiyama Terukazu hakase koki kinen bijutsishi ronbunshū*, Benridō, 1991, pp.421-61. *Kasugano ni, wakana tsumi tsutsu, yorozu-yo o, iwau kokoro wa, kami zo*

Interestingly, in the following period, the association of deer with autumn was revived, and with it Kasuga once again came to be associated with autumn despite its name.¹⁹

The lacquer writing box Kasuga-yama *makie suzuribako*, once in the possession of Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436-90), is a representative example of image that combine deer among the autumn grass in front of Mt.Kasuga and the moon. Such an example indicates that the visual language of poetic association was not a rigid, static rule, but an organic practice that changed according to the context and the period.

In the Yugi Kasuga *mandara*, apart from the flowering cherry trees, the shrine compound is dotted with several species of trees, including pine, plum, cryptomeria, hemp palm, willow, wisteria and ginkgo. These motifs, at casual glance, seem to be placed at random, but the attentive comparison by Gyōtoku of many examples of Kasuga *mandara* and contemporary paintings such as the *Kasuga Gongen kenki* (1309) has revealed an interesting consistency in the placement of certain trees at similar locations.²⁰ Gyōtoku points out that, as the shrine compound was a sacred land, it was strictly forbidden to cut trees or change the layout of plants. Over the years, certain trees acquired significance for being sacred itself such as the *yōgō matsu* (Apparition Pine) by the first *torii* gate where Kasuga Myōjin was believed to have manifested, or the cryptomeria, pine and hemp palm inside the main shrine enclosure, and a wisteria along the white walls near the subsidiary shrine. These motifs were originally depicted in the *mandara* from the artist's first hand observation, but gradually became a part of established iconography, adding the layers of historical and religious meanings to the

Shiruramu. KT,

¹⁹ Ibid. p.432-4.

²⁰ Gyōtoku, "Kasuga miya mandarazu no fūkei hyōgen - busshō to shinsei no katachi" *Museum no.541*, pp.13-42.

image. The recurrence of such details indicates that an accepted pattern of Kasuga *mandara* existed by 1300, and encouraged the production of later versions such as the Kasuga *mandara* in the MOA Museum (fig.109) and another similar *mandara* in the Seikadō bunko which incorporated the established iconography of landscape.

In comparison to the popularity of Kasuga *mandara*, Hie-Sannō shrine *mandara* are relatively rare, and only three examples from the kamakura period survive today. The scarcity, even allowing the destruction by fire of 1571 and the iconoclastic movement of the late nineteenth century, points to the theory that the shrine *mandara* was not a major theme at Hie during the Kamakura period. The dominant influence of Tendai Buddhism on Mt.Hiei and the conservative nature of Buddhist's painters to follow the *hakubyō* (the monochrome Buddhist pattern books) may be the main reasons for the preference for the *honji-butsu* and *suijaku* types, but the vicinity of the Hie Shrine to the capital may have been another reason. The Hie Shrine on the eastern foot of Mt.Hiei was quite easy to visit, as it was not far from the highway that stretched eastward from the capital through Yamashina towards the town of Ōtsu. The easy access meant that there was no demand for a substitute image, the most likely function of shrine *mandara*.

This theory can be applied to another shrine, the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine which was situated in the south-west direction of the capital. Just as the Enryaku-ji and the Hie-Shrine protected the north-east direction of the capital, the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine was presumed to protect the opposite direction south-west. Since Hachiman was regarded as the *kami* of warfare, the shrine was an important centre of state protection rituals, especially during the second half of the thirteenth century when the attempted Mongol invasions threatened the autonomy of the country. Yet in comparison to Kasuga,

a very few Iwashimizu Hachiman *miya mandara* is known today, suggesting the accessibility of the shrine did not encourage the demand for a substitute image.²¹

All three Hie-Sanno *miya mandara* date from the late Kamakura period, and share common characteristics. Firstly they employ an organizational principle which is dictated by the geographical position of the shrines rather than the theoretical hierarchy of the *kami* (which was the case of the *honji-butsu* and *suijaku mandara*). Secondly, they are set in the *yamato-e* style landscape, painted with thick opaque pigments on silk in the hanging scroll format. Thirdly, they shared the same orientation of the location, seen from the south with the entrance to the shrine complex in the foreground, looking towards the sacred mountain, Mt.Hachiōji, in the upper section. Despite these similarities, the three images look completely different as they each employed different method of representation for the shrines, suggesting that there was no established pattern as in the case of the Kasuga *miya mandara*.

ii) Hie-Sannō *miya mandara*, Yamato bunkakan, Nara.

Although three images are grouped as *miya mandara*, this *mandara*, now in the Yamato bunkakan, is the only example with the actual image of shrine architecture (fig.110). In predominantly green and brown landscape, ten shrine buildings of various sizes are placed at their relative positions, though drastically simplified, within the shrine complex. The spatial ambiguity is overcome by the use of stylized blue-green mist which adds an atmospheric effect to the landscape. All ten shrines, all of the Upper

²¹ Iwashimizu Hachiman *mandara* dating from the Kamakura period with the bird's-eye view of the shrine complex can be found in the collections of the Nezu Institute of Art and the Okura shūkōkan, Tokyo.

Seven Shrines and three from the Middle Seven Shrines, are depicted from the front, despite in reality they do not all face the same direction. The hierarchy of the *kami* is clearly indicated by the size of the buildings, with largest shrine being the Ōmiya Shrine and the smallest being the Seijo Shrine.

A close inspection of shrine buildings reveals the golden discs in the centre of each with an image of the *honji-butsu*, some of which are in poor condition due to the loss of pigment. From what remains, the identities of ten shrines can be confirmed.²² The distinctive roof structure of the shrines and the monkeys depicted on the stair of the Ōmiya Shrine signify the location, and the details such as the rows of *kakebotoke* under the eaves and a pair of guardian lions on the veranda provide a wealth of information on the appearance of the shrine architecture in the late Kamakura period. The partial view of the two gate-houses with vermilion wood frames in the foreground aids the viewers to obtain the orientation, but the juxtaposition of the uniform frontal view of the shrines with the diagonal view of the gate houses seems awkward and detracts the unity of the composition. The painting might have been trimmed at some point, as the gate-house of the Ōmiya Shrine in the upper left is abruptly cut off.

Despite the artist's successful attempt to depict accurate architectural details and the basic geographical relation of the shrines, the orientation was compromised in favour of the uniform frontal view of the shrines. The shrine architecture was treated here as an icon, rather like Buddhist sculptures that were meant to be seen from the front. The combination of the symbolic representation of shrines and the attempt to depict "realistic" shrine complex in natural landscape seems to conflict in this image. Although

²² Zōki Ryūsuke, *Yamato bunkakan no Nihon kaiga*, Yamato bunkakan, 2000, p.51.

the symmetrical arrangement of the roof line and pillars create a flat, cut-out-like impression, the artist attempted to indicate the depth by spreading stairs and the acute angles at the corners of the veranda. He was most probably aware of the Taima *mandara* in which the use of symmetrical architectural elements effectively produced an impression of receding space. His knowledge of perspective, however, was not the one-point mathematical perspective to create a coherent picture space, but a rather more fragmented solution to deal with the three-dimensional depth of individual building.

The inclusion of the Seijo Shrine, the smallest building near the centre of the composition, raises the question of function again. The significance of this shrine in the relation to the belief in the seven stars of Big Dipper has been observed in the previous chapter. The *suijaku* form of the *kami* of the Seijo Shrine, Shitaderu-hime-no-kami in the red Chinese robe, appeared prominently near in the centre of some *suijaku mandara*, and Nyoirin Kannon (the *honji-butsu* of the Seijo Shrine) also attracted a special devotion in relation to the seven stars. The Yamato bunkakan's *miya mandara* depicts the same combination of ten *kami* depicted in the Nikko Sannō *suijaku mandara*, the Metropolitan Museum's *honji-butsu mandara*, and the Yanagi Sannō *suijaku mandara*, evincing the significance of the Seijo Shrine in the context of Tendai rituals related to the seven stars of Hokuto shichisei.

iii) Hie-Sannō Mandara, Hyakusai-ji, Shiga.

The combination of the natural landscape and the symbolic religious icons can be observed in another Hie-Sanno *mandara* from the Hyakusai-ji, Shiga (fig.111), which depicts a panoramic view of the Hie Shrine complex in an accomplished *yamato-e* style.

The entire area is filled with green trees and rocky, almost wild landscape, and instead of the shrine architecture, the location of each shrine is indicated by the figures of Buddhist deities and *kami*. A few architectural elements and the vermilion bridges accentuate the green and brown landscape into which the figures of deities blend in harmoniously. The inclusion of the figures had led to this *mandara* being categorised as a *honji-butsu* or *hon-jaku mandara* in some previous publications, but I favour the term shrine *mandara* because of the organizational formula that is dictated by the geographical reality rather than the theoretical hierarchy of the *kami*.

The seven *honji-butsu* of the Upper seven Shrines, each seated on a lotus throne, are placed at the positions roughly corresponding to their physical location within the shrine complex. Two shrines near the summit of Mt.Hachiōji, the Hachiōji and San-no-miya Shrines, are represented by the bodhisattvas, Senju Kannon on the right and Fugen Bosatsu riding a white elephant on the left, near the top of the picture space. Yakushi, the Buddha of Healing holding his distinctive medicine pot, of the Ni-no-miya Shrine is depicted on the right, with Jizō of the Jūzenji Shrine placed just below, and clockwise Jūichimen Kannon of the Marōdo Shrine, Amida of the Shōshinshi Shrine, and Shaka of the Ōmiya Shrine forming a circle. All the Buddhist figures are skilfully painted with accurate iconographical details, and their robes and lotus petals are embellished with rich *kirigane* decoration.

The seven buddhas and bodhisattvas are placed roughly in a circular formation, according to their geographical relationships, but also creating an impression of a circle. The inspiration for depicting the seven Buddhist deities larger than other figures in a circular arrangement must have originally come from the authentic Esoteric mandala

such as the eight petalled lotus in the centre of the Womb World of the Mandala of Two World. By placing these figures in the shrine landscape, the actual geography was interpreted as a mandala, and conveyed the dual nature of sacred place that identified the shrine landscape to a Buddhist paradise. As the *imayō* quoted at the beginning of this chapter plainly exhort, Mt.Hachiōji was identified with Vulture Peak, and visiting the Hie Shrine could symbolically relate the devotee to the paradise of Sakyamuni Buddha. In that sense, the *mandara* was a depiction of ideal Buddhist world as well as the real shrine landscape

Apart from the main seven deities, the *mandara* includes many smaller figures. Except for the guardian deity Fudō in the bottom left corner and a couple of other deities in Chinese military costume, other figures are depicted in their *suijaku* forms. These smaller figures are identified previously as the *kami* of the Middle and Lower Seven Shrines, as there are fourteen small figures which corresponds to the number of shrines.²³ However the numerical coincidence seems to have caused many to overlook the iconography of the figures which do not correspond to the usual *suijaku* forms of the fourteen subsidiary shrines. The Hyakusai-ji *mandara* depicts six *kami* as monks, three *kami* as male aristocrats, one male *kami* with a face of monkey, one as a female *kami*, and three as Buddhist guardian deities. The fourteen deities of the Middle and Lower Seven Shrines are depicted in the drawings in the *Hie-Sannō Gongen chishinki* as one monk, four male aristocrats, two male figures with monkey's face, three young *kami*

²³ The figures are described as "the *honji-butsu* of the Upper Seven Shrines with smaller figures of the Middle and Lower Seven Shrines" in all of the following catalogue entries. *Kamigami no bijutsu*, 1974, cat.no.38. *Shinto Arts : Nature, Gods, and Man in Japan*, 1976, p.98. *Hieizan to Tendai no bijutsu*, 1989, p.187. *Hie-Sanno Gongen : Kami to hotoke no bijutsu*, 1991, p.35. *Shinto : the Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, 2001, p.172.

(Wakamiya), two female *kami*, one bull, and one flaming jewel.²⁴ The iconography of the fourteen subsidiary *kami* of the Hie Shrine might not have been completely established in the Late Kamakura period, but the considerable discrepancies between these images prompted my reconsideration of the *suijaku* figures in the Hyakusai-ji *mandara*. I suggest that the small monks depicted next to Yakushi, Jizo, Amida and Shaka are the *suijaku* form of the same deities. In comparison to the main Buddhist figures, the *suijaku* figures are depicted in much smaller scale. The aristocratic figures next to Senju Kannon and Fudō correspond to the *suijaku* forms of these deities, but the theory does not fit perfectly for Fugen and Juichimen Kannon whose *suijaku* forms are usually depicted as female *kami* in Chinese robes. A female *kami* depicted above Jūichimen Kannon may be his *suijaku* form, but it could be the Seijo Shrine too from the location.

Another interesting addition is a small kneeling figure of *chigo* in red robe, holding a fan, in the bottom left corner, who is depicted as if to witness a miraculous manifestation of the *kami*. The identity of this figure poses an intriguing question if he had a significant role connected to this image. He is depicted symbolically on this side of the bridges over River Ōmiya which separates the sacred shrine complex from the mundane human space. The bridges act both as a marker for delineation and the passage into the realm of *kami*, and effectively used in this image to invite viewers into the sacred space. The absence of human figure in most of the Kasuga and Hie-Sanno *miya mandara* seems to emphasise the solemn quality of the location, but some *miya mandara*, such as the fourteenth century Kumano *mandara*, included many figures of pilgrims, shrine priests, and monks (fig. 112). The diverse contents of shrine *mandara* from various

²⁴ ST. J.29, *Hiyoshi*, 1983, pp.494-504.

locations indicate that the development of the genre offered new creative possibilities for painters who accommodated the need of separate locations.

As in the case of *honji-butsu* and *suijaku mandara*, the Hyakusai-ji Hie-Sannō *miya mandara* is a work by anonymous painter. The fine details of Buddhist iconography and the high quality of the paintings all points to the hand of established *busshi*, working in or for temples. The strong Buddhist connection is also visible in the pattern of the upper and lower painted borders which incorporate the motifs of gold ritual instruments on the green background. The *rinpō* (wheel), the symbol of the Buddhist Law, and *katsuma* (interlocking *vajra*), the symbol of the power to destroy evil, were essential objects used by monks during the Esoteric Buddhist ceremonies. The pattern is identical to the *honji-butsu mandara* from the Nanbokuchō period in the Enryaku-ji collection and the Nara National Museum's Sannō *miya mandara* which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Hyakusai-ji in Ōmi, where this *mandara* was handed down, was one of the *koṭō sanzō* (the three temples in the south-east of Lake Biwa), affiliated to the Enryaku-ji. In 1213, it was officially registered as the subsidiary temple of the Mudō-ji on Mt.Hiei.²⁵ As the Mudō-ji was the residence of Jien whose devotion to the Sannō Gongen was well known, a small shrine dedicated to the Sannō Gongen on the right of the Golden Hall still exist today in the Hyakusai-ji to confirm the connection. The Hyakusai-ji *mandara* testifies that the dissemination of the Hie-Sannō cult through the network of Tendai temples to outside the immediate area of Mt.Hiei.

²⁵ Itō Nobuo (ed.) *Nihon koji bijutsu zenshū 11, Ishiyama-dera to Ōmi no koji*, 1981, p.134.

iv) Hie- Sanno *miya mandara*, Reiun-ji, Tokyo.

Another *mandara* from the Reiun-ji, Tokyo, displays a similar compositional principle to the Hyakusai-ji *mandara* with the Buddhist deities arranged among the *yamato-e* style landscape (fig.113). Twenty-one *honji-butsu* of the Hie Shrine are placed at approximate positions according to their geographical relationships to each other, and the bird's-eye view provides a panoramic scene of the entire shrine complex from the bridges at the entrance in the foreground to the sacred mountain in the distance. In comparison to the Hyakusai-ji image, the figures are reduced to small size, but they are clearly identifiable from their Buddhist iconography. The proportionally large heads of the seated figures create an impression of naïve painting style associated with some *emaki* of the early fourteenth century. The inscription attached to the storage box attributes the *mandara* to Tosa Yoshimitsu (fl.1307-20), an *edokoro* painter best known for the *emaki*, *Hōnen shōnin eden*. The date of the artist conforms to the painting style of the *mandara*, however, the attribution is not supported by any evidence. Since boxes for storage were often inscribed by later generations, the attribution needs to be considered with care.²⁶

The silk has discoloured and a considerable amount of pigments has been lost from the surface, giving an impression of predominantly brown landscape, but the original colour scheme probably combined much more bright green foliage which has now turned black. The most prominent feature of the landscape is the triangular shape of Mt.Hachiōji, clearly defined against the sky at the top. The view was probably based on the artist's direct observation, and displays the attempt to interpret the landscape in "realistic" manner. The emphasis on the topographical accuracy was certainly an

²⁶ The information provided by the Reiun-ji states "Hie-Sannō mandara-zu, one scroll, attributed to Tosa Yoshimitsu. Colour on silk, 116.1 cm x 55.2 cm., accompanied by a box with an inscription and a white cotton wrapping cloth." The painting is now stored in the Tokyp National Museum.

important aspect of shrine *mandara* if they were to function as an imaginary pilgrimage icon. The interest to depict the visible, recognisable features of the shrine landscape and the desire to express the invisible, abstract quality of sacredness were not two conflicting demands, but one unified aim for shrine *mandara*. The transformation of landscape painting from the depiction of natural beauty in general to a more specific representation of individual location in the Kamakura period seem to reflect the new interest in the topography. The following sections of this chapter will examine a wide variety of visual images in order to consider the medieval concept of the sacred landscape.

2. Topographical Painting

The development of topographically recognisable landscape can clearly be observed in many *emaki* from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It has been already acknowledged from many previous studies that landscape painting in the early stage of its development was intimately related to literature, especially to the tradition of *waka* poetry in the Heian period. Textual sources related to *uta-e* (poem-picture) suggest that the most common device for indicating particular locations was inclusion of objects associated with the place. As Shimizu Yoshiaki wrote, "in Japanese landscape painting, images are often symbolic motifs indicating specific seasons and particular places with aesthetic histories" and "a symbolic image in a Japanese painting is often predetermined by its origin in Japanese poetry".²⁷

By the end of the Heian period, a complex and huge web of *utamakura*, the poetic vocabulary of associations with places was well established, and the conventionalized

²⁷ Shimizu Yoshiaki, "Seasons and Places in Yamato Landscape and Poetry", *Ars Orientalis* 12, 1981, p.1.

formulae dictated the people's perception of places to a great extent. For example, one of the most well known *utamakura*, River Tatsuta was associated with the beautiful autumnal colour of maple leaves. The famous poem below by Ariwara no Narihira (825-880) is but one of the numerous poems celebrating the autumnal beauty of this location over many centuries:

*Chihayaburu
kamiyo mo kikazu
Tatsuta-gawa
Karakurenai ni
Mizu kukuru towa*

Unheard of
even in the legendary age
of the awesome gods,
Tatsuta River in scarlet
and the water flowing under it.²⁸

The preface of the poem in the *Kokinshū* provides information on the typical relationship between poetry and images of the period:

Composed on the topic of autumn leaves flowing down Tatsuta River, as painted on a screen belonging to the Second Ward Empress [Fujiwara no Kōshi] --²⁹

The description suggests that Narihira composed the poem based on the impression he obtained from the image on the screen, and not from his actual experience of visiting the site. In many cases, the poem related to the image was inscribed on a *shikishi*, which was then pasted by or above the painted image, and the appreciation of *meisho* typically involved the three arts of painting, poetry and calligraphy.

The reputation of the beauty of maple leaves floating on River Tatsuta became so famous, eventually the mention of the name River Tatsuta immediately conjured up the image of red maple leaves floating on the water whatever the season. Thus for the Heian aristocrats who were well acquainted with the art of poetry, and for the later generations who adopted this cultural convention of iconography, an image of maple leaf and water was sufficient to

²⁸ *Kokinshū* 5, 294, Translation by Joshua S. Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart*, University of Hawaii Press, 1996, p.192.

²⁹ *ibid.* p.192.

indicate the location "Tatsuta" and the season "Autumn". In a similar manner, many place names were associated with certain *keibutsu* (objects or scenic symbols) and a particular season. Therefore the visual representations were heavily dependent on the literary tradition and not necessarily a faithful observation of nature.

The early sign of the interest in depicting the physical likeness of certain landscape can be detected in the passage from the *Meigetsuki*, Fujiwara no Teika's journal. In several entries in 1207, Teika recorded the progress of planning a decorative scheme for the Saishō Shitennō-in in Shirakawa, which was commissioned by the retired emperor Gotoba.³⁰ Although this temple was mysteriously destroyed by the Gotoba's order only after twelve years, Teika's diary provides good information on this project.³¹ The theme of the paintings on sliding doors for the interior of the temple was *meisho*, the famous places celebrated in the traditional *waka*. The theme itself was not new, as the tradition of the Yuki-Suki screens depicting famous sites of provinces can be observed in the records of *Daijō-e*, the imperial ceremony held after the enthronement of a new emperor.³² Akiyama Terukazu points out that screens were important furniture for the ritual space, and sets of screens in both the *yamato-e* and *kara-e* styles were made with the scenes from Yuki, the provinces east of the capital, and Suki, the provinces west of the capital. Textual records confirm that the poets were commissioned first to compose poems celebrating each location, to which the painters were asked to create images. As the poems preceded the images, the artist's task was to represent the poem in visual terms, rather than depicting the real landscape.

³⁰ Fujiwara no Teika, *Meigetsuki*, vol.2, p.23-8. On *meisho-e* in the Saishō Shitennō-in, see Takeda Tsuneo, *Nihon kaiga to saiji*, Perikansha, 1990, p.28-9 & 185-6.

³¹ One theory suggests that Gotoba commissioned this temple in order to pray for the fall of the Kamakura *bakufu*, and after the death of Shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo, Gotoba ordered the demolition of the temple. Ishii Susumu, *Kamakura bakufu*, Nihon norekishii vol.7, Chuō kōronsha, 1969, p.359.

³² The records of *Daijō-e* survive from the time of Emperor Sanjo in 1012. Akiyama Terukazu, *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*, Yoshilawa kōbunkan, 1964, also see Shimizu, 1981, pp.10-12.

The project was carried out in a similar procedure for the Saishō Shitennō-in. Forty-six *meisho* from a wide area of the country were chosen at first, and Teika's detailed records help us to understand the process of selecting places, the poets and the artists. According to the *Meigetsuki*, on the 21st day of the fourth month, the selection of *meisho* began, and on the 5th day of the fifth month, ten renowned poets, including the retired emperor Gotoba himself, Tendai Abbot Jien and Teika himself were selected. Ten poets composed a poem on each of the forty-six *meisho*, then the best poem was eventually chosen to be inscribed along the corresponding image. On the 14th day of the same month, four artists, Sonchi, Kaneyasu, Yasutoshi and Mitsutoki, were commissioned to paint the scenes. Two days later, Teika mentioned that one of the artists Kaneyasu commented that it was difficult to paint *meisho* based solely on their traditional reputation, and since Akashi and Suma were within easy reach, he asked for a permission to visit these locations himself.³³ This remark inadvertently indicates that other three artists were not particularly concerned about the realistic representation of locations they were to paint, but were content to follow the conventional pattern of literary associations. As Chino Kaori points out, Teika's special mention of Kaneyasu's request suggests that the interest to depict physical likeness of landscape was a relatively new attitude at the beginning of the thirteenth century.³⁴

Although the paintings did not survive long, the poems, on which the subjects of the paintings were dictated, survive today as the poetry collection, *Saishō Shitennō-in waka*, and provide the identity of the forty-six *meisho*. They were Kasugano, Yoshino-yama, Miwasan, Tatsuta-yama, Hatsuse-yama, Naniwa no ura, Sumiyoshi no sato, Ashiya no sato, Nunobiki no taki, Ikuta no mori, Waka no ura, Fukigami no hama, Katano, Minase-gawa,

³³ Fujiwara no Teika, *Meigetsuki*, vol.2, p.27.

³⁴ Chino Kaori, "Meisho-e no seirutsu to tenkai", *Nihon byōbu-e shusei vol.10*, Kodansha, 1980, pp.115-21.

Suma no ura, Akashi no ura, Shikama no ichi, Matsura-yama, Inaba-yama, Takasago, Nonaka no shimizu, Ama no hashidate, Uji-gawa, Ōi-gawa, Toba, Fushimi no sato, Izumi-gawa, Oshio-yama, Ōsaka no seki, Shiga no ura, Suzuka-yama, Futami-ga-ura, Ōyodo no ura, Narumi no ura, Hamana no hashi, Utsu no yama, Sarashina-yama, Kiyomi ga seki, Fuji no yama, Musashino, Shirakawa no seki, Abukuma-gawa, Adachi no hara, Miyagino, Asaka no numa, and Shiogama no ura.³⁵

Teika mentioned that the four artists submitted *eyō* (literally picture style, a kind of sketch or design) of their allotted locations which were shown to the retired emperor Gotoba. On the twenty-second day of the sixth month, the artists were summoned to the temple, presumably for the final decision. The images of *meisho* were arranged on the sliding doors among "nosuji unsui" (a path through fields, clouds and water), suggesting a grand scheme of poetic images connected by landscape elements.³⁶ An illustration from the *emaki, Kasuga Gongen kenki* of 1309, provides an idea of decorative landscape paintings that adorned the sliding doors of the aristocratic residences (fig.114).

Apart from the traditional literary associations, the most common solution used by the artists to indicate individual location was architectural features, as seen in the Kasuga *mandara*. The bird's-eye-view of the shrine enclosure in the shape of parallelogram in the Kasuga *mandara* (fig.108) is directly comparable to the Kumano *mandara* (fig.112). The high viewpoint allows the viewers to obtain a good idea of size, shape and geographical relationship between the buildings, as well as providing detailed information on decorative features of the medieval shrine architecture. A comparison between the Kumano *mandara* and the *emaki, Ippen shōnin eden* of 1299, reveals a clear similarity in the handling of

³⁵ *Saishō Shitemō-in Waka, KT. Vol.5*, Kadokawa shoten, 1987, pp.896-905.

architecture (fig.115). The twelve scrolls of *Ippen shōnin eden*, painted by En'i, included images of sixteen temples and ten shrines Ippen visited during his travel across the country, propagating the *nenbutsu* (chanting) practice of the Jishū sect. Each location can be identified by the characteristic architecture, and it had been suggested in the past that the faithful portrayal of individual architecture was produced from the artist's first hand observation from his travel in the footsteps of Ippen.³⁷ However, more recent opinions seem to suggest the existence of the established models for many of the popular locations such as Kumano and Kasuga, and the artist may have been able to consult a *kamigata*, a kind of design sources.³⁸ More importantly, the *Ippen emaki* contained some topographically recognisable landscape scenes, including one of the earliest views of Mt.Fuji (fig.116). These landscape scenes testify the artists' interest to create an iconographical idiom for topographically recognizable views, not only of architecture but of landscape. The distinctive shape of Mt.Fuji with three small semicircular crown, and the compositional devise of the mountain almost breaking out the space, are two of the most commonly adopted iconography of Mt.Fuji in later paintings. The image of Mt.Fuji in this thirteenth century *emaki* affirms the development of new iconography of landscape that did not derive from classical poetic tradition, but one that derived from the physical characteristics of places.

The concern for the "real view" is particularly relevant when the location artists are dealing with were sacred, and if the painting were to be used as a substitute for visiting the location. Apart from the distinctive architecture, both Kasuga and Kumano *mandara* make geographical reference by including the topographical features, Mt.Mikasa in Kasuga and the Nachi waterfall in Kumano, that are easily recognizable. In the case of Yamato bunkakan's

³⁶ Fujiwara no Teika, *Meigetsuki*, vol.2, p.27.

³⁷ Komatsu Shigemi, *Ippen shōnin eden*, chuō kōronsha, 1989.

³⁸ Naruse Fujio, "Kasagi mandara to Nihon chūsei kaiga no risōteki hyōgen", *Yamato bunka no.103*, 2000, p.9.

Hie-Sannō shrine *mandara* (fig.110), the location was identified by the distinctive shrine architecture, aided by objects such as *kakebotoke* and monkeys. The spatial relationship between the buildings established the orientation, but the natural elements themselves were unspecific, and the visual language primarily functioned with the association of objects in the manner of *uta-e* tradition. In contrast to this conventional, object based formula, the geographically recognizable depiction of Mt.Hachiōji in the Reiun-ji *mandara* (fig.113) illustrates the new empirical approach that seems to have occurred during the thirteenth century.

The development of topographical images in the Kamakura period culminated in the pure landscape painting, most sublimely represented in the image of the Nachi waterfall (fig.117). The simple painting, now in the Nezu Institute of Art, Tokyo, depicts the waterfall in the centre of the long hanging scroll almost all the way down from the top. Except for the small section of the roof at the lower space, the composition is dominated by the nature, and the subdued colours of the rocky cliff enhance the white water. The painting is dated to the late thirteenth century, based on the inclusion of *sotoba* (a votive pole) near the bottom of the composition which was dedicated by the retired emperor Kameyama on the occasion of his visit in 1281.³⁹ At the top of the waterfall, the large moon is peering from behind the wooded mountain, indicating the symbolic significance of the image. At first glance, the painting gives an impression of simple landscape painting, a realistic depiction of an amazing natural site, yet the inclusion of the larger-than-life moon and the use of gold pigment to embellish the landscape associate this image with the Kumano cult.

³⁹ Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, *Hyakkasen*, 1991, p.32.

The Nachi waterfall in the Kumano region of southern Kii peninsula was perceived as a residing place of the local *kami*, and the awesome site of the 130 metre waterfall attracted pilgrims from early period. Just as Mt.Hachiōji at Hie was regarded as *shintai*, the *kami's* body, which was both worshipped and feared, the waterfall itself was venerated at least from the eighth century.⁴⁰ The development of the Kumano cult during the Heian period embraced diverse influences from Esoteric Buddhism, Pure Land Buddhism, Daoist philosophy and shamanistic practices, all entwined into the idiosyncratic local belief. The large area of mountainous countryside around the waterfall began to be identified with Mt.Fudaraku, the earthly paradise of the bodhisattva Kannon, and the pilgrimage routes from the capital to the waterfall and three major shrines of Kumano were established. The popularity of the cult is reflected in the large number of popular *imayō* songs, inspired by the pilgrimage to the region, such as the one below:

*Kumano e mairu niwa
Kiji to Iseji to dore chikashi
Dore tooshi,
Kōdai jihi no michi nareba
Kiji mo Iseji mo tookarazu.*⁴¹

Visiting Kumano
Which is shorter, the Ki or Ise route?
Which is longer?
neither Ki nor Ise,
the routes of great compassion are not long.

The pilgrimage routes from the capital was more than 300 km. which involved approximately twenty days of travelling, but pilgrims from wide strata of society, from the imperial family to the common people, flocked to Kumano. The retired emperor Goshirakawa (1127-92), whose passion for *imayō* resulted in his compilation of the *Ryōjin hishō*, undertook the pilgrimage thirty-three times, and his grandson the retired emperor Gotoba (1180-1239) managed to visit Kumano twenty-nine times.⁴²

The pilgrimage to Kumano, and indeed to many other sacred locations, offered to a large numbers of people from the urban areas an opportunity to leave their mundane life,

⁴⁰ ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography*, 1999, p.164.

and enjoy a first hand experience of witnessing the countryside, and to appreciate the beauty of nature beside their religious aspiration. The greater mobility of people in the thirteenth century, compared to the earlier period, can be observed by travel journals such as *Tōkan kikō* (Journey to the Eastern Barrier), *Kaidōki* (Journey along the Sea Coast Road), *Izayoi nikki* (The Diary of the Waning Moon), and *Towazu gatari* (The Confession of Lady Nijō). The movement of people, especially between the capital and Kamakura, encouraged the development of better roads, sleeping facilities, and the thriving market economy. As described in the *Izayoi nikki* and *Towazugatari*, it was possible even for women to travel long distances without serious danger.

The salient feature of these thirteenth century travels was the traveller's desire to see the famous poetic locations, *meisho*, for themselves along the way whether the purposes of the journey were pilgrimage, pleasure or business. Up until the twelfth century, the wondering poets such as Nōin (988-1058?) and Saigyō (1118-90) were exceptional travellers whose poetry inspired others to imagine the sites of *meisho* from the comfort of their home. The romantic, and perhaps dramatised, notion of Saigyō's eremitic life captured the imagination of writers and artists, and several versions of *emaki*, *Saigyō monogatari*, seem to have existed by the mid-thirteenth century. The surviving scroll, now in the Manno Museum, Osaka, depicts several locations Saigyō visited, including the sensitive and lyrical depiction of Mt. Yoshino with the cherry blossoms which became synonymous to Saigyō and Mt. Yoshino in Japanese culture (fig. 118).

Lady Nijō, the author of the *Towazugatari*, encountered one of the *Saigyō monogatari* in 1273/4, and wrote:

⁴¹ *Ryōjin hishō*, 256, Iwanami bunko, 1995, p.51.

⁴² "Kumano mōde eno michi", *Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*, shinchōsha, 1989, p.190.

I remember looking at a scroll when I was only nine years old called "The Records of the travel of Saigyō". It contained a particular scene where Saigyō, standing amid scattering cherry blossoms, with deep mountains off to one side and a river in front of him, composed this poem:

Winds scatter white blossoms,
White caps breaking rocks,
How difficult to cross
The mountain stream.

I have envied Saigyō's life ever since, and although I could not endure a life of ascetic hardship, I wished that I could at least renounce this life, wander wherever my feet might lead me, learning to empathize with the dew under the blossoms and to express the resentment of the scattering autumn leaves, and make out of this record of my travel that might live on after my death.⁴³

Lady Nijō realised her dream later on, and travelled widely between 1289 and 1306, visiting many of the *meisho* Saigyō had celebrated in his poetry.

These typical journeys to *meisho* in the thirteenth century were imbued with the memories of earlier poets, and often the travellers were compelled to add their own poem about their impression of the *meisho*. According to Herbert Plutschow:

Only the existence of an ancient poem about a place justifies a poem by an actual traveller. It is clear that what matters to the traveller-poet is not reality so much as the way in which it has come down through poetic tradition.⁴⁴

Interestingly, the author of the *kaidōki* recorded that "places one has often heard about do not necessarily appeal to the eye".⁴⁵ But Donald Keene observed that "virtually every (other) traveller went out of his way to see places that had been mentioned in poetry, and was satisfied by the experience".⁴⁶ The strong desire to actually see and experience places, clearly detectable in the travel journals, I suggest, encouraged the general awareness

⁴³ Lady Nijō *Towazugatari*, (trans. by Karen Brazel) Stanford University press, 1974, p.52.

⁴⁴ Herbert Plutschow, *Utamakura*,

⁴⁵ *Tōkankikō- Kaidōki*, Kōdansha, 1952. pp.14-20.

⁴⁶ Donald Keene, *Travellers of A Hundred Ages*, Henry Holt & Co., 1989, p.9.

towards the landscape despite the heavy reliance on the poetic tradition, and was surely related to the attempt of artists to depict the topographically recognisable landscape.

3. Mandalization of Landscape: Mt. Hiei and the *Kaihōgyō*

The participation in travel and pilgrimage offered a temporary existence, filled with surprises and new awareness towards natural landscape for lay people, but the interaction between human and landscape was much more intense for the ascetic practitioners who spent a prolonged period in the primitive natural environment. To the ascetics, many of them from the Tendai or Shingon schools, who roamed in the deep mountains of Kumano, Yoshino, Hakusan, Mt.Hiei and other sacred mountains of Japan, the physical engagement with the nature offered a systematic passage towards the attainment of Enlightenment. The practice was analogous to the mental journey offered by the contemplation of mandalas.

The attempt to articulate the sacred landscape in terms of mandala in medieval Japan is discussed by Allan Grapard who points out the twelfth century text, *shozan engi* (The founding legends of various mountains), according to which the extensive area of Kii peninsula was perceived in terms of the Mandalas of the Two Worlds.⁴⁷ The followers of En no Gyōja, the legendary seventh century initiator of the *Shugendō* ascetic movement, translated their physical movement as a spiritual passage from one court to the other in the mandala, and visualised the Yoshino / Kimpusen area as the Diamond World, and the Kumano region as the Womb World. In Grapard's words:

⁴⁷ Allan Grapard, "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Towards a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religion", *HR*, vol.20-3, 1982, PP.195-221.

Once the mandalas were projected onto these mountains, the practice of mountain ascetics was to go from peak to peak, venerating the Bodhisattvas and Buddhas residing on them, performing the services, rituals, and meditation as they would in front of graphic representations on an altar in the temples. Just as one enters a painted mandala, performing the same rituals, they would enter the mountains, thereby penetrating the Realm of the Buddha.⁴⁸

As the word *shugen*, originating from *shugyō tokugen* (training for the attainment of extraordinary power), indicates, the arduous physical training in the hostile mountain terrain was regarded as a spiritual contact with the nature, and a process for gaining a super-human ability. The *shugendō* practice incorporated the primitive belief of mountain worship which regarded the area as *takai* (the other-worldly space), the magical aspect of shamanic rituals, and the Esoteric Buddhist doctrine. From the Heian period, Esoteric monks from both Tendai and Shingon schools were chiefly instrumental for the establishment of mountain training centres, and Mt Hiei was one of the important locations.

The founder of the *kaihogyō*, the arduous mountain training of the Hiei mountain range, was a Tendai monk Sōō (831-919) whose religious practice involved the daily trekking in the deep mountains surrounding the Enryaku-ji. Over the centuries, this ascetic practice developed into a highly organised pilgrimage route covering the three main areas of Mt.Hiei, Tōfō (The Eastern Pagoda), Saifō (the Western Pagoda), and Yokawa, and the Hie Shrine. Along the route, the participants paid respect to both Buddhist landmarks and the sacred locations associated with the *kami* such as trees, rocks, and spring as well as shrines. The tradition of mountain training at Hiei, still practised today, involves one thousand days of strenuous walking over the period of seven years, including a period spent in the even more remote area of Katsuragawa. The total distance covered by the end

⁴⁸ Ibid. pp.210-1.

of seven years amounts to approximately 40,000 km.⁴⁹ A long, gruelling physical training provides the practitioners with a metaphor for the formidable spiritual journey towards Enlightenment.

The expansion of the training ground to Katsuragawa, to the north of Mt.Hiei, originates from Sōō's search for a more isolated area suited for one thousand days seclusion. During the course of his meditation by a waterfall in the Katsuragawa area of Hira mountain range, he is said to have encountered an old man who claimed himself to be Shikobuchi Myōjin, the local *kami*. According to the *Katsuragawa engi*, the *kami* granted Sōō the control of a large area around the waterfall by announcing:

This special land with nineteen pure waterfalls and seven pure streams, the area from the peak of Hira in the east, Hanaori Valley in the south, the Kakekome Valley and the peak of Kamakura in the west, and Ubuchise in the north, has not been visited by any man. I shall entrust this land to you, as you are the reincarnation of Fudō Myōō. This Katsuragawa waterfall is the third of the nineteen waterfalls, and leads to the inner sanctuary of Tosotsu (the paradise of Miroku, the Future Buddha). From this day, I shall protect the disciples of the Buddha, and vow to protect the Buddhist Law until the day Miroku descends.⁵⁰

Having said that, the *kami* disappeared and Sōō continued to meditate when suddenly he visualized the manifestation of Fudō Myōō in the waterfall. He jumped into the waterfall to embrace the deity, but all he found was a large log. He carved three statues of Fudō Myōō from the wood, and founded the temples, the Sokushō Myōō-in at Katsuragawa (fig. 119), the Mudō-ji on Mt.Hiei (a sub-temple of the Enryaku-ji, situated near the Eastern Pagoda area)), and Isaki-ji by Lake Biwa to house the icons.

⁴⁹ John Stevens, *The Marathon Monks of Mount Hiei*, Shambhala, 1988, p.71.

⁵⁰ *Katsuragawa engi*, *Zoku Gunsho ruiju*, vol.28.

As Murakami Shūichi points out, this episode illustrates the active Buddhist attempt to legitimize their expansion of territorial control over the local community.⁵¹ But troubles between the temple and the local inhabitants who effectively lost their right to hunt, fish or cut trees in the sacred ground continued for centuries. The large amount of medieval documents, 4,336 of mainly claims, accusation and lawsuits, preserved in the Sokushō Myōō-in provides important case studies for the ownership of land and the relationships between the powerful Buddhist institution, the local *kami*, and inhabitants.⁵² By the end of the twelfth century, the ownership of the land and forestry in the Katsuragawa area, the original land of the *kami* Shikobuchi Myōjin, was diverted to the Mudō-ji of Mt.Hiei, legally putting the area under the control of the Enryaku-ji by capitalizing on the Fudō devotion. Shikobuchi Myōjin became the protector of the temple Sokushō Myōō-in, and was enshrined in the *chinjusha*, a shrine within the temple ground next to Sannō who became the *jishushin*.

As well as his reputation as the founder of *kaihogyō*, Sōō was well known for his devotion to Sannō Gongen. According to the *Yōtenki* of 1223, he was responsible for the restoration of shrine buildings at Hie in the late ninth century, and he was attributed to the description of sculptural images of the seven Sannō *kami* in the *Hie Sannō Gongen Chishinki* which was regarded as the earliest record of the image of the Sannō *kami*. As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, this claim is doubtful as it is unlikely that all seven shrines were established in the tenth century, but certainly Sōō was responsible for soliciting Sannō to Katsuragawa. It was a natural move for the Enryaku-ji to enforce the territorial rights, and the original *kami* of the land, Shikobuchi Myōjin was made to

⁵¹ Murakami Shūichi, *Hieizan-shi: tataikai to inori no seiiki*, Tokyo bijutsu, 1994, pp.217-20.

⁵² For the relationship between the *kami*, buddhas and the territory in medieval mountain villages in the case of Katsuragawa, see Toda Yoshimi, "Chūsei sanson ni okeru kami to hotoke", *Chūsei no Shinbutsu to kodō*, Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1995, pp.102-26.

relinquish his status as the main *jishushin*, the proprietor of the land, but relegated to a subordinate position. The oldest surviving map of the Sokushō Myōō-in, dating from 1317, shows the *jishushin* (Sannō) shrine flanked by two smaller shrines, Shikobuchi and Daigyōji (also from Hie), within the temple ground. The map provides a valuable visual evidence for the relationship of the *kami* with the temple and the notion of territory (fig.120).

Sōō's encounter with Fudō Myōō bestowed him with a remarkable ability to perform Esoteric rites focused on the deity which involved elements of magic and exorcism. His service was much in demand in the age when the cause of various illness or misfortune was seen as the effect of malevolent spirit. One of the most well known episodes to illustrate his extra-ordinary ability was his successful ritual to dispel the evil fox spirit from the empress Somedono, the consort of Emperor Montoku in 859. His reputation was firmly established among the aristocrats, and the temples Mudō-ji and Katsuragawa Myōō-in flourished as a centres of the Fudō cult. The imperial patronage encouraged the temple's association with the monks from the aristocratic families in the following centuries, and several of the Mudō-ji monks, including Gyōgen a son of the *kanpaku* Fujiwara no Morozane, and Jien a son of the *Kanpaku* Fujiwara no Tadamichi, occupied the position of Tendai Abbot. Their association with the temple Shōren-in, a *monzeki* (the temple with imperial connection), further improved the standing of the Mudō-ji within the Buddhist community on Mt.Hiei. The revenue from the Katsuragawa estate was an important economical source for supporting the temple, and the aristocratic connection provided political advantage for the development of the Mudō-ji as the centre of Tendai *kaihogyō*.

Tendai Abbot Jien, better known as a poet and the author of the *Gukanshō*, was an enthusiastic advocate of the mountain training, and despite his aristocratic upbringing, he physically participated in the arduous *kaihogyō* discipline involving one thousand days seclusion in the Mudō-ji and days of mountain trekking in the Katsuragawa area. He was also well known for his active interest in the legal and financial administration of the Katsuragawa estate, probably developed from his intimate knowledge of the geography.⁵³ His devotion to Sannō Gongen, as discussed already, was responsible for the further amalgamation of the Sannō worship and the local *kami* Shikobuchi Myōjin into the Tendai tradition.

The evolution of *kaihogyō* from the individual training to a more institutionalized program during the Kamakura period coincided with the development of the Tendai doctrine, according to which the three main areas of Mt.Hiei were perceived in terms of Buddhist concept of sacred space. The identification of the physical movement in natural geography to the mental progress towards Enlightenment was visually defined by the analogy of mandalas. In the section “Record of training and pilgrimage to sacred places on Mt.Hiei” in the *Keiran shūyōshū*, the Tendai monk Kōshū (1276-1350) describes the three areas, the Eastern Pagoda, the Western Pagoda and Yokawa, as the Diamond World, the Womb World and Soshitsuji (the world of the *Susiddhikara sutra*) respectively.⁵⁴ The *Soshitsuji-kyō* (Sutra of Excellent Accomplishment), translated into Chinese by Subhakarasiṃha (J.Zenmū) in 726, was introduced to Japan by Ennin in the ninth century. It was theoretically a synthesis of the practices prescribed in the *Dainichi-kyō* and the *Kongōchō-kyō*, the principal scriptures of Esoteric doctrine on which the Mandala of the Two World was based.

⁵³ Murayama Shūichi, *Heizan-shi*, Tokyo bijutsu, 1994, p. 222-3.

⁵⁴ Kōshū, *Keiran shūyōshū*, TSD. vol.76, pp.867-9.

The association of the three areas in terms of space with the mandalas was supported by a series of complex metaphors according to the Tendai philosophy. Grapard points out the *Enryaku-ji gokoku engi* from 1260, according to which the sacred geography of Mt.Hiei was interpreted in terms of Buddhist concept of time. Shaka, the Buddha of the Western Pagoda area, corresponded to the period of *shōbō* (Correct Law), Yakushi, the Buddha of the Eastern Pagoda area, corresponded to the period of *zōhō* (Reflected Law), and Amida, the Buddha of the Yokawa area, corresponded to the period of *mappō* (Declined Law / Latter Days). The three areas were also perceived in relation to the Tendai theory of the Triple Truth, *kū* (emptiness), *ke* (temporary existence), *chū* (middle). The Soshitsuji World (the Yokawa area) was associated with the perspective of emptiness, the Womb World (the Western Pagoda area) was associated with the temporary perspective, and the Diamond World (the Western Pagoda area) was associated with the median perspective.⁵⁵

The projection of mandalas on to the geography was a Buddhist attempt to define the phenomenal space within the Tendai doctrinal framework, and as the three Buddhas were associated to the three main shrines of the Hie-Sanno cult, the essential link between the metaphysical world of mandala and the *kami* was created. By the time Jien became the Tendai Abbot in the end of the twelfth century, it was already customary for the newly appointed abbot to tour the three main areas of Mt.Hiei and offer prayers as a part of succession ceremony.⁵⁶ The three areas corresponding to the mandalas contained extensive lists of places for the pilgrims to follow. Apart from the main Buddhist halls, numerous places and objects such as rocks, springs and trees that are recognized sacred in connection

⁵⁵ Allan Grapard, "Linguistic Cubism - A Singularity of Pluralism in the Sannō cult", *JJRS no.14/2-3*, 1987, pp.211-34.

⁵⁶ Robert F. Rhodes, "The *Kaihōgyō* practice on Mt.Hiei", *JJRS. vol.14, nos 2-3*, 1987, p.191.

to the local *kami* were included in the pilgrimage route, indicating the importance of the worship of *kami* on Mt.Hiei.

The mandalization of space was further articulated by the early fourteenth century by extending the theory to embrace much wider area surrounding Mt.Hiei. A stylized diagram of Japan in the *keiran shūyōshū* is organized in the shape of a *dokkoshō*, the gilt bronze *vajra*, symbolizing the Buddhist power to destroy evil (fig. 121).⁵⁷ The diagram illustrates the Japanese understanding of geography in which the country was divided into two equal halves, the eastern and the western sides of Lake Biwa from the centre. This concept of two parts itself was not new, as the east-west division can be observed in the records of *yuki-suki* screens made for the *Daijōe*, the imperial ceremony in which the new crop of rice was dedicated to the new emperor from all provinces after the enthronement.⁵⁸

The schematic map in the *keiran shūyōshū*, however, interpreted the two parts as the Mandala of the Two Worlds. The eastern side of Lake Biwa was labelled as the Diamond World, while the western side was labelled as the Womb World. The indentation above Lake Biwa is the bay of Ise, while the section below is the bay of Tsuruga, as the map is organized according to the contemporary convention which placed the direction south at the top. Furthermore, the eastern half is inscribed as the Realm of Buddha, while the western half is inscribed with the name of Sannō in the centre, and the words *shinmei* (*kami*), Kehi [shrine] and Sumiyoshi [shrine], indicating that this half was perceived as the Realm of *kami*. As Grapard writes, the "map" of Japan in the shape of Esoteric ritual instruments inscribed with the names of shrines indicates the logic of Tendai monks who

⁵⁷ Kōshū, *Keiran shūyōshū*, TSD vol.76, p.626.

⁵⁸ Akiyama Terukazu, *Heian jidai sezoku-ga no kenkyū*, Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1964, p.

interpreted that "Sacredness was a status resulting from the presence of shrines of great antiquity over which mandalas had been superimposed."⁵⁹

The visualization of Japan in the shape of *vajra* also appears in another section of the *Keiran shūyōshū*, in an even more simplified form (fig.122).⁶⁰ The diagram is not a "map" as it has no visible resemblance to the geographical reality, but the both ends of the *vajra* are labelled as "west" on the top and "east at the bottom. On the right hand side, the words "South, Sea of Ise, *shinmei*" appears, and on the left hand side, the words "North, Sea of Tsuruga, Kehi, Lake [Biwa], Sanno" appears. The text preceding the diagram states: "Gyōgi Bosatsu, who travelled around the country, wrote that Japan is shaped like a *vajra*". The legendary eighth century monk Gyōgi was credited to have created the first map of Japan, though without any historical proof, and all early maps which showed Japan as a cluster of baloon-shaped provinces came to be called the "Gyōgi-map". In this text he is also credited to the theory of *vajra* which reinforced the concept of Japan as the sacred land where Buddhism prospered as a result of the *kami*'s presence.

