THE JAPANESE HASSO NIRVANA TRADITION OF PAINTINGS: AN ICONOLOGICAL STUDY

by

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B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1972

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF FINE ARTS

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April 1986

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ABSTRACT

The purposes of this thesis are to draw attention to and document the radical change that occurred in the Japanese iconographic representation of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa during the first half of the 13th century; and to relate this iconographic shift to parallel changes in the iconologic accounts of the Nara sects. Specifically, I will assign responsibility for certain of these changes to the early Kamakura monk Myōe Shōnin (1173-1232).

Japanese art historians (Nakano, 1978; Yanagisawa, 1979) have speculated about similar lines of influence. To date, however, a clearly substantiated argument linking the writings of Myōe Shōnin to the iconographic changes which emerged in the same historic context has not been made.

The research problem is to attempt to establish such linkages by drawing parallels between Myōe's revival of the Shaka cult and the associated changes in the subsequent Nirvāṇa painting tradition. Three iconographically distinct images of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa scene will be examined. First, an older iconographic type, exemplified by the painting in the Kongōbu-ji collection (referred to as Type I), will be discussed in order to set the historical context of interpretation. Second, attention will be drawn to the dramatic changes away from this earlier Type I tradition and focused upon a qualitatively different iconographic style present in the icons in the Ryōgan-ji and Manju-ji temple collections (referred to as Type II images). Efforts will be made to establish that these changes reflect the writings, teachings, and practices of Myōe Shōnin.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. James C. Caswell and Dr. Moritaka Matsumoto of the Fine Arts Department for their long-standing support and inspiration throughout my years at UBC. Dr. Leon Hurvitz of the Asian Studies Department was also a guiding source of inspiration, and gave untiringly his knowledge and advice in the translation of the primary texts. I wish to acknowledge the generosity of the Japanese Ministry of Education (Monbushô) whose research grant enabled me to live and study in Japan, and to thank Professor Shimizu Zenzô of the Kyoto University for giving me the opportunity to examine the original paintings pertinent to this study and to see many other Buddhist art treasures in Kyoto and Nara.
The iconography of Buddhist art in Japan does not form a single unbroken tradition. Instead, two stylistically distinct forms emerged in the period between the 11th and 14th centuries. These contrasting styles are best noted in the Nirvana painting of these periods.

A Nirvana painting owned by the Kongōbu-ji of Kōya-san is the earliest painted example of the Nirvana scene in Japanese Buddhist art (plate I). An inscription states that it was completed on the seventh day of the fourth month of the third year of Otoku (1086). The Kongōbu-ji painting served as the prototype for many later Nirvana paintings during the Kamakura period (1185-1333) and after. Examples are the paintings in the collections of Daruma-dera, Ishiyama-dera, and the Tokyo National Museum (plates II, III, IV). The Kongōbu-ji painting is the most representative example of the Heian Nirvana scene Japanese scholars have designated the Classical Heian Type (hereafter Type I).

No documents survive on the origin and history of the Kongōbu-ji painting. Japanese art historians conjecture that the painting was originally in the possession of Enryaku-ji, the head temple of the Tendai sect on Hieizan, basing these claims on the stylistically similar *Amida shōju raigō* painting in the Yūshihachiman-kō Jūhachika-in at Kōya-san and the painting of *Shaka kinkan shutsugen*, now in the Kyoto National Museum. These scholars have also suggested an influence from Eshin Sōzu, more commonly known as Genshin (942-1017), a monk from Hieizan, on the Type I painting tradition, and cited his *Nehan kōshiki* (Nirvana Formulary) as the liturgy.
for the service in which the Type I Nirvāṇa scene functioned as the visual counterpart.

Despite the prevalence of the Heian Type I images, the character of Japanese Nirvāṇa painting changed during the Kamakura Period. This new type of Nirvāṇa painting is represented by the hassō Nirvāṇa image ('eight aspects' of the Nirvāṇa story). Examples are the paintings in the collections of Henmyō-in, Manju-ji, and Jōdo-ji (plates V, VI, VII). The major transformation between Types I and II appears in the composition and is due to a change in subject matter. In the newly emergent Type II image the Nirvāṇa scene proper becomes part of a larger iconographic arrangement. The most significant change, unique to the Japanese tradition, is seen in the paintings in the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja collections (plates VIII, IX). The result is the second of the two iconographic types of the Nirvāṇa scene proper in the Japanese tradition. Paintings in Chion-ji, Zenrin-ji, and Engaku-ji exemplify this new medieval Kamakura type, although the larger iconographic cycle is excluded.

Previous Japanese scholarship has proposed that this new Type II Nirvāṇa painting evolved under the influence of such factors as the Shaka revival movement of the early Kamakura Period (1185-1333), religious and thus artistic influences from Song-Yuan China (1127-1367), and the writings and practices of the early Kamakura monk Myōe Shōnin (1173-1232). At the present state of knowledge, such suggestions cannot be accepted without reservation. First, there has been no systematic study of the tradition, and so the dating of the paintings is unclear. Second, the ways in which the tradition evolved and changed are unknown.
Chapter One examines the relationship between the Type I Nirvāṇa scene, as represented by the Kongōbu-ji painting, and Genshin's text, the *Nehan kōshiki*, written for the Buddhist ritual observed yearly on the anniversary of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa (*nehan-e*). Characteristic of the Shaka cult of the Late Heian Period (898-1185) was the tendency to interpret the *Hoke-kyō* (*Lotus Sutra*) in the light of Jōdo (Pure Land) faith. An iconological study of the Heian type of Nirvāṇa image reveals a Jōdo substructure, and thus provides a background against which to examine the Kamakura icons and Shaka cult.

To fix the historical context of the broadly dated Kamakura hasso Nirvāṇa images and to uncover the factors that lay behind iconographic changes, more precise datings are indispensable. This is the purpose of Chapter Two.

Chapter Three investigates the contribution of Myōe Shōnin, a Shingon monk and Kegon revivalist, to the Japanese tradition of Nirvāṇa painting. In particular I will argue that it is possible to document direct links between Myōe Shōnin's writings, the *Shizakōshiki*, for the Nirvāṇa ceremony and the novel changes subsequently introduced into the Kamakura type of Parinirvāṇa painting.


3 The opinion, for example, of Nakano Genzō in "Nihon no Nehan-zu," in Tanjō to nehan no bijutsu, p. 26 and Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Shaka kinkan shutsugen-zu," Nihon kaiga-shi ronshū (Tokyo, 1966), pp. 13-14. An inscription, dated Tenshō 15.5/15 (June 21, 1587), on the back of the Amida shōju raigō painting states the work was originally in the possession of a temple in Anrakudani on Hieizan. When Oda Nobunaga attached Hieizan in the 16th century, the painting was moved secretly to Kōyasan. "The Welcoming Descent of Amida and the Heavenly Host", dated to the Late Heian period, is illustrated in Kyoto National Museum, ed., Jōdokyō kaiga (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1975), pls. 22-24. "Shaka Rising from the Golden Coffin," a Late Heian (scholars date the work either to the 11th century or the late 12th century) painting, was originally in the Chōhō-ji collection. The Chōhō-ji was a subtemple of Enryaku-ji, and according to temple tradition, the painting was saved from Nobunaga's rampage by the Chōhō-ji monks. Illustrated in Nara National Museum, ed., Buddha shason: sono shōgai to zōkei (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1984), pl. 56.


5 Illustrated in Nehan-zu no meisaku, pls. 20 and 21 and Kokka, 239.

6 Myōhō-renge-kyō (T.IX.262).
GENSHIN AND THE CLASSICAL HEIAN NIRVĀNA PAINTING

The objective of this chapter is twofold: to examine the relationship between the Type I Nirvāṇa scene and Genshin's text, the Neban kōshiki, and to set the Nirvāṇa ritual in the context of the Late Heian Shaka cult. This will be accomplished by means of a pictorial and iconographic examination of the Kongōbu-ji painting and a discussion of the Type I iconographic style and Genshin's iconologic writings.

I.1. The Type I Nirvāṇa Painting

The most distinctive feature of the Type I Nirvāṇa painting is the exceptional prominence and formal intensity given to the Buddha (plate I). In all examples of this type the Buddha's figure dominates the scene (plates II, III, IV). He is largest in size and his central placement and color scheme—gold and white—accentuate the horizontal composition. His hierarchical superiority is further achieved by means of the subordination of figures and landscape motifs. Both are in a reduced scale compared to the primary motif of Buddha-on-the-couch. The division of the composition into an stage-like foreground and a landscape backdrop encourages concentration on the figure of the Buddha. The decorative schematic forms of the trees and blossoms and the static geometric arrangements of the figural groupings on a gold
groundplane negates all sense of natural space and depth. The result is the pronounced and monumental character of an hieratic icon.

The scene takes place in a setting delineated by the couch, the trees around its four sides, and a backdrop of mist. Three vignettes of landscape are placed across the top of the painting. The landscape motifs indicate the traditional site of the event recorded in all of the Nirvāṇa texts: "the sāla grove of the Mallas, the upavattana of Kusinārā, on the further side of the river Hiranyakavati." Buddha instructed his disciple Ananda to spread a covering for him over "the couch with its head to the north, between the twin sāla trees." The four trees in the Kongobu-ji painting are double-trunked, being joined at the base. The waves in the upper right landscape vignette are those of the Hiranyakavati.

The trees at the foot of the couch in the Kongobu-ji painting are labelled with a cardinal direction: the paired trees in the south (nanpō sōji). The most important point regarding Buddha's pose in all the Nirvāṇa texts is that his head was to the north when he lay down. Buddha in Parinirvāna is depicted lying rigidly on his back, his arms stretched straight along his body. This pose is uncanonical, as the Nirvāṇa texts, both the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna versions, say the Buddha lay down on his right side. In the earliest extant representation of this scene in Japan, the sculptured tableau in the five-storied pagoda in Hōryū-ji which is dated 711, Buddha lies on his right side. Moreover, most texts specify that one leg rested on the other, and his head was pillowed on his hand. To locate the iconographic source on which the Kongobu-ji pose is based, the Chinese tradition of Buddha in pariNirvāṇa must be considered. This unusual pose is only found in three reliefs at Yungang, which date to the late fifth century, and in the oldest
example of the scene among the Dunhuang paintings, the early sixth century fresco in Cave 428. Jorinde Ebert contends the Kongobu-ji pose is based on a separate Nirvana scheme that evolved before the end of the fifth century in Southern China. The translation of the numerous Hinayana and Mahayana texts into Chinese occurred simultaneously rather than systematically. Thus, the pictorial concept of Nirvana amalgamated the teachings of the various Nirvana sutras, making it difficult in many cases to say whether a representation is based on the historical narrative of a Hinayana text, or on the teachings of the temporal manifestation of the Buddha principle expounded in the Mahayana versions. In any case, the traditional Nirvana formula was firmly established by the time the distinctive Kongobu-ji Buddha was created. Here, the aim was to depict a monumental and iconic figure of the Buddha.

A crowd of mourners surround the deathbed of the Kongobu-ji Buddha. Labels identify each figure. Eight bodhisattvas kneel at the head of the couch; and monks, laypeople, and members of Shaka’s traditional guardian retinue encircle the remaining three sides of the deathbed. Most of the figures depicted are recorded in the Hokuhon-nehan-gyō. A lion in the lower right corner is the sole representative of the many birds, beasts, and insects who were said to have witnessed the event. In the upper right corner, separated from the main grouping of figures by the tops of the trees, are the figures of Mahamaya (Maya Bunin), the Buddha’s mother, and an attendant. Mayā is not present in the Hinayana texts, the Hokuhon-nehan-gyō, nor in the Gobun; her participation in the lamentation over her son is based on the Makamaya-kyō, a 5th century Chinese work emphasizing filial affection. After Buddha was put in the coffin, the monk Anuruddha ascended to Trayastrimsa to
inform Mâyā of her son's extinction. Mâyā came down from heaven to grieve over the relics, his robe, alms bowl, and staff, which lean against the tree behind the couch in the Kongôbu-ji painting.¹⁰

A small group of mourners is depicted in the Kongôbu-ji painting. This is another characteristic of the Type I Nirvāṇa scene, which contrasts with the vast number of participants enumerated in the Hokuhon-nehan-gyō. The sutra states that the entire Buddhist universe, as represented by the six realms of existence (rokudô), was present.¹¹ In the Kongôbu-ji painting, only the realms of the gods, men, and beasts are represented.¹²

The figures of the Kongôbu-ji painting are divided into two distinct groups; those who mourn and those who do not. This striking contrast in the reactions of the congregation of mourners is the very theme of the painting. The bodhisattvas and the Buddha's mother do not grieve; their faces are calm, their manners serene. The other members of the Buddhist cosmos vent their sorrow, particularly the monks, whose faces are contorted with anguish, and the lion, who, overcome with grief, lies prostrate on his back. The contrast of responses symbolizes the different degrees of understanding first recorded in the Pali Mahâ-Parinirvâna-Suttanta.¹³ In the Hokuhon-nehan-gyō, however, the entire congregation mourns the Buddha's extinction.¹⁴ Furthermore, Mâyâ's serenity is not in keeping with her moving display of grief narrated in the Makamaya-kyō.¹⁵ Restraint characterizes the grief of the crowd in the Kongôbu-ji painting. This is also a feature of the Type I scene and is contrary to the vivid descriptions of grief given in all the texts.¹⁶

The flowers in the Kongôbu-ji painting have symbolic meaning. A profusion of blossoms out of season is in keeping with the canonical
accounts. All the texts prescribe a cataclysmic response of nature at the time of the Buddha's entry into Nirvāṇa. In each account, the grief of nature is as profound as that of the sentient beings of the Buddhist cosmos. White blossoms on the branches above Buddha's head allude to the passage in the Hokuhon-nehan-gyō in which the forest of trees changed color and looked like white cranes. The other flowers can be divided into two distinct groups; one group is green and smooth in outline, another is brown and has serrated edges. This iconographic feature is taken from the Daihatsu-nehan-gyō-sho, which states that when Buddha entered Nirvāṇa some flowers bloomed, and some withered and died. The concern of the Kongōbu-ji artist, however, is not the response of nature. There is a subordination of the nature motifs in this scene to the reactions of the sentient beings.

In summary, the pictorial and iconographic analysis of the Kongōbu-ji and other related Type I images reveal that together they form a coherent Japanese iconographic style which, while continuing an earlier continental tradition, is frequently non-canonical and suggestive of a uniquely Japanese tradition. Evidence for the Japanization of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa is provided by a comparison between the particulars of the Type I images and Genshin's text for the Nirvāṇa ceremony, the Nehan kōshiki. Although there is not a simple one-to-one relationship between the kōshiki and the Kongōbu-ji Type I image, a definite thematic connection is apparent.

1.2. Genshin's Nehan kōshiki and the Type I Nirvāṇa Painting
Japanese art historians assigned to Genshin (942-1017), a Late Heian Period Tendai monk, responsibility for the unique features of the Type I Nirvāṇa painting. Genshin's *Nehan kōshiki*, which has survived from the late 10th century, is composed in five parts that dramatize the event of Buddha's entry into Nirvāṇa: "The Convocation of the Nirvāṇa Assembly", "The Manner of the Offerings Made by the Multitude", "The Manner of the Display of Nirvāṇa", "The Grief of the Assembly", and "The Vow to Confer Merit on All". An investigation of the iconographic relationship between Genshin's text and the Type I painting will be undertaken by examining the elements of the story related in the *kōshiki* For example, the setting, the assembly, the pose of Buddha, and the responses to Buddha's Nirvāṇa as described in the text and in the Kongōbu-ji painting will be compared.

The setting of the event is briefly stated in the opening gatha:

At Kusināgara by the River Hiranyavati
Between the paired trees in the sāla grove.

There is no further attention given to the setting in the *kōshiki*

The gathering of the witnesses in the *kōshiki* is based on the *Hokuhon-nehan-gyō*. The names of those present appear in the Preface and in other chapters of the Mahāyāna text:

All the Mahābodhisattvas such as Kasyapa,
Simhanadā, and [Virtuous King];
A multitude of sravakas such as Anuruddha and
Ananda;
Mahesvaradeva, Sikhī Mahābrāhma,
Sakrodevendra;
The world-defending Four Kings;
All came to the sāla grove.
Moreover, the members of the assembly and their numbers correspond directly to those enumerated in the Preface of the *Hokuhon-nehan-gyō*:

There were upāsaka, as many as the sands of two River Ganges, and the upāsakas King Pure-Renown and Wholesome-Qualities headed their number. Also there were upāsikās, as many as the sands of three River Ganges; a multitude of the Licchavis, as many as the sands of four River Ganges; prominent government officials and rich men, as many as the sands of five River Ganges; all the wives of kings, as many as the sands of seven River Ganges, and also all the kings of Jambudvipa; nagas, as many as the sands of nine River Ganges; ghost kings, as many as the sands of ten River Ganges; they approached the Buddha, each making offerings twice as splendid as their predecessors. Flying birds holding in their mouths rare fruits assembled; bee kings came, having drank of wonderful flowers; mountain spirits approached, performing music; water spirits offered a multitude of jewels.²³

There are correspondences between the *Nehan kōshiki* and the Kongōbu-ji painting. Common to both are the bodhisattvas Kasyapa and Virtuous King, the disciples Ananda and Anuruddha, the gods Sikhi Mahābrahmā and Sakrodevendra, the male upāsakas King Pure-Renown and Wholesome-Qualities, the court lady, and the wealthy government official. The *kōshiki* makes reference to Māyā's participation in the lamentation over her son after his entry into Nirvāṇa.²⁴ However, in contrast to the single lion in the painting, many species of the animal realm are present at the event in the text. Furthermore, a small crowd of mourners is depicted in the painting whereas a great congregation assembles in the *Nehan kōshiki*. The concept of a universal audience is symbolized by the 'fifty-two types' of beings and the members of the six realms of existence who convene amongst the sāla
Nevertheless, it is significant that the text cites the names of those present and the labels of the characters in the painting correspond.

The pose of Buddha at the time of his Nirvāṇa is stated in the opening gatha of the kōshiki:

He lay down on his right side
His head to the north and his face to the west.

This is the traditional Parinirvāṇa formula prescribed in the canonical sources. The text further relates:

Upon the seven-jeweled bed,
He lay down on his right side.26

There is no mention made of the position of Buddha's legs, in contrast to the majority of the sources, nor of his head pillowed on his hand, as stated in the Butsu-ntosu-naiōn-gyō and the Bussho-gyō-san. The simplicity of imagery is closest to the description of Buddha's pose given in the Hinayāna Hatsu-naion-gyō and the Mahāyāna MakaMaya-kyō.27 Given the fact that the statements in the kōshiki occur in both the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna textual traditions, these simple phrases contain at this point in time knowledge of the orthodox iconography of Buddha in Parinirvāṇa. However, there is a discrepancy between the pose of Buddha in the Kongōbu-ji Type I Nirvāṇa scene and the statements of the Nehan kōshiki.

In the kōshiki all the members of the great assembly mourn the loss of Buddha. A universal grief is stressed in the Mahāyāna versions of the Parinirvāṇa texts. Moreover, classic examples of the grief of the Buddhist world are symbolized by the responses of Ananda, Brahmā, and
Sakrodevendra, each of whom utters a gatha of lament in such sources as the Yūgyō-kyō, the Butuhatsu-naion-gyō, the Hatsu-naion-gyō, the Daihatsu-nehan-gyō. 28

All, each and every one, of the great multitude lamented.  
Mahābrahmā flew down from his lofty palace;  
In front of the Tathagata he flung his body and groaned in pain.  
Sakrodevendra tumbled down from his temple of Goodly Dharma;  
At the site of the Nirvāṇa he cried out and stumbled and fell.  
Ananda sobbed and said: "For the sake of whom do we now carry the robe and bowl? Under whom can we hear the wonderful Dharma?"

There are obvious contradictions between the Kongōbu-ji painting and the Nehan kōshiki. In the painting the bodhisattvas are serene in manner whereas the text states every one grieves. There is also a restraint in the display of grief in the painting, in contrast to the text's description of Sakrodevendra's and Brahmā's violent reactions. The Nehan kōshiki does not mention the responses of nature to the Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Like the Kongōbu-ji Type I scene, the text emphasizes the responses of sentient beings.

It is not easy to establish a one-to-one relationship between the iconography of the Kongōbu-ji Type I Nirvāṇa painting and the content of the Nehan kōshiki. More often than not discrepancies occur, as noted, for example, in the Buddha's pose, the size of the crowd and type of members present, and the reactions of the congregation and of nature. On the other hand, although not every iconographic motif can be traced to the text,
matches do exist. Certain figures appear in both, and the subordination of the landscape in the Type I scene is analogous to the *kōshiki*’s lack of reference to nature’s response.

The correspondence between the Kongōbu-ji Type I Nirvāṇa painting and Genshin’s *Nehan kōshiki* is thematic and expressive rather than exact. The Buddha’s Nirvāṇa is presented in a similar manner in both painting and text. As mentioned, the *Nehan kōshiki* recounts only the Nirvāṇa proper. Cursory reference is made to other incidents of the story, for example Mahākasyapa’s and Māyā’s homage at the coffin after Buddha’s entry into Nirvāṇa. The author has abbreviated the story, subordinating the historical life of the Buddha to an ideal of the Eternal Buddha, who resides in his Pure Land on Gridrakuta. This is the teaching of the *Hoke-kyō* and the *Hokuhon-nehan-gyō*. In fact, the gathas from Chapter 16 of the *Hoke-kyō*, which give the theological interpretation of the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa, are quoted:

For the beings’ sake,  
And as an expedient device, I make a show of  
Nirvāṇa;  
Yet in fact I do not pass into extinction,  
But ever dwell here and preach the Dharma.

Because ordinary fellows are set on their heads,  
Though I really live, say I am in extinction.  
Otherwise, because they constantly see me,  
They would conceive thoughts of pride and arrogance.29

While the focus of the *Nehan kōshiki* is reflected in the Kongōbu-ji Type I painting, it is not possible at this point to state firmly that the Type I Nirvāṇa tradition was based exclusively upon Genshin’s text. The disparities between text and painting are difficult to account for. In addition to the
early Chinese precedents for the pose of the Type I Buddha which have been mentioned, there is, however, more evidence to suggest that the Japanese Type I Nirvāṇa painting continues an earlier continental tradition. The generic features of the iconography of a painting from Hobei, dated ca. 977, resemble those of the Type I image. There are pictorial and iconographical differences, for example the pose of Buddha; and yet the Buddha’s figure dominates the scene. The reduced scale of the mourning disciples attests to their subordinate role and enhances the figure of Buddha as a cult image. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a general ideological correspondence between the Kongōbu-ji Type I Nirvāṇa image and Genshin’s *Nehan kōshiki*. Although a lack of pictorial material makes it difficult to verify the Type I tradition was established in Japan before the date of the *kōshiki*, this correspondence indicates a clear link between the Genshin’s text and the religious and artistic context within which it was written.

I.3. Genshin and The Shaka Cult

The most important evidence for Genshin’s influence on the Nirvāṇa tradition is the iconographic program of the Taishi-dō of the Kakurin-ji, a Tendai temple erected in Tenei 3 (1112), in which a Type I Nirvāṇa image is paired with a *Kuban raigō* image. The Kakurin-ji Nirvāṇa painting exhibits most of the pictorial and iconographic characteristics of the Kongōbu-ji Type I scene (plate X). Stylistically the Kakurin-ji mural is very similar to the Kongōbu-ji painting,
executed only twenty-six years earlier. For example, comparable are the spatial conception, the figure style, and the *yamato-e* type of landscape.

