

**THE JAPANESE *HASSO* NIRVANA TRADITION OF PAINTINGS:
AN ICONOLOGICAL STUDY**

by

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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 Parinirvāna 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 Nirvāna painting tradition. Three iconographically distinct images of the Buddha's Nirvāna 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 Ryūgan-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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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 Nirvâna painting of these periods.

A Nirvâna painting owned by the Kongôbu-ji of Kôyasan is the earliest painted example of the Nirvâna 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).¹ The Kongôbu-ji painting served as the prototype for many later Nirvâna 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 Kongôbu-ji painting is the most representative example of the Heian Nirvâna scene Japanese scholars have designated the Classical Heian Type (hereafter Type I).²

No documents survive on the origin and history of the Kongôbu-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 shôju raigô* painting in the Yûshihachiman-kô Jûhachika-in at Kôyasan and the painting of *Shaka kinkan shutsugen*, now in the Kyoto National Musueum.³ These scholars have also suggested an influence from Eshin Sôzu, more commonly known as Genshin (942-1017), a monk from Hieizan, on the Type I painting tradition, and cited his *Nehan kôshiki* (Nirvâna Formulary) as the liturgy

for the service in which the Type I Nirvâna scene functioned as the visual counterpart.⁴

Despite the prevalence of the Heian Type I images, the character of Japanese Nirvâna painting changed during the Kamakura Period. This new type of Nirvâna painting is represented by the *hassô* Nirvâna image ('eight aspects' of the Nirvâna story). Examples are the paintings in the collections of Henmyô-in, Manju-ji, and Jôdo-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 Nirvâna 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 Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja collections (plates VIII, IX). The result is the second of the two iconographic types of the Nirvâna 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.⁵

Previous Japanese scholarship has proposed that this new Type II Nirvâna 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 Myôe Shônin (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 Nirvâna scene, as represented by the Kongôbu-ji painting, and Genshin's text, the *Nehan kôshiki*, written for the Buddhist ritual observed yearly on the anniversary of the Buddha's Nirvâna (*nehan-e*). Characteristic of the Shaka cult of the Late Heian Period (898-1185) was the tendency to interpret the Hoke-kyô (Lotus Sûtra) in the light of Jôdo (Pure Land) faith.⁶ An iconological study of the Heian type of Nirvâna image reveals a Jôdo 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 *hassô* Nirvâna 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 Myôe Shônin, a Shingon monk and Kegon revivalist, to the Japanese tradition of Nirvâna painting. In particular I will argue that it is possible to document direct links between Myôe Shônin's writings, the *Shizakôshiki*, for the Nirvâna ceremony and the novel changes subsequently introduced into the Kamakura type of Parinirvâna painting.

¹See the studies: Kameda Tsutomu, "Butsu nehan-zu," Bukkyô setsuwa-e no kenkyû, pp. 89-98; Takeo Izumi, "Otoku nehan-zu shôron," Bukkyô geijutsu, 129 (March 1980), 9-102; Kôyasan bunkazai hozonkai, ed., Kokuhô ôtoku butsu nehan-zu no kenkyû to hozon (2 vols.; Tokyo: Tokyobijutsu, 1983).

²See the studies of: Takasaki Fujihiko, "Nehan-zu no zuyô ni tsuite," Museum, 68 (November 1956), 11-14; Kyoto National Museum, ed., Nehan-zu no meisaku (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1978); Bukkyô bijutsu kenkyû Ueno kinen zaidan, Report 7, Tanjô to nehan no bijutsu (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1980).

³The opinion, for example, of Nakano Genzô in "Nihon no Nehan-zu," in Tanjô to nehan no bijutsu, p. 26 and Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Shaka kinkan shutsugen-zu," Nihon kaiga-shi ronshû (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 Kôyasan. "The Welcoming Descent of Amida and the Heavenly Host", dated to the Late Heian period, is illustrated in Kyoto National Museum, ed., Jôdokyô 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 Chôhō-ji collection. The Chôhō-ji was a subtemple of Enryaku-ji, and according to temple tradition, the painting was saved from Nobunaga's rampage by the Chôhō-ji monks. Illustrated in Nara National Museum, ed., Budda shason: sono shôgai to zôkei (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1984), pl. 56.

⁴Nakano, "Nihon no nehan-zu," pp. 26-27 and "Nehan-zu no dôbutsu-ga," Bukkyô geijutsu, 104 (November 1975), 707-701; Takeo Izumi, "Otoku nehan-zu"; Hamada Ryû, "Kongôbu-ji 'Butsu nehan-zu' to sono yôshikiteki ichi," Kokuhô ôtoku butsu nehan-zu no kenkyû to hozon, pp. 19-41.

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

⁶Myôhō-rence-kyô (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 Nirvāna scene and Genshin's text, the *Nehan kōshiki*, and to set the Nirvāna 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 Nirvāna Painting

The most distinctive feature of the Type I Nirvāna 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 Nirvâna texts: "the sâla grove of the Mallas, the upavattana of Kusinârâ, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati." Buddha instructed his disciple Ananda to spread a covering for him over "the couch with its head to the north, between the twin sâla trees."¹ The four trees in the Kongôbu-ji painting are double-trunked, being joined at the base. The waves in the upper right landscape vignette are those of the Hiranyavati.

The trees at the foot of the couch in the Kongôbu-ji painting are labelled with a cardinal direction: the paired trees in the south (*nanpô sôju*). The most important point regarding Buddha's pose in all the Nirvâna texts is that his head was to the north when he lay down. Buddha in Parinirvâna is depicted lying rigidly on his back, his arms stretched straight along his body. This pose is uncanonical, as the Nirvâna texts, both the Hînayâna and Mahâyâna 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 Hôryû-ji which is dated 711, Buddha lies on his right side.² Moreover, most texts specify that one leg rested on the other, and his head was pillowed on his hand.³ To locate the iconographic source on which the Kongôbu-ji pose is based, the Chinese tradition of Buddha in pariNirvâna 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 428.⁴ Jorinde Ebert contends the Kongôbu-ji pose is based on a separate Nirvâna scheme that evolved before the end of the fifth century in Southern China.⁵ The translation of the numerous Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts into Chinese occurred simultaneously rather than systematically. Thus, the pictorial concept of Nirvâna amalgamated the teachings of the various Nirvâna sutras, making it difficult in many cases to say whether a representation is based on the historical narrative of a Hīnayāna text, or on the teachings of the temporal manifestation of the Buddha principle expounded in the Mahāyāna versions. In any case, the traditional Nirvâna formula was firmly established by the time the distinctive Kongôbu-ji Buddha was created. Here, the aim was to depict a monumental and iconic figure of the Buddha.⁶

A crowd of mourners surround the deathbed of the Kongôbu-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-gyô.⁷ 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.⁸ In the upper right corner, separated from the main grouping of figures by the tops of the trees, are the figures of Mahāmâyâ (Maya Bunin), the Buddha's mother, and an attendant. Mâyâ is not present in the Hīnayāna texts, the Hokuhon-nehan-gyô, nor in the Gobun; her participation in the lamentation over her son is based on the Makamaya-kyô, a 5th century Chinese work emphasizing filial affection.⁹ After Buddha was put in the coffin, the monk Anuruddha ascended to Trāyastriṃsa to

inform Mâyâ of her son's extinction. Mâyâ 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 Nirvâna scene, which contrasts with the vast number of participants enumerated in the Hokuhon-nehân-gyô. 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-nehân-gyô, 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-kyô.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.¹⁷ All the texts prescribe a cataclysmic response of nature at the time of the Buddha's entry into Nirvāna. In each account, the grief of nature is as profound as that of the sentient beings of the Buddhist cosmos.¹⁸ White blossoms on the branches above Buddha's head allude to the passage in the Hokuhon-nehān-gyō in which the forest of trees changed color and looked like white cranes.¹⁹ 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-nehān-gyō-shō, which states that when Buddha entered Nirvāna some flowers bloomed, and some withered and died.²⁰ 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 Parinirvāna is provided by a comparison between the particulars of the Type I images and Genshin's text for the Nirvāna ceremony, the *Nehān 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 *Nehān kōshiki* and the Type I Nirvāna Painting

Japanese art historians assigned to Genshin (942-1017), a Late Heian Period Tendai monk, responsibility for the unique features of the Type I Nirvâna painting. Genshin's *Nehan kôshiki*, which has survived from the late 10th century, is composed in five parts that dramatize the event of Buddha's entry into Nirvâna: "The Convocation of the Nirvâna Assembly", "The Manner of the Offerings Made by the Multitude", "The Manner of the Display of Nirvâna", "The Grief of the Assembly", and "The Vow to Confer Merit on All".²¹ 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 *kôshiki*. For example, the setting, the assembly, the pose of Buddha, and the responses to Buddha's Nirvâna as described in the text and in the Kongôbu-ji painting will be compared.

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

At Kusinâgara by the River Hiranyavati
Between the paired trees in the sâla grove.

There is no further attention given to the setting in the *kôshiki*.²²

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

All the Mahâbodhisattvas such as Kasyapa,
Simhanadâ, and [Virtuous King];
A multitude of sravakas such as Anuruddha and
Ananda;
Mahesvaradeva, Sikhî Mahâbrahmâ,
Sakrodevendra;
The world-defending Four Kings;
All came to the sâla grove.

Moreover, the members of the assembly and their numbers correspond directly to those enumerated in the Preface of the Hokuhon-nehan-gyô:

There were upâsaka, as many as the sands of two River Ganges, and the upâsakas King Pure-Renown and Wholesome-Qualities headed their number. Also there were upâsikâs, 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 Jambudvîpa; 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 kôshiki* and the Kongôbu-ji painting. Common to both are the bodhisattvas Kasyapa and Virtuous King, the disciples Ananda and Anuruddha, the gods Sikhî Mahâbrahmâ and Sakrodevendra, the male upâsakas King Pure-Renown and Wholesome-Qualities, the court lady, and the wealthy government official. The *kôshiki* makes reference to Mâyâ's participation in the lamentation over her son after his entry into Nirvâna.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 kôshiki*. 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 sâla

grove.²⁵ 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 Nirvâna is stated in the opening gatha of the *kôshiki*:

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

This is the traditional Parinirvâna 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 Butsuhatsu-naion-gyô and the Bussho-gyô-san. The simplicity of imagery is closest to the description of Buddha's pose given in the Hinayâna Hatsu-naion-gyô and the Mahâyâna MakaMaya-kyô.²⁷ Given the fact that the statements in the *kôshiki* occur in both the Hinayâna and Mahâyâna textual traditions, these simple phrases contain at this point in time knowledge of the orthodox iconography of Buddha in Parinirvâna. However, there is a discrepancy between the pose of Buddha in the Kongôbu-ji Type I Nirvâna scene and the statements of the *Nehan kôshiki*.

In the *kôshiki* all the members of the great assembly mourn the loss of Buddha. A universal grief is stressed in the Mahâyâna versions of the Parinirvâna texts. Moreover, classic examples of the grief of the Buddhist world are symbolized by the responses of Ananda, Brahmâ, 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 Nirvāna 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 Nirvāna. 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 Nirvāna 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 *kôshiki*'s lack of reference to nature's response.

The correspondence between the Kongôbu-ji Type I Nirvâna painting and Genshin's *Nehan kôshiki* is thematic and expressive rather than exact. The Buddha's Nirvâna is presented in a similar manner in both painting and text. As mentioned, the *Nehan kôshiki* recounts only the Nirvâna proper. cursory reference is made to other incidents of the story, for example Mahâkasyapa's and Mâyâ's homage at the coffin after Buddha's entry into Nirvâna. 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-kyô and the Hokuhon-nehan-gyô. In fact, the gathas from Chapter 16 of the Hoke-kyô, which give the theological interpretation of the Buddha's Nirvâna, are quoted:

For the beings' sake,
And as an expedient device, I make a show of
Nirvâna;
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 kôshiki* is reflected in the Kongôbu-ji Type I painting, it is not possible at this point to state firmly that the Type I Nirvâna 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 Nirvâna 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.³⁰ 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 Kongôbu-ji Type I Nirvâna image and Genshin's *Nehan kôshiki*. Although a lack of pictorial material makes it difficult to verify the Type I tradition was established in Japan before the date of the *kôshiki*, 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 Nirvâna tradition is the iconographic program of the Taishi-dô of the Kakurin-ji, a Tendai temple erected in Tenei 3 (1112), in which a Type I Nirvâna image is paired with a *Kuban raigô* image.³¹

The Kakurin-ji Nirvâna painting exhibits most of the pictorial and iconographic characteristics of the Kongôbu-ji Type I scene (plate X).³² Stylistically the Kakurin-ji mural is very similar to the Kongôbu-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 raigō* 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 raigō* and the sun disk of the 'lower category lower level'.³³ 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 *raigō* mural is unique. The focus is the lower category lower birth. An extant pictorial version of the *Kubon raigō* 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.³⁴ 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 *raigō* mural and the liturgy for a monthly meeting of a *nembutsu* society, the *nijūgozammai-e*, inaugurated at Yogawa on Hieizan in Kanna 2 (986).³⁵ 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.³⁶ 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 vilest 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 Ōjōyōshū, 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

Rokudō paintings now in the Shōjū-raigō-ji collection stated the set of scrolls was originally the temple treasure of Ryōzen-in.⁴⁰ A Jōdo position, however, was dominant. In Genshin's liturgical writings for observances in the Ryozen-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.⁴¹

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."⁴² 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.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ Tradition also credits Genshin and the *Nijūgozammai* society with

the creation of the re-enactment of Amida's welcoming descent, the *mukae-kô*, in which the members impersonated the approach of Amida and his host of bodhisattvas.⁴⁵ Both events, the *mukae-kô* and the *rinjû nembutsu* session, were structured to attain direct contact with Amida and his Pure Land.

The Nirvâna 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 Nirvâna 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.⁴⁶ Given the context of this Shaka rite, a Pure Land coloring is discernable in the gatha of the *Nehan kôshiki*: Homage to the Great Teacher Sâkyamuni eternally residing on Gridrakuta.⁴⁷

The assemblage of icons in the Kakurin-ji's Taishi-dô program was neither incongruous nor unprecedented. The Taishi-dô was originally called the Hokke-dô.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 sambô* and *Hokke hakkô* were performed in the Hokke-dô 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 Kanmuryôju-kyô, 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-kyô, Fugen will approach the believer from the Eastern Pure Land of Jômyôkoku.⁵¹ The pairing of the *raigô* and Nirvâna 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.

