SELECTIONS FROM THE BUTSUZŌ ZUI

THESIS

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By

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Ki no Tosa’s *Butsuzō zui* was written during the Edo period (1603-1868), which was a time of great change in Japanese society. The *Butsuzō zui* is significant because it is Japan’s first major study of Buddhist and Shinto iconography. The Tokugawa government, in order to preserve their national security, isolated themselves from foreign exchange. The port city of Nagasaki was the exception to this rule because it was allowed restricted trade access to the Dutch and the Chinese. Through Nagasaki the Japanese were exposed to Western maps, guidebooks, encyclopedias and scientific studies. Ki no Tosa’s method of describing Buddhist iconography, and recording information, was influenced by imported Chinese and Dutch manuals.

This thesis explores selections of the *Butsuzō zui*’s iconography and contextualizes it, by displaying how it fit in with the transmission of Buddhism to Japan, and the development of Edo period culture. Edo period society was marked by the growth of commercial printing and the evolution of a modern government. Edo culture reflects this with the secularization of Buddhism, the popularity of travel and pilgrimage, and the public’s access to information that in the past was only available to the privileged. All of these elements influenced the creation of the *Butsuzō zui*, as will be discussed in this thesis.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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VITA

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

With the arrival of the Edo period 江戸時代 (1603-1868), Japan initiated a policy of isolation from the outside world. However even the limited trade that was allowed with China, and the Dutch, was enough to change the way in which the Japanese shared and collected information. The Butsuzō zui 仏像圖案, a wood block printed e hon 絵本 compiled by Ki Tosa no Hidenobu 土佐の秀信, is the first truly modern Japanese study of Buddhist and Shinto iconography. In the Butsuzō zui images are listed along with excerpts of sutras, and commentaries, from which they derive. Although Japanese Buddhism was largely practiced in secret, this practice of extracting religious text and placing it in a secular context is indicative of Edo period views of Buddhism. Before the Edo period, printing was under the authority of the Buddhist monastic system so Buddhist sutras were not printed outside of a religious context. The first publication of the Butsuzō zui was in 1690 and subsequent publications, that have been cataloged, were printed in 1783, 1796, 1800, 1886, and 1900. The images included in this paper have been taken from a 1783 manuscript edition of the book. The frequency of printings of the Butsuzō zui, over a long time span, indicates the book's popularity. The Butsuzō zui set a precedent for the way in which Japanese iconography was made accessible to the public.
Tosa no Hidenobu’s method of cataloging was appropriated from western scholarship. The development of Japanese Buddhist and secular printing influenced the creation of the Butsuzō zui. The Butsuzō zui reflected and integrated within the cultural milieu of the Edo period, including Buddhism's shift from the profane to the secular and commercial sphere. The Butsuzō zui contains an enormous amount of information on Japanese Buddhist and Shinto iconography. Therefore, a complete study of the Butsuzō zui’s contents would exceed the page and time limit required of a Master’s thesis. The purpose of this thesis is to explain selected sections of the Butsuzō zui’s iconography and its significance within the culture of the Edo period.
CHAPTER 2

THE BACKGROUND OF EDO PERIOD PRINTING

Chapter two gives a brief history of Japanese printing to illustrate the Butsuzō zu'i's significance as a secular work of Buddhist and Shinto iconography. It also displays how Edo printing differed from the printing of previous eras. Prior to the Edo period, printing was relegated primarily to the realm of the Buddhist monastic system. Book production was a labor intensive and expensive process. Monasteries had the time and imperial patronage to engage in printing. Thus, Buddhist Sutras and Confucian Classics imported from China comprised most of that produced.

During the Heian period 平安時代 (794-1185), the production of books was mainly limited to Buddhist temples and monasteries. The two main centers of printing were Nara and Kyoto. Buddhist texts produced in Nara were known as Nara han 奈良版 and the books produced in Kyoto, similarly were called Kyōraku han 京洛版.¹ Buddhist works, identified as naikyō 内経 (inner scriptures), had a higher status than the secular works called gesho 外書 (outer books). The labor-intensive practice of copying sutras by

hand was a way in which one could accrue merit. Therefore, the hand written texts were of a higher status than wood block printed texts, which did not allow for the mass production of books that was distinctive of Edo period publishing. Even so, most people felt that the two types of books should be produced and studied in order to create a social and intellectual harmonization between Buddhist and Confucian beliefs.²

Before the Edo period, the inclusion of illustrations in Buddhist texts was fairly rare. Texts were mainly used in accordance to the needs of the monastic community so illustrations appealing to the general public were not considered necessary. Chinese Buddhist texts were first printed in the Tang dynasty (618-907) and illustrated books were imported to Japan during the Kamakura 鎌倉時代 (1185-1333) and Muromachi 室町時代 (1336-1573) periods. An example is the wood block printed illustration from a Ming dynasty biography of Shakyamuni entitled “Many Devas Offering to Lord Buddha under the Bodhi Tree” (Figure 1). Stories of the Buddha’s life, etoki 絵解き, were also meant to entertain the masses and often included the use of dancers and other types of performers.³ Etoki were also used to commemorate the legends surrounding a temples founding, called engi e 緣起絵, and were contained in the Founder’s Halls of Buddhist temples.

The first illustrations of the lives of the Buddha, called honjōzu, 本生図, were brought to Japan from China. These emakimono 絵巻物 were known as the Illustrated

Scripture of Cause and Effect (e ingakyo 絵因果経), E ingakyo were translated from the original Sanskrit into Chinese during the fifth century and subsequently entered Japan during the eighth century. These biographies of Shakyamuni inspired the production of Nara e hon 奈良絵本, which were woodblock printed books and hand scrolls printed commencing in the Muromachi period and into the Edo period. The subject matter of Nara e hon was Buddhist sutras, chants, and tales illustrated by painters who had been hired by Buddhist temples. The original Nara e hon painters were residents of the Kōfukuji 興福寺 temple but, due to the decline of patronage from the aristocracy at the advent of the Edo period, they moved to Kyoto where they opened up painting shops. The painters turned from relying on patronage from the nobility to relying on the patronage of the common class, which was facilitated by the growing consumer culture and economy of the Edo period. By leaving the Kōfukuji to build shops in Kyoto the Buddhist painters left the sacred realm and entered the secular and commercial world.

Buddhist texts illustrated in Japan were typically copied from imported printed illustrations. The earliest examples of printed Buddhist illustrations are strips of paper, called inbutsu 印仏 (figure 2), which were illustrated with images of various Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, most commonly Amida, Yakushi, and Kannon. Inbutsu were produced for the lay community to accrue merit by placing them inside sculptures of the deities represented. Inbutsu were also occasionally placed in manuscripts or printed sutras called

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Name of the Buddha Sutras (*Butsamyo-Kyo* 仏名経). The *inbutsu* were printed for the benefit of the Buddhist practitioners. They were precursors to the Pure Land illustrations, which were printed to convey Buddhist doctrine to the illiterate members of the population. As Edo popular Buddhism grew Japanese illustrations became more common.

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2. Ibid, 94.
CHAPTER 3

EDO PRINTED BOOK CULTURE

The Edo period was Japan’s first information age. Publishing industries, mainly located in the cities of Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo, emerged to quench the population’s thirst for knowledge. The success of the Butsuzō zui would not have been possible without the growth of the Edo period printing industry. Chapter three explains the development of Edo printed book culture to describe the culture in which the Butsuzō zui was created. It also gives reasons for why there was a demand for the book.

Before 1600, temples and monasteries monopolized the production of books. The growth of cities and the increase of peace and stability resulted in more leisure time for the populace. It also allowed the emergence of an educated and literate common class. Consequently, printing was moved into the commercial sphere of society. Mary Elizabeth Berry writes in her book Japan in Print, “The point is not that orderly information on worldly affairs did not circulate before the seventeenth century, but that it barely existed. In effect, the texts of the information library represent a quiet revolution in knowledge-one that divides the early modern period from all previous time.”9 Included in the

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production of wood block printed books were textbooks, pictorial dictionaries and information on various Buddhist sects and practices. A result of the secularization and commercialization of publishing was a new abundance of Chinese, Korean and Dutch literature, encyclopedias, guidebooks, and scientific studies.

During the mid 1600’s, Buddhist temples became bankrupt mainly as a result of civil wars throughout Japan and the Tokugawa government’s move towards Confucianism and their regulations of Buddhist temples. This in turn resulted in a decrease of book production in the Buddhist sphere. Beginning in the seventeenth century, the publishing industry was strictly secular. Buddhist illustrated texts and manuals were printed by commercial publishers who did not have any connections with temples or monasteries. William R. LaFleur writes in The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan, “In this expanding intellectual bazaar Buddhists discovered that their ancient framework, problems, and symbols were only some among many. When Buddhism’s implicit hegemony could no longer be taken for granted, Japan had come to the end of its medieval experience.” Books were produced for leisure and enjoyment of the masses rather than the spiritual needs of a selected few.

The process of producing wood block printed books during the Edo period conformed to the social stratifications of the time. In Edo period society, samurai were at the top of the social order followed by peasants, artisans, and lastly merchants and tradesman. The writing and illustration of books was relegated to the samurai class.