The *Kubon raijō* panel depicts multiple scenes in a single composition (plate XI). The mountains in the upper part of the mural are decorated with examples of Amida's welcome of the different categories of rebirth, two of which are a *kaeri raijō* and the sun disk of the 'lower category lower level'. The central and lower parts of the composition elaborate on the evil deeds of sentient beings. Examples of their sinful acts are the destruction of a temple, hunting and fishing, and clandestine meetings between men and women. The allusion to the possibility of the continuation of a more horrific condition within the six realms of reincarnation is contained in the motif of the emissary from Hell and his demon attendant. A reference is made to the judgement after death at the court of one of the Ten Kings. The subject matter of the Kakurin-ji *raijō* mural is unique. The focus is the lower category lower birth. An extant pictorial version of the *Kubon raijō* are the murals in the Byōdō-in, dated to 1053. However, the emphasis of the Byōdō-in paintings is on the way in which Amida and his host will appear before the Pure Land candidate of each of the nine categories. The graphic realism of the condition of beings in the Kakurin-ji mural indicates the concerns and fears of the petitioner. A sense of repentance and of seeking a measure of reassurance for the conditions of the next rebirth, even if it is to be at the lowest level, are evident.

There is an unexpectedly close relationship between the iconography of the Kakurin-ji's *raijō* mural and the liturgy for a monthly meeting of a *nembutsu* society, the *nijūgozammai-e*, inaugurated at Yogawa on Hieizan in Kanna 2 (986). The liturgy, attributed to Genshin, also contained the
pledge of the founding twenty-five members of the society, in which they declared their intentions and plans. The following is a passage from the pledge:

"According to the *Scripture of Beholding the Buddha of Infinite Life*: There are those sentient beings who have committed the five irreversible sins and the ten evils and who were guilty of all evil. Such foolish people, because of evil deeds, are due to fall into the evil destinies and will pass through many kalpas of suffering without end. Evil persons such as these, at the time of death, will encounter a wholesome acquaintance who will comfort him in various ways by expounding the Buddha's wonderful Dharma, and teaching him to be constantly mindful of the Buddha. These persons, pressed by suffering, will not be free to contemplate the Buddha. The good friend will declare to him: 'If you are unable to contemplate, you must invoke (the name of) the Buddha of Infinite Life. Do this wholeheartedly and unceasingly and complete ten invocations, calling *namu Muryōjubutsu*. By calling upon the name of the Buddha, at every moment you will cancel the sins of 80 million kalpas of samsaric existences. After death, you will see a golden lotus blossom, like the sun's disk, halt before you. As if in a single moment, you will directly go and be reborn in the world of extreme happiness.' This passage suffices as testimony of our coming life."

Common to both the text and the painting are the type of beings petitioning, that is sinners who have committed the evilest of deeds; a key theme of each is the preparation for death by means of confession and repentance; and the aim, the lower category lower birth, is identical. Although the painting's iconography differs in its representation of other *kubon raigō* scenes, the mural is arguably an artistic interpretation of the concerns and aims of the society.
Another correspondence between the painting and the meeting's text is the concept of *rokudō*, symbolized in the Kakurinji mural by the motif of the Hell emissary, and developed as the thematic thrust of the liturgy proper. The concept of *rokudō* was an important element in Genshin's Jōdo doctrine, formulated in anticipation of the period of *mappō*, the Decline of the Buddha's Law, that was calculated to begin in Japan in 1053. In his famous work, the *Ojōyōshū*, the first two chapters epitomized his Jōdo teachings by juxtapositioning the pain and horrors of the *rokudō* in Chapter I “Shunning the Defiled Realms” with the beauty and pleasures of the Pure Land in Chapter II “Seeking the Amida's Pure Land.” 37

Genshin's religious disposition can be further determined from accounts of his activities at Yogawa. 38 Two temples, the Ryōzen-in, erected during the Shōryaku period (ca. 990-994), and the Kedai-in, dated Chōho 3 (ca. 1001), embodied the major concerns of his teaching and practice. Genshin's theological focus is revealed in the two temples by the juxtapositioning of Shaka and Amida imagery. The Ryōzen-in’s iconographic program, based on the *Hoke-kyō*, recreated Shaka’s Pure Land on Gridrakuta. There was a central image of Shaka, and the ten disciples, bodhisattvas, and hachibushū were depicted on the surrounding walls and pillars. The intent of the hall’s iconography, as stated in the *Ryōzen-in shiki*, written by Genshin in Kankō 4.7/13, was to concretely manifest Shaka's sermon on Gridrakuta. Daily rites, for example, the offerings of food and water to the image of Shaka as if to a living person, further enforced the constant awareness of the spiritual, and thus by extension, the physical presence of Shaka. 39 Moreover, an image representative of his Jōdo teachings was also enshrined. An inscription on the old scroll rods of the
Rakudō paintings now in the Shōjū-raigō-ji collection stated the set of scrolls was originally the temple treasure of Ryōzen-in. A Jōdo position, however, was dominant. In Genshin's liturgical writings for observances in the Ryōzen-in, the Hoke-kyō was interpreted in the context of Amida-directed tenets. The main points, once again premised on the dichotomy developed in the Ōjōyōshū, were the severance of the bonds of the six realms and the aim of rebirth.

The Kedai-in was the center for the Nijūgozammai-e. The society's concern was the implementation of the most practical chapter of the Ōjōyōshū, "Nembutsu for Special Occasions." The Kedai-in's iconographic program represented the Pure Land of Amida. The primary object of the monthly meeting on the fifteenth was to perform Jōdo practices, specifically the reading of the Amida-kyō and nembutsu throughout the night. The society combined Tendai Lotus activities with these Amida practices. In Genshin revision of the society's by-laws in Eien 2.6/15 (988), an expounding of the Hoke-kyō was added to the monthly meeting. However, the traditional Tendai position, the Shaka-oriented faith of the Hoke-kyō and the goal of self-realization, was subordinated to the society's goal of Pure Land salvation. The majority of the points of the Nijūgozammai-kishō were instructions on how to care for the sick and dying in order to ensure rebirth. For example, at the time of a member's sickness or the approach of death, a special nembutsu session was held in a chapel called the Ōjō-in. The sick or dying man was placed behind an Amida image, enshrined in the west, and he held five-colored streamers that were attached to Amida's hand. His companions-in-faith gave encouragement and guidance all the while. Tradition also credits Genshin and the Nijūgozammai society with
the creation of the re-enactment of Amida's welcoming descent, the *mukae-kó*45, in which the members impersonated the approach of Amida and his host of bodhisattvas. Both events, the *mukae-kó* and the *rinjū nembutsu* session, were structured to attain direct contact with Amida and his Pure Land.

The Nirvāṇa ceremony was performed by this exclusive devotional society during its meeting on the fifteenth of the second month. It is not hard to imagine the details of this private ceremony in the Kedai-in. Seated immediately before a Type I Nirvāṇa image, characterized by a 'close-up' of a monumental figure of Buddha, the twenty-five 'living' mourners would have joined the small assembly of 'painted' mourners in front and at the head and foot of the deathbed. The emotional impact is heightened by the direct physical contact between painting and performers. Given the context of this Shaka rite, a Pure Land coloring is discernable in the gatha of the *Nehan kōshiki*: Homage to the Great Teacher Sākyamuni eternally residing on Gridrakuta.

The assemblage of icons in the Kakurin-ji's Taishi-dō program was neither incongruous nor unprecedented. The Taishi-dō was originally called the Hokke-dō.48 The main icon was a Shaka triad, and Fugen and the ten Rasetsunyo were drawn on the central pillars. Lotus rites such as the *Hokke sambō* and *Hokke hakkō* were performed in the Hokke-dō before the Lotus triad of Shaka, Monju, and Fugen. Originally Tendai rites of repentance, whose aim was to cleanse sins, these rites came to be used mainly as masses for the dead by the Late Heian.49 The two great aims of the *Lotus* propagated by the Tendai sect were the cleansing of sins and the felicity of the soul of the dead. The *Kanmuryōju-kyō*, the basis of the Amida doctrine,
also promised the removal of sins prior to rebirth into Amida's Pure Land.\(^{50}\)

According to the **Hoke-kyō**, Fugen will approach the believer from the Eastern Pure Land of **jōmyōtoku**.\(^{51}\) The pairing of the **raigō** and Nirvana murals illustrated the Pure Land position of the Tendai monk Genshin. The concept of a Pure Land linked the images of the Shaka and the Amida cults iconologically.


The event is also recounted as the final episode of Buddha's life story in: **Bussho-gyō-san** (T.IV.192), Dharmarakska II, 414-421; **Butsu-honyō-kyō** (T.4.193). The nirvana is related in: **Makamaya-kyō** (T.XII.383), 479-502; **Daihatsu-nehan-gyō-gobun** (T.XII.377, **Gobun**), Jñānabhadra, 664-665.

\(^{2}\) Illustrated in Kyoto National Museum, ed., *Nehan-zu no meisaku*, pl. 5.

\(^{3}\) The Nirvana pose with one leg placed on top of the other is described in: **Yūgyō-kyō**, T.I,1,21a; **Daihatsu-nehan-gyō**, T.I,7,199a. The formula with piled legs and head pillow on the hand is found in: **Butsu-hatsunaion-gyō**, T.I,5,172c; **Bussho-gyō-san**, T.IV,192,46b. The following texts state he lay down on his right side, his head to the north: **Hatsu-naion-gyō**, T.I,164c; **Makamaya-kyō**, T.XII,383,1011a; **Gobun**, T.XII,377,905a; **Butsu-honyō-kyō**, T.IV,106b. The pose in which Buddha lies on his right side, one leg on top of the other, and the right arm bent with either the hand resting near his face, or the cheek resting on the hand, is a synthesis of the canonical descriptions and is seen in the Gandharan reliefs (1-4th c.), and the Central Asian paintings from the cave-sites at Kizil (5-7th c.) and Kumtura (8-9th c.) in Kuca, and Bezeklik (8-11th c.) in Turfan. Jorinde Ebert, "The Iconographic Tradition behind the Oldest Japanese Paintings of the Parinirvāṇa," in

Yungang Caves 11, 35, and 37 are illustrated in Mizuno and Nagahiro, Unkô sekkutsu: Yun-kang (Kyoto, 1952), vol. 8, pl. 45; vol. 15, pls. 74A, 78; Dunhuang Cave 428 is discussed and illustrated in Matsumoto Eiichi, Tonkô-ga no kenkyû (2 vols., Tokyo: Tôhô bunka gakuin, 1937), vol. 1, pp. 239-241; vol. 2, pl. 85a.

Ebert, "The Iconographic Tradition behind the Oldest Japanese Paintings," pp. 210-211.

Variations occur in the Type I Buddha's pose, as seen, for example, in the paintings in Daruma-dera, Shinyakushi-ji, Jôkyô-ji, the Tokyo and Kyoto National Museums, and Ishiyama-dera.

The bodhisattvas are: Jishi bosatsu (Miroku), Jizô bosatsu, Fugen taishi, Monju daishô, Kanjizai bosatsu (Kannon), Kôki Toku-ô bosatsu, Muhenshin bosatsu, Kashô dôji. Of the eight, Monju, Kôki Toku-ô, Kashô dôji, and Muhenshin are mentioned in the Hokuhon Daihatsu-nehan-kyô. The other figures are: the ten personal disciples of Shaka, for example, Nanda biku (S. Ananda), Busshi Raun (S. Rahula, Buddha's son), Anaritsu (S. Anuruddha); the devas Shakudaikainin (S. Sakrodevendra) and Bonten (S. MahâBrahmâ); members of the eight classes of demigods (hachibushô), for example, the magora (S. mahôrâga), the kinnara, Nanda ryû-ô (S. någa); a Kongôrikishi (S. Vajrápani); and such laypeople as Giba daijin (S. Jiva), Upasoku Junda (S. Cunda), Gogô bunin, a court lady, and Bisharijô daijin chôja, a wealthy government official from the city of Vaisali (see T,XII,374,367c-368a); Itokumukushô-ô and Zentoku upasoku (upâsakas), the heads of the male layfollowers of the faith (T,XII,366b). The readings for the characters are from: Kameda Tsutomu, "Butsu nehan-zu," pp 89-98; Takeo Izumi, "Otoku nehan-zu," pp. 79-80.

According to tradition, Mâyâ died one week after the Buddha's birth and was reborn in Trâyastrolmî Heaven (Tôriten). Mâyâ descends from heaven after the Buddha's entry into Nirvâna and utters a gatha of lament in the Yûgô-kyô (T,1,1,27a).

The robe (e), bowl (bachi), and staff (shakujo) are seen against the tree near the Buddha's head in the paintings in Kakurinji and Shinyakushi-ji. The staff leans against the tree at the head of the couch and the robe is placed on a small altar table in the Ishiyamadera and Tokyo National Museum paintings. The presence of Mâyâ and the relics allude to the event of Buddha's miraculous re-emergence from the coffin to preach to, and to console, his mother (T,XII,383,1013a). This event is given monumental treatment in the painting Shaka kinkan shutsugen-zu. See
note 3. In Chinese representations of this theme it is depicted as one of the scenes of the nirvana cycle; for example, the Tang Dynasty stele from Shanxi and the Dunhuang frescoes of the Tang Cave 332 and the Five Dynasty Cave 61. Illustrated in Alexander Soper, "A T'ang Pariirvana Stele from Shansi," Artibus Asiae, 22, pl. 64; Matsumoto Eichi, Tonkô-ga no kenkyû, vol. 2, pls. 84b and 84a; Tonkô bunbutsu kenkyûjo, ed., Chûgoku sekketsu: Tonkô bakukôkutsu (5 vols.; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980-1982), vol. 3, pl. 90.

11The realms are: 1) hell; 2) hungry demons; 3) beasts; 4) asuras; 5) human beings; 6) heavenly beings.

12Again, changes occur as the audience is enlarged in number; for example, demon figures are depicted in the paintings in Ishiyama-dera, the Tokyo National museum.

13 "When the Blessed One died, of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, rolling to and fro in anguish at the thought: Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!"

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions...bore their grief collected and composed at the thought: 'Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that they should not be dissolved?' "

The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 11, p. 119.

14T,XII,374,371b-c.

15T,XII,383,1012b-c.

16For example: Yûgyô-kyô, T,I,1,26c-2b; Daihatsu-nehan-gyô, T,I,7,204c-205c; Makamaya-kyô, T,XII,383,1012a; Gobun, T,XII,377,905c-906b-c.

17Daihatsu-nehan-gyô, T,I,7,199a; Bussho-gyô-san, T,IV,192,46b.

18Yûgyô-kyô, T,I,1,26c; Butsuhatsu-naion-gyô, T,I,5,172c; Daihatsu-naion-gyô, T,I,6,188c; Daihatsu-nehan-gyô, T,I,7,205b; Makamaya-kyô, T,XII,383,1011c-1012a.

19T,XII,374,369b. This is also recorded in the Gobun, T,XII,377,905a and the Daihatsu-nehan-gyô-sho, a commentary written by Kanjô, T,XXXVIII,1766,51a.


21Published in the Tendai edition of Genshin's complete works: Nehan kôshiki Eshin Sôzu Zenshû (5 vols.; Sakamoto: Hieisan Senshô-in, 1927), vol. 5, 575-582.

22The site is referred to once more in Nehan kôshiki, Part I, 577.

23T,XII,374,366b-369b.

24Nehan kôshiki, Part IV, 581.

25Part 1,577.
Part 1,577.

Part III,580. The phrase is identical to the Gobun, T.XII.377,905a.

See note 8.


Illustrated in Egert, "The Iconographic Tradition behind the Oldest Japanese Paintings," pl. 16.

The Taishi-dō of the Kakurin-ji, a temple in Hyogo Prefecture, is dated by means of an ink inscription on a roof beam discovered during restoration. The Kubon raigō ("The Nine Scenes of Amida's Welcoming Descent") is painted on the wall panel immediately behind the main icon and the Nirvāṇa scene is on the reverse side of this panel. See the studies of Shimbo Tōru, ed., Nihon no shōheki-ga (3 vols.; Tokyo: Mainichi shimbunsha, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 248-250, pls. 49-54; Okasaki Jōji, "Kakurin-ji Taishi-dō no heki-ga," Gekkan bunkazai, 6 (1976), 30-46.

There are differences. New motifs are seen, for example, Buddha's bowl wrapped in a cloth hangs from the staff, and vajras are depicted in the tree branches at the head of the couch.

The literary source for the raigō scenes is the Kanmuryōju-kyō (T.XII.365) and the pictorial source is the bottom court of the Taima mandala. Accounts record Kubon raigō scenes were depicted on the walls of the Jōgyō-zammai-dō built by Ennin (Jikaku Daishi, 794-864) on Hieizan. To describe a few scenes: for example, in the upper center kaeri raigō, Amida, seven bodhisattvas, and a bald monk-like figure, the candidate of rebirth, return to the Western Paradise; to the left, Amida, surrounded by a group of bodhisattvas, approaches a piously kneeling candidate, and Kannon, who together with Seishi leads the assembly, bears a lotus flower upon which the pious soul will be carried back to Paradise (It is difficult to discern Amida's mudra, but possibly this is the scene of the middle category middle birth); on the right, inside an open walled structure, a dying person is surrounded by loved ones and a monk figure at the head of the deathbed points to a descending sun disk. This scene illustrates the dying hour instructions described in the Kanmuryōju-kyō in order to ensure the rebirth of the worst of beings. An English translation of the dying hour instructions is Junjirō Takakusu, "The Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra," in Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts, The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 49, p. 197-199. Illustrated in Okasaki, "Kakurin-ji Taishi-dō no heki-ga," pp. 32-39.
Each of the nine degrees of rebirth is depicted in a separate panel in the Byōdō-in murals.

The name of the society was taken from the sámádhi of twenty-five, a meditative practice taught by Shaka in the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra. The twenty-five meditations were a purification rite whose aim was to sever the bonds of the twenty-five existences that compose the six realms by means of the removal of sins. See Mochizuki, Bukkyō daijiten, vol. 5, pp.4032-4033. However, in contrast to the sūtra’s monastic discipline of meditation, the Yogawa society was premised upon the more devotional practice of nembutsu to achieve the Pure Land salvation of rebirth.

Nijūgozammai-shiki, Eshin Sōzu zenshū, vol.1, pp.359-374. The pledge of the Nijūgozammai-shiki is dated Kanna 2.5/23. In addition to the pledge, the shiki established the rites of the service held on the 15th of each month. The authorship is problematical. Genshin’s name was not included in the register of the founding members, but was included in a later list of spiritual advisors. See note 46.

The Ōjōvōshū was completed in 985. The structure of the Nijūgozammai-shiki is identical to the first chapter of the Ōjōvōshū, in which we are lead on a tour of each of the six realms: Nijūgozammai-shiki, Eshin Sōzu zenshū, vol. 1, pp. 362-373. Tradition accords a set of fifteen scrolls of the Rokudō in the Shōjū-raigō-ji collection as the visual images for etoki, that is ‘a picture-explaining performance’ of the Ōjōvōshū’s first two chapters. See the study of the set’s iconography by Ogushi Sumio, “Jukkai-zu ko,” Bijutsu kōfukiji, 119(1940), 359-374 and 120 (1941), 398-410. A discussion of the Ōjōvōshū by Allan A. Andrews, "The Essentials of Salvation: A Study of Genshin’s Ōjōvōshū," Eastern Buddhist, 4, No. 2 (1971), 50-87.

The sources, for example, Genshin’s biography, Genshin Sōzu-den, are given in Kageyama Haruki, Hieizan-ji: sono kōsei to shomondai (Kyoto: Dobōsha, 1979), pp. 120-134; and Hori Daiji, "Nijūgozammai-e to Ryōzen Shaka-kō," Genshin. Nihon meisō ronshū No. 4 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1983), pp. 263-301.


The inscription is recorded by Kageyama, Hieizan-ji, p. 123. The rokudō paintings are thought to be 14th century copies of the Ryōzen-in works.

In addition to the daily rite (shiki) and activities (sahō, see note 42), an expounding of the Hoke-kyō and the reading of Genshin’s Ryōzen-ji Shaka-kō occurred on the last day of every month. The keypoint is the members who participated in these Shaka observances were all members of the Nijūgozammai-e. See Hori, "Yogawa bukkyō no kenkyū," pp. 226-230 and “Nijūgozammai-e to Ryōzen-in Shaka-kō,” pp. 285-287.
The establishment of the character and function of the society was detailed in the *Yogawa Shuryōgon-in nijūgozamaikishō* (hakkojō), written in Kanna 2.9/15, in which were listed the eight main by-laws. *Eshin Sōzu Zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 349-358. The authorship of the first set of by-laws is problematical because one version records Genshin as author while another records both the names of Genshin (*saku*) and Yoshishige Yasutane (*hitsu*). Most likely Genshin conceived the basic framework of the by-laws and Yasutane wrote the final draft. A study reveals the *Nijūgozamaikishō* and the *Nijūgozamaishiki* were based on the main ideas of the *Ojōyōshū*. Japanese Buddhologists agree that because the *Ojōyōshū* relates directly to the aims and operation of the *nijūgozamaie* Genshin wrote the *Ojōyōshū* as a devotional manual for a *nembutsu* society. See the studies of: Hori Daiji, "Nijūgozamaie to Ryōzenin Shaka-kō," ; Inoue Mitsusada, *Nihon Jōdo-kyō seiritsu no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yamagawa shuppansha, 1956), pp. 134-151; Ishida Mizumaro, Genshin, *Nihon shisō taikei 6* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970) and *Gokuraku jōdo e no sasoi: Ōjōyōshū no baai*, Nihonjin no gyōdō to shisō 35 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1976); Kawasaki Tsuneyuki, ed., *Genshin. Nihon no meicho* (Tokyo: Chūō koronsha, 1983).

This description of a *rinjō nembutsu* session, outlined in chapter 6 of the *Ojōyōshū*, is point 4 of the *hakkojō-kishō* and point 9 of the *jūnikojō-kishō*. Remanents of five-colored threads are still attached to Amida’s hands in a *raigō* painting in the Konkaikomyō-ji collection, dated to the latter half of the Kamakura. An inscription records the work was made according to Genshin’s instructions. Discussed and illustrated by Ogushi Sumio, "Raigō geijutsu ron," *Kokka*, 608, 226-228.

According to various sources, the event was called either the *Yogawa mukae-kō no gishiki* or the *Nijūgozamaai mukae-kō*. See Hori, "Yogawa bukkyō no kenkyū," p. 229 and "Nijūgozamaie to Ryōzenin Shaka-kō," pp. 277-279. This drama influenced *raigō* paintings. The bold composition and the large-scale Amida of the Kōyasan’s *Amida shōjū raigō-zu* enforce the sense of the actuality of Amida’s approach and envelopment by the heavenly crowd.

See Nakano Genzo’s description of the ceremony, in which he contends an image like the Daruma-dera Nirvāṇa painting would have been enshrined. The articles are given in note 4. The most significant difference between the Kakurin-ji and Kongōbu-ji paintings is the elimination of the figures in the lower part of the Kongōbu-ji’s composition, thus reducing the size of the congregation in the Kakurin-ji scene and bringing the image closer to the viewer.
Part IV.581.

Okazaki, "Kakurin-ji Taishi-dō no heki-ga," p. 30; Nakao, Nehan-zu no meisaku, cat. no. 7.


Illustrations of the image of Fugen jūrasetunyo are in Nara National Museum, ed., Hoke-kyō no bijutsu (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1979), pls. 28-37. The painting undergoes a change from a stationary vision in the Heian examples to a hayai raigō-like icon in the Kamakura-Nambokuchō works.
THE HASSŌ NIRVĀNA TRADITION

The objectives of this chapter are threefold: to identify the generic characteristics of the paintings of the hassō Nirvāna tradition; to discuss the relationship between these graphic images and the canonical Nirvāna texts; and to date and thereby establish the historical context into which these paintings can be placed.