¹T. W. Rhys Davids, tr., "The Mahâ-Parinibbâna-suttanta" in Buddhist Sutras, Sacred Books of the East, vol. 11, p. 85. This is the sixteenth sutra in the Dighanikâya of the Pali canon. The Hinayâna texts and their date of Chinese translation are: Butsubhatsunaion-gyô (T.I.5), Baifazu, 290-306; Bussetsu-hôdô-naion-gyô (T.I.6, shortened Hatsu-naion-gyô), translator unknown, 317-420; Yûgyô-kyô of the Jôagon-gyô (T.I.1), Buddhayasas, 412-413; Daihatsu-nehan-gyô (T.I.7), Faxian, 414-420. The Mahâyâna versions and dates of translation are: Bussetsu-hôdô-hatsunaion-gyô (T.XII.378), Dharmaraksa I, 266-316; Daihatsu-naion-gyô (T.XII.376), Faxian, 414-420; Daihatsu-nehan-gyô (T.XII.374, Hokuhon-nehan-gyô), Dharmaraksa II, 423; Daihatsu-nehan-gyô (T.XII.375, Nampon-nehan-gyô), Huiyan, Huiguan, Xie Jinyun, 424-453; Shidôji-zammai-kyô (T.XII.379), Jñânagupta, 585-592. The event is also recounted as the final episode of Buddha's life story in: Bussho-gyô-san (T.IV.192), Dharmaraksa II, 414-421; Butsu-hongyô-kyô (T.4.193). The nirvana is related in: Makamaya-kyô (T.XII.383), 479-502; Daihatsu-nehan-gyô-gobun (T.XII.377, Gobun), Jñânabhadra, 664-665.

²Illustrated in Kyoto National Museum, ed., Nehan-zu no meisaku, pl. 5.

³The Nirvana pose with one leg placed on top of the other is described in: Yûgyô-kyô, T,I,1,21a; Daihatsu-nehan-gyô, T,I,7,199a. The formula with piled legs and head pillowed on the hand is found in: Butsubhatsunaion-gyô, T,I,5,172c; Bussho-gyô-san, T,IV,192,46b. The following texts state he lay down on his right side, his head to the north: Hatsu-naion-gyô, T,I,164c; Makamaya-kyô, T,XII,383,1011a; Gobun, T,XII,377,905a; Butsu-hongyô-kyô, 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 Kucâ, and Bezeklik (8-11th c.) in Turfan. Jorinde Ebert, "The Iconographic Tradition behind the Oldest Japanese Paintings of the Parinirvâna," in

European Studies on Japan, ed. by Ian Nish and Charles Dunn (Tenderen Keut: Paul Norburg Publications, 1979), pp. 200-211.

⁴Yungang 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: Tôhō bunka gakuin, 1937), vol. 1, pp. 239-241; vol. 2, pl. 85a.

⁵Ebert, "The Iconographic Tradition behind the Oldest Japanese Paintings," pp. 210-211.

⁶Variations occur in the Type I Buddha's pose, as seen, for example, in the paintings in Daruma-dera, Shinyakushi-ji, Jōkyō-ji, the Tokyo and Kyoto National Museums, and Ishiyama-dera.

⁷The bodhisattvas are: Jishi bosatsu (Miroku), Jizō bosatsu, Fugen taishi, Monju daishō, Kanjizai bosatsu (Kannon), Kōki Toku-ō bosatsu, Muhenshin bosatsu, Kashō dôji. Of the eight, Monju, Kōki Toku-ō, Kashō dôji, and Muhenshin are mentioned in the Hokuhon Daihatsu-nehān-gyō. 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 Shakudaikanin (S. Sakrodevendra) and Bonten (S. MahāBrahmā); members of the eight classes of demigods (*hachibushū*), for example, the magora (S. mahōraga), the kinnara, Nanda ryū-ō (S. nāga); a Kongōrikishi (S. Vajrāpani); and such laypeople as Giba daijin (S. Jiva), Upasoku Junda (S. Cunda), Gogū bunin, a court lady, and Bisharijō daijin chōja, a wealthy government official from the city of Vaisali (see T,XII,374,367c-368a); Itokumukushō-ō and Zentoku upasoku (upāsakas), 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.

⁸T,XII,374,369a,b.

⁹According to tradition, Mâyā died one week after the Buddha's birth and was reborn in Trāyāstrimsa Heaven (Tōriten). Mâyā descends from heaven after the Buddha's entry into Nirvāna and utters a gatha of lament in the Yūgyō-kyō (T,I,1,27a).

¹⁰T,XII,383,1012b-1013a. The robe (*e*), bowl (*hachi*), and staff (*shakujō*) are seen against the tree near the Buddha's head in the paintings in Kakurin-ji 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 Mâyā 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 Pariirvâna 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.

²⁰T,XXXVIII,1766,44b. Takeo Izumi, "Otoku Nehan-zu," pp. 91-92.

²¹Published in the Tendai edition of Genshin's complete works: Nehan kôshiki Eshin Sôzu Zenshû (5 vols.; Sakamoto: Hieizan Senshû-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 I,577.

²⁵Part I, 577.

²⁶Part III, 580. The phrase is identical to the Gobun, T, XII, 377, 905a.

²⁷See note 8.

²⁸T, I, 26c-27a; T, I, 172c; T, I, 188c; T, I, 205b.

²⁹These are the closing gathas of Part III, "The Manner of the Display of Nirvâna," and Part IV, "The Grief of the Assembly." Translations are from Leon Hurvitz, tr., Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 242, 244.

³⁰Illustrated in Egert, "The Iconographic Tradition behind the Oldest Japanese Paintings," pl. 16.

³¹The Taishi-dô 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 raigô* ("The Nine Scenes of Amida's Welcoming Descent") is painted on the wall panel immediately behind the main icon and the Nirvâna scene is on the reverse side of this panel. See the studies of Shimbo Tôru, ed., Nihon no shôheki-ga (3 vols.; Tokyo: Mainichi shimbunsha, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 248-250, pls. 49-54; Okasaki Jôji, "Kakurin-ji Taishi-dô no heki-ga," Gekkan bunkazai, 6 (1976), 30-46.

³²There 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.

³³The literary source for the *raigô* scenes is the Kanmuryôju-kyô (T. XII.365) and the pictorial source is the bottom court of the Taima mandala. Accounts record *Kubon raigô* scenes were depicted on the walls of the Jôgyô-zammai-dô built by Ennin (Jikaku Daishi, 794-864) on Hieizan. To describe a few scenes: for example, in the upper center *kaeri raigô*, 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 Kanmuryôju-kyô in order to ensure the rebirth of the worst of beings. An English translation of the dying hour instructions is Junjirô Takakusu, "The Amitâyur-Dhyâna-Sûtra," in Buddhist Mahâyâna Texts, The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 49, p. 197-199. Illustrated in Okasaki, "Kakurin-ji Taishi-dô no heki-ga," pp. 32-39.

³⁴Each of the nine degrees of rebirth is depicted in a separate panel in the Byōdō-in murals.

³⁵The name of the society was taken from the samadhi 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.

³⁶Nijūgozammai-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.

³⁷The Ōjōyōshū was completed in 985. The structure of the Nijūgozammai-shiki is identical to the first chapter of the Ōjōyōshū, 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 Ōjōyōshū's first two chapters. See the study of the set's iconography by Ogushi Sumio, "Jukkai-zu ko," Bijutsu kenkyū, 119 (1941), 359-374 and 120 (1941), 398-410. A discussion of the Ōjōyōshū by Allan A. Andrews, "The Essentials of Salvation: A Study of Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū*," Eastern Buddhist, 4, No. 2 (1971), 50-87.

³⁸The sources, for example, Genshin's biography, Genshin Sōzu-den, are given in Kageyama Haruki, Hieizan-ji: sono kōsei to shomondai (Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 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.

³⁹The Ryōzen-in Shaka-dō mainichi sahō, written in Kankō 4.7/3 (1004): Eshin Sōzu zenshū, vol. 5, pp. 543-544.

⁴⁰The inscription is recorded by Kageyama, Hieizan-ji, p. 123. The *rokudō* paintings are thought to be 14th century copies of the Ryōzen-in works.

⁴¹In addition to the daily rite (*shiki*) and activities (*sahō*, see note 42), an expounding of the Hoke-kyō and the reading of Genshin's Ryōzeni-n 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.

⁴²The establishment of the character and function of the society was detailed in the *Yogawa Shuryōgon-in nijūgozammai-kishō* (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 *Nijūgozammai-kishō* and the *Nijūgozammai-shiki* were based on the main ideas of the Ōjōyōshū. Japanese Buddhologists agree that because the Ōjōyōshū relates directly to the aims and operation of the *nijūgozammai-e*, Genshin wrote the Ōjōyōshū as a devotional manual for a *nembutsu* society. See the studies of: Hori Daiji, "Nijūgozammai-e to Ryōzenin Shaka-kō," ; Inoue Mitsusada, Nihon jōdo-kyō seiritsushi no kenkyū (Tokyo: Yamagawa shuppansha, 1956), pp. 134-151; Ishida Mizumaro, Genshin, Nihon shisō taikai 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).

⁴³*Yogawa Shuryōgon-in nijūgozammai-kishō* (jūnikojō), Eshin Sōzu Zenshū, vol. 1, pp. 339-349; point 2, p. 340.

⁴⁴This description of a *rinjū nembutsu* session, outlined in chapter 6 of the Ōjōyōshū, is point 4 of the *hakkojō-kishō* and point 9 of the *jūnikojō-kishō*. Remnants of five-colored threads are still attached to Amida's hands in a *raigō* painting in the Konkaikōmyō-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.

⁴⁵According to various sources, the event was called either the *Yogawa mukae-kō no gishiki* or the *Nijūgozammai mukae-kō*. See Hori, "Yogawa bukkyō no kenkyū," p. 229 and "Nijūgozammai-e 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.

⁴⁶See Nakano Genzō's description of the ceremony, in which he contends an image like the Daruma-dera Nirvāna 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.

⁴⁷Part IV, 581.

⁴⁸Okazaki, "Kakurin-ji Taishi-dô no heki-ga," p. 30; Nakao, Nehan-zu no meisaku, cat. no. 7.

⁴⁹See the studies of: Yamamoto Nobuyoshi, "Hokke hakkô to Michinaga no Sanjikkô," Bukkyô Geijutsu, 77 (September 1970), 71-84 and 78 (October 1970), 81-95; Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus Lectures: Hokke Hakkô in the Heian Period," Monumenta Nipponica, 39, No. 4 (1984), 393-407.

⁵⁰M. W. De Visser, Ancient Buddhism in Japan (2 vols.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935), vol. 1, 250-256, 328-332; vol. 2, 625-36.

⁵¹Illustrations of the image of *Fugen jûrasetsunyo* are in Nara National Museum, ed., Hoke-kyô 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 raigio*-like icon in the Kamakura-Nambokuchô 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 Nirvâna 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-gyô and the Gobun, is seen in the majority of them, for example in the Henmyo-in, Jôdo-ji, Ryûgan-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 Daihatsu-nehan-gyô-sho, the Bussho-gyô-san, and the Butsu-hongyô-kyô.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 Ryûgan-ji painting has double the number found in the Type I Kongôbu-ji scene. The new members include more monks and layfollowers. The animal kingdom is represented by insects, birds, serpents, crabs, elephants and mythical animals.⁴ Shaka's guardian retinue has expanded. The traditional retinue is present, the hachibushû, the two kongôrikishi 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 Mahâyâna text records as witnesses of the event.⁵

The universal display of grief characteristic of Type II is in keeping with such texts as the Hokuhon-nehân-gyô, the Gobun and the Mahamaya-kyô.⁶ 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 Ryûgan-ji and Henmyô-in paintings. In other paintings, such as the Jôdo-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-kyô.⁷ 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.⁸ 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.⁹

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 290-306.¹⁰ 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 Mâyâ 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 *raigô* motif from the Heian to the Kamakura Period. The Mâyâ motif in Type I paintings is comparable to early *raigô* representations, such as the Hokke-ji triptych and the Kôyasan *Amida shôju raigô*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 raigô* 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 Mâyâ 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 Mâyâ motif has been influenced by the *raigô* tradition is the fact that the figures are standing.¹³

II.1.2. The Cycles of the *Hassô* Nirvâna Paintings

Despite the fact that all the images included within the Type II Nirvâna share in common a similar central Nirvâna scene proper, they differ in the manner in which the cycle of Buddha's Nirvâna is presented. The

differing arrangements and iconographical features of the *hassô* Nirvâna 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, Jishô-in and Henmyô-in, the Nirvâna scene proper is one of a cycle of eight scenes of the story of the Buddha's Parinirvâna. In this type the incidents that occurred before and after Buddha passed into Nirvâna are depicted around the Nirvâna scene proper. The painting in the Jishô-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.
3. The World-Honored One's Mahâparinirvâna.
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 Kusinâgara 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 Mahâkasyapa.
8. Kôshô 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-kyô 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. Hīnayāna works such as the Butsuhatsu-naion-gyō, the Hatsu-naion-gyō, and the Yūgyō-kyō of the Jōagon-gyō; and such Mahāyāna texts as the Gobun, the Makamaya-kyō, the Bussho-gyō-san, and the Butsu-hongyō-kyō. Variations occur; for example, the number of incidents in the story varies, as seen in the difference between the Butsuhatsu-naion-gyō and the Daihatsu-nehan-gyō, or the Bussho-gyō-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 Yūgyō-kyō and the Bussho-gyō-san evolves into a detailed account of the route of the flying coffin in the Gobun.¹⁷ A simple act of homage by Mahākasyapa at the feet of Buddha becomes in the Butsuhatsu-naion-gyō, the Daihatsu-nehan-gyō, and the Gobun a spectacle in which Buddha miraculously manifests his feet outside the coffin.¹⁸ Changes of emphasis also occur; the historical incident of Buddha's last repast in the house of Cunda, a brief passage in the Bussho-gyō-san, is expanded into a great event of offering and discussion in the Hokuhon-nehan-gyō.¹⁹ As demonstrated in the discussion of the Nirvāna proper, it is difficult to distinguish the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna 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.²⁰

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 *hassô* paintings can be compared to the monumental wall paintings of Caves 332 and 61 at Dunhuang.²¹ 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 Nirvâna proper is slightly larger in scale, the cycle of eight scenes is the core of the Group I version.

In contrast, the Nirvâna scene in Group II, as represented by the Kôsan-ji and Saikyô-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.²²

The third group of Type II images, as represented by the Ryûgan-ji painting, is in fact a mixture of the Group I and II *hassô* versions with additional characteristics unique to itself (figure 3). In this painting the Nirvâna proper is much larger in scale than the other surrounding scenes of the Nirvâna cycle. Although this feature generally corresponds to the Group II version, the Ryûgan-ji painting displays a much greater scale discrepancy. The markedly reduced scale and the secondary position of the Nirvâna-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.²³ 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 Nirvâna cycle of the Ryûgan-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 Ryûgan-ji's *hassô* version is the inclusion of the fuller life cycle of Shaka.

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

The Group V version is represented by the Jôdo-ji painting (figure 5). A large Type II Nirvâna proper is surrounded on three sides by smaller scenes. An expanded Nirvâna 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-nehân-gyô. The presence of Monju Bosatsu, identified by the five-knot hairdo, in the fifteenth scene (bottom right) also points to a Mahâyâna 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 Nirvâna story (plates XIX-XXI). In

contrast to the single motif of the descending Mâyâ troupe, the post-Nirvâna story in the Makamaya-kyô is fuller: Anuruddha's ascent to Trâyastimsa to inform Mâyâ of her son's extinction (No. 9); Mâyâ'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 *hassô* Nirvâna series of paintings are by no means identical. Nevertheless, depending upon the variation in question, the Nirvâna cycle in every case is simplified or elaborated. Within this tradition the central Nirvâna scene appears to function as an axis around which the related Nirvâna incidents are placed (figures 1-3). In some variations the Nirvâna scene comes to stand alone (figures 4-6). The point of importance is the Nirvâna scene proper assumes a certain independence.

The Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings offer a clue to the systemic development of the Nirvâna tradition. The increased scale of the Nirvâna proper enforces the elimination of the other Nirvâna-related episodes from the main composition. In the Jôdo-ji painting the incidents are relegated to the margins. The extraction of the Nirvâna proper from the unit of the Nirvâna story results in the independent Type II Nirvâna scene. Examples are paintings in the Hongaku-ji, Chôfuku-ji, Engaku-ji and Tôfuku-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 Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja collections exhibit an unprecedented iconographic feature (plates VIII, IX). The Ryûgan-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 Jôdo-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. Mâyâ 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 Mâyâ's right side. The implication is that Mâyâ 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 Mâyâ'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 Mâyâ'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-zuiô-hongi-kyô, the Fuyô-kyô, the Kakogenzai-inga-kyô, and the Shuko-makatai-kyô.²⁴ Distinctive pictorial and iconographical motifs are depicted in each of the cycles of the Ryûgan-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.²⁵ Differences, however, are recognizable. In contrast to the simple narrative of the Shugyô-hongi-kyô, the Taishi-zuiô-hongi-kyô, and the Ishutsu-bosatsu-hongi-kyô, the story is expanded in the Fuyô-kyô, the Hôkô-daishôgon-gyô, and the Butsu-hongyô-shû-kyô. 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-inga-kyô and the Hôkô-daishôgon-gyô. 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-kyô.²⁶

Continued comparison of the motifs with the texts reveals the subject matter of the paintings follows the Inga-kyô and Daishôgon-kyô more closely than any other sutras. A distinctive motif occurs in the scene of the Great Departure. The Daishôgon-kyô 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-kyô.²⁷ The Four Guardian Kings are depicted in the paintings in the collections of Daifukuden-ji, the Kuon-ji and the Jôraku-ji in contrast to the devas in the Nezu Museum version of the illustrated Inga-kyô 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-kyô suggest the two are linked. This is further supported by a comparison between the Ryûgan-ji cycle and the Illustrated Inga-kyô. For example the grasscutter episode is illustrated in the eighth-century *E-Inga-kyô* 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, Jôraku-ji and Jikô-ji collections.²⁹ The copying of the Inga-kyô, 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 Shugyô-hongi-kyô, the Fuyô-kyô, or its later translation the Hôkô-daishôgon-gyô being copied. Moreover, the Inga-kyô came back into vogue in the Kamakura Period. These facts suggest that the iconography of the life cycle in the Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings might have some connection with the illustrated Inga-kyô. The differences between the Ryûgan-ji-Tsurugi-jinja

unit and the *E-inga-kyô* 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.³⁰

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.³¹ The treatment accorded the classic events of the conception, the defeat of Mara, and the first sermon are cases in point. Accounts in the Shugyô-hongi-kyô, Inga-kyô, and Shuko-makatai-kyô state that the Bodhisattva descended from Tusita riding upon a white elephant.³² In other texts, for example the Fuyô-kyô, the Hôkô-daishôgon-kyô, and the Butsu-hongyô-shû-kyô, the Bodhisattva is actually changed into a white elephant.³³ 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 seppô-zu*).³⁴ 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 Nirvâna, suggests that another system underlies the Ryûgan-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 *hassô*.³⁵ The iconography of this was not fixed, for example, the list in the Shôdaijô-ron--residency in Tusita, birth, education, passions, leaving home and austerities, attainment of enlightenment, turning the wheel of the law, entering Nirvâna--³⁶ differs from the events given in the Jûjikyô-ron--descent from Tusita, conception, abode in the womb, birth, leaving home, attaining Buddhahood, turning the wheel of the law, entry into Nirvâna.³⁷ The Ryûgan-ji-Tsurugi-jinja unit conforms to the listing in the Shikyô-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 Nirvâna.³⁸

In addition to the canonical tradition of the biography from conception to the teaching career, a tradition based upon such texts as the Bussho-gyô-san, Butsu-hongyô-kyô and the Sôga-rasetsu-shoshû-kyô narrated the events from the conception to Nirvâna.³⁹ However, as has been demonstrated, the iconography of the individual scenes of the life cycle and the Nirvâna 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 hassô*, 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 Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja examples, but the iconography of the individual scenes, for example the conception, the departure, and the enlightenment, is different. The *hassô* theme is represented in the sets of hanging scrolls in the Kuon-ji, Jôraku-ji and Jikô-ji collections. These

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 Nirvāna cycle (the Nirvāna proper in the Tsurugi-jinja work). The Nirvāna 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-hongyō-kyō, and the Sōga-rasetsu-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 Nirvāna cycle has been integrated with

the *hassô*-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 Nirvâna 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-kyô life story seems to downgrade its importance, this is not necessarily so. The composition of the Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings can be compared to the *hensô* (Paradise) painting, for example the Daihôben-butsumôn-kyô *hensô* in Dunhuang Cave 8 and 61 and a version of the Kanmuryôju-kyô *hensô* in Cave A194 and A171.⁴⁰ The side scenes of the Hôon-kyô 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 Kanmuryôju-kyô 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 Hôon-kyô and Kanmuryôju-kyô *hensô* 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 Jôdo *hensô* in Cave 61 and the Hokke-kyô *hensô* 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.⁴¹ The Manju-ji and Henmyô-in paintings are in this tradition. In the Mahâyâna Pure Land context, *hensô*, 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 Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings are not an iconographic afterthought.

On the other hand, the Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings are not identical to the *hensô* in all respects. The iconography of the *hensô* draws on a single textual source, whereas two pictorial traditions based upon different texts have been amalgamated in the Ryûgan-ji programme.⁴² Moreover, this type of format, which is common in the Chinese tradition of *hensô* painting, is not found in Japan except in the Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings.

The generic distinction between Type I and *hassô* 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 Ryûgan-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 Ryûgan-ji and Tsurugi-jinja paintings. This suggests the presence of another intermediary source. Chapter Three will argue that Myôe Shônin 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 Nirvāna 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.

⁴Hokuhon-nehan-gyō, T,XII,369a. For a study of the animals in the Nirvāna paintings, see Nakano Genzō, "Nehan-zu no dobutsu-ga," Bukkyō geijutsu, 104 (November 1975), 65-91, and 107 (March 1976), 38-57.

⁵T,XII,366a-371b.

⁶T,XII,371c; T,XII,900b.

⁷T,XII,383,1012b.

⁸T,XII,1012a; T,XII,905b,c; Yūgyō-kyō, T,I,1,2b; Butsuhatsu-naion-gyō, T,I,5,172c; Daihatsu-nehan-gyō, T,I,7,205a,b,c; Bussho-gyō-san, T,I,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 parinirvāna 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,I,172c.

¹¹See Introduction, note 3 for information about the Kōyasan painting. The Hokke-ji triptych is illustrated in Jōdo-kyō kaiga, pls. 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,I,28a; Bussho-gyō-san, T,IV,52a; Daihatsu-nehan-gyō, T,I,206b; Gobun, T,XII,900b.

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

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

²⁰Umezu 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, "Tonkô ni okeru henbun to kaiga," in Heian jidai sezoku-ga no kenkyû (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1964), pp.427-454; Umezu Jirô, "Hen to henbun," Kokka, 760 (July 1955), 191-207.

²¹Cave 332 is dated to 698 of the Tang Dynasty and Cave 61 is dated to the Five Dynasties. Illustrated in Chûgoku sekkutsu, vol. 3, pls. 89-91; vol. 5, pl. 65-67. See also Matsumoto Eichi, Tonkô-ga no kenkyû, vol.1, pp. 235-239, vol. 2, pl. 84a and b.

²²The episode of the 'miraculous resuscitation and last words to Mâyâ' 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 offering of Cunda.

²³See Chûgoku sekkutsu, vol. 5, pp.225-22, pls. 106-109; and Matsumoto Eichi, Tonkô-ga, vol.1, pp.232-235; vol. 2, pl. 83a,b.

²⁴Taishi-zuiô-hongi-kyô, T,III,185; Fuyô-kyô, T,III,186; Kako-genzai-inga-kyô, T,III,189; Shuko-makatai-kyô, T,III,191. Others are: Shugyô-hongi-kyô, T,III,184; Hôkô-daishôgon-gyô, T,III,187; Ishutsu-bosatsu-hongi-kyô, T,III,188; Butsu-hongyô-shû-kyô, T,III,190.

²⁵Chart. Appendix III.

²⁶T,III,625a,b (hereafter Inga-kyô); T,III,553a,b,c (hereafter Daishôgon-kyô).

²⁷T,III,633a; T,III,575c.

²⁸Illustrated in Kyoto National Museum, ed., Nihon no setsuwa-ga (Kyoto: Benridô, 1961), pls. 4-5, 6-8, 9-10. The Nezu Museum E-inga-kyô is published in Tanaka Ichimatsu, ed., Vol. 16 of Nihon emakimono zenshu: E-inga-kyô (24 vols.; Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1969).

²⁹The Hoon-in version is illustrated in Nihon emakimono zenshû: E-inga-kyô, vol. 16, pp. 38-55, pls. 7-11. The set of scrolls in the Jikô-ji is reproduced and discussed by Sekiguchi Masayuki, "Hiroshima Jikô-ji shozô Shaka hassô-zu ni tsuite", Bijutsu kenkyû, 317 (July 1981), 21-32; 319 (March 1982), 97-105; 320 (September 1982), 163-172.

³⁰It should be noted that the Kako-genzai-inga-kyô, 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.

³¹The 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.

³²T,III,463b; T,III,624a; T,III,938c.

³³T,III,491ab; T,III,548c; T,III,683b. Banner paintings from Dunhuang depict the two different versions of the event. See Matsumoto Eichi, Tonkō-ga, vol. 2, pls. 72b and 73a.

³⁴The 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 Museum, ed., Jōdo mandara--gokuraku jōdo to raigō no roman (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1983), pl. 52.

³⁵The 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.

³⁶There are three Chinese translations of this Indian work: T.XXXI.1592 by Asanga (Asōga); T.XXXI.1593 and 1594 attributed to Asanga (Mujaku).

³⁷T.XXVI.1522 by Vasubandhu (Tenjin). The list in the Daijōkishin-ron (T.XXXII.1666 and 1667) attributed to Asvaghosa (Memyō) is identical to the Jūjikyō-ron.

³⁸T.XLVI.1929.

³⁹Bussho-gyō-san, T.IV.192; Butsu-hongyō-kyō, T.IV.193; Sōgya-rasetsu-shoshū-kyō, T.IV.194.

⁴⁰The Daihōben-butsumōn-kyō (shortened Hōon-kyō) *hensō* is discussed and illustrated in Matsumoto Eichi, Tonkō-ga, vol. 1, pp. 165-187 and vol. 2, pls. 55 a and b. Hanging scrolls in the collection of the British Museum are illustrated in Arthur Waley, A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tunhuang by Sir Aurel Stein, pls. 58, 59. The Kanmuryōju-kyō *hensō* are illustrated in Matsumoto, Tonkō-ga, vol. 2, pls. 4b and 8a,b.

⁴¹Illustrated in Matsumoto, Tonkô-ga, vol. 2, pls. 30a and 38.

⁴²Commentaries sometimes influenced the iconography. An example, to be discussed later, is Shandao's commentary on the Kanmuryôju-kyô.

II.2. Morphological Examination of the *Hassô* Paintings

The majority of the *hassô* paintings have been given a broad Kamakura dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹ The Nirvâna painting in Hongaku-ji bears an inscription by the artist Ryôzen dated to Karyaku 3 (1328) (plate XXIII).² The Chôfuku-ji painting has an inscription dated Jôwa 2(1346) in the upper right corner.³ The scroll rod of the Jôdo-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 Kongôbu-ji and Kakurin-ji paintings. A lower terminus can be established by verifying that the Jôdo-ji, Hongaku-ji and Chôfuku-ji paintings are structurally works of the periods recorded in their inscriptions. A relative date of execution can then be determined for the *hassô* paintings that have been broadly dated to the thirteenth century.

Although the advanced formal structure of the Jôdo-ji, Hongaku-ji, and Chôfuku-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 Jôdo-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 Ryôzen 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 Ryûkô-in, which has an inscription by Yishan Yining (1247 -1317).⁶ 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 (*chinsó*) of the 13th century, for example the portrait of Wuzhun Shifan in Tófuku-ji.⁷ 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.⁸ 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 Kôgaku-ji, executed ca.1271, and in the Tokyo National Museum, dated ca. 1317.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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.¹²

Concerns of another kind are present in the Chōfuku-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 Chōfuku-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 Xinzhong 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 Xinzhong 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 Xinzhong.¹³ The dating of these works is problematical due to discrepancies between the inscriptions and styles.¹⁴ 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 1325.¹⁵ 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 Ryūkô-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 Chôfuku-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 Chôfuku-ji paintings, concerns and influences of another kind are present in the Jôdo-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 Jôdo-ji painting. The differences in brush technique can be seen in the figure of a *rakan* (plates XLI, XLII). In the Hongaku-ji and Chôfuku-ji paintings, these are drawn in a modulated, fluid line, whereas the Jôdo-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 Genzō has suggested that the Jōdo-ji painting is a copy after the Chōfuku-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 Chōga which are dated to the last quarter of the 13th century (plates XLIII, XLIV).¹⁶ 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 Ryūkō-in, the *Shussan Shaka* by Liang Kai, or the Chan portrait paintings in Tōfuku-ji and Kenchō-ji, the brushwork of the Jōdo-ji painting appears tentative in spots and erratic in other areas, whereas the linework in the Chōga paintings is uniform throughout.¹⁷ 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.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 (*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 *Shigisan engi*, *Chōjū giga*, and the *Kegon engi*, reveals collective brush formulas that are present in the Jōdo-ji painting.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 *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 hijiri-e*, which is dated by an inscription to 1299, and the Nirvâna proper and side scenes of the Jôdo-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 Chôfuku-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 Ryûgan-ji paintings, which exhibit similar stylistic features, are dated to the 13th century. Chinese influences are evident. The Henmyô-in, Jishô-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 Ryûgan-ji paintings in contrast to the Jôdo-ji and Kongôbu-ji paintings. As opposed to the precise description of space in the Jôdo-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 Ryûgan-ji paintings (plates VI, VIII, XLVIII). The figures are organically conceived in terms of structure, volume, and detail, and display a verisimilitude 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 Kongôbu-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 Kongôbu-ji painting show little penetration into depth. In contrast the tree branches, leaves and flowers of the Manju-ji and Ryûgan-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 Kongôbu-ji painting to the more complex structure of the Jôdo-ji painting. The point of change in the Manju-ji and Ryûgan-ji works is the movement away from the Fujiwara painting tradition and its conceptual convention of space as seen in the Kongôbu-ji painting.