12 Ibid,93.
whereas the artisans carved the wood blocks and the merchants published them. The samurai class gave rise to the production of poetry as well as works of non-fiction such as guidebooks, scientific manuals and works of natural history. The samurai class in the Edo period were given a Confucian education that included the study of Chinese classics and poetry as well as martial arts. With the absence of war, masterless samurai, called ro\(\text{n}\)in 浪人, sought employment as teachers and martial arts instructors. Hence, education, culture, and knowledge became more important to the samurai class than territory and feuds.\(\text{ }^{15}\)

Book illustration during the Edo period originated from schools of painting. The schools were comprised of the Tosa, ukiyo e, Kanô, Nanga, and Maruyama Shijo and intermixing of these schools often occurred. David Chibbett states, “...all illustrators were primarily painters, often forced into book illustration to earn a living, and as a result the development of book illustration also embraces the development of painting...”\(\text{ }^{16}\) Tosa Hidenobu, had been trained in the Tosa School of painting. Until 1680, the Tosa School was the leading school of book illustration, but it was already waning by the early Edo period. Tosa painting was known for its illustrations of scenes from classical literature such as The Tale of Genji (Genji Monogatari) and the luxurious lives of the Heian period aristocracy. The Tosa School was a revival of yamato e painting, which was considered the first style of Japanese painting because it emerged after Japan cut ties with

\(\text{ }^{15}\) Susanne Formanek and Sepp Linhart, Written Texts-Visual Texts: Woodblock-Printed Media in Early Modern Japan, ed. Susanne Formanek and Sepp Linhart (Amsterdam, Hotel: 2005),12.
Throughout the Edo period, Tosa style illustrations were used in prints of classical Japanese literature, but for the most part, it was replaced by ukiyo-e printing. Unlike Tosa illustration, ukiyo-e utilized Western methods of perspective and shading, making it more accessible to popular culture. People found the ukiyo-e artists' use of color and realism more engaging and dramatic. The flatness and lack of definition in Tosa illustration was rejected by the printing industry. Two examples of Tosa illustration in the Edo period are the sixteenth century Tamroku-bon edition of the Asagao no tsuyu and the illustration from Nashinomioyoashi dated to 1700 (figures 3 and 4). The flatness and clearness of lines of the gods and deities in the Butsuzō zui is very similar to illustrations attributed to the Tosa school.

During the seventeenth century, the use of woodblock printed books rose dramatically and it was not until after 1880 that Japan began using moveable type once more. Although the technology of moveable type was available during the Edo period, it was more economical to use wood block printing due to the lack of a standard writing system, and the inclusion of illustrations within the text. In creating a wood block printed book, a manuscript would be affixed onto a piece of wood and the carver would carve everything on the manuscript omitting the text. Each block printed edition would therefore be unique. The inevitable corruption of the original image is shown by comparing an image from a 1690 edition of the Butsuzō zui to an image from the 1783 manuscript (figure 5). When the wood blocks wore out a new set of blocks was often

18 Ibid, 119.
created using the previous edition as a manuscript.\textsuperscript{19} The manuscripts included backwards images and type. As a result, when a print was completed the reverse image would be presented. If a previous edition was used as a manuscript then the image would revert back to the backwards image. In this case, there does not seem to have been much concern for the reversal of the image and text.

Different types of characters were utilized depending on the type of book produced. In the late nineteenth century, a standard print language was created, but in the Edo period, varying types of characters were used. Works of literature mainly used Chinese characters combined with Japanese characters (hiragana). Kanbun 漢文, as seen in the Batsujo zui, were used by Japanese writers to emulate Chinese script (figure 6).

Peter Kornicki in The Book in Japan states, “What is significant about this multiplicity of print languages in pre-modern Japan is that they did not form a simple hierarchy that can be correlated with levels of educational or cultural attainment. The choice, for example, between kanbun and formal written Japanese was an ideological one as much as a linguistic one, representing a choice made between sinological and nationalistic orientations.”\textsuperscript{20} For example, the samurai class used the kanbun writing system in their publications and it was employed in books that were of serious academic scholarship.

In the early seventeenth century, many entrepreneurs from the merchant class entered the publishing industry. This added to the commercialization of Edo printing.\textsuperscript{21} Although Japan was isolated from the West, the importation of Dutch goods heavily

\textsuperscript{19} Peter F. Kornicki, The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century. (Boston: Brill, 1998), 27.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, 34.
influenced Japanese popular culture. Prior to the Edo period, China was seen as the core of culture and learning, but, after the seventeenth century with the importation of Dutch scholarship, this was no longer the case. The Dutch attention to detail in their scientific studies was emulated in Japanese Edo scholarship.\textsuperscript{22} The Dutch East India Company was allowed to trade with Japan through the port city of Nagasaki and from 1639 to 1868 and the Dutch dominated trade among the foreign concessions in China. The Japanese people were fascinated by the goods brought in by the Dutch. They would hold viewings, called \textit{misemono} 見せ物, that displayed the plethora of foreign objects to the masses.\textsuperscript{23} Timon Screech writes in \textit{The Lens Within the Heart},

\begin{quote}“The Dutch Factory dealt with many mundane items-sugar, copper, cloth-and by these it earned its keep. But such were not the affairs that propelled Edo culture into new domains. That role was played by fringe imports: telescopes, microscopes, spectacles, prisms, kaleidoscopes, static-electricity generators, glasswares, glass panes, projectors, candelabra, clocks, toys, prints, peepshow boxes, scissors, penknives, wine, sweets, flora and fauna, and books.”\textsuperscript{24}\end{quote}

The academic study of Dutch learning was called \textit{rangaku} 蘭学, but Dutch studies were popular among all social levels. The Western method of cataloging information in non-fictional works and encyclopedias influenced Japanese scholarship. One can view similarities with scientific studies to the information presented in the \textit{Butsuzō zui} (figure 7). Beginning in 1640 individual writer’s knowledge about travel was published in guidebooks, thus converting it to public information. \textit{The Pictorial Survey of the Tokaidō} was first published in 1690 and it was one of many illustrated guidebooks that was

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{22}Timon Screech, \textit{The Lens Within the Heart: The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan}, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 34.
\item \textsuperscript{23}Ibid, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{24}Timon Screech, \textit{The Lens Within the Heart: The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan}, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 8.
\end{itemize}
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possible among the masses. Mary Elizabeth Berry describes it in her book *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period.*

"Hishikawa Moronobu’s illustrations provide an ethnography in motion, depicting long military processions, travelers of all ages and stations, farmers and fishers at work, vendors and peddlers of tea and tobacco and souvenirs, sightseers exploring famous sites and viewing Mt. Fuji from the optimal vantage points. Travel is thus transformed in the Survey from tough and unpredictable work into a seeming occasion for pleasure and discover, casual companionship and shopping for novelties." 25

Also included in the guidebooks were descriptions and locations of Buddhist sculptures and paintings. It is probable that these guidebooks were useful to Tosa no Hidenobu as he traveled through the country collecting information for his book.

Evidence of the secularization of Edo Buddhism is shown by the frequency of occurrences when Buddhist subjects were put on display for peoples’ entertainment. These parodies were popular subject matter in Edo period books. Well-known Buddhist images were transported to Edo and exhibited similarly to how Buddhist images are often placed in museums today, which de-contextualized and secularized the images. An example is the occurrence of a famous exhibition of a *Jizō* bodhisattva sculpture located near Edo’s red light district in a section of the city known as Meguro. Meguro’s close proximity to the red light district inspired the creation of *A Modern Person’s Voguish Buddha Receipt Book* (*Tousejin tsubutsu Kaicho*). The premise of the book is the visit Jizō, Shaka, and Yakushi Buddha all take to the red light district where they socialize

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with the locals and prostitutes.\textsuperscript{26} This type of religious satire would most likely not have occurred in former Buddhist controlled eras.

The comical deities commonly seen in Edo popular culture are also included in the \textit{Butsuzō zui}. Both scenes of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune and the Ten Kings of Hell, which are described in the \textit{Butsuzō zui}, were often parodied in Edo painting. The Seven Gods of Good Fortune, \textit{shichijukujin} 七福神, were all represented as separate deities in the Buddhist, Shinto and Taoist traditions but during the Muromachi period (1336-1573) they were combined in a set. After the fifteenth century, they grew in popularity, especially among artisans and merchants. During the Edo Period the gods continued to be important and fit in well with the overall feeling of wealth and good fortune of the era\textsuperscript{27}. The god \textit{Ebisu} 恵比須 is associated with commerce, fishing and farming and during the Edo period he was especially popular with merchants and farmers. Ebisu dolls were mass-produced in the cities and sold by traveling \textit{Ebisu} puppeteers to merchants and farmers. The puppeteers would travel to farming communities promising good fortune if the dolls were placed in the kitchen. \textit{Ebisu} wears a Heian period hunting costume and carries a red snapper or sea bream, which were also considered to be symbols of good fortune (figure 8).\textsuperscript{28} The god \textit{Fukurokuju} 福禄寿 is associated with wealth and prosperity (figure 9). \textit{Hotei} 布袋, an incarnation of the Bodhisattva \textit{Miroku} 弥勒 (\textit{Maitreya}), was commonly portrayed in the Edo period with

\textsuperscript{26} Timon Screech, \textit{The Lens Within the Heart: The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan}. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 240.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid, <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/e/ebisu.htm>
groups of laughing children. The image of Hotei is associated with wealth due to his large belly and enormous bag filled with good collected during his wanderings (figure 10).\(^\text{29}\)