The analogy of Japan to the shape of *vajra* in the *Keiran shūyōshū* seems to have been widely disseminated beyond the confine of scholarly circle on Mt.Hiei in the following centuries. A sixteenth century map of Japan, copied from the thirteenth century gazetteer, *Shūgaishō* (Collection of Poppy Seeds), is accompanied by the text which states:

The Map of Great Japan by Gyōgi Bosatsu.
This land is shaped like a *vajra*.
Therefore the Buddha's Law prospers.
It is shaped like a *hōju* (jewel).
Therefore it is rich with precious treasures like gold, silver and copper, and abundant with five kinds of grains.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Allan Grapard, "Keiran shūyōshū: A Different Perspective on Mt.Hiei in the Medieval Period", *Re-Visioning "Kamakura" Buddhism*, Richard K.Payne (ed.), University of Hawaii Press, 1998, p.58.

⁶⁰ Kōshū, *Keiran shūyōshū*, TSD vol.76, p.519.

⁶¹ Gyōgi type map, Tenri Library, Nara. Hugh Cortazzi, *Isles of Gold: Antique Maps of Japan*,

The projection of mandalas and the analogy of *vajra* were Buddhist attempts to define the sacred geography in visual terms, but the symbolic and theoretical significance overwhelmed the physical likeness. The empirical attitude of artists, clearly displayed in the landscape paintings such as shrine *mandara* and *emaki*, in the thirteenth century was not employed when the object (such as the whole shape of Japan) was not actually visible. The sacred geography of Japan remained as a concept consisting from legends and the synthesis of various Buddhist ideas.

4. Cartography and the concept of sacredness

i) Ninna-ji map

The cartography of medieval Japan was primarily based on the Gyōgi-type map which, though simple and child-like, showed the geographical relationships between provinces from the capital and to each other in accurate and practical way. One of the earliest surviving examples of such maps is the drawing dated to 1305 in the Ninna-ji, Kyoto (fig.123). As the *Keiran shūyōshū's vajra* diagram, south is at the top of this map. Unfortunately, the extreme right part of the drawing has been damaged, and the western half of Honshū, Shikoku and Kyūshū is lost. Beside the boundaries of provinces in black ink, the red lines indicate the eight major highways radiating from the capital. Each province is labelled with their names in Chinese characters and the pronunciation in *katakana*, and some are inscribed with name of highway and the number of subdivisions within the province. The large area of the eastern section is Michinoku, the little explored wild land, and the writing "Shirakawa no seki (Shirakawa Barrier) indicates not only the

Weatherhill, 1983, p.71.

actual location of the barrier but the psychological barrier that separated this northern most province from the rest of Japan. The pointed shape of Michinoku is reminiscent to the end of *vajra*, suggesting the wide spread belief that Japan was shaped like the Esoteric ritual instrument.

The overall shape, despite the primitive impression, is depicted roughly in the right shape, and particularly the southern coastline (the top) indicates relatively good grasp of geography. All the provinces are labelled correctly, and the text on the right hand side of the map provides basic information:

The Eight Highways of Japan.
Goki (Kinai provinces) - five provinces,
Tokaidō (Eastern Sea Coast Route) - fifteen provinces,
Tosandō (Eastern Mountain Route) - eight provinces,
Hokurikudō (Northern Route) - seven provinces,
San'indo (Transmountain Route) - eight provinces,
San'yodō (Cismountain Route) - eight provinces,
Nankaidō (Southern Sea Coast Route) - six provinces,
Saikaidō (Western Sea Coast Route) - eleven provinces.
Total - sixty-eight provinces.
Made by Gyōgi Bosatsu.
East / west - 2870 *li* (miles), south / north - 537 *li*.
? (another line with numbers)
Population - 6,900,019,652.
Third year of Kagen [1305] Tairyō[Twelfth month].
Drawn in cold wind, prohibit to show.

Unno Kazutaka suggests that the function of this map was to decorate the ritual halls for the imperial ceremony of *tsuina* (expulsion) which was customary held in the twelfth month.⁶² The *Engi shiki*, the tenth century treaties on the imperial ceremonies, prescribed that the ritual should be held in order to expel evil spirits and filthy demons out of the country on the last day of the year. The boundary of Japan was specified as "Michinoku [Tōhoku] in the direction of east, Tōchika [the Gotō islands] in the direction of west, Tosa [in Shikoku] in the direction of south, and Sado [island in the Japan Sea] in the direction of

north.⁶³ Unno argues that a map depicting the whole of the country would have been suitable for the *tsuina* ceremony, but this is not convincing when one considers the high artistic quality, often very expensive and sumptuous, of paintings that were produced for ritual purposes in the imperial or Buddhist institutions. Buddhist paintings or mandalas for such occasions were normally painted on silk, and made into hanging scrolls embellished with beautiful textile mounts and scroll rods made of precious materials. The simple sketch-like drawing of the Ninna-ji map seems more like a document which recorded the information for practical purpose. Such a map showing the interrelationships between provinces and the main highways to the capital would have been an important asset for political, economical or defence reasons when the knowledge of geography became crucial for the increasing awareness about the outside world as well as the internal affairs in the second half of the Kamakura period.

ii) Shōmyō-ji map

The notion of national security seems to have encouraged the creation of another Gyōgi-type map, roughly contemporary to the Ninna-ji map. Only the western half of Japan survives in this Shōmyō-ji map which shows the country surrounded by what looks like a scaled body of snake or dragon (fig.124). The dark shading probably indicates the back of the amphibian with white belly, and the lost half of the map should have included the head and possibly legs. The thin body seems much too long for a dragon in today's standard, but both Unno and O uji Toshiaki point out the depiction of the elongated dragon in the thirteenth century *emaki*, *Kegon-shū soshi eden*, and argue that the image of the creature with scales is most likely to be a dragon.⁶⁴ The idea of dragon surrounding Japan is

⁶² Unno Kazutaka, *Chizu ni miru Nihon*, Daishukan, 1999, p.103.

⁶³ *Engi shiki*, ST (K) 11, p.656.

⁶⁴ O uji Toshiaki, *Echizu no sekaizō*, Iwanami shoten, 1996, pp.23-4. Unno Kazutaka, *Chizu ni miru Nihon*, 1999, p.107.

confirmed by a seventeenth century (1625) map entitled "Earthquake picture of Great Japan made by Gyōgi Bosatsu" which shows a dragon with scaled body wrapped around the a stylized Gyōgi-type map of the country (fig. 125). In popular belief, earthquakes were caused by dragon's movement, and the map included divinations for each month written on the twelve dorsal fins of the dragon.

However, this Edo period's theory of dragon is unlikely to be related to the Shōmyō-ji map which was made three hundred years earlier. What both Unno and Ouji did not consider was the significance of snake in the context of *kami* worship. Mark Teeuwen points out the theory in the *Keiran shūyōshū* which argues that "the *kami* (*shinmei*), when they 'soften their light and mingle with the dust', always take on the body of a snake, -- " and "the *kami*, as snakes, physically represent the highest form of inherent enlightenment [*hongaku*]." ⁶⁵ Teeuwen confirms the connection of snake in the *kami* worship by pointing out the *kirikami* instruction for the ritual of Ise kanjō (initiation) in which the *kami* of the Inner and Outer shrine of Ise were considered as a golden and a white snake. ⁶⁶ Sonoda Minoru also stresses the perception of *kami* as a snake in ancient local traditions by drawing many examples from *Hitachi-kuni fudoki* and *Nihongi*. In one of the tales, "Ōmononushi, the *kami* of Miwa, made nightly visits to a maiden Yamato-totohimomoso – hime and was at long last found to be a snake." ⁶⁷ In another, "a female medium by the name of Ikutamayori-hime was visited by the *kami* of Mt. Miwa and gave birth to his son Ōtataneko, who again, the text hints, had the body of a snake." ⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Teeuwen, "The Kami in esoteric Buddhist thought and practice", *Shinto in History*, 2000, p.104.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Sonoda Minoru "Shinto and the natural environment", *Shinto in History*, 2000, pp.34-5.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

The frequently sighted association of local *kami* with snakes throughout Japan strongly suggests that the creature depicted in the Shōmyō-ji map was indeed a snake, and it conforms to the idea that Japan was protected by *kami*, symbolized here as a snake. Creating a barrier from the outside world in such a visual image seems to be a conscious attempt to interpret Japan as sacred land, protected by *kami*. No other medieval map of Japan with a snake is known, but the image of snake encircling the land might have gradually transformed into a dragon by the Edo period as seen in the 1625 map. In any case, the distinction between a large snake and the mythical creature dragon probably was not very clear, similarly to the case of guardian dogs (*komainu*) which were more often than not confused with Chinese lions (*karashishi*).

The orientation of the Shōmyō-ji map is similar to the Ninna-ji map with south at the top. Each province is labelled with the name, the grade according to the *Engi shiki*, and the total area of paddy fields, but there is no indication of highways. Beside the main island of Honshū, Kyūshū, and Shikoku, number of small islands are depicted in the central area surrounded by the snake. Akioka Takejirō observed the significance of two small islands, Shika no shima and Take shima off the north coast of Kyūshū (two small circles at the lower right) which were both scenes of fierce battles during the Mongol attacks of 1274 and 1281.⁶⁹ The inclusion of these otherwise insignificant tiny islands with few inhabitants must indicate the fact that the Mongol attacks were still relatively fresh in memories of people at the time this map was drawn.

The major difference of this map from the Ninna-ji map, however, is the inclusion of the foreign lands along the outer edges of the image. The long body of the snake separates the

⁶⁹ Akioka Takejirō, *Nihon chizu-shi*, Kawaide shobō, 1955.

inner and the outer worlds as if to protect Japan. In comparison to the physical resemblance, though rudimentary, to the geography of Japan, the shapes of the foreign lands are totally imaginary, and their names, some real and others fictitious, indicate the level of knowledge about the outside world. Some real islands off the coast of Japan, such as Tsushima (the small circle in the lower right) and Oki (two small circles at the bottom) are placed outside of the snake, as well as two recognisable names, Ryūkyū [Okinawa] and Amami (different Chinese characters from the present are used). The triangular shape at the right is labelled as "Tōdo [China], three hundred and sixty-six provinces", while the writing in the section in the lower right corner reads "from Kōrai [Korea] to Mōko koku [Mongolia], according to Jihakuhei [name of a person?] many more provinces than Tōdo, probably eight hundred provinces". The semi-circular land on the left of Mōko koku has no name, but the land in the lower left is labelled "Shiragi koku [Silla], five hundred and sixty-six provinces", with two line of inscription "the way of geese, there is *hinin's* [outcaste] castle" on the right. The name "the way of geese" is interpreted by Uji as an imaginary country, in connection to a story in the *Konjaku monogatari* (Tales of Time Now and Past).⁷⁰ It could indicate the route of migrating geese from the north to Japan. Considering that Japan was viewed as a conglomerate of sixty-eight provinces, the large number of provinces attributed to China, Mongolia and Korea seems to reflect the idea of a vast land on the north-western side of the Japan Sea, and the awareness of Japan as a tiny country compared to the continental neighbours.

Beside these names of real places, the Shōmyō-ji map includes an imaginary country. At the top left, in the direction of south, is Rasetsu koku (the country of *Rakshana*) with the writing "flowering women, visitors never return". The *Rakshana*, originally an Indian term

⁷⁰ Uji, *Echizu no sekai-zō*, pp.39-48.

for female guardian deities who protected of the *Lotus Sutra*, is identified as the inhabitants of Rasetsu koku in the *Konjaku monogatari*.⁷¹ According to the "Tale of Sōkara and five hundred merchants who travelled to the Rasetsu koku", the country was situated in the Southern Sea, and beautiful women of this all female land were in fact demons who ate shipwrecked sailors. In order to escape from the island, the sailors prayed to Kannon, the bodhisattvas of mercy from the *Lotus Sutra*, who sent a white flying horse to rescue them. The combination of Buddhist ideas and myths composed a popular adventure story which revealed the concept of foreign land in medieval Japan where the distinction between the real countries and the fictitious land was blurred.

The visual representations of geography in the Kamakura period were intimately linked to the concept of sacredness, whether it was produced for religious purposes or secular, practical purposes. Images of landscape served a variety of functions: the shrine *mandara* for rituals or a substitute for pilgrimage, *emaki* for entertainment and didactic records, the symbolic diagrams such as the *vajra*-shaped map for visual expression of religious theories, and maps for recording the geographical knowledge. One common denominator of these images was the preoccupation with the sacredness of land of Japan. The affirmation of the prevailing power of the native *kami* as the protector of the sacred space encouraged the theory of Japan as *shinkoku* (the Land of *kami*), which was further boosted by the Mongol attacks in the second half of the thirteenth century.

5. Psychology of *Shinkoku*: the Land of *kami*

The theoretical development of the cult of Hie-Sannō in the thirteenth and fourteenth century by Tendai monks of Mt.Hiei highlights the discourse on *shinkoku* which reflects

⁷¹ *Konjaku monogatari*, NKBT 22, Iwanami shoten, 1959, pp.338-43.

the contemporary religious, social and political preoccupation with the role of *kami*.

Kuroda Toshio points out:

The relationship [of *shinkoku* and the various "Shinto doctrines"] is not one which the various Shinto doctrines arose out of a clear concept of Japan as the "land of *kami*": on the contrary, the *shinkoku* concept arose as one expression of the diverse *kami* doctrines that developed under the rubric of "Shinto". Thus in order to analyze the medieval discourse on *shinkoku* it is first necessary to examine the Shinto teachings from the perspective of the history of religions.

The Shinto doctrines -- arose with the formation of such system as Ryōbu Shinto, Hie (Sannō) Shinto and Miwa Shinto between the end of the Heian period and the middle of the Kamakura period. They displayed an enormous development from the mid-Kamakura period to the Nanbokuchō Era (when Ise Shinto suddenly arose), apparently in answer to an increased popular interest in the *kami*. If we can understand reasons for and the significance of this interest, we can thereby understand the historical import of the various Shinto teachings.⁷²

The heightened interest in the role of *kami* and the rise of *shinkoku* theory during the second half of the thirteenth century, especially at the time of the Mongol attacks in 1274 and 1281, was described as "revival of Shinto" in the past.⁷³ Although I agree that the wars were the major historical events that contributed to the reassessment of "self" and "other", and encouraged the notion of *shinkoku*, describing the historical circumstance as the "revival of Shinto" is misleading and confusing. The word revival implies that Shinto, as a religion separate from Buddhism, from the earlier period resurfaced in the thirteenth century, but as I have already tried to illustrate in the previous chapters, the worship of the *kami* at Hie was fused with the Tendai Buddhist rituals on Mt.Hiei from the earlier period. The theoretical development of the Sannō Shinto in the thirteenth century brought a new dimension in the interpretation of *kami* in the historical development of the Hie-Sannō cult, but it did not deny the Buddhist connection. In fact the rise of *shinkoku* theory was

⁷² Kuroda Toshio, "The discourse on the "Land of Kami (*Shinkoku*) in Medieval Japan", *JJRS*, 1997, P.359.

⁷³ Paul Varley, "Cultural life in Medieval Japan", *CHJ* vol. 3, pp.455-7.

not a movement opposed to Buddhism, but another aspect of Shinto-Buddhist syncretism, primarily formulated by Buddhist thinkers of the medieval times. In order to clarify the medieval context, it is important to distinguish the medieval interpretation of "Shinto" and *shinkoku* from the earlier vague concept, or the modern notion of ideology associated to the extreme nationalism manifested in the twentieth century.

The word *shinkoku* has been translated often as "divine country" or "divine realm" in the past.⁷⁴ The word is a compound of two Chinese characters, *shin / kami* and *koku / kuni*. The modern interpretation of the second character "country" in Japanese, as well as in English, is primarily "a territory distinguished by its people, culture, language, geography etc.", which inevitably accompanies the notion of political autonomy, and in general, the word "country" is interchangeable with "nation". But is that what implied to medieval people? Kuroda emphasizes that the concept of *shinkoku* was strongly associated to geographical area, in other words "land" itself, to medieval people, rather than the abstract notion of Japan as a political state or nation.⁷⁵ It seems, for majority of Japanese, "*koku*" or "*kuni*" denoted a province or the land in terms of geography. For that reason, it seems more appropriate to translate *shinkoku* as "the land of *kami*". Although Kuroda himself acknowledges that there was a conscious effort to create and enforce the ideology of "*Nihon koku*" (Japanese state) by the Kamakura *bakufu* as a "tool of domination", especially after the Mongol wars, it seems the medieval interpretation of *shinkoku* was typically associated with the *kokudo* (territory / land), and not so much with the *kokka* (state).⁷⁶

⁷⁴ For example, W.G.Aston, *Nihongi*, p.230, Paul Varley, *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereign (Jinnō shōtōki)*, Columbia University Press, 1980, p.49, and Royall Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, Columbia University Press, 1990, p.290.

⁷⁵ Kuroda Toshio, *Mōko shūrai, Nihon no rekishi 8*, Chuō kōronsha, 1965, pp.123-56.

The word *shinkoku* itself was not medieval in origin, as it was already used in the *Nihonshoki* in the eighth century. According to it, when Empress Jingū, the legendary sovereign of the third century AD., undertook the expedition to Silla, she was assisted by the Wind-God and the Sea-God, who facilitated the journey of her ships and made the tidal wave that reached the interior of Silla. The terrified King of Silla said, "I have heard that in the East there is a *shinkoku* called Nippon, and also that there is there a wise sovereign called *tenno*."⁷⁷ The term was used to distinguished Japan from other countries, but until the mid-Kamakura period it remained a rather vague concept which simply suggested that *kami* resided in Japan. With the theoretical development of medieval Shinto, it began to appear more frequently in relation to the role of *kami* and the sovereign.

Among all the texts dealing with the "land of *kami*", the most influential was thought to be the *Jinnō shōtōki* (A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereign) by Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293-1354). The famous first paragraph of this book states that:

Great Japan is *shinkoku*. The creator in Heaven founded it, and the Sun Goddess Amaterasu bequeathed it to her descendants to rule for ever. Only in our country is this true. There is no other such country, and that is why we call this land *shinkoku*.⁷⁸

Chikafusa's emphasis on the rightful descendants of the Sun Goddess was a particularly intense issue in the fourteenth century when the two rival branches of the imperial family were competing for the legitimacy to rule. The connection to the goddess Amaterasu was at the core of the *shinkoku* argument, and it appeared in many other earlier medieval texts, such as the earliest extant documents concerning the Hie-Sannō cult, the *Yōtenki* of 1223, which stressed:

Japan is *shinkoku* since from the time of the seven generations of Heavenly *kami* and the five generations of Earthly *kami*, and since

⁷⁶ Kuroda, "Discourse on the Land of Kami (*Shinkoku*), *JJRS*, 1997, pp.538-9.

⁷⁷ Aston, *Nihongi*, p.230.

⁷⁸ Kitabatake Chikafusa, *Jinno shotoki*,

the time of Tenshō taijin's [Amaterasu] manifestation at Ise --
kami of four directions have protected palaces, and nurtured
people's homes.⁷⁹

It also states that the deity of Hie is the proprietor of Japan, and is the father of
Amaterasu.⁸⁰ The association with Amaterasu was crucial to the status of the shrine, and
the connection sometimes seems to have been invented from obscure legends and
metaphors, or rather laborious interpretation of ancient texts.

The opening passage of another important text, the *Hie-Sannō rishōki* also commences
with a bold statement announcing that Japan is the land of *kami*:

Our Akitsushima [Japan] has not neglected the constant respect as
shinkoku, and since the reign of Emperor Jinmu, generations of
human sovereigns have been protected by one hundred kings. The
first shrine was founded during the reign of Emperor Sujin, and
since the time of Tensho taijin's descent from the heaven during
the reign of Emperor Suinin, there have been numerous *kami*,
among them the spiritual power of Hie-Sannō brightens the heaven
and his efficacious energy reaches to ten thousand people. --

Ōmiya Gongen is identical to Miwa Myōjin, -- his origin can be
traced to Tenshō taijin.⁸¹

These writings concerning the Hie-Sannō cult were mostly works of the Tendai monks
who were increasingly aware of the need to elucidate the relationship between the native
kami and Buddhism. The theory that the *kami*, represented by Amaterasu, was the original
essence of Japan developed within the framework of Esoteric philosophy of *hongaku shisō*
(the Original Enlightenment). As I have already discussed in relation to the increase of the
suijaku mandara, the *hongaku* theory produced the reversal of the *honji-suijaku* hierarchy.
The *kami*, who were interpreted as the temporary manifestation of the Indian buddhas in
the past, were now elevated to the original essence of this world, where Buddhism

⁷⁹ *ST (J)* 29, p.73.

⁸⁰ *ibid.* p.70.

⁸¹ *ibid.* P.649.

prospered under their protection.⁸² The confirmation of the *kami's* pre-eminence asserted that because of Japan's unique condition as *shinkoku*, Buddhism could still flourish in the age of *mappō*.

The relationship between *shinkoku* and the age of *mappō* was an important issue for the shrine cultic centres other than Hie too. The passage from the concluding chapter of the *Kasuga Gongen kenki* of 1309 clearly illustrates the point:

Our realm is *shinkoku*, and over three thousand imperial tombs and shrines each, in their individual way, is efficacious and miraculous as never seen before. It is true that the noble pine appears after a frost, and a loyal minister appears at the time of danger. In the age of Latter Days, the deity will guide the people without faith. ---

Since the purity of mind corresponds to the pure land, our *kami* are already buddhas, and the shrine is none other than the pure land. Therefore Jōruri [the lapis lazuli paradise of Yakushi Buddha] and Vulture Peak can be found within the fence of the shrine.⁸³

The idea that the shrine was a sacred space where the Buddha manifested himself in the form of *kami* encouraged the belief in which the shrine was identified as the earthly paradise of the Buddha. Several examples of the *Kasuga mandara* from the fourteenth century combine the image of the shrine and the Buddhist paradise. In the Nōman-in *Kasuga mandara*, the paradise of Shaka and other buddhas associated to the *Kasuga kami* appear above the landscape of the Kasuga Shrine (fig. 126). As ten Grotenhuis observed, the *mandara* "explores seamless transition between the pure lands associated with Buddhist deities and earthly sacred sites dedicated to *kami*".⁸⁴ The underlining message to the devotees of the Kasuga cult clearly encouraged that the pilgrimage to the shrine could also replicate the visit to the Buddhist paradise on this earth.

⁸² Sueki Fumihiko, "Shisō - kami to hotoke", *Nihon no bukkyō 6, Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*, Shinchōsha, 1989, p.42.

⁸³ Komatsu Shigemi (ed.), *Kasuga Gongen kenki*, p. 78.

The association of the shrine landscape with the Buddhist paradise was a popular phenomenon in medieval Japan. As already noted, Kumano was traditionally associated with Fudaraku, the Kannon's paradise, while the site of Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine was associated with the Western Paradise of Amida, who was regarded as the *honji* of Hachiman. Since the *honji* of Ōmiya Gongen of Hie was Shaka, the landscape of the Hie Shrine came to be associated with Vulture Peak, the sacred mountain where the historical Buddha Sakyamuni preached. The *imayō*, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, explicitly express the popular belief. These associations originated from the Heian period, but gained a significant attention in the late Kamakura period when the concept of *shinkoku* attracted a strong interest in the Pure Land on this earth, and it conveyed the invisible sacred quality associated with the location as well as the physical characteristics of the shrine landscape. The requirement of shrine *mandara* was to offer people from wide strata of the society an image of paradise that can be physically experienced whilst still alive.

⁸⁴ ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography*, p.147.

Chapter Five

The Iconography of Landscape

<i>Tani yori nagaruru haru no mizu</i> <i>Mine yori orosu aki no kaze</i>	Flowing water in the valley in spring, Sweeping wind from the mountain in autumn
<i>Issai shūsei kotogotoku</i> <i>Bushō ari tozo tonaekeru</i>	Chant to us, all living things possess Buddha nature.
<i>Kusamura shigeru sōmoku mo</i> <i>Biru no shindo ni kotonarazu</i>	Flourishing trees and grass are none other than the body of Vairocana,
<i>Kewashiku kasanaru ganseki mo</i> <i>Jōjaku kōdo ni hedatari nashi.</i>	Steep cliff and rocks are none other than the true Land of Eternally Tranquil Light. ¹
(Sannō Gongen wasan) ²	

1. Landscape as an Icon: Sannō Miya Mandara

In comparison to the abundant examples of Kasuga *miya mandara*, the scarcity of surviving Hie-Sanno *miya mandara* suggests that the landscape was not a major theme for painting at Hie in the thirteenth century, but it gained a significant attention in the following period. The Sannō *miya mandara*, now in the collection of the Nara National Museum (hereafter Nara Sannō *miya mandara*), depicts a majestic image of the sacred mountain with bird's-eye-view of the entire shrine landscape (fig. 127). This well-known image is often chosen to represent the Hie-Sannō cult, and has been reproduced in numerous publications, not only in art historical studies, but also in religious and historical studies.³ It has been exhibited frequently, not only in Japan, but also in abroad

¹ "The Land of Eternally Tranquil Light", the standard translation of *jōjaku kōdo*, is the last of the *shido* (Four kinds of Buddha-land) where enlightened beings live. *Bukkyō yōgo jiten*.

² Takeishi Akio, *Bukkyō kayō shūsei*, Daijō bunka daigaku fuzoku tōyō kenkyūjo, 1976, p.145. Quoted by Gyōtoku Shinichirō, "Kasuga Miya Mandara no fūkei hyōgen - bushō to shinsei no katachi", *Museum no.541*, Tokyo National Museum, 1996, p.33.

³ For example, this *mandara* is reproduced in colour at the beginning of the volume 29, "Hiyoshi" of *Shinto Taikei*, 1983.

in such exhibitions as "Shinto Arts: Nature, Gods and Man in Japan" at the Japan House Gallery, New York, in 1976 and "Buddhist Treasures from Nara" at the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1998. Despite these exposures to the public gaze, the study of the *mandara* has not been extended beyond catalogue entries with basic information or brief captions. In order to clarify the significance of this image in the context of medieval Japanese landscape painting and the historical development of the Hie-Sannō cult, this chapter will firstly examine the subject matters and their iconography with analysis of the painting style. The problem of dating is addressed next, before considering the function of the image. Finally the legacy of the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* is considered by examining the images of the Hie Shrine created in the later period.

i) The subject matter

The silk hanging scroll, measuring 121.1 x 66.8 cm., depicts a panoramic view of the Hie Shrine compound at the foot of Mt.Hachiōji, seen from the south side. The orientation is similar to the three shrine *mandara* from the Kamakura period, examined in the previous chapter. The entrance to the shrine compound, marked by the vermilion *torii* gate, is placed at the lower right, and viewers are invited to admire the sacred mountain from the southern side of River Ōmiya which demarcates the sacred space from the profane outside world. The triangular shape of the mountain takes up most of the central picture space, but above the landscape there are three registers of neatly arranged figures on a dark blue background. The organization is similar to the fourteenth century MOA Kasuga Mandara which also depicts the figures in the upper section (fig.109).

In each row, the twenty-one deities of the Upper Seven, Middle Seven and Lower seven Shrines of Hie are depicted side by side. In the top register, the Sanskrit *shuji* characters,

the symbolic sign of each deity, in black are placed inside the white lunar discs. The middle register is occupied by the Buddhist images, *honji-butsu*, each seated on lotus pedestals, while the bottom register is occupied by the images of corresponding *kami*, seated on platforms. The white rectangular cartouches above each figure are inscribed with the name of each deity for easy identification. In this single image, the relationship between the twenty-one *kami* of the Hie Shrine and their Buddhist counterparts with their Sanskrit symbols is clearly visible. The colourful figures of deities compliment the main landscape to create a comprehensive visual representation of the Hie-Sannō cult.

The upper section with the figures takes up approximately one fifth of the entire picture, and both the Buddhist figures and the images of *kami* are small, yet they are painted precisely in the traditional *butsuga* technique with clearly identifiable individual attributes (fig. 127a). The twenty-one deities are arranged with the principal deity, Shaka, in the centre, flanked by other six deities of the Upper Seven Shrines, and the fourteen from the Middle and Lower Seven Shrines on outer edges. The cartouches above their heads identify them as, from right to left, Marishi-ten (Yamasue shrine), Daiitoku Myōō (Ushimiko), Benzai-ten (Iwadaki), Nyoirin Kannon (Seijo), Ryūju (Shōzenji), Fudō Myōō (Hayao), Kokūzō Bosatsu (Shimo-hachiōji), Jizō Bosatsu (Jūzenji), Senju Kannon (Hachiōji), Yakushi (Ni-no-miya), Shaka (Ōmiya), Amida (Shōshinshi), Jūichimen Kannon (Marōdo), Fugen Bosatsu (San-no-miya), Monju Bosatsu (Ōji), Bishamon-ten (Daigyōji), Kichijō-ten (Shingyōji), Kin-Dainichi (Kehi), Aizen Myōō (Ashiōji), Gurikara (Tsurugi), and Fudō Bishamon-ten (Ebisu). The *suijaku* forms of the main deity, Ōmiya appears as a monk in the Japanese style priest's robe, and not in the red Chinese style robe. The condition is good in general, but the loss of pigment is particularly noticeable in the central three figures.

The main subject matter of the *mandara* is obviously the sacred landscape of Hie, and unlike the other three examples of Hie-Sannō *miya mandara*, the images of Buddhist deities and *kami* are expelled from the main landscape to the separate upper section. The clear division between the landscape and the section of deities indicates the artist's intention to treat the scene as a realistic landscape painting. There is no human figure in the scene, and the shrines seem to be enveloped in the lush green trees and the tranquil air. The timeless beauty of the nature is dominated by the conical mass of Mt.Hachiōji with two shrines, San-no-miya and Hachiōji, perched near the summit. The height of the mountain is exaggerated to create the effect of majesty, and conveys the artist's attempt to emphasise the main subject matter *shintaisan*. In comparison to the gentle slope of the real mountain (fig.6), the shape of the painted mountain is much steeper and gives an impression of much higher mountain. In this image, the landscape assumes the role of icon, clearly indicating that the focus of veneration was the location itself, and not individual image of Buddhist deity or *kami*.

The most significant difference of this image from the other three Hie-Sannō *miya mandara* discussed in the previous chapter is the accurate depiction of the shrine, both in the architectural and geographical terms. The orientation and the relative scales of buildings are handled with care in order to provide a map-like information on the site, and the high viewpoint allows the distance and distribution of the buildings to be shown realistically. Several main structures are labelled for easy identification, among them a cartouche clearly labelled "Seijo" appears next to a small shrine on the right of Shōshinshi, providing another evidence for the significance of this shrine. Numerous buildings scattered over the whole width of the picture provide a visual evidence for the

prosperous state of the Hie Shrine in medieval times. The cluster of buildings on the lower right of Mt.Hachiōji are the group of shrines around the Ni-no-miya, while the area in the lower left of the mountain shows the Ōmiya group of shrines. Many of the small structures in between the main groups were never rebuilt after the fire of 1571, among which the two *tahōtō* with their vermilion frameworks provide a conspicuous reminder to the nature of the medieval Shinto-Buddhist cultic sites (fig.127b).⁴ The existence of these essentially Esoteric Buddhist structures in the shrine compound clearly reveals the fact that the Hie Shrine and the Enryaku-ji were not two separate institutions, but both were parts of one Shrine-temple complex. From the point of topographical records too, the *mandara* provides valuable information on the architectural styles and the layout of *shinbutsu shūgō* site during medieval times.

ii) Bird's-eye-view

The high viewpoint was one of the prominent characteristics of medieval Japanese paintings. The technique of *fukinuki yatai* (blown-off roof) was a part of accepted visual language which was particularly favoured by artists who tried to incorporate the narrative elements within the interior scene into the composition. Objects and people that would normally not visible from outside were conveniently exposed to viewers who appreciated the convention without getting confused with the reality. The same principle was employed for many of the medieval shrine *mandara* that showed the shrine architecture from a high viewpoint. In this Nara Sannō *miya mandara*, the two shrine enclosures of Ōmiya and Ni-no-miya are depicted in the shape of parallelograms to provide the inside and outside view of the enclosure simultaneously. The cluster of buildings near the

⁴ According to Kageyama, the construction of *tahōtō* at Hie is recorded in the *Tendai zasu-ki* as early as 942, and despite the destruction by several fires, it was rebuilt each time until the total devastation of the site in 1571. Kageyama, *Shinto bijutsu*, p.349.

summit of Hachiōji too gives an impression as if the buildings are tipped towards the viewer to give a better view. The technique was ideal for depicting the spatial relationship between the architecture and its surrounding landscape, and the abundance of examples of Kasuga shrine *mandara*, as well as Kumano and Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine *mandara*, attests the convention of bird's-eye-view being widely adopted by artists. Similar images can also be found in *emaki*, such as the *Ippen shōnin eden* from the same period.

The origin of the bird's-eye-view and the depiction of shrine complex in the shape of parallelogram could possibly go back to the influence of the Tang period landscape painting, of which very little survives today. Certain similarities between the Nara National Museum's *mandara* and the wall painting dating from the second half of the tenth century in the Buddhist cave number 61 of Dunhuang provide an interesting link in the depiction of sacred landscape. The immense gap of time and distances between Japan and Dunhuang in the far-flung corner of China naturally rules out any direct link between the two images, nevertheless, as Akiyama points out, both Japan and Dunhuang were situated at the periphery of the vast Tang cultural sphere. The tradition of Tang art was adapted, and then absorbed into the local culture, and the influence persisted long after the fall of the dynasty in 907. The painting and sculpture that survived in these extreme localities are now considered as the clues to shed light on to the lost art of the metropolitan Tang. The original concept of sacred landscape in both the Dunhuang image and the Nara National Museum's *mandara* may be traced back to the Tang tradition.⁵

⁵ Akiyama Terukazu, "Tō-dai Tonkō hekiga ni arawareta senzui hyōgen" *Chūgoku sekkutsu, Tonkō bakukōkutsu vol.5*, Heibonsha, 1982, pp.190-201.

The extensive landscape painting on the west wall of the cave 61, measuring 3.42 x 13.45 m., depicts Mt. Wutai (literally Five Terraces), the sacred mountains in the province of Shanxi (fig. 128). These piling peaks of Mt. Wutai were traditionally considered as the sacred location where the bodhisattvas Manjusri (J. Monju Bosatsu) resided, and attracted pilgrims from far and wide.⁶ The ninth century Japanese pilgrim, Ennin, left an account of his moving experience visiting this sacred mountain during his travel in China:

For the first time we saw the summit of the central terrace. This then is Mt. Ch'ing ling, where Monjusri resides, the central terrace of Wu-t'ai. We bowed to the ground and worshipped it from afar, and our tears rained down involuntarily.⁷

The landscape painting employs the bird's-eye-view from diagonally above, an angle very much similar to Japanese shrine *mandara*, and features several prominent peaks surrounded by numerous temples and landmarks (detail, fig. 128a). The temple complex surrounded by walls is depicted in an irregular quadrangle using the reverse perspective, showing the outside of the walls and the courtyard simultaneously as in the case of parallelogram in Japanese *mandara*. Mountains, temples and other landmarks are labelled with rectangular cartouches which presumably helped viewers to follow the pilgrimage trails, and offered a virtual experience of visiting the distant Mt. Wutai. Thus the images of sacred landscape from the two culturally and geographically extreme localities share the similarities in the subject matter, the bird's-eye-view, the addition of cartouches, and the relation to the practice of pilgrimages.

The use of bird's-eye-view offered artists a wide possibility to select what they could include (or omit) in the composition. The primary aim of artists when depicting a certain location was to capture the topographical characteristics, such as a distinct shape of mountain, which were easily recognisable to viewers. The appearance of individual

⁶ Ibid. p.215.

architecture and landmarks also provided signs for viewers to recognise the location, and the bird's-eye-view provided clear information on the geographical relationship. As a result the viewers accepted this essentially imaginary viewpoint as a "real" view. No human could have obtained such an aerial view in reality before the age of flying or hot air balloons, yet the artists successfully manipulated the viewer's imagination to accept it as a real view. The accurate depiction of architectural details may have been based on a first hand observation, but the human viewpoint would normally be at the ground level and a view from high mountains or tower was only obtainable in exceptional cases. In the case of the Hie Shrine, the area towards south-east direction (the foreground of the *mandara*) slopes gently down to the shore of Lake Biwa, and it was not physically possible to obtain a high viewpoint.

One of the advantages of bird's-eye-view was the easy-to-read ground plan and the orientation of the site. This characteristic is sometimes described as "map-like", but most medieval maps for practical purposes did not share the same kind of "view from above". The map of Kōzan-ji, dated 1230, is one of the representative examples of *echizu* (picture map) which was created for the clarification of the territorial boundary of the temple (fig. 129). The four cardinal directions are inscribed in the corners of the map, and the *bōji*, the stone or wooden pillars to show the geographical limit of the temple, are depicted at several places. The main halls of the Kōzan-ji are placed near the centre, and the shapes of overlapping mountains are, presumably, depicted to imitate the real view of the surrounding mountains. The composition is divided into the upper half and the lower half by the meandering river, and the lower half is depicted up-side-down. The map is organised from the centre, as if one stood at the gate of the temple and looked to one side

⁷ O.Reischauer, *Emin's diary: The Record of Pilgrimage to China in search of the Law*, 1955, p.226.

and then turned around from that one spot. The organisational method conforms to the tradition of *echizu*, going back to the eighth century map of the Tōdai-ji, preserved in the Shōsō-in. In contrast to this essentially human-centred viewpoint of practical maps, the bird's-eye-view employed for shrine *mandara* displayed an impression as if the landscape was viewed by the *kami* from high above the human world.

The bird's-eye-view employed for shrine *mandara* was not simply a practical device to show the geographical organisation, but aimed to combine the recognisable image of a location and the natural beauty of landscape. The Kotobiki no miya engi (the origin of the Kotobiki Shrine) is an example of early topographical paintings which employed a similar high viewpoint to depict the legend of the Kan'on-ji in Sanuki (fig.130). Similar to the Nara National Museum's Sannō *mandara*, the composition of the Kotobiki no miya engi is dominated by the triangular mountain, Shippō-zan which projects out into the Inland Sea. The distinctive geography of this image was probably easily recognisable to the local people and pilgrims. The small bays and inlets create sinuous curves of the shoreline which encircle the mountain like a decorative collar, and the background is filled almost entirely by the sea, as the high viewpoint pushes the horizon to near the top of the picture space.

The small Hachiman Shrine is depicted near the summit of the mountain, and a trail of white cloud sprawls from the left. According to the *kotobiki no miya engi*, dated 1302, the miraculous cloud appeared from the direction of the Usa Hachiman Shrine in Kyūshū in the year 703, accompanied by a boat from which wafted a serene sound of *koto*.⁸ The painting incorporates the traditional simultaneous narrative technique of *emaki* by

⁸ British Museum, *Shinto: the Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, p.183.

depicting the magical boat on the sea and the same boat again being pulled up the slope towards the shrine by several figures. Ariga Yoshitaka comments that the meticulous and delicate handling of trees, architecture, shoreline, waves, birds and animal displays the characteristics of the traditional *yamato-e* style, and regards it as one of the important early topographically recognizable landscape paintings in the *yamato-e* style.⁹

A comparison of the depiction of the mountain in this image and Mt.Hachiōji in the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* displays a similar viewpoint, which is neither from directly above nor from the ground level. In both cases, the overlapping trees and hills are skilfully arranged to create a three dimensional depth to the landscape, producing an effect of the lower slope of the mountains to project forward. Especially in the case of the Nara Sannō *miya mandara*, the transition from the detailed foreground to the more stylized mountain ranges in the background is negotiated smoothly, creating an impression of great distance in a continuous progression. Such attempts to convey the depth of space in landscape paintings were in sharp contrast to the decorative convention of mountains depicted in *Kasuga mandara*. As observed by Chino Kaori, the semi-circular shape of Mt.Mikasa in the *Kasuga mandara* in the MOA Museum (dating from the Nanbokuchō period) is filled with colourful trees of uniform size (fig.109). They are arranged to form a fish scale-like repeated pattern, and gives a relief-like effect rather than a three dimensional volume.¹⁰ A similar technique is employed for the delicate snow-covered trees in the *emaki, Kasuga Gongen kenki* of 1309, indicating that filling the entire mountain shape with colourful trees of uniform shape was a popular technique in the second half of the Kamakura period (fig.134). Although such a motif might have been

⁹ Ariga Yoshitaka, *Kanzenon-ji to Kyūshū, Shikoku no koji, NKBZ vol.20*, Shūeisha, 1981, p.144-5.

¹⁰ Chino Kaori, "Kamakura jidai no senzui hyōgen", *Ajia ni okeru senzui hyōgen ni tsuite*, The Society for International Exchange of Art Historical Studies, 1983, pp.71-4.

based on the artist's direct observation of nature at first, it became stylized and mechanical by the early fourteenth century.

The irregular manner in which trees and hillocks are organised in several plains in the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* displays a more sophisticated understanding of perspective developing in the fourteenth century. The influence of Chinese ink paintings brought to Japan by the Zen monks in large numbers from the thirteenth century onwards are usually only discussed in terms of *karamono* taste (vogue for Chinese object) that especially characterized the so-called Kitayama culture of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408). However, as Tsuji Nobuo's study on the fusion of *wa-kan* (Japanese - Chinese) evinces, the Chinese style ink painting and the *yamato-e* style paintings were more often than not displayed together in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹¹ With the increase of trade with China in the fourteenth century, Chinese works of art were highly praised, and the exposure to the imported Song and Yuan ink landscape paintings provided obvious inspiration to the monk painters. The compositional technique that organized the foreground, middle ground and background into one coherent, continuous view is clearly observable in the Nara Sannō *miya mandara*, and indicates that the influence of the treatment of space in Chinese ink paintings was not confined to the development of Japanese ink paintings.

One of the characteristics of ink landscape paintings in the long vertical hanging scroll format was the flexible high viewpoint. Unlike the one-point mathematical perspective of the western tradition, the Chinese or Japanese perspective employed multiple viewpoints to accommodate a varied vista. This flexibility of gaze can be observed in the painting

¹¹ Tsuji Nobuo, "Wa-kan no torimaze kara tōgō e - sengoku no bijutsu", *Nihon bijutsu zenshū vol. 13*,

“Deep Place of Heavenly Fragrance” (dated 1357) by the Yuan master Wang Meng (1308-85) which depicts a house at the foot of steep rocky mountain (fig.132). Although the bridge in the foreground and the house is shown from a relatively low angle, the terraces at the top of the cliffs in the distance are depicted from a higher place. In a similar manner, the shrines at the summit of Mt. Haichiōji in the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* are depicted from a higher angle in comparison to the trees and *torii* gate in the foreground. The prevalent tendency to consider the development of Japanese ink painting separate from the *yamato-e* tradition, and the segregation of religious images from the secular painting has not encouraged the cross-examination of spatial treatment from a broader historical development of perspective, but the handling of space in the Nara Sannō *mandara* indicates the intimate relationship between the monochrome ink and the *yamato-e* style landscape paintings.

iii) The religious symbolism of gold

The landscape of Hie in the *mandara* seems to be filled with a gentle glowing light, but unlike many of Kansuga *mandara*, no moon is depicted. Instead of the obvious light source in the natural world, the sun or the moon, the land of Hie itself seems to emit a golden light. This is in line with the ancient belief, in which the sacred rock on Mt.Hachiōji was believed to emit a golden light. The use of gold pigment in some areas of mist and ground precedes the abundant use of gold cloud shapes associated with Momoyama *rakuchū rakugai-zu* (Scenes from in and around the capital) or festival screens. In contrast to the Momoyama clouds which are the decorative device that conveniently hide the ambiguity of perspective, the band of mist and the selective areas of ground in the Sannō *mandara* are symbolically painted in gold to convey the precious

nature of the location. Just as the body of Buddha was described to be of a golden complexion, the sacred land of Hie was illuminated by the golden light from within.

The symbolic significance of the golden land seems to originate from the Pure Land Buddhist idea in which the Western Paradise of Amida Buddha was perceived as the Land of Gold. A passage from the *Amida-kyō* (*Sutra of Amitabha Buddha*) describes the magnificent Western Paradise filled with jewelled lotus flowers, trees and towers in the golden land.¹² The generous use of gold pigment for decorative effect can be observed in general in most Japanese Buddhist images, but as Sudō Hirotoishi observes, in contrast to the subtle and delicate effect of gold in details of decorative patterns on textile or metal ornaments in the Heian period, Buddhist paintings of the Kamakura period display a tendency to utilize precious pigments in more direct fashion.¹³ The popular image of the Taima Mandara, frequently reproduced during the Kamakura period, included golden trees, lotus flowers, pond, palaces, and bodhisattvas with rich jewellery, and the splendour of the image was no doubt an important tool for the propagation of the faith. As the beauty of the shining land effectively conveyed the other worldly sacred quality, metallic pigment such as mica and silver, as well as gold, were particularly suited to the shrine related paintings. Among the most well known examples are the shimmering shrine approach in the Kasuga *mandara* and the subtle use of gold on the cliff in the Nachi Waterfall painting in the Nezu Institute of Art. The luminous landscape in these images symbolized the idea that these locations were also the Buddhist paradises on earth, as well as being the sacred land of *kami*. The Buddhist concept of *shōgon*, to

¹² Mori Kenmyō (trans.), *Amida-kyō, Jōdo Sanbu-kyō (Sukharativyūha Sutra)*, Kōkyo shoin, 1959, p.196.

¹³ Sudō Hirotoishi, "Nihon bijutsu ni okeru kin", *Kazari no Nihon bunka*, Tsuji Nobuo (ed.), Nihon bunka kenkyūjo, 1998, p.72.

embellish the icon in the best possible means was adopted to express the extraordinary quality of the sacred landscape.

The use of flat gold background for the Byzantine and Pre-Renaissance European Christian images, or Japanese folding screens and sliding door paintings of the Momoyama period denied the three dimensional depth of space, and effectively emphasized the transcendental quality of the subject matters, whether they were religious icon or mythical creature. In both these cases, the gold background not only created a rich luminosity, but it isolated the figure from reality. In contrast to such a use of gold, the gold pigment is used like one of the colours in shrine *mandara*. This technique infused the scene with a delicate glow without harsh edges, and expressed the ideal beauty of the *jōjaku kōdo*, "the Land of Eternally Tranquil Light", expounded as the true Buddha-land. The gold hillocks on the right of Mt.Hachiōji in the Nara Sannō *mandara* seem to symbolize the idea of *jōjaku kōdo*. The symbolic aim of using gold, essentially artificial in natural landscape, seems to contradict with the artist's intention to depict a "real" place, but the golden mist and land successfully added the invisible sacred quality of the location which was perceived as the Buddha-land on this earth.

iv) Poetry and the Iconography of Landscape

Apart from the topographical features and the architectural details, the identity of location was elaborated with visual reminders in landscape. Some objects, such as deer at Kasuga or monkeys at Hie, were obvious symbols connected to the locations, while others were traditional literary associations that enriched the iconography of landscape. As the moon over Mt.Mikasa in Kasuga *mandara* was inseparable from the famous poem of Abe no Nakamaro, which in turn inspired later generations of poets, the accumulation

of literary memories enhanced the beauty of landscape. The flowering cherry trees along the shrine approach in the Kasuga *mandara* are clearly a reminder of Kasuga, literally Spring day / sun. As Naruse Fujio noted, landscape painting of the Kamakura period have been described in the past in a rather vague and general term "realistic" (*shajitsu-teki*) as if only the superficial, physical likeness was sought after, but more careful observation can reveal the rich tradition of literary meanings.¹⁴

The central mountain in the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* is flanked by the two mountain ranges in the background that are closely connected to the Hie-Sannō cult, making a triadic composition. The higher green mountain on the left is Mt.Hiei, and although only a small portion of the mountain is visible, the steep angle of the slope indicates the scale of the towering peak that extends beyond the picture space. On the right hand side, the impression of a vast landscape is enhanced by the overlapping shapes of distant snow covered mountains. These high peaks of the Hira range, which stretches to the north along the western shore of Lake Biwa, was a part of ascetic training ground for some monks of Mt.Hiei who sought even more isolated location than Mt.Hiei itself. The white snow provides an effective visual accent to the landscape, and seems to symbolize the sacred natural beauty, and also provide an element of *shiki-e* (pictures of four seasons) with seasonal references nurtured in the *yamato-e* tradition.

The contemporary audience of this image was probably well aware that Hira was also the *utamakura* of the Province of Ōmi, and had been traditionally associated with the

¹⁴ Naruse Fujio, "Kasagi mandara to nihon chusei no risoteki hyogen", *Yamato bunka*, no.103, 2000, p.9.

freezing cold north-west wind that swept down the slopes to Lake Biwa in winter and early spring¹⁵. Clauses such as *Hira no yamakaze* (mountain wind of Hira), and *Hira no takane no yama oroshi* (wind sweeping down from the peaks of Hira) was often used from the time of *Man'yōshū*.¹⁶ The sight of the snow covered mountain also conjured up a feeling of bitter winter, and the association with snow was expressed by Saigyō who spent some time in his hut in the northern hills of the capital:

<p><i>Ōhara wa</i> <i>Hira no takane ni</i> <i>Chikakereba,</i> <i>Yuki furu hodo o</i> <i>Omoi koso yare.</i>¹⁷</p>	<p>This place Ōhara is not far from the peaks of Hira, imagine how much snow we shall have.</p>
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The association with snow was also expressed by Jien in his poem of *Shiga no ura* (the shore of Shiga, the south western area on the shore of Lake Biwa), selected for the retired emperor Gotoba's *meisho-e* project for the Sanishō Shintennō-in:

<p><i>Shiga no ura ya</i> <i>shibashi shigure no</i> <i>sora nagara</i> <i>yuki ni nariyuku</i> <i>yamaoroshi no kaze.</i>¹⁸</p>	<p>On the shore of Shiga, the autumn rain remains only briefly in the sky, as the wind from the mountain turns it to snow.</p>
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In this poem, Jien indicates the Hira mountain by the word *yamaoroshi no kaze* (the wind sweeping down the mountain) without mentioning the name, Hira. Other nine poets who participated in the *meisho-e* project all mention either ice or snow, and one poem includes the expression "*Hira no yamakaze*" (the mountain wind of Hira) while two mention "*Hira no yamaoroshi*" (the wind sweeping down the mountain of Hira), confirming the association of Hira with the cold climate.

¹⁵ Kubota Jun (ed.), *Uta kotoba, utamakura jiten*, Kadokawa shoten, 1999, pp.747-8.