II.1. A Pictorial and Iconographic Examination of the Hassō Paintings

In contrast to the Type I image, exemplified by the Kongōbu-ji painting, a radically new form of iconography emerged in the Nirvāna painting tradition of the 13th century. This novel style, which is referred to as the hassō or Type II image, was sharply discontinuous with earlier works.

II.1.1. The Nirvāna Scene Type II

The most significant difference between the Nirvāna scene of the hassō group and the paintings of Type I is the attention given here to what are essentially secondary elements in the Type I paintings, the trees and the group of mourners (plates V-IX). As opposed to the subordination of landscape in Type I, there appears in the Type II painting an increased
emphasis upon the incorporation of the figures into a landscape. The result is a more complex pictorial representation. The Nirvāṇa scene has been moved back into the picture, the Buddha-on-the-couch motif is smaller and more naturalistically set within a landscape of river and trees, and the circular arrangement of figures is more complex and yet more realistic than the schematic groupings of stiff, fixed figures in Type I. The scale relationship between motifs is more realistic, in contrast to the hierarchical scale characteristic of Type I, although Buddha is still larger than the other figures. The demarcation of space by the sharp diagonals of the trees and couch and the impression of depth achieved through the overlapping of animals and figures is indicative of a more advanced visualization of the scene as a whole.

A more complete and realistic description of the sacred setting replaces the symbolism of Type I. This morphological development of forms and space points to a later date and the influence of Song China (960-1279). The trees were important in the earliest canonical descriptions of the scene, to indicate the setting and to symbolize the response of nature. The reactions described in the texts are reflected in the Type II scenes. White foliage, as described in the Hokuhon-nehan-gyō and the Gobun, is seen in the majority of them, for example in the Henmyo-in, Jōdo-ji, Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings.¹ Kamakura variations on this are seen in the paintings in the collection of Takaharu Mitsui and in the Kyoto National Museum.² In the former the branches are bare; in the latter the foliage of the trees in the north and east is in bloom, but the paired trees in the south and west are bare. Textual sources for the alternatives are the Daihatsun-nehan-gyō-sho, the Bussho-gyō-san, and the Butsu-hongyō-kyō.³
In the Type I painting focus was placed upon the reactions of sentient beings. However, emphasis upon the trees in the Type II scene contributes to the illustration of the canonical passages. Now, the concern of the artist was to emphasize the participation of all nature in the universal lamentation.

The number of mourners increases in the Type II paintings; for example, the Ryūgan-ji painting has double the number found in the Type I Kongōbu-ji scene. The new members include more monks and layfollowers. The animal kingdom is represented by insects, birds, serpents, crabs, elephants and mythical animals. Shaka's guardian retinue has expanded. The traditional retinue is present, the hachibushū, the two kongōrikishi and the four guardian kings, but their number and type is not fixed. In contrast to the selectivity of Type I, where a contrast of reactions was emphasized, the Type II scene is devoted to the minutely detailed depiction of the vast assembly of divine, human and non-human mourners that the Mahāyāna text records as witnesses of the event.

The universal display of grief characteristic of Type II is in keeping with such texts as the Hokuhon-nehan-gyō, the Gobun and the Mahamaya-kyō. The upper echelons of the Buddhist hierarchy now openly mourn the loss of Buddha. Sorrow is etched on the faces of the bodhisattvas in the Ryūgan-ji and Henmyō-in paintings. In other paintings, such as the Jōdo-ji work, their grief has been carried to an extreme. Faces are distorted with pain and a few sob into their scarves. The pose of Maya, her face hidden behind her sleeve, captures the theme of the profound sorrow of the grieving mother dramatized in the Mahamaya-kyō. The poses of the monks, laypeople, guardian retinue, and the members of the animal realm are extravagant, even exaggerated in their display of sorrow. Some are
tottering, others are already prostrate on the ground. Although descriptions of extravagant emotional reactions are developed freely in such later texts as the *Mahamaya-kyô* and the *Gobun*, incidents of this abandonment to grief can be found in all the texts. An overt, unrestrained emotionalism dominates the great crowd. The loss of Buddha is presented as a familiar human tragedy.

In the Type II Nirvâna scene, the Buddha lies on his right side, his head pillowed on his right arm, his knees bent and one leg resting upon the other. The result is a more relaxed pose in contrast to the rigid, formal image of the Type I tradition.

The Type II Buddha represents a synthesis of descriptions found in the Hinayâna and Mahâyâna canons. The unusual feature is his bent knees. The sole scriptural authority for this is the *Butsuhatsu-naion-gyô*, a Hinayâna text translated by Baifazu in 290-306. The relaxed pose is indicative of a new feeling towards the Buddha. He has become more human. Despite his size, he now lies as if sleeping, unlike the Type I Buddha, positioned on the bed like a devotional symbol.

These developments reflect a new attitude towards the sacred story. There has been a change in focus from the transcendental realm to the everyday world. This is in marked contrast to Type I, where the drama takes place in a realm devoid of time and space and the intent is to magnify the character of the divine. Two factors contribute to this new approach. First, morphological development has brought with it perspective and realism. Second, a desire to be as faithful as possible to the sutras and a new dramatic interest has resulted in a fuller illustration of the story.
The Māyā motif of the Type II scene serves as a case in point, having been developed with an eye to the dramatic. The pictorial development of this motif from Type I to Type II parallels the sequential progression that characterizes the *raigō* motif from the Heian to the Kamakura Period. The Māyā motif in Type I paintings is comparable to early *raigō* representations, such as the Hokke-ji triptych and the Kōyasan *Amida shōju raigō*11 The Heian examples are 'close-ups', which concentrate on the figures of the deities. In both, a large seated figure of Amida has descended and hovers directly before the viewer. Little if any attention is given to the setting, only the bare minimum needed to reinforce the majesty of the deity. The Kamakura works, which depict the deities in the act of rapid descent, display a more dynamic configuration. Most representative of the so-called *hayai raigō* paintings is a work in Chion-in dated to the early 13th century.12 It is an asymmetrical composition in which a group of standing figures descend across a panoramic landscape. As seen in the Māyā motif, speed and movement are emphasized by the perspective of the clouds and the acute angle of the figural grouping across the picture plane. Further evidence that the Māyā motif has been influenced by the *raigō* tradition is the fact that the figures are standing.13

II.1.2. The Cycles of the *Hasso* Nirvāṇa Paintings

Despite the fact that all the images included within the Type II Nirvāṇa share in common a similar central Nirvāṇa scene proper, they differ in the manner in which the cycle of Buddha's Nirvāṇa is presented. The
differing arrangements and iconographical features of the *hassō* Nirvāṇa images result in five alternative modes of presentation.¹⁴

In the Group I variation upon the basic Type II structure (figure 1), as represented by the paintings in the collections of the Manju-ji, Jishō-in and Henmyō-in, the Nirvāṇa scene proper is one of a cycle of eight scenes of the story of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa. In this type the incidents that occurred before and after Buddha passed into Nirvāṇa are depicted around the Nirvāṇa scene proper. The painting in the Jishō-in, an example of Type II Group I, contains the identification of each of these eight scenes in well-preserved cartouches (plates XII, XIII):¹⁵

1. The World-Honored One receiving Cunda's offerings.
2. The World-Honored One ascends into the sky and (lacuna) the great assembly.
4. The World-Honored One arises and expounds the Dharma for his mother.
5. The scene in which the strong men (lacuna) but (the coffin?) does not move.
6. Although the label is damaged the name of the city of Kusināgara can be read. This is the scene in which the coffin, in order to reach the cremation site, flies in and out of the city's gates.
7. The Buddha displays both his feet to Mahākasyapa.
8. Kōshō Brahman dividing the relics.

Research reveals that in contrast to a specific cycle that corresponds to a single text, there is contained in the generic Type II image an amalgamation of elements drawn from various sources. For example, the scene of Buddha's ascension is found only in the *Gobun*, and the *Makamaya-kyō* is the source for the re-emergence from the coffin.¹⁶
Many texts and Type II iconographic images recount the events of the Buddha's last days, for example, Hinayâna works such as the Butsuhatsu-naion-gyô, the Hatsu-naion-gyô, and the Yûgyô-kyô of the Jôagon-gyô; and such Mahâyâna texts as the Gobun, the Makamaya-kyô, the Bussho-gyô-san, and the Batsu-hongyô-kyô. Variations occur; for example, the number of incidents in the story varies, as seen in the difference between the Butsuhatsu-naion-gyô and the Daihatsu-nehan-gyô, or the Bussho-gyô-san and the later Gobun. A simple account of an incident in one text is elevated to the level of miracle in another. The funeral procession described in the Yûgyô-kyô and the Bussho-gyô-san evolves into a detailed account of the route of the flying coffin in the Gobun. A simple act of homage by MahÂkasyapa at the feet of Buddha becomes in the Butsuhatsu-naion-gyô, the Daihatsu-nehan-gyô, and the Gobun a spectacle in which Buddha miraculously manifests his feet outside the coffin. Changes of emphasis also occur; the historical incident of Buddha's last repast in the house of Cunda, a brief passage in the Bussho-gyô-san, is expanded into a great event of offering and discussion in the Hokuhon-nehan-gyô. As demonstrated in the discussion of the Nirvâna proper, it is difficult to distinguish the Hinayâna and Mahâyâna accounts which may have served as sources for the visual traditions. These interpretative differences make it very difficult to relate scriptural events to specific iconographic representations. Moreover, historical records reveal that often iconography was not based on a specific text but rather upon an interpretative representation, for example, the themes and explanations from religious commentaries and allusions in discourses and rituals.
For the reasons just outlined, the iconography of the Buddha's last days also varies, as extant pictorial evidence in China demonstrates. The Group I hasso paintings can be compared to the monumental wall paintings of Caves 332 and 61 at Dunhuang. Differences are evident in the iconography and the sequence of the cycle. Their similarity lies in that both are large compositions, employing a narrative method of illustration with equality of focus. Although the Nirvāṇa proper is slightly larger in scale, the cycle of eight scenes is the core of the Group I version.

In contrast, the Nirvāṇa scene in Group II, as represented by the Kōsan-ji and Saikyō-ji paintings, is much larger in scale than the surrounding scenes (plates XIV, XV; figure 2). While the method of illustration is similar to the Group I paintings, the arrangement and iconography of the scenes is not. The identification of the top two side scenes is problematical.

The third group of Type II images, as represented by the Ryūgan-ji painting, is in fact a mixture of the Group I and II hasso versions with additional characteristics unique to itself (figure 3). In this painting the Nirvāṇa proper is much larger in scale than the other surrounding scenes of the Nirvāṇa cycle. Although this feature generally corresponds to the Group II version, the Ryūgan-ji painting displays a much greater scale discrepancy. The markedly reduced scale and the secondary position of the Nirvāṇa-related episodes, which occupy the top of the composition, testify to their subordinate function. The frescoes in Cave 76 at Dunhuang, dated to the early Song Period, have the same arrangement. The life story of Shaka is divided into eight separate compositions, and each composition focuses on
one of the eight events, incidents that took place before and after surrounding it in smaller scale.

The Nirvāṇa cycle of the Ryūgan-ji has been shortened to six scenes in contrast to the eight episodes of the Group I and II paintings. Omitted are Cunda’s offering and the Buddha’s re-emergence from the coffin. The most notable feature of the Ryūgan-ji’s hassō version is the inclusion of the fuller life cycle of Shaka.

In the Tsurugi-jinja painting, representing the Group IV hassō version, the life cycle of Shaka has been attached to the sides of a large scale Type II Nirvāṇa scene (figure 4). In contrast to the other hassō Nirvāṇa versions, the Nirvāṇa-related incidents are lacking.

The Group V version is represented by the Jōdo-ji painting (figure 5). A large Type II Nirvāṇa proper is surrounded on three sides by smaller scenes. An expanded Nirvāṇa cycle of sixteen incidents has been illustrated in the margins. Identification of the incidents of the cycle and their textual sources is difficult. In the first scene on the bottom left Buddha sits upon a lotus throne before an audience of three laymen and a monk (plate XVI). This is definitely a preaching scene, possibly alluding to the opening address of the Buddha in the preface of the Hokuhon-nehan-gyō. The presence of Monju Bosatsu, identified by the five-knot hairdo, in the fifteenth scene (bottom right) also points to a Mahāyāna text (plate XVIII). The repetition of characters, for example the strongmen in No. 14 and the monk figure in No. 14 and 15 indicate a continuous sequence of events and thus suggest the depiction of a series of episodes from a single source (plate XVII). Three of the upper right scenes (No. 9, 10, 11) are identifiable and serve to indicate the method of elaboration given to the Nirvāṇa story (plates XIX-XXI). In
contrast to the single motif of the descending Maya troupe, the post-Nirvana story in the Makamaya-kyo is fuller: Anuruddha’s ascent to Trayastrimsa to inform Maya of her son’s extinction (No. 9); Maya’s descent from heaven in order to grieve over the relics of her son (No. 10); and the Buddha’s miraculous resuscitation to expound a last sermon for his mother (No. 11).

As has been demonstrated, the five groups of the basso Nirvana series of paintings are by no means identical. Nevertheless, depending upon the variation in question, the Nirvana cycle in every case is simplified or elaborated. Within this tradition the central Nirvana scene appears to function as an axis around which the related Nirvana incidents are placed (figures 1-3). In some variations the Nirvana scene comes to stand alone (figures 4-6). The point of importance is the Nirvana scene proper assumes a certain independance.

The Ryugan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings offer a clue to the systemic development of the Nirvana tradition. The increased scale of the Nirvana proper enforces the elimination of the other Nirvana-related episodes from the main composition. In the Jodo-ji painting the incidents are relegated to the margins. The extraction of the Nirvana proper from the unit of the Nirvana story results in the independent Type II Nirvana scene. Examples are paintings in the Hongaku-ji, Chofuku-ji, Engaku-ji and Tofuku-ji collections (plates XXII, XXIV).

II.1.1.3. The Life Cycle
Among the five groups of Type II paintings described, the paintings in the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja collections exhibit an unprecedented iconographic feature (plates VIII, IX). The Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings contain two distinct iconographic units. A border separates the side scenes from the central composition, and they are treated side by side as independent compositions. The Jōdo-ji painting also displays this feature (plate VII). Before discussing the significance of this format, it is necessary to examine the subject matter of the marginal scenes.

These scenes illustrate the life story of Shaka Buddha from his conception to his first sermon (plates XXV-XXIX). The composition is arranged chronologically, ascending from the right bottom to top, and from the left bottom to top. This vertical axis of the chronological sequences signifies the theme of spiritual evolution. Depicted on the right side are: the conception cycle; the nativity cycle; the early youth cycle; the scenes of the three palaces and the four signs. On the left side are: the great departure; the transformation of the Bodhisattva into a monk; the meeting with the grasscutter Svastika; the defeat of Mara; the 'turning of the wheel of the Dharma'.

Each sequence is separated by landscape or architectural elements in 3/4 view, and contains themes of primary and secondary importance. For example, the first sequence on the bottom right illustrates the cycle of the conception of Buddha. The primary episode is the Bodhisattva's descent from Tusita and entry into the womb. Māyā lies asleep on a bed inside the palace. The Bodhisattva, in the form of a white, six-tusked elephant, descends on a cloud to enter Māyā's right side. The implication is that Māyā dreams of the event while the Bodhisattva enters her womb. Two episodes
that occurred after the miraculous conception are also depicted. Above the conception scene proper, King Suddhodana holds an audience with the brahmin sages in order to interpret Māyā's dream. In the foreground the motifs of carts, elephants and groups of people gathered before the palace gate show the congratulatory procession of the neighbouring kings upon hearing the news of Māyā's pregnancy. An elevated viewpoint and the detailed presentation of each event imparts a narrative quality to the series as a whole.

Numerous sutras relate the Buddha's biography from his conception to the sermons and miraculous conversions of his teaching career, for example, to name only a few, the Taishi-zuiō-hongi-kyō, the Fuyō-kyō, the Kako-genzai-nga-kyō, and the Shuko-makatai-kyō. Distinctive pictorial and iconographical motifs are depicted in each of the cycles of the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings, such as the elephant in the conception scene, the athletic feats and the order of the incidents at the palace gates.

Collation of the relevant textual passages reveals that an archetypal story underlies all the texts. Differences, however, are recognizable. In contrast to the simple narrative of the Shugyō-hongi-kyō, the Taishi-zuiō-hongi-kyō, and the Ishutsu-bosatsu-hongi-kyō, the story is expanded in the Fuyō-kyō, the Hōkō-daishōgon-gyō, and the Butsu-hongyō-shū-kyō. The result is that an incident or a character may be given elaboration in one text, treated in a cursory manner in another or not developed at all. This allows for a simple process of elimination to be carried out.

The elephant motif is found in all the accounts. The nativity scene, however, displays differences crucial to the identification of the source text. Both the lotus and dragon motifs are found only in the accounts of the Kako-
genzai-nga-kyō and the Hōkō-daishōgon-nyō. A closer reading shows that the depiction of the nativity cycle in the paintings faithfully corresponds to the description of the events in the Inga-kyō.26

Continued comparison of the motifs with the texts reveals the subject matter of the paintings follows the Inga-kyō and Daishōgon-kyō more closely than any other sutras. A distinctive motif occurs in the scene of the Great Departure. The Daishōgon-kyō states that the feet of the prince's horse were held up by the Four Guardian Kings whereas four devas perform this act in the Inga-kyō.27 The Four Guardian Kings are depicted in the paintings in the collections of Daifukuden-ji, the Kuon-ji and the Jōraku-ji in contrast to the devas in the Nezu Museum version of the illustrated Inga-kyō scroll.28

This comparison creates its own set of problems. On the one hand, the remarkable similarities between the motifs and the text of the Inga-kyō suggest the two are linked. This is further supported by a comparison between the Ryūgan-ji cycle and the Illustrated Inga-kyō. For example the grasscutter episode is illustrated in the eighth-century E-Inga-kyō in the collection of Daigo Hoon-in but is absent from other versions of the Buddha's life, such as those in the Daifukuden-ji, Kuon-ji, Jōraku-ji and Jikō-ji collections.29 The copying of the Inga-kyō, with and without illustrations, was a long and established tradition in Japan, dating back to the mid-eighth century, whereas there is no record of illustrated texts of the Shugyō-honji-kyō, the Fuyō-kyō, or its later translation the Hōkō-daishōgon-nyō being copied. Moreover, the Inga-kyō came back into vogue in the Kamakura Period. These facts suggest that the iconography of the life cycle in the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings might have some connection with the illustrated Inga-kyō. The differences between the Ryūgan-ji-Tsurugi-jinja
unit and the *E-nga-kyō* can be explained by the change in format. The longer picture cycles of the handscroll were condensed into an arrangement more suitable to a hanging scroll.  

On the other hand, the limitations of this approach are evident. As early Chinese examples make clear, the various textual readings were fused into an established convention. The treatment accorded the classic events of the conception, the defeat of Mara, and the first sermon are cases in point. Accounts in the *Shugyō-hongi-kyō*, *Inga-kyō*, and *Shuko-makatai-kyō* state that the Bodhisattva descended from Tusita riding upon a white elephant. In other texts, for example the *Fuyō-kyō*, the *Hōkō-daishōgon-kyō*, and the *Butsu-hongyō-shū-kyō*, the Bodhisattva is actually changed into a white elephant. The most striking motif, the white elephant, came to symbolize the entire conception. Motifs representative of the different phases of the Mara legend—the temptation, the attack of the demonic army, and the night of meditation—have been edited into a set iconographic representation of Mara's defeat. Motifs have been transferred from one tradition to another. For instance, the suspended canopy, the flying devas, the great congregation of monks, laymen, bodhisattvas, and guardians, and the landscape background have been borrowed from the iconography of the Sermon on Vulture Peak (*Shaka seppō-zu*). Over time, an iconographic standardization took place, which makes it difficult to identify specific textual sources; and furthermore, the canonical texts cannot fully explain the iconography.

Juxtapositioning the two cycles, the life story and the Nirvāṇa, suggests that another system underlies the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings. The 'turning of the wheel of the law' is the seventh of a series of
eight major events of the Buddha's life, termed hasso. The iconography of this was not fixed, for example, the list in the Shūdaijō-ron--residency in Tusita, birth, education, passions, leaving home and austerities, attainment of enlightenment, turning the wheel of the law, entering Nirvāṇa--differs from the events given in the Jūjikyō-ron--descent from Tusita, conception, abode in the womb, birth, leaving home, attaining Buddhahood, turning the wheel of the law, entry into Nirvāṇa. The Ryūgan-ji-Tsurugi-jinja unit conforms to the listing in the Shikyō-gi by the Tiantai patriarch Zhiyi (538-597): descent from Tusita heaven, entry into the womb, birth, leaving home, defeat of Mara, attaining enlightenment, turning the wheel of the Law, entering Nirvāṇa.

In addition to the canonical tradition of the biography from conception to the teaching career, a tradition based upon such texts as the Bussho-gyō-san, Butsu-hongyō-kyō and the Sōga-rasetsu-shoshū-kyō narrated the events from the conception to Nirvāṇa. However, as has been demonstrated, the iconography of the individual scenes of the life cycle and the Nirvāṇa cycle of the paintings does not correspond to these texts.

The variety that could exist within this framework of eight divisions is shown by the Japanese paintings of Buddha's life story called Shaka hasso, which date to the Kamakura Period. Composition and iconography differ in every case. The painting in the collection of Daifukuden-ji is a single hanging scroll (plate XXX). The cycle of eight corresponds to Zhiyi's listing, as with the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja examples, but the iconography of the individual scenes, for example the conception, the departure, and the enlightenment, is different. The hasso theme is represented in the sets of hanging scrolls in the Kuon-ji, Jóraku-ji and Jikō-ji collections.
manifest a fusion of the listings given above. The Jōraku-ji set depicts 'the residency in the womb' (scroll 2) that is in both Jūjikyō-ron and Daijōkishin-ron and 'the defeat of Mara' (scroll 5) from Zhiyi's list whereas the Jikō-ji series combines 'abode in Tusita' (scroll 1) and 'austerities in the mountains' (scroll 4) from the Shōdaijō-ron with Zhiyi's 'defeat of Mara'. The conversion of King Bimbisara rather than the first sermon represents the period of 'turning the wheel of the law' in both the Daifukuden-ji and Jikō-ji works. A characteristic of these sets is the expansion of the Buddha's teaching career by such incidents as the subduing of dragons, feats with heretics, and the descent from the Heavens of the Thirty-three Gods on the jeweled staircase.

The similarity linking all the paintings is the distillation of the Buddha's life into a single cycle of eight key periods. In the enlarged formats of the Kuon-ji, Jōraku-ji and Jikō-ji sets the eight periods provide a focus around which numerous other incidents from Buddha's legend was grouped.

The Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings are unique in their combination of two distinct styles of composition. A border reinforces the physical disparity. The two types of formats depict iconographically separate traditions. The Inga-kyō life cycle has been appended to the Nirvāṇa cycle (the Nirvāṇa proper in the Tsurugi-jinja work). The Nirvāṇa had a tradition as both an independent unit or as the final event in the life cycle, which was based upon such texts as Bussho-gyō-san, Butsu-hongyo-kyō, and the Sōga-rasetu-shoshū-kyō. The cycles viewed in conjunction produce the eight aspects of Shaka's life. However, a rearrangement of these eight aspects is evident. The Nirvāṇa cycle has been integrated with
the hensō-type of life story but in a novel way. The result is an unusual presentation of the biography. In contrast to representations in which each of the eight periods are given equal emphasis, the seven events comprising the life story have been treated as a submotif to the central Nirvāṇa proper and its cycle. The result is unprecedented in Chinese and Japanese art before this date.