The Seven Gods of Good Fortune are situated next to the Ten Kings of Hell. The Ten Kings of Hell, or Jiō + 王 (figure 11), derive from the Chinese King Taishanfuchun and his ten attendants who protected the Taoist underworld. The Chinese subsequently appropriated the Indian King of Death, Yama, into the mythology and the Ten Kings of Hell were introduced to Japan during the Heian period. The Ten Kings of Hell, dressed as Tang dynasty Chinese officials, were often represented alongside images of Jizo Bodhisattva (figure 12) and the Six Realms of Rebirth (hell, hungry ghosts, animals, angry deities, humans, and heavenly deities). Jizo Bodhisattva 地蔵菩薩, as the savior of sentient beings from suffering in Hell, is often paired with the Ten Kings of Hell. He also became important among pilgrims due to his status as a protector of travelers. Jizo, or Ksitigarbha, is thought to be the Buddhist absorption of the Indian earth goddess Prthivi. As the ‘earth repository’ Jizo is similar to Prthivi who “in the Vedas the earth is personified as the mother of all beings, and is invoked together with the sky.”\(^\text{30}\)” In China, Jizo developed from Taoist and Confucian beliefs and coincided well with the popular Taoist and Confucian based Ten Kings of Hell. Each of the Ten Kings corresponds to the period in which a person dies and the memorial service that is performed during a specific period of death. In China the deification of the sacred mountain T'ai-shan-wang was incorporated with the Indian god of the dead, Yama, which continued into


Japan. The Ten Kings of Hell were responsible for deciding who would enter heaven or hell after death and each King is associated with a specific Buddha nature. The late Edo and early Meiji period painter, Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831-1889), carried on the tradition of parodying Buddhist themes as well as Japanese folk tales into the Meiji period. Kyōsai was originally a Kano school painter but his later independent works displays the influence of Edo period Buddhist image painting, butsu-ga and hell imagery. This is evident in his work Aspects of Hell (figure 13), which portrays King Emma and his judges choosing the fates of the newly deceased arrivals to hell. Shōjo (figure 14) are amusing mythological creatures associated with good luck and intoxication and were commonly depicted on masks used in Noh plays. These creatures, shown with red and hairy ape like bodies and human faces, were often illustrated as wine merchants with springs or bottomless cups of wine. Kyōsai included a depiction of frolicking Shōjo in his 1860 Album of Drawings by Kyōsai: Volume One, which was a wood block printed book published for public consumption (figure 15). Hidenobu’s inclusion of the Shōjo in his iconographic collections is interesting because they are strictly comical beings from folklore. It is worthy of note to find them in a book, which also explains Buddhist deities from esoteric mandalas. Comedic images of Zen patriarchs and gods were popular subject matter in Edo period Bunjinga and Zenga painting. The Edo painters also

associated with these figures as the concept of the eccentric artist came to be idealized. Kyōsai’s Shōjo print is an example of his “crazy pictures”, kyōga, which included verses created during his many drunken stupors. The verse reads as, “The virtues scooped from a shōjo’s [sake] jar are never enough.”35 The Seven Gods of Good Luck in a Bath-House from the 1881 Kyōsai manga is a comedic portrayal of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune as they partake in typical Japanese bathing rituals (figure 16).36 The appearances and attributes of each god, located in the left hand corner of the image, are complimentary to those in the Butsuzō zui. Books such as the Butsuzō zui gave artists access to images of Japanese gods and deities to be used for devotional images as well as entertainment.

36 Ibid, 57.
CHAPTER 4

BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST PRINTING IN THE EDO PERIOD

As for esoteric Buddhist sects (*mikkyo* 密教), the secrets that were previously available only to the initiated were released to the general public during the Edo period. In the case of the *Butsuzō zui*, explanations of esoteric ritual implements and esoteric mandalas are made available to the reader. Reforms of the Buddhist establishment and the free exchange of information eroded the power and secrecy of esoteric Buddhism.\(^{37}\) For example, the 1694 *Anraku* 安楽 reforms were created to hinder the practice of Tendai secret initiations. As a result of the reforms secret initiations were prohibited and related texts were destroyed.\(^{38}\)

The curiosity of the populace, and the growing print culture, resulted in priests researching and analyzing esoteric texts and sutras to be sold to the public. From 1637 to 1648, the *Tenkai* 天海 edition of the entire Buddhist canon was printed in moveable type and in 1681 the *Obaku* 黄檗 edition was compiled using woodblock printing.\(^{39}\) Buddhist

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\(^{38}\) Ibid, 309.

\(^{39}\) Ibid, 310.
image-makers needed to be well versed in the sutras and sacred texts to create accurate depictions of the Buddhist deities but in the Edo period there was less regulations concerning image making. Tosa no Hidenobu’s *Butsuzō zui* may have filled a need for accurate representations of the Japanese Buddhist deities. The entire collection of Buddhist sutras, the *Tetsugen Issōkyo* (1681) 鉄民の一切經, the complete set of Buddhist sutras translated from Chinese, was reprinted in the same period as the *Butsuzō zui*’s first printing and therefore the *Butsuzō zui* allowed readers of the Buddhist sutras visual aids of buddhas, bodhisattvas, patriarchs, ritual implements, as well as the indigenous Japanese gods and goddesses that were assimilated into Buddhist beliefs.⁴⁰ Often publishing houses were located near temples and shrines that had a steady stream of pilgrims passing through.⁴¹ Although printing had become mainly secular, Buddhist pilgrimage still played a role in book production. The *Butsuzō zui* may have been useful to traveling pilgrims as they visited various temples.

Zen and popular Edo Buddhist sects, such as Pure Land, created publications denouncing secrecy in Buddhist practice. Bernard Schcid states in *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*,

“…the intellectual climate of Tokugawa Japan witnessed a profound epistemological shift, when private institutions in to secret lore could no longer satisfy the growing demands for philological and historiographic evidence. Legitimacy and authority came to derive more and more from new scholarship and philological analysis of publicly available texts. The Tokugawa government itself promoted Buddhist scholarship through the many regulations (*hatto* 法度) that it issued to Buddhist institutions from 1608 to 1618.”⁴²

⁴² Ibid, 311.
The Edo period was the first time when publishing in the Buddhist realm was directed for public interest and consumption rather than for private ritual and use within the Buddhist establishment.43 In the Edo period, due to the Tokugawa Bakufu’s interest in Confucianism, Qing dynasty (1644-1912) scholarship was well read in Japan. The emigration of Chinese Ōbaku Zen monks into Japan created more awareness of Chinese Buddhism and scholarship.44 The Ōbaku monks at their main temple Manpukuji 万福寺 were also the catalyst for the interest of Chinese literati culture among Edo period artists.

Prior to the establishment of the Tokugawa Bakufu, Buddhism dictated the social structure of Japan. However, Tokugawa Ieyasu believed that Confucianism was more fitting in the construction of a modern government and society.45 Scholastic Buddhism dwindled in the Heian period as esoteric Buddhism grew in popularity. The scholastic Buddhism of the Nara period centered on Hinayana Buddhism, as Pure Land, esoteric Buddhism and other forms of Mahayana Buddhism increased among the common people and aristocrats the Hinayana traditions dwindled. While Japan was criticized by other Buddhist countries for their lack of vinaya practices, the Tokugawa government believed that their lack of the vinaya made them superior to other Asian nations and better fitted towards a modern civilization.46 Along with the Tokugawa government’s policy of

isolationism came the view that Japan’s religious traditions and adoption of Confucianism set them apart from the rest of Asia.

As seen in the Butsuzōzui, Japanese Buddhist deities are closely intertwined with the indigenous Japanese deities. This relationship, known as Honji Suijaku 本地垂迹, describes the assimilation of Buddhism with Japanese indigenous beliefs. When Buddhism was introduced to Japan Shinto deities were often paired with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. This also explains why Buddhist temples are located in close proximity to Shinto shrines. Many Buddhist deities conformed well to indigenous folk beliefs such as the medicine Buddha, Yakushi 薬師如来, and healing cults. This unification of Buddhas and Shinto gods is known as Shinbutsu Shugō 神仏習合. Alicia Matsunaga writes in The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation: The Historical Development of the Honji-Suijaku Theory,

“We can trace the rise of Shinbutsu Shugō back to almost immediately after the inception of Buddhism, when the first efforts were made to assimilate the new religion in accordance with the native thought, for the shin 神 of shinbutsu, or ‘gods’, are more representative of the native beliefs in general than any type of organized religion such as Shinto later became under the influence of national unification and foreign philosophical influences.”

An example of the Honji Suijaku theory are a group of thirty Buddhist and Shinto deities, typically portrayed in painting and sculpture in rows called the sanjūbanshūshin 三十番神 (figure 17). These deities are responsible for protecting the peace and stability of Japan during the thirty days of each month. Each deity represents one of the most powerful Buddhist temples, which were chosen in the Heian period according to the

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relationship between the monks and the court.\textsuperscript{48} The sanjūbanshin were used by the aristocracy to align the beliefs associated with indigenous folk cults with court supported Buddhism. This enabled them to gain the support of their subjects.