¹⁶ Typical example is a poem in the *Man'yōshū* (vol.9), "*Sazanami no, Hira yamakaze no, umi fukeba, tsuri suru ama no, sode kaeru miyu*".

¹⁷ Saigyō, *Shin chokusen-shū*, KT. vol.1, p.267.

¹⁸ Jien, *Saishō Shintennō-in waka*, KT, vol.5, p.902.

As Akiyama Terukazu's authoritative work has shown, the eleventh century door panels in the Byōdō-in indicate that the seasonal references were integral element of the *yamato-e* landscape painting.¹⁹ In the Phoenix Hall of the Byōdō-in, the main theme of the wall paintings was *raigō*, the welcoming descent of the Buddha Amida with his retinue of bodhisattvas, but the religious figures were depicted relatively small in comparison to the overall landscape scene. During the extensive restoration of the Shōwa era (1925-89), the eleventh century inscriptions were revealed behind the wooden frames to confirm that each panel was intended to illustrate different month of the year. For example, the doors on the north side was inscribed with the words "Middle class upper birth, the third month", while the doors on the east side were inscribed as " Upper class middle birth, the fourth month" and so on, conforming to the thematic organization of *shiki-e*, the paintings of the four seasons.²⁰ These inscriptions establish the significance of the seasonal references in the *yamato-e* landscape painting not only in secular settings, but also in religious paintings.

The Heian tradition of seasonal reference in paintings was inherited throughout centuries, not as a rigid rule, but always adapting to the taste of the era. The snow on the peaks of Hira often lingered in spring, and the image of snow topped Hira mountains seems to have become a part of the established *meisho-e* tradition. As the poems of Hira eloquently suggest, the image of white snow not only indicated the height of the mountain, but added the literary association and the seasonal feel that were the integral elements in images. Whether the painting was secular or religious, the association of place to certain imagery played an important role to the viewers. Abundant examples of Ōmi *meisho-zu* from the late Muromachi period onwards feature the snow covered

¹⁹ Akiyama Terukazu, *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*, Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964, pp.145-6.

Hira (fig. 133), and the image was firmly established as one of the *Ōmi hakkei* (Eight views) in the Edo period. The visual language of *meisho-e* tradition from the Heian period was sustained throughout the history of Japanese paintings by the poetic references, and the examples such as this Sannō *mandara* should be considered, not just as a religious image, but in terms of essential link of the chain that sustained the long tradition of *yamato-e* landscape paintings.

v) Dating the *mandara*

As none of the Hie-Sannō *mandara* is dated, they can only be dated roughly from the stylistic ground by comparing them to other dated works such as the Kasuga *mandara* from the Yugi Collection (1300), the *Ippen shōnin eden* (1299), and the *Kasuga Gongen kenki* (1309). The sophisticated treatment of space in the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* indicates the date later than those examples mentioned above, but scholar's opinions in the past have been divided from the late Kamakura period to the Muromachi period.²¹ The discrepancy highlights the difficulty of dating medieval paintings solely from the painting style.

One of the most obvious characteristics of the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* is the lack of stylized mist associated to the Muromachi *yamato-e* paintings. The height of the mountain and the distance of the background are enhanced by the bands of mist, which have mellowed and softened with age. The blue mist probably added brightness to the landscape originally, but the lack of stylized edges or strong outline characterizes the sensitive manner of rendering perspective. The use of similar horizontal blue mist can be

²⁰ Ibid. p.145.

²¹ Kageyama Haruki placed the *mandara* to the fourteenth century (Exhibition catalogue, *Shinto Arts*, Japan House Gallery, New York, 1976, p.96.), but it is dated to the Muromachi period in the Biwako bunkakan's catalogue, *Hie-Sannō Gongen*, 1991 p.32.

also observed in the Cleveland Museum's Kumano *mandara*, dated to the fourteenth century. The edges of mist in both paintings either disappear behind mountains or merge softly into the landscape, which is in sharp contrast to the ubiquitous stylized blue mist clearly outlined in white observed in the fifteenth century *emaki*, the *Sannō reigenki*, or the Fuji Mandara, attributed to Kanō Motonobu (1476-1559) (fig.134). The absence of stylized mist as decorative motif in the *Sannō mandara* indicates that it was painted before the pattern became a convention.

The *mandara* is inscribed on the back with the dates, 1447 for the date of painting, 1574 for the date of repair, and 1626 for the date of inscription, but as Ueno Yoshinobu points out they included incorrect combination of Chinese cyclical years, and it may be dangerous to accept the dates as entirely reliable record.²² It was quite common practice for many Japanese paintings to be attributed to certain painters and certain dates long after their creation in the Edo period, as in the case of the *Kotobiki no miya engi* mentioned earlier. Although the *Kotobiki no miya engi* painting is inscribed on the back as painted by Tosa Mitsunobu (1434-1525) in 1493, the painting style clearly indicates an earlier date.²³ Taking account of similar cases, the dating of the Nara *Sannō miya mandara* too needs to be addressed from several angles.

The iconography of *suijaku* images in the third register above the landscape of the *mandara* matches exactly to the second set of drawings in the *Hie-Sannō Gongen chishinki* which was compiled by the monk Gōkan of Mt.Hiei in the early Edo period (fig.135).²⁴ Gōkan states that the drawings were based on a *mandara* which was in the possession of Genkaku, a monk of the temple Keitō-in in the Yokawa area of Mt.Hiei,

²² Biwako bunkakan, *Hie-Sannō Gongen - kami to hotoke no bijutsu*, 1991, pp.32-3.

²³ The British Museum, *Shinto: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, 2001, p.183.

and also noted some discrepancies in comparison to other images he had seen. In particular, he points out that the *suijaku* form of the Shin-gyōji Shrine with a face of monkey was described as a female deity in the *Hie himitsuki*, and the *honji* of the Kehi Shrine should be Shō Kannon instead of Kindainichi.²⁵ His comment suggests that the combination of *honji* and the lesser *kami* varied according to texts, and several versions of *mandara* must have existed in his time. Interestingly, Gōkan also copied the inscription on the back of Genkaku's *mandara* with the dates that matches exactly to the Nara Sannō *miya mandara*, indicating that Genkaku's *mandara* and the *mandara* now in the Nara National Museum are almost certainly the one and same.

If the dates on the back were correct, the *mandara* was painted in 1447, but the comparison of this image with several other drawings and paintings from the Muromachi period reveals one conspicuous structure that is missing from the *mandara*. The illustrated scroll, *Hie-Sannō sansha shidai* (The procedure of visiting the Hie-Sannō Shrines) includes a drawing of a seven storey pagoda on the left of the Ōmiya Shrine with an inscription next to it stating "Pagoda commissioned by Emperor Godaigo" (fig.136). According to the colophon, the scroll was made in 1576, after the fire of 1571, in order to record the prosperous appearance of the shrine complex before the destruction.²⁶ The pagoda is also included in the *Sannō nijūissha tōezu*, also created after the fire to record the former glory of the site (fig. 137). The seven storey pagoda is also conspicuously featured in two important paintings, one in the collection of the Enryaku-ji (fig.138) and the other in the Hie Shrine (fig.139). The two almost identical images both depict the sacred mountain and the shrine complex from a high viewpoint, and great attention is paid to the architectural details. If the pagoda existed already at the time Nara

²⁴ ST (J) 29, PP.494-504.

Sannō *miya mandara* was created, it should certainly be included in the painting. If the *mandara* was painted in 1447, and if the pagoda existed then, it would be very odd to omit such a prominent landmark. The possibility of the painting having been trimmed is not viable as the border is not a separate textile mount, but painted (*kakibyōsō*).

The seven storey pagoda was only described as commissioned by Emperor Godaigo (1288-1339) in the *Hie-Sannō sansha shidai*, and the date of actual construction is not known. If it was built during his reign, it would have been there by the mid-fourteenth century, and the absence of pagoda in shrine complex points that the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* dates from the first half of the fourteenth century. However, this theory does not provide a conclusive date, since it is doubtful indeed if Emperor Godaigo whose reign was troubled with the long and aggravated conflicts between the two imperial lines had the time or financial means to erect a seven storey pagoda at Hie during his life. The emperor's association with the shrine, however, was significant, as two of his sons, Morinaga (1308-35) and Muneyoshi (1311-85), became Tendai Abbots, providing the emperor with an important support. In fact the Enryaku-ji and the Hie Shrine provided a safe haven for the emperor in 1330's during the conflicts with the Kamakura *bakufu*.²⁷

As much of the documents belonging to the Enryaku-ji and the Hie Shrine were destroyed in the 1571 fire, the exact date of the construction of the seven storey pagoda remains uncertain, but if it was not constructed during the emperor's life time, the most likely occasion for building such a monument must be the memorial service for the emperor. When the memorial service for the emperor was planned by the Ashikaga government in 1335 to be held at the Zen temple, Tenryū-ji, the monks of the Enryaku-ji

²⁵ Ibid, p.504.

²⁶ Miyaji Naotaka, *Jinja kozu-shu*, Dobosha, 1942, pp.42-6.

objected by stating that only the Enryaku-ji, as the protector of the state, is fit for such a service. Monks assembled the sacred palanquins of the Hie Shrine and threatened the *bakufu*.²⁸ The association with the emperor suggests that the pagoda could have erected for one of the memorial services in the mid fourteenth century, and the absence of it in the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* suggests that it was painted before the construction of the pagoda. This is in line with the painting style of the *mandara*, judging from the handling of perspective, the delicate use of colours, and the lack of stylized mist, making it possible to place the *mandara* to around the mid fourteenth century.

vi) Function of the *mandara*

Beside the main landscape and the details of figures, gold is generously used to decorate the painted border which simulates textile mounts. The pictorial space is surrounded by the thin, red border with repeated circular motifs in black and blue. The upper and lower borders are decorated with the bold patterns of gold Esoteric Buddhist ritual instruments, *rinpō* and *katsuma*, on a green background. The design is identical to the Kamakura period *miya mandara* from the Hyakusai-ji (fig. 111), and the Nanboku-chō period *honji-butsu mandara* in the Enryaku-ji (fig. 54), discussed in the previous chapters. Such obvious Buddhist association suggests that the worship of *kami* combined Buddhist elements. The provenance recorded in the *Hie-Sannō Gongen chishinki*, stating that the *mandara* belonged to the monk Genkaku of the Keitō-in temple, also confirms the Buddhist connection.

The function of *mandara* related to *kami* in temples is generally thought to be for rituals in which the protective power of *kami* was called upon. As I have mentioned

²⁷ Mikael Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, University of Hawaii Press, 2000, pp.291-303.

²⁸ *Ibid.* pp.308-9.

earlier in relation to *honji-butsu mandara*, a Muromachi period text *Shichisha ryakki* specifies which chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* should be read each day for the individual *kami* of the Hie Shrine at the annual lecture series held in the temple, Tōnan-ji, in Tozu.²⁹ Images of *kami* in the form of *honji-butsu* or *suijaku mandara* would have been suitable icons in such occasions, but the new emphasis on landscape in the Nara National Museum's *mandara* could have developed for a different purpose. The loss of pigment in certain areas, especially around the central deity Ōmiya suggests a possibility of the *mandara* being used in the performance of *etoki* (picture explication) in which the monk would draw the attention of audience to certain areas with a pointing stick attached with feathers. Certainly the easily visible relationship between the *kami* and their Buddhist counterparts, and the recognizable geography would serve well for a didactic purpose. As Cunningham noted, the composition and the general condition of the surface indicate that it was probably in regular use as an instructional tool.³⁰ However, no textual evidence, neither the actual text of *etoki* nor any mention of such a performance, have been found so far in relation to the Hie-Sanno cult.

The popularity of *etoki* by monks for proselytising and fundraising encouraged the development of landscape paintings specifically designed with the lay audience in mind from around the fourteenth century onwards. *Shaji engi-e* (Paintings of temple and shrine origins) was one of the popular themes which incorporated history, legend, and didactic messages.³¹ The painting, *Kotobiki no miya engi*, is a representative example of the genre in which the popular location for pilgrimage was depicted in the manner of topographically recognizable landscape painting. The narrative elements of the painting

²⁹ ST (J) 29, pp.127-35.

³⁰ Michael Cunningham, *Buddhist Treasures from Nara*, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998, p.164.

³¹ Akiyama Terukazu, *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*, Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964, pp.449-50.

provided a lively entertainment for pilgrims who would have sat in front of the image while listening to a monk reciting the legend. These *shaji engi-e* were the precursors of *sankei mandara* (pilgrimage mandara) which became especially prevalent at popular pilgrimage site such as Kumano in the sixteenth century.³² The surviving examples of *sankei mandara* generally display primitive painting technique, using cheap pigments on paper, with often unsophisticated, busy composition (fig. 140). Such paintings were folded (most surviving examples have creases from the repeated folding) and were carried around by travelling monks and nuns who would perform the story telling, soliciting funds wherever they travelled. The total lack of *sankei mandara* related to the Hie-Sannō cult suggests that there was no demand for such paintings aimed for general public at Hie. The format and material (silk hanging scrolls), and the artistic quality of the surviving Hie-Sannō *mandara* too indicate that the worship of Sannō took place within established circles.

The question of function and audience for the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* highlights the development of religious confraternity, Sannō-kō, in the fourteenth century. The members of the Sannō-kō were the local inhabitants, *jinin* (shrine officials) and *kunin* (public officials) who undertook practical duties related to the day-to-day running of the Hie Shrine and the Enryaku-ji. The minor, but absolutely necessary roles of these people in the periphery of major religious organizations during the medieval period are analogous to a foundation of building that is not visible from outside, but absolutely essential for a strong structure. Kuroda categorized them into five types: *hijiri* (travelling monks), *kōshu* (members of confraternity), *jinin* (shrine officials), *yamabushi* (mountain

³² According to ten Grotenhuis, the term *sankei mandara* is a twenty century term that refers to pictures made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for a popular audience, and were used in story telling, proselytising, and fundraising. Approximately 80 of such *mandara* exist today. Ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography*, 1999, p.172.

ascetics), and *kebōzu* (lay monks - literally monk with hair).³³ In the case of the Hie-Sannō cult, the *kunin* belonged to the lowest level of hierarchy on Mt.Hiei which was organized from four groups of men in medieval times. The elite group, *inke*, consisted from priests from the imperial and aristocratic families, while *gakushō* pursued the academic works and *dōshū* undertook practical religious duties. To support these monks, *kunin* were required to carry out everyday tasks.³⁴ Kageyama points out that *kunin* traditionally played active roles in the running of the annual Sannō festival, and held regular meetings of Sannō-kō.³⁵

Needless to say, the *kunin* and *jinin* were all males, and females were probably excluded from the membership of the Sannō-kō. The total absence of textual reference to gender suggests that there was a tacit understanding, and there was no need for prohibiting women becoming a member or even to mention it. The activities of the *kō* members can be envisaged from an Edo period copy of manuscript concerning the Sannō festival. The *Hie gosairei no shidai* (The Procedure of the Sannō festivals) states that there were six groups of Sannō-kō from "long ago", each with their own *rō* (elder). They held regular meetings in the first, fifth and ninth months in their own meeting place where they hung an antique revered painting (*son-e*) of Sannō Gongen and chanted the *Heart Sutra*.³⁶ The word *son-e* does not reveal any clue for the appearance of the painting, but as the word "Hie-Sannō *mandara*" was not commonly used before modern times, it is highly likely that the painting was one of the types of what we now call *mandara*. As the other activities of the *kō* members were closely connected to the physical involvement in shrine calendar, such as the practice of group pilgrimage and the

³³ Kuroda Toshio, *Shinkoku shisō to senshū nenbutsu*, Hōzōkan, 1995, p.420.

³⁴ Yasuoka Shōtarō (ed.), *Emyaku-ji, Koji junrei - Kyoto 26*, Tankō-sha, 1978.

³⁵ ST (J) 29, p.33.

³⁶ *ibid.* pp.223-37.

transporting of *mikoshi* at the Sannō festivals, the focus of their veneration could have been the location itself. An image of the shrine landscape would have served as a appropriate icon (*honzon*) for the regular meeting of *kō* members.

The Sannō Gongen *wasan* quoted at the beginning of this chapter, is believed to have been chanted by participants in front of the image during Sannō rituals.³⁷ The *wasan* was a colloquial verse explicating the teachings in *sutras*, and suited to the need of lay devotees, rather than the traditional Buddhist rituals conducted by priests in temples. Praising the shrine landscape with the word from *sutras* "*Jōjaku kōdo*" affirms the identification of shrine to the Buddhist paradise. The *wasan's* strong emphasis on the Buddha nature in every sentient being including mountains, river, trees and grass, and the positive affirmation of landscape as the paradise on earth confirm the important role the landscape played in the cult of Hie-Sannō. Interestingly, a faithful copy of the Nara National Museum's *mandara* was painted in the Edo period (fig. 141). The silk hanging scroll in the Rishō-in temple, Sakamoto, is of almost exact size, and although the painting style is stiff, a great care has been taken to copy the details accurately. It suggests that the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* was regarded as an important model, and there was a continued demand for the same image for ritual purposes in the Edo period.

2. *Miya Mandara* in the Muromachi period

i) *Himitsu shasan* - the Secret Pilgrimage to Shrines

The growing confidence of shrine priests and low ranking monks who were actively

³⁷ Gyōtoku Shinichirō, "Kasuga miya mandara-zu no fūkei hyōgen - busshō to shinsei no katachi", *Museim no.541*, p.33.

involved in the shrine's cultic life during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries encouraged the flourishing ritual practices of the Sannō *kō*. The status of *jinin* and *kunin* was not high compared to the elite priests of Mt.Hiei, but their close contact with the local community was influential, and some monks and shrine officials took advantage of their position for commercial activities. As Neil McMullin points out, "many temples were deeply involved in commercial enterprises" in medieval times, and the Enryaku-ji was certainly one of the major controllers of the commodity guilds and moneylenders who dominated the economic system of the capital.³⁸ According to Andrew Goble, *jinin* of the Hie Shrine acted as overseers of some 280 moneylenders and *sake* brewers under Enryaku-ji's jurisdiction in the early fourteenth century.³⁹ The wealth of the temple contributed substantially to the prosperity of its *monzen machi* (literally a town in front of the [temple] gate), Sakamoto which enjoyed the advantageous position by Lake Biwa and the vicinity to the major highways for the transportation of goods.

An insight into the respected position and the wealthy lifestyle of some of the shrine priests are recorded in the *Saru no sōshi* (Illustrated Tale of Monkeys), now in the British Museum (fig.142). The story concerns an official of the Hie Shrine, Shibuzane, whose daughter married Yasaburō of Yokawa from Mt.Hiei. The scroll depicts the lavish entertainment Shibuzane organized for his son-in-law Yasaburō at his residence. All the characters in this scroll appear as monkeys, a reminder to the association of wild monkeys on Mt.Hiei with the sacred monkeys of the Hie Shrine, and as Lawrence Smith observed, the illustration must have been conceived as a satire on contemporary manners.⁴⁰ The scroll contains rich visual details such as the textile design and interior

³⁸ Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth Century Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1984, p.31.

³⁹ Andrew Goble, *Kenmon: Go-Daigo's Revolution*, Harvard University Press, 1996, pp.48-52.

⁴⁰ Lawrence Smith, *Japanese Art, Masterpieces in the British Museum*, 1990, p.55.

decoration, and provides valuable information for the fashionable activities, the early form of Tea ceremony and *renga* (linked verse) party, hosted by Shibuzane.

One of the activities developed by the Sannō *kō* members was a group pilgrimage to the numerous sacred locations in the Hie Shrine complex. It was conducted at night, led by a *sendatsu* (leader) and only the participants had the knowledge of the route, hence the name "*himitsu shasan*" (secret pilgrimage). The *Hie gyōdōki*, a portable instruction manual in a small hand scroll format now in the Eizan bunko, records the pilgrimage route in detail. It bears an inscription stating that it was copied from the original manuscript of 1431 written by the monk Kōsei of Joteibō in the Eastern Pagoda area of Mt.Hiei, suggesting that the secret pilgrimage was practised at least from the first half of the fifteenth century. Kageyama suggests that only after participating in the secret pilgrimage, one was allowed to read or copy the instruction.⁴¹ The participation in the pilgrimage seems to have been restricted to the *kō* members. The very name of the pilgrimage, *himitsu shasan* implies the exclusivity, which characterized the *Sannō-kō*. The existence of number of similar instruction manuals such as *Hie shasan shidai* of 1474 and *Chōkyō higi sansha* of 1488 indicates that the practice was well established by the end of the fifteenth century.

The starting point of pilgrimage in the *Hie gyōdōki* was the Shōgen-ji temple, the location traditionally accepted as the birthplace of Saichō, situated on the shrine approach. After passing through the *torii* gate and crossing the bridge, pilgrims proceeded up the gentle slope towards the main shrine, Ōmiya. The manuscript is an extensive list of names, and apart from the numerous lesser shrines, it includes many

⁴¹ ST (J) 29, p.37.

Buddhist structures such as *kondō* (the Golden Hall), *nenbutsudō* (Invocation Hall) and *tahōtō* (Pagoda of Many Jewels), as well as many sacred rocks and trees along the route. The pilgrims paid respect at each spot, while the leader recited prayer or narrated legends and history. The descriptions in the later instruction manuals are on the whole simple and brief, mostly confined to the sequential list of names, but the section of the main shrines in the *Hie gyōdōki* includes several explanatory passages on each *kami*, providing us with some idea of information the participants might have received from the leader during the pilgrimage.

A substantial space is set aside for the section of Ōmiya, which includes the legend about the journey of Ōnamuchi-no-kami from Miwa to Hie by boat, as well as four separate extracts from contemporary writings, all of which clearly emphasize the connection of Ōmiya to the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. The statements such as "The deity of Hie is manifestation of the deity Tenshō taijin [Amaterasu] who is the transformation of Dainichi", or "Ōmiya Gongen is identical to Tenshō taijin" are there to reflect the philosophy of the Sannō Shinto which negotiated a complex web of associations to assert the supremacy of the Hie-Sannō cult.⁴² As pointed out by Kuroda, the *Keiran shūyōshū* proclaimed that Japan is the "Land of *kami*" because its "original deity" is Tenshō kōtaijin, - who, in turn, is the Buddha Mahavairocana [Dainichi], and living beings are all son of *kami*.⁴³ According to the theory, since the emperor was thought to be the descendant of Amaterasu, and all the people was descendants of the *kami*, the realm was perceived as sacred.

⁴² ST (J) 29, p.285.

⁴³ Kuroda Toshio, "The Discourse on the "Land of Kami" (Shinkoku) in Medieval Japan", *JIRS*, 1997, PP.372-3.

The identification of Sannō Gongen with Amaterasu and Dainichi characterize the shift in emphasis and the new theoretical development of Sannō Shinto from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. While the identification of Ōmiya with Sākyamuni Buddha encouraged the identification of the Hie Shrine with the Vulture Peak as expressed in the *imayō* song from the *Ryōjin hishō* in the late Heian and the early Kamakura periods, the new interpretation focused on the idea that the *kami* of Hie was identical to Dainichi, the Buddha of universal enlightenment, and that Japan was the “Original Land of Dainichi”. This “shift in the role of *kami* within esoteric Buddhist discourse from secondary emanations to embodiments of universal enlightenment” is elucidated by Teeuwen who compares passages from the early thirteenth century *Yōtenk* to those from *Keiran shūyōshū* which were written a century later.

In *Yōtenki*, -- Ōmiya is depicted as an emanation of Sākyamuni. Since Japan is a tiny country, this text argues, full of ‘people with little talent or goodness’, and where the Buddha’s teachings are of no avail, Sākyamuni appeared at the foot of Mount Hiei ‘as a *kami*, in order to warn against impurity and admonish the faithless, ---’ While this text praises worship of the *kami* as ‘a worldly method (*seshō*) identical to the Buddhist method (*buppō*), it is nevertheless clear that *kami* ritual is here recommended only because adverse circumstances in *mappō* Japan have made the Buddhist methods infeasible.⁴⁴

This theory of Ōmiya as a secondary emanation of Sākyamuni is in sharp contrast to *keiran shūyōshū* which proposed the *kami* of Hie as “embodiments of Dainichi”.

‘The *kami* (*shinmei*) are Dainichi; Sākyamuni is a Buddha emanating from [the *kami*/Dainichi]. Our country is the Original Land of Dainichi, and India is the Land of Sākyamuni’s manifestation.’ ---

This interpretation of the *kami* of Hie was based on ideas about inherent enlightenment (*hongaku*) [Original Enlightenment], which state that all sentient beings, or indeed all phenomena, whether sentient or not, exist only in the meditation of Dainichi and are therefore enlightened as they are: the ‘uncreated,

⁴⁴ Mark Teeuwen, “The *kami* in esoteric Buddhist thought and practice”, *Shinto in History*, 2000, p.96.

original state of all sentient beings as they are is the Dharma body (embodiment of Dainichi's universal enlightenment).⁴⁵

A passage from the *wasan* quoted at the beginning of this chapter, "*kusamura shigeru sōmoku mo Biru no shindo ni kotonarazu* (Flourishing trees and grass are none other than the body of Vairocana [Dainichi]), clearly identifies the landscape of Hie as the Land of Dainichi, and suggests that the image such as the Nara Sannō *miya mandara* was created to express the idea in visual terms. For participants of *himitsu shasan* therefore, the pilgrimage to the Hie Shrine was a quest for attaining enlightenment in this life and in this body.

The contents of pilgrimage instruction manuals were usually brief, and no description about the appearances of the site was included. Fortunately for us, this lack of visual information was compensated for by another scroll, *Hie-Sannō sansha shidai* which illustrated the pilgrimage route.⁴⁶ The scroll begins with the scene of Karasaki with the famous pine tree by the shore of Lake Biwa, where, the legend claimed, Ōnamuchi no kami landed after his boat journey. Viewers would follow the shrine approach from the right to left, passing the *torii* and many lesser shrines, then over the bridge and another *torii* into the sacred inner shrine compound. Following one section of text, the second illustration depicts the area of Ōmiya enclosed by the wall, and the seven-storey pagoda on the left. After another text, the third section illustrates the area of Ni-no-miya which is depicted sideways to accommodate the long rows of numerous subsidiary shrines that lead to the enclosed area (fig. 143). The last illustration depicts the sacred rock, the destination of the secret pilgrimage, and the group of shrines at the summit of

⁴⁵ *ibid.* p.97

⁴⁶ Miyaji Naotaka, *Jinja kozu-shu*, Dobosha, 1942, pp.42-6.

Mt.Hachiōji (fig.143b). The stylized clouds are added to indicate the height of the location.

The colophon of the scroll is date to 1576, and states that it was painted to record the appearance of the Hie Shrine before the fire of 1571. Miyaji Naotaka, however, proposes that the scroll might date from the earlier period, and the colophon could be by a later hand judging from the comparison of calligraphic style with the main text.⁴⁷ The painting style is not sophisticated, and it is a picture diagram rather than a painting, but the details of drawings clearly reveal the route of pilgrimage and the layout of the site. In comparison to the icon-like view of the landscape in the Nara Sannō *miya mandara*, the aim of the scroll was obviously to record the fact. Some buildings are depicted sideways, as if one stood in front of a shrine, then turned 90° and faced another building from its front. This anthropocentric view from the ground level is similar to the picture map of Kōzan-ji mentioned earlier, and differs from the bird's-eye-view employed for the Nara National Museum's *mandara*. The scroll served a practical purpose with the meticulous labelling of individual structures and provides valuable information on the medieval buildings, many of which no longer exist.

According to Sagai Tatsuuru, the pilgrimage route through the shrine compound from the Yomiyaba in a clockwise motion towards the Ni no miya, then the climb to the sacred rock of Mt.Hachiōji corresponds exactly to this section of the Mudō-ji version *kaihōgyō*, only in reverse order (fig.144).⁴⁸ He estimates the whole journey to have taken approximately two and half hours, commencing at the hour of Dog (c.8.00 p.m.), and draws the attention to the nocturnal nature of ritual which characterizes many of the

⁴⁷ Ibid.p.45.

shrine activities.⁴⁹ The participants, wearing white attire, would walk in silence through the dark path, lit only by the flickering torch, and experience the ethereal progress through the dark shrine complex charged with mysterious spiritual energy. The darkness of night was always feared and perceived as the time when spiritual forces, whether malevolent or benevolent, manifested, and the invocation of the *Heart Sutra* by the participants indicates the pacifying of spirits. The similarity of the route and the *sutra* chanting suggest that the secret pilgrimage was a variation of *kaihōgyō*, with a singular focus on the Hie-Sannō cult. The interpretation of geography in terms of mandala, originally based on the Esoteric Buddhist theory, encouraged the development of fixed route of shrine pilgrimage, in which the physical movement was analogous to the mental process to achieve the ultimate Enlightenment. Just as the ascetics training in the geography of Mt.Hie would have visualized the Mandala of Two Worlds, the participants of the *himitsu shasan* could have visualized the landscape of Hie as a *miya mandara*.

ii) *Himitsu Mandara*

Two similar paintings, *Hie-sha kozu* in the Enryaku-ji collection (fig.138) and *Sannō himitsu mandara* in the Hie Shrine (fig.139), both depict the appearance of the shrine site before the 1571 fire. The shrine complex is dotted with numerous small buildings, many of which are Buddhist in nature such as two *tahōtō* and the seven storey pagoda on the extreme left. The paintings are pure landscape, and do not include any figure of Buddhist deity nor *kami*. No human figure is included either in the austere landscape, and the bands of mist in the upper half of the paintings seem to enhance the enigmatic air that surround the sacred mountain. The focal point of the paintings is the conical mountain in

⁴⁸ Sagai Tatsuru, "Hie-sha no himitsu shasan", *Shinto-gaku no.101*, 1979, p.27.

⁴⁹ The most prominent example is the ritual of moving the *mishotai*, or the sacred mirror of the Ise Shrine which takes place at night with the regular rebuilding of shrines every twenty years.

the centre, but in comparison to the majestic image of the sacred mountain in the Nara Sannō *miya mandara*, the mountains in these paintings are quite simple, almost primitive, displaying the process of stylization through repeated copying. The details of architecture and the relative scale of the geography are handled in a picture map-like approach to provide good practical information to viewers.

The two paintings are almost identical, but a schematic diagram of the constellation Great Bear is added to the right hand sky in the Enryaku-ji painting. The seven dots marking the stars are joined by a thin ink line to form an upturned dipper, indicating that the association of the seven stars in the sky with the seven shrines on the earth was an important aspect of the image. The inscription dated to 1582 on the back of the painting states that it was shown to the emperor, since the social unrests had prevented the emperor to pay a visit to the shrine in person.⁵⁰ Clearly the image was suited as a substitute to the real pilgrimage, with its accurate depiction of geography and architecture which would have provided sufficient information. The addition of stars provided the doctrinal information too, and the painting would have served practical and didactic purposes, but in comparison to the majestic image of sacred mountain in the Nara Sannō *miya mandara*, the mountain in the Himitsu Mandara is flat and lifeless, displaying stiffness.

All the buildings are depicted from exactly the same angle in both the Enryaku-ji and the Hie Shrine versions, from diagonally from the upper right, suggesting they were based on the same model. This is most apparent in the enclosures of Ōmiya and Ni no miya Shrines which are depicted in the shape of parallelograms. Only the different shapes

Shrine which takes place at night with the regular rebuilding of shrines every twenty years.

⁵⁰ Biwako bunkakan, *Hie-Sanno Gongen: Kami to hotoke no bijutsu*, p.154.

of trees distinguish one artist from the other. The trees in the Enryaku-ji painting are on the whole thinner, while the trees in the Hie Shrine painting seem more full of green, but many of the trees appear at exactly the same spot, indicating that they were originally included from the first hand observation of the nature. Some trees may be included for historical or religious significance, as in the case of Kasuga *mandara* observed by Gyōtoku. For example, three pine-like trees (a tall tree in the centre with two shorter ones on both sides) behind the Ōmiya Shrine appear in both paintings, and furthermore they are depicted in the Nara National Museum's *mandara* and its Edo period copy too.

The similarity in the bird's-eye-view, the perspective, the composition, and almost identical buildings in all four paintings strongly suggests the existence of a model or a *kamigata* (pattern book) from which artists could faithfully copy not only the overall composition but also the details of architecture and main landmarks in the shrine complex. It is possible that the Nara National Museum's *mandara* was the model for all later paintings. The buildings are also depicted from the similar angle in the scroll, *Hie-Sannō sansha shidai*, and the drawings in the *Sannō nijūissha tōe-zu*, evincing the recurring pattern. Two almost identical images of Himitsu Mandara indicate that the iconography of Hie-Sannō *miya mandara* was well-established and repeatedly copied during the Muromachi period, resulting in the loss of vitality and spirituality of the landscape it originally aimed to convey.

3. Epilogue

In 1571, the fire set by Oda Nobunaga's army destroyed the entire Enryaku-ji complex on Mt.Hiei, except one small hall called Ruri-dō in an isolated spot. Nobunaga was

determined to eliminate everything that challenged his authority, and as "Mt.Hiei was a prime example of a temple that was extremely powerful, wealthy, and independent, and thus it was inevitable that it be suppressed".⁵¹ All the buildings in the Hie Shrine complex too were destroyed with countless works of art and religious texts in the temples as well as a large number of lives. The number of victims according to some records amounted to 20,000, and some 3,000 buildings turned to ashes.⁵² A vivid record of the catastrophic event was left by the shrine priest, Hafuribe Yukimaro, in the immediate aftermath. The *Hie-sha heiran kasai no ki* (A Record of the battle and fire at the Hie Shrine) describes the dramatic event as below:

The twelfth day of the ninth month in the second year of Genki, the four of us, the chief priest Yukimaro, his son Yukihiro, the priest Suketsugu, and the governor of Hitachi Narisaki, barricaded ourselves within the inner sanctuary of the Hie Ōmiya Shrine. The Bishū army soldiers [Nobunaga's men] raided the sanctuary and pillaged us of all our possessions, including our robes, sash, fan, swords, and left us standing naked. ---

Fifty to sixty shrine officials and their family members and servants have fled and the fate of many of them is unknown. All of the 108 inner shrines, sacred palanquins, gate towers, and other buildings in the shrine complex were destroyed by the fire, and so did four to five hundred buildings including temple halls and monasteries on the mountain, houses of the townspeople in Sakamoto and the 108 outer shrines. About one thousand people lost their lives near Mt. Hachiōji. ---

The burning Hachiōji Shrine made the Great Rock [sacred rock] turn white, and the leaves turned red, not from the autumn rain, but from the arson. Gazing the dismal sight of the Hie Shrine with the 108 shrine all destroyed, the cold wind pierced Yukimaro, and his predicament was likened to the poem from the *kokinshū*:

*Akikaze no
mi ni samukereba
tsure mo naki,
hito wozo tanomu
kururu yo gotoni.*⁵³

Chilly is the autumn wind
that pierce my body,
even the most hard-hearted
might take a pity on me
just waiting every single night.

⁵¹ Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth Century Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1984, p.151.

⁵² William Theodore de Bary, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, p.305.

⁵³ ST (J) 29, PP.309-10.

The Enryaku-ji and the Hie Shrine have been damaged by fires and sectarian conflicts many times in the previous centuries, but never before in such an extreme scale. Mt Hiei was described in the *Tale of Heike* a few centuries earlier as "the holiest place in Japan, a place where rituals are celebrated to preserve peace in the land, where the power of the Sannō gods works miracles, where Buddhist doctrine and imperial law stand side by side, neither above the other". The total destruction of the temples and shrines on Mt.Hiei signalled the arrival of the new leader and the new era in the Japanese history.⁵⁴ As McMullin points out:

One might also surmise that Nobunaga wanted to make an example of Mt.Hiei. According to the *Kyoto no rekishi*, the smoke arising from the burning mountain pressed home on the people of Kyoto the point that a new type of authority was on the rise. Thus there was a certain element of psychological warfare in Nobunaga's violent destruction of Mt.Hiei: by that act of violence against the most sacred of all Buddhist temples Nobunaga served notice on both allies and enemies, on warriors and priests alike, of the extent to which he was prepared to go in order to bring about his goal of unifying the realm.⁵⁵

Nobunaga "justified his destruction of this venerable centre of Japanese Buddhism -- as necessary to the maintenance of law and order in the country".⁵⁶

Despite such an extensive damage, the fortunes of the Hie Shrine recovered swiftly with the demise of Nobunaga at the Honnō-ji temple in 1582. The new ruler, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-98) was a sympathetic supporter of the Hie-Sannō cult. Hayashiya Tatsusaburō points out an early Edo period biography of Hideyoshi, the *Taikō sujōki*, written posthumously, which deified him by saying that Hideyoshi was conceived when his mother had a dream of *nichirin* (sun disc) entering her body,

⁵⁴ Helen Craig McCullough (trans.) *The Tale of the Heike*, Stanford University Press, 1988, p.61.

⁵⁵ Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, 1984, p.150.

⁵⁶ William Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Columbia University Press, 1964, p.305.

which indicated that he was a son of the *kami* of Hie. Furthermore he was born on the first day of the first month in 1536, the year of Monkey, and his childhood name was at first Kozaru (small monkey), then Sarunosuke and Hiyoshimaru.⁵⁷ Hideyoshi himself was keen to cultivate his connection to Hie, and offered generous financial contribution to the rebuilding of the Hie Shrine.⁵⁸

The restoration was chiefly orchestrated by the shrine priest Yukimaro who in 1582 submitted an official request to both Hideyoshi and Emperor Ōgimachi (r.1557-86), and in 1583 the new *shinzō* of the Sanno *kami* were commissioned from a distinguished *bushhi*, Koshō, in Kyoto.⁵⁹ Yukimaro is credited with recording the history of the shrine in the *Hie-sha shinto himitsu-ki*, and also with commissioning the *Sannō nijūissha toe-zu*, a set of eighteen large drawings, now mounted as hanging scrolls, depicting the prosperous appearance of the shrines before the fire. These drawings were done from memory, and provided valuable, if not completely accurate, information for the rebuilding of the shrines. Drawings were also intended to record the theoretical aspects of the Hie-Sannō cult for the later generations, and contained diagrams explaining the analogies of the seven stars and human body (fig.145). Yukimaro's heroic effort to restore the Hie Shrine to its former glory did bring his project to fruition in a relatively short period of time. The rebuilding of the Ōmiya Shrine commenced in 1585 was followed by other shrines, and by 1601 all the seven main shrines were rebuilt at Hie.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Hayashiya Tatsusaburo, *Tenka ittō*, Chuō kōronsha, 1966, pp.72-4.

⁵⁸ ST (J) 29, pp.5-6.

⁵⁹ Kageyama Haruki, *Hiei-zan ji*, Dobosha, 1978, p.243.

⁶⁰ Murayama Shuichi, *Hieizan-shi*, Tokyo bijutsu, 1994, pp.302-3.

The restoration of the Enryaku-ji was much harder, as both Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) who succeeded him were extremely cautious not to allow the Enryaku-ji to regain such a powerful position it commanded previously. In 1596 Hideyoshi finally recognized the Enryaku-ji's property, and granted 1,500 *koku* for the three areas of Mt.Hiei and 73 *koku* for the Katsuragawa area. After Hideyoshi's death, Tendai Abbot Tenkai secured another 3,427 *koku* in the area of Sakamoto from Ieyasu, bringing the total to 5,000. Murayama points out, the minuscule wealth of the Enryaku-ji in comparison to the Kōfuku-ji and the Kasuga Shrine which were worth 22,000 *koku*, and Mt.Kōya worth 21,000 *koku*.⁶¹ The Tokugawa *bakufu* further reduced the status of the Enryaku-ji by establishing the Kan'ei-ji in Edo and called it the Tōei-zan, literally Eastern Mt.Ei, as the opposite number of Mt.Hiei. The Kan'ei-ji was granted 12,690 *koku*, while the *bodai-ji* (family temple) of the Tokugawa family, the Zōjō-ji of the Jōdo (Pure Land) sect also in Edo was granted 10,540 *koku*, and the Rinnō-ji in Nikkō owned 19,000 *koku*. Thus the Enryaku-ji and the Hie Shrine were no longer politically significant institutions that might cause any kind of threat to the Tokugawa authority, but became the religious institutions, as originally intended, that provided the theoretical basis for the Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto according to which Tokugawa Ieyasu was deified and enshrined in the Tōshō-gū mausoleum in Nikkō.

The scenes of the flourishing Sannō festival depicted on several sumptuous screens from the Momoyama and the early Edo periods attest the popularity of the Hie-Sannō cult among the townspeople of Kyoto. As depicted in the pair of screens now in the British Museum, the journey of the seven *mikoshi* by boat on Lake Biwa during the annual Sannō festival provided a lively entertainment, and a wonderful source for the genre of *sairei-zu*

⁶¹ Ibid, pp.308-9.

(festivals) screen paintings (fig.146). The prominent characteristics of festival screens were attention to detail and interest in people's activities. The shift of focus from the sacred landscape in the Nara National Museum's *mandara* to the bustle of townspeople enjoying themselves in the festival screens symbolized the new era in which a greater emphasis on human activities attracted attention of artists and the patrons. Examples of festival screens depicting many festivals of shrines such as Gion, Kamo, Hōkoku, and Tsushima as well as Hie testify the popularity of shrine festivals as entertainment for townspeople. The lively scenes with detailed depiction of crowd and people's activities provided a distinct genre for screen paintings that "broke new ground and set the pattern for many subsequent paintings".⁶²

The rebuilding of the main buildings might have physically restored the part of the medieval Hie Shrine, but the people's perception of the *kami* has moved on with the time. This is evidently clear in the contrast between the sacred landscape of the Nara National Museum's *mandara* and the Sanno Festival screens. While in the *mandara*, the sacred mountain dominated the landscape where only the *kami* seem to reside, in the Sannō festival screens human figures assumed the centre stage, and the shrine buildings and the mountain were only partly visible behind the ubiquitous golden cloud. While the *mandara* projected one coherent view from above, the Festival screens employed "a flowing" multiple viewpoints. I like to go back at this point to Keirstead's essay on "Medievality and Space" which I quoted at the beginning of this study. He wrote:

The early modern in Japan may be distinguished from the medieval in a number of ways - in terms, for example, of political institutions, economic forms, or social practices. But certainly one of the most fundamental contrasts is to be found in the spatial logic of each era.⁶³

⁶² Yamane Yuzo, *Momoyama genre painting*, Heibon-sha, 1973, p.163.

⁶³ Thomas Keirstead, "Gardens and Estate: Medievality and Space, *Positions*, 1993, p.311.

Keirstead points out that while estate and formal gardens in the medieval period symbolized a space "where their significance may be stable and assured, where their owners could look upon the sites they had created and read without ambiguity the extent of their authority", sixteenth century tea gardens and seventeenth and eighteenth centuries strolling parks required ambulatory participation of viewers in order to comprehend its meaning fully:

In this model, the path by which one is led through the garden becomes a vital agent in controlling the meaning of the landscape. The significance of the space is regulated by channeling the flow, by prescribing a narrative that carries the observer through garden.⁶⁴

Although this analogy of "fixed perspective" verses "regime of flow" seems contradictory to the medieval mandalization of space in terms of physical movement, as far as visual representations were concerned, Hie-Sannō shrine *mandara* symbolized the mediocrity of space by projecting a view from above which I am tempted to interpret as the viewpoint of *kami*. The sacredness of landscape was contained in the shrine complex in which the absence of human figure further enhanced the subject matter, while in the festival screens, viewers were invited to move along within the painting with the crowd in order to fully appreciate the scene.

The swift rebuilding of Hie Shrine in the late sixteenth century after the 1571 fire may have physically restored the main shrines in the medieval architectural style, but the *kami* no longer possessed the kind of influence they enjoyed in the earlier periods. The procession of seven Sannō *mikoshi* was no longer seen as a threat or protest of monks with political objective, but it became a festival celebrating the annual renewal of the *kami*, enjoyed by common people. In Kanō Hiroyuki's words, the destruction of Mt.Hiei in the

⁶⁴ *ibid.* p.311.

1571 fire instigated by Oda Nobunaga marked "the point when *kodai* (ancient period)

truly perished in Japan". He points out:

It is beside the point to question the historical accuracy about the extent of damage caused by Nobunaga's attack on Mt.Hiei by pointing out the number of treasures preserved in the Enryaku-ji today. The construction of the ordination Hall, fervently desired by Saichō, was blessed by the imperial decree of Emperor Saga, and whether the destruction was complete or not, actually planning the attack was outrageous. *Kodai* was synonymous to the system of *Saisei icchi* (correspondence of political authority and religious practice). Mt.Hiei symbolically represented the *saisei icchi*, and Nobunaga struck the heart of ancient Japan accurately. --- Since the incident to this day, religion never again acquired power equivalent of the political authority.⁶⁵

Though Hie-Sanno *mandara* were still produced during the Edo period, presumably for rituals that were performed in the traditional manner, the surviving examples indicate that they were constrained to monotonous copies of medieval models, and the iconography of *kami* and the sacred landscape remained static. Perhaps this is indicative of the fact that the service of the *kami* Sannō Gongen was no longer required in the same earnest manner as during the medieval period. The vitality of townspeople and the energy of painters, in stead, manifested in the festival screens as the symbol of the new perspective which ushered in the age of human in place of the medieval age of *kami*.

⁶⁵ Kanō Hiroyuki, "Hie-Sannō sairei-zu o megutte", *Daiei Hakubutsukan shozō Nihon bijutsu*, p.264.

Conclusion

In this study, I have examined varied images of Hie-Sannō *mandara*, and tried to demonstrate the incongruity of the term “Shinto Art” for describing them. In medieval Japan, images of *kami* and shrine landscape were created and functioned in an environment where the differentiation between Buddhism and the worship of *kami* did not have the same validity as the post-Meiji distinction between Buddhism and Shintoism. Much confusion and misconception are rooted to the casual use of the term Shinto and its claim as the “ancient” religion of Japan. The artificial boundary separating “Buddhist art” and “Shinto art” has invited cursory assumptions, and “Shinto *mandara*” were sometimes believed to be displayed at shrines.

The modern notion of paintings as objects for “display” has disparaged the function of religious images for a long time, but since I started this study in 1996, several scholars have published the results of their research in shrine related images. In particular, Karen Brock’s essay on the fourteenth century copy of the thirteenth century painting of Kasuga Daimyōjin has clearly reminded the need to delve deeper into the ritual function of these “Shinto” images. She wrote:

by categorizing the Kasuga and Sumiyoshi paintings as “copies of Shinto paintings”, scholars have also isolated them from their complex religious and social contexts. The broader marginalization of “Shinto art” has furthermore resulted in the obscuring of the multiple roles of *kami* and their representations, especially when found within the precinct of a Buddhist monastery.¹

¹ Karen L. Brock, “My Reflection should be Your Keepsake”: Myōe’s vision of the Kasuga Deity”, *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, Stanford University Press, 2001, p.113.

In the case of the Hie-Sannō cult, the role of *kami* was profoundly entwined with the historical and theoretical development of Tendai Buddhism based at the Enryaku-ji on Mt.Hiei. In order to elucidate the iconography of Hie-Sannō *mandara*, it was first necessary to acknowledge the enormous contributions made by the Tendai monks. In my study, I have tried to define the role of Hie-Sannō *mandara* in the ritual context with references to textual sources, but they needed to be addressed with care. In some cases, texts can present problems as some of the “medieval” texts on the Hie-Sannō cult remain only in the form of Edo period copies and the authenticity of the dates or authorships are questionable. In other cases, historical facts in literature and hagiographies were elaborated with legends to enhance the aura of the *kami* or revered monks, and although they provided valuable insight into the perception of the *kami* Sannō, the information was not totally reliable. Texts such as the *Yōtenki* and the *Keiran shūyōshū* provided the theoretical position of *kami* within the Tendai Buddhist framework, while medieval diaries offered valuable, if laconic, clues to the way some *mandara* were used.

None of the *mandara* examined in this study fulfil their original function now – some are preserved as “Art” in museums, others are still kept in temples but no longer used in any rituals. By examining the stylistic development in surviving examples of Hie-Sannō *mandara*, and comparing them with textual references, the changing patterns and the shift in emphasis within the “medieval” periods gradually became clearer. The strong Buddhist influence on the development of the iconography of *kami* in the Hie-Sannō cult indicates that the earliest Hie-Sanno *mandara* began to appear in the twelfth century with images of Sannō Gongen in the form of Buddhist *honji-butsu* who were designated to each *kami* according to the *honji-suijaku* theory.

The development of *suijaku mandara* with the images of *kami* in their Japanese guise, and the variation of iconography of Ōmiya as an exotic deity in relation to the stars in the second half of the Kamakura period reflect important theoretical and historical transformations in the interpretation of *kami*. The iconographic difference in images of *kami* indicates that each type of *mandara* was created to function in specific rituals. Shinto-Buddhist *mandara* are too often described as the visual expression of *honji-suijaku* theory, but my observation of Hie-Sanno *mandara* suggested that the development of *han-honji-suijaku* theory was the true driving force behind the prevalence of shrine related images in the early fourteenth century.

The striking characteristic of these *kami*-related rituals was their Buddhist nature. Textual sources testify that many rituals involving *kami* were held in temples, and even when they were held at shrines, they were conducted by Buddhist monks, and often Buddhist *sutras* were chanted. The *geden* (the lower hall) of the Hie Shrine is believed to have accommodated an exclusively Buddhist function, but details of *geden* rituals were obliterated with the destruction of Buddhist materials during the storm of *haibutsu kishaku* movement in the late nineteenth century. The recent interest in a more empirical approach towards the study of Japanese religion is encouraging a better understanding in the role of religious images, but researches conducted in the contemporary Japanese temples do not necessarily reveal the true context for medieval Shinto-Buddhist *mandara*. Observers, as well as practitioners themselves, are too often under a deceptive impression about the continuation of tradition, and changes in ritual practices are difficult to assess. The far-reaching effect of the separation of Shinto and Buddhism by the Meiji government still needs to be considered from many angles.

