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会議概要（会議名，開催地，会期，主催者等）	国立ロシア人文大学，モスクワ大学，2007年10月31日-11月2日
page range	363-372
year	2009-12-15
シリーズ	ロシア・シンポジウム 2007 International Symposium in Russia 2007
図書名(英)	Interpretations of Japanese Culture : Views from Russia and Japan
URL	http://doi.org/10.15055/00001378

Space in Shinto Shrines and Its Visual Representation from the Thirteenth through the Fifteenth Centuries

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The significance of visual material for historical research has greatly increased in recent years. Perhaps this is a byproduct of computerization, which has increased our access to graphic, or visual, materials. Many scholars have shifted their gaze from written to visual documents. Computer and virtual space are none other than consecutive order of pictures.

During the last ten years the attention of historians has been attracted by different visual representations. It seems that in Japanese historiography, despite its long tradition of studying the historical geography of the archipelago, relatively little attention was paid to investigation of maps, representing shrines, temples, and their precincts, until quite recently. I have managed to find rather few works devoted to the problem.

To be sure, some well-known historians, specialists in the history of maps and history of landscapes such as Unno Kazutaka, Kinda Akihiro, and Oda Takeo gave attention to medieval representations of shrines, temples, and their precincts. But this is not the main point of their works. Unno, for example, describing the history of Japanese cartography and the functions of traditional Japanese maps in his well-known work, identifies three types of maps containing shrines and temples. Those are: maps of manors (*shōen*), mostly from the twelfth through sixteenth centuries; maps drafted to assist in the rebuilding, repair, and restoration of shrines and temples, mainly from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries; and picture maps of landscapes containing shrine and temples, so-called *mandara*, thirteenth-sixteenth centuries.¹ Kinda Akihiro provides a thorough description of the *shōen* plans of certain Buddhist temples, but only for the eighth century.² Oda Takeo, by contrast to Unno and Kinda, wrote only a few words about *shōenzu*.³

Especially worthy of notice by those of us interested in visual representation is the work of Jinnai Hidenobu in the field of spatial anthropology.⁴ Though it is not close to the problem studied in the present essay, it is of great value. The term *kūkan jinruigaku*, which Jinnai coined, is very suggestive, useful for explanation of different aspects of research on spatial problems. Another scholar, Naniwada Tōru, also merits attention. In his *Koezu* (Old Picture Maps), he offers the results of his specialized study of the problem of representation of sacred space.⁵ There are in addition two albums edited by Miyachi Naokazu, *Jinja kozo shū* (Collected Old Drawings of Shrines), Fukuyama Toshio's *Jinja kozo shū, zokuhen* (Collected Old Drawings

of Shrines, Continuation),⁶ and a catalogue of a special exhibition organized at the Kyoto National Museum in 1969.⁷ Unfortunately, it is impossible to find catalogues in Moscow, but it is possible, using the sources that are available (please see the list of references at the end of this essay), to identify general and particular features in the representations of medieval Japanese shrines, their precincts, and their nearby surroundings.

Among recent works by Western scholars, it is enough to name Jilly Traganou, *The Tōkaidō Road: Travelling and Representation in Edo and Meiji Japan* (Routledge Curzon, 2004); *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power, Memory in Kyoto, Edo and Tokyo*, edited by Nicolas Fieve and Paul Waley (Routledge Curzon, 2003); and the current work of Nicolas Fieve, who is coordinating a project to compile a historical urban and architectural atlas of Kyoto. These Western researchers are concentrating nearly all of their energies on the spatial representations of the early modern, modern, and contemporary periods. The medieval period remains to be examined in depth, although there is material with which scholars can work. Today we know of the existence of more than 100 representations of shrines and their precincts and surroundings between the Nara and Edo periods.

Very early, humans constructed special sites for the contact with supernatural beings; at first, this was spontaneous, and as time passed it became deliberate. Mircea Eliade, the famous specialist in the history of religions, said that the choice of the place is defined by something that is out of human sphere—splendid ierophany, cosmological symbols which provide a base for orientation, and geomanthya, or a simple “sign” of ierophania, which very often was the presence of an animal.⁸ Forming the border with the profane world, such places were surrounded with fences or stones. As time passed, altars and shrines were constructed in these places. With the progress of society, when states took shape and religious conceptions developed, separate sacred places scattered around the state territory were united, forming a definite structure—a sacred geography.

We have little reliable information about ancient shrine architecture and what shrine territories looked like. All that we find in the early written sources (*Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, *Kogoshūi*, *Izumo fudoki*, and *Norito*) is vague descriptions of shrines in Izumo and Kashiwara. In *Ritsuryō* and *Ryō no gige*, there is a little information about shrines’ economic situation.