Not only was Edo society stratified under a strict social hierarchy; the temples and priests were as well. By serving the Shogunate, temples and priests received stipends according to their social ranking much like the samurai class. One way in which the temples served the government was by regulating the populace. According to the parish (danka 檜家) system, every Japanese citizen was expected to register at their local parish temple.\textsuperscript{49} This enabled the government to keep tabs on the populace and ensure that no one was practicing Christianity or Nichiren Buddhism, which was considered a security threat to the Tokugawa Bakufu. Beginning in the Edo period, Buddhism was gradually being relegated as a ‘foreign religion’, to be used for funeral rites and festivals, whereas Shintoism was used to justify Japan’s power and strength. It was thought that the emperor was derived from the sun goddess Amaterasu. The Buddhist establishment responded to monetary restrictions by adapting to the needs and desires of the society and government. Buddhism transformed into a funerary religion as a result of this necessity for adaptation. Buddhist temples gained extra income by providing funerary services to their parishioners. Paul McCarthy states in \textit{A History of Japanese Religion},

\begin{quote}
"In turning to meeting the needs of the dead before those of the living, Japanese Buddhism was transformed into the funerary religion that it largely remains today...The systematization of relations between temple and parishioner meant the formalization of faith itself. Moreover, as priests increasingly devoted themselves
\end{quote}


to administration, they assumed the roles of civil registrars and funeral directors rather than religious leaders.”

Revering leaders as equal to gods resulted from the daimyo rulers’ desire to be equal to the Buddhas and kami (Shinto gods). The Confucian reverence of one’s superior appealed to the daimyo rulers and Tokugawa government. Consequently, the depiction of Confucian kings and sages became a popular theme with the imperially supported Kano painting school. This is evident with the depiction of the Ten Kings of Hell and other Confucian themes contained in the Butsuzo-zui.

With the beginning of the eighth century, the combination of Buddhist temples and Shinto Shrines was believed to make Buddhist rituals more powerful. The shrines that were created out of this belief, called jingūji 神宮寺, incorporated the powers of local kami into Buddhist practice. Kami were often thought of as being lower deities than the Buddhist deities and were trapped into their kami state. It was thought better to have been born as a Buddha or Bodhisattva than a kami. Mark Teeuwen writes in his chapter, included in Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami, entitled “The Kami in Esoteric Buddhist Thought and Practice,”

“Between the ninth and eleventh centuries, an increasing number of kami were ‘promoted,’ in Buddhist terms, from potentially dangerous spirits whose character should be improved through contact with the Buddhist Law, to local emanations of buddhas and bodhisattvas, embodying their wisdom and compassion. By worshipping such kami, it was now possible to unleash the magical powers

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(riyaku) of Buddhist divinities ranging from Shakyamuni to Fudo Myō, or to escape to the Pure Lands of Amida, Kannon or Yakushi."

The shrine temples, created and patronized by clan leaders, were usually aligned with the mountain ascetics who resided in them. The increased influence of Chinese culture on Japan in the seventh century led to a further emphasis on Buddhism and the practice of asceticism.

There seemed to be an overall confusion during the Edo period about the identity of the newly formed Japanese nation. Society and government was secularized, Japan was closed off from the rest of the world, and the Tokugawa Bakufu turned towards Confucianism. Even so, there was still those overcome with a sense of longing for Japan’s ancient past who believed that Japan must return to its native roots. These nativists, members of the National Learning School (kokugaku 国学), saw Confucianism along with Buddhism as a foreign influence and strove to persuade people against those beliefs. Peter Nosco states in his book, Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-Century Japan,

"They [Nativists] agreed with Keichū that Japan is the land of the gods or divine country; in Japan, the divine realm has traditionally merited priority over the secular or temporal realm; a Way existed in ancient Japan, and this Way was called Shinto, that is, the Way of the gods; this Way was solely responsible for and altogether sufficient for the ordering of men’s lives and the administration of government; and life changed in ancient times in response to the introduction of Confucianism and Buddhism from abroad."

Keichū (1640-1701) was a Shingon priest who eventually came to denounce the Buddhist establishment. Although the Nativists did not agree with the implementation of Confucian thought in government, they saw Confucianism as a way to bring out Japan’s native character. Rather than seeing Confucianism as a Chinese philosophy, they believed that Japan could borrow aspects of Confucianism to strengthen the Japanese nation and government as well as creating a superior culture.\textsuperscript{56} One could say that Shintoism was transformed from regional and national folk beliefs into an established religious system that supported the authority of the national government during the Edo period. It appears that Japan’s identity as ‘the land of the gods’ began in this period and would continue to influence political and foreign policy decisions in future modern periods.

\textsuperscript{56} Peter Nosco, \textit{Remember Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth Century Japan} (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 44.
CHAPTER 5

THE INFLUENCE OF TRAVEL ON EDO PERIOD SOCIETY AND THE BUTSUZŌ ZUI

Chapter five discusses how the accessibility of travel during the Edo period influenced the creation of the Butsužō zui. The author, Tosa no Hidenobu, traveled to temples and shrines to record the iconography contained in his book. It is most likely that these travels were facilitated by pilgrimage. This chapter also discusses the iconography of the Butsužō zui, important in pilgrimage and pilgrimage mandalas, and how it influenced Edo period culture.

Until the Edo period, pilgrimage as an activity of leisure was rare. Pilgrimage by ascetics emerged in the eighth century as Shugendō 修験道 mountain worship developed. Shugendō was a reaction against the strict confines of Nara period Buddhism. Monks, nuns, and priests who did not assent to the Ritsuryo 律令 regulations imposed by the government fled to the mountains to establish their own religious traditions. During the Heian period, as Taoism and Buddhist reforms affected Buddhist practice, Shugendō was accepted by the religious establishment. Heian period monks such as Saicho and Kukai strove to make Buddhist practice less academic and more active. They achieved this by
allowing a practicioner the chance of attaining enlightenment in their own lifetime by engaging in rigorous rituals. Tendai and Shingon Buddhism was greatly influenced by Shugendo.  

_Yugyōsha_ 游行者, meaning ascetic traveler, were mythic figures. Carmen Blacker in her article "The Religious Traveler in the Edo Period" describes them as such, "They had been impelled into the religious life by a powerful interior experience, often a vision or a possession and thereafter undertook a life of penance. The sufferings they underwent in the course of their austerities enabled them to slough off the impurities of the human condition, and to achieve a state known as _ikigami_ 生き神, a living divinity, or _sokushin-jōbutsu_ 即身成仏, a Buddha in this very body." The Japanese word for traveler, _tabibito_ 旅人, derives from the word _tabehito_ 食べ人, which translates as a wandering ascetic, beggar, or Buddhist holy person begging for alms. Performers, called _sarume_ 猿め, could be seen traversing early highways. The groups were comprised of singers, puppeteers, geisha, dancers, and priests. These wanderers, as well as pilgrims, had a legendary status in Japanese society. Pilgrims, during the Edo period, would receive _settai_ 接待, which was free food, lodging, and supplies so pilgrims sometimes returned home wealthier than when they had left. People believed that pilgrims might be gods or

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60 Ibid, 65
holy people in disguise so it was auspicious to give them offerings. The wandering ascetic was considered to be beyond humanity into the realm of the gods. The people who traveled the roads were outsiders. They were seen as deities, or spirits in disguise, or dirty and defiled people forced to wander the country roads.

Although travel became synonymous with Edo period popular culture the Tokugawa Bakufu heavily regulated travel for people of all levels of society. A written permit system was used to allow people to leave their homes and businesses and in the mid Edo period passports to travel throughout the country were issued for the first time. Because pilgrimage was a religious endeavor people were able to use it as a way in which to travel without the strict regulations. In the later Edo period this resulted in the majority of travel regulations affecting pilgrimage. Constantine Nomikos Vaporis writes in *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan*,

> "Early in the Tokugawa period pilgrimage retained much of the pure religious content it had in medieval Japan. But pilgrimage gradually developed as a form of recreation; pilgrims spent more time sightseeing on the way to and from the main pilgrimage site. As this happened, domains established regulations to try to curtail the length of travel. Limiting travel time, of course, decreased the amount of money he would drain from the domain through travel expenditures."  

Not only did pilgrims cost their domain money by leaving their farms and businesses; they would also at times spend all of their money traveling and would need to take out loans in order to return home. In order to curtail pilgrimage among the common people Daimyo’s would often charge for permits, sometimes outlaw it, and in some cases they tried to make their vassals believe that pilgrimage outside their lands would cause the

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63 Ibid, 199.
64 Ibid, 209.
local deities and kami to feel abandoned. However, none of these ploys were completely successful. The government was reluctant to refuse permits for pilgrimage because it was a religious activity. The daimyo and samurai were not encouraged to engage in pilgrimage because it would take them away from their responsibilities, but the common people felt that it was their right to go on pilgrimage. Pilgrimage gradually became secularized and melded with the tourism industry. Secular inns needed to be built to lodge the increasing numbers of pilgrims and pilgrimage guidebooks increasingly came to resemble travel guidebooks.

The mythic character En no Gyōja 役行者 (figure 18), frequently found in pilgrimage mandalas (figure 19), devotional images and literati paintings, is the legendary founder of Shugendō. Alicia and Daigan Matsunaga writes in Foundation of Japanese Buddhism Vol. 1: The Aristocratic Age, "His legendary personality served as an important factor in unifying the Shugendō movement, but it is not historically accurate to state that Shugendō had a real founder. The basis of the movement is found in the indigenous attitude towards mountains combined with the later imported concepts of Taoism, Indian asceticism and in particular, esoteric Buddhism." In figure 19, the Hachi Dai Doji stand above En no Gyōja, and located below him are the Yoshino Mountain temple buildings. Portraits of En no Gyōja were a popular subject in Edo period literati, or Bunjinga, 文人画 paintings. An example is the Bunjinga painter Yosa Buson’s

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68 Miyake Hitoshi, En no Gyōja to Shugendo no Rekishi, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2000), 82.
depiction of En no Gyōja (figure 20). Buson’s painting exemplifies the Bunjinga painters practice of integrating Japanese subject matter with Chinese painting styles. The Bunjinga painters of the Edo period reflected the spirit of travel that absorbed all members of Edo society into its sphere of freedom and discovery. The printed guidebooks and maps were available to tourists traveling the five new highways created by the Tokugawa Bakufu, the most famous being the Tosaidō highway, which connected Kyoto and Edo. The works of the literati painters enmeshed with the works of illustrious poets. A poetic consciousness based upon life on the road, the physical beauty of Japan, as well as self-awareness was created. The poet painters left comfortable lives in the cities to experience the wanderer’s life. En no Gyōja fit in well with the consciousness of the literati artist’s desire to travel as well as the popularity of pilgrimage and its connection to Shugendo.