While *honji-butsu* and *suijaku mandara* represented the identification of *kami* with Buddhas, *miya mandara* were created to embody the identification of shrine landscape with Buddhist paradise, and functioned as an icon for rituals and a substitute image for pilgrimage. They are often described in a rather vague and general term as *jikkei* (real view) or *shajitsu-teki* (realistic) as if depicting the geographical reality was the artist's primary aim, but apart from the physical likeness, images of shrine aimed to convey the concept of sacred landscape. The sacredness of land of Japan was an important issue that preoccupied the Buddhist thinkers and ordinary people alike during the medieval times. As well as the division between "Buddhist art" and "Shinto art", the dichotomies between the religious / secular painting, or the ink / *yamato-e* tradition in the established categories in art history have obscured the flow of ideas that contributed greatly to the development of landscape painting in general. Sannō *miya mandara* in the Nara National Museum provides a case study for the multifaceted characteristics of the genre. It suggests that images of shrine landscape were not simply topographical representations of sacred place in the context of worship of *kami*, but they also articulated the appropriation of Buddhist paradise on this earth in visual terms. Furthermore the iconography of landscape was studded with poetic and cultural associations, and the accumulation of literary memories enriches the visual language. Needless to say, the inspiration from the awe-inspiring beauty of nature also played significant role in the development of Shinto-Buddhist shrine *mandara* that epitomized the concept of sacred landscape in medieval Japan.

Appendix 1. a) Hie-Sannō Upper Seven Shrines

APPENDIX 1

Hie-Sanno Upper Seven Shrines 日吉山王 上七社

Old name (旧名)	New name (現在)	Kami (祭神名)	Honji-butsumo (本地仏)
Omiya 大宮	Nishi hongu 西本宮	Onamuchi no kami Obie Daimyojin 大己貴神 (大比叡大明神)	Shaka Nyorai(Sakyamuni) 釈迦如来
Ni no miya 二宮	Higashi hongu 東本宮	Oyamagui no kami Obie Daimyojin 大山咋神 (小比叡大明神)	Yakushi Nyorai(Bhaisajyaguru) 薬師如来
Shoshinshi 聖真子	Usagu 宇佐宮	Tagori hime no kami 田心姫命	Amida Nyorai(Amitabha) 阿弥陀如来
Marcdo 客人	Shirayamagu 白山宮	Shirayama hime no kami 白山姫神	Juichimen Kannon(Ekadasamakha) 十一面観音
Juzennji 十禅師	Jugegu 樹下宮	Kamotamayori hime no kami 鴨玉依姫神	Jlzo Bosatsu(Ksitigarbha) 地藏菩薩
Hachioji 八王子	Ushioigu 牛尾宮	Oyamagui no kami(Rough spirit) 大山咋神 (荒魂)	Senju Kannon(Sahasrabhuja) 千手観音
San no miya 三宮	San no miya 三宮	Kamotamayori hime(Rough spirit) 鴨玉依姫神 (荒魂)	Fugen Bosatsu(Samantabhadra) 普賢菩薩

Appendix 1. b) Hie-Sannō Middle Seven Shrines

Hie-Sanno Middle Seven Shrines 日吉山王 中七社

Old name (旧名)	New name (現在)	Kami (祭神名)	Honjibutsu (本地仏)
Daigyōji 大行尊	Omonoimi jinja 大物忌神社	Otoshi no kami 大年神	Bishamon-ten (Vaisravana) 毘沙門天
Ushimiko 牛御子	Ushimiko jinja 牛御子神社	Yamasue no Omushi no kami 山末之大主神	Daitoku Myō (Yamantaka) 大威德明王
Shingyouji 新行尊	Shinmonoimi jinja 新物忌神社	Amechikarumizu hime no kami 天知迎流水姫神	Jikoku-ten (Dhartastra) 持國天 Kichijo-ten (Mahasri) 吉祥天
Shimo Hachioji 下八王子	Yahashira jinja 八柱神社	Iomime no kami 五男三女神	Kokuzo Bosatsu (Akasagarbha) 虚空藏菩薩
Hayao 早尾	Hayao jinja 早尾神社	Susanoo no mokoto 素盞鳴神	Fudo Myō (Acalanatha) 不動明王
Oji 王子	Ubuya jinja 産屋神社	Kamowakekezuchi no kami 鴨別雷神	Monju Bosatsu (Manjusri) 文殊菩薩
Seijo 聖女	Usa wakamiya 宇佐若宮	Shitateru hime no kami 下照姫神	Nyoirin Kannon (Cintamanicakra) 如意輪觀音

Appendix 1. c) Hie-Sannō Lower Seven Shrines

Hie-Sanno Lower Seven Shrines		日吉山王 下七社		Honji-butsum 本地仏	
Old name	旧名	New name	現在	Kami	祭神名
Shozenji	Juge wakamiya	Tamayori hiko no kami	玉依彦神	Ryuju (Nagajuna)	竜樹
小禪師	樹下若宮	Okitsuhiko/Okitsuhime no kami	奥津彦・奥津姫神	Dainichi (Mahavairocana)	大日如来
Omiva Kamadono	Kamadonosha	as above		Nikko/Sakko(Suryaprabha/Candraprabha)	日光・月光菩薩
大宮竈殿	竈殿社			Marishi-ten (Marici)	摩利支天
Ni no miya Kamadono	Kamadonosha			Benzai-ten (Sarasvati)	弁財天
二宮竈殿	竈殿社			Fudo/Aizen Myoo	不動・愛染明王
Yamasue	Ujigami jinja			Sho Kannon (Avalokitesvara)	聖観音
山末	氏神社				
Iwadaki	Iwadakisha				
岩滝	巖滝社				
Tsurugi no miya	Tsurugi no miya				
劍宮	劍宮社				
Kehi	Kehisha				
氣比	氣比社				

Appendix 2. a) Hie-Sannō Honji-butsu Mandara

Collection	Format, Size	Date	Number of Deities
Enryaku-ji 延暦寺	Hanging scroll 40.5 x 27 cm. 掛幅	Early Kamakura 鎌倉初期	9 (Upper Seven + Fudo, Bi shamon)
Nezu Institute of Art 根津美術館	Portable shrine 97 x 57.8 cm. 厨子	Early Kamakura 鎌倉初期	17 (Upper Seven, Nyoirin, Kokuzo, Monju, Fudo, etc.)
Tokyo National Museum 東京国立博物館	Hanging scroll 85.4 x 40.6 cm. 掛幅	Late Kamakura 鎌倉後期	11 (Upper Seven, Fudo, Bis hamon, Monju, Kokuzo)
Museum fur Ostasiatische Kunst, Kōlnケルン東洋美術館	Hanging scroll 97.2 x 56.5 cm. 掛幅	Late Kamakura 鎌倉後期	7 (Shaka, Yakushi, Amida, Fu gen, Sho Kannon, Fudo, Jizo)
Enryaku-ji 延暦寺	Hanging scroll, 132.5 x 52.5 cm. 掛幅	Nanbokucho 南北朝	9 (Upper Seven, Fudo, Bisha mon)
Shoju raigo-ji 聖衆来迎寺	Reliquary shrine 舍利厨子 h. 22.7 cm.	Muromachi 室町	21 (Upper, Middle, Lower Seven shrines)
Metropolitan Museum of Art N. Y. メトロポリタン美術館	Hanging scroll 107.3 x 42.9 cm. 掛幅	Edo 江戸	10 (Upper Seven, Fudo, Bis hamon, Nyoirin)

Appendix 2. b) Hie-Sannō Suijaku Mandara
(Kamakura - Nanbokuchō)

Hie-Sanno Suijaku Mandara 日吉山王 垂迹曼荼羅 I

Collection	Omiya	Format, Size	Date	Number of deities
Jogen-in 淨蔵院	Monk 僧形	Hanging scroll 136 x 56.5 cm.	Late Kamakura 鎌倉後期	1 6 (Upper Seven, Hayao, Dai gyoji+4 kami+3 monks)
Gakuen-ji 鰐淵寺	Monk 僧形	Hanging scroll	Late Kamakura 鎌倉後期	7 (Upper Seven Shrine)
Saikyou-ji 西教寺	Chinese * 唐服	Hanging scroll 124.5 x 40 cm.	Late Kamakura 鎌倉後期	1 5 (Upper Seven, Hayao, Daig yoji, Seijo, Sekizan, Tenjin, +3)
Murakami shiryokan 村上郷土資料館	Monk 僧形	Hanging scroll 103 x 37.5 cm.	Late Kamakura? 鎌倉後期	1 1 (Upper SEVEN, Hayao, Dai gyoji, Seijo, Benzaiten)
Shogen-ji 正源寺	Chinese * 唐服	Hanging scroll 151 x 55 cm.	Nanbokucho 南北朝	2 7 (Upeer Seven, Hayao, . Dai gyoji, + 18)
Yanagi Koichi 柳	Chinese * 唐服	Hanging scroll 109.1 x 37.6 cm.	Nanbokucho 南北朝	1 0 (Upper Seven, Hayao, Dai gyoji, Seijo)

* - Constellation of Great Bear 北斗七星

Appendix 2. b) Hie-Sannō Suijaku Mandara
(Muromachi-Edo)

Hie-Sanno Suijaku Mandara 日吉山王 垂迹曼荼羅 II

Collection	Oniya	Format, Size	Date	Number of deities
Mii-dera (Onjo-ji) 三井寺 (園城寺)	Monk 僧形	Hanging scroll 88.3 x 39 cm.	Muromachi 室町	9 (Upper Seven, Hayao, Daigyoji)
Nikko Rinno-ji 日光輪王寺	Monk 僧形	Hanging scroll	Muromachi 室町	10 (Upper Seven, Hayao, Daigyoji, Seijo)
Saikyo-ji 西教寺	Monk 僧形	Hanging scroll 120.5 x 49.5 cm.	Muromachi 室町	25 (Upper, Middle, Lower S. GOIN, Tenjin, Sekizan, Gion)
Manju-in 曼殊院	Chinese * 唐服	Hanging scroll 141 x 42.1 cm.	Muromachi 室町	13 (Upper Seven, Hayao, Daigyoji, Seijo, Tenjin, Gion, Sekizan,
Boston, MFA ボストン美術館	Monk 僧形	Hanging scroll 154.4 x 42.2 cm	Muromachi 室町	21 (Upper, Middle, Lower Seven)
Musee Guimet, Paris パリ・ギメ美術館	Monk 僧形	Hanging scroll 104 x 47 cm.	Edo 江戸	9 (Upper Seven, Hayao, Daigyoji)

* - Constellation of Great Bear 北斗七星

Appendix 2. c) Hie-Sannō Miya Mandara

Hie-Sanno Shrine Mandara 日吉山王 宮曼荼羅

Yamato bunkakan 大和文華館	Hanging scroll 97 x 64.2 cm.	掛幅	Kamakura 鎌倉	0 (10 shrines, Upper Seven, Hayao, Daigyoji, Seijo)
Hyakusai-ji 百濟寺	Hanging scroll 143.5 x 76.5 cm.	掛幅	Kamakura 鎌倉	21 (Honji of Upper Seven Fudo, Bishamon, 12 sui-jaku)
Reiun-ji 靈雲寺	Hanging scroll 116.1 x 55.2 cm.	掛幅	Kamakura 鎌倉	21 (Honji of Upper, Middle, Lower Seven shrines)
Nara National Museum 奈良国立博物館	Hanging scroll 120.2 x 68.6 cm.	掛幅	Nanbokucho 南北朝	42 (Honji and sui-jaku of 21 shrines)
Enryaku-ji 延曆寺 (日吉社古図)	Hanging scroll 52.9 x 71.8 cm.	掛幅	Muromachi 室町	0
Hiyoshi taisha 日吉大社 (山王秘密曼荼羅)			Muromachi 室町	0
Risho-in 理性院	Hanging scroll 117.2 x 67.5 cm.	掛幅	Edo 江戸	42 (Copy of Nara National Museum mandara)

Glossary of Japanese Characters

Abe no Nakamaro	阿部仲麻呂
Abe no Seimei	阿部清明
Ajisuki takahikone no mikoto	味耜高彥根命
Akitsu-shima	秋津島
Amaterasu Omikami	天照大神
Amida Nyorai	阿彌陀如來
Annen	安然
ara mitama	荒魂
Ariwara no Narihira	在原業平
Asabasho	阿婆縛抄
Ashibiki emaki	芦引繪卷
Awazu no goku	粟津御供
banka	挽歌
Bishamon-ten	毘沙門天
Biwako	琵琶湖
boji	榜示
butai zukuri	舞台造り
butsuma	仏画
Chigi	智顛
chigo	稚兒
Chikatsu afumi	近都淡海
chingo kokka	鎮護國家
chinju-sha	鎮守社
Chokyo higi sanshō	長享秘儀參社
Chuai tenno	中哀天皇
Chukai	忠快
Daigyōji	大行事
Daijō-e	大嘗會
Daishiho-in	大懺法院
dannzo	檀像

Dengyo Daishi	伝教大師
Dokaku	道覚
dogyo-zo	童形像
dokkosho	独鈷杵
Dosho	道昌
doshu	堂衆
ebusshi	絵仏師
echizu	絵地図
edokoroza	絵所座
Eison	叡尊
ekijin	疫神
Engi shiki	延喜式
Enkei	延慶
En no gyoja	役行者
Enra-o juki yoshu juo shichisei ojo jodo-kyo	閻羅王授記預修十王七生往生浄土經
Enryaku-ji	延暦寺
etoki	絵解き
eyo	絵様
Fudo Myoo	不動明王
Fugen Bosatsu	普賢菩薩
Fujiwara no Moromichi	藤原師通
Fujiwara no Morosuke	藤原師輔
Fujiwara no Muchimaro	藤原武智麻呂
Fujiwara no Teika	藤原定家
Fujiwara no Yorimichi	藤原頼通
fukinuke yatai	吹き抜け屋台
Fukko shinto	復古神道
Fuku	不空
Fuso ryakki	扶桑略記
gachirinn	月輪
gakushou	学生
Ganjin	鑑真
ganso shari zushi	嵌装舍利厨子

Ganzan Daishi	元三大師
geden	下殿
gejin	下陣
Genkaku	嚴覺
Getsuzo-in	月藏院
Godaigo tenno	後醍醐天皇
gohoshin	護法神
Goin	護因
Gokan	豪觀
gorinto	五輪塔
Gonjinsho	嚴神鈔
Goshichinichi mishiho	後七日御修法
goshintai	御神体
Goshirakawa-in	後白河院
Gotobain shinki	後鳥羽院宸記
Gyogi	行基
Gyokuyo	玉葉
gyozo	形像
Hachioji	八王子
Hafuribe Maretou	祝部希遠
Hafuribe Yukimaru	祝部行丸
haibutsu kishaku	廃仏毀釈
haiden	拜殿
hakubyo zuzo	白描圖像
Hanazono tenno shinki	花園天皇宸記
han-honji-suijaku	反本地垂迹
Hayao	早尾
heihaku	幣帛
henso-zu	變相圖
Hieiizan	比叡山
Hie gyodoki	日吉行道記
Hie heiran kasai no ki	日吉兵乱火災之記
Hie-Sanno Gongen chishinki	日吉山王權現知新記
Hie-Sanno rishoki	日吉山王利生記
Hiesha negi kudensho	日吉社禰宜口伝抄

hibutsu	秘仏
hijiri	聖
himin	非人
himitsu shasan	秘密社參
Hira	比良
Hirata Atsutane	平田篤胤
hoben	方便
Hokke hakko	法華八講
Hokke ichijo	法華一乘
Hokke-ko	法華講
hokkyo	法橋
Hokuto-ku	北斗供
Hokuto shichisei	北斗七星
Honen shonin eden	法然上人繪伝
hongaku shiso	本覺思想
honji-butsu	本地仏
honji-suijaku shiso	本地垂迹思想
honmon	本門
honzon	本尊
Hosso-shu	法相宗
Ichidai ichido busshari hoken	一代一度仏舍利奉獻
Ichidai ichido daishinpo hohei	一代一度大神宝奉幣
iji dozu-ho	異事同凶法
Ikoma mandara	生駒曼荼羅
imayo	今様
inke	院家
Ippen shonin eden	一遍上人繪伝
iwakura	磐座
Iwashimizu Hachiman-gu	岩清水八幡宮
Izanagi no mikoto	伊弉諾命
Izanami no mokoto	伊弉冉命
Izayoi nikki	十六夜日記
jakumon	迹門
Jichin osho jika awase	慈鎮和尚自歌合

Jichinsai	地鎮祭
Jie Daishi Ryogen	慈惠大師良源
Jien	慈円
Jikaku Daishi Ennin	慈覚大師円仁
Jingu-ji	神宮寺
jinin	神人
Jinno shotoki	神皇正統紀
jishushin	地主神
Jizo Bosatsu	地藏菩薩
Jobodai-in	浄菩提院
Jojaku kodo	常寂光土
Juge Shigekuni	樹下茂国
Juichimen Kannon	十一面観音
Jussho Gongen	十所権現
Juzenji	十禅師
kaidan	戒壇
Kaidoki	海道記
kaihogyo	回峰行
akebotoke	懸仏
Kainomoto no Hitomaro	柿本人麻呂
kakibyoso	描表装
Kakurin-ji	鶴林寺
Kakuzensho	覚禅鈔
Kamotamayori hime no kami	鴨玉依姫神
kanjo	灌頂
Kanmu tenno	桓武天皇
Kan muryoju-kyo	観無量寿経
kannabi	神奈備
Kanshun	観舜
Karasaki no matsu	唐崎の松
kariginu	狩衣
Kasuga Gongen kenki	春日権現験記
katsuma	羯磨
Katsuragawa sokusho myoo-in	葛川息障明王院
Kawara Daimyojin	香春大明神

Kehi jinguji	氣比神宮寺
keibutsu	景物
Keien	慶円
Keiran shuyoshu	溪嵐拾葉集
Keisoku-ji	鷄足寺
Keito-in	鷄頭院
kenchasai	献茶祭
kentoush	遣唐使
kimon	鬼門
kirigane	切金
Kitabatake Chikafusa	北畠親房
Kitano tenjin engi	北野天神縁起
Koan	弘安
Kobo Daishi Kukai	弘法大師空海
Kodakamiyama engi	己高山縁起
Kofuku-ji	興福寺
kofun	古墳
Kojiki	古事記
kokubunji	国分寺
kokugaku	国学
Kongo hannya haramita-kyo	金剛般若波羅蜜多經
Konjaku monogatari	今昔物語
Koryu-ji	広隆寺
Koshaki dankan	古社記断簡
Kosho	康正
kosoden	高僧伝
Kotobiki no miya engi	琴弾宮縁起
Kozan-ji	高山寺
Kujo Kanezane	九条兼実
Kujo ujoshō ikai	九条右丞相遺誠
ku ke chu	空仮中
Kumano	熊野
kunin	公人
Kyogen	経玄
kyoyozo	教養像

Mangan	満願
Manyoshu	万葉集
mappo	末法
Marodo	客人
masaru	真猿 (魔去る、勝る)
Mtsunoo jinja	松尾神社
Meigetsuki	明月記
meisho	名所
Mikasa yama	三笠山
miko	巫女
mikoshi	御輿
Mitsuno obito Momoe	三津首百枝
Miwa-san	三輪山
miya mandara	宮曼荼羅
Motoori Norinaga	本居宣長
Monyoki	門葉記
monzeki	門跡
monzenmachi	門前町
Mudo-ji	無動寺
Muju	無住
Muko myojin	向日明神
naijin	内陣
Nenju gyoji emaki	年中行事絵巻
nigi mitama	和魂
Nihongi	日本紀
Ninchu	忍忠
Ni no miya	二宮
nohi	納被
norito	祝詞
nosuji unsui	野筋雲水
nusa	弊
Nyoirin kashoku-ku	如意輪加星供
Obie	小比叡
Oobie	大比叡

Ogimachi tenno	正親町天皇
Okakura Tenshin	岡倉天心
Omi meisho zue	近江名所図会
Omiya	大宮
Onamuchi no kami	大己貴神
onmyoji	陰陽師
Otokuni-sha	乙訓社
Otomo no Yakamochi	大伴家持
Otsu-kyo	大津京
Oyamagui no kami	大山咋神
raiban	礼盤
Raigo	頼豪
raijin	雷神
reihai-ko	礼拝講
rinpo	輪宝
Rinno-ji	輪王寺
Rishoin	理性院
ro	老
Rokkaku Jakusai	六角寂濟
Ro no miko	廊の御子
Ryojin hisho	梁塵秘抄
Saicho	最澄
Saidai-ji	西大寺
Saionji Kinhira	西園寺公衡
Saisho shitenno-in	最勝四天王院
Saito	西塔
Sakamoto	坂本
Sandai jitsuroku	三代実録
sando	参道
sankei mandara	参詣曼荼羅
Sanke yoryakki	山家要畧記
San no miya	三宮
Sanno ekotoba	山王絵詞
Sanno Gongen	山王権現

Sanno-ku	山王供
Sanno nijuissha toezu	山王二十一社等絵図
Sanno reigenki	山王靈驗記
Sanno sansha shaidai	山王參社次第
sansen somoku shitsukai jobutsu	山川草木悉皆成仏
Seijo	聖女
Sekizan myojin	赤山明神
Senju Kannon	千手觀音
shaden	社殿
Shaka Nyorai	釈迦如来
shari zushi	舍利厨子
Shasekishu	沙石集
Shichisei Nyoirin himitsu yokyo	七星如意輪秘密要經
Shichisha ryakki	七社畧記
Shichison mandara	七尊曼荼羅
Shikobuchi myojin	志古淵明神
shinbutsu shugo	神仏習合
Shijokoho	熾盛光法
shimenawa	注連繩
shin'en	神猿
shinpo	神室
Shinra myojin	新羅明神
shinroku	神鹿
shintaisan	神体山
shinzo	神像
Shippoazan	七宝山
shirabyoshi	白拍子
Shirayama hime no kami	白山姫神
Shitateru hime no kami	下照姫神
shitsukai konjikishin	悉皆金色身
shitsushitsuza	瑟瑟座
Sho Kannon	聖觀音
Shocho	承澄
shoen	莊園
Shogen-ji	正源寺
shogon	莊嚴

shoichii	正一位
Shojoden	誠証殿
Shoju raigo-ji	聖衆來迎寺
Shomyo-ji	称名寺
Shoren-in	青蓮院
Shoshinbutsu mansara	諸神仏曼荼羅
Shoshinshi	聖真子
Shotai zukuri	聖帝造り
Shoyuki	小右記
Shugaisho	拾芥抄
Shugyokushu	拾玉集
Shunzen	春全
sokushin jobutsu	即身成仏
Soo osho kenpuki	相應和尚檢封記
Sonchi	尊智
Sonchu	尊忠
sorinto	相輪
sotoba	卒塔婆
suijakuga	垂迹画
Sukuyo-kyo	宿曜經

Tado jinguji garan engi narabini shizaicho 多度神宮寺伽藍縁起并資財帳

Tagori hime no kami	田心姫神
tahoto	多宝塔
Taima mandara	当麻曼荼羅
takai	他界
Takashina Takakane	高階隆兼
Tendai-shu	天台宗
Tengu zoshi	天狗草子
Tokan kiko	東関紀行
Tokitsugu kyoki	言繼卿記
Tokuitsu	徳一
Tonan-ji	東南寺
torii	鳥居
Toshodai-ji konryu engi	唐招提寺建立縁起
Toto	東塔

Tozu seppo	戸津説法
tsuina	追儼
Tsurugaoka hojo-e shokunin uta-awase	鶴岡放生会職人歌合
ujigami	氏神
urahaku	裏箔
Usa Hachiman-gu	宇佐八幡宮
utamakura	歌枕
Wakasa	若狭
waka soku darani	和歌即陀羅尼
wako dojin	和光同塵
wasan	和讃
Watsuji Tetsuro	和辻哲郎
Yakushi Nyorai	薬師如来
Yamashina Tokitsugu	山科言繼
Yamasue no onushi no kami	山末大主神
Yaoyorozu no kami	八百万神
yasha	夜叉
yogo	影向
Yokawa	横川
yokoana kofun	横穴古墳
yomiya otoshi	宵宮落とし
yorishiro	依代
Yotenki	耀天記
yuki suki	悠紀 主基
zasu	座主
Zomyo	増妙
zue	図絵
zuyo	図様

Bibliography

Abbreviation

GR -- *Gunsho ruijū*. [ZGR -- *Zoku Gunsho ruijū*], Gunsho ruijū kanseikai.

HR -- *History of Religion*.

JJRS -- *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*.

KK -- *Kokka*,

KT -- *Kokka Taikan*, Kadokawa shoten. [C -- *chokusenshū*, S -- *shikashū*]

NE -- *Nihon no emaki*, Chūō kōronsha. [ZNE -- *Zoku Nihon no emaki*]

NKBT -- *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*. Iwanami shoten.

NKBZ -- *Nihon koji bijutsu zenshū*, Shūei-sha.

ST -- *Shinto taikei*, [J -- *Jinja-hen*, K -- *Koten-hen*] Shinto taikei hensankai.

TSD -- *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*, [Z -- *zuzō*]

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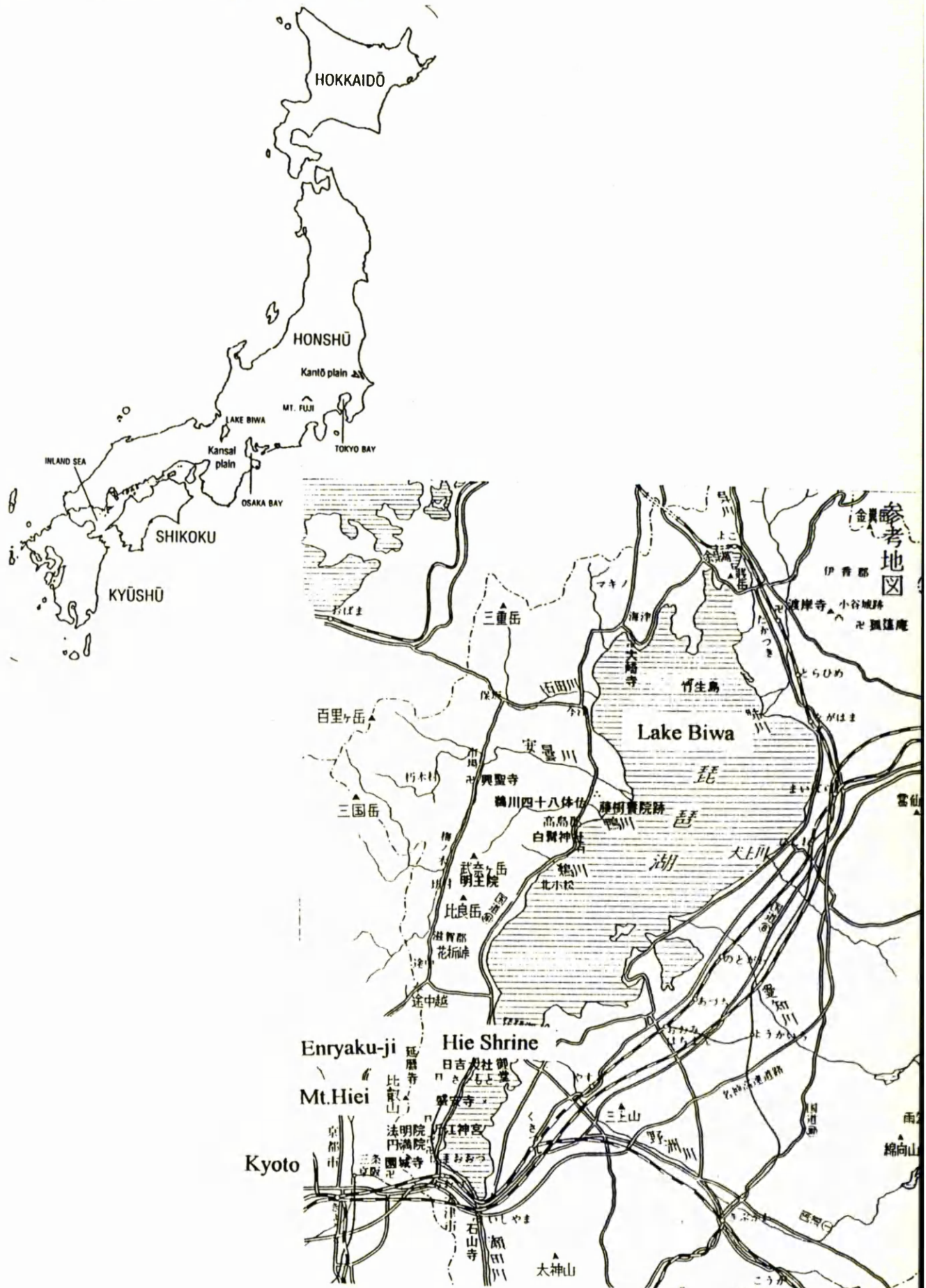
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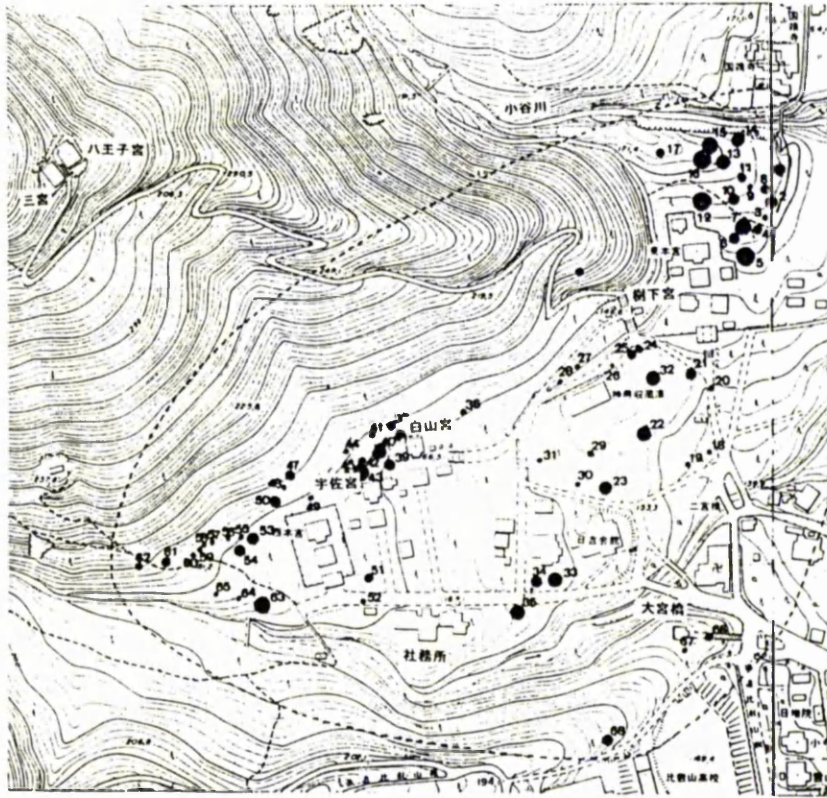
Hie-Sanno Mandara:
The Iconography of Kami and Sacred Landscape
in Medieval Japan

Maps and Illustrations

Map 1. Location of the Hie Shrine



Map 2. Distribution of Kofun in the vicinity of the Hie Shrine



日吉古墳群分布図 大津市教育委員会

Map 3. Hie Shrine

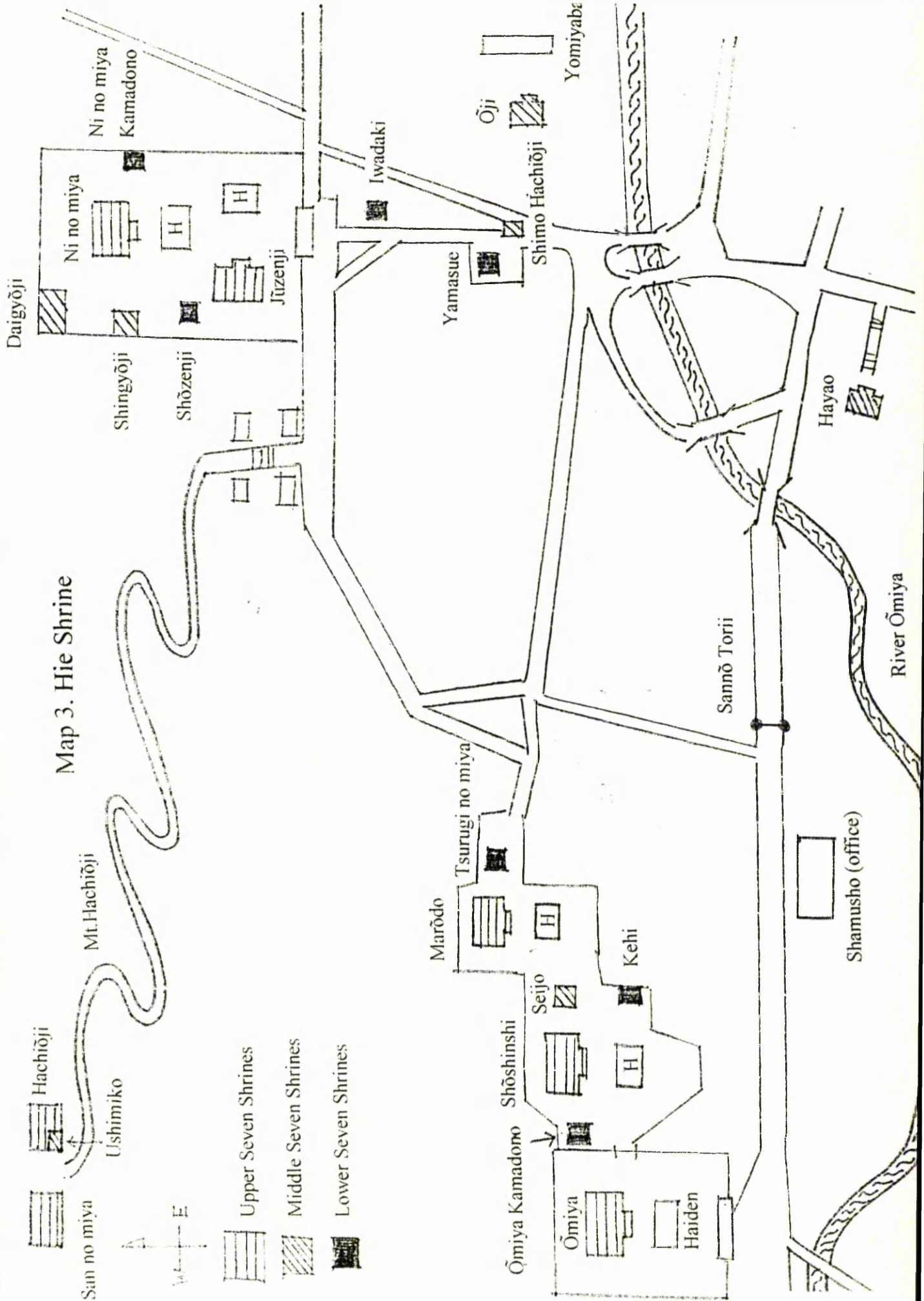




Fig.1. Sacred Rock (*iwakura*) on Mt.Hachiōji



Fig.2. Kofun in the Hie Shrine complex

Fig.3. Bronze Seal of the Hie Shrine, Heian period.

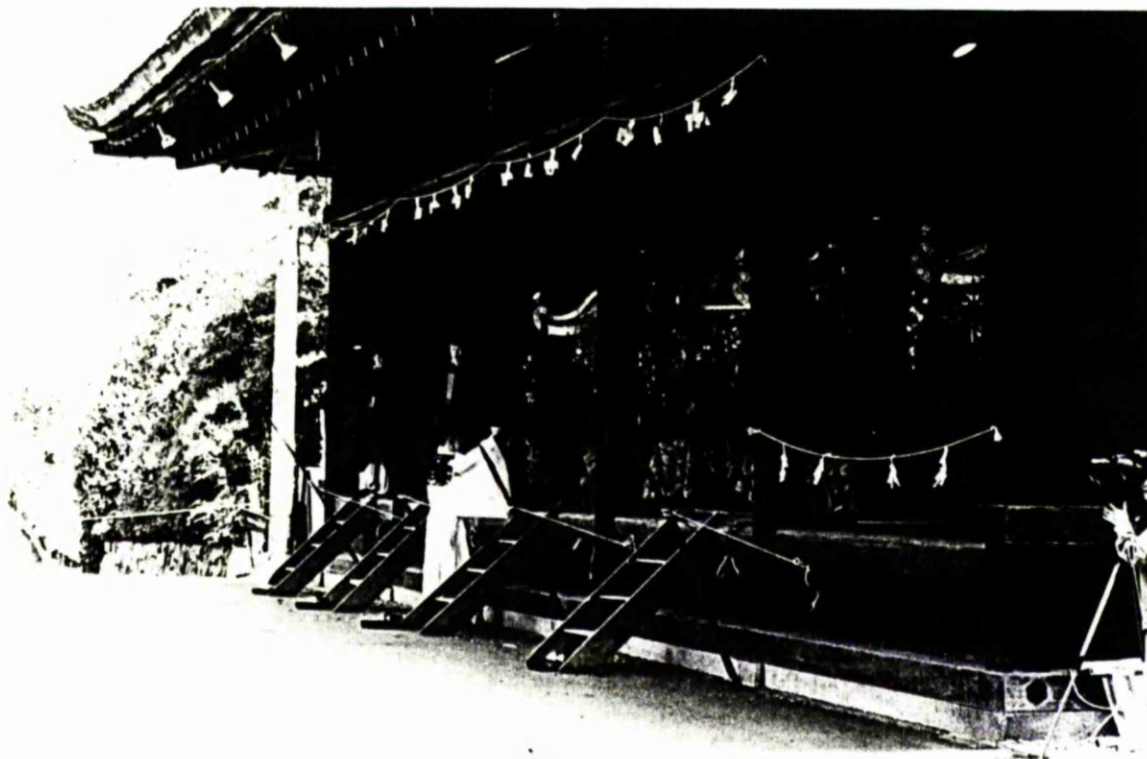
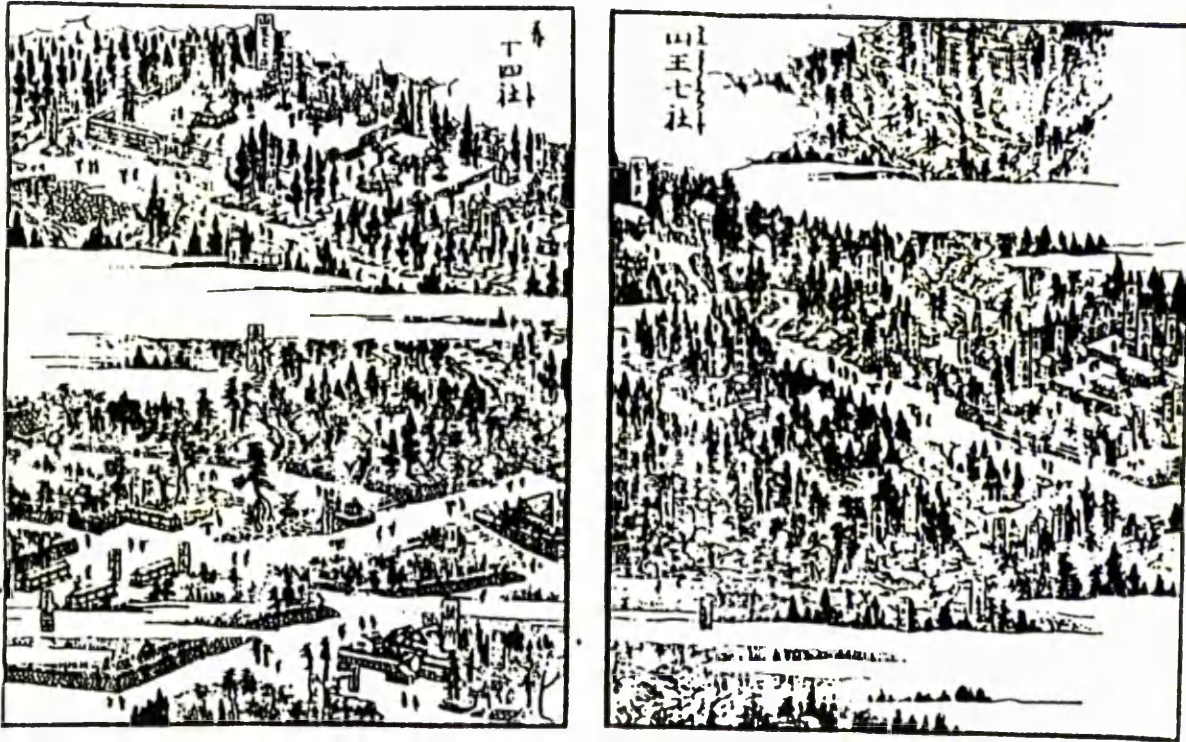


Fig.4. Kencha-sai (Dedication of Tea), Sannō Festival.

Fig.5. Hie Shrine from the *Ōmi Meisho zue*, 1814.



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Fig.6. Mt.Hachiōji.

Fig.7. Higashi Hon-gū (Eastern Main Shrine), formerly Ni-no-miya.

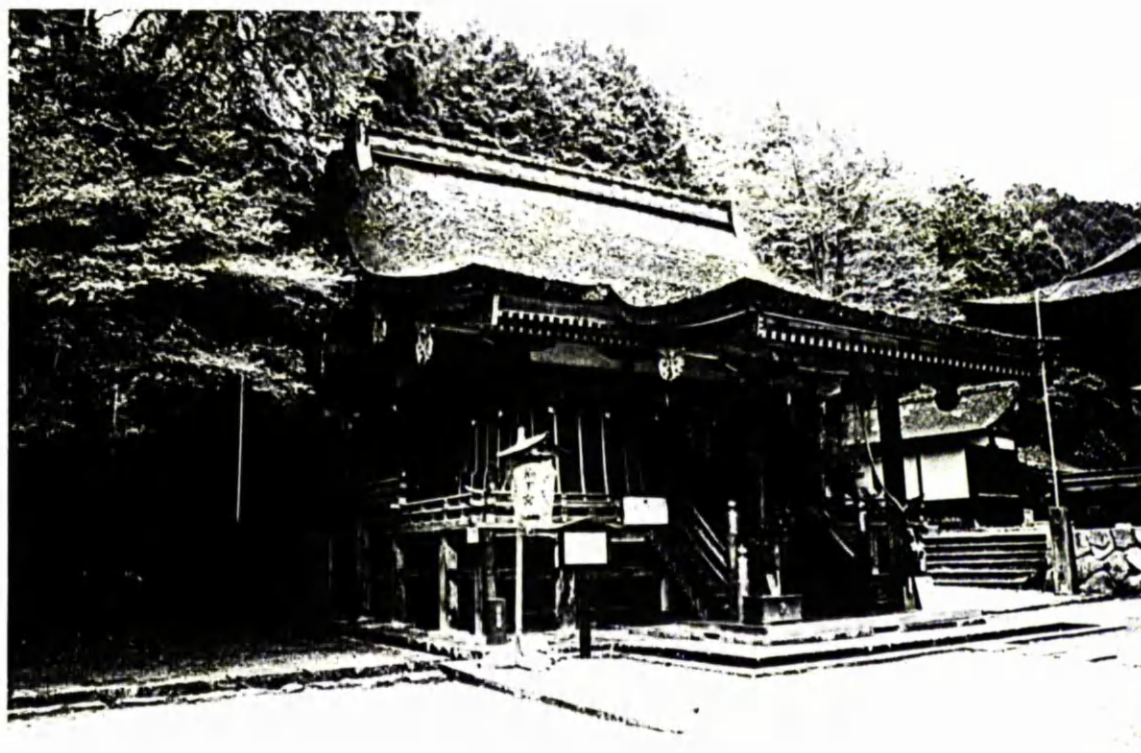


Fig.8. Juge Shrine, formerly Jūzenji.

Fig.9. Jūzenji Shrine from the *Tengu zōshi*, 1296,
Tokyo National Museum.

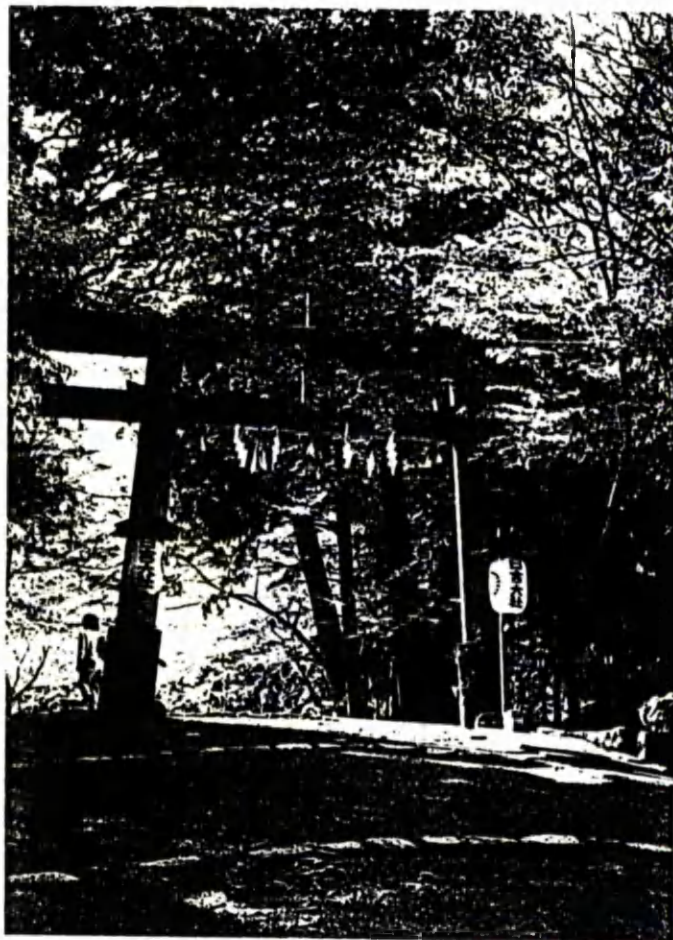
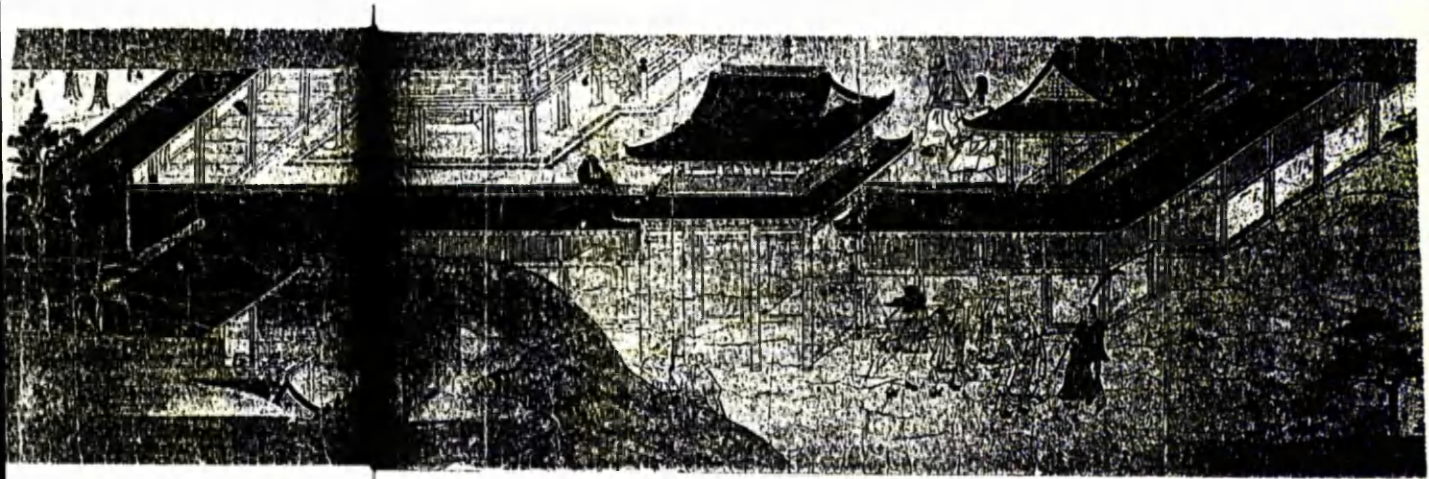


Fig.10. Sannō torii

Fig.11. Gate of the Nishi Hon-gū (Western Main Shrine)



Fig.12. Nishi Hon-gū, formerly Ōmiya.

Fig. 13. Ise Shrine.

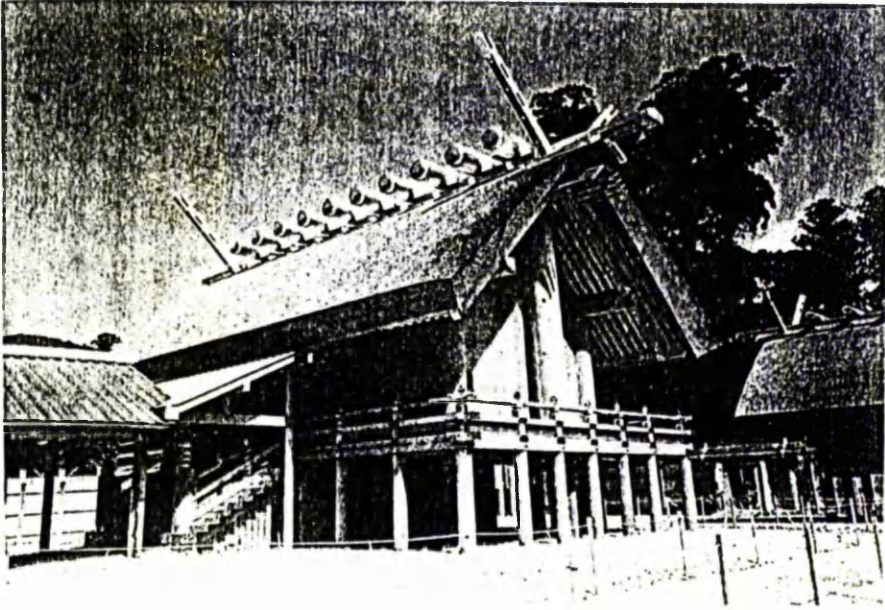
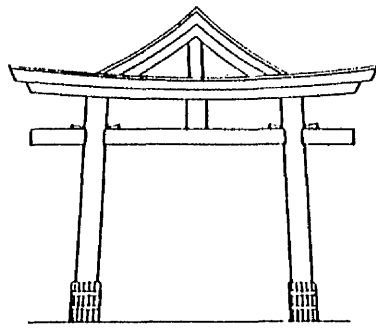
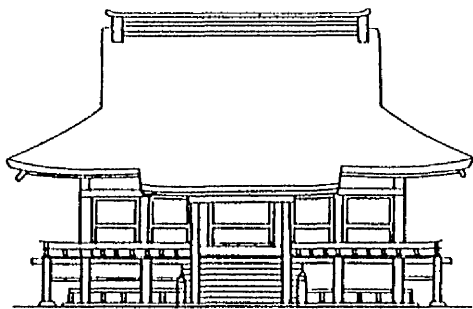


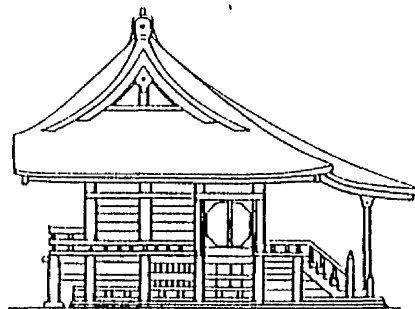
Fig. 14. *Shinden zukuri* residence from the *Nenjū gyōji emaki*.