The history of cartography is a young field of science, one that appeared in the nineteenth century. Cartography itself, the art of map drawing, is known from ancient times in China, the Middle East, and Greece. One of the founders of scientific research on the history of mapmaking, Leo Bagrow, wrote that collecting of maps, the previous step before systematic historical study, appeared in Europe at least as early as the seventeenth century.⁹ At practically the same time, a similar occupation could be found in Japanese culture. Identifying reasons that induced men to collect maps, Bagrow emphasized that maps have a historical—scientific and cultural—value and that they are also works of art.

In Fujiwara Teika's (1162–1241) diary *Meigetsuki*, there is a reference to a screen with representation of forty-six *meishō zue* (picture maps of famous sites). This screen is only mentioned, and the places are not named. It is well known that the lists of *meishō zue* included pictures of different famous places accompanied with various textual explanations. Shrines and temples, with surrounding landscapes, were very frequently among the *meishō*. Strictly speaking, the research concerning medieval Japanese tradition has dealt with pictorial representations, *ezu*, and not with geographical maps, *chizu*, as we understand the term “map” now. But on the other hand the ancient and medieval maps of Asia and Europe also included a pictorial component.

The earliest visual representations of shrine space could help in this kind of investigation. They refer to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the same period as when the term Shinto comes to be known.

From the early beginnings, the Japanese religious complex is a combination of elements derived from different ritual conceptions that seem to have originated on the archipelago (including animism, shamanism, and totemism) or to have been introduced from the continent (Yin-Yang, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism). It is possible to suggest that from earliest times, the spatial ideas of shrine's precincts are combinative.

The representations of shrine space can be divided roughly into two groups: art scheme (*ezu*) and Buddhist mandala-type drawing. *Ezu* consist of representations of shrines, their surroundings, and plans of private landownership *shōen* (*shōenzu*). The last include representations of shrines, temples, and *jingūji* in which spaces for Buddhist and Shinto worship were both present. Among the mandala genre, there is an attractive group known as the *sankei mandara* (mandalas for pilgrimage) dating between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their particular feature is that figures of people appear in the pictures. These pictures were disseminated to believers as a kind of religious and promotional material. From Heian and Kamakura diaries, it is known that people made offerings and performed various ceremonies using *mandara*-type drawings.¹⁰ It seems that the drawings also could be used to help people to make some kind of imaginative pilgrimage. They were used by servants of shrines and temples to show the splendor and prosperity of their places, as well.

One of the first verbal descriptions of the shrine is founded in the early written sources *Nihon shoki* and *Izumo fudoki*. It tells about the construction of Izumo shrine.

Now Takami-musubi no Mikoto send the two Gods back again, and commanded Oho-na-mochi no Mikoto, saying: - ‘...if you wilt dwell in the palace of Ama no Hi-sumi, I will now built it for thee. I will take a thousand fathom rope of the (bark of the) paper mulberry, and tie it in 180 knots. As to the dimensions of the building of the palace, its pillars shall be high and massy, and its planks broad and thick. I will also cultivate the rice-fields for thee, and, for the provision when thou goest to take pleasure on the sea,

I will make for thee a high bridge, a floating bridge, and also a Heavenly bird-boat. Moreover, on the Tranquil River of Heaven I will make a flying bridge. I will also make for thee white shields of the 180 seams, and Ame no Ho-hi no Mikoto shall be the president of the festivals in thy honour.¹¹

From this description of the shrine, it is difficult to imagine the layout of the precincts or the construction and architecture of the building. It is clear that there was a paddy field inside the precincts, and that the shrine was made of wood, with high and massive pillars and broad and thick planks. Literary evidence of the construction of Izumo shrine is found also in *Kojiki* and *Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko yogoto*.

As we know from early written sources, kami and *tennō* lived in one palace, and it was only after some time had passed that they were separated and a special dwelling place was found for Amaterasu ōmikami. First she was moved to Kasanui in Yamato, and then to Ise. So, the description of the construction of Emperor Jinmu's Kashiwara palace in *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Kogoshūi* could be also considered as the description of the shrine.

Imibe no Hironari wrote in *Kogoshūi*:

The descendants of both Taokiho-Oi no Mikoto and Hikosashiri no Mikoto, under the guidance of Ame no Tomi no Mikoto (a descendant of Fututama no Mikoto), obtained the needful timber from the mountains, to build the 'Mi-Araka' (August or Divine Abode), felling the trees with consecrated axes and mattocks. Their success in so building it is often phrased: 'Making stout the pillars of the august abode upon the nether-most rock-bottom and raising the cross-beams of the roof to the Plain of High Heaven for the august residence of the Sovereign Grandson'.¹²

There is a new element in the description of the eleventh century, namely, the construction of the roof.