Although the reduced scale and marginal placement of the Inga-kyō life story seems to downgrade its importance, this is not necessarily so. The composition of the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings can be compared to the hensō (Paradise) painting, for example the Daihōben-butsu-hōon-kyō hensō in Dunhuang Cave 8 and 61 and a version of the Kanmuryōju-kyō hensō in Cave A194 and A171. The side scenes of the Hōon-kyō show Shaka in former incarnations, accumulating the good karma through which he eventually attained Buddhahood and his Pure Land. The illustrations framed-off at the sides of the Kanmuryōju-kyō detail the story of an evil being on the left and the way to remove sins and attain rebirth in Amida's Pure Land on the right. The future promised to the devotee in the two sutras is visualized in the main compositions.

The underlying structure of the Hōon-kyō and Kanmuryōju-kyō hensō is the combination of a cult image and narrative elements. The narrative is not always placed in distinctly compartmentalized inner and outer sections. The Miroku Jōdo hensō in Cave 61 and the Hokke-kyō hensō in Cave 76 are examples in which the narrative elements are included in the main composition, although on a smaller scale than the central assembly. The Manju-ji and Henmyō-in paintings are in this tradition. In the Mahāyāna Pure Land context, hensō, literally 'transformed configuration', is the
visual transformation of the doctrinal themes of the sutras. It is not a question of the narrative being given an inferior role by its size or position; rather, the narrative is supportive in function, intended to give 'lessons' in cause and effect. In conclusion, despite their positioning, the life cycles in the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings are not an iconographic afterthought.

On the other hand, the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings are not identical to the hensō in all respects. The iconography of the hensō draws on a single textual source, whereas two pictorial traditions based upon different texts have been amalgamated in the Ryūgan-ji programme. Moreover, this type of format, which is common in the Chinese tradition of hensō painting, is not found in Japan except in the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings.

The generic distinction between Type I and hasso paintings is that the first lacks and the second incorporates a temporal narrative. A didactic function underlies the narrative thrust, in contrast to the devotional emphasis which characterizes the Type I presentation. The uniqueness of the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings lies in their mixed iconography.

The relationship between the Type I painting and Genshin's Pure Land doctrine has been demonstrated by contextualizing painting and text within Genshin's teachings, writings, and practices. The canonical sources cannot fully explain the juxtapositioning of the separate traditions of iconographies and the resultant focus in the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings. This suggests the presence of another intermediary source. Chapter Three will argue that Myōe Shōnin constituted this intermediary source. Before elaborating this argument, however, it is necessary to first demonstrate that
the iconographic changes in question are historically coincidental with Myōe Shōnin's writings for the Nirvāṇa ceremony.

1Hokuhon-nehan-gyō, T,XII,374,369b; Gobun, T,XII,377,905a.

2The paintings are illustrated in Kokka, 605 and in Nehan-zu no meisaku, pl. 16.

3Daihatsu-nehan-gyō-sho, T,XXXVIII,1767,44b; Bussho-gyō-san, T,IV,192,50a; Butsu-hongyō-kyō, T,IV,193,109a; the most dramatic reaction is narrated in the Gobun, T,XII,905a.


5T,XII,366a-371b.

6T,XII,371c; T,XII,900b.

7T,XII,383,1012b.

8T,XII,1012a; T,XII,905b,c; Yūgyō-kyō, T,1,12b; Butsuhatsu-naion-gyō, T,1,5,172c; Daihatsu-nehan-gyō, T,1,7,205a,b,c; Bussho-gyō-san, T,1,51c-52a.

9Variations do occur in the independent paintings of the Type II scene. For example in the Chōfuku-ji painting Buddha's pose is reminiscent of the Gandharan and Central Asian parinirvāṇa formula in that his right arm is bent with his hand resting near his face and his legs are straight. The splayed feet however are in the tradition of the Kongōbu-ji pose.

10Butsuhatsu-naion-gyō, T,1,172c.

11See Introduction, note 3 for information about the Kōyasan painting. The Hokke-ji triptych is illustrated in Jōdo-kyō kaiga, pl.s. 19-21.

12The painting in Chion-in is illustrated Jōdo-kyō kaiga, pl. 33.

13The iconographic transformation from seated to standing deities occurred during the Kamakura Period. The inclusion of the monk Anuruddha to the Māyā motif is another change.

14Refer to the diagrams in Appendix I.

15The Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings are similarly labelled.

16T,XII,904a; T,XII,1012c-1013a.

17Yūgyō-kyō, T,1,28a; Bussho-gyō-san, T,IV,52a; Daihatsu-nehan-gyō, T,1,206b; Gobun, T,XII,900b.

18Bussho-gyō-san, T,IV,52a; Butsu-hongyō-kyō, T,IV,11c; Butsuhatsu-naion-gyō, T,1,174a; Daihatsu-nehan-gyō, T,1,206c; Gobun, T,XII,908c-909a.

19T,IV,46b; T,XII, (first chapter, jumyō-hin).

20Umezū Jiro's and Akiyama Terazuki's studies of the Dunhuang paintings and manuscripts show one of the essential functions of the paintings was its
use in *etoki* the exposition of a text by means of pictures. The painting was used in conjunction with *henbun*, a diluted version of the tales of the sutra retold in the vernacular. This combination of text and picture presented the doctrine to the laymen in an easily comprehensible manner. See: Akiyama Terukazu, "Tonkō ni okeru henbun to kaiga,“ in *Heian jidai sezoku-ga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1964), pp.427-454; Umezu Jirō, "Hen to henbun," *Kokka*, 760 (July 1955), 191-207.

Cave 322 is dated to 698 of the Tang Dynasty and Cave 61 is dated to the Five Dynasties. Illustrated in *Chūgoku sekkutsu*, vol. 3, pls. 89-91; vol. 5, pl. 65-67. See also Matsumoto Eichi, *Tonkō-ga no kenkyū*, vol.1, pp. 235-239, vol. 2, pl. 84a and b.

The episode of the 'miraculous resuscitation and last words to Māyā' is possibly illustrated on the upper right because one of the two figures kneeling before Buddha is a woman. Moreover, the preaching scene is signified by a Buddha on a lotus throne and a congregation of monks and guardian figures. In the scene on the upper left, a lay figure is making an offering to Buddha, who is seated upon a lotus throne and surrounded by monks. This may be the the offering of Cunda.


Chart. Appendix III.

*T,III,625a,b (hereafter Inga-kyō ); T,III,553a,b,c (hereafter Daishōgon-kyō ).

*T,III,633a; T,III,575c.


It should be noted that the *Kako-genzai-inga-kyō*, as the title indicates, consists of jataka stories, which chronicle the previous incarnations of Shaka Buddha, as well as the story of his last birth in the present world. The theme of the Ryuganji-Tsurugi-jinja unit is this last incarnation of the
historical Buddha. Although there is no concrete evidence other than the similarity in motifs discussed, the Ryuganji-Tsurugi-jinja unit may be an excerpted cycle from the sutra.

The Nativity scene in Cave 290 at Dunhuang, which dates by inscription to 520-24, and in a Tang Dynasty banner painting, also from Dunhuang, show the fusion of texts. The event of the ritual bath by nine dragons from the Fuyō-kyō is combined with the episode of the seven steps and seven lotuses recounted in the Inga-kyō and the Daishōgon-kyō. See: Chūgoku sekkutsu, vol. 1, pl. 176; Matsumoto Eichi, Tonkō-ga, vol. 2, pl. 73c.

The iconography of the Shaka seppō-zu is based upon Chapter 16 of the Hoke-kyō, in which the Buddha expounds the Law eternally at Gridhrakuta, the Pure Land of Shaka Buddha. The Sermon on Vulture Peak is equated with the Buddha's First Sermon in the documentation of Shaka's life story in the Kakuzen-shō, an iconographic compilation dated to the early 13th century. See T, XC, zuzō 4, 3022, 101. An extreme is depicted in the painting in Daifukuden-ji. The motif of musicians and dancers in the foreground of the scene labelled jōbutsudō has been taken from the Pure Land hensō painting. Compare the Chikō mandala, illustrated in Nara National Muesum, ed., Jōdo mandara--gokuraku jōdo to raigō no roman (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1983), pl. 52.

The listing of the eight events is based upon sutras and commentaries preserved in Chinese sources. The information is found in Mochzuki, Bukkyo daijiten, vol. 5, pp. 4215-4216.

There are three Chinese translations of this Indian work: T.XXI.1592 by Asanga (Asōga); T.XXI.1593 and 1594 attributed to Asanga (Mujaku).

T.XXVI.1522 by Vasubandhu (Tenjin). The list in the Daijókishin-ron (T.XXII.1666 and 1667) attributed to Asvaghosa (Memyō) is identical to the Jūjikyō-ron.

T.XLVI.1929.


Illustrated in Matsumoto, *Tonkō-ga*, vol. 2, pls. 30a and 38.

Commentaries sometimes influenced the iconography. An example, to be discussed later, is Shandao's commentary on the *Kanmuryōju-kyō*. 
II.2. Morphological Examination of the Hassó Paintings

The majority of the hassó paintings have been given a broad Kamakura dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.1 The Nirvāṇa painting in Hongaku-ji bears an inscription by the artist Ryōzen dated to Karyaku 3 (1328) (plate XXIII).2 The Chōfuku-ji painting has an inscription dated Jōwa 2 (1346) in the upper right corner.3 The scroll rod of the Jōdo-ji painting is inscribed with a date of Bunei 11 (1274).4 However, the authenticity of these inscriptions has been questioned.5

Upper terminus dates of 1086 and 1112 are provided by the Kongōbu-ji and Kakurin-ji paintings. A lower terminus can be established by verifying that the Jōdo-ji, Hongaku-ji and Chōfuku-ji paintings are structurally works of the periods recorded in their inscriptions. A relative date of execution can then be determined for the hassó paintings that have been broadly dated to the thirteenth century.

Although the advanced formal structure of the Jōdo-ji, Hongaku-ji, and Chōfuku-ji paintings are comparable, differences are also evident. The comparison of the tree motif in each work reveals an entirely dissimilar method of execution. The tree in the Hongaku-ji painting is rendered with bold, modulated ink outlines (plates XXIII, XXXI). Washes of ink and light brown color are used for shading. The knotholes are defined by wet, black dabs of ink which are left surrounded by an area of very lightly washed silk. There are no inner modelling lines. The texture and three-dimensional volume of the trunk is defined by means of contour lines and washes of ink and light color. The foliage is executed by fine line drawing in ink. Coloring is minimal, being limited to very pale washes of green and lightly washed
silk. The artist was capable of delineating forms in space with a minimum of line.

In contrast to the technical simplicity of the Hongaku-ji painting is the very detailed method of the Chôfuku-ji example (plate XXXII). The contour lines of the trunk are fluid but not as pronounced nor as modulated as in the Hongaku-ji motif. Line blends into the form because it is combined with a detailed and precise method of color shading. Color washes are darkest along the contour lines and become mottled and uneven within the form. The variations in the application of color convey the volume of the tree and the rough, uneven texture of its bark. The care given to highlighting the knots of the trees further reveals the concern for volumetric form and realism of detail. Strokes of wet ink outline the shape of each knot. Wet dabs of black ink are placed in the center, and the highlighted area is left very lightly colored. The pronounced contrast between dark and light amplifies the concave-convex properties of a volumetric form. Though they are drawn with great care, there is no deliberate focus on the individual leaves. Tonal variations add perspective; a more pronounced outline in darker ink marks the leaves in the front in contrast to the lighter ink and sketchier rendition of those farther away. By means of a simple shape without inner detailing the description of the visual texture of a great mass of leaves and forms seen through atmosphere is achieved.

The technique of the Jôdo-ji painting is different again (plate XXXIII, XXXIV). On the one hand, a more tightly controlled drawing and coloring method is employed, in contrast to the Hongaku-ji painting. On the other hand, the manner of representation is not as descriptive as found in the Chôfuku-ji example. Contour lines of the trunk are varied but, in contrast to
bold strokes or fluid linework, the strokes are shorter and more often broken, hinting at an underlying carefulness. Unique to the Jōdo-ji motif are the interior modelling lines which define the convex-concave surfaces of the trunk. Slight variations of the semi-opaque coloring seen in the lighter coloring of the knot reinforce the linear definition of volume and texture. Here again each leaf has been separately drawn, but with a much heavier emphasis on the leaves as individual objects. The careful frontal, three-quarter and side views, the connection of clusters of leaves to the branches, and the pull of gravity upon each mass are noteworthy.

Artistic concerns and influences differ in each work, manifesting a specific pattern of stylistic development. The painting by Ryōzen serves as a key to the chronological sequence. The most revealing feature is the presence of ink monochrome painting techniques and motifs characteristic to the 'amateur' Zen tradition within orthodox Buddhist polychrome figure painting.

Orthodox by this point in time was the combination of colored figure painting with ink monochrome landscape motifs employed in the rakan (monk) paintings by professional Chinese painters as early as the second half of the 12th century. Examples are the Southern Song set of rakans in the Daitoku-ji collection dated to 1178 and a Yuan set in the collection of Ryūkō-in, which has an inscription by Yishan Yining (1247-1317). The difference is the abbreviated manner of the rendition, with bold contours and washes, of the Hongaku-ji motif in comparison with the more detailed method of form-building in the Chinese works.

Contrasting with the abbreviated technique of the tree is the detailed description of the figures in the Hongaku-ji painting (plates XXIII, XXXI).
Bodies and draperies are executed with strong contour lines and finer, more delicate lines for the faces, the texture of hair and beards, and the patterns of robes and jewelry. Colors (red, orange and green), the gold of jewelry and the fine robe designs, and a shading treatment along contour and modelling lines are in keeping with an orthodox figure painting tradition. This orthodox style is seen in the Chinese rakans cited above and in the school of realistic Chan portraits (chinsō) of the 13th century, for example the portrait of Wuzhun Shifan in Tōfuku-ji. Once more, the Hongaku-ji work is distinctive. Mixed with the rich saturated colors and gold of the forms of the Buddha and bodhisattvas is a lighter color scheme of water-thinned pigments, muted blues and browns, and a shading of light-colored washes and ink. This is used for the figures of the laymen and rakan in the foreground. The elephant, water buffalo and camel are rendered with fluid ink outlines; light ink, color strokes, and washes are used for shading and texturing their coats. A freer treatment has been given to the nature motifs and the figures of the lower echelon of the Buddhist hierarchy through the light color scheme and the strong, expressive line drawing. The swelling clouds on the left and right and the moon in the sky impart a sense of space and atmosphere which is new to the scene. New also are the pronounced roots of the tree and the line drawing of the foliage, indicating the influence of Chinese landscape painting.

The contrasting treatment of motifs with detail and color and the technique of bold lines and washes characteristic of ink paintings shows a striking affinity to the paintings of Daruma in Kōgaku-ji, executed ca.1271, and in the Tokyo National Museum, dated ca. 1317. These paintings stand at the beginning of the Japanese ink monochrome tradition. Moreover, the
motif of the long-armed monkey in the Hongaku-ji painting is identical in type and pose to a monkey in a pure monochrome ink painting by Mokuan Reien, who was active in the first half of the 14th century. Thus the Hongaku-ji painting exhibits the blending of two prevalent contemporary trends in Japanese painting during the early 14th century. On the one hand, there is influence from the Southern Song and early Yuan orthodox Buddhist rakan paintings and Chan portraits executed by professional painters following the artistic canons of the Southern Song Academy. On the other hand, there are influences from amateur monk painters active in the first half of the 14th century, who took as their models the Southern Song Chan masters of the spontaneous style.

Concerns of another kind are present in the Chofuku-ji painting. A skilful draughtsmanship is characteristic of the representative forms, as seen for example in the head of a rakan and a kongōrikishi (plate XXXII). The fine line drawing of the facial features and the feathery texture of the hair and brows, taken to a further extreme than in the Hongaku-ji or Daruma paintings, marks a concern for acute realism of detail. Significant also is the concern with modelling forms by means of color shading, as seen in the elephant. Shading in various tones of gray is applied along the darker contour lines and inner modelling lines. Shading along contour lines is a conventional technique to suggest volume; what is new in this painting is subtly varied tones of the same color which accentuate the roundness of form and the texture of surfaces.

Certain stylistic features present in the Chofuku-ji painting correspond with those in the productions of Chinese professional painters from the Ningpo area of the Yuan period. On one level, striking similarities exist
between the Chôfuku-ji painting and the Nirvâna inscribed with the signature of Liu Xinzhuong in the Nara National Museum (plates XXXV,XXXVI). Comparable are the opaque colors, most specifically a conspicuous use of pink, and the elaborate design patterns in delicate cut-gold of the robes. The modelling of forms by means of color shading and texturing are prominent in both. The differences in the method of form-building are recognizable, and reveal the problems connected with a discussion of the Ningpo paintings and Liu Xinzhuong in particular.

Paintings from Ningpo are represented by works as diverse in styles and techniques as the paintings of rakan and the ten kings by Jin Dashou and the two sets of rakan, the numerous sets of the ten kings, and the Nirvâna by Liu Xinzhuong. The dating of these works is problematical due to discrepancies between the inscriptions and styles. The technical mastery and the co-mingling of all 'manners' of Chinese figure and landscape styles denote professional productions with a long history. However, despite the diversity, stylistic factors such as the sculptural forms achieved through modeling and color shading, the texturing, sense of perspective, and decorative concerns are accepted as characteristic of the Yuan. Concretely dated provincial works corroborate these observations, exhibiting structural and stylistic properties common with the Ningpo paintings. Examples are the wall paintings in Xinghua si, dated to 1304, and in the Sanqing Dian of Yongle Gong, dated 1325. The treatment of trees in the Chôfuku-ji painting is technically similar to the tree in the Sanqing Dian (plates XXXVII, XXXVIII). Volume and texture are precisely described by means of detailed drawing and shading. The rather conservative treatment of figures in fine-line drawing and color in both the Nirvâna painting and the murals is
comparable to the set of rakan mentioned from the Ryūkō-in, and the rakan by Jin Dashou (plates XXXIX, XL). Taking into consideration the time lag that would occur between continental and Japanese traditions, the Chōfuku-ji painting, displaying the style of professional workshops in China of the late 13th and early 14th centuries, can be placed towards the end of this period.

As opposed to the 14th century features that are manifested in the Hongaku-ji and Chōfuku-ji paintings, concerns and influences of another kind are present in the Jōdo-ji example (plate VII). The characteristics unique to this work are seen in the composition and the brushwork. The drooping mass of foliage plays a major part in the structure of the painting. The two sets of paired trees on the right have been emphasized, and the lighter leaves advance as a mass against the darker tree trunks and branches. The foliage of the other trees, a darker shade of green, extends back into the depths of the picture. There is a successful rendition of a canopy of foliage. The strong color contrast between the white elephant and dark buffalo in the lower left foreground serves in its weight and thrust to balance the compact mass of foliage at the top, tying the two sections together along a pronounced diagonal. The result is that the circular grouping of figures, which is perceived as a unit because of weight, color contrasts and arrangement, retreats into depth.

In contrast to the 14th century works, the line is more accentuated in the Jōdo-ji painting. The differences in brush technique can be seen in the figure of a rakan (plates XLI, XLII). In the Hongaku-ji and Chōfuku-ji paintings, these are drawn in a modulated, fluid line, whereas the Jōdo-ji figure is executed with more complexity. There are more breaks in the line, as seen for example in the contour line of the shoulder and arm, and the
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chest. There are frequent and more pronounced fluctuations within the line. Accents, such as angles and hook-backs at the end of the lines, are much more abrupt and conspicuous. Representational concern is not overridden by the pronounced brushwork.

Nakano Genzô has suggested that the Jōdo-ji painting is a copy after the Chôfuku-ji work, but the divergence between the forms and space in the two works is striking. In the Jōdo-ji painting, the precise definition of the front, middle and back planes of the composition and the linear definition of forms contrast with the more complex techniques of shading, texturing and the rendition of atmospheric conditions in the 14th century painting. That the Jōdo-ji painting is a product of the late 13th century is shown by comparison with some accepted paintings from the time.

The treatment of forms can be compared to the paintings of rakan by Takuma Chôga which are dated to the last quarter of the 13th century (plates XLIII, XLIV). The strong linework is technically similar, with its fluctuations, abrupt angles, and hook-backs. The result is the successful linear description of form, evident for example in the drape of cloth over the hands of the lower left figure in picture 1 and over the raised knee of the far right figure in picture 2. The variety of brushwork in the service of a form-building emphasis is associated with the Chinese Song figure painting tradition. When placed against figures from the rakan sets in Daitoku-ji and Ryûkô-in, the Shussan Shaka by Liang Kai, or the Chan portrait paintings in Tôfuku-ji and Kenchô-ji, the brushwork of the Jōdo-ji painting appears tentative in spots and erratic in other areas, whereas the linework in the Chôga paintings is uniform throughout. The lack of consistency and underlying caution could be the result of problems encountered by the
painter in copying a foreign model and assimilating foreign techniques.\textsuperscript{18} This was not a problem for the painter of the Chōfuku-ji painting.

More to the point, however, is that the brushwork can be related to the brush manner of the indigenous tradition of painting (\textit{yamato-e}). The major pictorial device of the narrative scrolls is a strong, spirited linework. An analysis of the tradition as represented by such works as \textit{Shigisan engi}, \textit{Chōjū giga}, and the \textit{Kegon engi}, reveals collective brush formulas that are present in the Jōdo-ji painting.\textsuperscript{19} Common to all are short brushstrokes, pause marks at the end of lines, and, before the brush is turned, 'heads' of strokes and inflexions within the line. In the Chinese tradition, each would represent the style of a single 'master'. The difference, which confirms the later date of the Jōdo-ji painting, is the three-dimensional structure of the form. The artist has combined Japanese brushwork and Chinese concerns into a harmonious whole.

The side scenes of the Jōdo-ji painting show that the Jōdo-ji painter works within his own tradition. Standard conventions of brushwork and accepted concepts of form and space are exhibited (plate XVIII). For example, the wet streaks of black ink are a classic formula for the texturing of rocks in the \textit{yamato-e} tradition; the pinetree-and-mountain motif is a time-worn convention to suggest the far distance; and movement and action is conveyed by the execution of figures in quick, lively strokes, a method conducive to the story-telling purpose of the scrolls.

On the other hand, Chinese influences are also evident. In scenes 14 and 15 the inner structure of the rock masses is depicted in considerable detail (plate XVII, XVIII). The brushwork is strong; the side of the brush is used instead of the point. Although the middle ground is blanketed in
mist, a logical progression into depth from foreground to far distance is depicted in scene 14. In scene 12 perspective drawing, a figural grouping, and the compression of the planes of space are handled with surprising ease for such a small-scale composition (plate XLV).

Stylistic correspondences occur between the handscroll painting Ippen bijiri-e, which is dated by an inscription to 1299, and the Nirvana proper and side scenes of the Jōdo-ji work (plates XLVI, XLVII).20 Developments similar to both are seen in the trees and rocks: the mass of the foliage, the pull of gravity upon this mass, the volume of the trunks, and the structure and mass of rock forms; backgrounds and foregrounds are clearly distinguished and the figures are contained naturally within landscape and architecture. The common denominator of the paintings dated to the second half of the 13th century, which predate the Chōfuku-ji work and must be seen as a necessary prerequisite in terms of pictorial development, is the more precise definition of the structure of form and space, and the stable fusion of elements from the Chinese and Japanese painting traditions.