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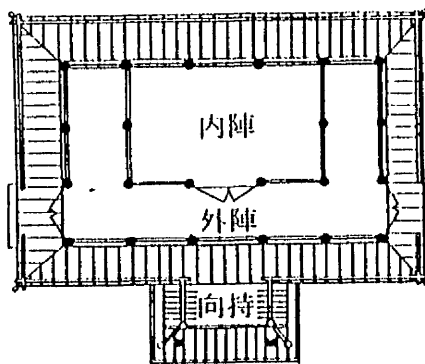


正面



側面

白吉造り (日吉大社東本宮本殿)
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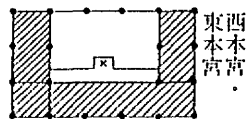
平面

Fig.15. Hie style (Shōtai zukuri) Shrine architecture.

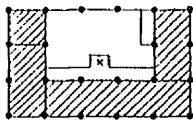


Fig.16. Butai zukuri, Hachiōji Shrine.

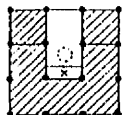
Fig.17. Floor plan of *geden*.



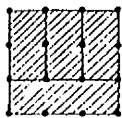
西本宮



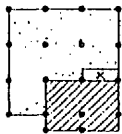
宇佐宮



樹下宮



白山宮

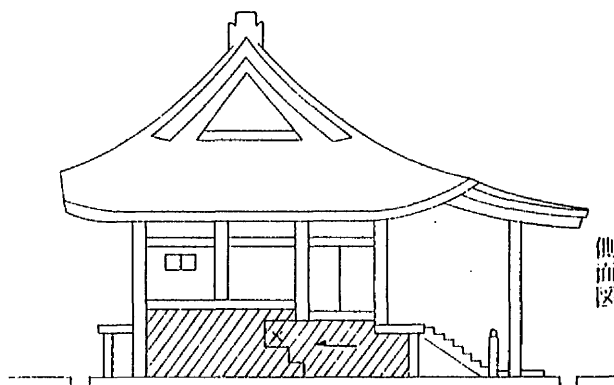


八王子宮

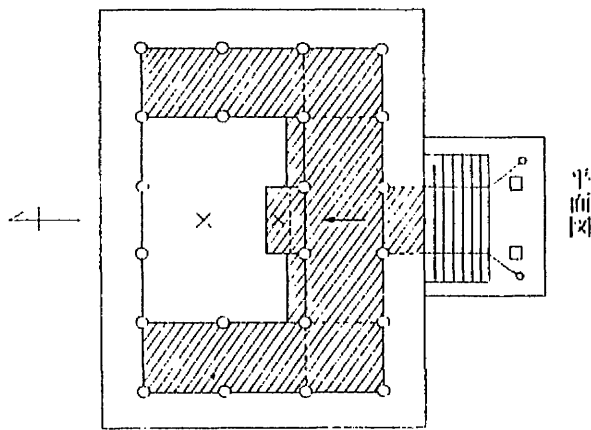


三宮

下段平面図 土間と板間の空間構成を略図で示した



側面図



西本宮側面図 平面図

Fig.18. *Geden* of the Jūzenji Shrine.

Fig. 19. Tahōtō from the *Sannō nijūissha tōezu*,
Late 16th century.

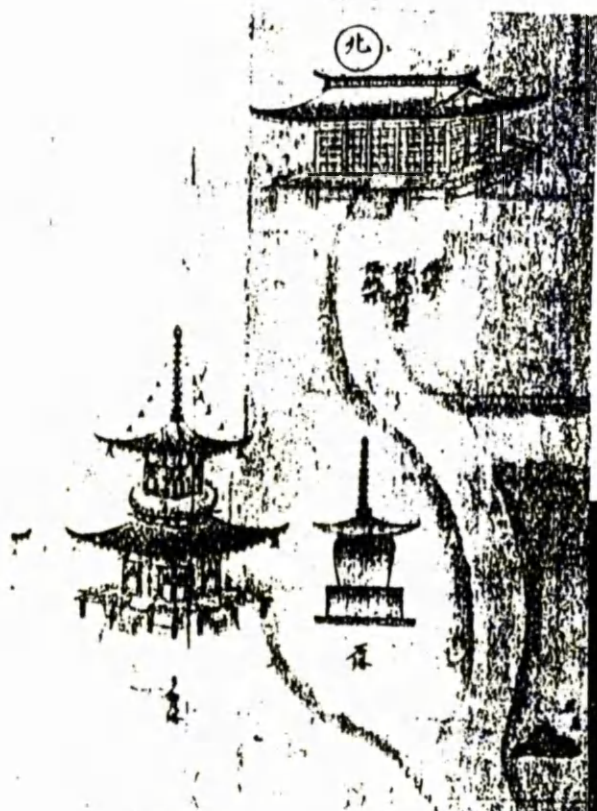


Fig.20. Stone pagoda in the Hie Shrine complex



Fig.21. Buddha with Brahma (Bon-ten) and Indra (Taishaku-ten),
1st century AD, Swat, Pakistan, Green schist, 40 x 39 cm.
Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin.

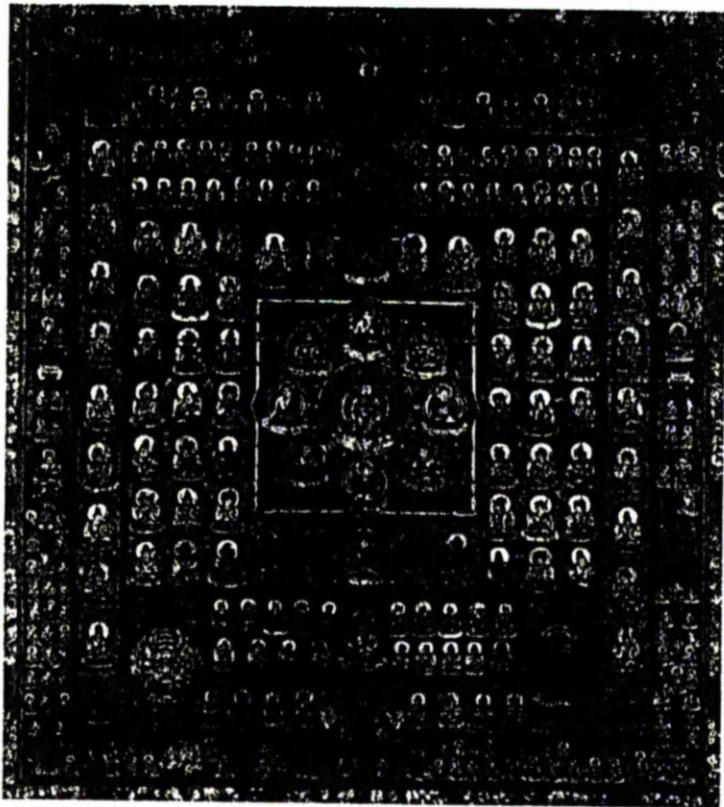


Fig.22. Taizōkai, Mandala of the Two Worlds,
Colour on silk, 183 x163 cm, Tō-ji, 9th century.

Fig.23. Sekizan Myōjin, Edo period.



Fig.24. Shinra Myōjin, Kamakura period.

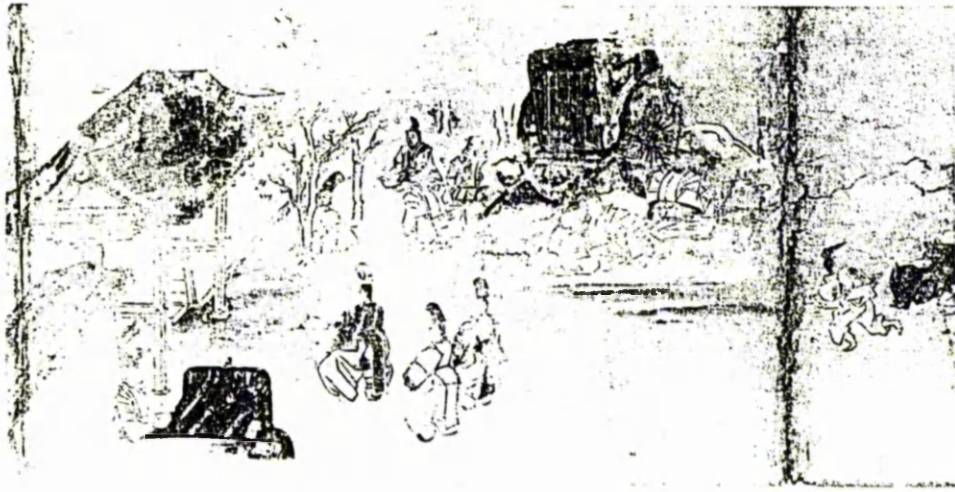


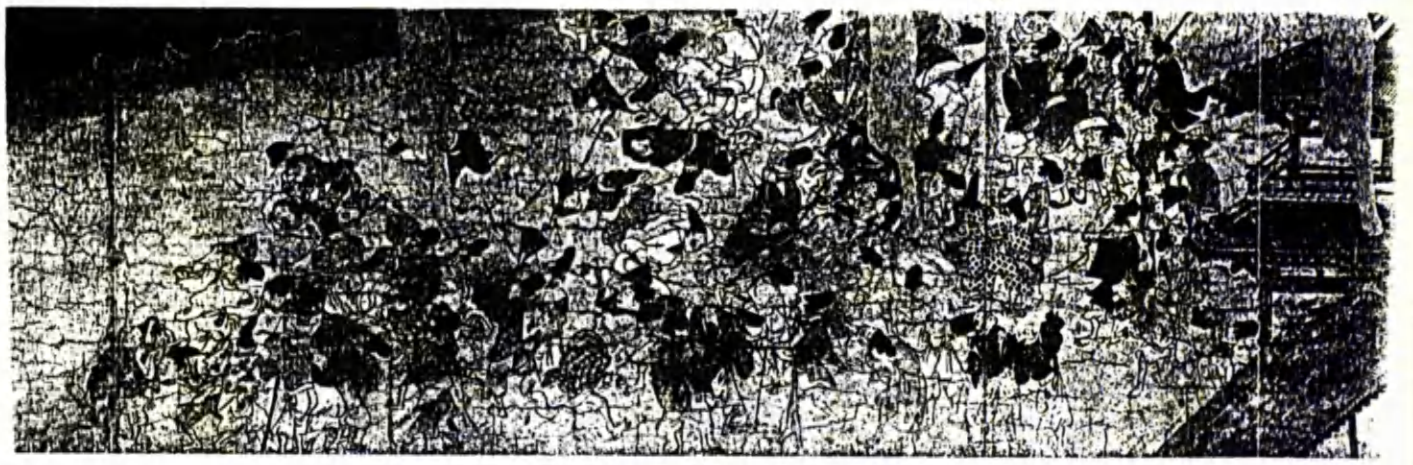
Fig.25. Sannō reigenki emaki (Hie Shrine, Shizuoka), 1288,
Ink and colour on paper, Tokyo National Museum.



出動する

8紙

7紙



朱雀門内の群衆

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Fig.26. Ban Dainagon ekotoba, 12th century, Idemitsu Collection, Tokyo.



Fig.27. Scene of Yorimichi's residence from the *Sannō reigenki*, 1288.



Fig.28. Ritual scene from the Sannō reigenki, 1288.

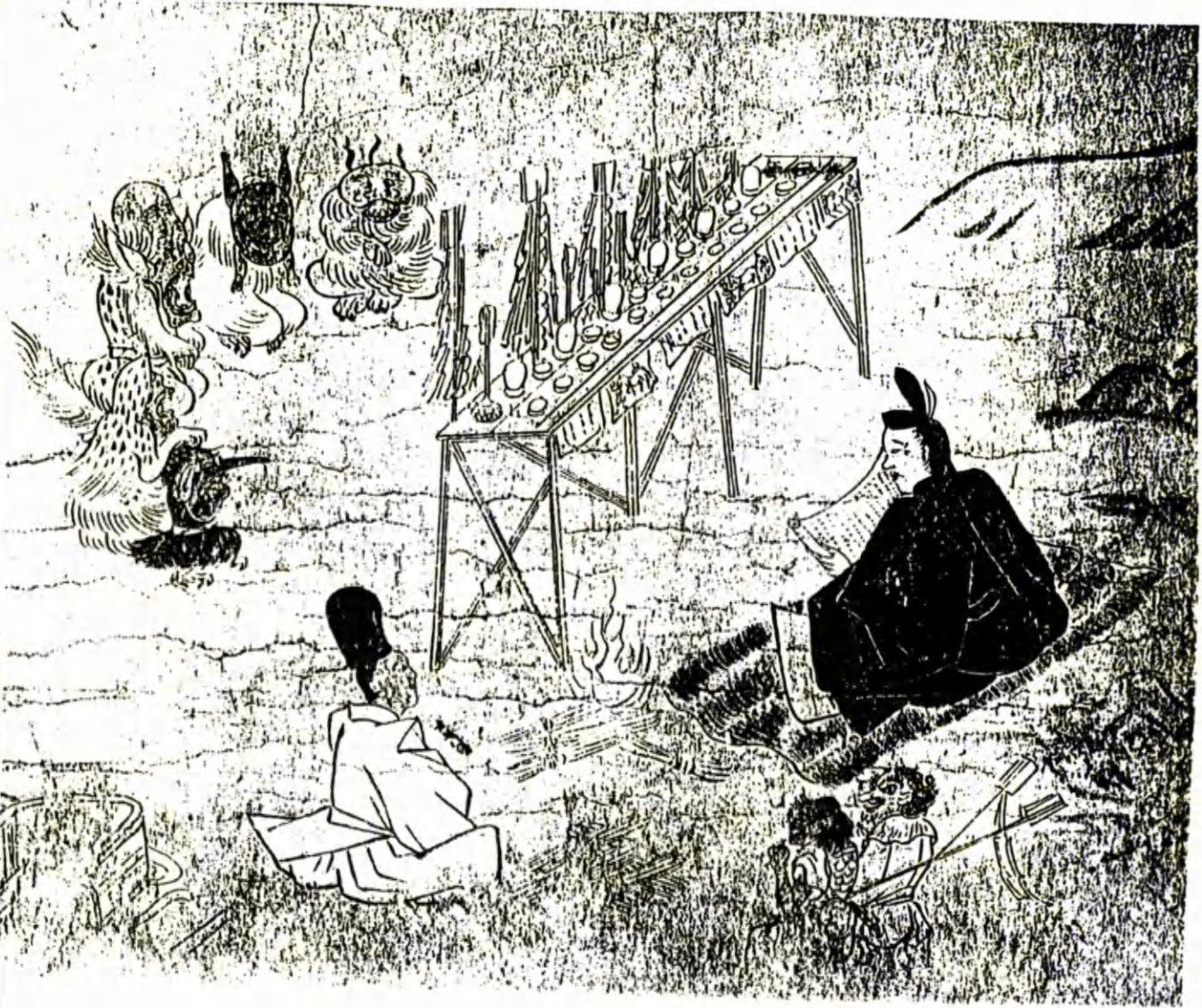


Fig.29. Ritual scene with Abe no Seimei from the *Fudo riyalu engi*, 14th century.



Fig.30. Scene of Moromichi's residence from the Sannō reigenki, 1288.



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第一卷
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已上
... (vertical text, likely a continuation of the book's description or a related note)

22 山王繪詞 妙法院

Fig.31. Sannō ekotoba, Muromachi period, Myōhō-in, Kyoto.

Fig.32. *Sannō reigenki*, Muromachi period, Kubo Sō Memorial Art Institute, Osaka.

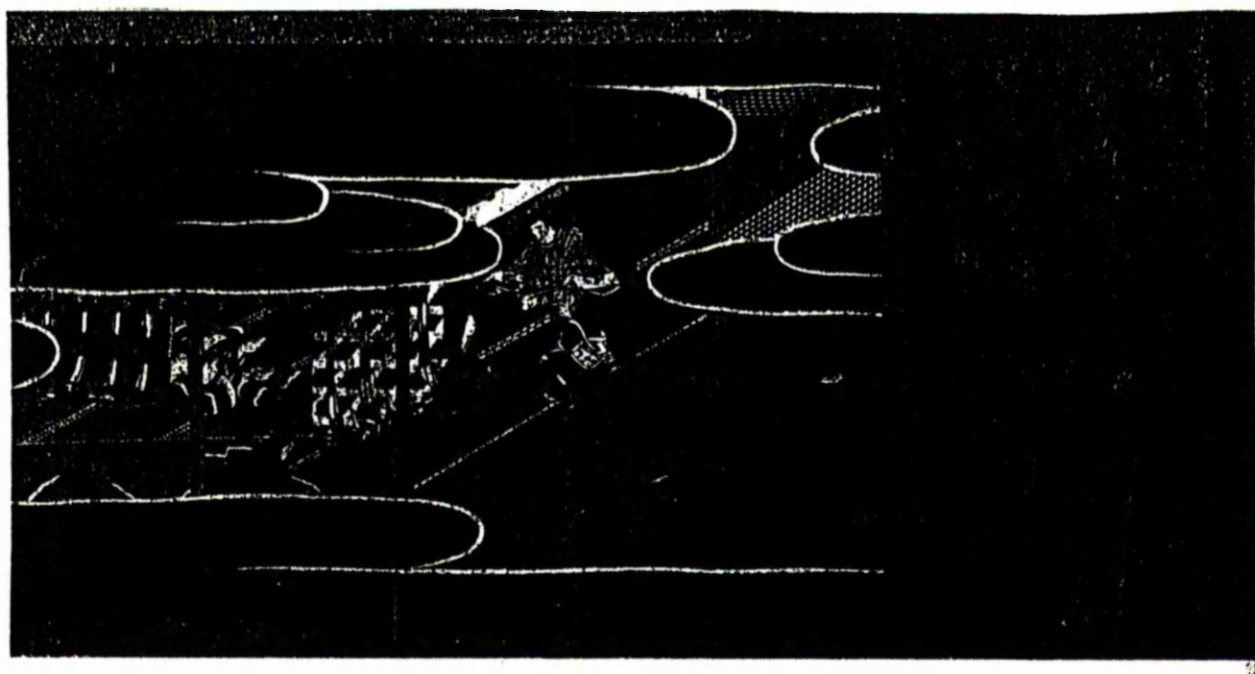


Fig.33. *Sannō reigenki*, Muromachi period.



Fig.36. *Sannō reigenki*, Muromachi period, Enryaku-ji.

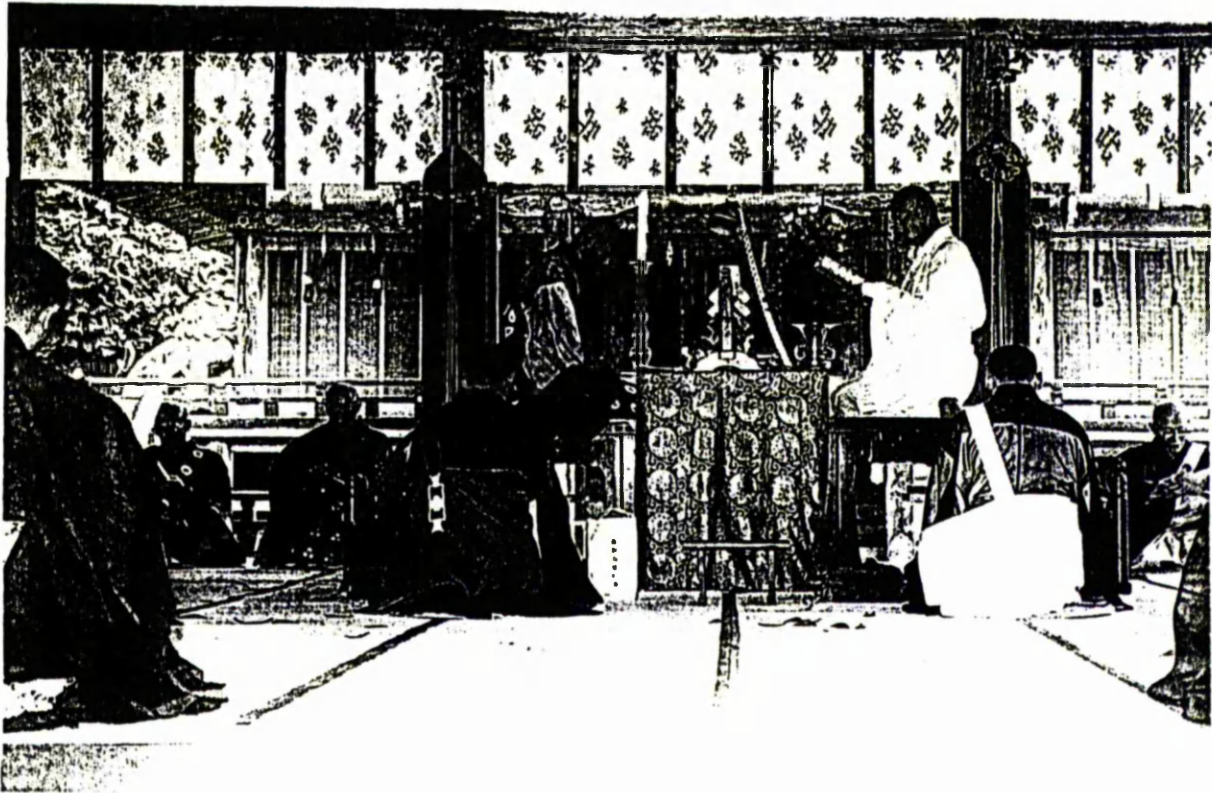


Fig.37. Sannō reihaikō at the Nishi Hon-gū.



Fig.38. Kakebotoke, dated 1218, diam. 30.4 cm.
Gilt bronze, Nara National Museum.

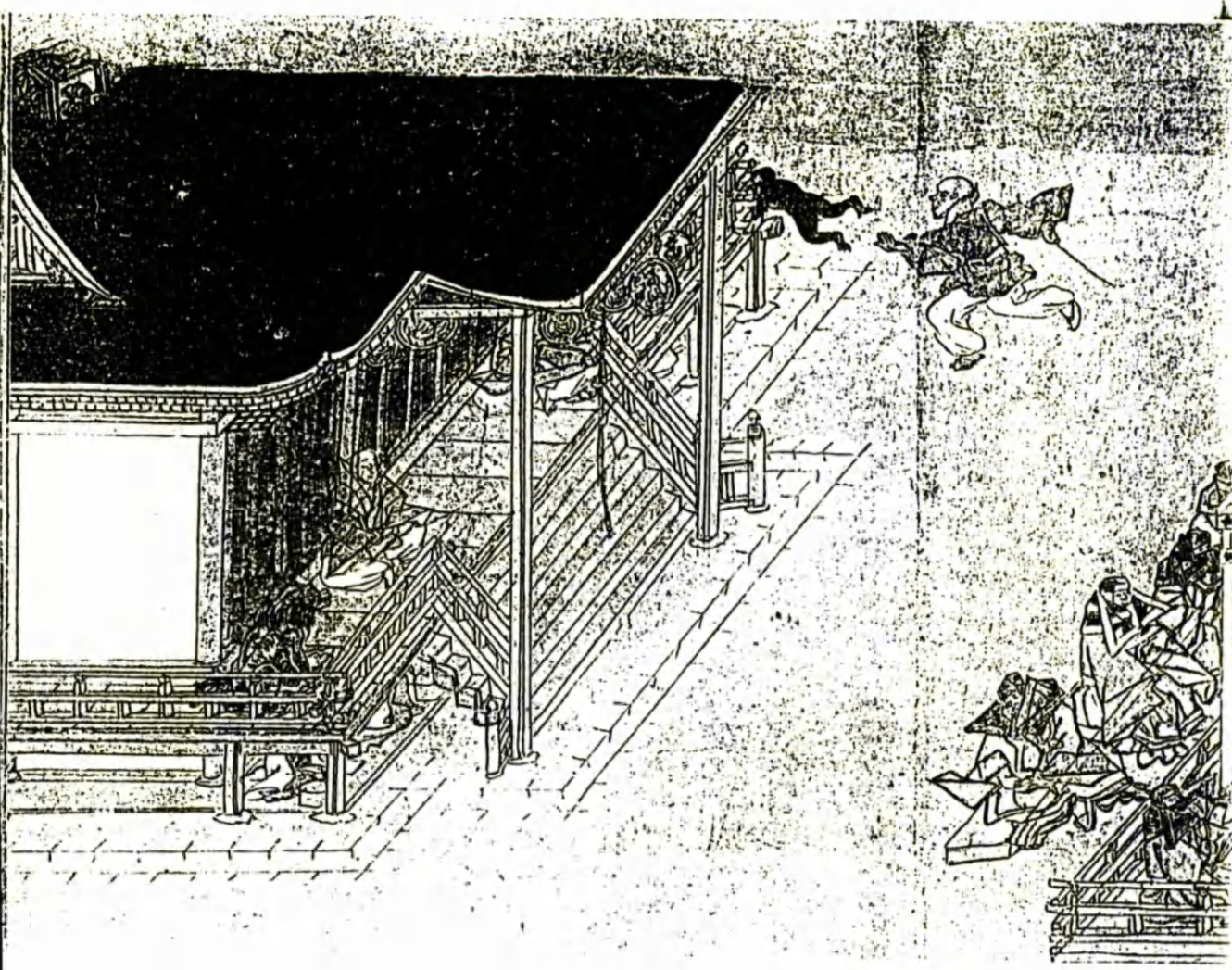


Fig.39. Kakebotoke under the eaves of Jūzenji Shrine, *Hōnen Shōnin eden*, c. 1307.

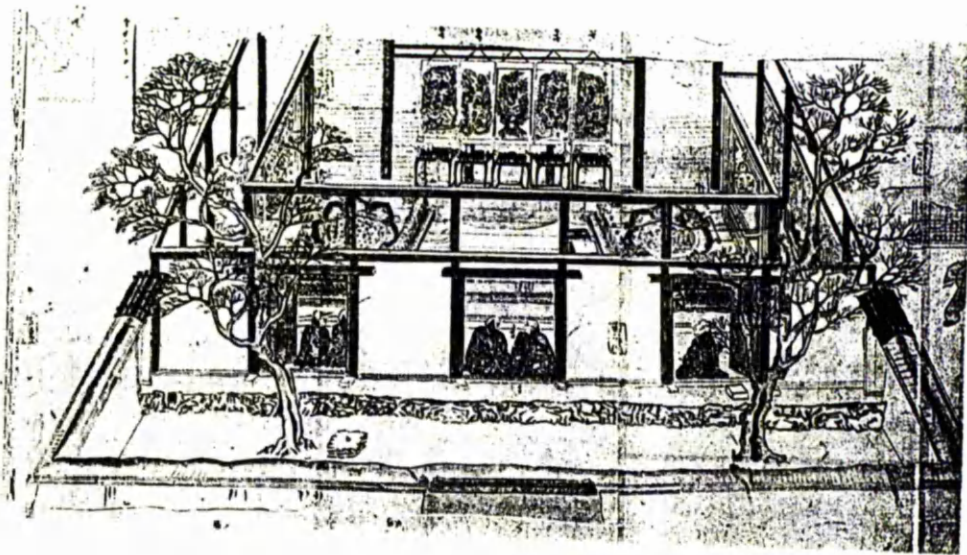


Fig.40. Ritual Goshichinichi mishiho in the Shingon-in, *Nenjū gyōji emaki*.



Fig.41. Mandala from the cave of Bamiyan, 5 / 6th century, Musee Guimet, Paris.

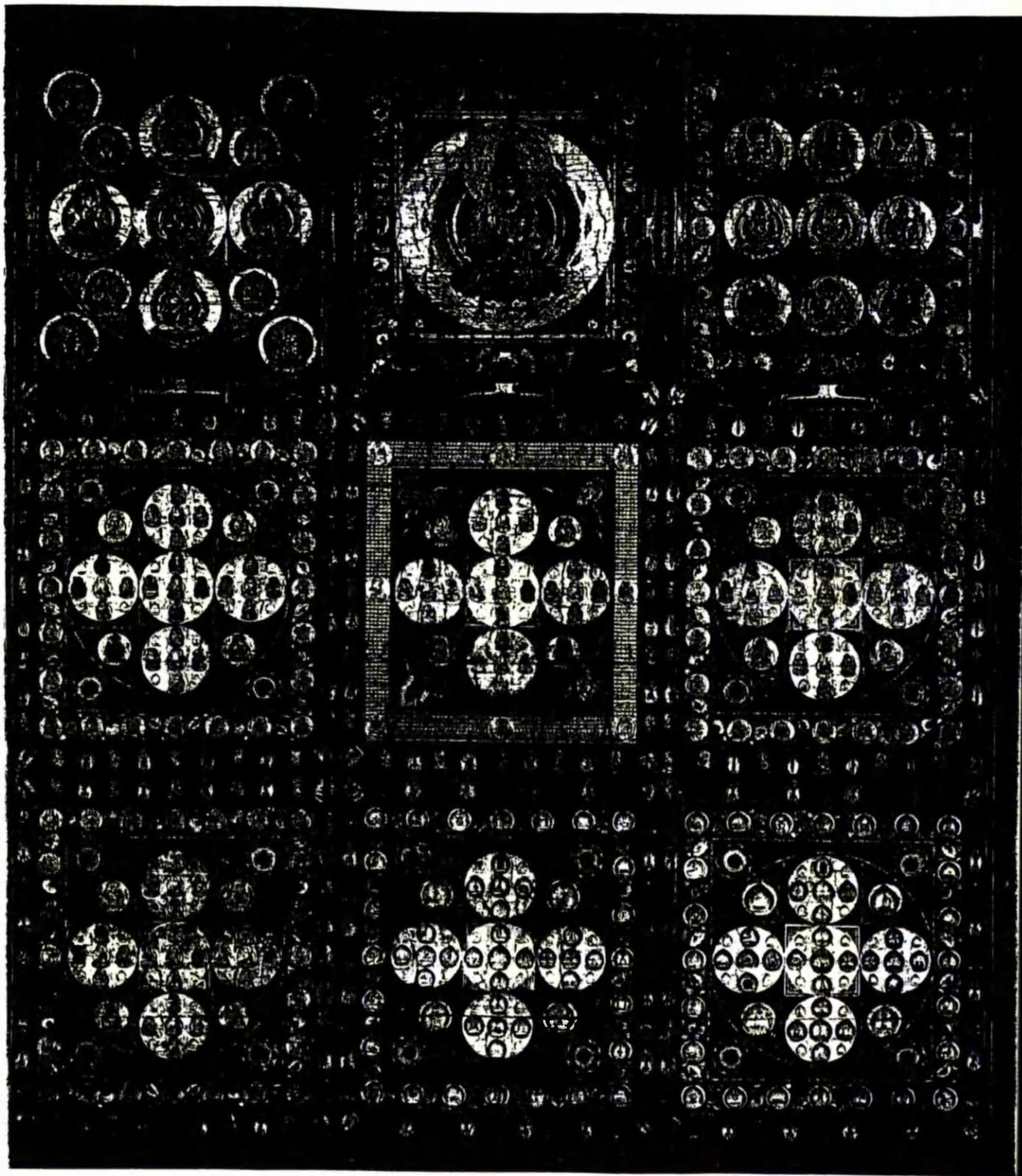


Fig.42. Kongōkai from the Mandala of the Two Worlds, 9th century, Tō-ji.

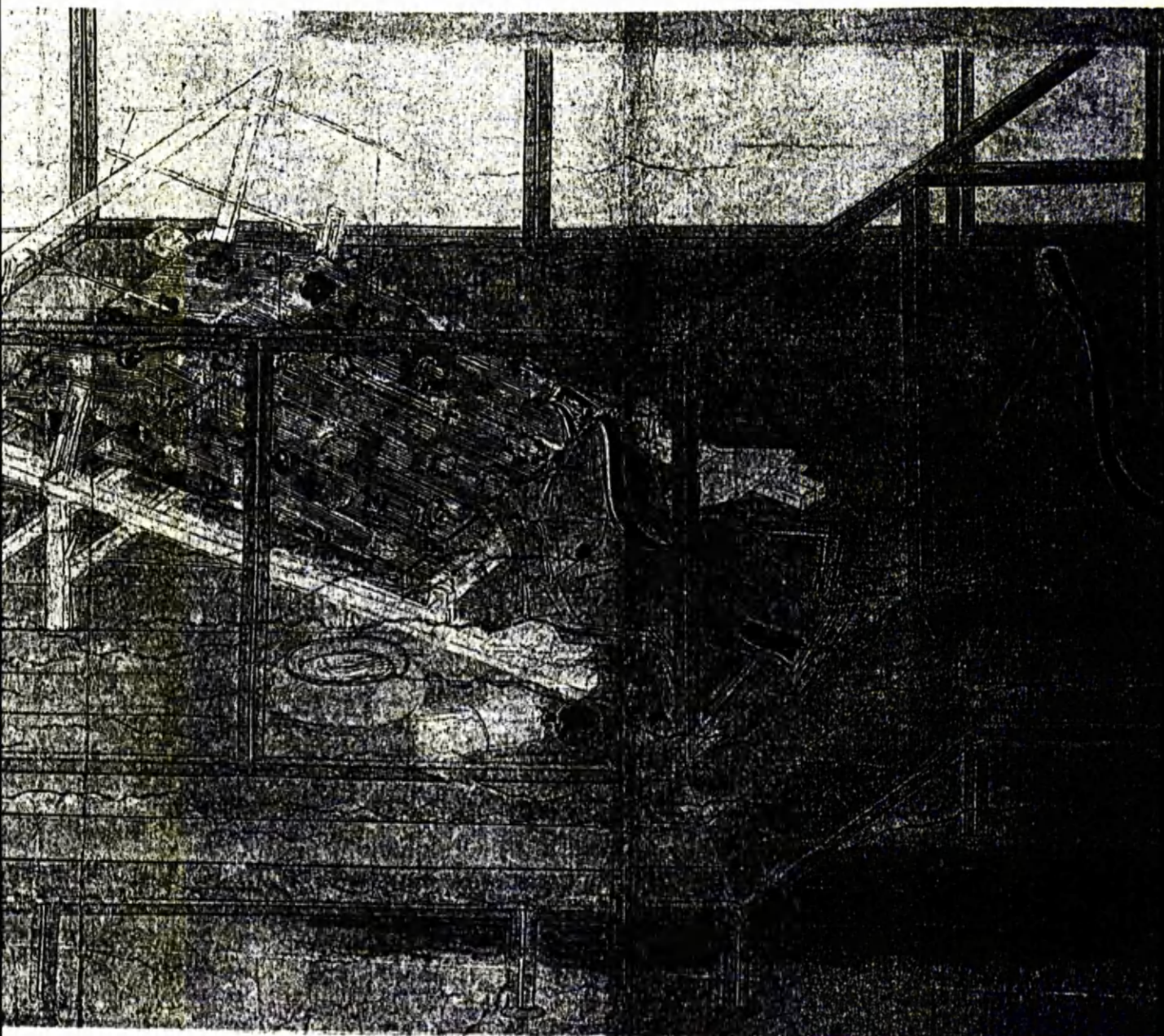


Fig.43. Making of mandara from the *Taimu Mandara engi*, 14th century.



Fig.44. Paradise of Amitabha, Dunhuang, Tang Dynasty.



Fig.45. Honji-butsu Mandara, 13th century, colour on silk, 40.5 x 27 cm. Enryaku-ji.



Fig.46. Detail from Taizōkai, Mandala of Two Worlds, 9th century, Tō-ji.

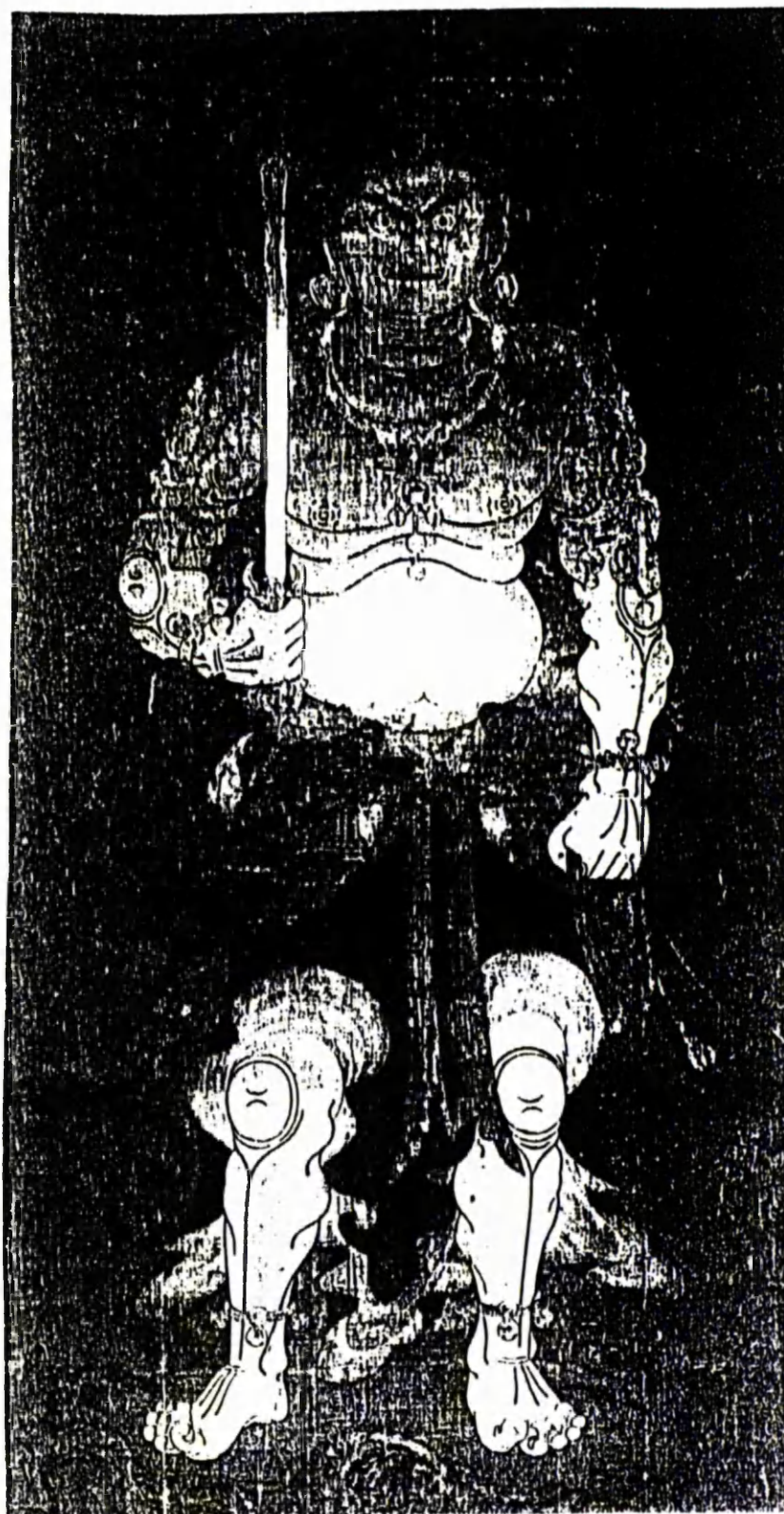


Fig.47. Yellow Fudō, 12th century, Manju-in, Kyoto.



毘沙門天



不動明王

Fig. 48. Fudō Myōō and Bishamon-ten, 12th century, Myōō-in, Shiga.



Fig.49. Sannō zushi, 13th century, 97.0 x 57.8 cm., Nezu Institute of Art, Tokyo.



Fig. 50. Sannō Honji-butsu Mandara, 14th century, 78 x 38 cm., colour on silk, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln.

Fig.50 a. Jizō, detail from Koln Mandara.



Fig.50 b. Buddha, detail from Koln Mandara.

Fig.51. Shichison Mandara, 14th century, Tō-ji.



Fig.52. Jūsanbutsu, 20th century.



Fig.53. Sannō Honji-butsu Mandara, 13th century, colour on silk, 85.4 x 40.6 cm., Tokyo National Museum.

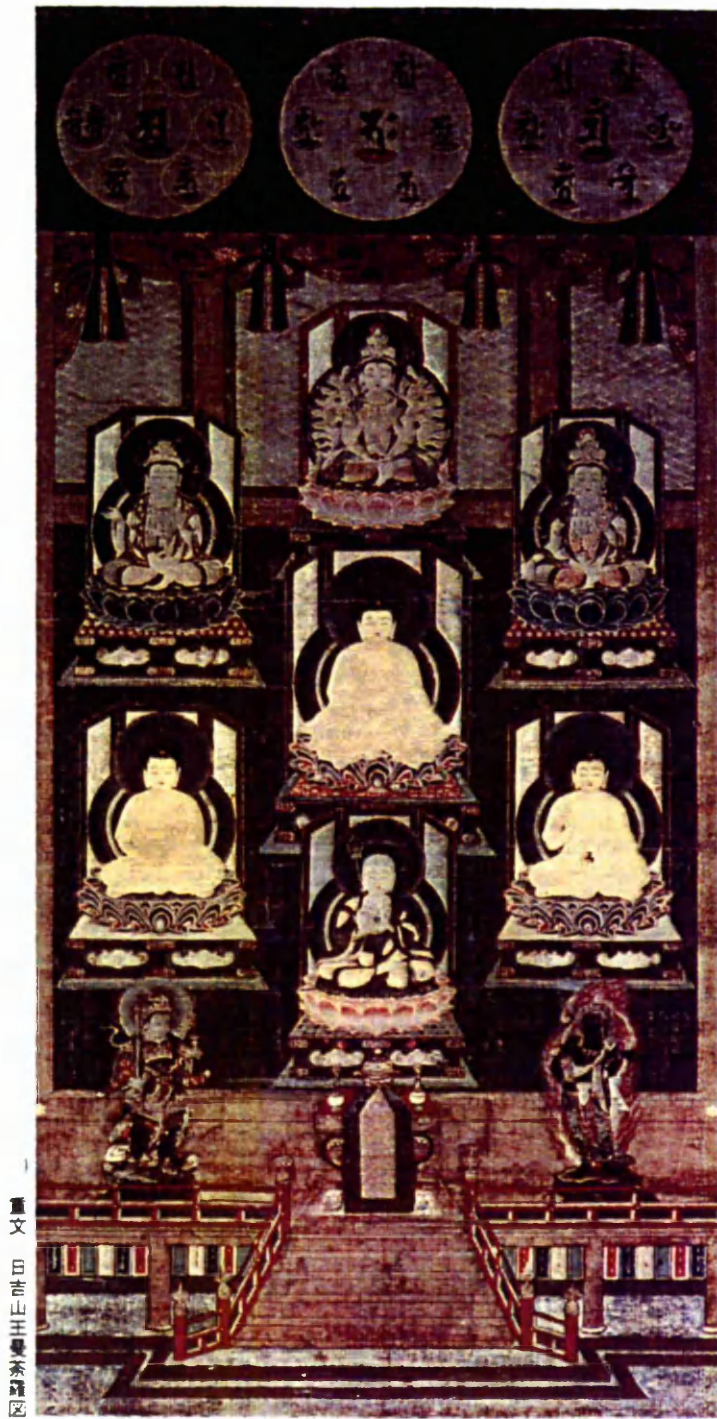
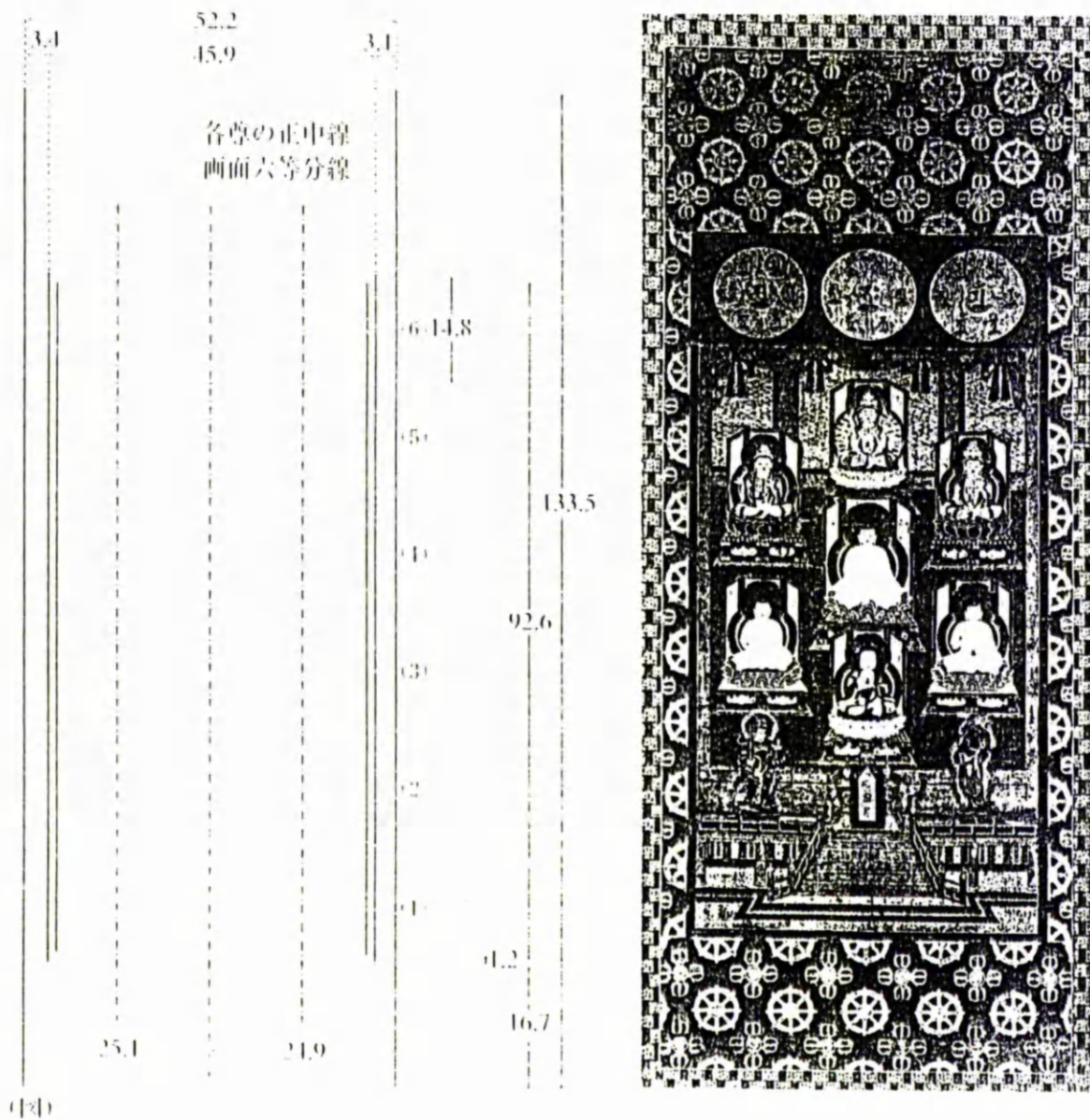


Fig. 54. Sannō Honji-butsu Mandara, 14th century, colour on silk, 132.5 x 52.5 cm., Enryaku-ji.

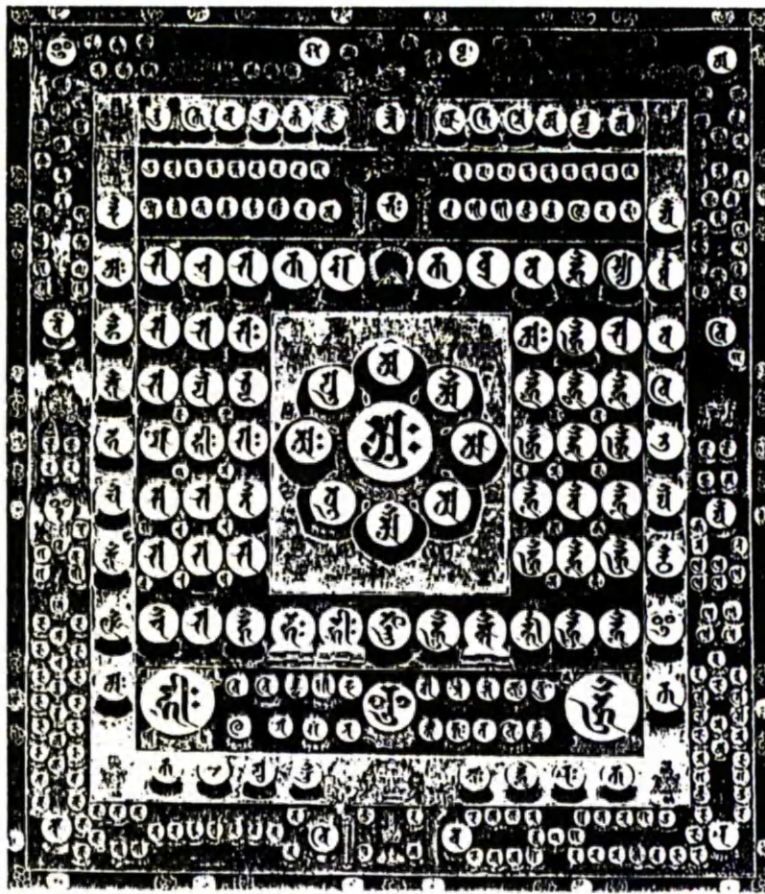


(c) その他の法量

		*単位はcm	
輪宝中心間 (縦)	9.3	袈裟頭光径	6.8
輪宝中心間 (横)	9.4	袈裟身光径	10.6
羯磨中心間 (縦)	9.2	他尊の頭光径	6.2
羯磨中心間 (横)	9.4	他尊の身光径	9.2
輪宝最大径	6.3	回帯幅	1.2
羯磨最大径	6.1	輪宝・羯磨中心間 (縦横とも)	4.7

Fig.55. Measurements of Enryaku-ji Sannō Honji-butsu Mandara, from Doi Michihiro, *Annual Reports – Biwako bunkakan*.