It appears to be important that one of the earliest representations of a shrine and its surroundings is of Izumo shrine ("Izumo jinjaryō bōji ezu" 出雲神社領勝示絵図, dated 1234; Fig. 1).¹³ In the foreground one can see three small huts (peasants' dwellings), then a sacred gate (*torii*), several bent red pine trees, a small hill, then two mountains and a river, and far away a range of mountains. Naniwada Tōru observed that the small hill beside the *torii* is a *shintaiizan* (mountain where the body of the deity dwells). He also wrote that this kind of representation of a shrine's precincts was typical of early Shinto landscapes, because in that period *shaden* (pavilions for the *shintai*) were not yet being built.¹⁴ In the right lower corner is written in black ink: "Devoted [to the kami] on the 15th day of the 4th month of the 2nd year of Wadō" (和銅二年四月十五日畢). This was the date of the special ceremony held when the shrine was dedicated to the kami.

It needs to be emphasized that the special sacred character of the landscape representation was marked by *torii*, forming the border between sacred and profane space, and as M. Eliade said, by the presence of three obligatory microcosmic ele-

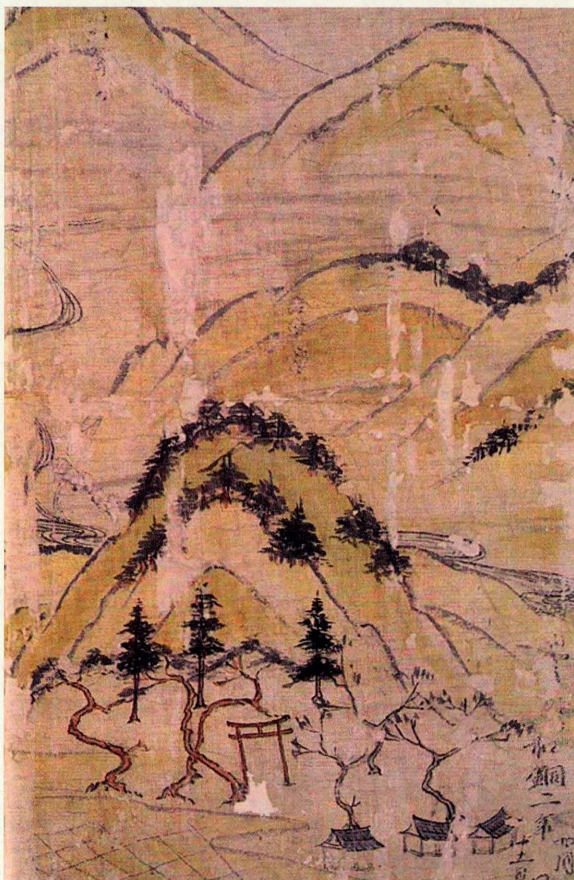


Fig. 1. “Izumo jinjaryō bōji ezu” 出雲神社領榜示絵図.

Source: Naniwada 1972, fig. 14.

ments (a mountain or a rock, a tree or a grove, a river or a spring).

The first representations of shrine precincts appeared in maps of *shōen* (*shōenzu* 莊園図) in the late Heian (794–1185) and early Kamakura (1185–1333) periods. The earliest known representation of temple precincts dates to the Nara period (710–794); that is the representation of the Great Buddha Hall (Daibutsuden) at Tōdaiji, which is in the collection of the Shōsōin.

In the picture map showing the Ashimori estate in Bitchū province (the present Okayama prefecture), painted in 1169, one can see the landscape of the *shōen* along with the *shōen* office, peasant huts, paddies and fields, etc. (Fig. 2). There are *torii* in two places in this scroll, marking sacred space, and—rather sketchily painted—the three microcosmic elements of sacred landscape.

The *shōen* map “Sugaura no shō to Ōura shimoshō sakai ezu” 菅浦莊与大浦下莊界絵図 (1302) contains a representation of Jingūji, the shrine and temple complex situated on the sacred island Chikubushima in Lake Biwa. Indeed, that complex is the



Fig. 2. “Ashimori estate in Bitchū province 備中国足守莊絵図. Source: Naniwada 1972, fig. 16.

main part of the picture (Fig. 3). The image is remarkable for its detailed drawing and vivid colors. One can see constructions, with *torii* marking the sacred spaces, as was always the case in early picture maps. Photographs of this sacred island taken today



Fig. 3. “Sugaura no shō to Ōura shimoshō sakai ezu” 菅浦莊与大浦下莊堺絵図, detail. Source: Naniwada 1972, fig. 17.

show that the medieval *ezu* came close to reproducing the actual topography.