The paintings discussed are indebted to the Chinese tradition for their pictorial characteristics. Relative dates of execution, determined by means of the identification and adaptation of influences from China, confirm that the paintings are structurally works of the time recorded in the inscriptions. The Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings, which exhibit similar stylistic features, are dated to the 13th century. Chinese influences are evident. The Henmyō-in, Jishō-in and Tsurugi-jinja paintings are also dated to the 13th century and yet they clearly manifest later, more Japanized stylistic features.
The pictorial devices used to depict forms in space reveal the different structural principles at work in the Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings in contrast to the Jōdo-ji and Kongōbu-ji paintings. As opposed to the precise description of space in the Jōdo-ji work, with its clearly marked front-back relationship and the step-by-step method of placement of figures on a tilted groundplane, forms suggest space in the Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings (plates VI, VIII, XLVIII). The figures are organically conceived in terms of structure, volume, and detail, and display a versimilitude in pose, movement and expression. On the premise that more figures imply more space, there is a tighter figural grouping at the sides and in front of the couch, and the varied poses further amplify the sense of a great crowd. Spatial relationships are indicated by overlapping, the foreshortening of forms and the representation of forms from a variety of viewpoints. The figures in the Kongōbu-ji painting are flat forms held to the gold groundplane (plate I). They are conceived in profile or in a three-quarter position that is confined to variations on the silhouette. Relationships between the figures occur in the lateral or vertical planes. The difference can also be seen in the tree branches (plates L, XLIX). The leaves in the Kongōbu-ji painting show little penetration into depth. In contrast the tree branches, leaves and flowers of the Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings have been organized according to more natural principles. The leaves and blossoms are in better proportion to the branches. Rather than the application of a rigid formula, there is an ease in the depiction of forms from a variety of viewpoints. The foreshortening of forms is more extreme, conveying a sense of the space in which they exist.
The contrast in the depiction of forms in space manifests a sequential progression from a simple morphological structure as seen in the Kongōbu-ji painting to the more complex structure of the Jōdo-ji painting. The point of change in the Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji works is the movement away from the Fujiwara painting tradition and its conceptual convention of space as seen in the Kongōbu-ji painting.

The qualities of mass and solidity characterize the pictorial motifs of the Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings in contrast to the Kongōbu-ji forms. The form-type and linear variations of the figures in the Kongōbu-ji painting are dependent upon the nature of the icon represented (plates LI, LII). Fine lines of even thickness define the forms of the Buddha and bodhisattvas. The treatment of their bodies is abstracted into simple geometric shapes. The monk has a structure closer to the human form, depicted with a heavier, broken line.21 The brushwork in both types, rendered according to a formula, is an elegant two-dimensional pattern. On the other hand, the figures of a monk and bodhisattva in the Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings exhibit correct anatomical features and a convincing depiction of volume and body structure beneath the drapery (plates XLVIII, XLIX). This is the result of a concern with the execution of forms, compelling a more advanced handling of drawing, modelling and shading. Comparisons of the trees in each painting confirms that there has been a historical development. In contrast to the fixed-formula Kongōbu-ji tree, well-controlled contour and modelling lines, texture strokes, and color shading enhance the realism of the trees in the later examples.

The Fujiwara painter perpetuates pictorial conventions established in Buddhist painting of the Tang Dynasty and adopted in Japan during the early
Nara Period. The Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings manifest Song Chinese influences in the structural organization of forms and space. Yanagisawa Taka proposed a 12th century Southern Song prototype for the Manju-ji painting, however, she did not cite a concretely dated example of the Song prototype. This claim will be substantiated by comparison with concretely dated Chinese examples.

Several features of the paintings correspond with stylistic characteristics of the Daitoku-ji rakan paintings. A conservative production from a professional workshop, the set exhibits the mingling of old and new painting styles. For example, the detailed execution of certain tree types in these Japanese and Chinese works harks back to the older Northern Song tradition (960-1127) (plates LIII, LIV). They also compare in their handling of spatial perspective; the poses of individual figures and their groupings, the use of movement and gesture, overlapping and foreshortening, is similar. The Jōdo-ji painting, in contrast, is much more sophisticated in its composition and spatial construction than the Daitoku-ji paintings, and in this respect can be compared to the Yuan Period rakan sets in the Ryūkō-in and Tokyo National Museum. Precise delineation of the front and back of the composition and the position of each motif within the defined area is common to these works (plates VII, XXXIX, XL). The Yuan painters and the Jōdo-ji artist have both approached the painting in terms of a unitary composition. Motifs are dominated by a total structure and a striking illusion of three-dimensional form is produced by the control over the arrangement of motifs. Perspective rendering of forms, space for figures and between figures, and logical relationships in depth are present in the Daitokuji paintings, but on the whole the horizontal-vertical axis is dominant.
The main difference between the Daitoku-ji set and the Jōdo-ji painting is the lack of an overall pictorial concept in the former. Instead, the paintings are characterized by a piling-up of parts, as if separate compositions have been placed one on top of the other, indicating a continued tie to the Northern Song painting tradition.

A provincial example, the mural paintings dated to 1158-1167 (Chin Dynasty) in the Manjusri Hall at Yanshang si in Shanxi, exhibits techniques identical to the Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings. The sense of space in the scene of the prince’s departure is accomplished by means of figural dispositions and foreshortening. The linework of the figures, as seen in a figure from Mara’s assault or the monks from a street scene, is similar to that in the two Japanese Nirvāṇa paintings. Brushwork is fluid and diversified in breadth but lacks the extreme accents of the Jōdo-ji example. These features, present also in such concretely dated 12th century Japanese copies of Song iconographical drawings as Denpō seisō teiso-zu, the Kuyō tō zuzō, and the Hannya jūroku zenshin zuzō, reflect the drawing style of Chinese Buddhist icons of the 11-12th centuries.

In summary, the Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings, comparable in structure and motifs to Chinese works of the second half of the 12th century, manifest an earlier continental prototype than the Jōdo-ji painting and its series of copies in Hongaku-ji and Chōfuku-ji. The Chinese influences evident in the vertical-horizontal compositional structure, the indication of space by means of figures, and the method of drawing and modelling forms are characteristic of the earlier Northern Song painting tradition maintained in the more conservative Buddhist paintings of the 12th century.
Certain characteristics in the Manju-ji and Ryûgan-ji paintings distinguish the Chinese and Japanese traditions. Most obvious are the saturated colors, the contour lines, and the texture strokes that define the river bank (plate XLIX). However, Japanization is more pronounced in the Henmyô-in, Jishô-in, and Tsurugi-jinja paintings (plates V, XII, IX). The Tsurugi-jinja painting can be related to a Nirvâna painting dated to Genko 3 (1323) by the ebusshi Myôson, a member of a Nara workshop (plate XL). Common to both are the formulas generic to the indigenous landscape painting, for example the thick black 'texture' stroke through the tree trunk and the decorative pattern of moss dots, which become standardized in 14th century landscape paintings. The hardened, more stylized line drawing and the harsher color scheme of the Tsurugi-jinja indicate a later date than the 1323 Myôson painting. The figures of the Henmyô-in and Jishô-in paintings exhibit the formulas of figure drawing, for instance the facial features and shape of the head, characteristic to the indigenous narrative picture scroll tradition, which again become a pervasive convention in 14th century painting (plates LVI, XIII). Manju-ji and Ryûgan-ji, in contrast to Henmyô-in, Jishô-in and Tsurugi-jinja, preserve structural principles closest to a 12th century Song prototype. Therefore, the two paintings can be aligned at the beginning of the series of Japanese copies after a Chinese model, whereas the Tsurugi-jinja and Henmyô-in paintings are later in the series.

But where precisely in the 13th century do the two paintings belong? In contrast with the early 12th century Kakurin-ji murals, the Shingisan engi, a mid-12th century handscroll, and scenes from the early 13th century Kegao engi, the landscapes in the side scenes of the Ryûgan-ji painting are characterized by shading of rock formations, a linear perspective, and a
more consistent and natural relationship between figures and setting (plates XXV-XXVII). These features are found in the Kamakura versions of the 角川-kyō, a set dated to 1254 (Kenchō 6), and in a later 13th century version. However, neither these handscrolls nor the Ryūgan-ji scenes are as stylistically advanced as the Jōdo-ji side scenes and the ippen hijiri-e scroll painting. In the side scenes of the Ryūgan-ji painting, the black, heavy outlines of figures and trees and the saturated colors tend to flatten forms, in contrast to the figures in the Jōdo-ji side scenes, which are more volumetric and more successfully integrated with their surroundings. As has been stated, Chinese influences in the depiction of forms and space are in much stronger evidence in the Jōdo-ji and ippen hijiri-e paintings, interwoven with Japanese conventions. Traits from the Japanese tradition dominate the Ryūgan-ji painting and are carried to an extreme in the side scenes of the Tsurugi-jinja painting (plates XXVIII, XXIX). Because of this conservatism it is difficult to give a more specific dating for the Ryūgan-ji painting. That the Ryūgan-ji and Manju-ji paintings are 13th century copies of a Chinese model, from a more conservative workshop than the Jōdo-ji painting, can be verified by comparing them to a painting from the early 13th century, the Butsugen butsumo, and to the Kegon kai-e zenchishiki-zu, which is dated by inscription to 1294.

1See, for example, the variant datings given for the paintings in the collections of Henmyō-in, Jishō-in, Manju-ji, Ryūgan-ji, and Tsurugi-jinja in the catalogues Buddha Shason7sono shōgai to zōkei, Nehan-zu no meisaku, Nara National Museum, ed., Kokubō jōyō bunkazai: bukkyō bijutsu (8 vols., vols.; Tokyo: Kogakkan, 1971-1981), Kyūshū 2, cat. no. 51; Chūkoku 1, cat. no. 37; Chūkoku 2, cat. no. 34.; and Nihon no setsuwa-ga. 2The inscription, in gold paint on the tree at the head of the dais, reads “Kaiseijin Ryōzen no hitsu Karyaku 3.2” (Painted by Ryōzen, a man from the

3 The inscription is reproduced in Nehan-zu no meisaku, cat. no. 23.
4 The inscription reproduced in Nehan-zu no meisaku, cat. no. 26 is: "Bunei jūichinen Kokawadera-sō Zuigakubō..." (1274 the Kokawa-dera monk Zuigakubō...).

5 Nakano Genzō interprets the Chōfuku-ji inscription as a record of the date the painting entered the temple collection rather than an execution date. Further, he suggests that the Jōdo-ji painting is a copy after the Chōfuku-ji work. See his article "Nihon no nehan-zu" in Tanjō to nehan no bijutsu, p. 27.

6 The set of "Five Hundred Rakans" in the Daitoku-ji collection was painted by the artists Lin Tinggui and Zhou Qichang. See Wen Fong, Five Hundred Lohans at the Daitoku-ji (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1954), p. 132. Examples are published in Kyoto National Museum, ed., Daitoku-ji no meihō-ten (Kyoto: Benridō, 1985), pl. 75. Four of the Ryūkō-in set of "Sixteen Rakans" are illustrated in Daitoku-ji no meihō, pl. 76.

7 The inscription by Wuzhun Shifan (1177-1249) is dated 1238. The painting is illustrated in Kyoto National Museum, ed., Zen no bijutsu (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1983), cat. no. 114, pls. 8, 50. Although there are differences in the brushwork and color shading, for instance, an acute realism of the face by means of a meticulous rendering of details and subtle coloring characterizes the chisso, the treatment of the rakan's face in the Hongaku-ji painting can be placed within this tradition.

8 The composition has been trimmed. See Akazawa Eiji, "Kaiseijin Ryōzen hitsu", p. 13.

9 The Kōgaku-ji Daruma ("Red-Robed Bodhidharma") is dated ca. 1271. It bears a colophon by Lanqi Daolong (1231-1278), the Chinese Chan monk whose portrait in Kenchō-ji, also inscribed by the sitter, is dated to this year and, further, both paintings exhibit remarkable stylistic similarities. Color in the Daruma painting, off-white and touches of red in the face, and the red robe, painted in a water-thinned pigment, is used sparingly. The overriding impression is that of an ink monochrome painting because of the fluid lines of the robe and the monochrome ink treatment of the rock platform. The Daruma in the Tokyo National Museum, a pure ink monochrome painting, has a colophon by Yishan Yining (1247-1317). Illustrated in Jan Fontein and Money Hickman, Zen Painting and Calligraphy (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1970), cat. no.20; Zen no bijutsu, cat. no. 60, pl. 20, and cat. no. 61, pl. 101.

10 Illustrated by Akazawa, "Kaiseijin Ryōzen hitsu", fig. 4. The treatment of the motif differs. There is a detailed build up of dry brush strokes and
washes of ink in Ryōzen's form in contrast to a cursive rendering of wet ink strokes in Moku'an's painting. The stylistic source for Moku'an's monkey is the monkey paintings by the Chinese Chan monk Fachang Muqi (Mokukei, died between 1269 and 1274). Examples in the Muqi tradition are the painting in the Ogiwara collection, inscribed by Chinese monk Qingtang jiaoyuan (Kyōdō Kakuen, d. 1306), and a work in the Nakamura collection. Illustrated in Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Kyōdō Kakuen chosan no shosakuhin o megutte," Kokka, 881 (1965), 16 and pl. 4.

11 The hallmark of the Southern Song academic tradition is a realism achieved through descriptive brushwork and color.

12 The Southern Song Chan spontaneous tradition is represented by the rough monochrome ink works of Liang Kai (active first half of 13th century) and Muqi. Ryōzen's works as a whole manifest a movement from orthodox color and gold paintings to pure ink monochrome painting. A comparison of Ryōzen's rakan set in Kennin-ji with his model in Kinryū-ji show his interests. In contrast to his model, Ryōzen's set contains such ink painting motifs as overhanging branches, the sides of cliffs, waterfalls, and rocks, and these landscape forms are executed in outlines and wet washes. Ryōzen's career (active mid-14th century) is discussed by Carla M. Zainie, "Rydzen: From Ebushhi to Ink Painter," Artibus Asiae, 40, 2/3 (1978), 93-123.

13 The historical importance of the Ningpo paintings is the inscriptions, which record the artist's name and address, contain a clue to the dating of the works. Ningpo, called Mingzhou before 1195, was renamed that year to Qingyuanfu. In 1277 the character fu was changed to lu. Watanabe Hajime, "Kanki aru sō-gen butsu-ga," Bijutsu Kenkyu, 45 (September 1935), 425-426 and Suzuki Kei, Mindai kaigashi kenkyū: Seppa (Tokyo: Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1968), p. 105. The inscriptions are reproduced in Watanabe Hajime's article pp. 422-428. These painters are not recorded in Chinese sources. A Japanese source, the Kundaikan sayucho-ki compiled in the late 15th century by Noami and Soami, lists Jin Dashou and Liu Xinzong as Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) painters. Published in Bijutsu kenkyū, 20 (August 1933), 378, 380.

Illustrated in Wenwu Chu Ban She, ed., Yongle Gong Bi Hua Xuan ji, Peking, 1958.

Discussed by Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Ebushii Chûga to sono sakuhin," Bijutsushi, 44 (1962), 134-147. Tanaka states that Chôga's seal is on both paintings. The concept of a Takuma school of painters, begun by Tanaka Ichimatsu, is problematical. Literary information concerning the name Takuma derives from late sources, which are often questionable. Illustrated in Kokka, 683.

Liang Kai's "Shaka Descending from the Mountains" is illustrated in Zen no bijutsu, cat. no. 104, pl. 153.

Professional Chinese Buddhist figure painters drew upon an established stock of form types, drapery patterns, and brush methods. Brushwork had not only to be formbuilding but had to represent the 'manner' of the ancient masters Wu and Cao. The result was a uniform and stereotyped method of figure and drapery drawing. The Wu style brushwork was fluid, constantly thickening and thinning in sweeping lines and curves. Robes were "caught by the wind." Master Cao's formula of close-set parallels produced tight, clinging robes, as if "just out of the water." The opposition of the Wu Daozi and Cao Buxing styles dominated professional Buddhist figure painting throughout the Northern and Southern Song and the Yuan. See the studies of: Alexander Soper, "Standards of Quality in Northern Sung Painting", Archives of Asian Art, 9 (1957), 8-15; Wen Fong, The Lohans and a Bridge to Heaven, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, vol. 3, No. 1 (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1958), 67; Richard Barnhart, "Survivals, Revivals, and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Figure Painting," Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting (Taipei, 1972), pp. 143-210.

The figure of a monk was examined from each work. Shigisan engi, in the collection of Chôgosonshi-ji, is discussed and illustrated in Nihon emakimono zenshû, vol. 2 and Komatsu Shigemi, ed., Nihon emaki taisei (27 vols.; Tokyo: Chuôkôronsha, 1977-1982), vol. 4. Although the dating of the scroll painting is controversial, Japanese historians place it ca. 1156-80. Chôjû giga, dated to ca. late 12th century, is in the Kôzan-ji collection. It is illustrated in Nihon emakimono zenshû, vol. 3 and Nihon emakimomo taisei, vol. 6. Kegon engi, also in the Kôzan-ji collection, is dated ca. 1220-30 and is published in Nihon emakimoto zenshû, vol. 7; and Nihon emaki taisei, vol. 17.

Ippen hijiri-e is in the collection of Kankikô-ji. The inscription on the last scroll states that the text was written by Ippen's disciple Shôkai. The scroll painting is reproduced in Nihon emakimono zenshû, vol. 10.

Treatment of the rakan in the Kongôbu-ji and Kakurin-ji paintings is related to the yamato-e type in the Tokyo National Museum (originally in

22 Tanjō to nehan no bijutsu, p. 35.

23 A mixture of the old and new involves, for instance, the Wu-Cao drapery styles of the Tang Dynasty, the Li-Guo landscape tradition of the Northern Song, and the Li Tang manner of modelling rocks with 'ax-cut' strokes, which became a trademark of the Southern Song Ma-Xia school.

24 An inscription records the completion of construction and decoration in 1158 and the name of the artist. Another inscription bears the date 1167. Events from Shaka's life story are on the west wall and scenes of the life of Hariti are depicted on the east wall. In the 12th century the Yanshang si was a pilgrimage stop on the way to Wutai Shan. Discussed and illustrated in Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky, "The Recently Discovered Chin Dynasty Murals Illustrating the Life of the Buddha at Yen-shang-ssu, Shansi," Artibus Asiae. 42, No.4 (1980), 245-260.

25 These works, "Images of the Patriarchs Transmitting the Right Teaching", "Nine Luminaries and Other Divinities," and "Prajnaparamita and Sixteen Lokapalas", are discussed and illustrated in the following studies: Nakano Genzō "Sō shōrōai zuzo no denpa," Kokka. 1026 (1979), 16-37; Hamada Ryūhen, "Zuzō", Nihon no bijutsu. 12, No. 55, 45-46; Ono Genmyō, "Tōmitsu godai chōsō jidai no bukkyō-ga," Kokka. 513, 514, 516-519, 524, 528-529. The Denpō sheishū teisō-zu, dated to 1154, is based on a rubbing from a stele erected at Wanshou yuan in Suzhou in 1064. Comparable also is the 13th century drawing of Ženshū rakusō-zu("Six Patriarchs of the Chan Sect") in the Kōzan-ji collection. It is possibly a copy of a Chinese work from Chuanfa yuan at Laoyang sent over by the Japanese monk Jōjin (1011-1081). Illustrated in Kokka. 524, 186; and Jan Fontein and Money Hickman, Zen Painting and Calligraphy, cat. no. 1.

26 Mizuno Keisaburo identified Myōson as a member of the edokoro of Kōfuku-ji's Ichijō-in in his article in Kokka. 468. The painting is now in the Fujita Museum of Art, Osaka. An identical but later copy, placed in the late 14th century, is published by Mizuno Keisaburo in Kokka. 883.

27 Compare a figure from the Shigisan engi, the Kegon engi, a Nirvāṇa painting published in Kokka 605, and an inscribed Nirvāṇa painting in the Nezu Museum collection published by Tanaka Ichimatsu in Kokka 834. The inscription on the scroll rod states the work was painted jointly by father and son, Gyōyu and Senyu, members of the Toda guild of Kōfuku-ji's Daijō-in, in Jōwa 1 (1345).

II.3. **Iconographic Examination**

Specific iconographic features of the **bassò** group of paintings further corroborate the relative dates of execution determined by means of comparative morphological analysis. First, distinct differences are evident in the iconography of the Nirvāṇa proper. Second, the iconography of the side scenes of the Ryūgan-ji and Jōdo-ji paintings can also provide clues to the historical positions of the paintings.

With the Nirvāṇa scene, changes occur in the type and appearance of members of the guardian retinue. In contrast to the Kongōbu-ji painting and the Jōdo-ji and Chōfuku-ji paintings, the ferocious aspect of some of the retinue, angry-faced with hair standing on end, is emphasized in the Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings. Moreover, in the Ryūgan-ji painting a multi-limbed figure with one head, three eyes, upward-pointing fangs, four arms and attributes of a spear, rope and wheel resembles in appearance the class of wrathful deities and guardians of the esoteric (mikkyō) pantheon (plate VIII).¹ Because of the domination of organized esoterism (junmitsu) throughout the Heian Period, this might lead one to conclude that the witnesses to Buddha's Nirvāṇa included the members of the esoteric pantheon. However, the identification of this figure is difficult. The figure does not correspond to esoteric guardians like the jōniten nor to such likely choices as the wrathful aspects of Shaka, for example Munōshōkongō or Taigensuikumyōō.² The **Hokubon-nehan-gyō** , written before the rise of Vajrayāna, obviously does not mention esoteric deities as being present at the event. A list of the 'fifty-two beings' in the **Kakuzen-shō**, an early 13th century iconographic compilation by the Shingon monk Kakuzen (1143-
adheres to the enumeration given in the 40 volume Mahāyāna sutra. Moreover, a Muromachi painting by Tosa no kami Keiko in the collection of Kōshō-ji is labelled, and there are no esoteric figures.

The problem of identification in later copies is compounded by such discrepancies as changes in attributes and characteristics, and a mixing of figure types from the different painting models. The guardian retinue in a painting in Zenrin-ji is a combination of elements from both the Ryūgan-ji and Jōdo-ji paintings, clearly indicative of a later date. In the Zenrin-ji painting and in a Nirvāṇa image in the collection of Myōkō-ji the figure-type in question now has six arms and holds a vajra instead of a wheel. In addition to this figure, a multi-armed female figure is included in a Nirvāṇa painting in Chion-ji. She can be identified as the 8th century unstructured Tantric (zōmitsu) form of Benzaiten, but the problematical male figure is perhaps best seen as another member of the zōmitsu pantheon.