兩界種子曼荼羅圖



胎藏界

Fig.56. Shuji Mandala, Edo period, Tō-ji, Kyoto.



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Fig.57. Sannō Shuji Mandara, Kamakura period, Private Collection.

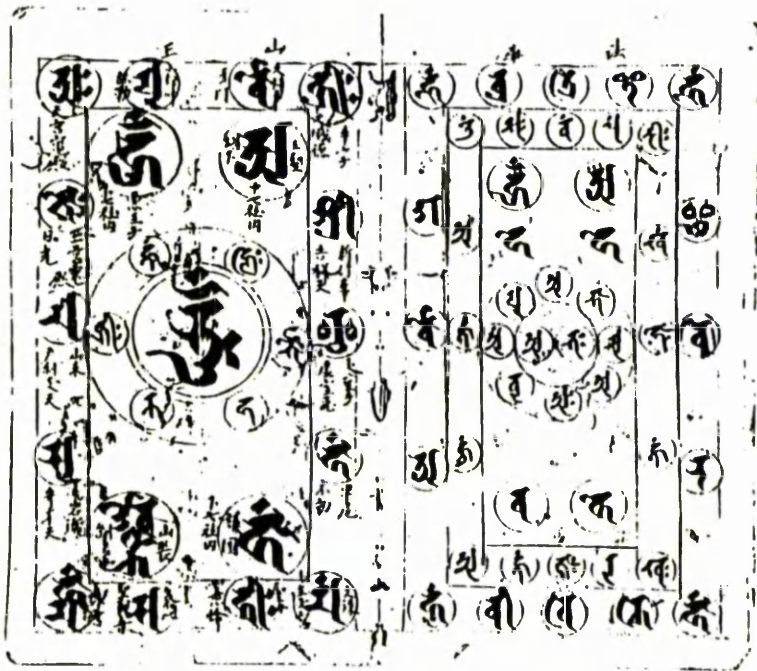


Fig.58. Drawings of Sannō Shuji Mandara, Ninna-ji, Kyoto.

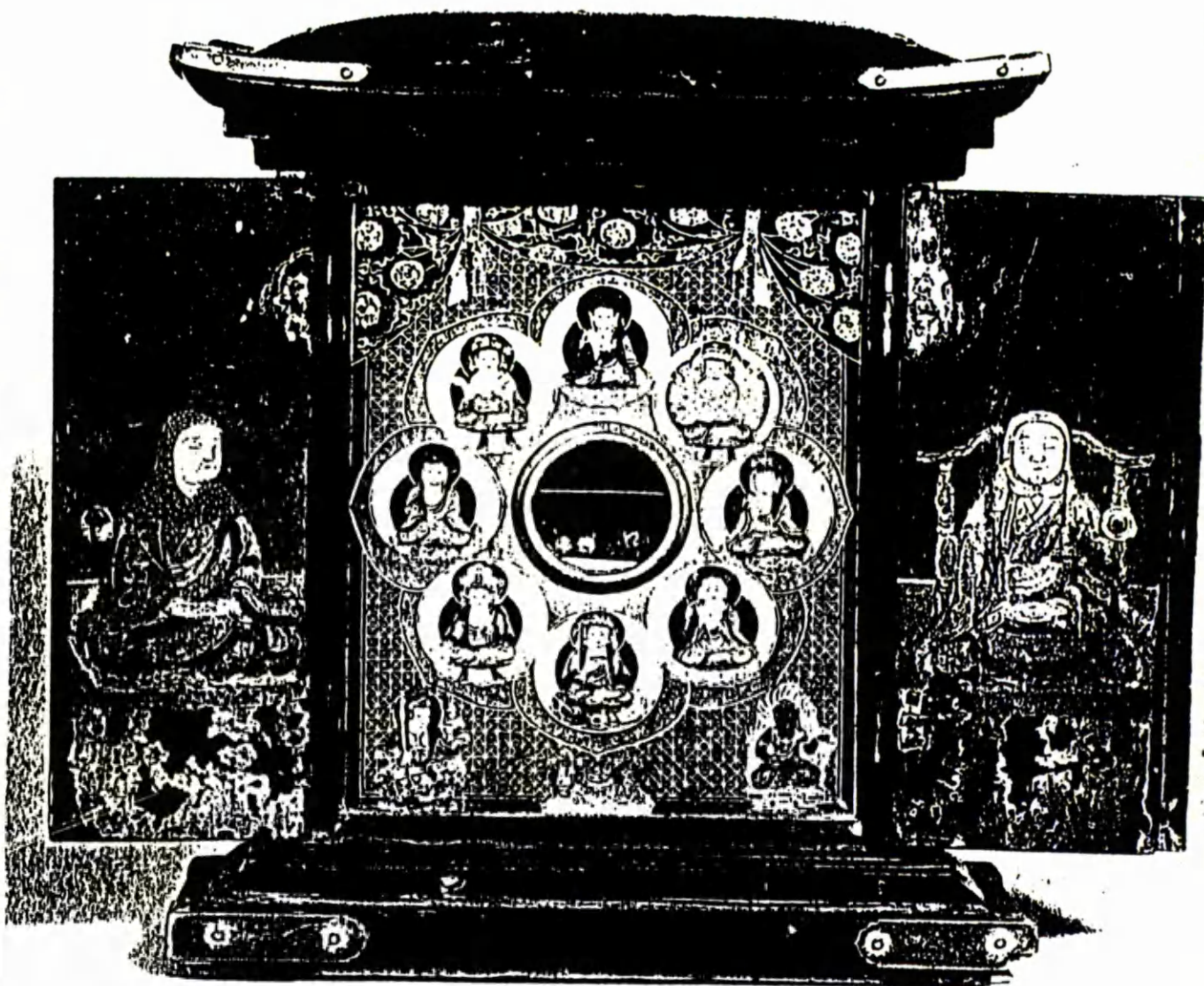


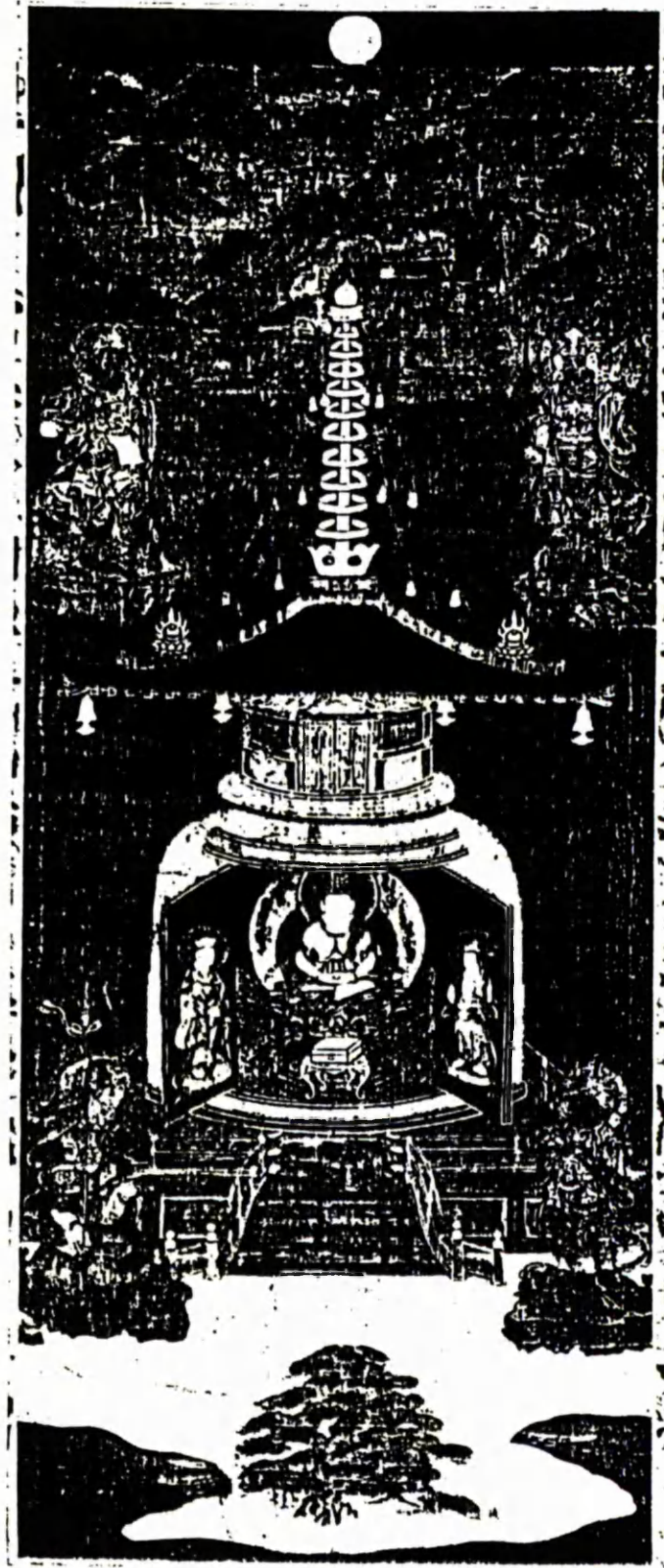
Fig.59. Sannō shari zushi, 15th century, h. 22.7 cm. Shōjū raigō-ji, Shiga.



Fig.60. Kumano Honji-butsu Mandara, Kamakura period, Kōzan-ji, Kyoto.



Fig.61. Reliquary in the shape of miniature pagoda, 13th century, Saidai-ji, Nara.



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Fig.62. Hie-sha Hōtō Mandara, 14th century, Private Collection.



Fig.63. Kasuga Gorintō Gansō shari zushi, Muromachi period, h. 19.8 cm., Futai-ji, Nara.

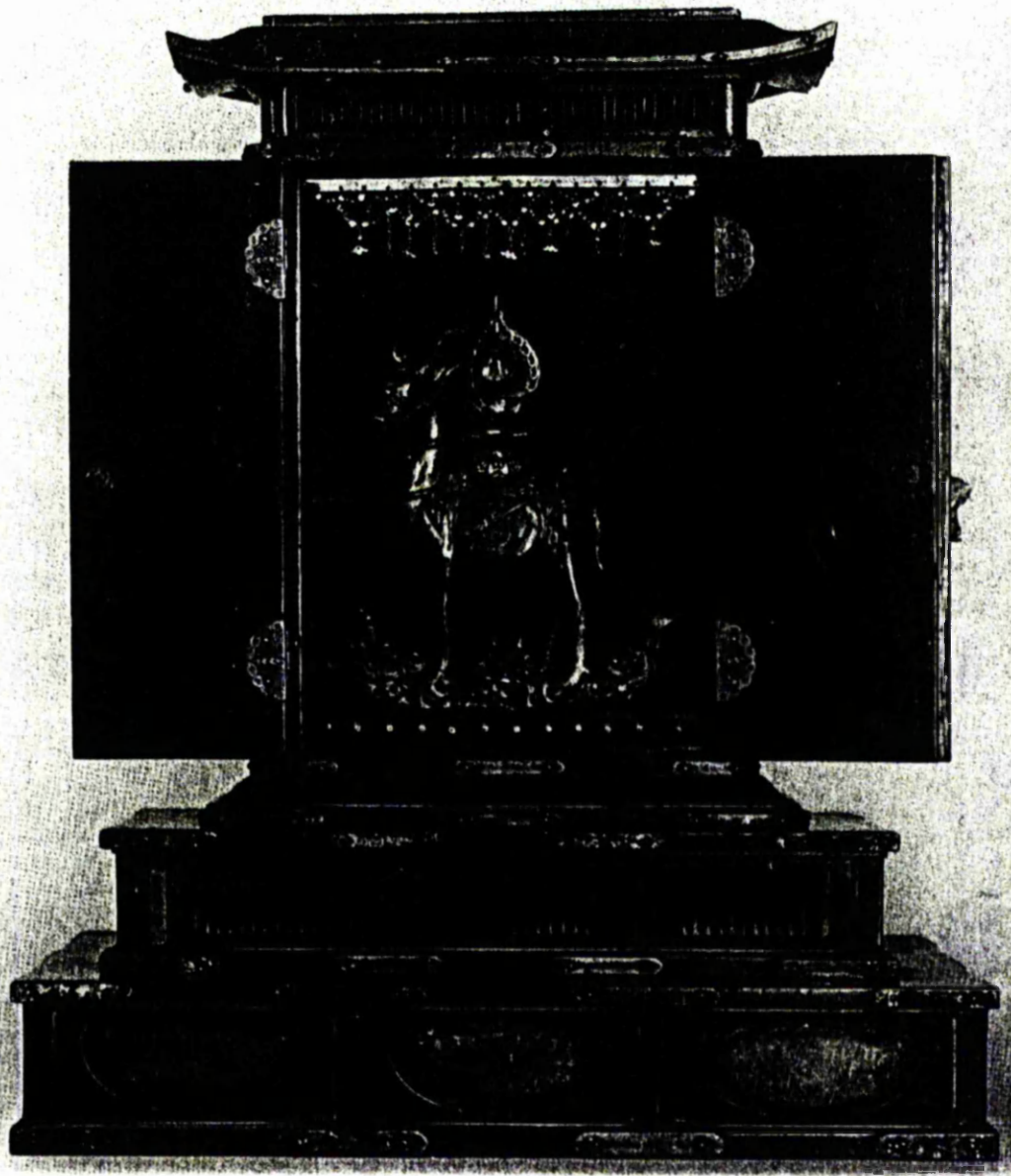


Fig.64. Kasuga shinroku shari zushi, 14th century, h. 37.2 cm., Nara National Museum



Fig.65. Yakushi Bosatsu, *danzō*, 8th century, h. 101.8 cm., Kōryū-ji, Kyoto.

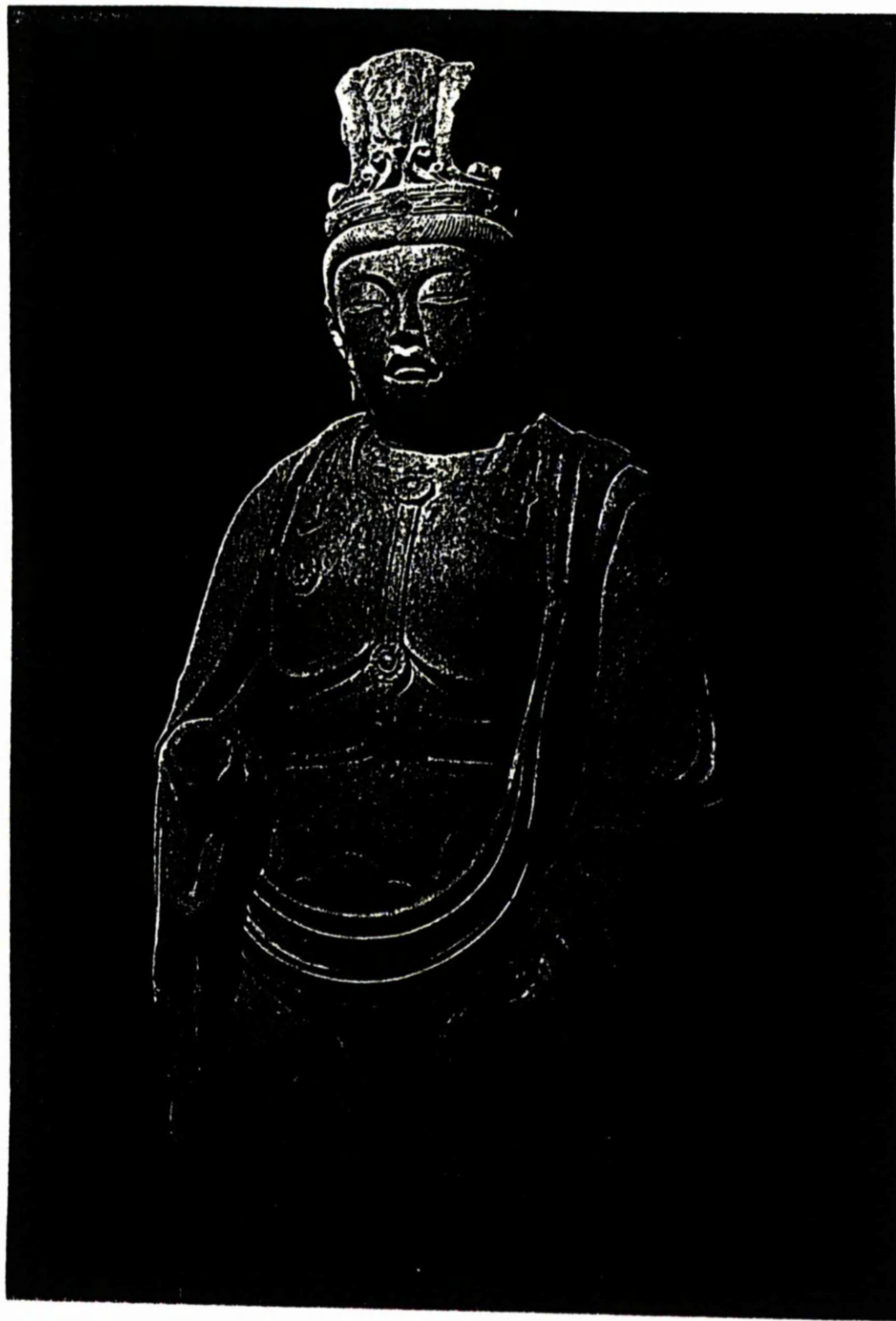


Fig.66. Bon-ten, 8th century, clay, h.110.2 cm., Hōryū-ji, Nara.

Fig.67. Tamon-ten, 7th century, wood, h.131.2 cm., Hōryū-ji.



Fig.68. Yakushi Bosatsu 2, 9th century, wood, h.97.9 cm.,
Kōryū-ji, Kyoto.



Fig. 69. Ōmiya, Jusso Gongen, 12th century, wood, h.appx.30 cm.,
Keisoku-ji, Shiga.

Fig. 70. Jussho Gongen, 12th century, Keisoku-ji.



Jizo (Hie Juzenji)

百古十禪師
Amida (Kumano Daigongen)
能野大権現



Dainichi (Yashiro Daimyojin)

世代大明神
Amida (Hachiman Daibosatsu)
八幡大菩薩



Miroku (Konpusan Gongen)

金峰山権現

Fig.70. Jussho Gongen, 12th century, Keisoku-ji.



Juichimen (Shirayama Daigongen)

白山大権現



Bato Kannon (Yokoyama Daimyojin)

横山大明神

Sho Kannon (Takebe Daimyojin)

建部大明神



Jizo (Ikagu Taisha)

伊香具大社





Fig. 71. Shinzō, 9th century, Japanese cypress, h. 98 cm., Matsunoo Shrine, Kyoto.



聖太子権現



二宮権現



六宮権現



十蔵師権現



空人権現

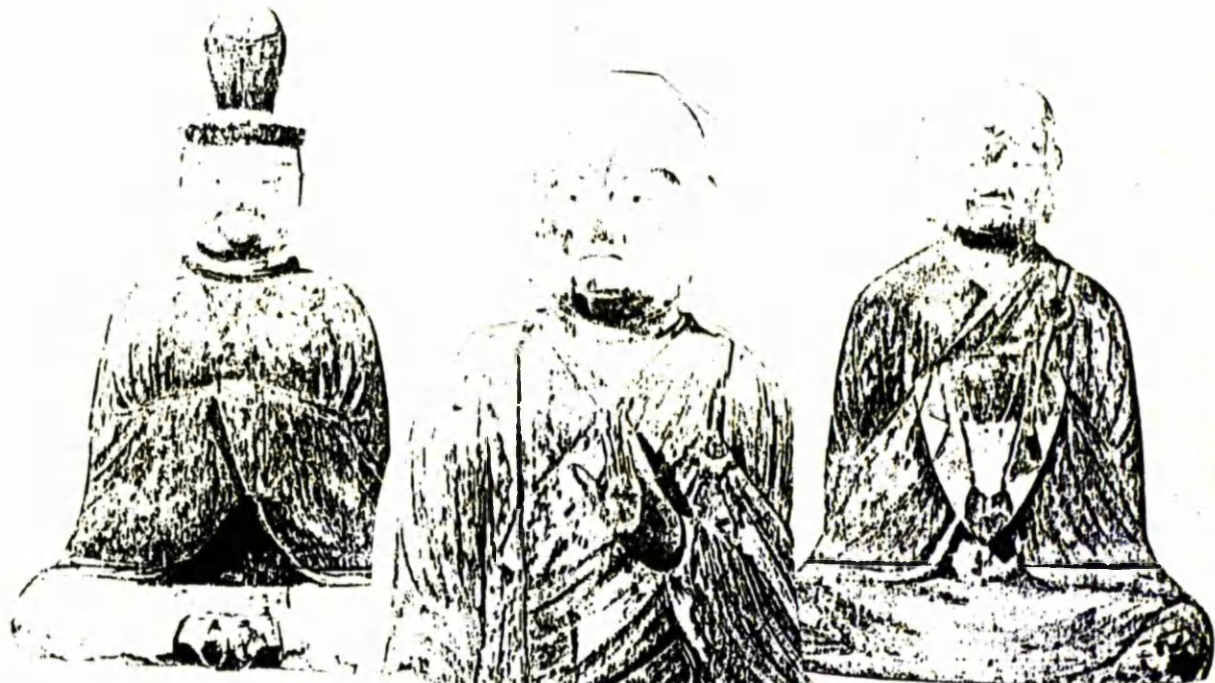


八王子権現



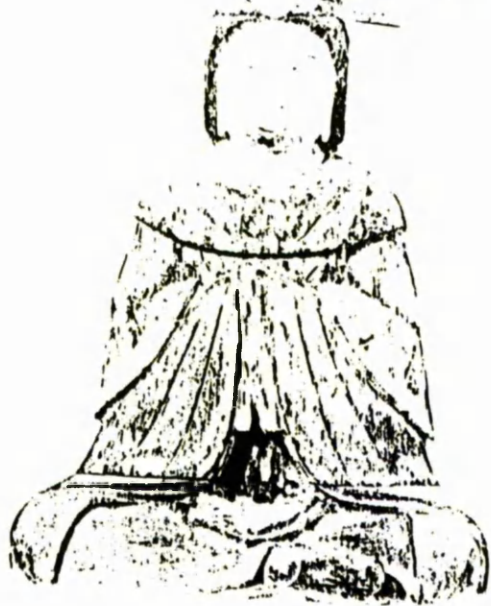
三宮権現

Fig. 72. Suijaku figures of the Upper Seven Shrines of Hie from the *Hie-Sannō Gongen Chishinki*, Edo period.



(5)五宮十一面(客人カ) 41

(4)三宮阿彌陀(聖真子) 36.8cm



(7)七宮普賢(三宮)39.8cm



(6)六宮地藏カ(十禅師)38.5cm

Fig.73. Sannō shinzō, 1242, wood, each appx. 40 cm., Shaka-in, Kumamoto.



山王諸神曼荼羅 (淨嚴院藏)

Fig. 74. Sannō suijaku mandara, late Kamakura period, colour on silk, 136.0 x 56.5 cm
Jōgen-in, Shiga.



Fig. 75. Hie-Sannō suijaku mandara, Kamakura period, colour on silk,
114.5 x 41.0 cm., Gakuen-ji, Shimane.

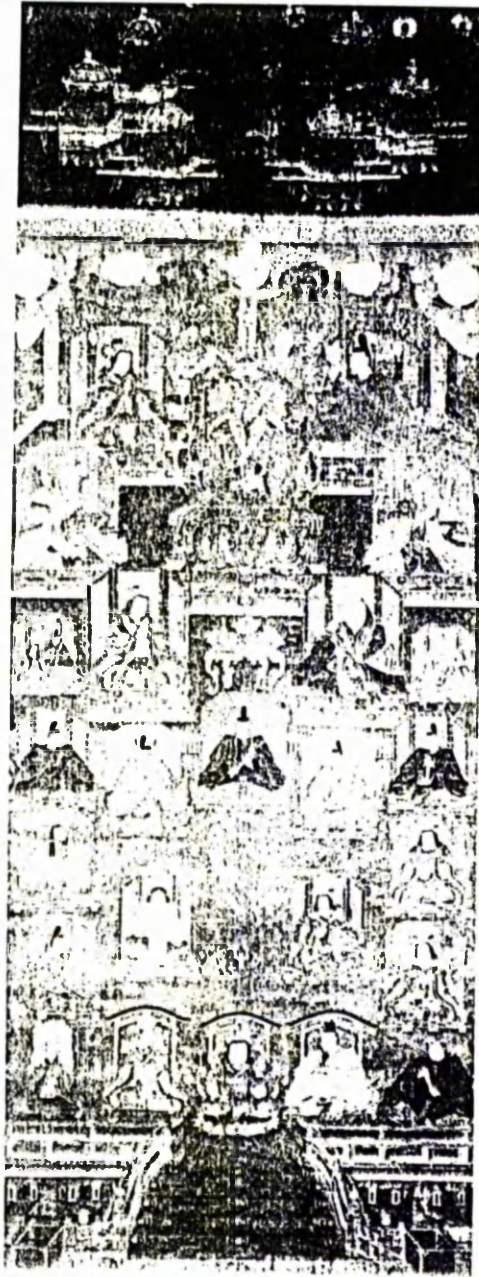


Fig.76. Hie-Sannō suijaku mandara, 14th century, colour on silk, 151 x 55 cm., Shōgen-ji, Shiga.



○ 慈恵大師像 鶴林寺

Fig. 77. Portrait of Jie Daishi Ryōgen, Kamakura period, colour on silk, 108.8 x 37 cm., Kakurin-ji.



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Fig.79. Nikkō Sannō mandara, 15th century, Nikkō Rinnō-ji.



日光三所権現像

Fig. 80. Nikkō Sansho Gongen-zō, 14th century, Nikkō Rinnō-ji.



Fig.81. Hie-Sannō suijaku mandara, Muromachi period, colour on silk,
141 x 42.1 cm., Manju-in, Kyoto.



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Fig.83. Hie-Sannō suijaku mandara, Kamakura period, colour on silk, 124.5 x 40 cm.
Saikyō-ji, Shiga.



Fig.84. Kasuga Daimyōjin, 14th century copy of 13th century original, Kōzan-ji.

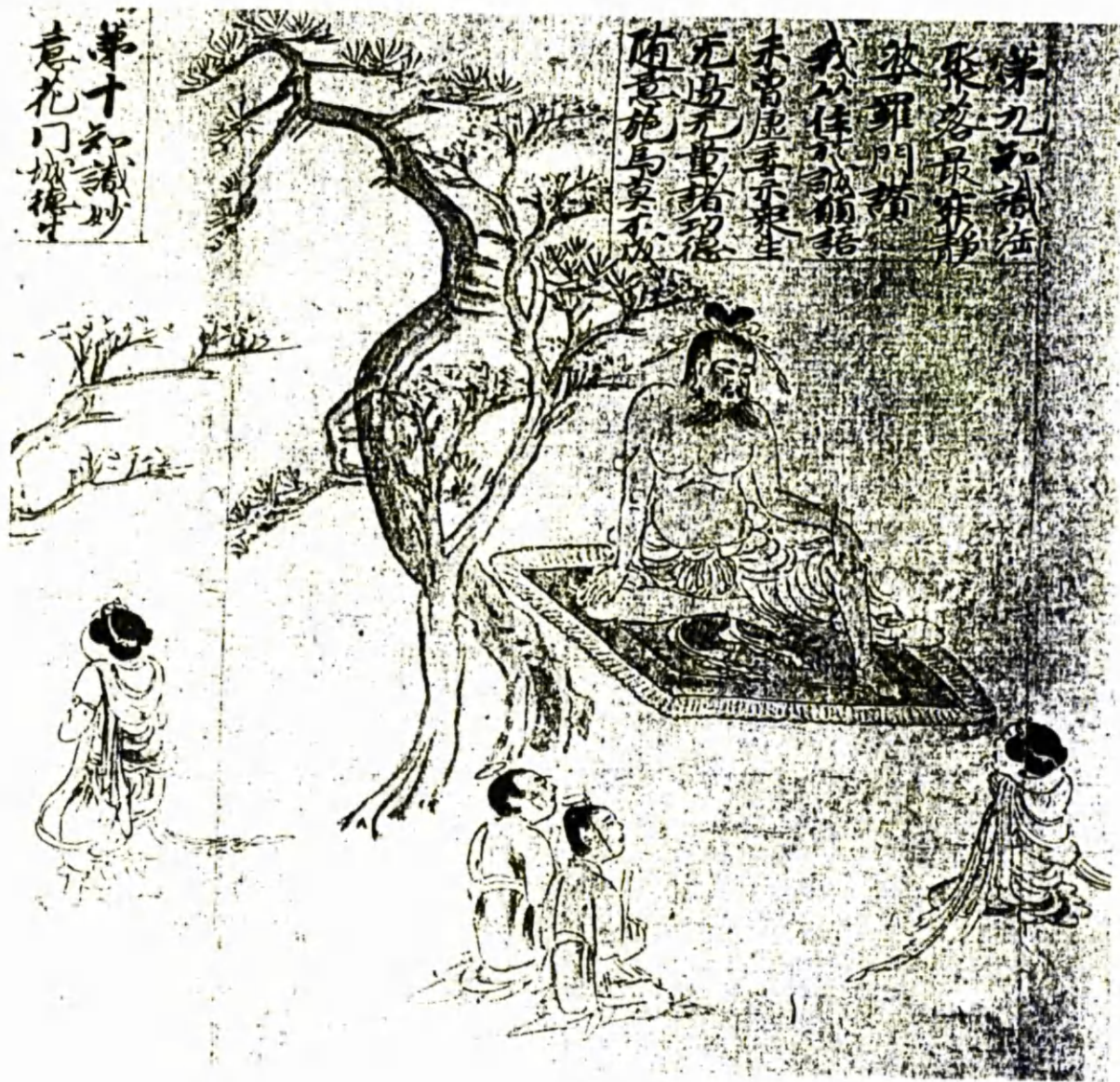
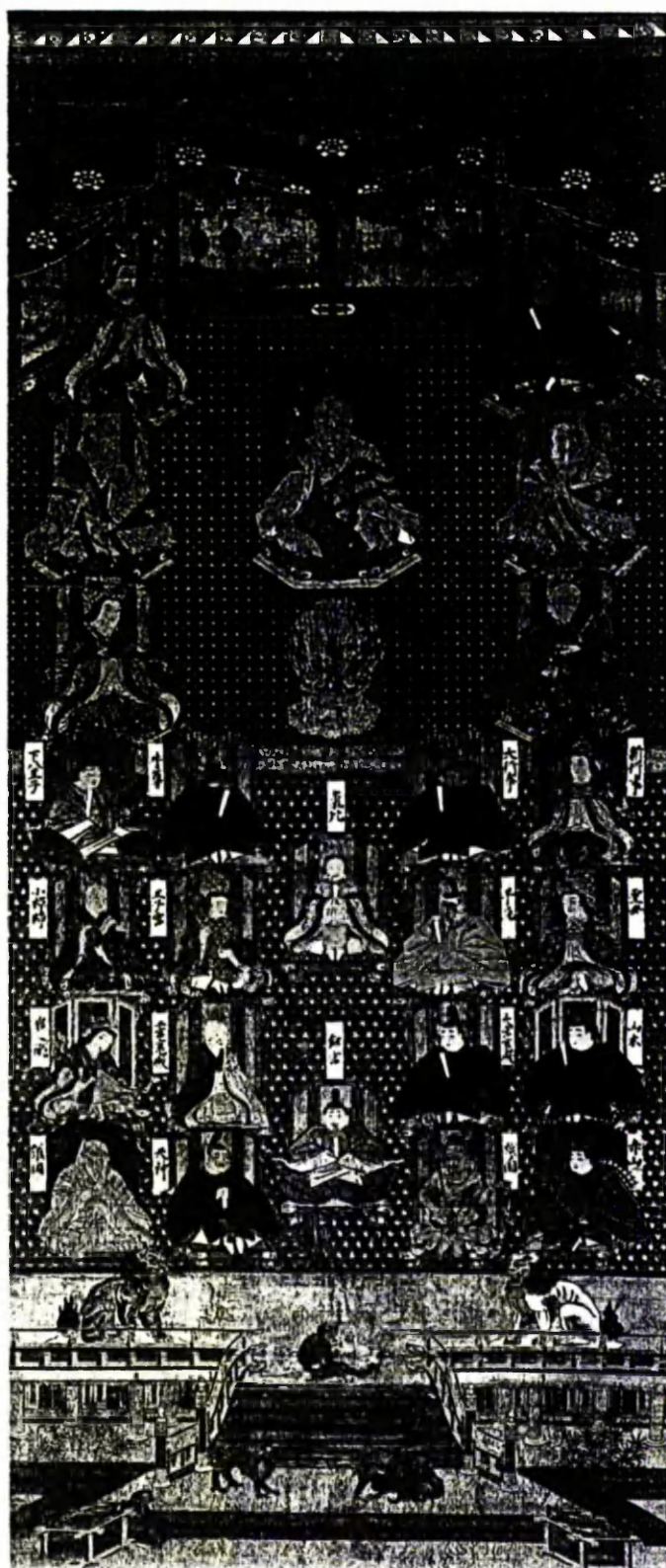


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日吉山王曼荼羅圖 西教寺

Fig. 86. Hie-Sannō suijaku Mandara, Muromachi period, colour on silk, 120.5 x 49.5 cm., Saikyō-ji, Shiga.

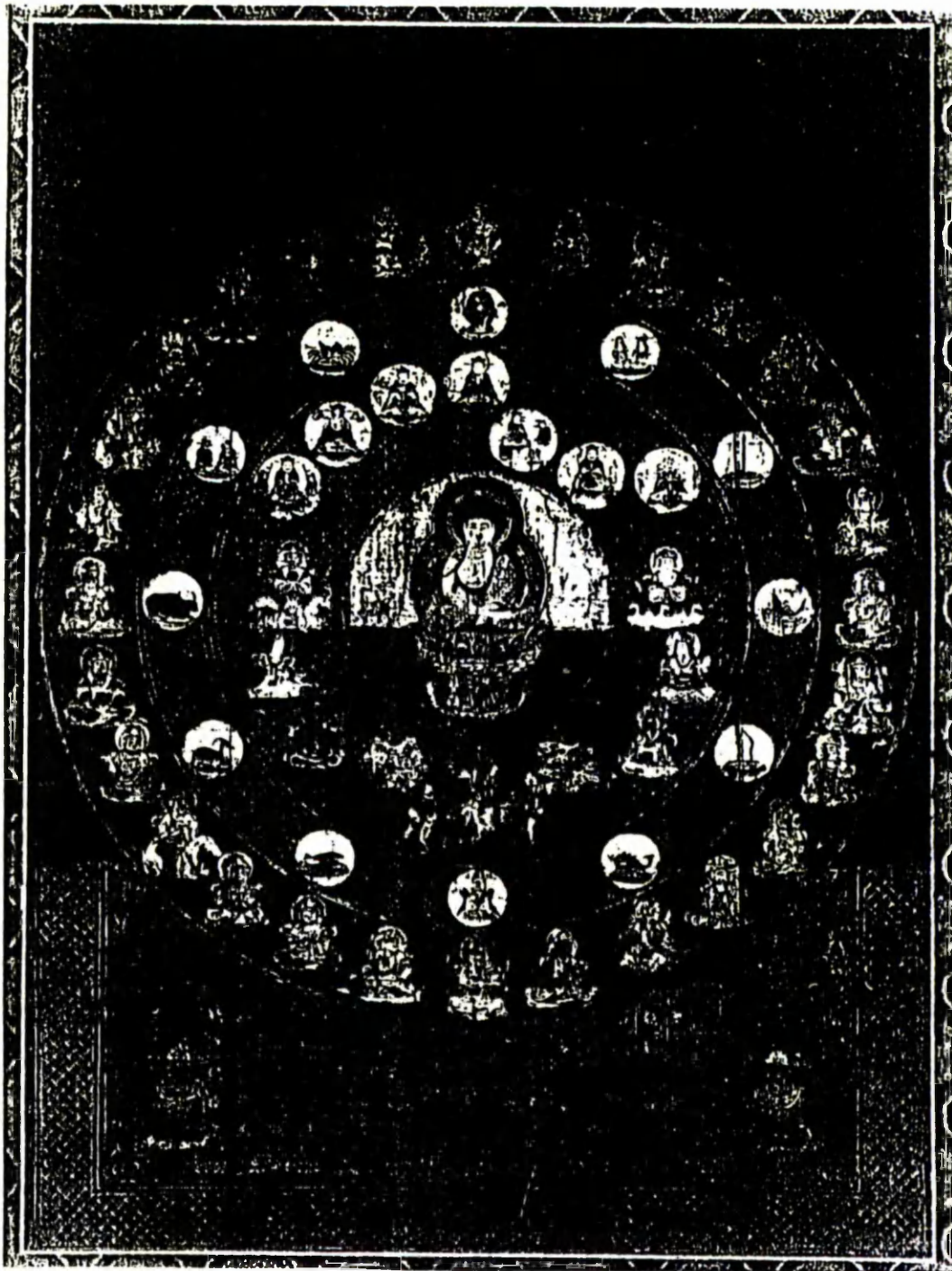


Fig.87. Hokuto Mandara, 12th century, colour on silk, 117.3 x 83 cm., Hōryū-ji, Nara.

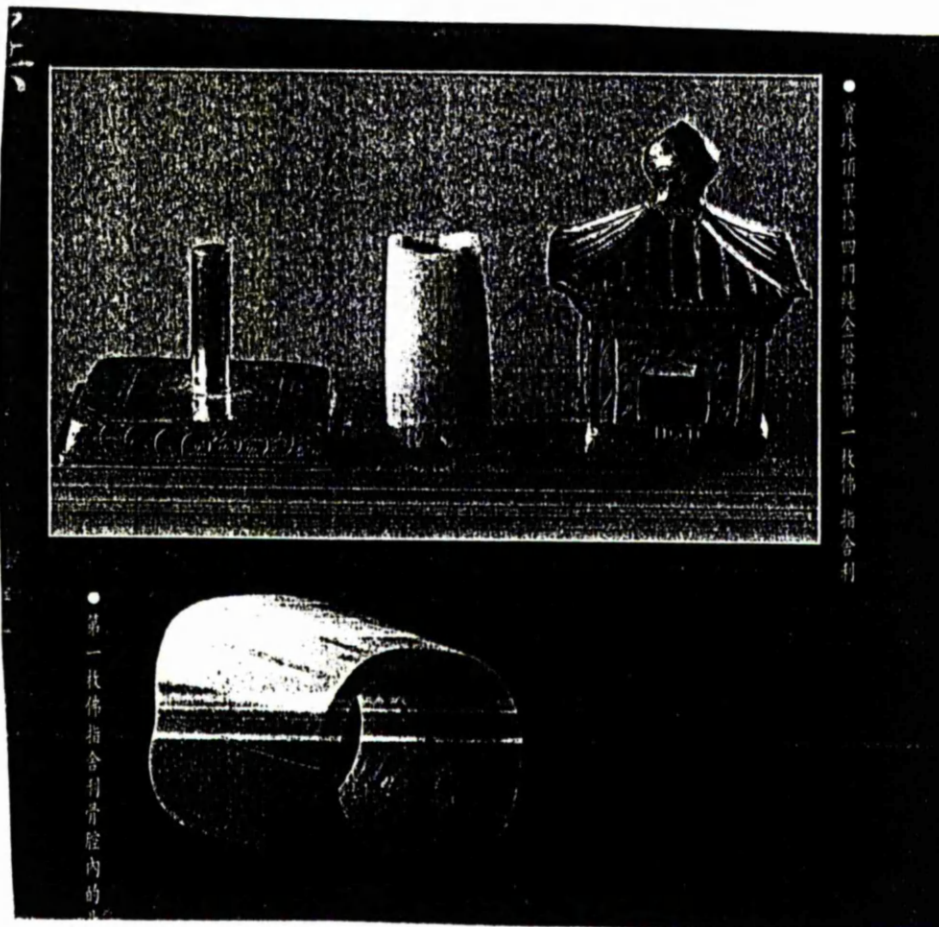


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Fig. 89. Sukuyōshi (Astrologer) from the *Tsurugaoka Hachiman shokunin uta-awase*.

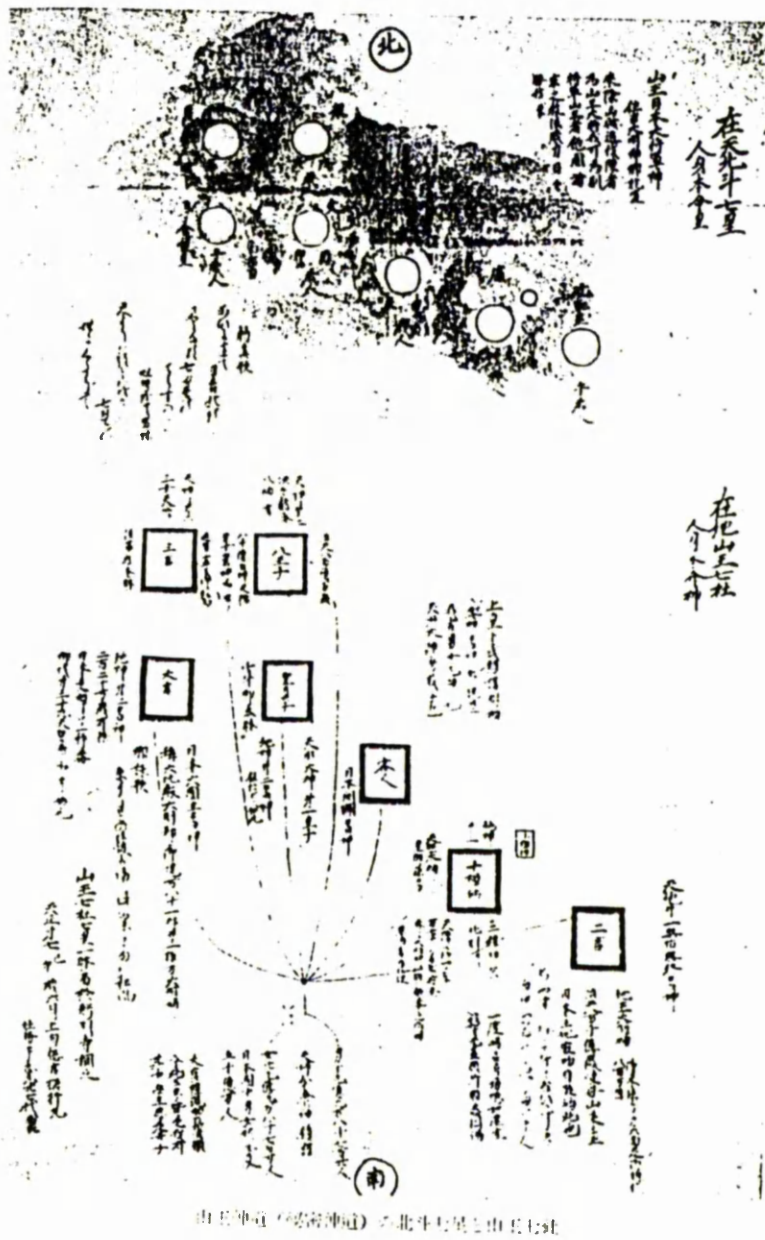


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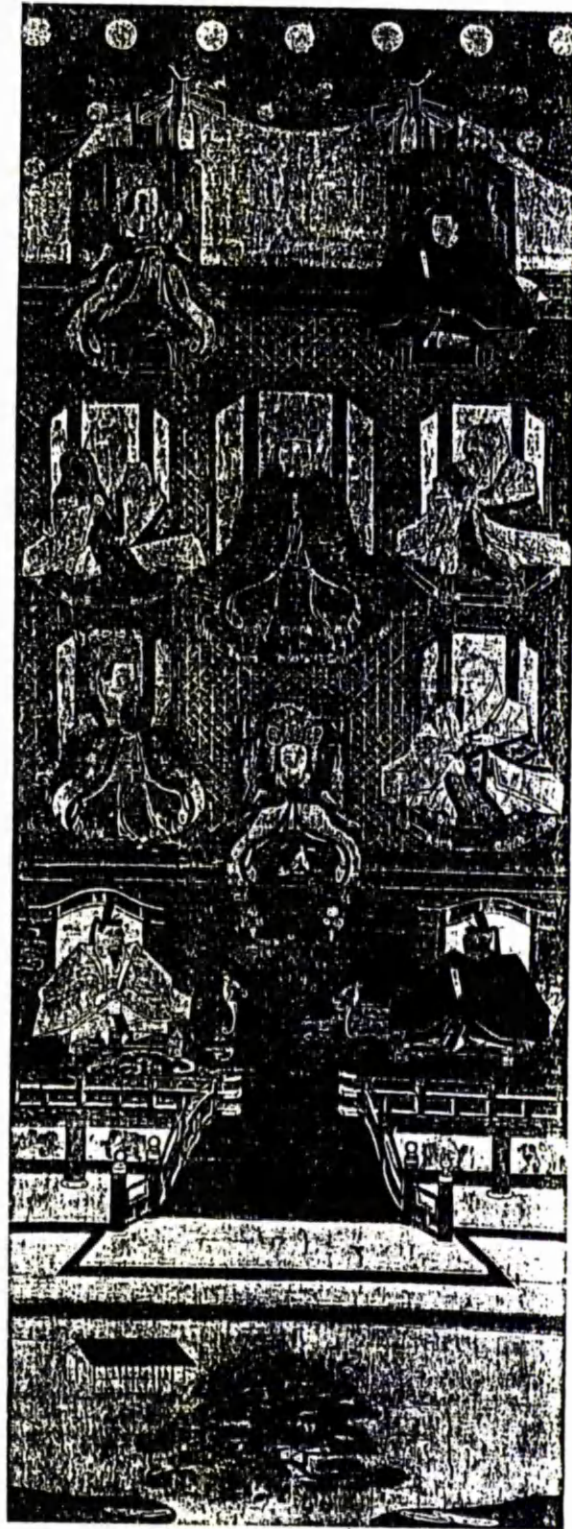


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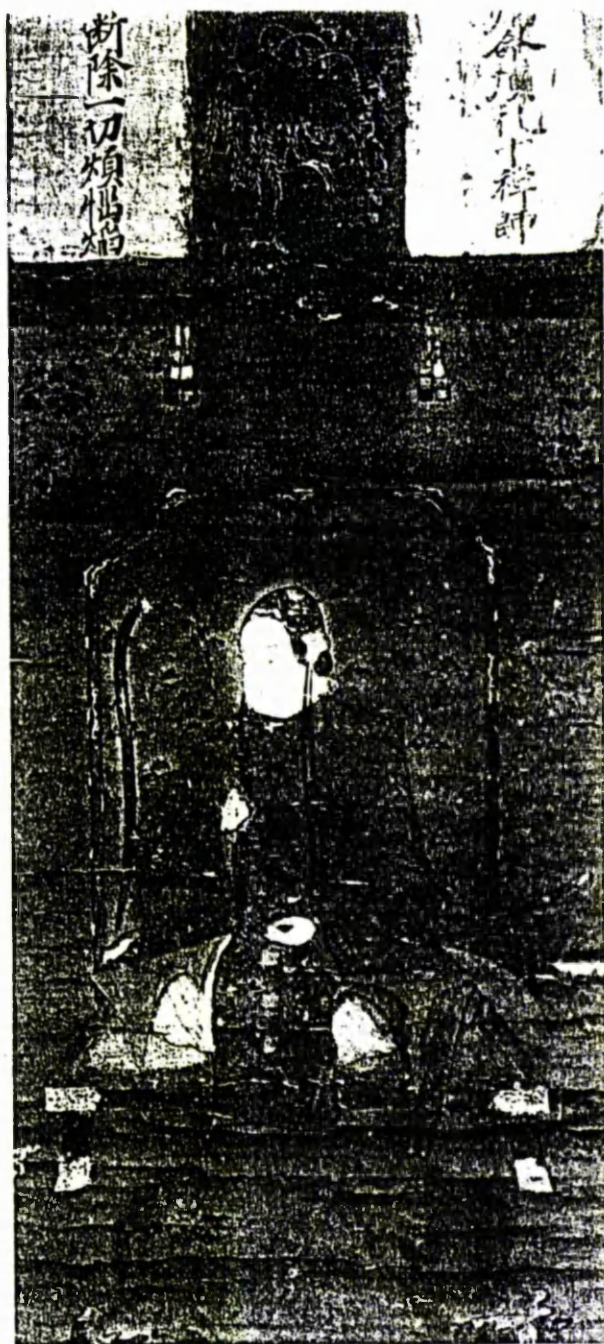
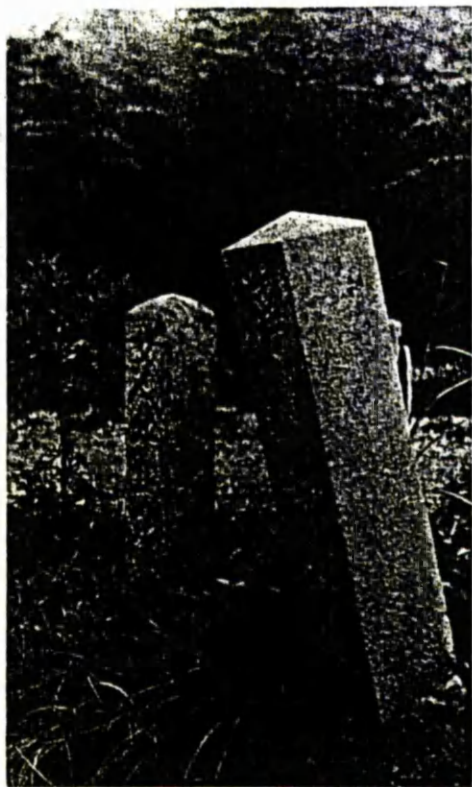


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春日若宮影向像(金剛般若経見返し) 五島美術館

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Fig.99. Jūzenji, Muromachi period, colour on silk, 106 x 40.5 cm., Jōbodai-in, Shiga.