The qualities of mass and solidity characterize the pictorial motifs of the Manju-ji and Ryûgan-ji paintings in contrast to the Kongôbu-ji forms. The form-type and linear variations of the figures in the Kongôbu-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 Ryûgan-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 Kongôbu-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 Ryûgan-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.²² 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.²³ 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 Jôdo-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 Ryûkô-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 Jôdo-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 Ryōgan-ji paintings.²⁴ 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 Nirvāna 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 seishū 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.²⁵

In summary, the Manju-ji and Ryōgan-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).²⁶ 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).²⁷ 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 *Kegan 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 *E-inga-kyō*, a set dated to 1254 (Kenchō 6), and in a later 13th century version.²⁸ 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 1294.²⁹

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 Budda Shason7sono shōgai to zōkei, Nehan-zu no meisaku, Nara National Museum, ed., Kokuhō Jūyō bunkazai: bukyō bijutsu (8 vols., vols.; Tokyo: Kogakkan, 1971-1981), Kyūshū 2, cat. no. 51; Chūkokū 1, cat. no. 37; Chūkokū 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

Western Sea, the Second Month 1328). See Akazawa Eiji, "Kaiseijin Ryôzen hitsu Butsu nehan-zu ni tsuite", Kokka, 1045 (1981), 13.

³The inscription is reproduced in Nehan-zu no meisaku, cat. no. 23.

⁴The inscription reproduced in Nehan-zu no meisaku, cat. no. 26 is: "Bunei jûichinen Kokawadera-sô Zuigakubô..." (1274 the Kokawa-dera monk Zuigakubô..).

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

⁶The 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 meihô-ten (Kyoto: Benridô, 1985), pl. 75. Four of the Ryôkô-in set of "Sixteen Rakans" are illustrated in Daitoku-ji no meihô, pl. 76.

⁷The inscription by Wuzhun Shifan (1177-1249) is dated 1238. The painting is illustrated in Kyoto National Museum, ed., Zen no bijutsu (Kyoto: Hôzokan, 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 *chinso*, the treatment of the *rakan*'s face in the Hongaku-ji painting can be placed within this tradition.

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

⁹The Kôgaku-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 Kenchô-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.

¹⁰Illustrated by Akazawa, "Kaiseijin Ryôzen hitsu", fig. 4. The treatment of the motif differs. There is a detailed build up of dry brush strokes and

washes of ink in Ryôzen's form in contrast to a cursive rendering of wet ink strokes in Mokuan's painting. The stylistic source for Mokuan'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 (Kyôdô Kakuen, d. 1306), and a work in the Nakamura collection. Illustrated in Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Kyôdô Kakuen chosan no shosakuin o megutte," Kokka, 881 (1965), 16 and pl. 4.

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

¹²The Southern Song Chan spontaneous tradition is represented by the rough monochrome ink works of Liang Kai (active first half of 13th century) and Muqi. Ryôzen's works as a whole manifest a movement from orthodox color and gold paintings to pure ink monochrome painting. A comparison of Ryôzen's *rakan* set in Kennin-ji with his model in Kinryû-ji show his interests. In contrast to his model, Ryôzen'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. Ryôzen's career (active mid- 14th century) is discussed by Carla M. Zainie, "Ryôzen: From Ebusshi to Ink Painter", Artibus Asiae, 40, 2/3 (1978), 93-123.

¹³The 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 sô-gen butsu-ga," Bijutsu Kenkyu, 45 (September 1935), 425-426 and Suzuki Kei, Mindai kaigashi kenkyû: Seppa (Tokyo: Tôyô bunka kenkyûjo, 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 kenkyû, 20 (August 1933), 378, 380.

¹⁴See the studies of the Ningpo paintings by: Kajitani Ryoji, "Liku shinchû hitsu jû-ô-zu," Kokka, 1020 (1979), 22-38; Suzuki Kei, Mindai kaigashi kenkyû: Seppa, pp. 777-122; Teisuke Toda, "Figure Painting and Ch'an-Priest Painters in the Late Yuan," Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting (Symposium at the National Palace Museum, Republic of China, 1970) (Taipei, 1972), pp. 391-408; Watanabe Hajime, "Kanki aru sô-gen butsu-ga," Bijutsu kenkyû, 45, 422-428.

¹⁵Illustrated in Wenwu Chu Ban She, ed., Yongle Gong Bi Hua Xuan Ji, Peking, 1958.

¹⁶Discussed by Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Ebusshi 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.

¹⁷Liang Kai's "Shaka Descending from the Mountains" is illustrated in Zen no bijutsu, cat. no. 104, pl. 153.

¹⁸Professional 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.

¹⁹The figure of a monk was examined from each work. *Shigisan engi*, in the collection of Chôgomonshi-ji, is discussed and illustrated in Nihon emakimono zenshû, vol. 2 and Komatsu Shigemi, ed., Nihon emaki taisei (27 vols.; Tokyo: Chûôkôronsha, 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 emakimono taisei, vol. 6. *Kegon engi*, also in the Kôzan-ji collection, is dated ca. 1220-30 and is published in Nihon emakimono zenshû, vol. 7; and Nihon emaki taisei, vol. 17.

²⁰*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.

²¹Treatment 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

Shōju-raigō-ji), dated to the second half of the 11th century. See Takasaki Fujihiko, "Jūroku rakan-zu (Tohaku-bon) no yoshikiteki kenkyū," Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan kiyo, 2. (1966), 141-186 and "Rakan-zu," Nihon no bijutsu, 11, No. 234 (1985), 25-38.

²²Tanjō to nehan no bijutsu, p. 35.

²³A 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.

²⁴An 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.

²⁵These 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 shōrai zuzō no denpa," Kokka, 1026 (1979), 16-37; Hamada Ryūhen, "Zuzō", Nihon no bijutsu, 12, No. 55, 45-46; Ono Genmyō, "Tōmatsu godai chōsō jidai no bukkō-ga," Kokka, 513, 514, 516-519, 524, 528-529. The *Denpō sheishū teiso-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 *Zenshū 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.

²⁶Mizuno 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.

²⁷Compare a figure from the *Shigisan engi*, the *Kegon engi*, a Nirvāna painting published in Kokka 605, and an inscribed Nirvāna 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).

²⁸Sections of the Kenchō 6 version are in the Nezu Art Museum and the Goto Art Museum. Sections of the late 13th century copy, formerly in the Matsunaga collection, are now in the Powers collection. See Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Chūsei ni okeru E-inga-kyō no shosakuin," Nihon emakimono zenshū, vol. 16, pp. 58-63.

²⁹*Butsugen Butsumo* ("Buddhalocani") is published in Kyoto National Museum, ed., Kōzan-ji-ten (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum), pl. 27. *Kegon kai-e zenchishiki mandara* ("The Kalyānamitras of the Avatamsaka Ocean Assembly"), in the Tōdai-ji collection, is illustrated in Nara rokudai-ji taikan kankōkai, ed., Nara rokudai-ji taikan (14 vols.; Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1968-1973), vol. 11, Todaiji, part 3, pls. 126-127, 147-148. This work is discussed by Jan Fontein, The Pilgrimage of Sudhana (The Hague: Mouton, 1967), pp. 108-112; Ishida Hisatoyo, "Myōe Shōnin o meguru Kegon hensō-zu," Kokka, 879 (June 1965), 9-29.

II.3. Iconographic Examination

Specific iconographic features of the *hassô* 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 Nirvâna proper. Second, the iconography of the side scenes of the Ryûgan-ji and Jôdo-ji paintings can also provide clues to the historical positions of the paintings.

With the Nirvâna scene, changes occur in the type and appearance of members of the guardian retinue. In contrast to the Kongôbu-ji painting and the Jôdo-ji and Chôfuku-ji paintings, the ferocious aspect of some of the retinue, angry-faced with hair standing on end, is emphasized in the Manju-ji and Ryûgan-ji paintings. Moreover, in the Ryûgan-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 (*mikkyô*) 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 Nirvâna 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 *jûniten* nor to such likely choices as the wrathful aspects of Shaka, for example Munôshôkongô or Taigensuimyôô.² The Hokuhon-nehân-gyô, written before the rise of Vajrayâna, obviously does not mention esoteric deities as being present at the event. A list of the 'fifty-two beings' in the Kakuzen-shô, an early 13th century iconographic compilation by the Shingon monk Kakuzen (1143-

1213), adheres to the enumeration given in the 40 volume Mahâyâna sutra.³ Moreover, a Muromachi painting by Tosa no kami Keiko in the collection of Kôshô-ji is labelled, and there are no esoteric figures.⁴

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 Ryûgan-ji and Jôdo-ji paintings, clearly indicative of a later date. In the Zenrin-ji painting and in a Nirvâna image in the collection of Myôkô-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 Nirvâna painting in Chion-ji.⁵ She can be identified as the 8th century unstructured Tantric (*zômitsu*) form of Benzaiten, but the problematical male figure is perhaps best seen as another member of the *zômitsu* pantheon.⁶

Although the changes in the iconography of the exoteric (*kengyô*) 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 *Hannya jûroku zenshin zuzô* and the undated, although stylistically contemporaneous, copy of the *Senjukannon to nijûbachibushû* in the Tokyo National Museum. Points of similarity between these works and the Manju-ji and Ryûgan-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 *Tōhon hakuto mandara*, also serve as concretely dated comparative material for the iconographic type of the ferocious figure.⁷ 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 prototypes 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 *Hakuto mandara* was a personal possession of the Shingon monk-painter Genshō (1145-1208).⁸ 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.⁹

Each member of the hachibushū 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.¹⁰ 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 (Sanjūsangen-dō).¹¹ 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 Sanjūsangendō, 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 Nirvāna 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.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.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 chūki.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 Shôkû's rediscovery of it, the Taima mandala was to become the most important icon in the Japanese Pure Land tradition. Although Shôkô 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 Yûyo Shôsô in 1436.¹⁵ According to this account, a copy of the mandala was painted in Kenpô 5 (1217). The second stage of the transmission occurred in 1237. Shôkû and his disciple Jissôbô commissioned the artist Chôen Hokkyô to make copies of the mandala, which they donated to various temples throughout Japan. Literary accounts also credit Shôkû 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 Hônen and the proselytizing fervor of this movement in the 13th century. Jôdo adherents began to use the handscroll as an easy and effective instrument of mass communication. The scroll painting itself was performed (*etaki*) by "picture explaining monks and nuns".¹⁶ 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 Chûjôhime. The composition of the Jôdo-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, Shômyô Monin (1171-1257), a disciple of Shôkû, and a date of 1257 for

the work.¹⁷ A comparison between the Jôdo-ji painting and the handscroll further supports the Jôdo-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 *goketsu* 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 *raigô* 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,¹⁸ 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).¹⁹ A Monju cult, which was part of a broader religious phenomenon, centered around Eizon and his disciple Ninshô (1211 -1303).²⁰ The nun Shinnyo was a disciple of Eizon.

There is no direct documentation regarding the historical position of the Jôdo-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 Jôdo-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 Jôdo 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*.²¹

The addition of the Inga-kyô life cycle to the iconographic programme of the Ryûgan-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.²² 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.²³ Significant in this context is the re-copying of the *E-inga-kyô*. The Kenchô 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 Kenchô 6 version of the *E-inga-kyô* 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 Kôfuku-ji, thus giving the copy a pedigree.²⁴

The re-appearance of the *hassô* 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, Jikô-ji, and Jôraku-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 *hassô*.²⁵ As was

concluded with the *E-inga-kyô*, 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-kyô*-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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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 Munôshomyôô are in *Zuzôshô*, T, LXXXVIII, zuzô 3, no. 87; *Besson-zakki*, T, LXXXVIII, zuzô 3, no. 226; *Kakuzen-shô*, T, XC, zuzô 5, no. 56 and 57. Types of Taigensuimyôô are

illustrated in Besson-zakki, zuzô 3, nos. 230, 231; Kakuzen-shô, zuzô 5, nos. 323, 324, 325.

³T,LXXXIX, zuzô 4, p. 495.

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

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

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

⁷Compare the wrathful figures no. 8 and 9 of the *Kuyô tô zuzô*, which is illustrated in T, XCII, zuzô 7, pp. 45-46, and those in the Tokyo Museum *Senjukannon to nijûhachibushû* ("Thousand Armed Kannon and Twenty-eight Guardians"), which is illustrated in Hamada, "Zuzô," fig. 124. Another copy of the *Senjukannon* is illustrated in Besson-zakki, T, LXXXVIII, zuzô 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 Ryûgan-ji paintings. This asura-type is seen in the Nirvâna paintings in Henmyô-in, Jishô-in and Ishiyama-dera. The *Tohon hokuto mandara* ("Tang version Northern Star mandala") is illustrated in T, XCII, zuzô 7, p. 52.

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

⁹Mochizuki, Bukkyô daijiten, vol. 3, pp. 3327-3330: Daidenbô-in.

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

¹¹Discussed and illustrated in Mori Hisa, "Sanjûsangen-dô no chôkoku," in Nihon koji bijutsu zenshû, ed. by Kuno Takeshi et al (25 vols.; Tokyo: Shûeisha, 1979-1983), vol. 25, pp. 90-97, fig. 25.

¹²The three types of paintings of Amida's Pure Land in Japan are the Taima mandala, the Chikô mandala, and the Shôkai mandala. The tiny figures are Buddhas (*kebutsu*) and attendants. Illustrated in Nara National Museum, ed., Jôdo mandala - gokuraku jôdo to raigô no roman (April 24-May 29 1983), pls. 30, 31, 48, 75. The Chikô mandala is recorded in the Kakuzen-shô, T, LXXXIX, zuzô 4, plate 37. The motifs of ribboned instruments and descending figures other than Mâyâ are also seen in the Nirvâna paintings in the collections of Jôkyô-ji, Ishiyama-dera, and the Tokyo Museum.

¹³Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, "Rebirth of an Icon: The Taima Mandala in Medieval Japan," Archives of Asian Art, 37 (1983), 59-87. Other commentators on the sutra who also interpreted the sixteen meditations are Huiyuan (334-416), regarded as founder of the Pure land school in China, and the Tiantai patriarch Zhiyi (538-597). Grotenhuis, pp. 62-66.

¹⁴Grotenhuis, "Rebirth of a Icon," pp. 68, 86, note 23.

¹⁵Grotenhuis, "Rebirth of an Icon," pp. 687-0; Kawahara Yoshio, "Taima mandara engi no seiritsu to sono shûhen", Nihon emaki taisei, vol. 24, pp. 90-126.

¹⁶See Barbara Ruch, "Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of a National Literature," in Japan in the Muromachi Age, ed. by John Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp.279-309.

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

¹⁸Ibid., pp.118-122.

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

²⁰Ninshô, who became Eizon's disciple in Eno 1 (1239), had made a personal vow to revere Monju. As early as 1244 Eizon and Ninshô 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 Eizon relates to his activities at Hannya-ji, Nara between Kenchô 7 (1255) and Bunei 4 (1269). Kawahara, "Taima mandala engi emaki," p. 122.

²¹Information on Eizon is from: Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyûjo, ed., Saidai-ji Eizon denki shûsei (Kyoto: Otani shuppansha, 1956); Nara National Museum, ed., Busshari no sôgon (Kyoto: Dohosha, 1983); Wajima Yoshio, Eizon, Ninshô, Jimbutsu sôsho 30 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1959).