Although the changes in the iconography of the exoteric (kengyō) guardian figures suggests an infusion of influence from the esoteric pantheon, a more reasonable explanation is the transformation of certain members of Shaka’s traditional guardian retinue due to the influences of Song iconographical drawings of esoteric icons. This is substantiated by comparison to the works dated to the second half of the 12th century cited earlier, the 1165 scroll of Hannyā jūroku zenshin zuzō and the undated, although stylistically contemporaneous, copy of the Senjukannon to nijūhachibushū in the Tokyo National Museum. Points of similarity between these works and the Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings are the iconographic type of the ferocious guardian figure and the attributes and characteristics of the one-headed asura in each example. Other sets of
iconographical drawings, for example the Kuyō tō zuzō dated to 1164 and the Tōbon hokuto mandara, also serve as concretely dated comparative material for the iconographic type of the ferocious figure. These icons were not based upon esoteric canonical texts but were popular in esoteric astrology, whose rites were conducted to invoke powers for protection and divination. The significance of these drawings is their transmission by esoteric monks. Jitsunin (1098-1169) of Kajū-ji, a Shingon temple, commissioned both the Hannya jūroku zenshin zuzō and the Kuyō tō zuzō, a copy of which was in the Kanchi-in of Tō-ji and in Daigo-ji. The protypes of the drawings are thought to have been copied and sent over from China by Jōjin (1098-1169), a monk originally associated with Daiun-ji, a subtemple of the esoteric Tendai Mii-dera. Tradition records that the Hokuto mandara was a personal possession of the Shingon monk-painter Genshō (1145-1208). A reformation, which involved the unification and systemization of the various schools of esoteric Buddhism, marked the period from the mid-12th to the early 13th century. Symptomatic of this reform movement was the conflation of disparate iconographies and the tendency to interpret exoteric in the context of esoteric. This disposition can be seen in the iconographical encyclopedias compiled by Shingon monks active in this movement, Shinkaku (1117-1180), Genshō, and Kakuzen. The Ryūgan-ji painting was originally in the possession of the Negoro-ji in Kii (presentday Wakayama Prefecture), a temple founded by the monk Kakuban (1095-1143), an instigator of this movement.

Each member of the hachibushō in the paintings in Jōdo-ji, Hongaku-ji, and Chōfuku-ji can be easily identified, for example the Mahoraga with a snake headdress, the lion crown of the Gandharva, and the elephant
headdress of the *gobujō* (plates VII, XXII, XXXII). In the Ryūgan-ji and Manju-ji paintings, distinctions between members of the retinues are somewhat blurred. Although there are differences in attributes and features, in the main there is more accord between the Jōdo-ji, Hongaku-ji, and Chōfuku-ji figures and the Tempyō Period sculptural groups in the Hōryū-ji and Kōfuku-ji. Rather than fiery haloes of hair standing on end, and bared fangs, the figures of the retinue are more human in appearance. There is a return to the earlier iconographic conventions of the retinue in the paintings in Jōdo-ji, Hongaku-ji and Chōfuku-ji; for instance, the asura is three-headed. However, new influences are evident. The iconographic type of asura, as well as such characteristics as the hairdo, the enraged facial expression, and the motif of flames around the head and shoulders, is identical to the sculptured asura of the *nijūhachibushū* in the Myōhō-in (Sanjūssangendō). Although the attributes of this sculptured figure are no longer extant, the extended forefinger of the right central hand would certainly have balanced a wheel upon its fingertip as seen in the painted versions. The sculptural group by Tankei is dated to the restoration of the Sanjūssangendō, Kenchō 3 (1251) to Bunei 3 (1266). The dramatic and picturesque features of the group suggest a pictorial prototype dated later than the 12th century Song iconographical drawings.

The Nirvāṇa proper of the Jōdo-ji painting contains obvious references to Pure Land paintings (plate VII). In place of the motif of the descent of Māyā, flying and ribboned musical instruments, and two adoring groups of figures, a bodhisattva and attendants on the left, and a monk and triad on the right, are depicted. These motifs, the orthodox symbols of an
otherworldly and pleasurable realm, are common to the three types of *jōdo hensō* paintings in Japan.\(^\text{12}\)

The composition of the *jōdo-ji* painting makes an overt reference to the *Taima mandala*. The arrangement of the side scenes in three outer rows at the sides and bottom of the central scene is identical to the composition of the *Taima mandala*. The significant point is that this arrangement is characteristic to the *Taima hensō* in Japan and is a set configuration throughout its Japanese tradition, in contrast to the variations seen in the arrangement and reading method of the Dunhuang versions of this *hensō*. The disposition of the side scenes into three outer rows pictorializes Shandao's interpretation of the *Kanmuryōju-kyō* as detailed in his *Commentary* on the sutra. The substantiating evidence is the division of the sixteen meditations into two groups of thirteen (on the right side of the painting) and three, which are subdivided into the nine degrees of birth (the bottom court). This division of the meditations is the point that distinguishes Shandao's interpretation from that of the many other commentators on the sutra.\(^\text{13}\) There is a total of sixteen scenes in the *jōdo-ji* painting. It is not difficult to make an explicit connection between the number of scenes and the sixteen meditations, the key thrust of the *Kanmuryōju-kyō*'s teachings expounded by the historical Buddha.

Literary accounts document the rise of the *Taima mandala* in Japanese consciousness in the 13th century. The rediscovery of the *Taima mandala* in the Kenpō era (1213-1218) by Hōnen's disciple Shōkū Zennebō (1117-1247) is recounted in the *Taima mandara chûki*.\(^\text{14}\) Shōkū described his joy at finding the icon because it visually depicted the teachings of his master Hōnen and the Chinese Patriarch Shandao.
After Shōkū’s rediscovery of it, the Taima mandala was to become the most important icon in the Japanese Pure Land tradition. Although Shōkō stated that he had the Taima mandala copied, facts regarding the first transmission of the icon are recorded in the Taima mandara sho written by the monk Yūyo Shōsō in 1436. According to this account, a copy of the mandala was painted in Kenpō 5 (1217). The second stage of the transmission occurred in 1237. Shōkū and his disciple Jissōbō commissioned the artist Chōen Hokkyō to make copies of the mandala, which they donated to various temples throughout Japan. Literary accounts also credit Shōkū with distributing block-printed versions in Japan and sending copies to China. The proliferation of copies of the Taima mandala throughout the 13th century attested to a newly rising and powerful Pure Land movement.

The medium of the handscroll (emaki) provides concrete evidence of the acceleration of the Pure Land movement begun by Hōnen and the proselytizing fervor of this movement in the 13th century. Jōdo adherents began to use the handscroll as an easy and effective instrument of mass communication. The scroll painting itself was performed (etoki) by “picture explaining monks and nuns”. Significant in this context is the handscroll of the Taima mandara engi emaki. The scroll, which pictorializes the legend of the origin of the 8th century mandala, contains a scene of Amida, disguised as a nun, explaining the newly woven image to Chūjōhime. The composition of the Jōdo-ji painting, borrowed from the newly retrieved Taima mandala, makes explicit the didactic function of the side scenes.

Kawahara Yoshio, in his study of the Taima mandala engi emaki, proposes as the petitioner of the handscroll a nun from the Imperial Family, Shōmyō Monin (1171-1257), a disciple of Shōkū, and a date of 1257 for
the work. A comparison between the Jōdo-ji painting and the handscroll further supports the Jōdo-ji’s date of execution as being in the second half of the 13th century. The iconographic type of the figure of Monju bosatsu, termed gokei in reference to the five knots of his hairdo, is common to both works (plate XVIII). Monju’s individualized presence is unusual in an Amida raigō scene and unique to this handscroll. The type of Monju is identical to a paper figure of the bodhisattva, dated to Bunei 6 (1269) and made in connection with the vow of seclusion by the priestess Shinnyo of Chugu-ji, and to a wooden figure of Monju found within a larger Monju image that was dedicated in 1293 to commemorate the influential Nara Shingon-Ritsu revivalist, Eizon (1201-1290). A Monju cult, which was part of a broader religious phenomenon, centered around Eizon and his disciple Ninshō (1211-1303). The nun Shinnyo was a disciple of Eizon.

There is no direct documentation regarding the historical position of the Jōdo-ji painting other than the inscription of the Kokawa-dera monk, which simply records his 41st birthday. Although the date of the inscription need not be the same as the date of the work, certain stylistic and iconographic features place the execution of the painting in the second half of the 13th century. However, a problem, to be investigated later, is revealed in the iconographic study of the painting. The Jōdo-ji painting can be identified with either of the two movements that dominated the second half of the 13th century. On the one hand, the format suggests a Pure Land substructure and placement in a Jōdo context. On the other hand, the Bunei era was the time of Eizon’s active propagation of the cult of the Buddha’s relics (shari) and the Shaka nembutsu-e.
The addition of the Inga-kyō life cycle to the iconographic programme of the Ryūgan-ji painting indicates a 13th century date. The subject matter of the appended unit can definitely be linked to the peak of the revival movement of the Nara sects.

A spirit of retrospection and reform underlies the biographies, the religious treatises, and the liturgical writings of the monks involved in this revival movement. Specific activities associated with Nara Period (710-794) Buddhism, especially veneration for Shaka as the historical Buddha, flourished again. In the artistic sphere this renewal consisted of a renaissance of ancient Nara Period iconography and style. For example, an iconographic pastiche of elements belonging to eighth-century sources is conspicuous in the Kusha mandala. Significant in this context is the recopying of the E-inga-kyō. The Kenchō 6 set of scrolls established a precedent as regards artist—motive of patronage for the later 13th and 14th century copies. Although the reason for this and the identities of the artists and patrons of the Kenchō 6 version of the E-inga-kyō are still problematical, Tanaka Ichimatsu argues that the identity of the calligrapher places the project in the Nara locale and links it to the transmission of the eighth century scrolls which bear the seal of Kōfuku-ji, thus giving the copy a pedigree.

The re-appearance of the hassō style life story of Shaka during the Kamakura Period was also symptomatic of this 'looking back to the ancients'. The large painting in the Daifukuden-ji and the sets of paintings in Kuon-ji, Jikō-ji, and Jōraku-ji must be considered in the context of the Kamakura period Shaka cult. Although Nara Period paintings do not survive, there is literary evidence for Nara Period precedents of the Shaka hassō. As was
concluded with the *E-inga-k'yô*, these works and the Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings are not based upon a common tradition because the differences of format and iconography cannot be reconciled.

The four hanging scrolls in the MOA collection offer the closest comparison to the Ryûgan-ji painting in terms of iconography and format (plate LVII). The *Inga-k'yô*-style life story is depicted in a vertical composition. The Tang Dynasty silk banner paintings from Dunhuang are evidence that this cycle was executed in a vertical format during the Nara Period. A simplification of iconography is evident in the MOA set, for example, the two guardians are missing in the scene of the seven steps and ritual bath, the athletic trials are not depicted, and the number of incidents in the metamorphosis from prince to ascetic has been reduced. It is a later copy after the Ryûgan-ji and the Tsurugi-jinja paintings, and the stylistic properties confirm its late position in the sequence of copies. Japanese art historians date the MOA set to the late 13th century. Because it follows the Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings, the MOA set should originally have been combined with a Nirvâna scene. In short, the preceding historical analysis serves to substantiate the placement of the Ryûgan-ji, Tsurugi-jinja, and MOA scrolls in the 13th century Kamakura revival movement that was marked by Myôe Shônin’s retrieval and reproduction of Shaka’s life story.

1Compare the figure to the *Myôô* class of deities in the *Jimyô-in* of the *Taizôkai mandara* (Womb World Mandala).
2The attributes of the *jûniten* ("Twelve Devas") do not correspond. See T, XCII, zuzô 7, pp. 567-644. Examples of Munôshômyôô are in Zuzôshô, T, LXXXVIII, zuzô 3, no. 87; *Besson-zakkô*, T,LXXXVIII, zuzô 3, no. 226; *Kakuzen-shô*, T,XC, zuzô 5, no. 56 and 57. Types of Taigensuimyôô are
illustrated in *Besson-zakki*, zuzō 3, nos. 230, 231; *Kakuzen-shō*, zuzō 5, nos. 323, 324, 325.

3 *T.LXXXIX*, zuzō 4, p. 495.

4 A Kanei 17 (1640) restoration notation on the back of the painting states the work was painted in Hōtoku 3 (1451). See *Nehan-zu no meisaku*, cat. no. 31. Further research is required in order to confirm the dating of the labelling.

5 Illustrated in *Nehan-zu no meisaku*, pls. 21, 18, and 20.

6 See the 8th century sculptured figure in the Hokke-dō of Tōdai-ji illustrated in *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, vol. 10, Tōdai-ji, part 2, pls. 43, 110-114.

7 Compare the wrathful figures no. 8 and 9 of the *Kuyō to zuzō*, which is illustrated in T, XCII, zuzō 7, pp. 45-46, and those in the Tokyo Museum *Senjukannon to nijūhachibushū* ("Thousand Armed Kannon and Twenty-eight Guardians"), which is illustrated in Hamada, "Zuzō," fig. 124. Another copy of the *Senjukannon* is illustrated in *Besson-zakki*, T, LXXXVIII, zuzō 3, p.154. Although the type of asura compares, the difference is that the wrathful nature of the asura is stressed in the Manju-ji and Ryūgan-ji paintings. This asura-type is seen in the Nirvāṇa paintings in Henmyō-in, Jishō-in and Ishiyama-dera. The *Tohon hokuto mandara* ("Tang version Northern Star mandala") is illustrated in T.XCII, zuzō 7, p. 52.

8 Refer to note 25 on page 69 for the studies consulted.


10 Illustrated in *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, vol. 3, Hōryū-ji, part 3, pls. 56, 667-3; and vol. 7, Kōfuku-ji, part 1, pls. 132-147, 178-197.


12 The three types of paintings of Amida’s Pure Land in Japan are the Taima mandala, the Chikō mandala, and the Shōkai mandala. The tiny figures are Buddhhas (kebutsu) and attendants. Illustrated in Nara National Museum, ed., *Jōdo mandala - gokuraku jōdo to raigō no roman* (April 24-May 29 1983), pls. 30, 31, 48, 75. The Chikō mandala is recorded in the *Kakuzen-shō*, T, LXXXIX, zuzō 4, plate 37. The motifs of ribboned instruments and descending figures other than Mäyā are also seen in the Nirvāṇa paintings in the collections of Jōkyō-ji, Ishiyama-dera, and the Tokyo Museum.


17Her name was Minamoto Ako and her religious name was Nyōkan. Kawahara, "Taima mandara engi emaki," pp. 120-126.

1Ibid., pp.118-122.

19Now in Saidai-ji’s Hondō. An inscription inside the lion, dated 1293, records the beginning of the project and states it is to commemorate the 13th death anniversary of Eizōn. The sculpture group was completed in Shōan 4 (1302). See also Kurata Bunsaku, "Zōnai no nyūhin," Nihon no bijutsu, 7, No. 86 (1973), 59-60.

20Ninshō, who became Eizōn’s disciple in Eno 1 (1239), had made a personal vow to revere Monju. As early as 1244 Eizōn and Ninshō propagated a cult of Monju in order to achieve the salvation of outcasts, criminals and beggars (hinin). However, the first image of Monju commissioned by Eizōn relates to his activities at Hannyaji, Nara between Kenchō 7 (1255) and Bunei 4 (1269). Kawahara, "Taima mandara engi emaki," p. 122.


23The Kusha mandala is dated to the mid-12th century, the beginning of the Nara revival movement. See the article by Kameda Tsutomu, "Nara jidai no sôtshizō to Kusha mandara ni tsuite," Ars Buddhica, 1 (1948), 31-55.


Although no Heian Period examples survive, the *Eiga monogatari* (vol.17) records a *Shaka bassō jōden* was depicted on the door panels of the Kon-dō of Hōshō-ji, erected in 1022 by Fujiwara Michinaga. See Fujita Tsuneyo, vol. 2, p. 29; and the article by Ienaga Saburo, "Hōjō-ji no sōken", *Bijutsu kenkyū*, 104, 243-245.

26Illustrate in Matsumoto Eiichi, *Tonkō-ga no kenkyū*, vol. 2, pls. 79 a,b and 27*Buddha Shason7sono shōgai to zōkei*, p. 358.
MYÔE SHÔNIN AND THE KAMAKURA NIRVĀṆA PAINTING TRADITION

In this chapter I will investigate the influence of Myôe Shônin (1172-1232), a Shingon monk and Kegon revivalist, on the Japanese tradition of Nirvâna paintings. As mentioned in the Introduction, Japanese art historians Nakano Genzô and Yanagisawa Taka have suggested a connection between the Shizakôshiki, the Nirvâna liturgy by Myôe Shônin, and Type II Song Chinese Nirvâna painting. In order to better substantiate this relation, I will examine Myôe Shônin's ritual narratives and relate the thematic aspects of his kôshiki and other religious and artistic works commissioned by him to the specific iconographic changes unique to the 13th century in Japanese Buddhist art.

III.1. Shizakôshiki

Myôe Shônin wrote his series of liturgies in 1215 (Kenpô 3). There are correspondences between Genshin's and Myôe's versions (for example, the facts of the story, some of the textual underpinning, and the doctrines expounded) and these testify to a continuing orthodox tradition. However, the two are easily distinguished. Genshin's text concerns only the Nirvâna proper. Myôe's text, on the other hand, is composed of four works: the
Nehan kōshiki (Nirvāṇa Formulary), Jūroku rakan kōshiki (Sixteen Arhats Formulary), Yuishaku kōshiki (Traces Formulary), and Shari kōshiki (Relics Formulary). The emphasis and themes of the two works differ; and the detail of Myōe’s Shizakōshiki contrasts with the short dramatic presentation of Genshin’s work.

In Nirvāṇa Text M, the setting is described with phrases similar to those of Text G:

At Kusināgara by the River Hiranyakavi
Beneath the paired trees of the sala grove.

As in Text G, the members of the assembled crowd in Text M are drawn from the preface of the Hokuhon Daihatsu-nehan-gyo:

On the morning of the fifteenth day of the second month
He announced his last farewell to the ears of the fifty-two classes:
Bodhisattvas, sravakas, gods, nagas, and the eight-fold multitude.
First to the Mahābodhisattvas, as many as the sands of the River Ganges,
And last, to bees and insects of an infinite number.
Raksasa kings, as many as the sands of eighty River Ganges, headed by Awesome Raksasa;
Lion kings, as many as the sands of twenty River Ganges, headed by King Lion’s Roar;
And flocks of wild ducks, wild geese, and mandarin ducks, both male and female;
And water buffalo, oxen, and sheep;
All were touched by the light and heard the voice, and each one conceived thoughts of distress.
Men and gods, carrying gold, silver, and gems,
Birds and beasts, holding in their mouths stems of flowers and leaves of trees,
All went to pay homage amongst the paired trees, and gathered together before the Tathāgata.
The difference between Text G and B lies in the types of witnesses the authors choose to list. In Text M, the beasts are as important as men and gods. Whereas Text G states generally that birds, beasts and insects were present, Text M mentions specific animal types and families. In contrast to the Hokuhon-nehan-gyō and Text G, the names of bodhisattvas, disciples, and laymen are not given in Text M. Text G is specific; Text M gives a more impressionistic rendition of a vast crowd of mourners. This feature distinguishes the Type I and II Nirvāṇa scenes proper.

The Parinirvāṇa pose stated in the opening gatha of Text M is identical to that of Text G:

He lay down on his right side,
His head to the north and his face to the west.

However, the description of the Buddha's entry into Nirvāṇa is much more detailed in Text M:

His whole body gently reclined and he lay down on his right side;
His head was pillowed to the north,
His feet were pointed to the south,
His face was turned to the west,
And his back to the east.

This is a direct quote from the Gobun. The facial features of the Buddha are dwelt upon:

Immediately He entered into the fourth dhyana and arrived at Great Nirvāṇa.
His blue lotus eyes closed and forever terminates the subtle smile of goodwill and compassion;
His red cherry lips were silent and put an end to the merciful voice of the Great Brahmā.

Neither the Nirvāṇa sutras nor Text G focus on the Buddha's physical appearance. Text M reveals a more personal and intimate feeling towards the Buddha. This is reflected in the relaxed pose of the Type II Buddha.

In contrast to Text G, Text M elaborates on the crowd's grief in lengthy and emotion-laden detail. Particular attention is given to the reaction of the animal realm:

At that time the arhats, whose outflows had ceased, forgot the joy of the establishment of their own proper religious conduct.
The bodhisattvas, who had mounted the stages, cast aside their insight into the fact that the Dharmas were unborn (and unperishing).
The Vajrāpani discarded his diamond mace and shrieked to the heavens;
Mahābrāhma threw down his silk net banner and collapsed to the ground;
Raksasa kings, as many as the sands of eighty Ganges, extended their tongues and fainted;
Lion kings, as many as the sands of twenty Ganges, flung down their bodies and howled and roared;
Flocks of wild ducks and wild geese, and mandarin ducks, both male and female, all harbored grief;
Poisonous serpents and evil scorpions, one and all lamented;
Lions and tigers, boars and deer forgot to attack one another;
Large monkeys and wild dogs licked each others' necks and commiserated with one another...

This abandonment to grief is in keeping with the descriptions in the Hokuhon-nehan-gyō and the Mahāmāyā-kyō. The following passage is taken directly from the Gobun:5

Some followed the Buddha into extinction;
Others lost consciousness;
Some shuddered in body and mind;
Some held hands and wept and wailed together;
Some continuously beat their breasts and uttered great shrieks;
Some, raising their hands, struck their heads and tore out their hair;
And some bled from all over their bodies, dripping onto the ground.
In this way, the different beings made different sounds
And each and everyone of the great multitude voiced grief.

The grief of Mahâmâyâ and the Vajrâpani is also mentioned:

There is the place where Mahâmâyâ descended from heaven and wept for the Tathagata.
There is the place where the Vajrâpani sank to the ground and threw down his golden mace.

This passage paraphrases the account of their grief in the travel records to India by two Chinese monks, Faxian's *The Travels of Faxian* and Xuanzang's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. 6

Text M recounts the lamentation of nature. However, in contrast to Text G, the landscape elements play a major role in the story:

The sound of the waves of the River Hiranavati induced parting sighs;
The voice of the wind in the sala grove inspired yearning thoughts.
Everywhere the great earth shook and lofty mountains were rent asunder;
Oceans boiled and seethed and the rivers dried up;
Plants and forests all gave forth sounds of sorrow;
Mountains, rivers, and the great earth chanted words of pain and affliction.

Nature's grief is as profound as that displayed by the sentient beings of the Buddhist cosmos. The emphasis given to the response of the sala trees in Part IV, "The Traces of the Paired Trees" (*Sôrin no yuishaku o agu towa*), is
unique to Text M. Again, the author quotes directly from canonical sources; the Daitô-saiiki-ki, the Gobun, and the Daihatsu-nehan-gyô-shô:

North-west of the city of Kusinâgara
On the west bank of the River Hiranyavati
There was a sala grove.
Those trees resembled oaks and their bark was green, their foliage white.
Four of the trees were especially tall.
This was the site of the Tathagata's extinction.7

The sutra says the following:8
When the Great Enlightened World-Honored One had entered into Nirvâña
The two pairs of sala trees in the east and the west joined and became one;
The two pairs in the north and south combined and became one;
Drooping down over the jeweled couch, they shaded the Tathagata.
Those trees, in sorrow, suddenly turned white like white cranes;
Their branches, foliage, flowers, and fruit burst open and cascaded down;
Gradually, they weakened and withered, decayed and fell apart, until nothing remained.

Other accounts say:9
The height of those trees was 50 feet,
The roots below joined and the branches above united;
The grain (of the bark) intertwined;
The foliage was luxuriant and the flowers resembled wheels;
The fruit was large as a jar and its taste was sweet as honey.

The narrative of Text G is a vehicle to elucidate the Daihatsu-nehan-gyô's and Hoke-kyô's abstruse teaching of Eternal Buddhahood. Text M presents sacred history as a moving and detailed account of the last hours of Shaka, a man who lived on earth and died.10 The historical event and its concrete actuality are stressed in contrast to Text G's disregard for the natural and the literal. The narrative thrust of Text M, which draws together
many canonical renditions of the story, is paralleled in the illustrative Type II Nirvāṇa scene. The highly iconic disposition of the Type I painting is displaced in the Type II Nirvāṇa scene by an emphasis on the tall trees and the realistic and dramatic responses of grief.