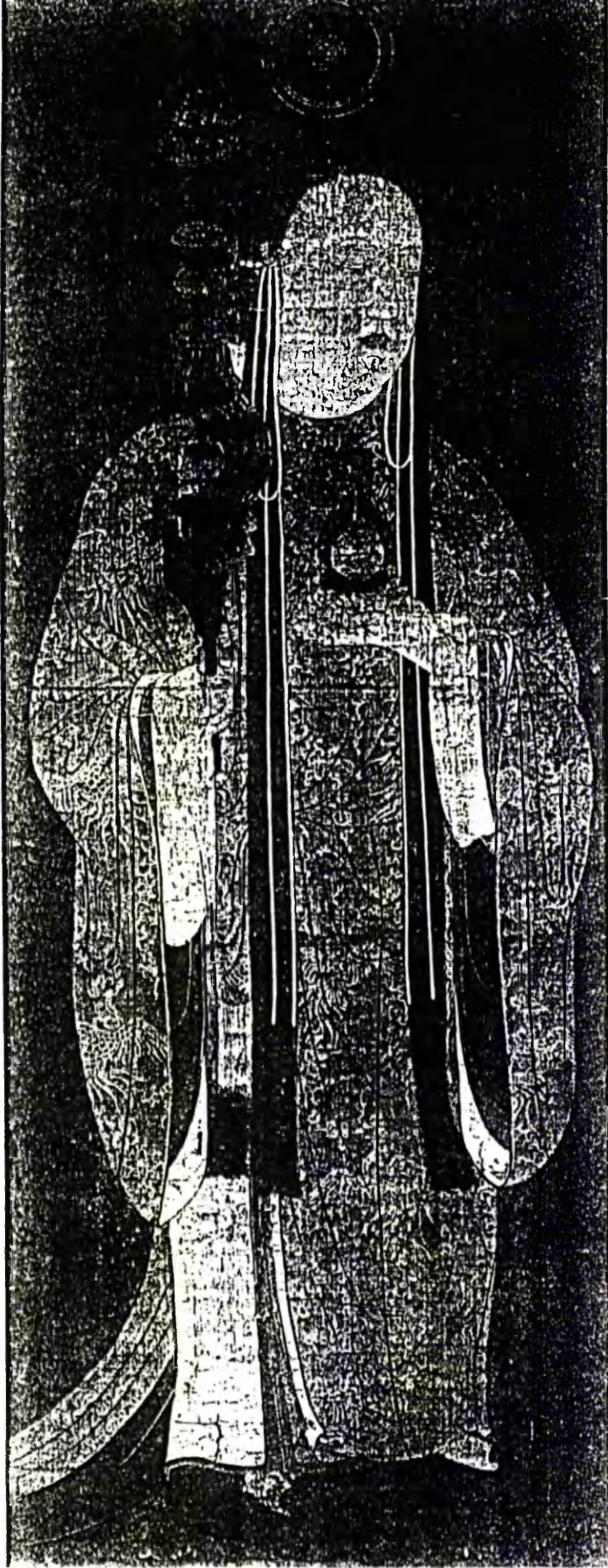


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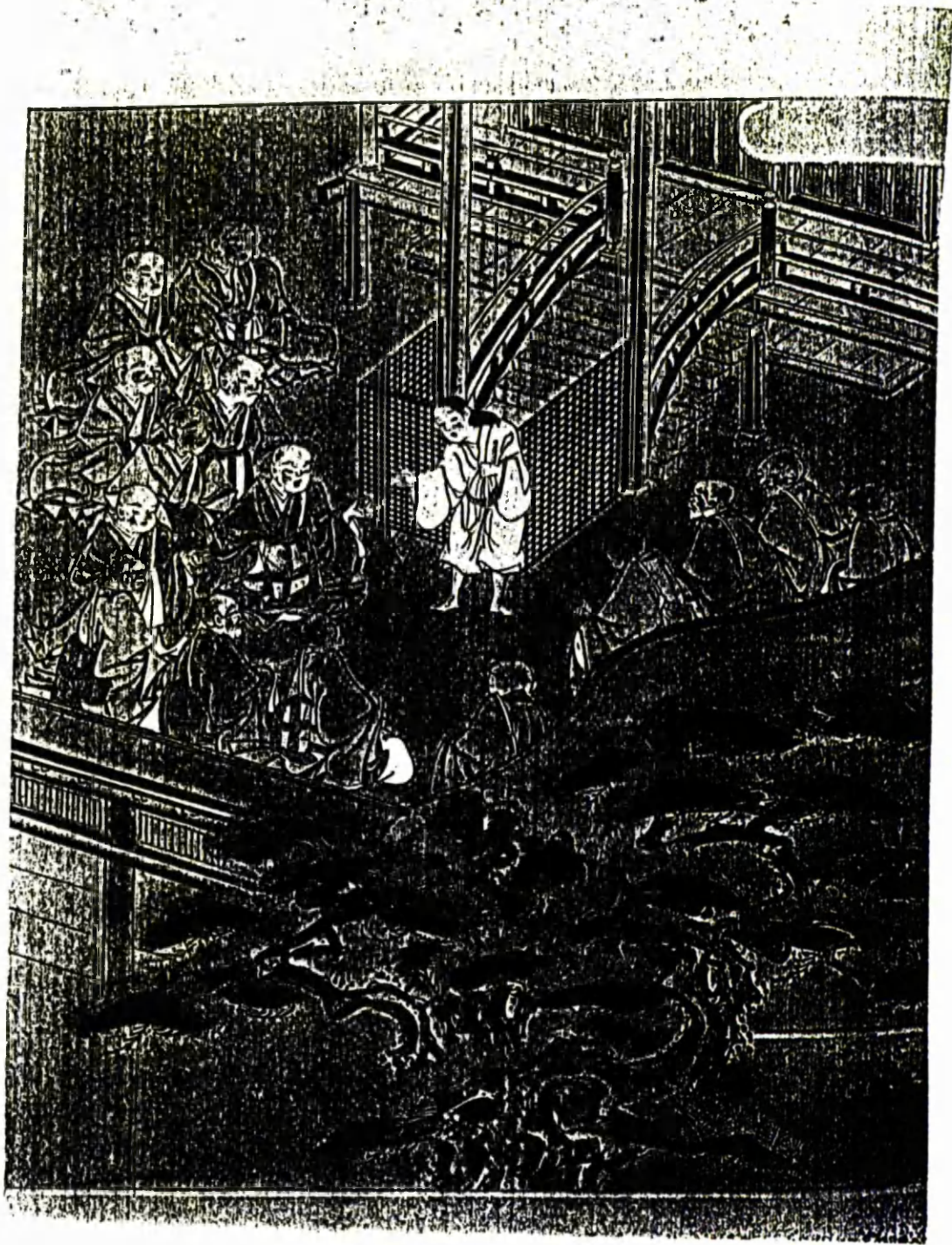


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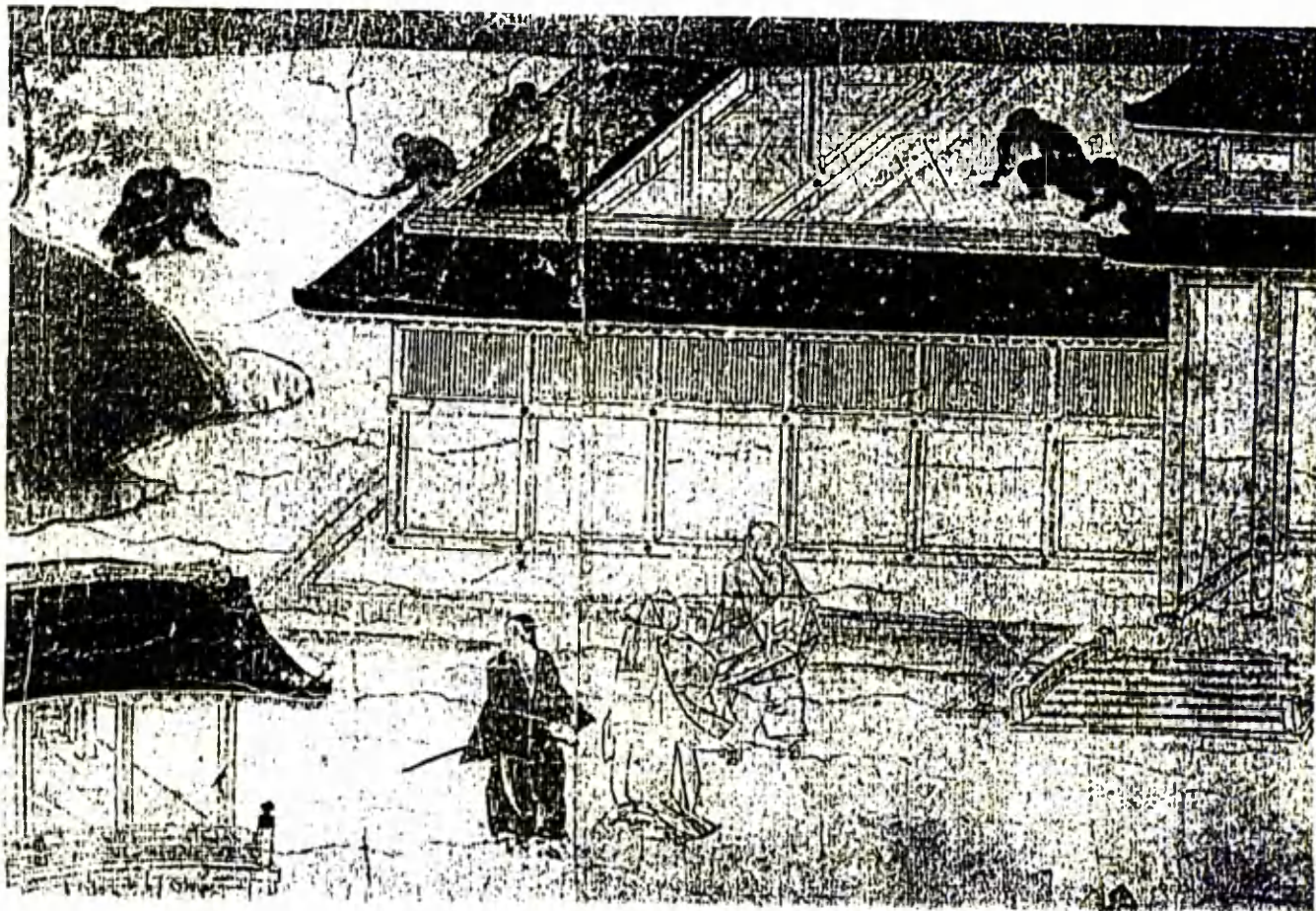
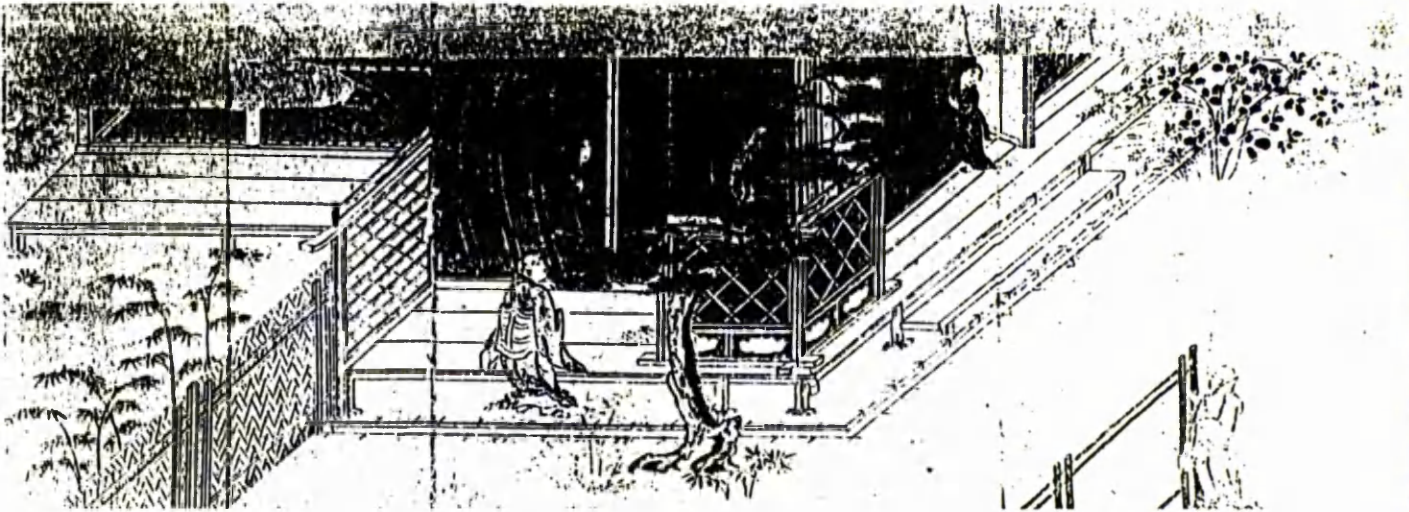


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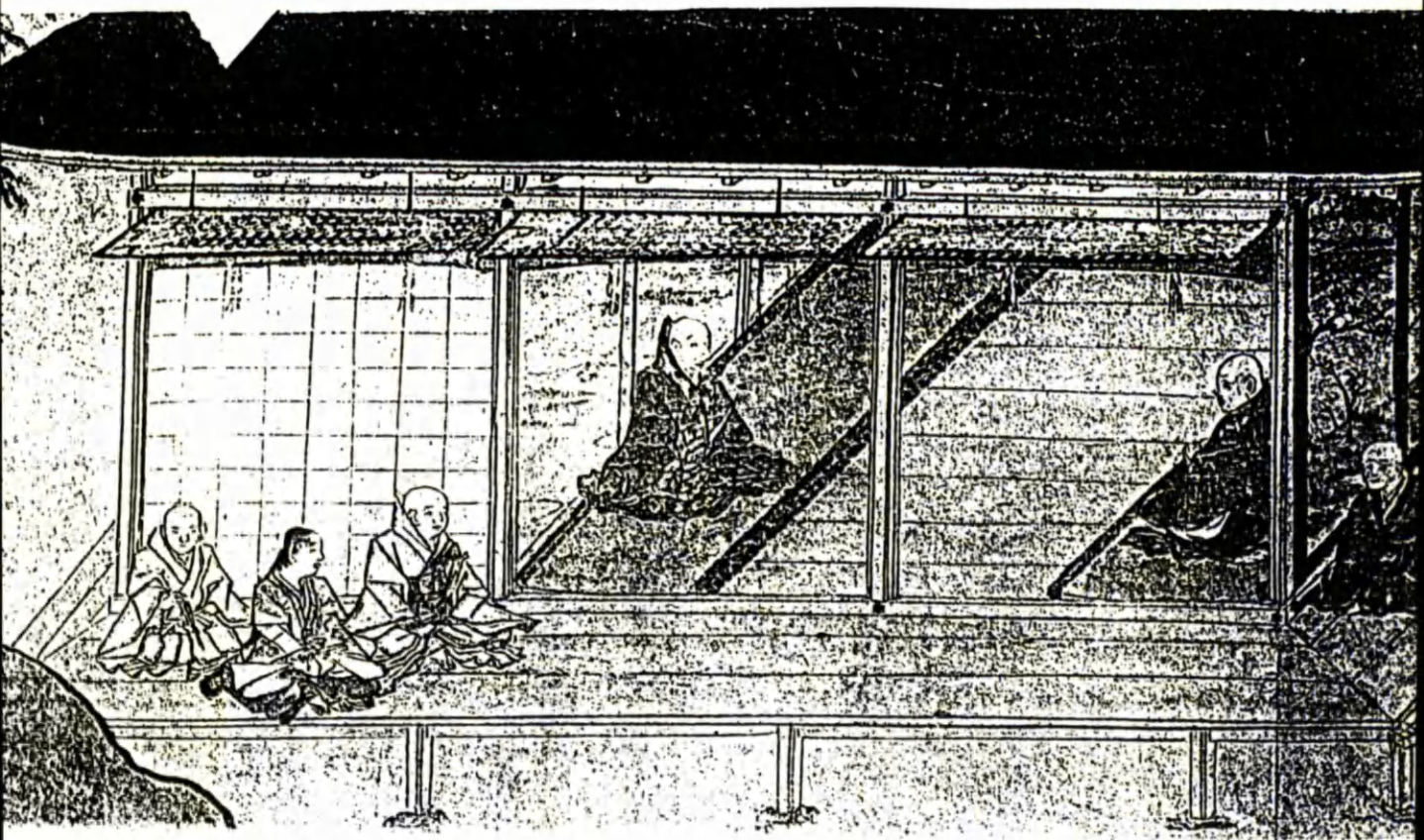


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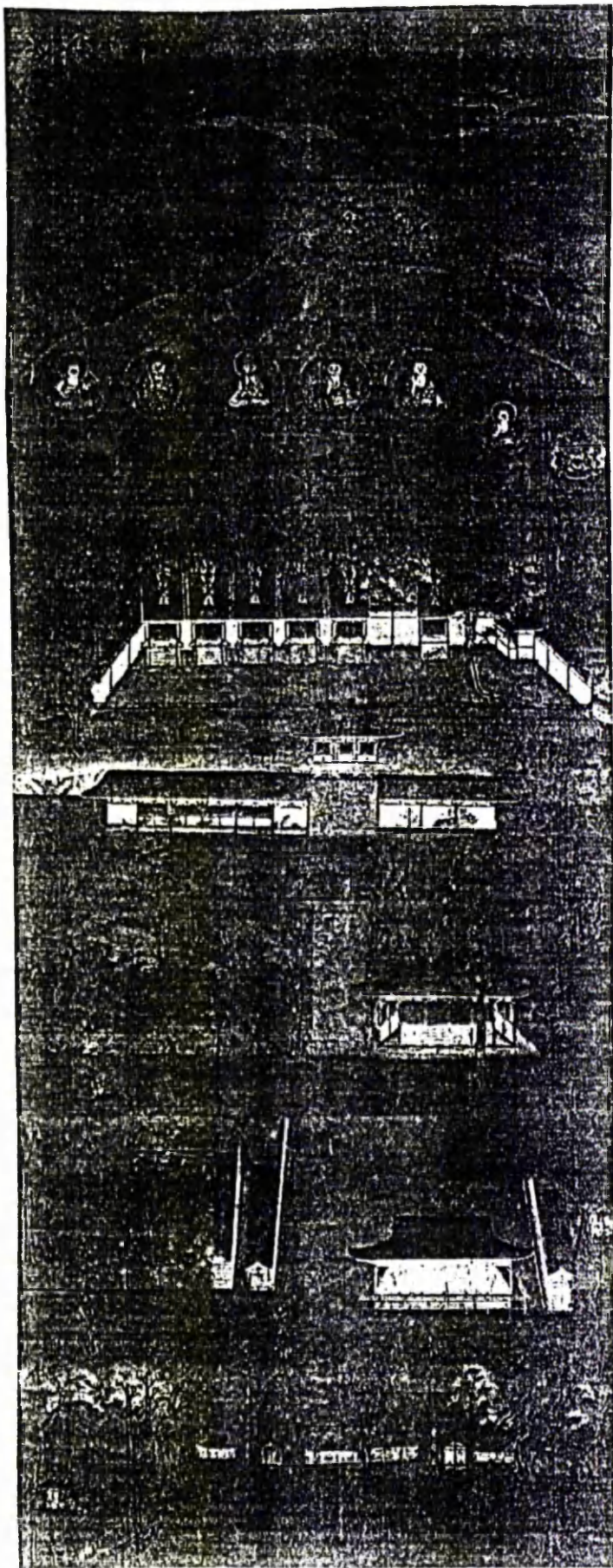


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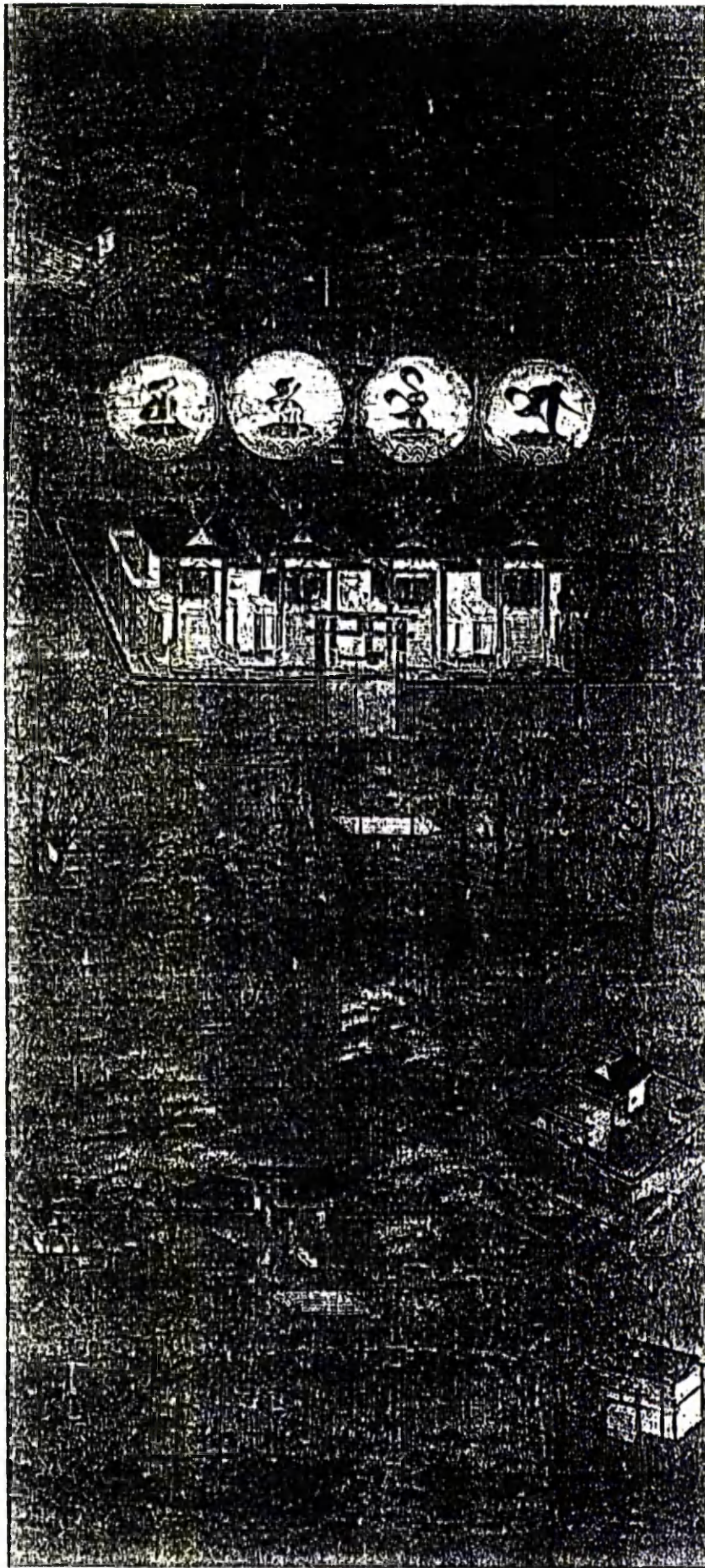


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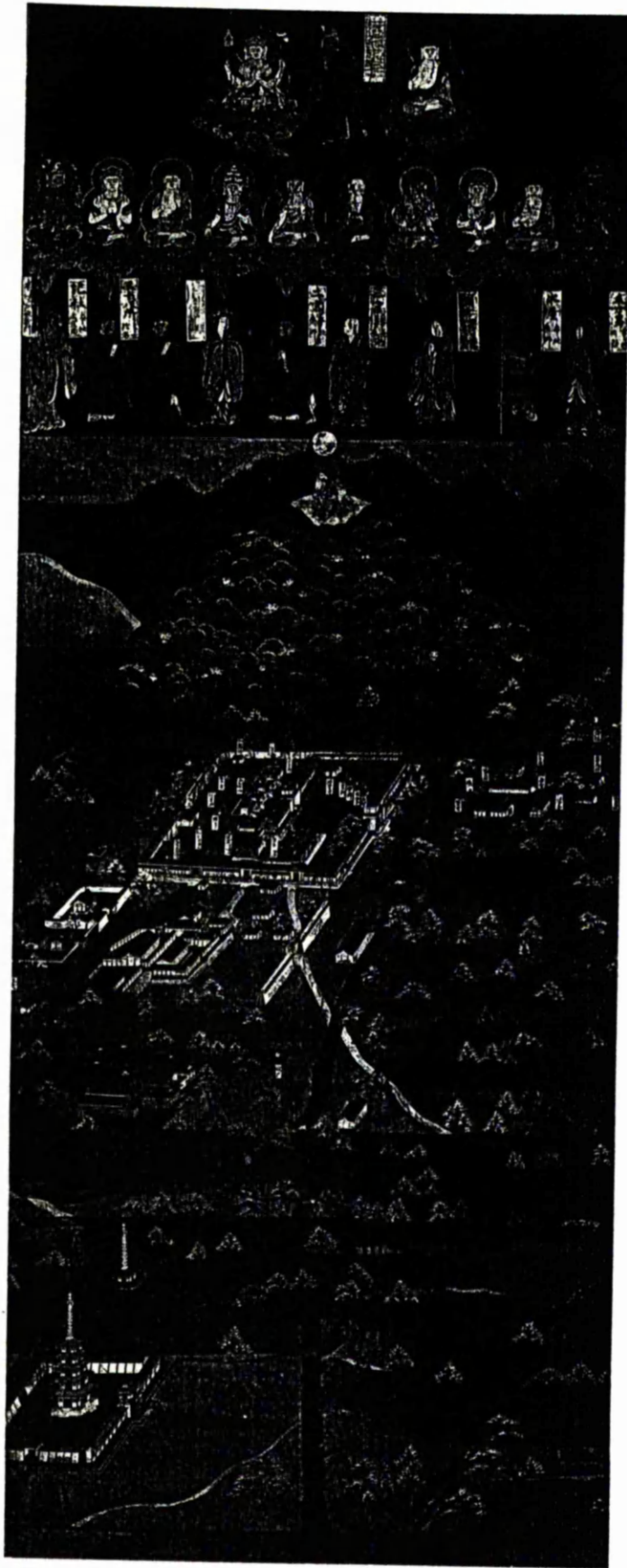


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山王宮曼荼羅
百濟寺



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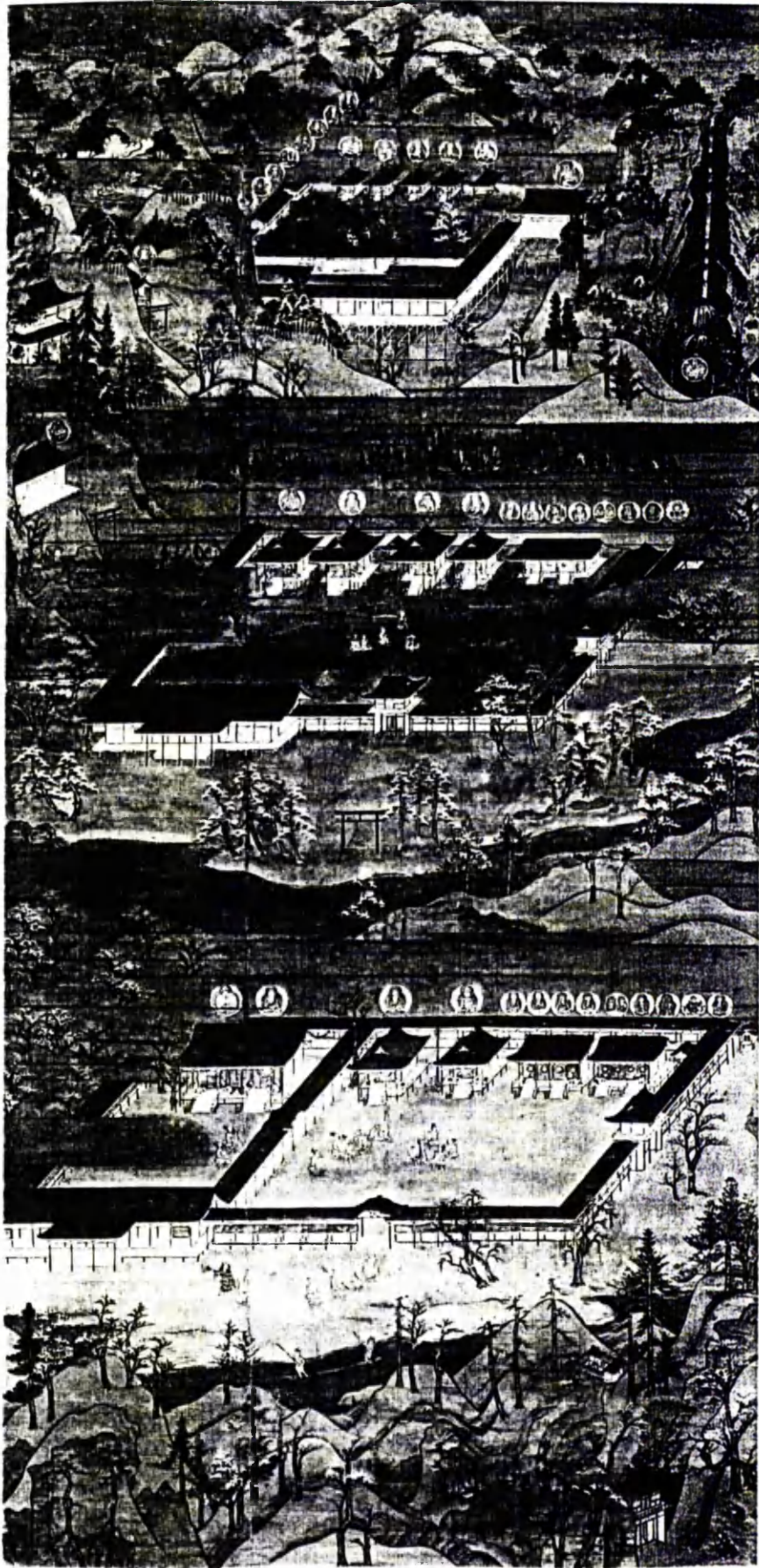


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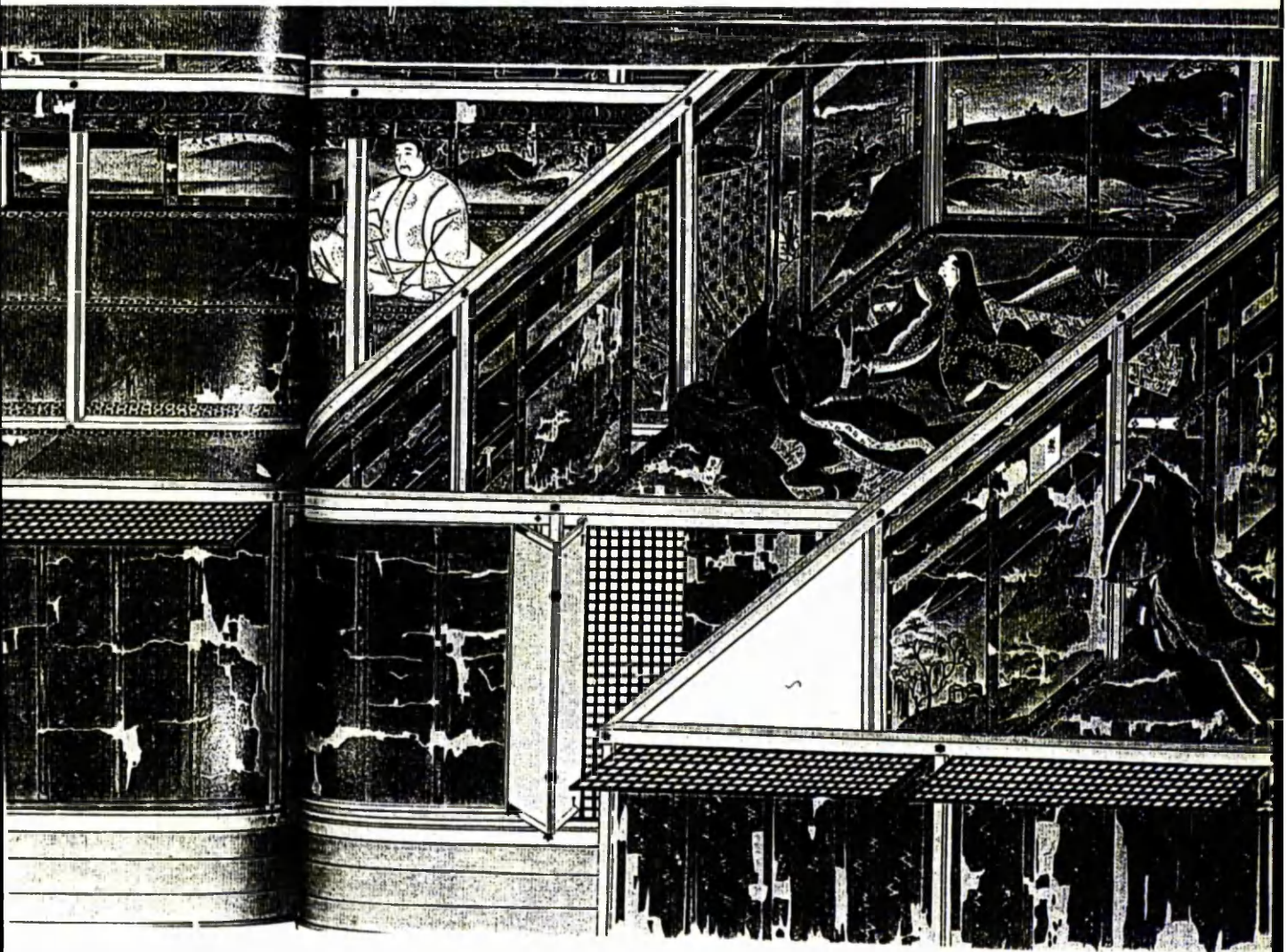


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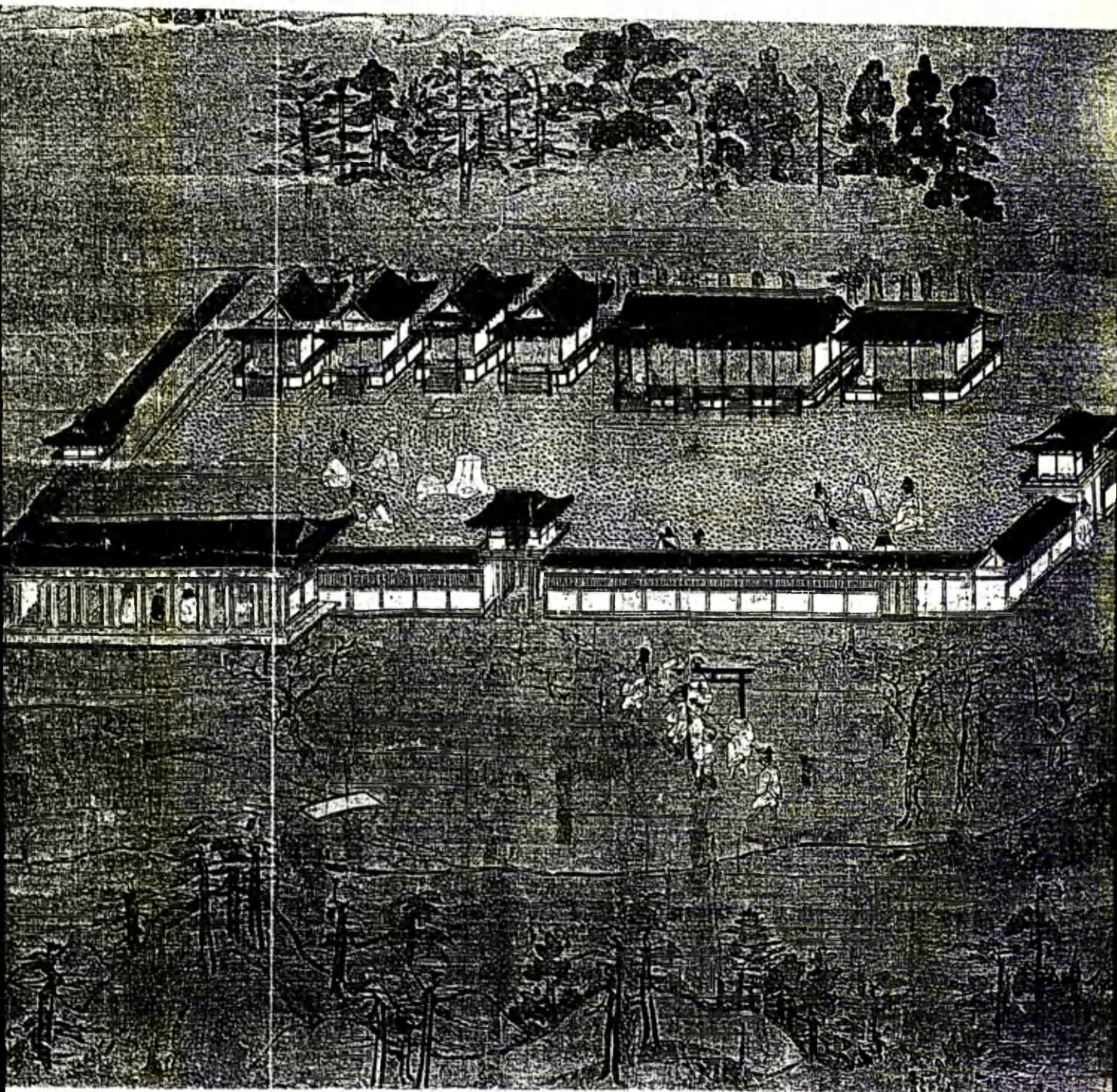


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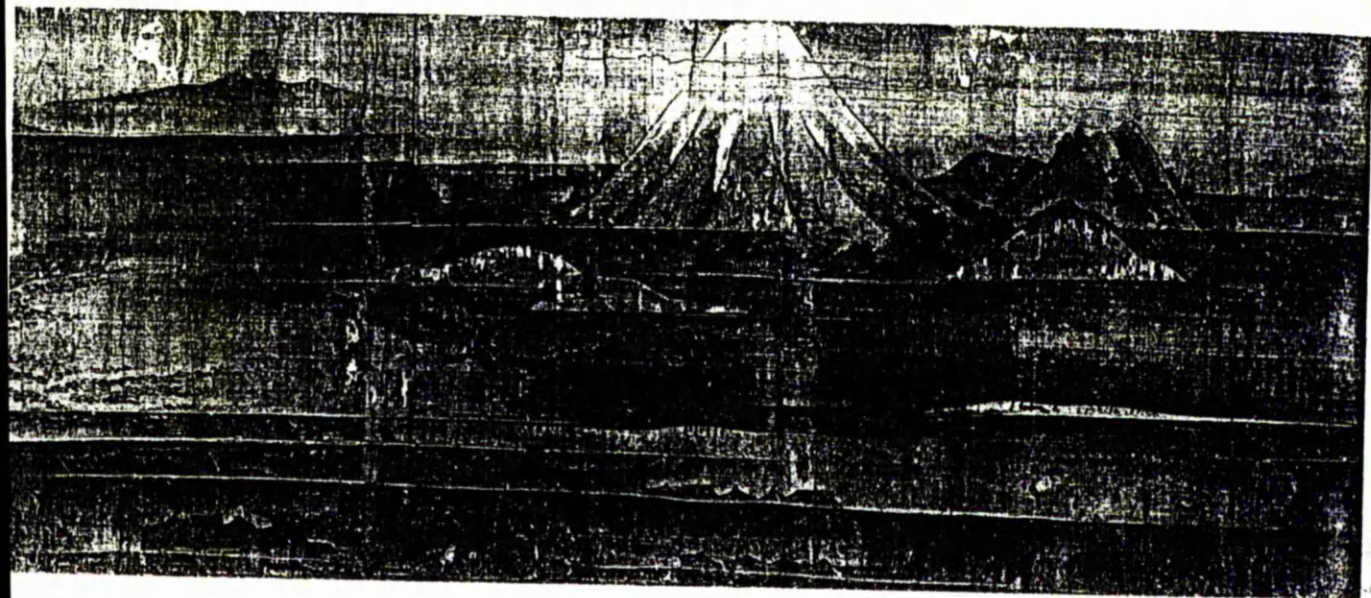


Fig.116. Mt.Fuji from the *Ippen Shōnin eden*, 1299.

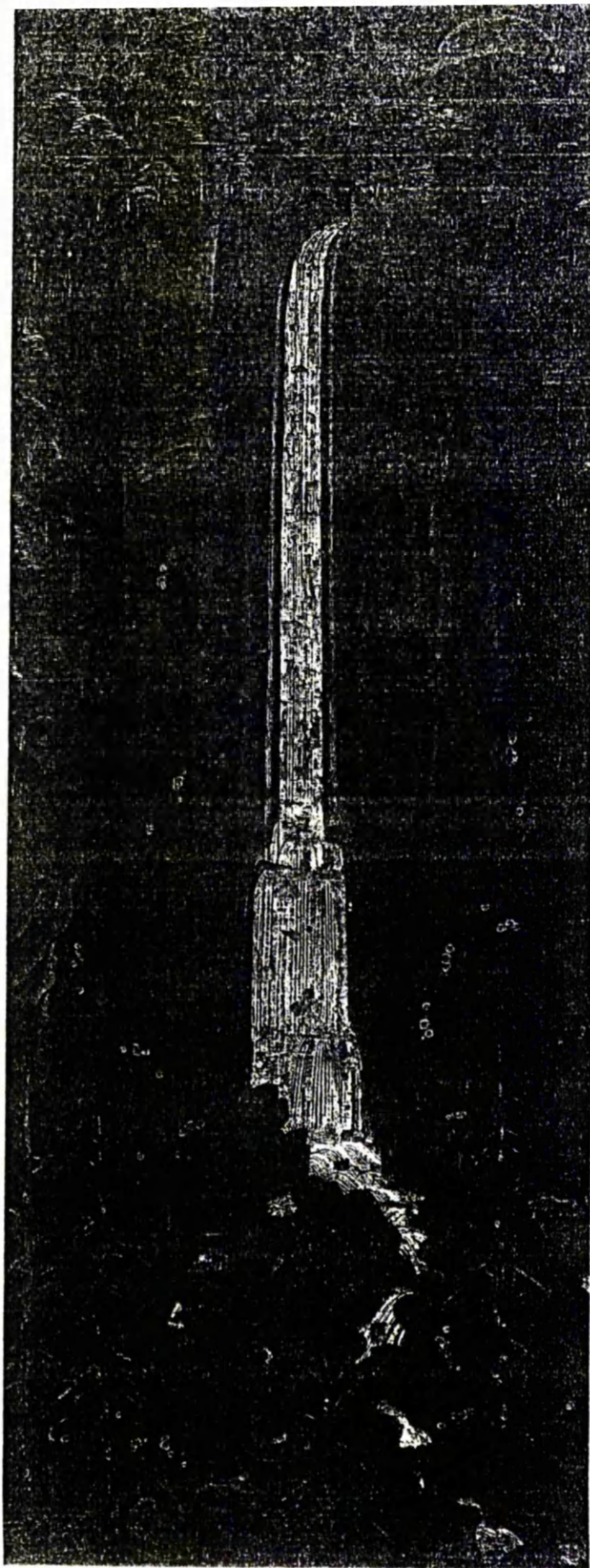


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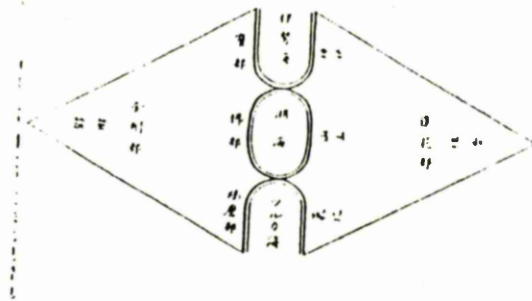
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問以我國吾獨古形方如何答行基
 曰日本海歷定國境聞田島給其時十
 人可作田畝十人彼屋乃至百人可作
 田畝百人彼屋如此畝在我國田島聞
 給其時感見樣同給其形獨古形也
 云云

南伊勢海神明
 北 波賀海氣其湖海由工

口傳云伊勢與湖海北海三所獨古東日
 也伊勢若寶部神明故以如意寶珠爲

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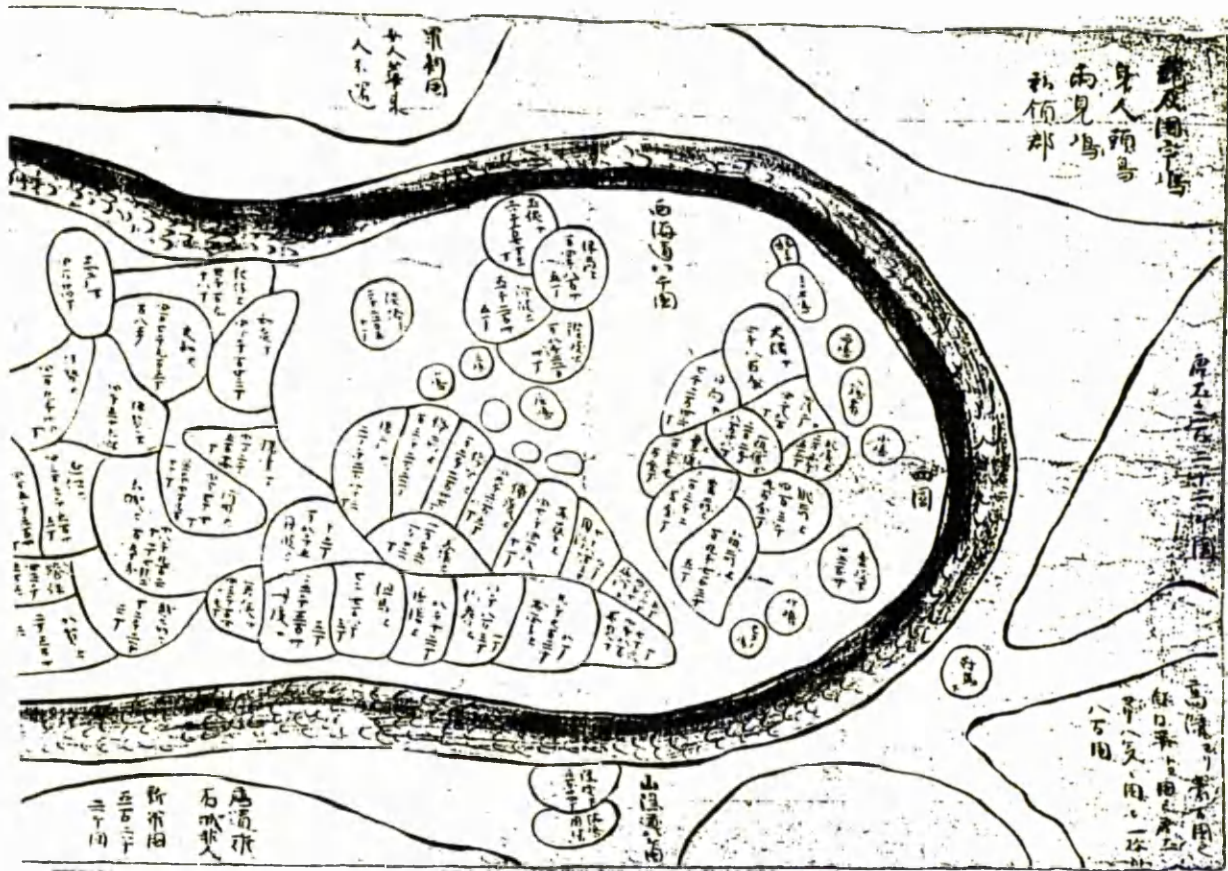
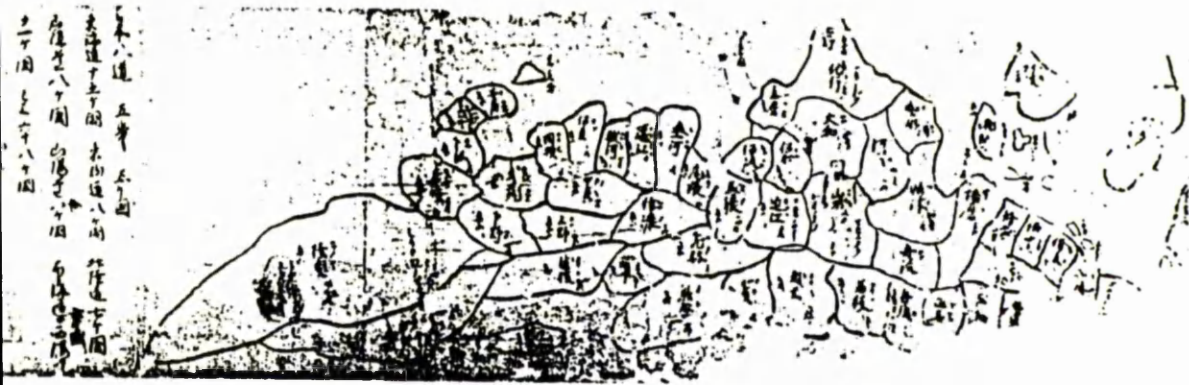


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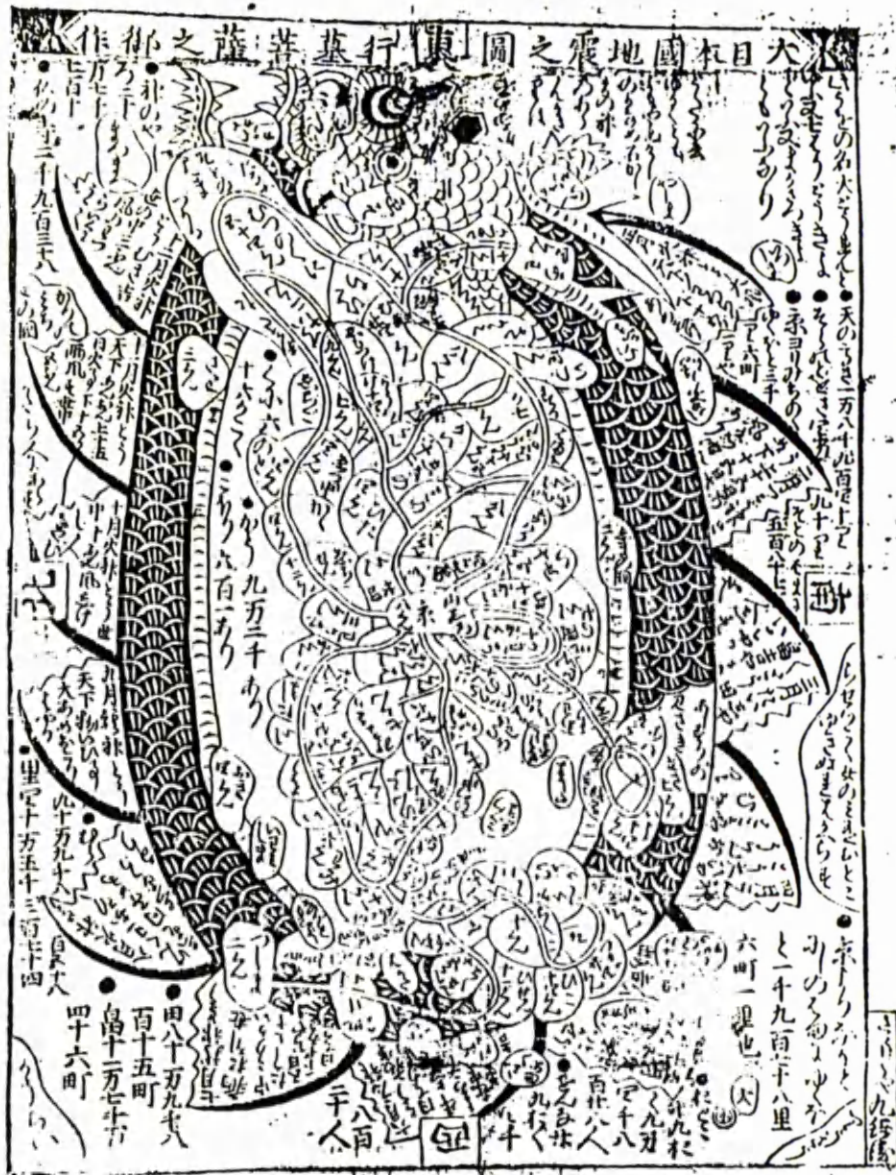