²²See the studies: Hasumi Shigeyasu, "Ni sô bunka kôryû to Shunjio Risshi," Shunjio Risshi: Kamakura bukkyô seiritsu no kenkyû, ed. by Ishida Jûshi (Tokyo: Hôzokan, 1972), 232-249; Ito Kazuhiko, "Jôkei no kenkyû7Kasagi inton ni tsuite", in Shôensei shakai to mibun kôzô, ed. by Takeuchi Rizo (Tokyo: Azekura shobô, 1980), pp 307-323; Kamata Shigeo and Tanaka Hisao, Kamakura kyûbukkyô, Nihon shisô taikai 15 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971); Ono Tasunosuke, Shinkô Nihon bukkyô shisô-shi (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1973).

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 sôshizô to Kusha mandara ni tsuite," Ars Buddhica, 1 (1948), 31-55.

²⁴Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Chûsei ni okeru E-inga-kyô no shosakuhin," pp. 58-63.

²⁵Large paintings of the *Shaka nyorai hassô jôdo* were divided between the east and west pagodas at Yakushi-ji in Nara. Fujita Tsuneyo, ed., Kôkan bijutsu shiryô: jûin-hen (3 vols.; Tokyo: Chûô kôron bijutsu shuppan, 1972), vol. 2, 26; Sekiguchi Masayuki, "Hiroshima Jikô-ji shozô Shaka hassô-zu," Bijutsu kenkyû, 317 (July 1981), 21; Mochizuki, Bukkyo daijiten, vol. 5, p.

4216. Although no Heian Period examples survive, the Eiga monogatari (vol.17) records a *Shaka hassô jôdôben* was depicted on the door panels of the Kon-dô of Hôshô-ji, erected in 1022 by Fujiwara Michinaga. See Fujita Tsuneyo, vol. 2, p. 29; and the article by Ienaga Saburo, "Hôjô-ji no sôken", Bijutsu kenkyû, 104, 243-245.

²⁶Illustrate in Matsumoto Eiichi, Tonkô-ga no kenkyû, vol. 2, pls. 79 a,b and

²⁷Budda Shason7sono shôgai to zôkei, p. 358.

MYÔE SHÔNIN AND THE KAMAKURA NIRVĀNA 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 Nirvāna paintings. As mentioned in the Introduction, Japanese art historians Nakano Genzô and Yanagisawa Taka have suggested a connection between the *Shizakôshiki*, the Nirvāna liturgy by Myôe Shônin, and Type II Song Chinese Nirvāna painting.¹ 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).² 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 Nirvāna proper. Myôe's text, on the other hand, is composed of four works: the

Nehan kôshiki (Nirvâna Formulary), *Jûroku rakan kôshiki* (Sixteen Arhats Formulary), *Fuishaku kôshiki* (Traces Formulary), and *Shari kôshiki* (Relics Formulary). The emphasis and themes of the two works differ; and the detail of Myôe's *Shizakôshiki* contrasts with the short dramatic presentation of Genshin's work.

In Nirvâna Text M, the setting is described with phrases similar to those of Text G:³

At Kusinâgara by the River Hiranyavati
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-nehân-gyô:

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 Mahâbodhisattvas, 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 Tathagata.

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-gyô 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 Nirvâna scenes proper.

The Parinirvâna 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 Nirvâna 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.⁴ The facial features of the Buddha are dwelt upon:

Immediately He entered into the fourth dhyana and
arrived at Great Nirvâva.
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 Nirvāna 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;
Mahābrahma 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-nehân-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
 Nirvâna
 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-nehân-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 Nirvâna scene. The highly iconic disposition of the Type I painting is displaced in the Type II Nirvâna scene by an emphasis on the tall trees and the realistic and dramatic responses of grief.

In contrast to Text G, the *Nehan kôshiki* of Text M is a more exhaustive story of the Parinirvâna. In addition to the Nirvâna proper, the episodes that occurred before and after Shaka's entry into Nirvâna are related. Common to both works is Buddha's ascension above the sala trees and his announcement of Nirvâna. However, whereas Text G's rendering stresses the Hokuhon-nehân-gyô's and Hoke-kyô's reiterated theme of the Buddha's eternalness and his contrived 'display' of Nirvâna as a teaching device (*haben*), 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 aishô o agu towa*) are: the inability of the strong Mallas to lift the coffin; the wondrous event of the flying coffin; the homage of Mahâkasyapa and the cremation; and the division of the relics.¹² A comparison between Text M and the *hassô* group of paintings is significant. These five scenes of the Nirvâna cycle are depicted in the Ryûgan-ji painting, as opposed to the Nirvâna cycle of eight events represented in the Manju-ji-Henmyô-in type and the Kôsan-ji-Saikyô-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 Ryûgan-ji format.

The Ryûgan-ji's Nirvâna scene proper and its five-scene Nirvâna cycle serve as a visual counterpart to the *Nehan kôshiki* of Text M. However, unlike the one-to-one relationship demonstrated between the *Nehan kôshiki*

and the Ryûgan-ji's Nirvâna cycle, direct correspondances between the other texts of the *Shizakôshiki* and the appended life cycle in the Ryûgan-ji painting are not at first apparent. A clue is provided in Part IV of the *Nehan kôshiki*, "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 (Tôhôshi), who crossed the vastness of the flowing sands and scaled the summit of the Snow Peaks.¹⁴

The *Yuishaku kôshiki* 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 Genjô. Part I of the *Yuishaku kôshiki*, "The Miracles of the Bodhi Tree" (*Besshite bodaiju no ryôï 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' (*hachidaireitō*)¹⁸ 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 Nirvāna in the Sala Grove.¹⁹

Myōe has quoted this passage from the *Daijō-honjō-shinjikan-gyō*.²⁰ The purport of this sūtra 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 Nirvāna, 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.²¹ 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 Ryûgan-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-kyô.

Hokken's lament that he was not alive during the Buddha's lifetime on earth in Part IV of the *Yuishaku kôshiki* is echoed throughout the four parts of the liturgy. Each text of the *kôshiki* 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 Nirvâna a long time ago, and whose traces and relics are myriads of leagues away.²² The classic doctrine of 'accommodation' is the main theme of the *Shizakôshiki*. However, in contrast to Genshin's Hoke-kyô-based presentation of this traditional principle, Myôe 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.²³

III.2. Myôe Shônin 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.²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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.²⁶

Myōe's performances of the Nirvāna 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*).²⁷ These motifs from the Buddha's life story, drawn from Genjō's travel account, were later incorporated into the *Yuishaku kōshiki*.²⁸ 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 Nirvāna image.²⁹ This liturgy, like the later *Shizakōshiki*, elaborated on the life of Shaka from his birth to Nirvāna, his traces, and his relics.³⁰ His disciple Kikai recounts how Myōe became so distraught with grief at the

description of Buddha's entry into Nirvāna that he himself had to continue the reading of the text.³¹ 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 hōshiki* ("The Form of the Nirvāna Service"). The main icon was a Nirvāna 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 Nirvāna and the *bodaiju*. In addition to the reading of the *Shizakōshiki*, the *Yuikyō-gyō*, the last instructions of Buddha before his Nirvāna, Myōe's favorite sutra since he first read it at the age of eighteen, was expounded and chanted.³²

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.³³ *Buddhalocani* is a personification of the wisdom of Prajnaparamita and from her all Buddhas and bodhisattvas are born.³⁴ *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.³⁵ 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.³⁶ 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.³⁷

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.³⁸ 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.³⁹ The young boy's firm resolution and his pilgrimage symbolized the "aspiration after enlightenment" (*hotsu bodaishin*) and the "holy path" (*shōdō*) of conduct, discipline, and study (*kai jā e*), 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.⁴⁰

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.⁴¹ Disparate iconographies are combined in the programs of its three-story pagoda (*sanjū hōtō*) and Myōe's private devotional hall (*jibutsudō*).⁴² The *Kozan-ji engi* records the program of the *sanjū hōtō*, begun in 1227 and completed in 1231, was planned by Myōe in order to explain his personal concept of *gonmitsu* to his disciples.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ The *Gohimitsu mandara* is composed of five bodhisattvas: Vajrasattva sits encircled by *Yokuknogō* (Desire), *Shōkukongō* (Sense-Joy), *Mankongō* (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

Myôe changed his hermitages and places of meditation many times throughout his years at Kôzan-ji.⁴⁶ The Kôzan-ji engi records the sites that Myôe 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 *Ryôgasen*, after the Ryôga-kyô (Lankavatara-sûtra) which, tradition states, Shaka preached on a mountain of this name in Ceylon. The *Keikyûden* and the *Rababô*, both named after episodes in the Ryôga-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-nehân-gyô, and the Bussho-gyô-san describe the couch upon which Buddha lay at the time of his Nirvâna as a 'rope bed'.⁴⁸ Myôe likened the Kiyotaki River that flowed by his final small retreat, the *Zenkain*, to the Nairanjanâ River in Gayâ, India, where Buddha bathed to mark the end of his six years of austerities.⁴⁹ Myôe'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 Myôe 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 Myôe'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: Myôe's birthplace; the place where Myôe received the Kasuga *myôjin*'s

oracle; the place where Myōe expounded on the technique of meditation on the Buddha's *ushinsa*; 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*.⁵¹ Biographies, poems, stories, and a *noh* play about this saintly monk contributed to the Myōe legend long after his death.⁵²

III.3. *Shizakōshiki* and The *Hassō* Nirvāna 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 Nirvāna ceremony. Pictorial and sculptural representations were important to Myōe.⁵³ 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 Nirvāna 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 accomodation 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 *mappô*, 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-jina 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).

¹Yanagisawa Taka states Myôe wrote the narratives after having seen a Song painting of the eight aspects of the Nirvâna (*hassô nehan-zu*), citing the painting in Manju-ji as a 13th century Japanese copy of this Song example. See Tanjô to nehan no bijutsu, p. 35. Nakano Genzô's arguments and a brief outline of the contents of the *Shizakôshiki* are in Nehan-zu no meisaku, and his article "Nihon no nehan-zu," in Tanjô to nehan no bijutsu, pp. 25-27.

²The order of composition was: *Shari kôshiki* - Kenpo 3, 1/21; *Yuishaku kôshiki* - Kenpo 3, 1/22; *Jûroku rakan kôshiki* - Kenpo 3, 1/24; *Nehan kôshiki* - Kenpo 3, 1/29. In Kennin 3 (1203) Myôe wrote *Jûmujin-in shari kôshiki*, which he read for a Nirvâna ceremony conducted for the Yuasa family in Genkyu 1 (1204). This work was the basis of the *Shizakôshiki*. See the studies of Tanka Hisao, Myôe, Jimbutsu sosho 60 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1961), pp. 707-2,100-101; Kindaichi Haruhiko, Shizakôshiki no kenkyû (Tokyo: Sanshodô, 1964), pp. 16-18.

³Myôe Shônin's *Nehan kôshiki* will be referred to as Text M and Genshin's will be labelled Text G. The reference for this translation of the *Shizakôshiki* is the text in T.LXXXIV.231. 898- 906.

⁴T,XII,377,905a.

⁵T,XII,374,365c, 371c; T,XII,383,1012a; T,XII,905c.

⁶T,LI,2085861c and T,LI,2087,904a,b. Hereafter the two monks will be referred to by their Japanese names Hokken and Genjô; Faxian's work will be called Hokken-den and Xuanzang's Daitô-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: Clarendon 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,LI,903b.

⁸T,XII,905a.

⁹T,XXXVIII,44b.

¹⁰Part III of Text M *Nehan kôshiki* "The Causes and Conditions of Nirvâna" (*Nehan no inen o agu towa*), is heavily didactic.

¹¹Both 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 Nirvāna" (*Jigen nehan no gi*). The incident in Text M is:

Finally at midnight the time of Nirvāna arrived...

He opened his monk's robe, revealing his purple-gold chest.

Universally to the great crowd he proclaimed the following:

"I desire Nirvāna. 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.

¹²See Appendix III. A. for the translations of these incidents. Once again the Gobun (*kikan dabihin daisan*) has been extensively quoted: T,XII,907a-912a.

¹³This passage is quoted from Genjō's Daitō-saiiki-ki, T,LI,904b.

¹⁴The "flowing sands" refers to the Gobi desert and the "Snow Peaks" to the Himalayas.

¹⁵Genjō 's Daitō-saiiki-ki is quoted although the order of the tales differs; T,LI,915b,c. See Appendix III.B. for my translations.

¹⁶Genjō 's Daitō-saiiki-ki, T,LI,911c; 878c; 882c-883a. See Appendix III.C. for translations.

¹⁷The 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.

¹⁸Mochizuki, Bukkyō daijiten, vol. 5, p. 4220.

¹⁹The 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 Trāyastriṃsa Heaven in order to preach to his mother at Kanyakubja; he expounded the Prajnaparamita-sutras (Hannya-kyō) on Gridhrakuta near Rajagriha; he expounded the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (Yuima-kyō) in Ambapalivana (Mango Grove); his Nirvāna in the Sala Grove at Kusināgara.

²⁰T.III.159. Slight changes occur in the passage quoted, for example 'Wilderness' instead of 'Deer-Wild': 鹿野; 鹿野 See T,III,296a.

²¹Hokken 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 *Yogacarābhūmisāstra* (T.XXX.1579; *Yugashiji-ron*).

²²Part I of the *Sharikōshiki*, "Extolling the Merits of the Relics" (*Sojite shari no kutaku o sanzū towa*).

²³The 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.

²⁴The 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.

²⁵This 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.

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

²⁷*Kōzan-ji engi*, p. 317a.

²⁸T,LI,915a,b. See Beal's translation in *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 114-116.

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

³⁰The 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" (*Tōkai shari[nd] engimon*). Nara National Museum, ed., *Kōshiki - hotoke e no santan* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1985), p. 11.

³¹Tanaka, p. 72. The passage, which describes the Buddha's facial features, is also in the *Nehan kôshiki*. See my translation on page 85.

³²*Kôshiki - hotoke e no santan*, pp. 12-13. See also Tanaka, *Myôe*, pp. 16-17, 100. The *Yuikyô-gyô* is T.XII.389.

³³The inscription is reproduced in the *Kôzan-ji-ten*, p. 203.

³⁴Buddhalocani is the central deity in the *henchi-in* (Quarter of Universal Knowledge) of the *Taizôkai mandara*. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyô daijiten*, vol. 5, pp.4445-4446.

³⁵At thirteen, Myôe spent a night alone in a graveyard, hoping to be eaten by wolves. This episode, more than likely fictitious, is patterned after the jataka of Prince Sattva, who sacrificed his body to a starving tigress and her cubs. See Tanaka, *Myôe*, pp. 13-14 and pp. 33-84 for a discussion of Myôe's retreat in Kii.

³⁶The biography is in T.L.2053, *Daitô-daijion-ji-sanzô-hôshi-den*. Examples of Myôe's favored sutras were the *Yuikyô-gyô* (see note 33), *Daihôkô-butsumegon-kyô* (T.IX.278, *Kegon-kyô*; T.X.279, *Shinmegon-kyô*; and T.X.293, *S. Gandavyuha*), and *Shinjikan-gyô* (see note 21).

³⁷Neither writing survives. The former was called *Kinmon gyôkujiku-shû* and the latter was titled *Shôbô kesshû-den*. See Tanaka, *Myôe*, p. 41 and Brock, "Tales of Gisho and Gangyo," pp. 334-335. In the *Jûroku rakan kôshiki*, 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 Genjô's translation of the *Hôjû-ki* (T.XLIX.2030).