In contrast to Text G, the *Nehan kōshiki* of Text M is a more exhaustive story of the Parinirvāṇa. In addition to the Nirvāṇa proper, the episodes that occurred before and after Shaka’s entry into Nirvāṇa are related. Common to both works is Buddha’s ascension above the sala trees and his announcement of Nirvāṇa. However, whereas Text G’s rendering stresses the *Hokuhon-nehan-kyō*’s and *Hoke-kyō*’s reiterated theme of the Buddha’s eternalness and his contrived ‘display’ of Nirvāṇa as a teaching device (*hōben*), Text M’s version is narrative.11 The other incidents described in the section of Text M entitled “The Grief of the Cremation” (*Dabi no aishō o agu towa*) are: the inability of the strong Mallas to lift the coffin; the wondrous event of the flying coffin; the homage of Mahākasyapa and the cremation; and the division of the relics.12 A comparison between Text M and the *bassō* group of paintings is significant. These five scenes of the Nirvāṇa cycle are depicted in the Ryūgan-ji painting, as opposed to the Nirvāṇa cycle of eight events represented in the Manju-ji-Hemyō-in type and the Kōsan-ji-Saikyō-ji type (plates VIII, V, VI, XIV, XV). Text M does not mention the incidents of Cunda’s offering and the Buddha’s miraculous resurrection, and these two scenes have been omitted from the Ryūgan-ji format.

The Ryūgan-ji’s Nirvāṇa scene proper and its five-scene Nirvāṇa cycle serve as a visual counterpart to the *Nehan kōshiki* of Text M. However, unlike the one-to-one relationship demonstrated between the *Nehan kōshiki*
and the Ryūgan-ji’s Nirvāṇa cycle, direct correspondences between the other texts of the *Shizakōshi* and the appended life cycle in the Ryūgan-ji painting are not at first apparent. A clue is provided in Part IV of the *Neban kōshiki*, “The Traces of the Paired Trees.” The following refers to the journeys of Chinese monks to India:

North of the city and across the river some three hundred-odd paces is the place where the Tathagata’s body was cremated. The ground is now yellow-black and the soil is mixed with ash and charcoal. If, with extreme sincerity, you seek and pray, you may perhaps find some relics;\(^{13}\)

Like Master Deng (Tōhōshi), who crossed the vastness of the flowing sands and scaled the summit of the Snow Peaks.\(^{14}\)

The *Yuishaku kōshiki* elaborates on the motifs, places, and incidents associated with the life of the historical Buddha. Textual sources for the narrative are the travel accounts of Hokken and Genjō. Part I of the *Yuishaku kōshiki*, “The Miracles of the Bodhi Tree” (*Besshite bodaiju no ryōi o agu towa*), recounts various wondrous stories about the tree beneath which Buddha attained enlightenment.\(^{15}\) In Part II, “The Various Traces” (*Subete shosho no yuishaku o agu towa*), the legends of specific places where the Buddha had lived and taught, and of the sites of jataka stories, where, as a bodhisattva, he performed self-sacrificing acts, are given.\(^{16}\)

Part IV, “Those who Loved the Traces” (*Yuishaku no renmo no hito o agu towa*), focuses upon the monk Hokken, the intrepid Chinese pilgrim who journeyed to India in search of Buddhist texts. The hardships he encountered and surmounted on route, and his determination to pay reverence to the holy sites of Buddhism despite life-threatening dangers are extolled.\(^{17}\)
A connection can be established between the painted life cycle of Shaka and Text M's rendering of the tales of Buddha's traces and of the Chinese monks' pilgrimages to India (plates XXV-XXIX). The concept of the 'eight great sacred stupas' (hachidai-reitō) is the underlying theme of the *Yuishaku kōshiki* and is recited as the final gatha of Part II, "The Various Traces":

The stupa at the birthplace in the palace of King Suddhodana,
The stupa of the attainment of Buddhahood beneath the Bodhi Tree,
The stupa of the Dharma-wheel in the Wilderness Park,
The stupa of the distinguished name Anathapindika.
The stupa of the jeweled staircases in Kanyakubja,
The stupa of wisdom on Gridhrakuta,
The stupa of Vimalakirti in the Grove of the Keeper of Mangos,
The stupa of the Nirvāṇa in the Sala Grove.¹⁹

Myōe has quoted this passage from the *Daijō-honjō-shinjikan-gyō*. The purport of this sutra is also paraphrased in the opening of the *Yuishaku kōshiki*:

Homage to the places in which all beings and devas were converted and to the traces in various places in which the Great Saint conducted his teaching activities.

The eight stupas commemorate the major events of the Buddha's life story. The four incidents of primary importance, his Birth, Enlightenment, First Sermon, and Nirvāṇa, were expanded by the inclusion of miraculous occurrences connected with his teaching and converting career. The centers of the stories became in time the holy cities of pilgrimages. The purpose of Hokken 's and Genjō 's journeys, in addition to procuring texts and studying with Indian Buddhist masters, was to visit the consecrated sites associated
with the Buddha's history. Both monks recorded all the current miracles and legends about the Buddha, citing from the earliest sources as well as the embroidered and apocryphal accounts of later texts and commentaries. The iconography of the Ryūgan-ji-Tsurugi-jinja life cycle corresponds to the accounts in the travel records, suggesting another source of textual evidence for artistic motifs besides the Inga-kyō.

Hokken's lament that he was not alive during the Buddha's lifetime on earth in Part IV of the *Yuishaku kōshiki* is echoed throughout the four parts of the liturgy. Each text of the kōshiki is premised upon the fact of the beings' misfortune to live in an age after the passing of Buddha. The constantly reiterated questions are: how are we, the beings of the remote regions in these Latter Days of the Dharma, to console ourselves? and what can we rely on? The result is the sense of a profound separation from, and yearning for, the Buddha, who entered Nirvāṇa a long time ago, and whose traces and relics are myriads of leagues away. The classic doctrine of 'accomodation' is the main theme of the *Shizakōshiki*. However, in contrast to Genshin's Hoke-kyō-based presentation of this traditional principle, Myōe illustrates the doctrine by means of themes intimately connected with the historical Buddha's life story. A special affinity with the Buddha is effected through these tales of the rakans, the traces, and the relics, and, similar to Hokken's night on Gridhrakuta, this incites devotion and provides a cathartic experience for the listeners.

III.2. Myōe Shōnin and the Shaka Cult
Myōe Shōnin's life-long desire was to travel to India, and twice he made expedition plans, the first time during the winter of 1202-1203 and the second in the spring of 1205. The Kōzan-ji possesses a document written by Myōe in which he calculated, based upon Genjō's Daitō-saiiki-ki, the distance and time it would take him to travel from Changan, the Chinese capital, to Rajagriha in Magadha, Central India. Myōe held the monks who had made the journey to India to worship the vestiges of Shaka in great reverence, and he aspired to emulate the pilgrim Genjō. Both times, however, in compliance with the prohibitory oracles of the Kasuga daimyōjin, the tutelary deity of the Fujiwara clan, Myōe abandoned his plans to go abroad.

Myōe’s performances of the Nirvāṇa ceremony during the period when his desire to make a pilgrimage to India was uppermost in his mind were recorded by his disciples. Kōshin describes in the Kōzan-ji engi a ceremony conducted at Itono in the province of Kii. The ritual objects included a living tree which symbolized the Bodhi tree, an arrangement of stones likened to the "diamond throne" (kongōza), and a stupa called "Jeweled stupa of the attainment of Buddhahood in the vicinity of Gaya in the country of Magadha" (Magadakuni [nd] gayajōhen jōbutsu hōtō). These motifs from the Buddha's life story, drawn from Genjō's travel account, were later incorporated into the Yuishaku kōshiki. In a ceremony performed in 1204 (Genkyū 1) for the Yuasa family of Kii, Myōe read the Jūmujin-in shari kōshiki ("The Jūmujin-in Ceremony of the Relics"), before a Nirvāṇa image. This liturgy, like the later Shizakōshiki, elaborated on the life of Shaka from his birth to Nirvāṇa, his traces, and his relics. His disciple Kikai recounts how Myōe became so distraught with grief at the
description of Buddha's entry into Nirvana that he himself had to continue
the reading of the text. Myōe wrote and performed the Shizakōshiki in 1215, and the following year Kikai documented the method of celebration
established at Kōzan-ji in Nehan-e bōshiki ("The Form of the Nirvana
Service"). The main icon was a Nirvana image; to the left (east) were images
of the sixteen rakan, to the right (west) was an image of "[Shaka beneath]
the Bodhi tree" (bodaiju-zō), and a representation of Shaka's reliquary
(sharichō) was placed between the images of the Nirvana and the bodaiju.
In addition to the reading of the Shizakōshiki, the Yuikyō-gyō, the last
instructions of Buddha before his Nirvana, Myōe's favorite sutra since he
first read it at the age of eighteen, was expounded and chanted.

Although written in 1215, the thematic aspects of the four-part
kōshiki can be linked to events and concerns central to Myōe's life and
religious practices. An ordained Shingon monk and a Kegon revivalist,
Myōe made a personal choice to follow the historical Buddha. Following the
loss of his parents at nine years of age, he began very early in life to
identify Shaka as his "affectionate father" and himself as a "loving son".
This is seen, for example, in his inscription on a painting of Butsugen
Butsumo in the Kōzan-ji collection. Butsugen Butsumo became for Myōe a symbol of, and
replacement for, his dead mother. Myōe's biographies contain many
incidents in which his actions as a youth and young man paralleled those of
Shaka. His seclusion at twenty-three in a grass hut on Mount Shirakami in
his native province of Kii to practice religious austerities and to read and
study the sutras was in this vein. Myōe's desire to go to India began
during this period of solitary retreat (1195-1197). Included among the favored texts Myōe took to study were both the biography of Genjō and the Daitō-saiiki-ki. Myōe compiled his own record of the sacred sites in Japanese using these two works as references. He also conceived at this time a deep affinity with the rakans, disciples with whom Shaka entrusted the Dharma and who, as teachers of the beings, exemplified the spirit of the Buddha; and he wrote out their stories in Japanese.

Myōe's response to conditions in the time of mappō was to revive the doctrines of the Kegon sect in order to lead Buddhists back to the original teachings and practices of Shaka. His propagation of the cult of Zenzai Dōji, a young boy who, under the guidance of Monju, makes a pilgrimage in search of enlightenment to fifty-three sages, was another facet of his devotion to Shaka. For Myōe, the story of Sudhana exemplified the ideal Buddhist in his struggle for salvation. The young boy's firm resolution and his pilgrimage symbolized the "aspiration after enlightenment" and the "holy path" of conduct, discipline, and study, as traversed by the historical Buddha and explained in his first sermon of the 'four truths' and the 'eight-fold path'. Myōe wrote two works, Saijarin ("An Attack on the Bad Vehicle") and Shogonki ("Record of Moral Adornment"), denouncing Hōnen's claim that the only way to salvation for the beings of mappō was the "jōdo Path" and its teaching of the "single-practice calling upon the name of Amida" (senju nembutsu), because of its rejection of both the aspiration after enlightenment and the holy path.

Myōe's writings disclose a drive to amalgamate the teachings of exoteric Buddhism, which held Shaka in reverence, with esoteric beliefs in
which, by means of rituals and meditation, one could attain Buddhahood in this life. The Kōzan-ji, founded by Myōe in 1206 as a Kegon temple, stands as the culmination of his studies and religious practices. Disparate iconographies are combined in the programs of its three-story pagoda (sanjū bōtō) and Myōe’s private devotional hall (jibutsudō). The Kōzan-ji engi records the program of the sanjū bōtō, begun in 1227 and completed in 1231, was planned by Myōe in order to explain his personal concept of gonmitsu to his disciples. What appears at first to be an incongruous enshrinement of icons — the esoteric Gohimitsu mandara and the exoteric Zenchishiki mandara — on closer examination substantiates the thrust of Myōe Shōnin’s religious life, the emulation of Shaka in his attainment of enlightenment. Throughout his life Myōe experimented with many types of meditational practices, seeking a method suited to him. The Gohimitsu mandara is composed of five bodhisattvas: Vajrasattva sits encircled by Yokuknogō (Desire), Shōkuknō (Sense-Joy), Mank Kongō (Pride), and Aikongō (Passion); and the five, in turn, represent Dainichi, Monju, Fugen, Miroku, and Kannon. The Gohimitsu icon from the Kongōkai mandara and used in the private rite of confession, manifests a path to enlightenment by means of a specific meditation. In this practice the four delusions of lust, touch, craving, and conceit, the causes of human suffering, must be eliminated before enlightenment is realized.

The last decades of Myōe’s life were characterized by his efforts to teach the laity through writings, lectures, and ceremonies. The instigation of the “Buddha’s Birth Ceremony” (Busshō-e) in 1225 and lay precept meetings (Sekkai-e) in 1227 indicate Myōe’s continued involvement in the Nara sects’ revival movement, in which veneration for the historical Buddha and
a vow to observe and to propagate the precepts marked the religious life of
the participating monks.45

Myōe changed his hermitages and places of meditation many times
throughout his years at Kōzan-ji.46 The Kōzan-ji engi records the sites that
Myōe built on the mountain behind the main temple complex. Each was
named in reference to Shaka's history. He called the mountain behind the
Sekisuiin hall Ryōgasen, after the Ryōga-kyō (Lankavatara-sûtra) which,
tradition states, Shaka preached on a mountain of this name in Ceylon. The
Keikyôden and the Rababô, both named after episodes in the Ryōga-kyô: a
cave, the Yuisekikutsu, which contained a rock with the Buddha's foot
impressions; and a meditation tree, the jôshôju, were erected in various
spots on this mountain. The motifs of the cave and the foot impression
allude to legends from Shaka's life story in the travel accounts of Hokken
and Genjô.47 The Hatsunaion-gyô, the Hinayâna Daihatsu-nehan-gyô, and
the Bussho-gyô-san describe the couch upon which Buddha lay at the time
of his Nirvâna as a 'rope bed'.48 Myōe likened the Kiyotaki River that flowed
by his final small retreat, the Zenkain, to the Nairanjana River in Gayâ,
India, where Buddha bathed to mark the end of his six years of austerities.49
Myōe's intense personal devotion to the historical Buddha and his desire to
go to India dominated his adult life.

Significantly, the Kôzan-ji community's veneration for Myōe after his
death in 1232 was patterned after the cult of Shaka. His disciple Kikai
erected wooden stupa pillars to commemorate the sites associated with
Myōe's life in Kii and at Kôzan-ji, and these places became sacred pilgrimage
spots for his disciples.50 The sites in Kii, eight in total, included, for example:
Myōe's birthplace; the place where Myōe received the Kasuga myôjin's
oracle; the place where Myōe expounded on the technique of meditation on the Buddha’s ushinsha; the place of Monju’s manifestation; and the place where Myōe wrote the “Meditation on the Buddha’s Emanating Light.” Portraits of Myōe became the focus of devotional rites performed by his followers, who offered the image food, water, medicine and light. The famous portrait of Myōe seated in meditation in a tree trunk (Myōe Shōnin jujō zazen-zō) depicts him in the iconographic type of one of his beloved sixteen rakan. Biographies, poems, stories, and a nob play about this saintly monk contributed to the Myōe legend long after his death.

III.3. Shizakōshiki and The Hassō Nirvāṇa Tradition

Myōe’s dream to go to the birthplace of Shaka could not be realized. The dramatic aim of the Shizakōshiki, and of the earlier jūmujin-in shari kōshiki, was to bring nearer in thought this far-away, sacred land. Myōe’s emotional involvement and the importance of motifs from Shaka’s life story, which were actually physically recreated in one case, characterize his performances of the Nirvāṇa ceremony. Pictorial and sculptural representations were important to Myōe. Moreover, he related to the images of the esoteric Butsugen butsumo and the exoteric Zenchishiki mandara in a very personal manner.

The Ryūgan-ji painting, which dates to the first half of the 13th century, is best understood as a copy by Myōe’s followers after an arrangement of icons initiated by him for the Nirvāṇa ceremony. The iconographic thrust of the Ryūgan-ji painting, a type unique to the Japanese
Nirvâna tradition, is symptomatic of an iconological shift in the Shaka cult and its Nirvâna ritual in the context of the 13th century revival movement. In marked contrast to the Type I Nirvâna painting, a didactic function underlies this illustrative image, whose main characteristic is the merger of two narratives. Direct links between Myôe Shônin's writings and Buddhistic practices, and the novel changes subsequently introduced into the Japanese Nirvâna tradition have been documented. For Myôe, the Nirvâna and life story of Shaka functioned on multiple religious levels. On a doctrinal level there were the Buddha's supreme methods of accommodation to incite both joy and yearning, and thus conversion. On a practical level, and in keeping with 13th century purposes, his use of a popular lecture format and tales indicate his concern for religious renewal in order to reach the laity. On a personal level, the historical Buddha served as a model to emulate, and this was best done by detailing the heroic events of Shaka's struggle and the struggle of those who followed in his footsteps. There were for Myôe no easy answers in the time of mappo, and the task of a Buddhist, the search for spiritual realization, was symbolized by the life story of Shaka and the boy-pilgrim Zenzai Dôji.

The painting in Tsurugii-jîna is further evidence in support of Myôe Shônin's influence in shaping the emergence of a new type of Nirvâna icon. Excerpts from Myôe's Shizakôshiki are painted in gold characters on the background silk and the thrust of the iconographic arrangement of the painting, in which the life cycle is appended to a large-scale Nirvâna scene, emphasizes the thematic direction of Myôe's narratives (plates IX, XXIX).
Yanagisawa Taka states Myōe wrote the narratives after having seen a Song painting of the eight aspects of the Nirvāṇa (hasso nehan-zu), citing the painting in Manju-ji as a 13th century Japanese copy of this Song example. See Tanjō to nehan no bijutsu, p. 35. Nakano Genzō's arguments and a brief outline of the contents of the Shizakōshiki are in Nehan-zu no meisaku, and his article “Nihon no nehan-zu,” in Tanjō to nehan no bijutsu, pp. 25-27.

2The order of composition was: Shari kōshiki - Kenpo 3, 1/21; Yuishaku kōshiki - Kenpo 3, 1/22; Jūroku rakan kōshiki - Kenpo 3, 1/24; Nehan kōshiki - Kenpo 3, 1/29. In Kennin 3 (1203) Myōe wrote Jūmujin-in shari kōshiki, which he read for a Nirvāṇa ceremony conducted for the Yuasa family in Genkyu 1 (1204). This work was the basis of the Shizakōshiki. See the studies of Tanka Hisao, Myōe, jimbutsu soso 60 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1961), pp. 707-2,100-101; Kindaiichi Haruhiko, Shizakōshiki no kenkyū (Tokyo: Sanshōdō, 1964), pp. 16-18.

3Myōe Shōnin's Nehan kōshiki will be referred to as Text M and Genshin's will be labelled Text G. The reference for this translation of the Shizakōshiki is the text in T.LXXXIV.231.898-906.

4T,XII,377,905a. T,XII,374,365c, 371c; T,XII,383,1012a; T,XII,905c. T,L,2085861c and T,L,2087,904a,b. Hereafter the two monks will be referred to by their Japanese names Hokken and Genjō; Faxian's work will be called Hokken-den and Xuanzang's Daitō-saiiki-ki. See the English translations by James Legge, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms: Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1886) and Samuel Beal, The Travels of Fa-hian: Buddhist-Country-Records by Fa-hian, the Sakya of the Sung (Dynasty) [Date, 400 A.D.] and Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World (2 vols.; London: Kegan Pual, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1906).

7T,L,1,903b. T,XII,905a. T,XXXVIII,44b.

10Part III of Text M Nehan kōshiki, “The Causes and Conditions of Nirvāṇa” (Nehan no inen o agu towa), is heavily didactic.
Both works quote in part from the Gobun's account in T,XII,903c-904a. Genshin relates this episode in Part III "Discussion of the Display of Nirvāṇa" (jigen nehan no gr). The incident in Text M is:

Finally at midnight the time of Nirvāṇa arrived...
He opened his monk's robe, revealing his purple-gold chest.
Universally to the great crowd he proclaimed the following:
"I desire Nirvāṇa. Each and everyone of the multitude of gods and beings must look at my form body with a profound mind."
He repeated his proclamation three times in this way.
And then, from the seven jeweled lion bed he ascended into the empty sky,
The height of one sala tree.

See Appendix III. A. for the translations of these incidents. Once again the Gobun (kikan dabihin daisan) has been extensively quoted: T,XII,907a-912a.

This passage is quoted from Genjō's Daitō-saiiki-ki, T,LI,904b.
The "flowing sands" refers to the Gobi desert and the "Snow Peaks" to the Himalayas.
Genjō's Daitō-saiiki-ki is quoted although the order of the tales differs; T,LI,915b,c. See Appendix III.B. for my translations.
Genjō's Daitō-saiiki-ki, T,LI,911c; 878c; 882c-883a. See Appendix III.C. for translations.
The stories are taken from the "Lives of Eminent Monks" (Gaoseng zhuan: Kōsō-den) written by Huijiao (497-554) of the Liang Dynasty and Hokken's own account of his travels. See T,L,2059,237c-238a and T,LI,862c-863a. Translations are in Appendix III. D.
Mochizuki, Bukkyō daijiten, vol. 5, p. 4220.
The incident and the Sanskrit place names are: the birth in Lumbini Park at Kapilavastu; the enlightenment at Gaya in Magadha; the first sermon in the Deer Park at Benares; the Buddha lived for a time and taught in the Jetavana Grove, which was donated by Anathapindika ('Supporter of the Orphans and Destitute'), a merchant of Sravasti in the kingdom of Kosala; Buddha ascended to and descended from the Trāyastrimsa Heaven in order to preach to his mother at Kanyakubja; he expounded the Prajnaparamita-sutras (Hannya-kvō) on Gridhrakuta near Rajagriha; he expounded the Vimalakirtinirdesa (Yuima-kvō) in Ambapalivana (Mango Grove); his Nirvāṇa in the Sala Grove at Kusināgara.
T.III.159. Slight changes occur in the passage quoted, for example 'Wilderness' instead of 'Deer-Wild': See T,III,296a.
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21 Hokken went to India in 399 to obtain an original version of the Buddhist Rules of Discipline (S. vinaya pitaka). Genjō left China in 629 to search for a teacher who could explain the problems and discrepancies he found in such texts as the Yogacarabhūmisāstra (T.XXX.1579; Yugashiji-ron).

22 Part I of the Sharikōshiki, "Extolling the Merits of the Relics" (Sojite shari no kutsukō o sanzu iwa).

23 The final gatha which closes the story of Hokken is:

I, by expounding the truly real concentration,
Console persons like these.

But though they don't see the Buddha,
Yet it is as though they see the Buddha.

24 The document, titled "A Note of the Distance between The Great Tang and India" (Daitō-tenjiku-ritei-sho), is translated by Robert E. Morrell, "Passage to India Denied: Zeami's Kasuga Ryūjin," Monumenta Nipponica, 37, No. 2 (1982), 183; and is illustrated in Kōzan-ji-ten, pl. 93.

25 This is expressed throughout the Yuishaku kōshiki. The pilgrimage theme is a recurring motif in his poetry (waka) and "Dream Record" (Yume no ki). An entry in a collection of aphorisms, "Final Injunctions of the Venerable Myōe of Toga-no-o" (Toga-no-o Myōe Shōnin ikun), which were assembled by Myōe's disciple Kōshin between 1235 and 1238, states: "The miraculous feats of the eminent priests of old are beyond comprehension, and we set them aside as a special case. But there are those without superhuman abilities but with tremendous dedication who, throwing caution to the wind and willing to chance death, travel to India to engage in various religious austerities. I think this is most splendid and enviable." Translated by Robert E. Morrell, "Kamakura Accounts of Myōe Shōnin as Popular Religious Hero," Japanese Journal of Religious Studies, 9, No. 2/3 (1982), 187.