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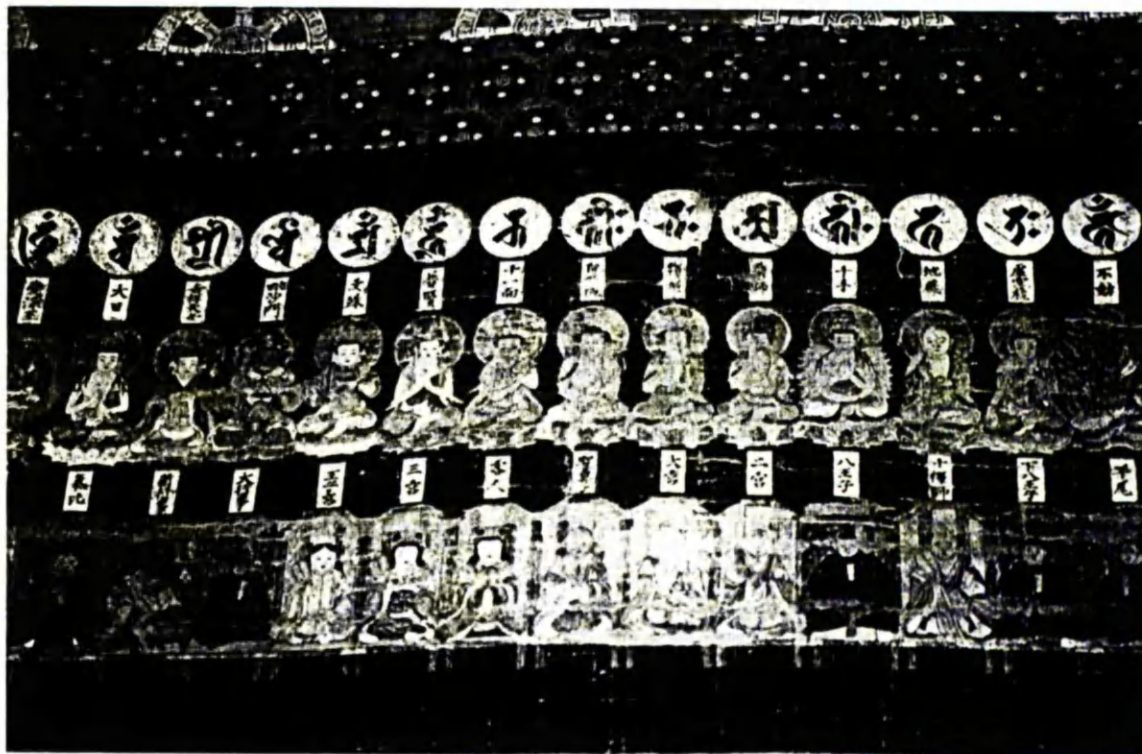
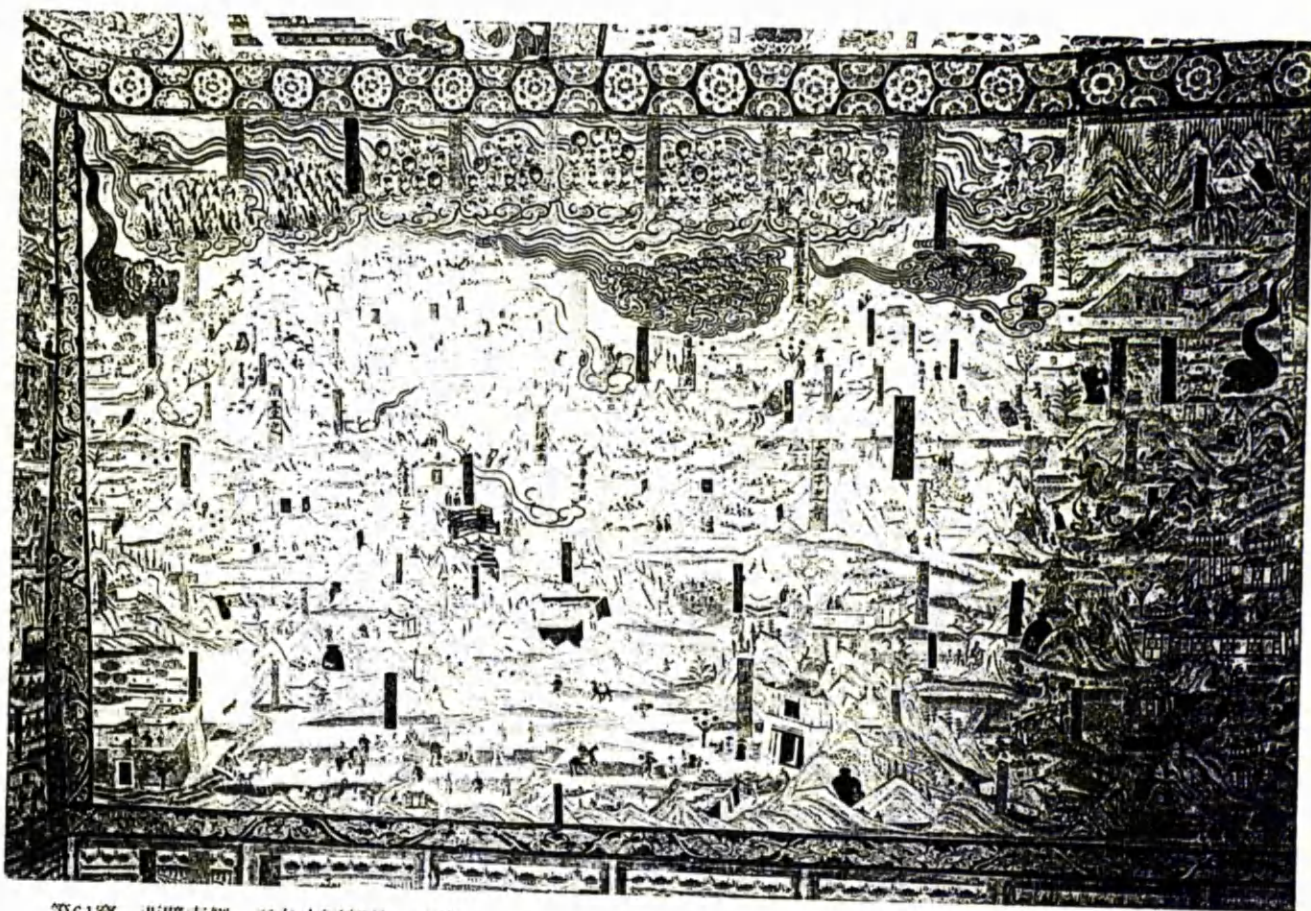


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第61窟 西壁南侧 五台山冈部分 五代

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高山寺寺額榜示絵図

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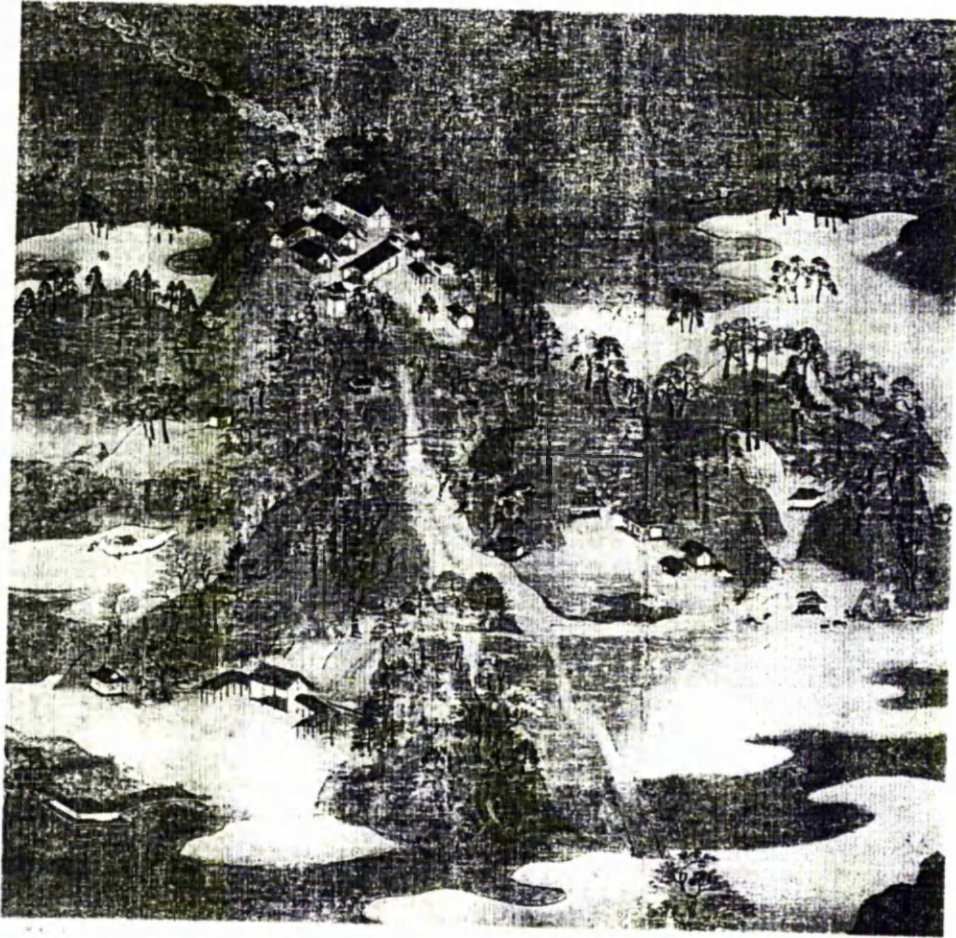


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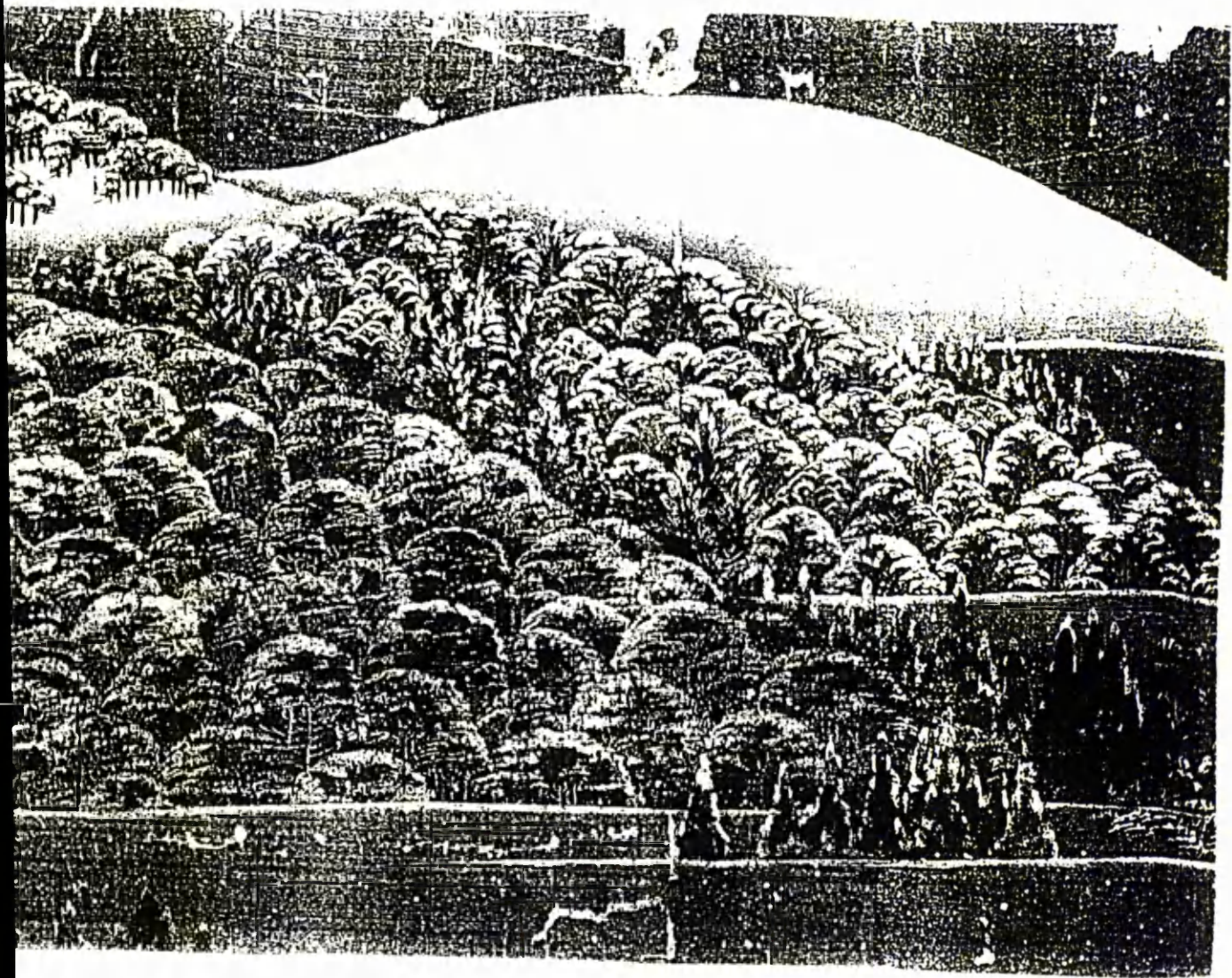


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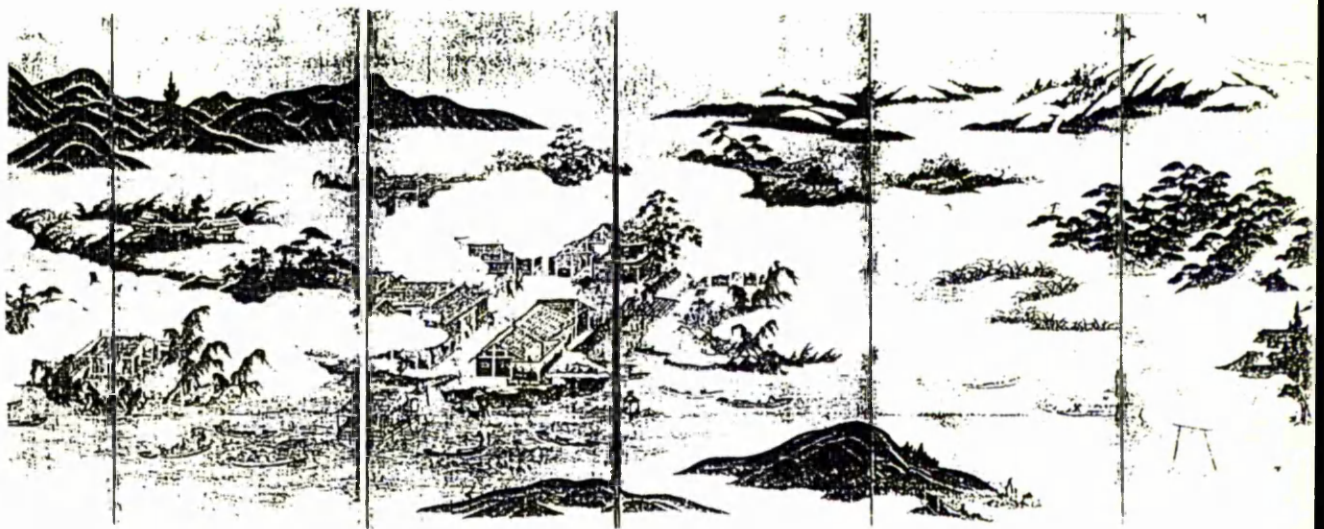


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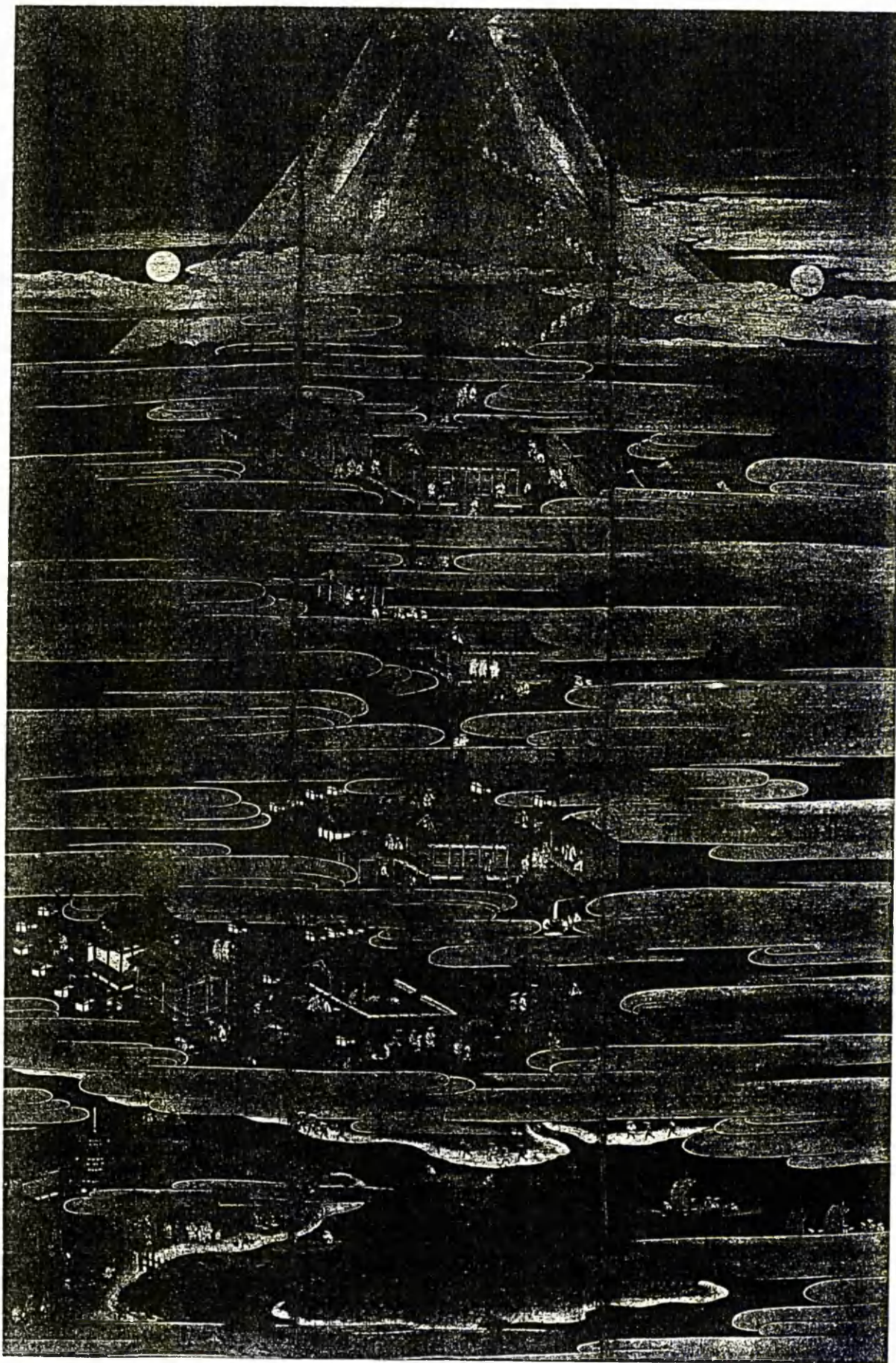


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聖眞子權現
本地彌陀如來



二宮權現
本地藥師如來



大宮權現
本地釋迦如來



日吉山王權現廿一社御神影

日吉

十禪師權現
本地地藏菩薩



客人權現
本地十一面觀音



八王子權現
本地千手觀音



三宮權現
本地普賢菩薩



Fig. 135 b. *Hie-Sannō Gongen Chishinki*, Edo period.
 Suijaku figures of the kami of the Middle Seven Shrines

早尾權現
 本地不動明王



下八王子權現
 本地虛空藏



中七社

大行事權現
 本地毘沙門



新行事
 本地吉祥天女



聖女
 本地如意輪



王子宮
 本地文殊



牛御子
 本地大威德



Fig. 135 c. *Hie-Sannō Gongen Chishunki*, Edo period.
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鈕
 本地俱里迦羅 宮



惡
 本地愛染明王 子



氣
 本地金大日 比



小
 本地龍樹 禪 師



岩
 本地辨財天 瀧



山
 本地摩利支天 末



夷
 本地不動毘沙門

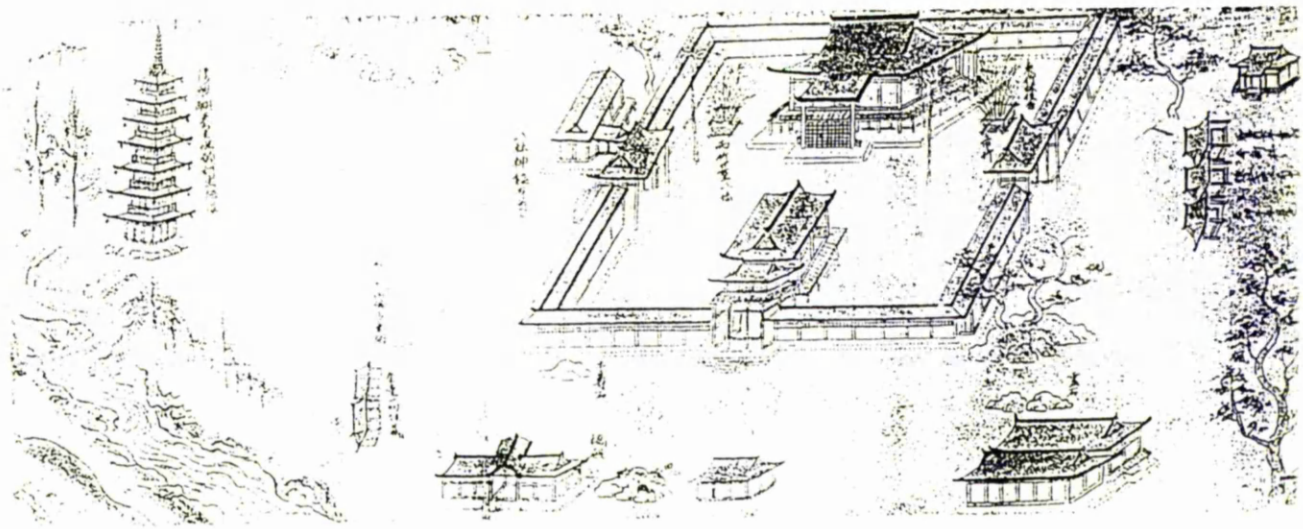


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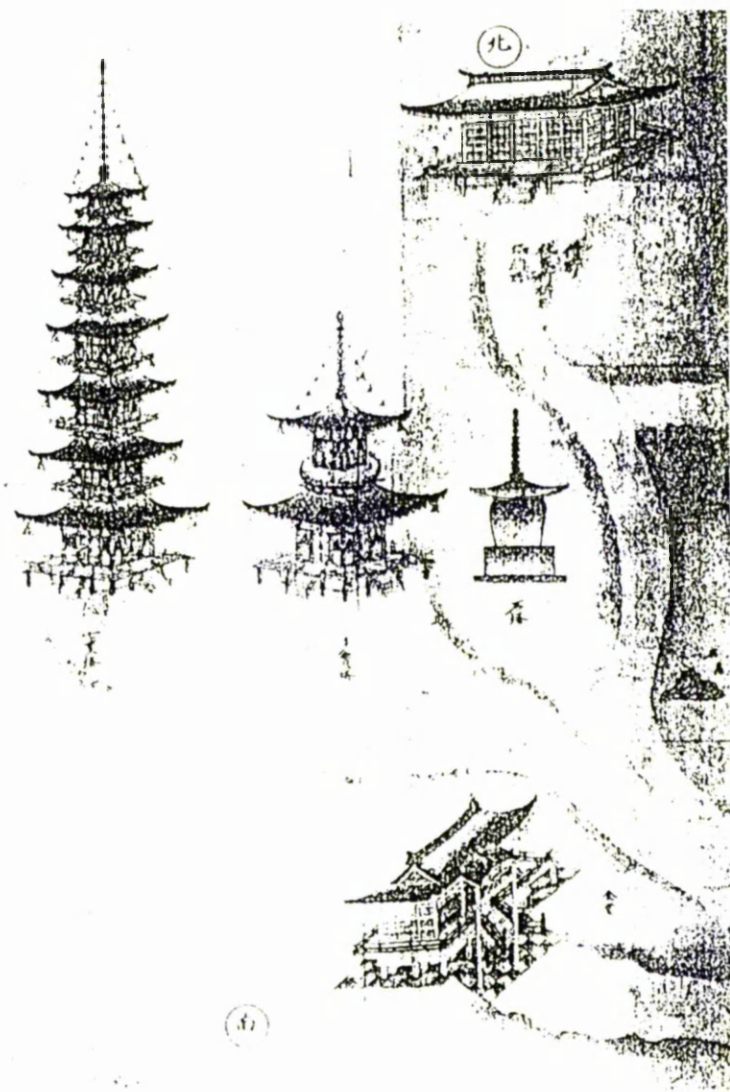
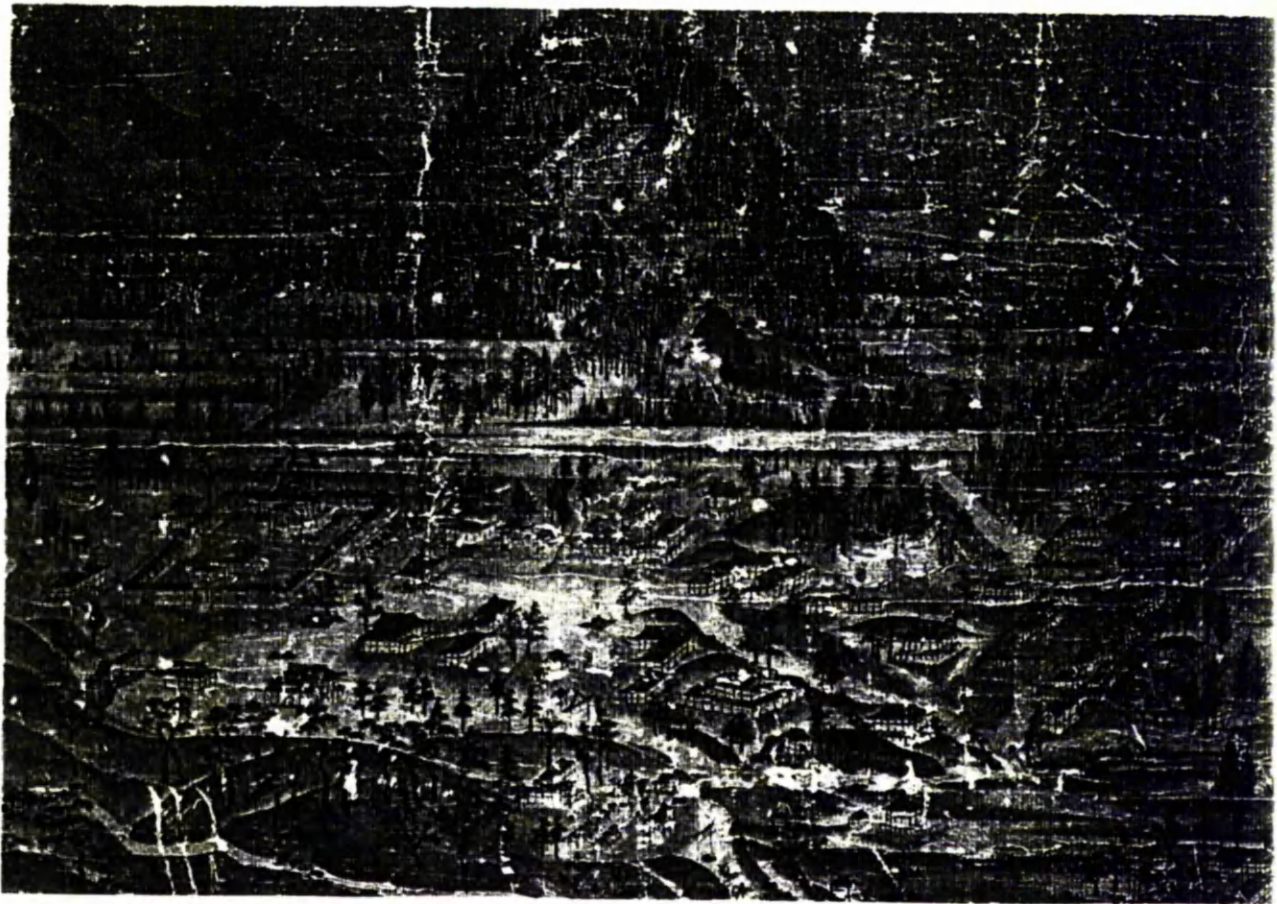


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月吉山王社古園 延曆寺

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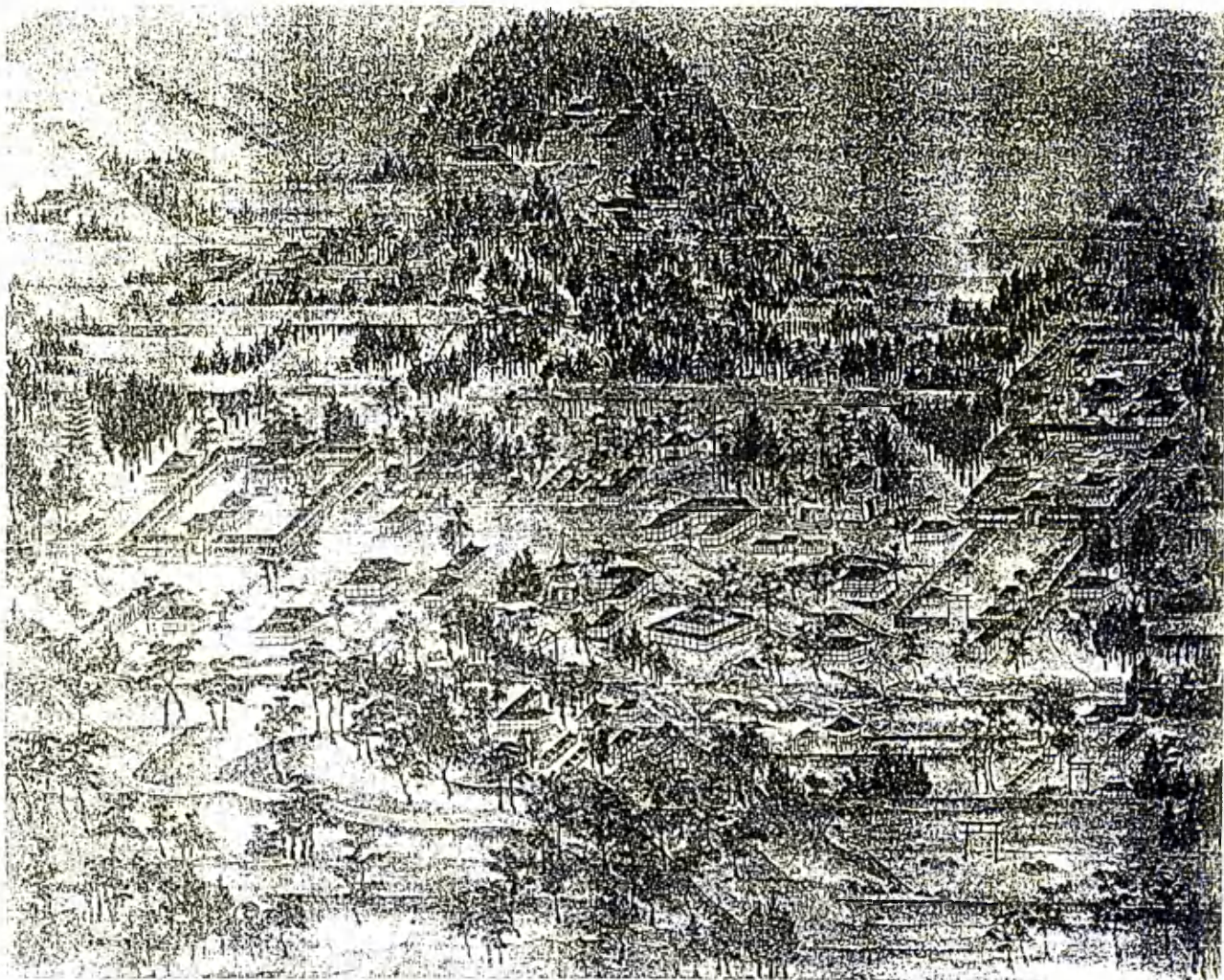


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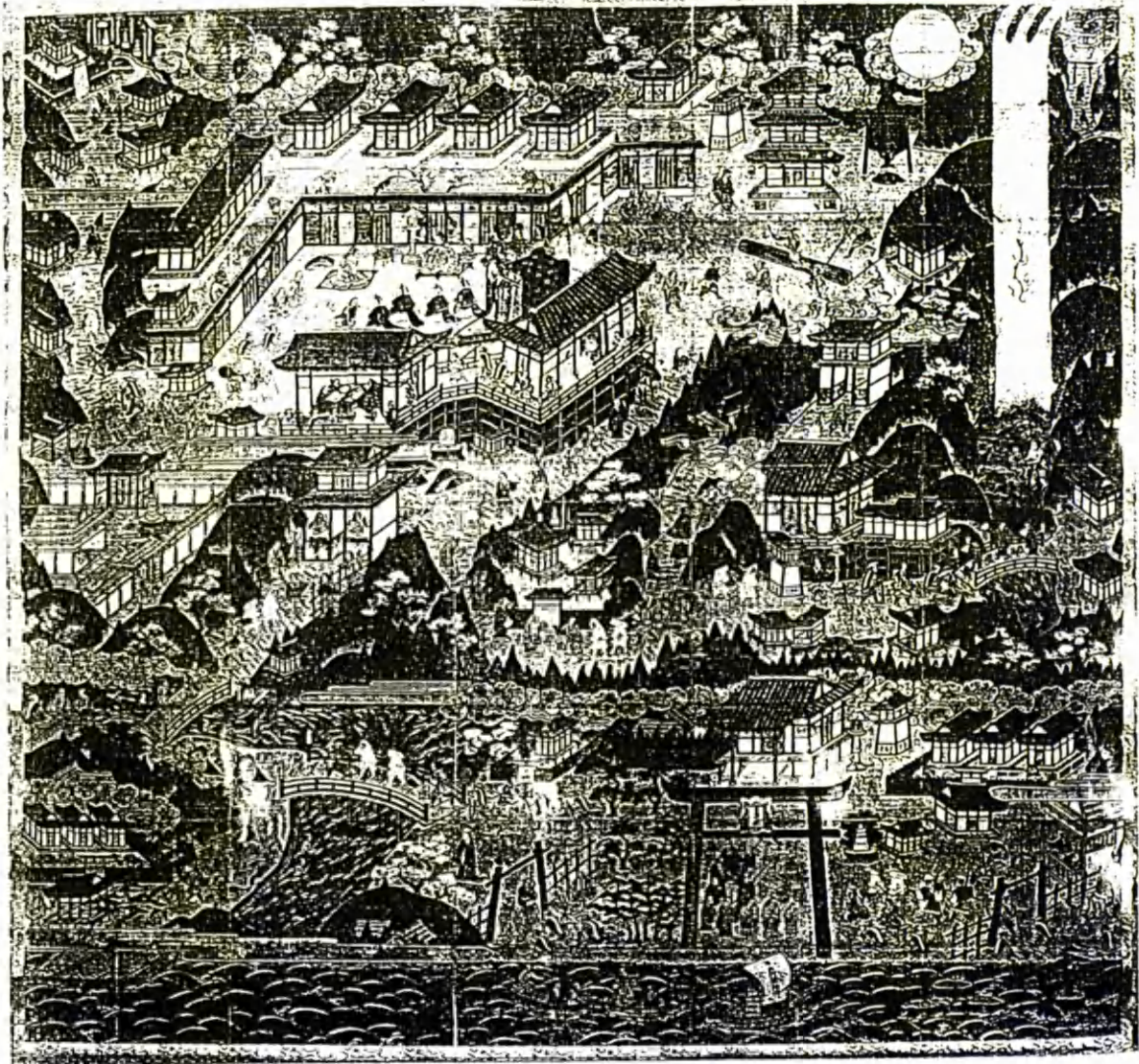
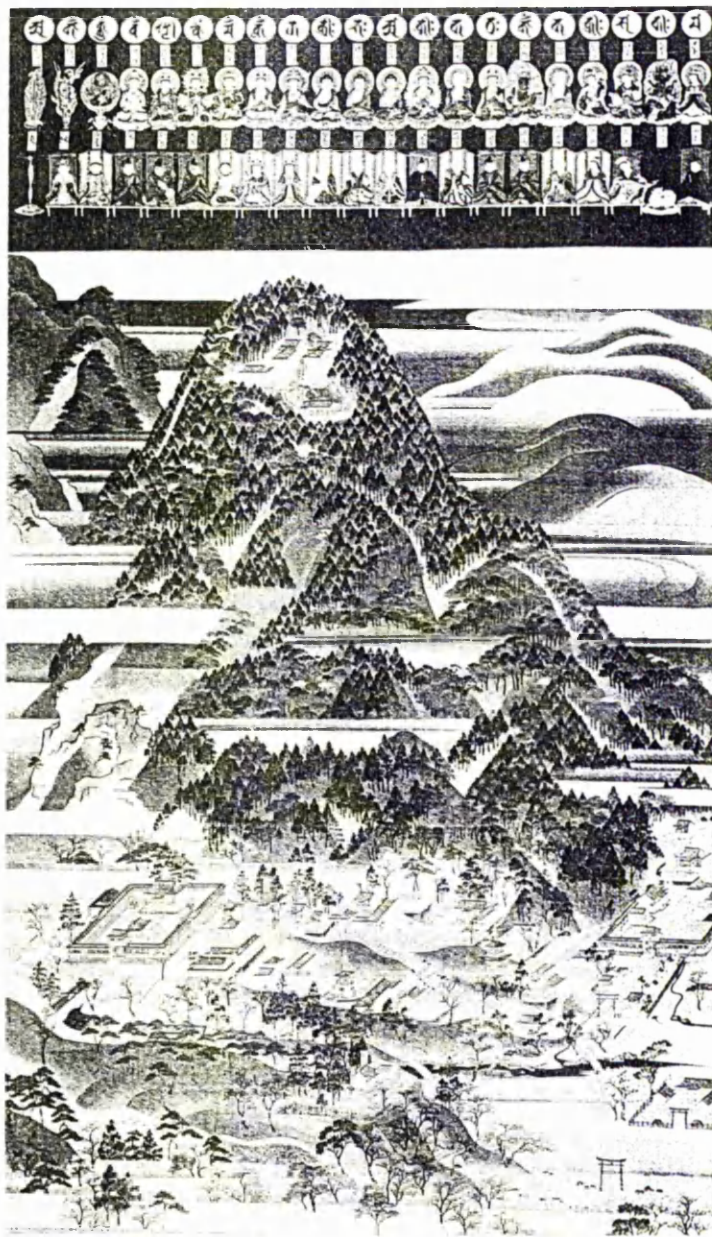


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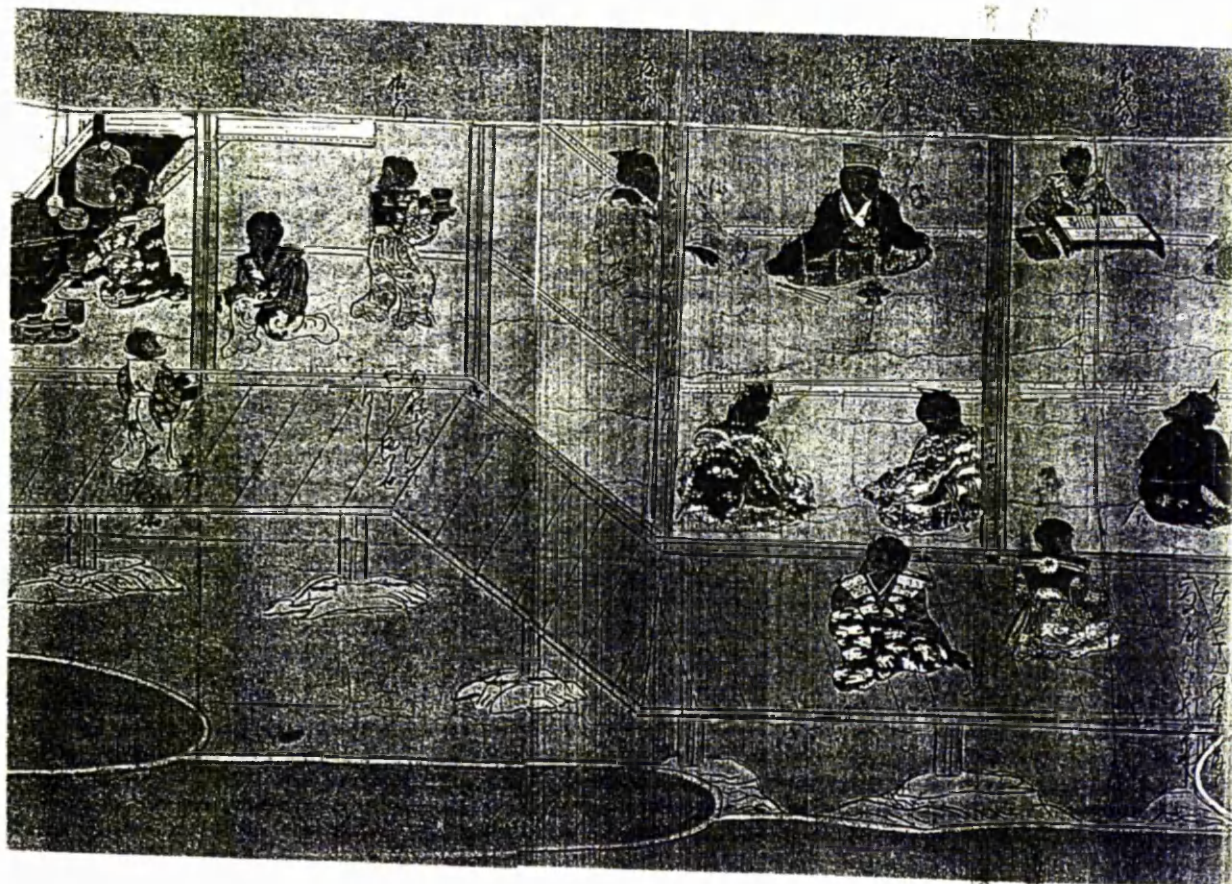


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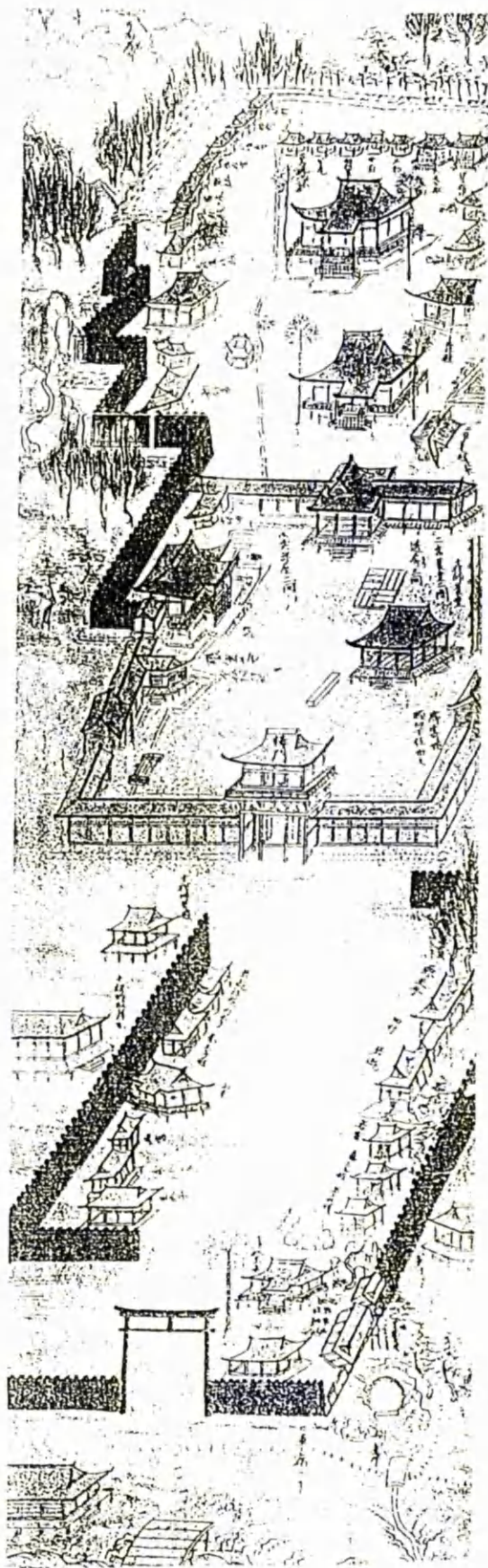


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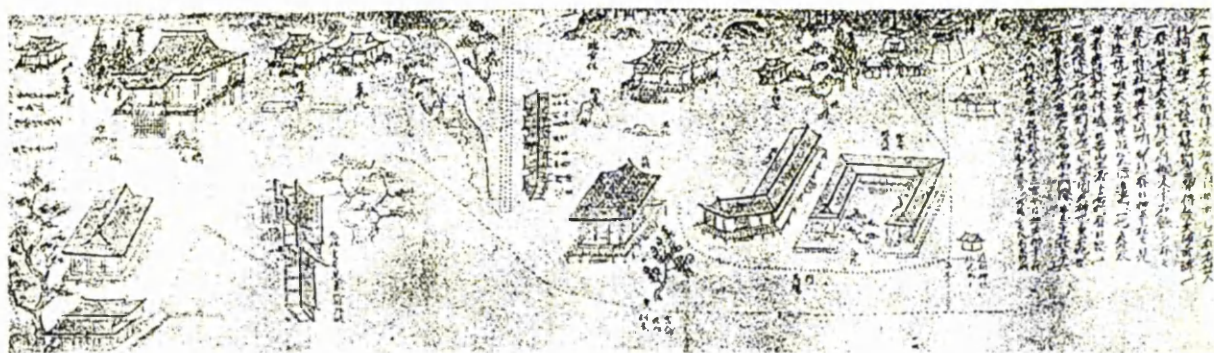


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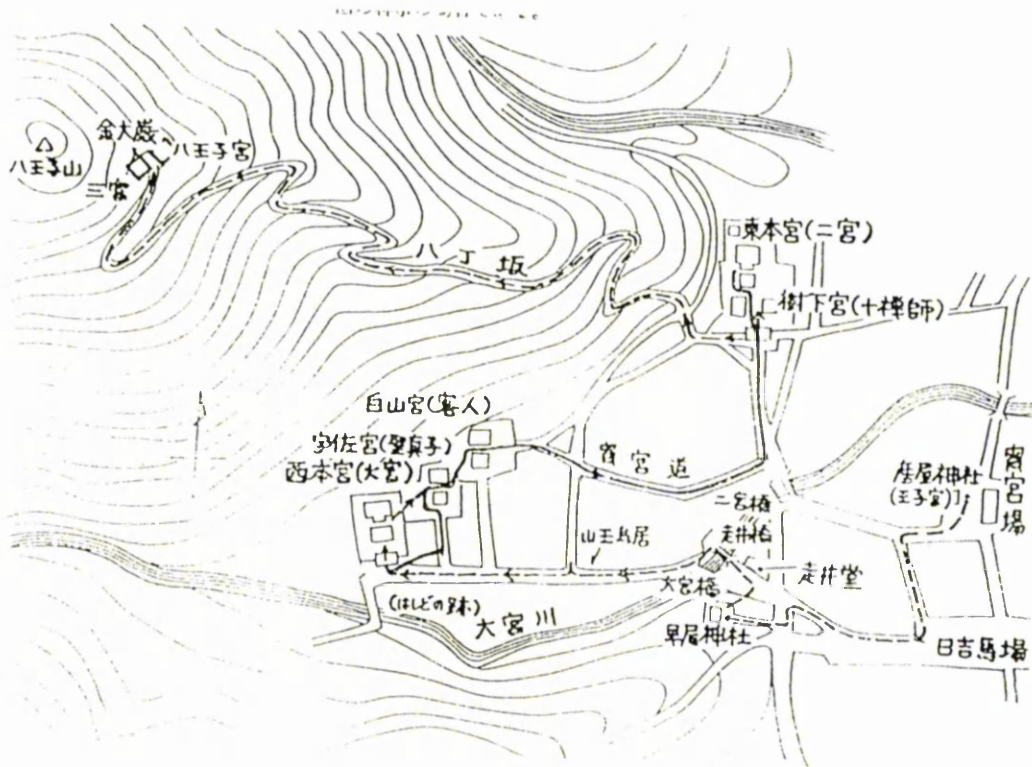


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