³⁸Co-existent with Hônen's religious reformation, the monks of the Nara sects initiated a revival movement. In contrast to Hônen'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" (*shôbô*) 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.

³⁹Sudhana (Zenzai Dôji) 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. Myôe was the major patron of the theme of 'Sudhana and his sages' in Japanese Buddhist art. Examples are the painting in the Kôzan-ji collection, titled *Kegon Kai-e Shoshôjû mandara-zu*, and the painting of the *Kegon Kai-e Zenchishiki-zu* in the Tôdai-ji collection, a copy by Rai-en in 1294 after a mandala at Kôzan-ji. Discussed and illustrated in Fontein, pp. 81-114; Ishida Hisatoyo, "Myôe Shônin o meguru kegon hensô-zu," *Kokka*, 879 (June 1965), 9-28.

⁴⁰The Saijarin (Ikkô Senjushû Senchakushû no naka ni oite Ja o kudaku Rin) was published in November 1212, and the Shogonki (Saijarin Shogonki) in June 1213. See Bandô Shôjun, "Myôe's Criticism of Hônen's Doctrine," The Eastern Buddhist, New Series, 7, No. 1 (1974), 37-54.

⁴¹The name Kôzan-ji, "the temple of the lofty mountain", is a reference to the Kegon-kyô, which, according to legend, was the sutra expounded by Shaka immediately after his enlightenment. See Mochzuki, Bukkyô daijiten, vol. 2, p. 1045.

⁴²The arrangement of icons in the padoga (Kozanji engi, pp. 303-304) was: sculptures of the Kegon-kyô'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 shôjû mandara* on the four surrounding pillars; six guardian figures (*tenzô*) on the east, west, and north doors. The arrangement of paintings for meditation in the *Jibutsudô* was (Kôzanji engi (pp. 307-308): in the center a *Gohimitsu mandara*, to its right a *Kongôkai mandara*, and a *Taizôkai mandara* on its left; in the south a *Kegon shôjû mandara*; in the north a *Zenzai gojûgo chishiki*; an Amida triad; a Bishamonten (S. Vaisravana) by the artist Kaneyasu. The combination of the exoteric Kegon-kyô *Goson* and the esoteric *Gohimitsu mandara* symbolized the union of *kengyô* and *mikkyô*, and, on another level, the union of the *Kongôkai* and the *Taizôkai*. Ishida in "Myôe Shônin o meguru Kegon hensô-zu" explains the relationship between these two icons and Myôe's personal beliefs and interpretations.

⁴³Myôe, a scholar of Kegon philosophy (*kengyô*) and Shingon (*mikkyô*) practices, initiated a simultaneous practice of Kegon and Shingon doctrines, the synthesis of which came to be called *gonmitsu*.

⁴⁴See Bandô Shôjun, "Myôe's Criticism of Hônen's Doctrine," p.42.

⁴⁵The liturgy *Busshô-e kôshiki* ("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. Kôshiki - 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, Jôkei, Shunjô, Myôe, and Eizon and his disciple Ninshô, 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.

⁴⁶The *Rennyadai*, constructed in Kenpo 3 (1215), was the first of his retreats and the last, the *Zenkain*, dates to Kanki 2 (1230). Kikai, *Kôzanji engi*, pp. 310-312.

⁴⁷*Daitô-saiiki-ki*, T,I,911c,915b. 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 Gayâ. The Buddha left his foot prints on a rock when, on his way to Kusinâgara and Nirvâna, he stopped to look back at Magadha for the last time. Both stories are mentioned in the *Yuishaku kôshiki*; see Appendix III.C. for a translation.

⁴⁸T,I,164c; T,I,199a; T,IV,46b.

⁴⁹The episode is recounted in *Hokken-den* and in *Daitô-saiiki-ki*.

⁵⁰The sites on Kôzan-ji and in Kii are recorded in the *Kôzan-ji engi*, pp. 310-318. The wooden markers were established in 1233 at the Kôzan-ji sites of, for example, the *Rennya-dai Sekisui-in Ryôgasen Renkyûden Rababô Yuisekikutsu Jôshôju Jôshinseki*. The wooden markers were replaced by the extant stone pillars in 1321. Kageyama Haruki, "Kôzan-ji no Myôe Shônin iseki," in *Myôe Shônin to Kôzan-ji*, ed. by Myôe Shônin to Kôzan-ji henshû iinkai (Kyoto: Dôbôsha, 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 Myôe Shônin no iseki o tazuneru," in *Myôe Shônin to Kôzan-ji*, pp. 192-206.

⁵¹The inscription on this painting states:

In the midst of Ryôgasen at Kôzan-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 Koben.

This painting is most likely a copy after another portrait of Myôe in meditation on *Ryôgasen* (*Myôe shônin jôshô zazen-zô*), which is also in the Kôzan-ji collection. The painting, on silk, bears an inscription attributed to Myôe and its content is similar to the inscription of the portrait on paper. Illustrated in *Kôzan-ji-ten*, pls. 1, 128. See a discussion of Myôe's portraits and the rites of veneration accorded them in the context of the *rakan* cult by Nakajima Hiroshi, "Myôe shônin jujô zazen-zô no shudai," *Myôe Shônin to Kôzan-ji*, pp. 272-289. Karen Brock discusses the portrait of Myôe meditating in a tree in her reconstruction of the history of the Kôzan-ji Community and its circle of lay patrons during and immediately after Myôe's lifetime; see "Tales of Gishô and Gangyô," pp. 408-414.

⁵²The Myôe legend in literature is presented in the articles of Morrell, "Passage to India Denied," and "Kamakura Accounts of Myôe Shônin as Popular Religious Hero."

⁵³Another 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 Nirvâna 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 Myôe Shônin. Previous Japanese art historians have speculated that Buddhist monks such as Myôe Shônin may have contributed to this dramatic iconographic change. The research represented in this study attests the bolder step of striking specific relations between Myôe Shônin's writings and particular changes in the iconographic forms of his own and subsequent periods. The Nirvâna images in the Ryûgan-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 Myôe Shônin and the changing modes of religious tenets and functions reflected in the iconography of the Japanese Nirvâna paintings between the 12th and 13th centuries. I have argued that the writings of Genshin and Myôe Shônin were not simply reactive, but exercised profound influences which shaped not only contemporary but later iconography as well. While Japanese art historians Nakano Genzô 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

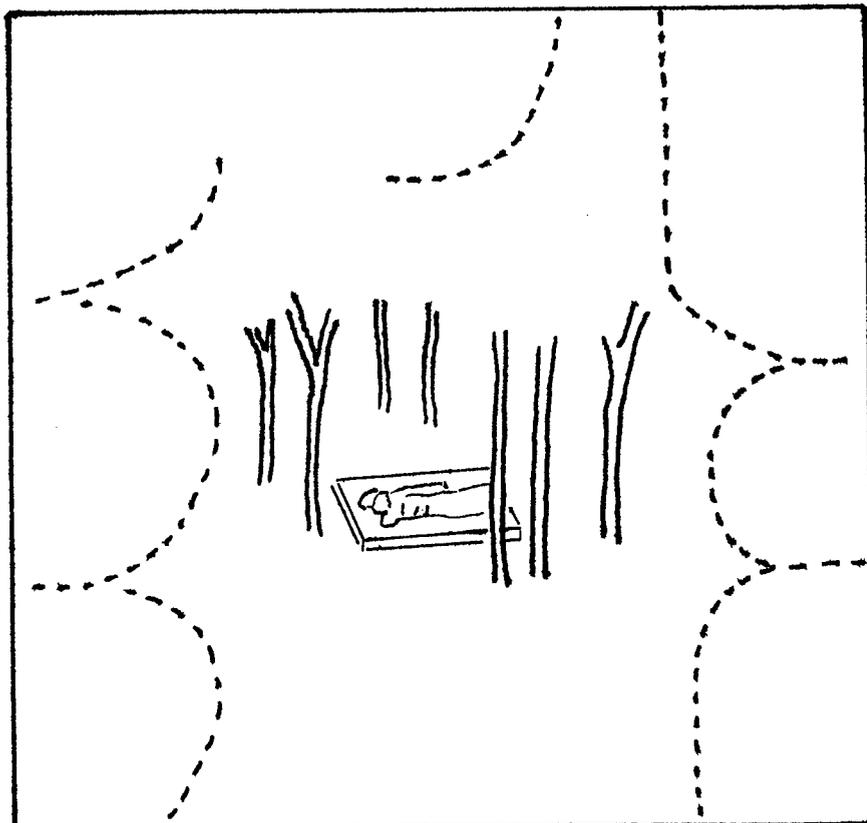


FIGURE 1
TYPE II GROUP I

APPENDIX I

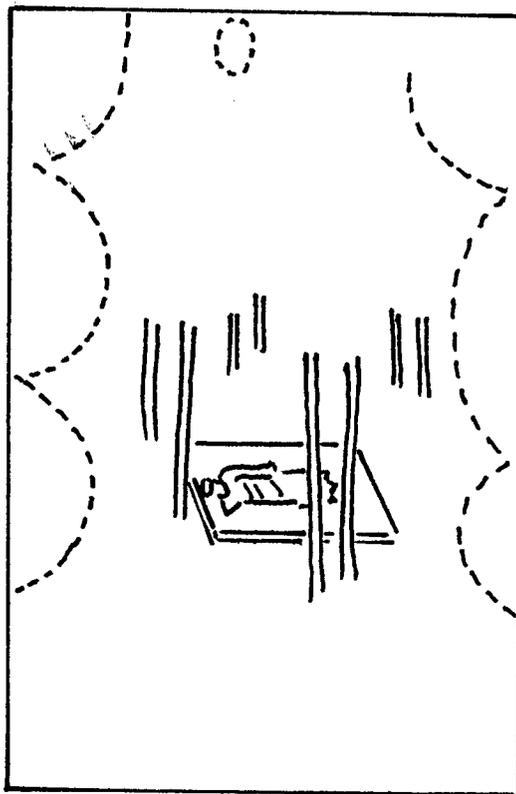


FIGURE 2
TYPE II GROUP II

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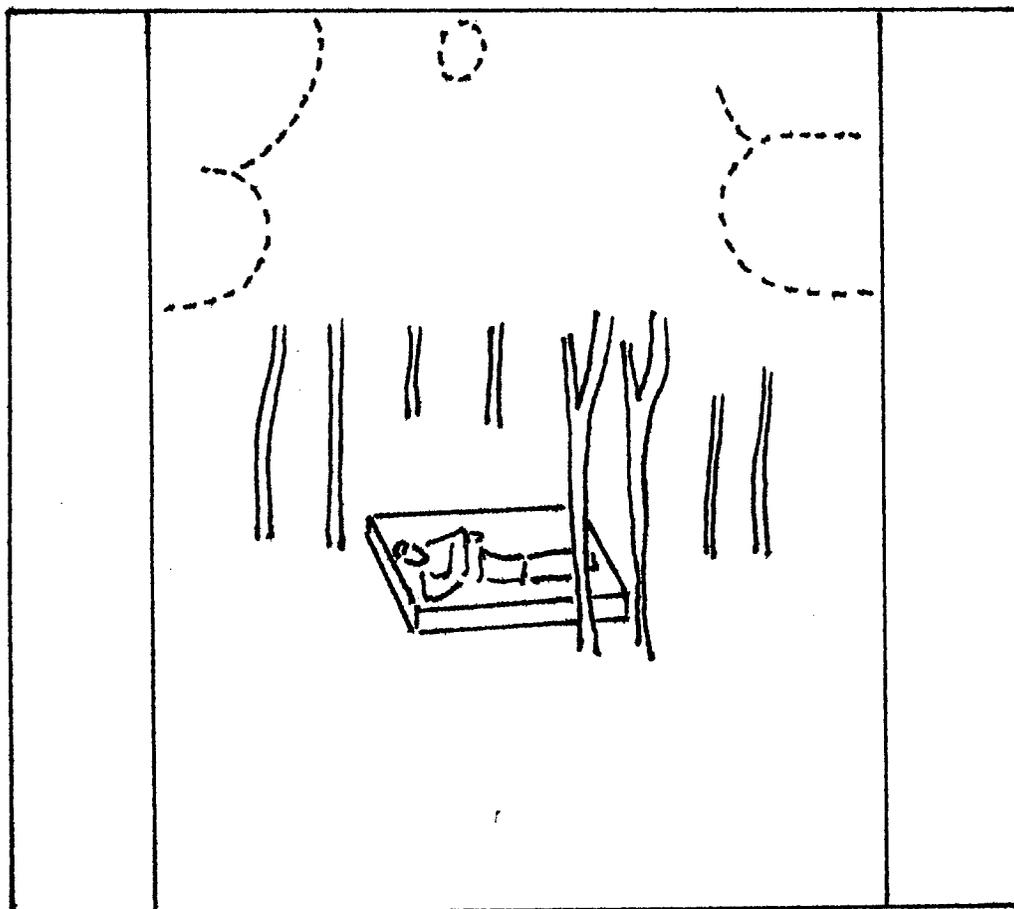