New to the Edo period was the process in which Bunjinga painters earned income by traveling to the provinces in search of patrons. High culture was not only consigned to city dwellers; provincials also desired to be educated in the ways of a Bunjin. In return for training in painting and poetry, Bunjinga painters were given food and lodging.69 This was a method utilized by painters such as Yosa Buson and Ike Taiga as they traversed the newly established highways. Bunjinga painters were characterized by their sketches of landscapes from reality. The exposure people had to maps and guidebooks and the accessibility painters had to travel to famous scenic sites created a desire for a more empirical representation of nature. The 1705 map of the Mount Koya temple precincts is

a detailed representation of temple buildings, roads, and the landscape, which is given as much attention as the temple complexes (figure 21). *Meisho* 名所, meaning famous place, was a concept that came from China. It entailed traveling to famous places, known from history or mythology for their beauty, and enjoying the aesthetics of traveling and viewing the places. Traveling to *meisho* sites resulted in people creating poems, sketches, and guidebooks of the locations visited. *Meishokii* 名所期, signifying records of famous places, and *meisho zue* 名所図絵, illustrated collections of famous places, were published often due to popular demand.  

Ike Taiga developed the true view, *shinkeizu* 新系図, genre of landscape painting in response to this desire. Taiga would take sketches of the landscape as he traveled and often used them when he was able to get back to his studio. Taiga came from the merchant class but was able to take advantage of the freedoms available to the common person by finding patrons who would pay for his work. These patrons included temple priests as well as wealthy residents of the cities he traveled through who would pay him for his paintings and performances. 

The preservation of the sketches from *The Diaries of the Journey to the Three Peaks* (figures 22 and 23) also indicates a growing interest in Edo society of the artist’s painting process. Melinda Takeuchi writes “Taiga supplemented the visual dimension of his painting with the emotional image of poetry; he tried, as no Edo period painter had done before, to reveal how a scene looked, sounded, and felt.” After climbing the mountains Fuji,

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72 Ibid, 11.
Hakusan, and Tateyama Taiga named himself Sangaku Doja or the Pilgrim of the Three Peaks. The end result of this trip was The Diaries of the Journey to the Three Peaks, which contained the writings of his travel companions as well as his sketches.

With the availability of maps and guidebooks, there developed an interest in geography and a desire to explore the physical landscape of Japan. This is evident in Taiga’s Map of Mount Fuji (figure 24) and the pilgrimage mandalas that were utilized during the Edo period; mainly by practitioners of Shugendo. The mountains of Mount Fuji, Hakusan, and Tateyama were considered to be the most sacred mountains of Japan and hence were the sources of the majority of pilgrimage mandalas produced. Pilgrimage became more widespread during the Edo period, but Shugendo and pilgrimage mandalas existed in the Nara period soon after the assimilation of Buddhism with kami became widespread. The pilgrimage mandalas reflect forms of popular Buddhism, such as Pure Land, linked with folk beliefs and the natural landscape. Tateyama during the mid-nineteenth century brought in about six thousand pilgrims every summer. As the pilgrim ascended Mount Tateyama performers would display the Tateyama mandala (figure 25) to them pointing out the significant locations. The way in which Taiga recorded the sections of mountains in his sketches and Map of Mount Fuji is reminiscent of the delineation of sacred space seen on the pilgrimage mandala of Tateyama. Taiga’s work can be perceived as the addition of Bunjin culture to native Japanese folk beliefs and pilgrimage accommodated by the accessibility and popularity of travel.

Pilgrimage and the Edo period obsession with collecting information enabled the painter, Yosa Buson (1716-1783), to become a wandering poet and painter. As a young man Buson was orphaned and left in charge of the family farm but, due to his preoccupation with poetry and nature and his disinterest in business, he was unable to manage the estate; abandoning it and leaving for Tokyo to study *haikai* poetry.\(^7\) Yosa Buson is quoted as saying, "As I try to recall my past, I remember traveling to the remote areas of the northeast where I became ill on the road, went hungry, and suffered from heat and cold. There were many such rough trips I took, during which I went through a number of harsh, cruel experiences."\(^8\) Buson is most well known for his simulation of Matsuo Bashō’s famous travels throughout Northern Japan, which was recorded in verse in his 1689 work *The Narrow Road to the Deep North (Oku no Hosomichi)*. Buson’s poetry followed the *haikai*, or *haiku*, form; a poetic structure established during the Edo period. Poetry and painting were not seen as two separate art forms, which is exemplified in Buson’s *haiga* paintings; the painted form of *haiku* poetry. While on his travels Buson often resided in Buddhist Pure Land and Zen temples and for a time painted under the name Shaku (Priest) Buson. Buson’s work closely aligned with the *Zen*ga tradition of painting and he celebrated the life of the wandering ascetic. *Zen*, Confucian, and Daoist beliefs were closely aligned with these ideals and were ingrained in Edo culture. Pilgrimage also followed these precepts even if it was not part of the pilgrim’s intent. Cheryl A. Crowley writes in *Haikai Poet Yosa Buson and the Basho Revival*, "Buson frequently stayed at temples in places where he was without a more permanent residence.

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Temples were usually prepared to give lodging to visiting pilgrims, and in a time when inns and other facilities for travelers were still relatively limited, it was not uncommon for people to find accommodation in temples, even while on journeys whose purpose was not actually religious. Ki Tosa no Hidenobu may have taken advantage of the accessibility of travel and pilgrimage in order to engage in the new practice of sharing recorded information and discoveries to the public. Just as guidebooks and maps enabled the Bunjinga painters to depict realistic views from nature the Butsuzō zui could be used as a reference to Buddhist image-makers and Buddhist practitioners of the accurate representations of gods and deities as well as the sutras to which they correspond.

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CHAPTER 6

PORTRAITURE OF BUDDHIST PRIESTS AND PATRIARCHS

*Kōsōden* 高僧伝絵, depictions of venerated Buddhist priests and patriarchs, were most prevalent during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods (12th-15th centuries). They most often depicted priests and personages who did great deeds, attained enlightenment or founded new sects of Buddhism. The Buddhist priests and patriarchs are contained in the *Butsuzō zu*, along with images from the life of Shakyamuni Buddha. Monks such as Kukai and Saicho, who brought Shingon and Tendai esoteric Buddhism to Japan during the Heian period (794-1185), would have been depicted in *Kōsōden*.

Commonly depicted themes in *Kōsōden* were the lives of great personages along with allegories, legends and histories. A precursor to the *Kōsōden* was the popular depictions of Prince Shotoku beginning in the Heian period. The earliest images of Prince Shotoku, as displayed in the Picture Hall of the Hōryūji Temple, were painted in 1069. Because he is deemed as being responsible for introducing Buddhism to Japan Prince Shotoku was able to gain cult status in the Japanese Buddhist traditions.78

In the Zen tradition *chinso* 項相, painted or sculpted portraits of renowned monks, were important in the monasteries. During the Edo period the *chinso* created by

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the Ōbaku sect were especially valued. Martin Colleutt writes in his article, "Zen Art in a Monastic Context: Zen and the Arts in Medieval Kenchoji," "Zen holds a tradition of receiving, upon completion of one's formal training, the portrait or surplice (kesa) of one's teacher, as evidence of dharma transmission (inka shōmei). These often became cherished temple possessions, as did the portraits and sculptures of eminent priests who were associated with the temple and, in many cases, buried in the temple grounds. From this there evolved the genre of Zen chinsō art." 79 Included in the Butsuzō zui are portraits of famous priests of the various Japanese Buddhist sects. Examples include Saicho (figure 26), the patriarch of the Tendai tradition, and the Shingon founder Kukai (figure 27). The seventeenth century portrait of Kukai (figure 28), located in the Kongōbuji of Mount Koya, is exactly like the one depicted in the Butsuzō zui. There must have been established iconographic standards for historical Buddhist figures as well as deities. It is interesting that the Butsuzō zui included a portrait of Nichiren (figure 29) because, in the Edo period, Nichiren, along with Christianity was considered to be threat to the stability of the Tokugawa Bakufu. It can be said that the Butsuzō zui was an unbiased study of Japanese Buddhism because it does not promote one sect of Buddhism over another or display the political interests of the Tokugawa government.

The prints of the Butsuzō zui publication begins with a depiction of the birth of Shakyamuni, Tanjō no Shaka 誕生の釈迦 (figure 30), and moves on to the Shussan Shaka 出山釈迦, or Shakyamuni Buddha Coming Down From the Mountain (figure 31).