The importance of the representation of *torii* is exemplified by the map of Otogi *shō*, made in 1265 at Daijoin, a small branch temple of Kōfukuji in Nara (Fig. 4). The so-called *jōri* system framework provides readily recognizable location references. The main idea of this kind of map is to describe the content of the fields, rather than show the shape of the parcels. The description includes place-names, rice paddies, and vegetable fields. Some contains rivers, roads, ponds etc. They were drawn in black and white, and as a rule they have few pictorial elements. This feature is strong circumstantial evidence for believing that representation of *torii*, symbolising sacred space, was an important function of these picture maps.

Also, maps were drafted to assist in the rebuilding or repairing of shrines and

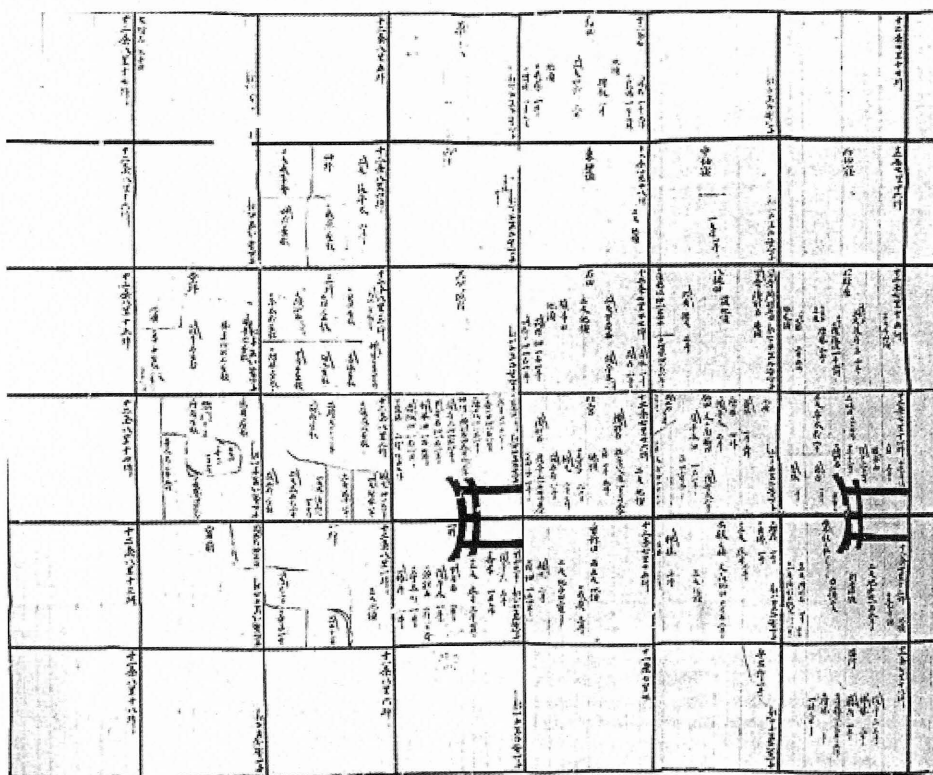


Fig. 4. Map of Otogi *shō*. Source: Unno 1986, p. 363, fig. 11.10.

temples. Detailed plans were made at the time of the construction work. Several important examples of such plans date to the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. They include the “Gion oyashiro *ezu*” of 1331 and the “Usa Hachimangū *ezu*” and “Shimogamo *ezu*” from about the fifteenth century.

The oldest known shrine mandala-type example seems to be the “Kasugamiya

mandara” (Mandala of Kasuga Shrine) of 1320 (Fig. 5), and the oldest *ezu* example seems to be a picture of the Izumo shrine of 1234 (Fig. 1). The mandala-type space representations were used for religious services and as promotional material to show



Fig. 5. “Kasugamiya *mandara*” 春日宮曼荼羅. Source: <http://narahaku.go.jp>.

the believers the splendor of the shrine.

Examples of both types are very close to real topography, reflecting, in my view, a specific feature of Japanese mentality. Both types of representation depict the shrine territory and the surrounding landscape. *Mandara*-type drawings pay attention to man-made objects (especially shrine buildings), whereas *ezu*-type drawings place emphasis on objects of relief and nature. In both types, the depictions of *torii* is obligatory, as it marks the border of sacred space. In *mandara*-type representations, *torii* identify the separation of territory of Buddhist and shrine precincts. In *ezu*-type representations, *torii* divide “microcosmic landscapes” of sacred places and profane territories. The *ezu*-type space representations appear to have been appreciated not only for their sacral significance, but also for their artistic qualities, as landscape drawings.

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