FIGURE 3
TYPE II GROUP III

APPENDIX I

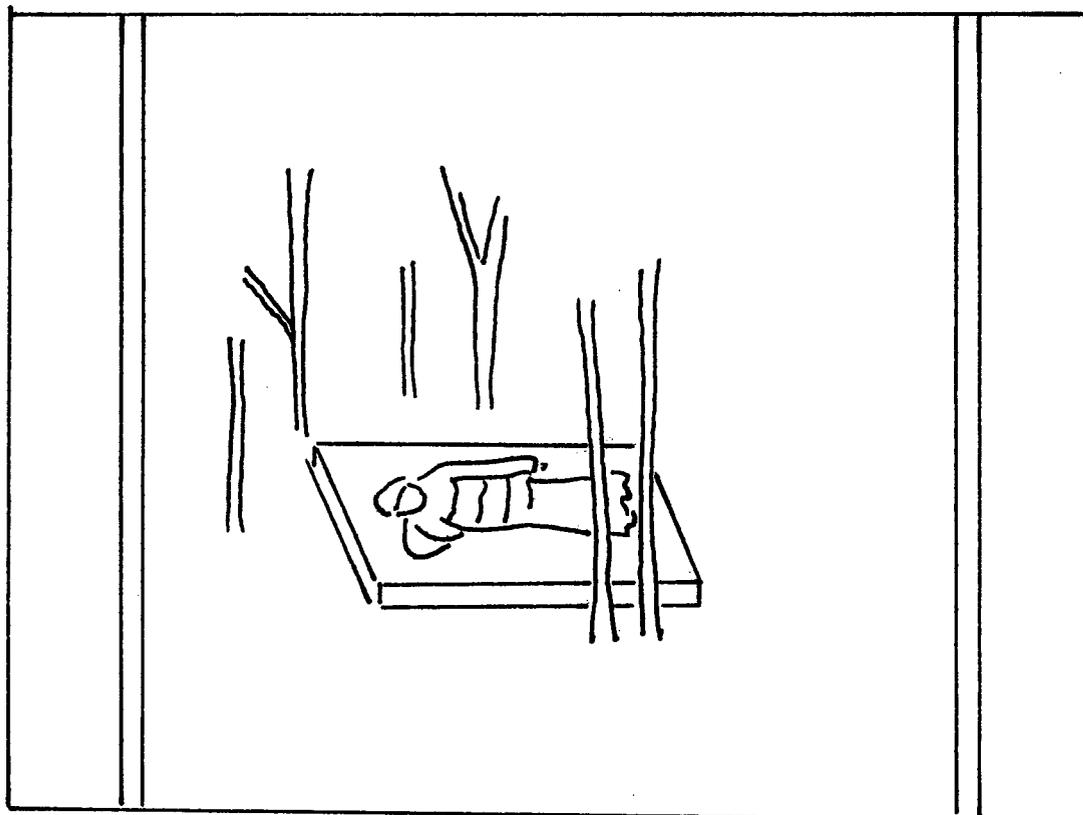


FIGURE 4
TYPE II GROUP IV

APPENDIX I

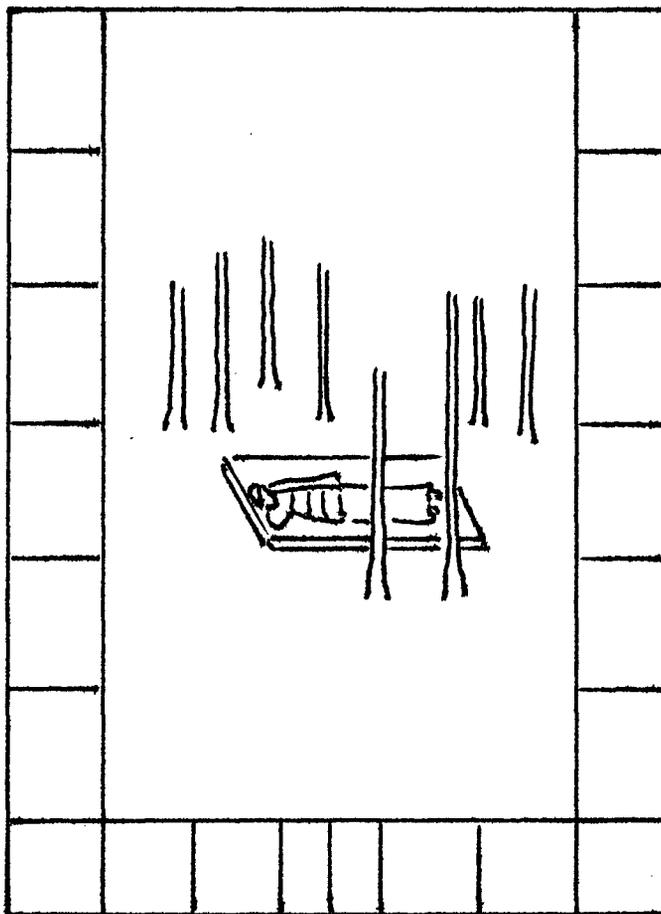


FIGURE 5
TYPE II GROUP V

APPENDIX I

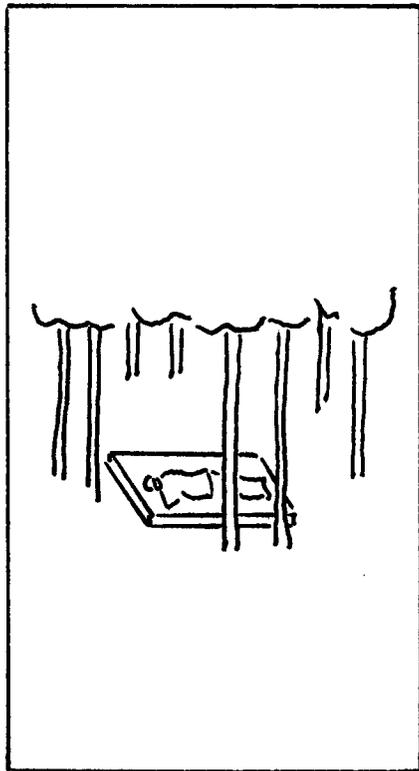


FIGURE 6
TYPE II GROUP VI

APPENDIX II
Collation of Texts

龍藏寺 刻神社	修本起程	瑞應程	普曜程	吳小菩薩程	仙所行程	因果程	仙本行程	莊嚴程	衆許摩訶程	仙本行程	覺禪鈔
託胎 白象 白夢 輒翼	夢:白象 ✓	白象:夢 ✓	白象 ✓		象:神 ✓	白象:神 眠窟之際 ✓	夢:白象 ✓	白象:夢 ✓	夢:白象 ✓	白象 夢 ✓	仙本行程 因果程 普曜程
誕生 柳子丸 七蓮華 瀧水:二龍	右脇 竹七步 X 二龍王	右 七步 X 四天王	右 七步 X 七龍	右 七步 X 四天王	右 七步 七星 虛空中水鏡下	右 七步 七蓮華 二龍王	右 七步 出大蓮花 虛空中水	右 七步 蓮華 龍	右 七步 X X	右 七步 七星 大龍王子	因果程 瑞應程 仙本行程
試芸 投象 相投 射鼓(七)	一 七鼓	一 七鼓	X 一	X	X	一 一	一 一	一 一 七鼓	一 一		瑞應程
四門:東 南:病 西:死 北:沙門 三時殿	老人 病人 死人 沙門	病人 老人 死人 沙門	老病 死沙門	疾病 老	老病 死沙門	老病 死比丘	老病 死 僧:銀林	老病 死比丘	老病 死沙門	病者 命過人 沙門	普曜程
出家 釋迦 山中 前髮 自著 衣交接	四神 一神釋天	鬼神	天界四神	四天王	四神 一白	諸天 一白	諸天 一白	天界四天王 一白	天界 一白	四種鬼神 一白	仙本行程 普曜程
菩提樹下 吉祥獻草	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	
降魔 二魔女 魔衆	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	仙本行程
較法輪	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	蘇奉山

APPENDIX III

A. *Nehan kōshiki*: Part II "The Grief of the Cremation"

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 Kusinâgara. Bodhisattvas, sravakas, gods, and men, a great crowd filling the entire great earth and open space, wailed and lamented. Then, the sacred coffin emerged from the east gate of Kusinâgara, 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 Kusinâgara. 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 Kusinâgara; 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 thier 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 untravelled, 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 sandalwood? 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. *Yuishaku kôshiki*: 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 Aśoka 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 kôshiki*: 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.

APPENDIX III

D. *Yuishaku kôshiki*: Part IV "Those Who Loved the Traces"

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-sûtra 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, Faxian 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. Faxian 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. Faxian 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, Faxian 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

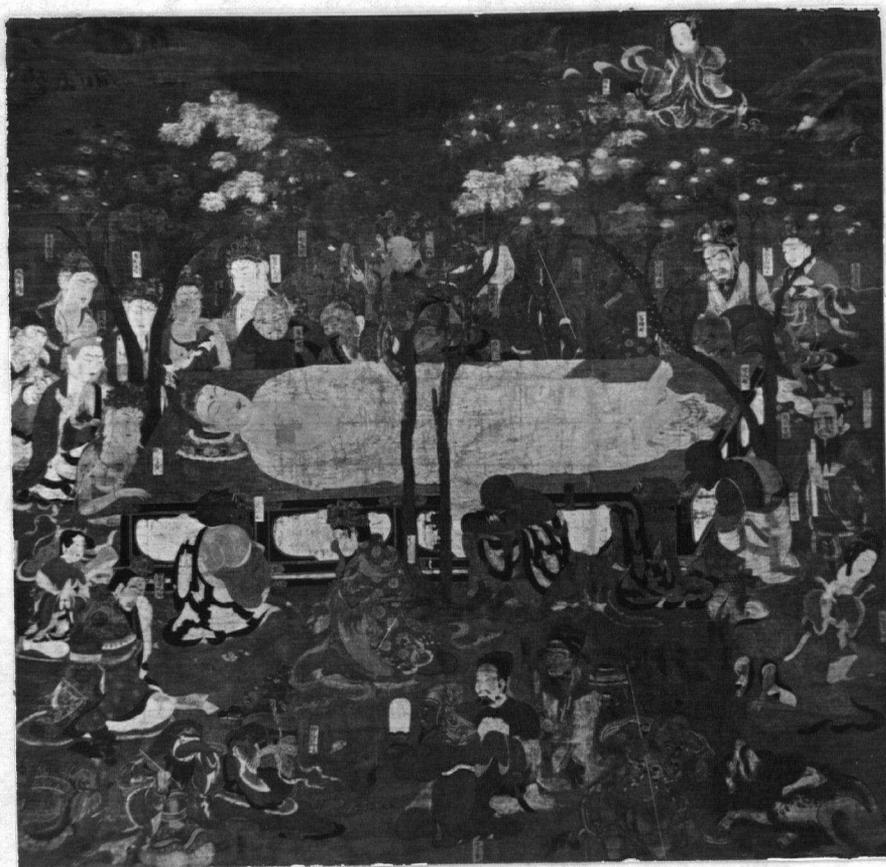


PLATE II



PLATE III



PLATE IV

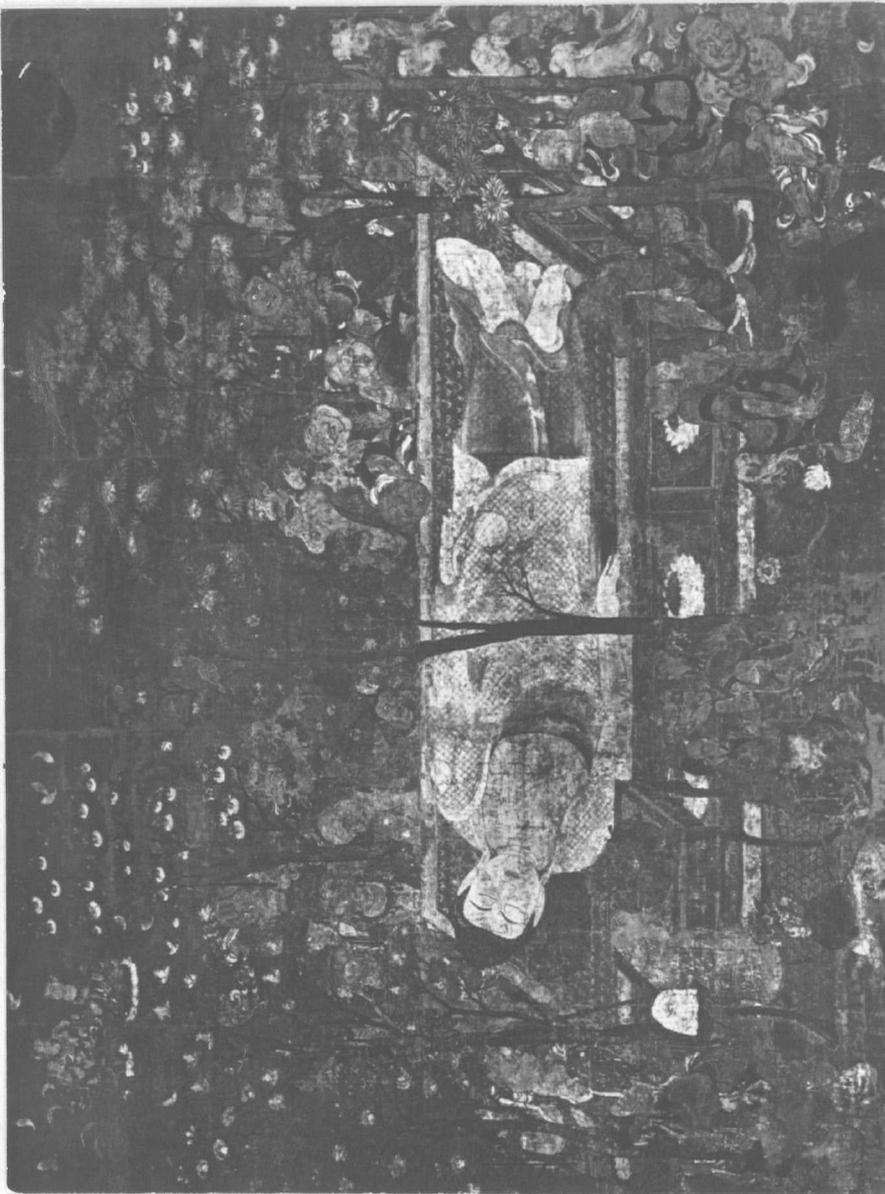


PLATE V



PLATE VI



PLATE VII



PLATE VIII



PLATE IX

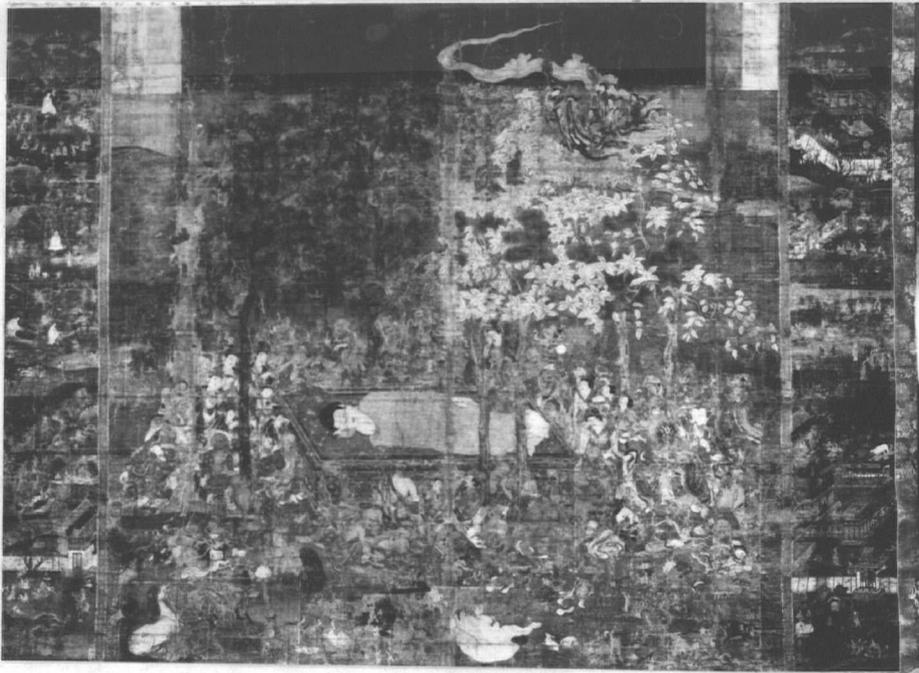


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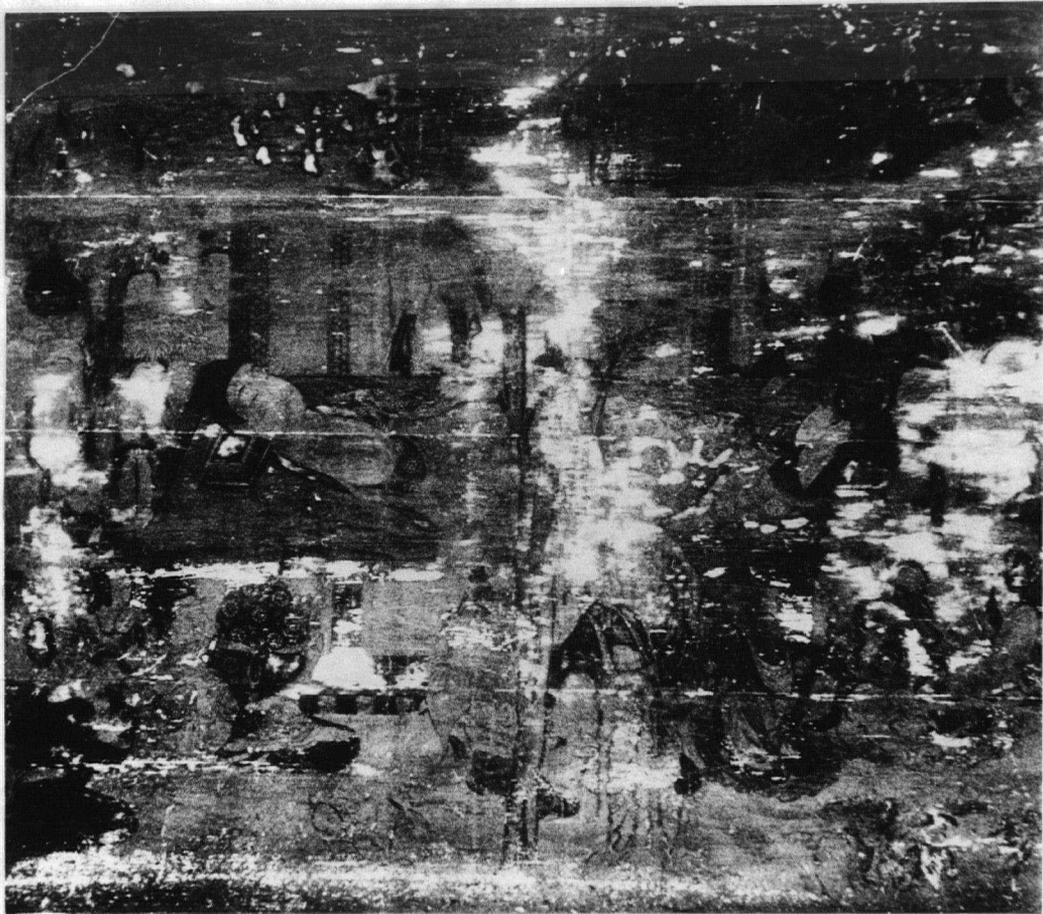