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The story of when Shakyamuni abandoned his life as an ascetic and subsequently came down from the mountains where he was living is especially important in Zen Buddhism. The image of Shakyamuni descending from the Mountains is evident beginning with Chinese Song Dynasty Chan paintings (figure 32). Although this stage of Shakyamuni’s life is implied in the sutras, a description of this account in the Mahayana scriptures or biographies on the life of the Buddha does not exist.\textsuperscript{80} Thus, Tosa no Hidenobu may have chosen to include popular themes in Zen painting into his iconographic study even if they were not included in the Buddhist literature. During the Edo period, Southern Song Dynasty Chinese paintings were appropriated by Japanese literati painters in an effort to emulate the lifestyle and culture of the Southern Song Dynasty aristocracy. The next image of Shakyamuni is that of his death and final enlightenment, \textit{Parinirvana or Nehan no Shaka} 涅槃の釈迦 (figure 33). Depictions of this event in painting developed into the \textit{Nehan-zu} 涅槃図. The earliest \textit{Nehan zu} painting is dated to 1086 and is located in the Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺 on Mt. Kōya 高野. These paintings were used in the \textit{Nehan e} 涅槃会, or Nirvana Rite, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the second month in commemoration of Shakyamuni’s death. Included in the \textit{Nehan zu} paintings are scenes of the Buddha’s mother, Mahamaya, descending from the heaven of the thirty-three gods (\textit{Sanjūsansen sanjūsan jūnisen} 三十三天) (figure 33).\textsuperscript{81}


CHAPTER 7

THE KUMANO THREE SHRINES

Illustrated in the Butsuzo zui are the deities of the Kumano Three Shrines, or Kumano Sanzan Hongu 熊野三山 本宮 (figure 34). These three shrines, located on the Kii Peninsula, came to be the center of Shugendo practice and the yamabushi mountain ascetics. During the Edo period the shrines were directed by seventy-five priests and the Nachi Falls shrine, taki no miya, was managed by sixty-six priests. All of these priests were recognized as Shugen Mountain Ascetics. The protector deities of Kumano ascetics were child deities, called dōji 童子, and these deities were often placed in roadside shrines. Examples of these child deities as seen in the Butsuzo zui are Hachi Dai dōji 八大童子(figure 35), the eight attendants of Fudō Myō 不動妙 and Uho Dōji 雨王童子 (figure 36) who was believed to protect against natural disasters and bring rain and good fortune. Originally it was believed that Uho Dōji was a manifestation of Dainichi Nyorai, but, during the Edo period, a legend emerged that she was a female manifestation of Amaterasu as a youth. A seventeenth century wooden sculpture of her is contained in the Shingon Kongōbuji Temple on Mount Koya (figure 37). She holds a

82 Elizabeth ten Gotenhuı́s, Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 164.
wish granting jewel, a vajra, a five story stupa is located upon her head, and she stands upon a mountain shaped base. As Amaterasu she further emphasizes the role of folk belief and mountain worship in Japanese Buddhism and as the manifestation of Dainichi she resides on Mount Sumeru. The locations of these roadside shrines were considered to be haunted or polluted so it was necessary for traveling pilgrims to perform purification rituals at the shrines. The process of putting shrines, temples, and images on roads and the outer reaches of the towns derived from the belief that the roads were harbingers of undesirable elements. Also executions were done on the periphery of towns and villages so it was believed that the bad spirits would remain. The road signified outcasts, social exclusion, and routes for bad spirits. 

By the end of the Heian Period, the Kumano Shrines were popular pilgrimage destinations and often received enough pilgrims to equal that of the Ise Shrine. According to Tendai followers the three Kumano shrines were representative of the three Buddha bodies (sanshin 三身): Dharmakaya; Hosshin 法身, Sammboghakaya; hōjin 報身, and Nirmanakaya; ōjin 応身. Other esoteric Buddhist sects believed that the twelve Kumano deities were manifestations of the Taizōkai Mandara deities.

Beginning in the Heian period, Kumano became a popular pilgrimage location. The Kumano Mountain is considered to be a physical mandala and therefore pilgrimage mandalas were created of the region. The Kumano Mountains are associated with the

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86 Ibid, 37.
esoteric Buddhist *Tairōkai Mandara* and the Yoshino Mountains, located south of Kumano, are associated with the *Kongōkai Mandara.* 87 Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis states in her book *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography,*

> “Yamabushi hoped to interiorize the Buddha, to identify their own body, speech, and mind with the body, speech, and mind of the Buddha. This personal identification led in turn to an identification of the Buddha realm with the realm of humans. The mandala, the sacred residence of the Buddha, could thus be understood as the natural world, the residence of human beings.” 88

The *Kumano Sanzan Hongū* 熊野三山本宮 are the three shrines of Kumano and the mandalas associated with them are devotional paintings of the three shrines. The Kumano mandalas have many variations. Often times the Japanese deities and physical landscape of Kumano were replaced by Buddhas and bodhisattvas. For example, the shrine *Hongū* is often deified as *Amida* and the Nachi Falls as the thousand armed and eleven headed *Kannon.* 89 After the sixteenth century Kumano became associated with pilgrimage mandalas (figure 38), called *sankei* 参詣. Pilgrimage mandalas are related to the *engie* as they were popular depictions of the mountain shrine’s landscape to be used by pilgrims and the *yamabushi*. Because they were created for the populace they often depicted elements of Pure Land Buddhism such as Amida’s paradise, the Nine Rebirths, and Hell scenes. Because these mandalas were created for pilgrims they were usually painted on paper with cheap but colorful paints. Consequently very few of these mandalas have survived. The pilgrimage mandalas were created mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth

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88 Ibid, 166.
89 Ibid, 171.
centuries but ceased after the seventeenth century due to further restrictions in the Edo period of Shugendo by the Tokugawa Bakufu.⁹⁰
CHAPTER 8

THE DIAMOND WORLD MANDALA

In the Japanese esoteric Buddhist tradition mandalas are closely aligned with Shugendo. The dual mandalas, called the Womb World (taizōkai 胎蔵界) and the Diamond World (kongōkai 金剛界) mandalas, are the two main mandalas of Shingon Buddhism. In Shingon ritual these two mandalas are shown together to represent the Mandala of the Two Worlds. Shingon temples place the taizōkai mandara, the mandala containing wisdom, on the east side of the temple and the kongōkai mandara, the mandala containing compassion is placed on the west side of the temple. In both mandalas dainichi 大日 (Skt: Mahavairocana) is the central deity and all of the other deities are representative of his virtues (figures 39 and 40). He is the universal Buddha of the past, present, and future and he is the manifestation of the other deities.91 The taizōkai mandara corresponds with the dainichikyō 大日經 (Mahavairocana Sutra), which is the model from which it is drawn, and the kongōkai mandara is discussed in the kongōkyō 金剛經 (Vajrasekhara Sutra). Both sutras, which originated from Southern India, were composed between the seventh and eighth centuries. During the Tang dynasty the

Chinese master Hui-Kuo, of the Ch’ing-lung temple, succeeded in standardizing the two sutras as a pair. These two texts as well as the mandalas they correspond to were taken by Hui-Kuo’s Japanese disciple, Kukai, to Japan to form the basis of Shingon Buddhism. The taiūkai and kongōkai mandaras were integrated into Japanese esoteric Buddhist practice and Kukai’s Mount Koya temple complex was designed according to a synthesis of these two mandalas.

The kongōkai mandara is a demonstration of the truth and wisdom a practitioner has achieved once he or she has overcome earthly desires. Each of the nine squares in the mandala functions as a separate mandala. The central square mandala, the Attainment Body Assembly, contains Dainichi, his mudra epitomizing wisdom, and Buddhas and their Bodhisattva attendants surround him. Dainichi personifies perfect knowledge and he is surrounded by the Buddhas of the four directions. In the east is Ashuku 阿しゅく如来 (Aksobhya), Hōshō 宝生如来 (Ratnasambhava) resides in the south, Amida 阿弥陀仏 (Amitabha) is in the west and Fukūjo 不空成就仏 (Amoghasiddhi) represents the north (figure 41). The five buddhas indicate five dimensions of wisdom and each Buddha is a component of the five steps in the attainment of enlightenment. When Dainichi is depicted surrounded by these four Buddhas they become the gochi nyorai 五智如来, or the five tathagatas. Ashuku 允 allows the practitioner to realize bodhicitta, through Hōshō the practitioner gains the ability to be a mendicant, Amida obliterates greed and lust and through him one attains enlightenment, Fukūjo 允 allows the practitioner to become a

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94 Ibid, 40-41.
teacher of the practice of attaining enlightenment, and it is through Dainichi that one
overcomes illusion, realizes truth and reaches the final stage in the pursuit of
enlightenment. The Attainment Body Assembly is the starting point for initiation rituals
and the attainment of enlightenment in this lifetime. A total of sixteen bodhisattvas are
contained in the mandala. Collectively, they signify the sixteen rebirths the practitioner
will experience after he or she has attained enlightenment. In the Butsuzo zui these
sixteen bodhisattvas, known as the Sixteen Maha Bodhisattvas or jūrokudai bosatsu

十六大菩薩, are depicted in their entirety (figure 42).