26 Concerning circumstances surrounding the Kasuga deity's oracles, see Morrell, "Passage to India Denied," pp. 179-200.

27 Kōzan-ji engi, p. 317a.


29 Tanaka, Myōe, pp. 71-2. The event is recorded in "The Kōzan-ji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō. Because the character 朱 is used, it is not clear whether the icon is a painting or a sculptured image.

30 The relevant titles are: Part I, "Adoration at the Gate of the Living Tathagata" (Renbo nyorai zaiseimon); Part II, "Adoration at the Gate of the Tathagata's Nirvana (Renbo nyorai nd nehanmon); Part III, "Adoration at the Gate of the Tathagata's Traces" (Renbo nyorai nd yuishakumon); Part V, "The Gate of the Legends of the Relics" (Tokai shari nd engimon). Nara National Museum, ed., Kōshiki - hotoke e no santan (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1985), p. 11.
Tanaka, p. 72. The passage, which describes the Buddha's facial features, is also in the *Nehan kōshiki*. See my translation on page 85.

Kōshiki - hotoke e no santan, pp. 12-13. See also Tanaka, *Myōe*, pp. 16-17, 100. The *Yuikyō-gyō* is T.XI.389.

The inscription is reproduced in the Kōzan-ji-ten, p. 203.

Buddhalocani is the central deity in the *benchi-in* (Quarter of Universal Knowledge) of the *Taizōkai mandara*. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, pp.4445-4446.

At thirteen, Myōe spent a night alone in a graveyard, hoping to be eaten by wolves. This episode, more than likely fictitious, is patterned after the jātaka of Prince Sattva, who sacrificed his body to a starving tigress and her cubs. See Tanaka, *Myōe*, pp. 13-14 and pp. 33-84 for a discussion of Myōe's retreat in Kii.

The biography is in T.L.2053, *Daitō-daijion-ji-sanzō-hōshi-den*. Examples of Myōe's favored sutras were the *Yuikyō-gyō* (see note 33), *Daihōkō-butsu-kegon-kyō* (T.IX.278, Kegon-kyō; T.X.279, Shinkegon-kyō; and T.X.293, S. Gandavyuha), and *Shinjikan-gyō* (see note 21).

Neither writing survives. The former was called *Kinmon gyōkujiku-shū* and the latter was titled *Shōbō kesshū-den*. See Tanaka, *Myōe*, p. 41 and Brock, "Tales of Gisho and Gangyo," pp. 334-335. In the *jūroku rakan kōshiki*, the names and residences of the sixteen arhats, and Budha's charges to maintain and protect the Law and to guide the beings until the advent of Miroku are quoted directly from Genjō's translation of the *Hōjū-ki* (T.XLIX.2030).

Co-existent with Hōnen's religious reformation, the monks of the Nara sects initiated a revival movement. In contrast to Hōnen's founding of an independent school of faith, the Nara monks looked back within their own tradition. A 'return to the purity of the way taught by Shaka' was prescribed as their remedy to contemporary ills. Their ideal was to turn back the clock to the days of the "True Law" (*shōbō*) that existed during the lifetime of Shaka. The sources for information about the monks involved in this movement is given in Chapter 2, note 20 and 21.

Sudhana (Zenzai Dōji) is the main character of the *Gandavyuha*, the concluding chapter of the *Avatamsaka sūtra*. A discussion of the story is in Fontein, *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana*, pp. 5-22. Myōe was the major patron of the theme of 'Sudhana and his sages' in Japanese Buddhist art. Examples are the painting in the Kōzan-ji collection, titled *Kegon Kai-e Shoshōjū mandara-zu*, and the painting of the *Kegon Kai-e Zenchishiki-zu* in the Tōdai-ji collection, a copy by Rai-en in 1294 after a mandala at Kōzan-ji. Discussed and illustrated in Fontein, pp. 81-114; Ishida Hisatoyo, "Myōe Shōnin o meguru kegon hensō-zu," Kokka, 879 (June 1965), 9-28.

The name Kōzan-ji, "the temple of the lofty mountain", is a reference to the Kegon-kyō, which, according to legend, was the sutra expounded by Shaka immediately after his enlightenment. See Mochzuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1045.

The arrangement of icons in the padoga (*Kozanji engi* , pp. 303-304) was: sculptures of the Kegon-kyō's Sacred Five (*Goson*), Dainichi (S. Mahāvairocana), Monju, Fugen, Kannon, and Miroku, enshrined in the center; a *Gohimitsu mandara* ("Mandala of the Secret Five," S. panca-guhya mandala) on the front of the wall directly behind the center icons; a *Kegon Zenzai zenchishiki* ("Diagram of the Good Friends") on the reverse of this wall; *Kegon kai-e shōjō mandara* on the four surrounding pillars; six guardian figures (*tenzo*) on the east, west, and north doors. The arrangement of paintings for meditation in the *Jibutsudō* was (*Kozanji engi* , pp. 307-308): in the center a *Gohimitsu mandara*, to its right a *Kongōkai mandara*, and a *Taizōkai mandara* on its left; in the south a *Kegon shōjō mandara*; in the north a *Zenzai gojūgo chishiki*; an Amida triad; a Bishamonten (S. Vaisravana) by the artist Kaneyasu. The combination of the exoteric Kegon-kyō *Goson* and the esoteric *Gohimitsu mandara* symbolized the union of *kengyō* and *mikkyō*, and, on another level, the union of the *Kongōkai* and the *Taizōkai*. Ishida in "Myōe Shōnin o meguru Kegon hensō-zu" explains the relationship between these two icons and Myōe's personal beliefs and interpretations.

Myōe, a scholar of Kegon philosophy (*kengyō*) and Shingon (*mikkyō*) practices, initiated a simultaneous practice of Kegon and Shingon doctrines, the synthesis of which came to be called *gonmitsu*.

The liturgy *Busshō-e kōshiki* ("Formulary for the Buddha's Birth") details the life story of Shaka from his Birth to his Enlightenment, and also narrates the traces of his time on earth as the Buddha-to-be. *Kōshiki - hotoke e no santan*. p. 16. Specific activities associated with Nara Period Buddhism flourished again during the revival movement, for example, the Shaka and the shari cult, the Miroku cult, and the cult of the patriarchs of the Nara sects. The teaching careers of the most famous revivalists, Jōkei, Shunjō, Myōe, and Eizan and his disciple Ninshō, sought to instigate a disciplinary reform based on the observance of the precepts among the people by means of lectures and the administration of Buddhist vows.
The *Rennyadai*, constructed in Kenpo 3 (1215), was the first of his retreats and the last, the *Zenkain*, dates to Kanki 2 (1230). Kikai, *Kōzanji engi*, pp. 310-312.

In his search for a place in which to accomplish his aim of enlightenment, the Buddha-to-be left his shadow on the wall of a cave in a mountain called Pragbodhi ("the mountain before enlightenment") in Gayā. The Buddha left his footprints on a rock when, on his way to Kusināgara and Nirvana, he stopped to look back at Magadha for the last time. Both stories are mentioned in the *Yuishaku kōshiki*; see Appendix III.C. for a translation.

The episode is recounted in *Hokken-den* and in *Daitō-saiiki-ki*.

The sites on *Kōzan-ji* and in Kii are recorded in the *Kōzan-ji engi*, pp. 310-318. The wooden markers were established in 1233 at the *Kōzan-ji* sites of, for example, the *Rennyo-dai Sekisui-hō* Ryōgasen, Renkyūden, Rababō, Yuisekikutsu, Jōshōju, Jōshinseki. The wooden markers were replaced by the extant stone pillars in 1321. Kageyama Haruki, "Kōzan-ji no Myōe Shōnin iseki," in *Myōe Shōnin to Kōzan-ji*, ed. by Myōe Shōnin to Kōzan-ji henshū iinkai (Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1981), pp. 173-191. The wooden markers set up by Kikai in Kii in 1236 were replaced by the present stones ones in 1344. Kageyama, "Kii ni Myōe Shōnin no iseki o tazuneru," in *Myōe Shōnin to Kōzan-ji*, pp. 192-206.

The inscription on this painting states:

In the midst of Ryōgasen at Kōzan-ji, there is a 'rope-bed tree' and a 'calm mind rock'. Likened to the figure of an ordinary monk in meditation, copying my humble form to hang on the meditation hall wall. The [meditating and silent] monk Kōben.

This painting is most likely a copy after another portrait of Myōe in meditation on *Ryōgasen* (*Myōe shōnin jōshō zazen-zō*), which is also in the *Kōzan-ji* collection. The painting, on silk, bears an inscription attributed to Myōe and it’s content is similar to the inscription of the portrait on paper. Illustrated in *Kōzan-ji-ten*, pls. 1, 128. See a discussion of Myōe’s portraits and the rites of veneration accorded them in the context of the *rakan* cult by Nakajima Hiroshi, "Myōe shōnin jujoku zazen-zō no shudai," *Myōe Shōnin to Kōzan-ji*, pp. 272-289. Karen Brock discusses the portrait of Myōe meditating in a tree in her reconstruction of the history of the *Kōzan-ji* Community and its circle of lay patrons during and immediately after Myōe’s lifetime; see "Tales of Gishō and Gangyō," pp. 408-414.

The Myōe legend in literature is presented in the articles of Morrell, "Passage to India Denied," and "Kamakura Accounts of Myōe Shōnin as Popular Religious Hero."
Another entry in Kōshin's *Yuikun* states: "Every time you enter the practice hall, imagine that the living Buddha is there; and, in the presence of the living Tathagata, set straight your aspirations. When you think of an object carved of wood or drawn in a picture as a living being, then it is a living being." Morrell, "Kamakura Accounts of Myōe Shōnin," p. 191.
Responsibility for a transition from Type I to Type II iconography in the Japanese Buddhist tradition of Nirvāṇa paintings is associated with the Kamakura revival movement of the Nara sects. The iconological shift in the Shaka cult from a Pure Land-oriented interpretation to devotion to the historical Buddha is best exemplified in the writings of the Kegon revivalist Myōe Shōnin. Previous Japanese art historians have speculated that Buddhist monks such as Myōe Shōnin may have contributed to this dramatic iconographic change. The research represented in this study attests the bolder step of striking specific relations between Myōe Shōnin’s writings and particular changes in the iconographic forms of his own and subsequent periods. The Nirvāṇa images in the Ryūgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja collections support this relationship.

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate a close correspondence between the theological contributions of the monks Genshin and Myōe Shōnin and the changing modes of religious tenets and functions reflected in the iconography of the Japanese Nirvāṇa paintings between the 12th and 13th centuries. I have argued that the writings of Genshin and Myōe Shōnin were not simply reactive, but exercised profound influences which shaped not only contemporary but later iconography as well. While Japanese art historians Nakano Genzō and Yanagisawa Taka have been cautious and concluded that these theologians of the Late Heian and Early Kamakura Periods took their lead from the icons available to them, I have emphasized
the alternative and stressed that the shifts in the Japanese Nirvâna tradition were the result of these important theological figures.
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APPENDIX I

FIGURE 1
TYPE II GROUP I
APPENDIX I

FIGURE 2
TYPE II  GROUP II
APPENDIX I

FIGURE 3
TYPE II GROUP III
APPENDIX I

FIGURE 4
TYPE II GROUP IV
FIGURE 5
TYPE II  GROUP   V
APPENDIX I

FIGURE 6
TYPE II  GROUP VI
APPENDIX II
Collation of Texts
All of the multitude wished to lift the sacred coffin and enter the city. Sixteen extremely huge Mallas advanced with great divine strength... But the sacred coffin—Ah! Ah! It did not move! At that moment, the sacred coffin, of its own accord, flew into open space. Gradually mounting in the emptiness, it rose above the sala grove. It entered the west gate of Kusināgara. Bodhisattvas, sravakas, gods, and men, a great crowd filling the entire great earth and open space, waited and lamented. Then, the sacred coffin emerged from the east gate of Kusināgara, and circling right, it entered the south gate. Emerging from the north gate, it flew into the air and turned left; then, returning, it entered the west gate of Kusināgara. In this way, the coffin made three circuits. Returning, it entered the west gate; once more, it emerged from the east gate and entered the north gate; emerging from the south gate, turning right, it returned and entered the west gate; turning right and left in this manner, the coffin circled Kusināgara; it made seven circuits.

Slowly, the coffin reached the cremation site, and flying down, it came to rest on the seven-jeweled lion bed. A great multitude of gods, men, and others encircled the sacred coffin, and mourning and weeping, they made offerings. That wailing shook the great chiliocosm.

The multitude, each covering his hand with a white woolen cloth, in unison raised the great sacred jeweled coffin and placed it on a splendidly adorned tower of exquisite fragrance. About to take up fire and cremate the
Tathagata, each one of the great assembly held a seven jeweled burner as large as a wagon wheel. Mourning, weeping, and wailing, they placed them on the fragrant tower. Those fires, of their own accord, died out completely. Each and every one of the manifold gods' fires and each and every one of the water-spirits' fires, all went out in this way.

At this moment, Mahākasyapa arrived at the cremation site. The sacred coffin, of its own accord, opened, and the thousand curtains of white woolen cloth and tora cotton unravelled, revealing his purple-shining, golden body. Kasyapa and his many disciples, seeing this, swooned and fell to the ground.

Then, the Buddha's feet withdrew into the coffin and it closed as before. After that, they again threw the seven-jeweled, great torches and, once more, all of them completely died out. The Tathagata, by means of his great compassion, put forth fire from his chest, and little by little he was cremated. Seven days passed; fire burned the tower of exquisite fragrance. Who could have possibly foresaen that his full moon-circle countenance was to be instantly smothered in the smoke of sandlewood? That his purple-shining golden skin was to be scorched by the flames that left nothing behind?...

After a time, the gods and men and others of the great multitude took and divided the relics. Everyone returned to his homeland and vied to make offerings.
APPENDIX III

B. *Yuushaku koshiki*: Part I "The Wonders of the Bodhi Tree"

In a former time in Magadha, south-west of the Mountain of Perfect Wisdom about fourteen or fifteen leagues, there was the Bodhi tree. The Bodhi tree is actually a pippala tree. The Tathagata sitting beneath this tree attained complete enlightenment, and so it is called the Bodhi tree.

When King Asoka first ascended the throne, he believed in and accepted wrong ways. Wishing to destroy the Buddha's traces, he cut down the Bodhi tree. Wishing to order a fire-worshipping brahmin to sacrifice [the tree] to heaven, he directly set fire to the tree. And yet, in the midst of the raging flames, burning and glowing, the tree retained its blue-green color. Seeing this wondrous event, the great king profoundly repented his sin, and, rejoicing, he himself made offerings. The queen, also a believer in wrong ways, secretly sent a messenger, who, after the first division of the night, once more cut down the tree. Coming again to worship the next morning, the king found only a stump. His grief was extreme and, with the utmost sincerity, he prayed and worshipped and bathed the stump with scented milk. In no time at all, the tree returned to life. The king deeply revered this miracle.

The [tree's] trunk is silver-gold and its branches and foliage are blue-green. The leaves do not wither in winter nor in summer, but are fresh and shining without change. However, each time the day of a Buddha's nirvana arrives, the leaves of the tree all wither and fall and
yet, in a moment they revive as before. On this day the kings of various countries and the religious of different quarters, a multitude of several tens of thousands, gather unsummoned. They play music and scatter incense and flowers, and when night comes, they continue their offerings by torch-light.
APPENDIX III

C. Yuishaku kōshiki: Part II "The Various Traces"

As to the true shadow left in the dragon cave and the paired wheels left on the rock surface, it is impossible to list all in detail, and so, for now I will confine myself to telling one or two.

In Magadha there is a rock and on its surface there are the traces of paired wheels. Long ago, when the Tathagata's life was drawing to an end and it came time for him to enter nirvana, he proceeded to Kusinagara together with a great multitude, saying: "This is to be my last following. There will be no second meeting."... Turning his blue lotus eyes, he looked back at Magadha, and, while standing on this rock, he said to Ananda: "I am about to enter into nirvana and, for the last time, I leave these footprints as I turn to look back at Magadha." How can the multitude's grief at seeing and hearing this be recorded in writing? Those paired footprints were one foot eight inches long and six inches wide. There were circle marks on both impressions of his feet and the ten toes were all ringed with flower designs and the shapes of fish, which stood out in reflection, shining brilliantly from time to time. If someone wished to move the rock, although it is not large, a crowd could not move it.

King Sasanka, not believing in Buddha's Dharma, wanted to destroy the sacred traces. Even though he cut and planed [the surface], it became
whole and the pattern appeared as before; though he flung it into the Ganges River, it returned to its original place.

Renu, together with his son, pounded the earth and left a trace. [There is] the place where he spread out his hair and covered the mud. [There is] the place where he sacrificed his body for a verse. [And there], as Candraprabha, he severed the head of Sivika and so fed the hawk.

The sacred traces cover the five regions of India. Those who see the sacred marks and their interconnections increase their belief.
The first to open the wilderness routes was Faxian, Master of the Tripataka. During the [Eastern] Jin dynasty, in the third year of longan [AD 399], he set out from Changan and going westward, he crossed the desert. There were no flying birds above and no running beasts below. When he looked in the four directions, he saw vastness and, unfathomable as it was, he faced it. Only by looking at the sun was he able to he align east and west; and only by counting the corpses did he know the route. He encountered fiery hot winds, which scorched his body. Once, he was seized by evil demons and almost lost his life.

At length, upon arriving in India, he wanted to visit Gridhrakuta. People dissuaded him, saying: "Even the superior path has many adversities and at the precious sites there are worries. Black lions are numerous and they devour people. Surely it is best to render worship from a distance!" Faxian replied: I vowed to traverse tens of thousands of leagues to reach Gridhrakuta. Life cannot be planned; survival is impossible to guarantee. How can I let this heartfelt determination, nurtured for so many years, be cast aside when finally it has come true? Whatever the hardships, I will have no second thoughts."

Upon arriving at the mountain, he burned incense and worshipped. His intense experience of the historic ruins was like looking at the sacred form. Sad and wretched, but restraining his tears, he said: "Buddha expounded the Surangama-sūtra on this mountain. I, Faxian,
was born when I could not meet the Buddha and now only see his traces." He treasured the Buddha, and since it was impossible to encounter him, Fazian was all the more oblivious to his surroundings. When darkness came, he lit lamps. He was deeply moved.

In the mountain there was a great rock cavern. In a former time the Tathagata had entered meditation in this place. Fazian began to chant the Surangama-sutra in front of the cave. Three black lions came and crouched before him, licking their lips and wagging their tails. Fazian raised his voice, and continued to recite the sutra, without showing the slightest sign of concern for his life. The lions, seeing this, conceived a profound respect for him. Lowering their heads and dropping their tails, they prostrated themselves before the Master. Then, imbued with loving compassion, Fazian stroked the lions and said: "You who wish to harm me! Wait a moment until I have finished reciting the sutra!" The lions, lowering their heads, listened intently to his chanting for a time and then left.
PLATE I
PLATE III
PLATE VI
PLATE VII
PLATE VIII
PLATE IX
PLATE X
PLATE XI
PLATE XV
PLATE XVII
PLATE XIX
PLATE XXII
PLATE XXIII
PLATE XXIV
PLATE XXVIII
PLATE XXXI
PLATE XXXIII
PLATE XXXVI
PLATE XXXIX
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Genshin's Nehan Kōshiki
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Nehan Kōshiki
第一招 請涅槃，眾者爾時。世尊在拘尸那城。力士生地阿夷羅跋
提河側。婆羅雙樹間是則三世如來。入涅槃，也勸力士掃治道
路。大難令設。佛壽八十一年。春二月十五日，自面門放五
色光明。以神力出大音聲。其音德大。於其聲至。有頂始。從菩薩
聞終至。禽獸。蟻。蚟惡集吉祥福地。庭。沙羅雙樹間。此世界中。六
道四生皆來一會。互無妨礙毒蛇毒蟲之類。鬼惡獸之族皆生。慈
心各致恆有恆。金翅鳥不食一子。有無量之夜叉王不
毀一人。類猛獸。互皆捧供具。悉悲如來。滅度。涅槃。眾會有權者。有
實者。實爾。召權者。召許恆云。請涅槃，眾也。抑我等彼如來涅
槃。夜生在何。惡趣機不及禽獸。緣劣於蟻。空在滅後。不關五十
二類之數。從生。邊國遠隔。無餘。里境。嗚呼悲哉。頌曰，
以佛大神力。聲光遍十方。五十二類。皆集沙羅林。
南無大恩敎主釋迦大師五十二類大衆三反

第二述群類供養之相者，其儀闊博，其相奇妙，聊述少分，略於本末。

代有二恆河沙優婆塞慇無垢言善德優婆塞為上首，二月十五，

朝驚聲光告，為佛教毗舍，各持牛頭檀悉來，沙羅林間，以妙香塗，

薪以妙花飾，薪以寶蓋覆，上以彩幡立，前後三恆河沙優婆塞，

恆河沙諸離車利子恆大臣長者七恆，諸王者，又聞浮提內，

一切國王，恆龍王，諸龍十恆鬼王一，供具，倍勝，前飛鳥含珍。

集蜂王吸妙花，來山神作伎樂，臨海神捧衆寶詫欲界諸天供養色，

者採，慶喜苑薦折園生樹枝況都舉天宮所設，自在天妙供養色，

界四禪供養具色者皆是深禪定之所變定果色之所現也，何齊散地，

之色香，豈同下界，供養哉，故以寶蓋覆，大千香木齊，迷懸眾會，

塵剎信力徹頭腦思，昔，今日聞，古恱，當時，唯願，素來，哀愍，聽許。
南無恩德廣大釋迦大師

第三明示現涅槃相者爾時世尊於七寶師子座以真金手著

天人大衆應當深心看我色身世尊以黃金色身告大衆已即放

無量百千萬億大涅槃光普照十方一切世界已復告大衆當知

如來爲汝等故累劫勤苦盡修一切難行苦行以大悲本願於此

五濁惡世成阿耨菩提提拜尊顔聞音聲遇光明見神變者皆無不

看我色身當修清淨業未來當得此色身如是告畢即從師子牀

得解脫本誓願力於斯既窮在世他緣於今又盡汝等以至誠心

上昇虛空高七多羅樹還下又告大衆我以甚深般若一切世界

雖軋惡供物准檀香華雖微淺信心齊純陀誠伽陀曰,
 Nehan Koshiki

...
阿難羅云，纔殘生，付誡五百世尊迦葉後。以莊嚴禮，兩足於舍利若陀日。後宿緣，還同
皆是大聖善巧，非所宜，神力故我等唯，清在世正，虛深，耽減。

阿難羅云，纔殘生，付誡五百世尊迦葉後。以莊嚴禮，兩足於舍利若陀日。後宿緣，還同
皆是大聖善巧，非所宜，神力故我等唯，清在世正，虛深，耽減。
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Shiza Kōshiki

第四章

宗敎苦境

大師曰：「此苦境者，如非他生上古三世，

維世之間，苦如懸崖，爾等何是，

更復其後，苦如刀箭，爾等何是，

爾等若能知苦境之苦，則可成就佛道。」

爾等若能知苦境之苦，則可成就佛道。
Shiza Kōshiki
Shiza Kōshiki

諸方所成如來之名號

至三世間為一切共證一味之法流四生合

之思可誦發願道同之句

願於末世諸佛法僧

會合不捨天人師

如蒙鏡不虛照

有智動作於寂智

願以此功德

普及於一切

我等與衆生

皆共成佛道

無滅後轉法輪身含利自利益法界等利

大神分

次六種通向

舍利譜式

次六種通向

舍利譜式