CHAPTER 9

THE STAR MANDALA

Shugendo practice is also intertwined with the Star Mandala. The Shugendo Morning Star Meditation was an early influence on Kukai's Buddhist practice and the development of the Star Mandala. Also included in the Butsuzō zō is a deities taken from the Star Mandala, or Hoshi Mandara 星曼荼羅. The Star Mandala further exemplifies how Esoteric Buddhism was combined with indigenous folk beliefs, foreign cultures, as well as astrological studies in China and Korea, and how they were subsequently transmitted to Japan. Divination and astrology were commonly practiced in Heian Japan. The Hokutohō 北斗法, or Big Dipper, ceremony was performed to prevent natural disasters, wars, disease, and for longevity. The Star Mandalas (figure 43) were used in this ceremony and the offerings were given to the heavenly deities. The Star Mandala is often called the Big Dipper Mandala, Hokuto Mandara 北斗曼荼羅, due to the ceremony attributed to it.96

The central deity in the Star Mandala from which all the other deities emanate is Shaka Kinrin 釈迦金輪, also known as Shakyamuni of the Golden Wheel, or Ichijinkirin

96 Elizabeth ten Gotenbuis, Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 120.
一字金輪 (figure 50). Shaka Kinrin is enthroned upon a lotus at the summit of Mount Sumeru; the location of Akanishta Paradise. It is no surprise that esoteric Buddhist sects, such as Tendai and Shingon, were attracted to the mountain worshipping practices of Shugendo. The Mount Meru, or Sumeru, cosmic world system that contains all of the various deities and heavens can be related to the divination practices of preexisting Taoist and Shamanistic faiths. The golden wheel, chakra, that Shaka holds represents the Dharma, or the Buddhist teachings. Located above Shaka Kinrin are the deities that represent the seven stars of the Big Dipper (figure 44). These celestial gods are dressed in Tang court styled dress. The nine figures beneath Shaka Kinrin represent the nine luminaries (figure 45), which are the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Rahu, and Ketu. Rahu and Ketu are the Indian deities responsible for lunar and solar eclipses. They are nodes of the sun and moon’s orbit, which means they are two points, Rahu is south and Ketu is north, where the earth traverses the sun or moon’s orbits causing eclipses. In Indian mythology Rahu, a serpent, every so often swallows the sun or moon resulting in an eclipse. The dragon’s tail associated with Ketu is a comet or meteor. The twelve symbols of the zodiac represent the stages of the sun’s ecliptic, which is its yearly path against the celestial sphere. Many of the zodiac symbols were influenced by Western astrology that was absorbed for a time into Tang astrology through cultural exchange along the Silk Road trading routes and the influence of Indian astrology. The outermost circle of the star mandala contains twenty-eight heavenly deities

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(figure 51), which are representative of the constellations along the moon’s orbit as well as the stages of the moon.”8

Northwest of Shaka Kinrin is the moon deity, Gatten 月天 or Gatsuyōsei 月曜星. north is Mercury; Suiyōsei 水曜星 or Suiten 水天, northeast is the sun deity, named Nitten 日天 or Nichiyōsei 日曜星, west is Venus; Kinyō sei 金曜星 or Kinten 金天, east is Jupiter; Mokuyōsei 木曜星 or Mokuten 木天, directly below Shaka Kinrin is Saturn; Doyōsei 土曜星 or Doten 土天, southwest is Ketu; Keitosei 計都星, south is Mars; Kayōsei 火曜星 or Katen 火天, and southeast is Rahu; Ragosei 羅星. Ten 天 is used to describe heavenly beings. They derive from the Indian Devas and are also protectors of Buddhism. As protectors of the four directions they are related to the four guardian kings that reside on Mount Sumeru.

The twelve protector deities (figure 46), called Juni 程十二, include Hindu and Japanese folk deities that were absorbed into esoteric Buddhism. They are also aligned with the animals of the Chinese zodiac and are often represented with their animal attendants. In the Butsuzō zui twelve animals of the zodiac carry the twelve protector deities, Juni shinsho 十二神将, who accompany Yakushi Nyorai the medicine Buddha (figure 47). These deities were introduced to Japan from China in the Heian period and are distinguished by their Tang dynasty fashioned armor. The sun and moon deities depicted on either side of Shaka Kinrin are representative of the Taoist Yin and

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Yang energies. Yang is the male energy linked with daytime, light, and spring. The sun
deity (figure 44.2) is carried by a throng of horses and holds a globe much like depictions
of the Indian sun god named Surya. Stated in John Dawson’s *Classical Dictionary of
Hindu Mythology and Religion* is that “…he [Surya] moves through the sky in a chariot
drawn by seven ruddy horses or males.”99 The moon deity personifies the feminine Ying
energy which is integrated with death, autumn, darkness and night. The moon deity
reflects light from a mirror similar to the way in which light is reflected from the moon.100
In the Butsuzō zui, the moon and sun deities are distinguished by both their planetary and
deva forms according to how they were utilized in esoteric Buddhist practice.

The nine luminaries, as discussed in the 718 Indian method of predicting eclipses,
called the *Navagraha Almanac*, was translated into Chinese by the Indian scholar
Gautama Siddartha. In the *Navagraha Almanac* Ketu is *Ketu*, Sun is *Ravi* or *Surya*,
Jupiter is *Bhraspati*, Mars in *Mangala*, Rahu is *Rahu*, Saturn is *Sani*, Moon is *Candra*,
Venus is *Sukra*, and Mercury is *Buddha*. The Japanese planetary forms, called *Kuyōsei
九曜星*, were based upon this translation. The *Kuyōsei* are also correlated with the nine
syllables of incantations, called *Kuji*, used during esoteric rituals.101 Therefore the nine
luminaries as described in the *Navagraha Almanac* influenced the Japanese mythology of
the nine luminaries as well as the rituals associated with them. Considering that *Suien*, or
*Varuna*, is associated with water he usually wears serpents on his head, which
corresponds to the personifications of Rahu and Ketu in the Star Mandalas. In Edo period

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99 John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and
100 Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, “Astrology and a Japanese Star Mandala,” *Along the Silk Road* (Washington
D.C., Smithsonian Institution, 2002), 80.
101 David Waterhouse, “Notes on the *Kuji*,” in *Religion in Japan*, ed. Peter Francis Kornicki and Ian James
star mandalas the two Vedic serpent kings are depicted at the base of Mount Sumeru. The serpents used the mountain to stir the sea resulting in the creation of the world. The serpents are reminiscent of the Indian Nagas who are snakes that control the waters and rain.

The implementation of astrological studies into Japan was often connected with Buddhism. The first recorded introduction of Japan to astronomy was in 602 C.E. when a Buddhist priest from the Korean kingdom of Paekche, named Kwa-luk, traveled to Japan and taught calendar making and astrology to Japanese students. Due to its geographic proximity to Japan Paekche was the Korean kingdom that had the most influence on Japanese culture. Many Buddhist monks, nuns, artists, and architects traveled between Korea and Japan from the sixth century onwards. The Korean kingdoms felt threatened by China’s military strength so by encouraging the growth of Buddhism in Japan, and by sending emissaries to the Japanese court they hoped to attain Japan’s protection.

Japanese Buddhist monks studying in China brought back sutras to Japan and Indian astrology was included in this acquired knowledge. Western influences on China were strongest during the Tang dynasty, which is evident by the foreign influence on Chinese horoscopes. An example of this is the Indian Naksatra which is the twenty eight lunar mansions that were used in Tang astronomy as the twenty eight Xiu. The use of the Western zodiac, from 618 to 907, in Tang China was brief because eventually the Chinese preferred to use their own animal depictions of the twelve constellations. It is probable that the Chinese adopted the imagery of the Western zodiac but not the

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symbolism behind them. The Chinese star cults, which revered the star deities, were supported by the Tang court. Early Chinese astronomy and astrology was one discipline. It began to be influenced by Babylon from at least the sixth century B.C.E. The ancient Chinese and Mesopotamian worlds had similar constellations. The first Chinese translation of a foreign astrological study, the *Matanga-avadana Sutra*, was completed in 250. It describes the twenty-eight lunar mansions, which originated from Samarkand and were also known in Persia, Arabia, and China. These are the twenty-eight constellations associated with the stages of the moon, *Nakshatra*, and twenty-eight Chinese *Xiu*. In the eighth century the Sutra of the Seven Planetoids, the *Ch’I yao ching*, was translated from Sanskrit.

In 702, with the establishment of the Taiho Civil Code, Japan created their own regulations concerning education in astrology and astronomy. The Taiho Civil Code marked the beginning of Japan’s break from Chinese influence. Beginning in the tenth century all official interactions between Tang China and Japan ceased. Japanese astronomy became based on Japanese traditions, and all of the positions in the Japanese office were based upon family lineage, rather than merit or quality of scholarship. This is similar to the way in which Buddhist priesthoods are passed down generation to generation through family lines.

The Japanese school of Indian astrology, called *Sukuyodo*, studied the positions and meaning on the twenty-eight lunar mansions and planets. Indian astrology differed from traditional Chinese astrology due to its Buddhist base; Buddhism rejected the

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105 Ibid, 10.
physical world as illusory and accentuated meditation and the attainment of inner awareness, whereas Chinese astrology and astronomy, which focused on Confucianism, concentrated more on physical theory and scientific observations. Japanese astrology and the Star Mandala may be more of a reflection of Indian Buddhism, mythology, and western culture that was taken from Indian thought rather than Confucian Tang astrology and astronomy.

The seven stars of the Big Dipper Constellation derive from the Seven Indian Sages or Saptarsi. The Saptarsi, also known as Rishi, were described by John Dowson in the Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion as, “The inspired persons to whom the hymns of the Vedas were revealed, and under whose names they stand. ‘The seven Rishis’ (saptarsi), or the Praja-patis, ‘the mind born sons’, of Brahma… In the Satapatha Brahmana their names are given as Gotama, Bharadwaja, Viswamitra, Jamadagni, Vasishtha, Kasyapa, and Atri.” The seven star deities depicted in the Star Mandala and the Butsuzō zui are dressed in Tang dynasty court costumes, which greatly differs from that of the Seven Indian Sages.

The Big Dipper ceremonies that were later associated with the Star Mandala exemplifies how popular folk beliefs and Chinese Taoist traditions were incorporated into esoteric Buddhism. In the Heian period Yamabushi ascetics were responsible for the transmission of magical practices throughout the lay community. The Bodhisattva Myōken 妙見菩薩, also depicted in the Butsuzō zui (figure 49), is the deification of the

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Polestar and the seven stars of the Big Dipper are her attendants. She is also known as *Hokushin Bosatsu* 北辰菩薩 and the *Myōken Mandara* 妙見曼荼羅 is dedicated to her.\(^{110}\)

She is another example of a Japanese folk deity that was integrated into Esoteric Buddhism.

Shugendo Buddhism in Japan is similar to the Buddhism that was practiced in the Korean kingdoms where Shamanism was combined with Buddhist thought. A traditional Korean temple the rear of the main hall always contains a shrine dedicated to a deity from Korean mythology. It will either be a mountain god shrine, called *Sansin-gak*, a seven star shrine of the Big Dipper, called *Ch'ilsong-gak*, or a three star shrine, called *Samsong-gak*, which is the North Star shrine. San-sin, who is always depicted with a tiger is the mountain god, *Ch'ilsong-nim* is the seven star spirit, and *Samsong-nim* is the pole star spirit. These are Korean Shamanistic deities who have been incorporated into Buddhism.\(^{111}\) A *Ch'ilsong* Shrine will often contain an image of *Ch'ilsong-nim* portrayed in the image of a Bodhisattva. Korean ceremonies to the Seven Star Spirit occurred in the Koryo Dynasty. These ceremonies were performed in a shrine or at an altar. The Seven Star Spirit was believed to control the Pole Star and the Cult of the Star Cluster revolved around the ancient Korean belief that the Supreme Ruler was located in the Big Dipper Constellation.\(^{112}\)

The symbolism of the Star Mandala deities are tied to the Vedic mythology that influenced Buddhism throughout Asia. Japan was the last point of influence on the Silk

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\(^{112}\) Ibid, 221-223.
Road trading routes so therefore western influence in art is evident later than it would have been in China. Japan was also able to retain the Vedic mythology and Esoteric Buddhism that ceased to be practiced in China. The history of how the Star Mandala developed in Japan gives evidence to Japan's continuous absorption and separation from foreign cultures. There was a renewed interest in the Edo period for Japanese and Chinese ancient history and their religious traditions, especially that of the Tang dynasty, therefore many people would have welcomed the information contained in the Butsuzōzui.
CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

The history and iconography contained in the Butsuzō zui goes back hundreds of years and was influenced by an assortment of foreign cultures. Nevertheless, it was not until the Edo period when the information was made available to the populace through the publishing industry. The Edo period was the first time when the information was made available to the public through secular means. The woodblock print technology exposed common people to esoteric Buddhist mandalas and the rituals associated with them that were previously only available to an educated elite. It would be very difficult for an individual to visit all of Japan’s temples and shrines to see the entire pantheon of Buddhist deities and gods represented in sculpture and painting. Therefore material contained in the Butsuzō zui could be utilized by a Buddhist practitioner who desired to have a visual aid of the Japanese Buddhist and Shinto imagery from Buddhist sutras and popular Buddhism and folklore. The Butsuzō zui would also have been utilized by an individual curious about Japanese religion as well as a Buddhist image-maker in search of an iconographic guide for depicting Buddhist images. In spite of Edo Japan’s isolation from the world, there was an influx of foreign influence from the Chinese and the Dutch that greatly influenced the creation of the Butsuzō zui as well as Japanese popular culture.
The Edo period's information age brought in Dutch scientific studies and encyclopedias, which the *Butsuzō zui* was modeled after, and Chinese monks and literati painting manuals that inspired the Bunjinga painters. The need to record information and exploration through the accrualment of knowledge and travel to famous sites was present in all aspects of Edo period culture, encompassing religion, landscape painting, literature, maps, pilgrimage and travel. These aspects of Edo culture were made available to a broader populace than the highly privileged through the wood block printed pages of the *Butsuzō zui*.
Figure 1: Many Devas offering to Lord Buddha Under the Bodhi Tree
From Shih-chia ju-lai ying-hua shih-chi (Deeds of Shakyamuni the transformation body of Tathagata) Wood block printed book
Ming Period (1368-1644)

Figure 2: Inbutsu from the Three Thousand Names of the Buddha Sutra
Late Kamakura or early Muromachi period
Wood block print
Figure 3: Tanroku-bon edition of the Asagao no tsuyu
Early or mid 16th century

Figure 4: Illustration from Nashinomotoshi by Toda Mosui (1700)
Artist unknown
Figure 5: a) Hotei from a 1690 edition of the Butsuzō zuì
b) Hotei from the 1783 Butsuzō zuì manuscript
Figure 6: Kanbun from the Butsuzō zui
Figure 7: a) Mosquito Larvae
from Jean Swammerdam, *Histoire Naturel des insectes*
Unsigned, Utrecht, 1682
Houghton Library, Harvard\textsuperscript{i}

b) Ants and Mosquito Larvae
Shiba Kōkan
from Morishima Churyō,
*Komo Zatsuwa*, 1787
National Diet Library, Tokyo\textsuperscript{ii}
Figure 8: Ebisu

Figure 9: Fukurokuju
Figure 10: Hotei

Figure 11: Ten Kings of Hell
Figure 12: *Six Jizo*

Figure 13: *Aspects of Hell*

Kawanabe Kyôsai, date unknown

Hanging scroll: ink, color, gold on hemp

Tokyo national museum

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Figure 14: Shojo

Figure 15: Shojo Drinking Sake from Kyōsai Album of Drawings by Kyōsai: Vol. I
Kawanabe Kyōsai, 1860
Color wood block printed book
Israel Goldman Collection
Figure 16: The Seven Gods of Good Luck in a Bath-house
From Kyōsai Manga 1881
Kawanabe Kyōsai*
Figure 17: a) Sanjūbanshin
   First page
b) Sanjubanjin
   Muromachi period, Tosa School
color on silk

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Figure 18: En no Gyōja

Figure 19: Yoshino Pilgrimage Mandala

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Figure 20: En no Gyōja
Yosa Buson

Figure 21: Pictorial Map of the Temple Precincts of Mount Koya
Edo Period 1705
Figure 22: *Diary of the Journey to the Three Peaks*
Album mounted on eight-panel screens
Ink on Paper
1760 Ike no Taiga

Figure 23: *Sketches of Mount Asama*
from *Diary of the Journey to the Three Peaks*
Ike no Taiga
Figure 24: *Map of Mount Fuji*
Ike no Taiga xvii

Figure 25: *Tateyama Pilgrimage Mandala*
Ink and color on paper
17th-18th century
Raigoji, Toyama City xviii
Figure 26: Saicho

Figure 27: Kukai, Kōbō Daishi
Figure 28: Kōbō Daishi (from a set of the Eight Patriarchs of Shingon Buddhism)
Edo Period 17th century
Hanging scroll colors on silk
Kongobuji

Figure 29: Nichiren
Figure 30: Tanjō no Shaka

Figure 31: Shussan Shaka
Figure 32: *Shakyamuni Descending the Mountain*  
Liang Kai  
Chinese, Southern Song Dynasty  
Early 13th century  
Hanging scroll ink and colors on silk  
Tokyo national museum"
Figure 33: a) *Nehan no Shaka*
b) *The Buddha’s Entrance into Nirvana*  
1682

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Figure 34: Kumano Hongu Shrine
From The Kumano Sanzan Hongu

Figure 35: Anokudatsu
From the Hachi Dai Dōji
Figure 36: Uho Doji

Figure 37: Uho Doji
Edo Period, 17th century
Kongōbuji

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Figure 38: *Nachi Pilgrimage mandala*
Momoyama period ca.1600
Ink and color on paper Hanging scroll,
Kogakuin University, Tokyo

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Figure 39: Kongōkai Dainichi

Figure 40: Taizōkai Dainichi
Figure 41: *Fukujōju*
Figure 42: Sixteen Maha Bodhisattvas (Jūroku Dai Bosatsu)
Figure 43: *Star Mandala*  
Edo Period 18th century  
Hoji-in  
Hanging scroll, colors on silk

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Figure 44: a) Seven Stars of the Big Dipper  
b) The Sun Deity
Figure 47: Protector Deity of Yakushi Buddha accompanied by the Chinese Zodiac Monkey

Figure 48: Twelve Western Zodiac Symbols
Figure 49: Myōken Bodhisattva

Figure 50: Ichi-ji Kinrin
Figure 51: Twenty-eight Heavenly Deities

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iii Ibid, 118.
iv Ibid, 120.
vii Ibid, 200.
ix Ibid, 62.

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\textsuperscript{v} Ibid, 57.
\textsuperscript{vii} Miyake Hitoshi, En no Gyōja to Shugendō no Rekishi (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000), plate 3.
\textsuperscript{xi} Ibid, 20.
\textsuperscript{xii} Ibid, 20.
\textsuperscript{xv} Kobayashi Tadashi and Samuel C. Morse, eds., Delightful Pursuits: Highlights from the Lee Institute for Japanese Art at the Clark Center (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 2002), 36.
\textsuperscript{xvii} Elizabeth ten Gotenhuis, Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 164.
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