PLATE XI



PLATE XII



PLATE XIII



PLATE XIV

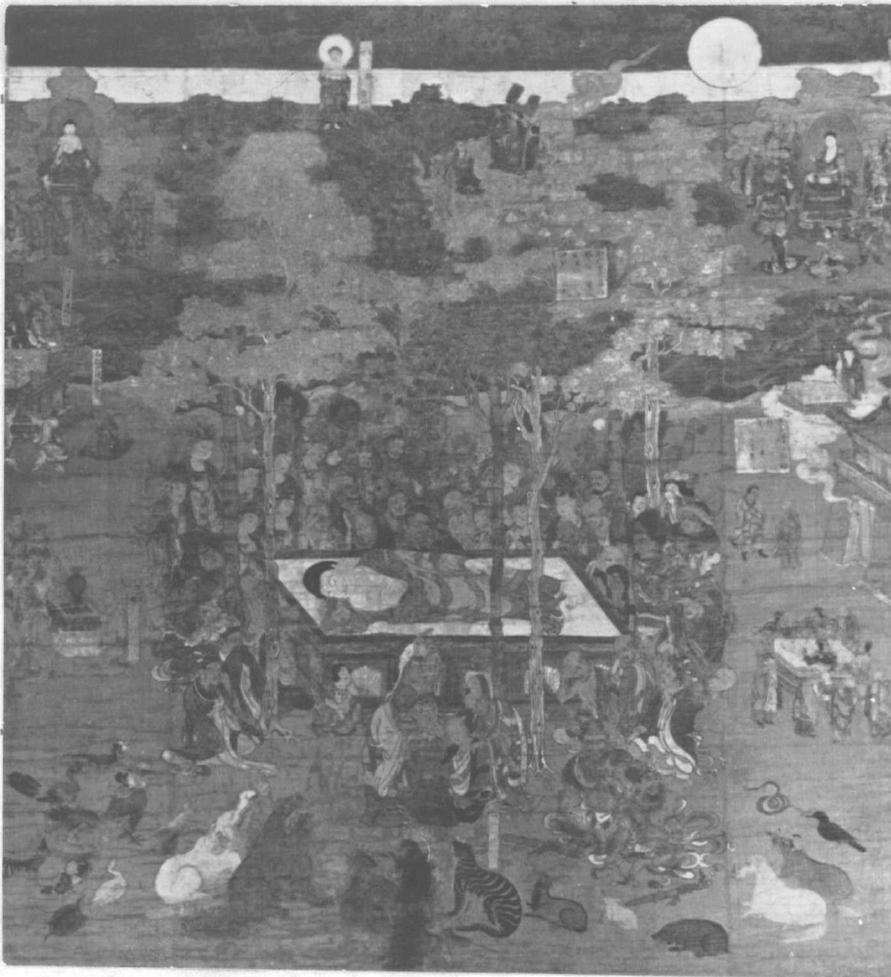


PLATE XV



PLATE XVI

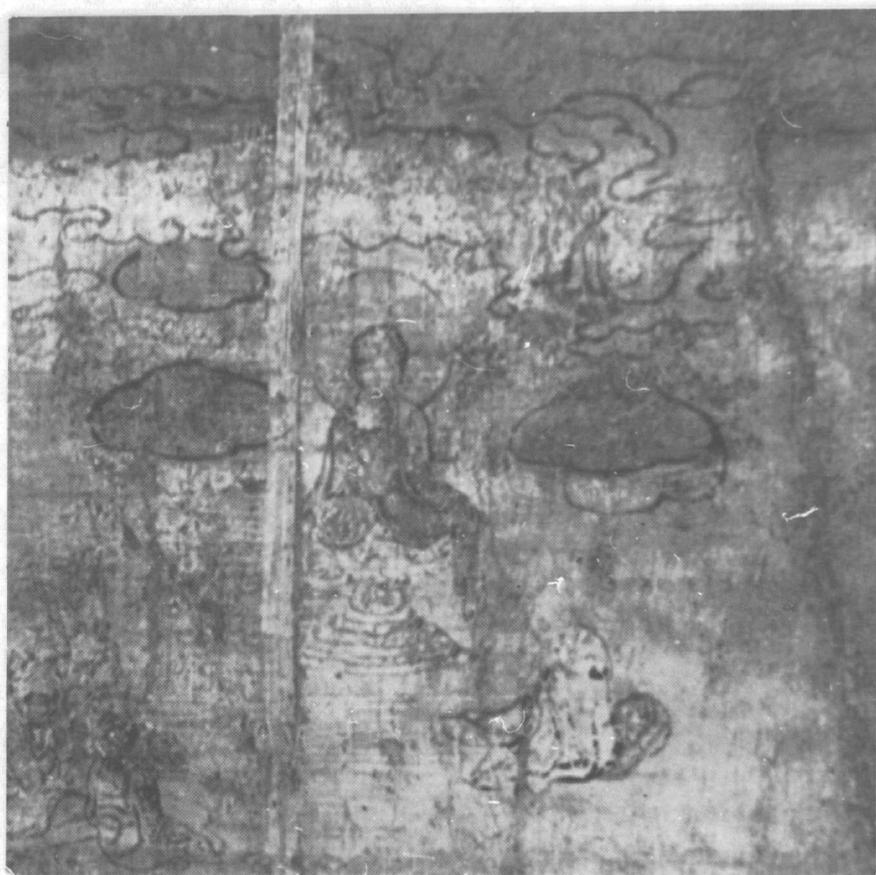


PLATE XVII



PLATE XVIII

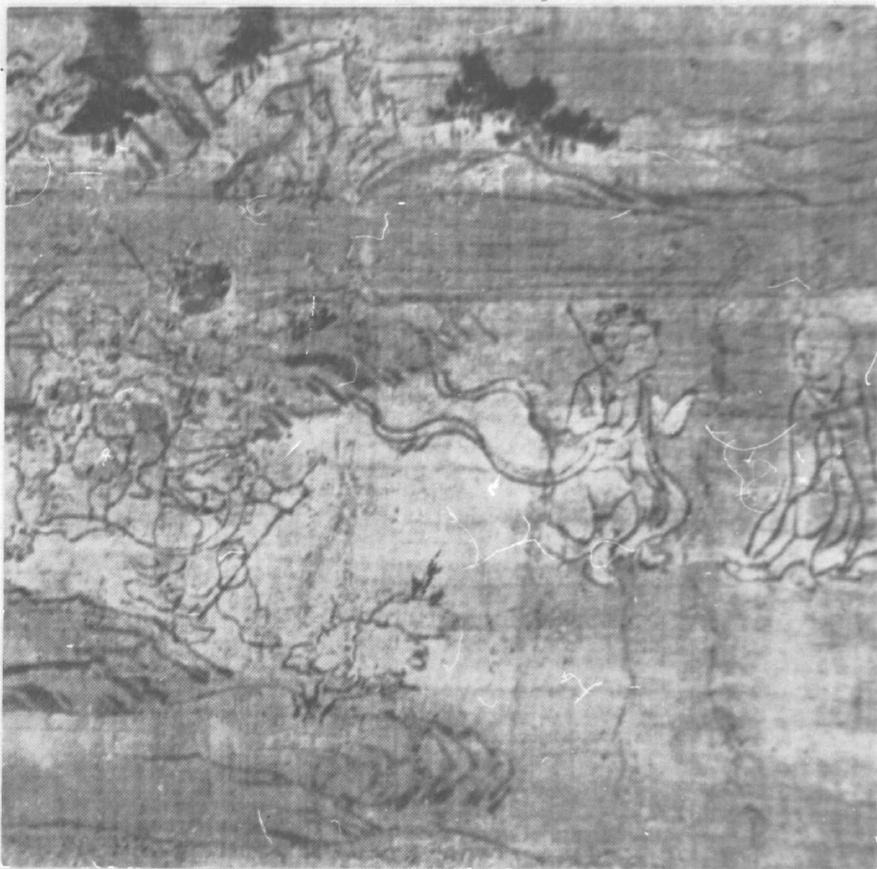


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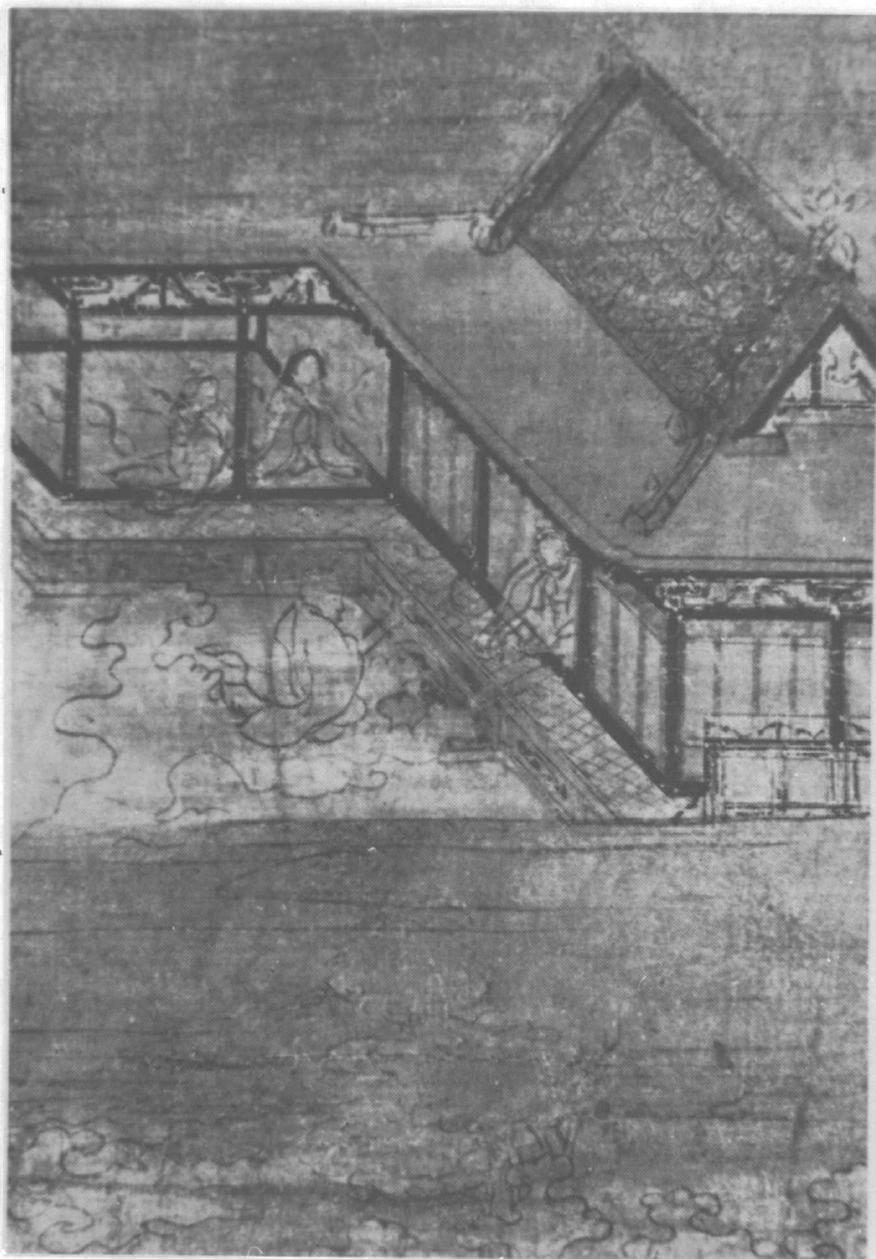


PLATE XX



PLATE XXI



PLATE XXII

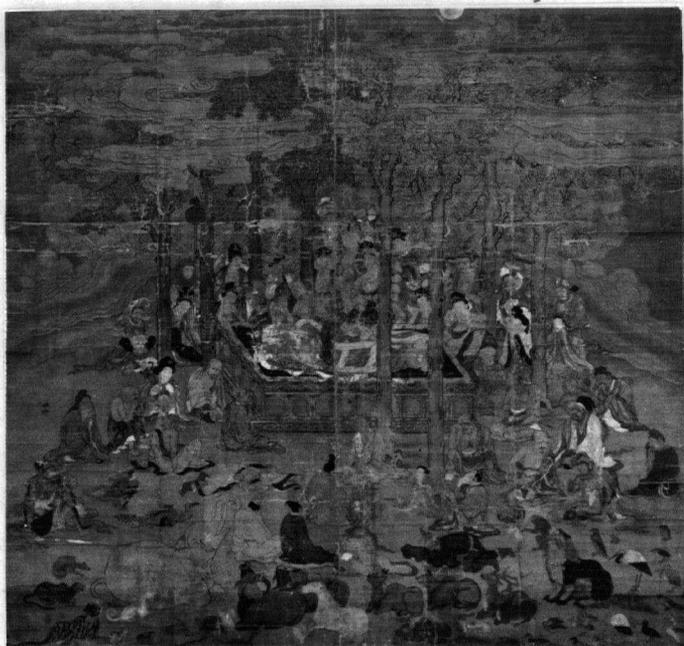


PLATE XXIII



PLATE XXIV

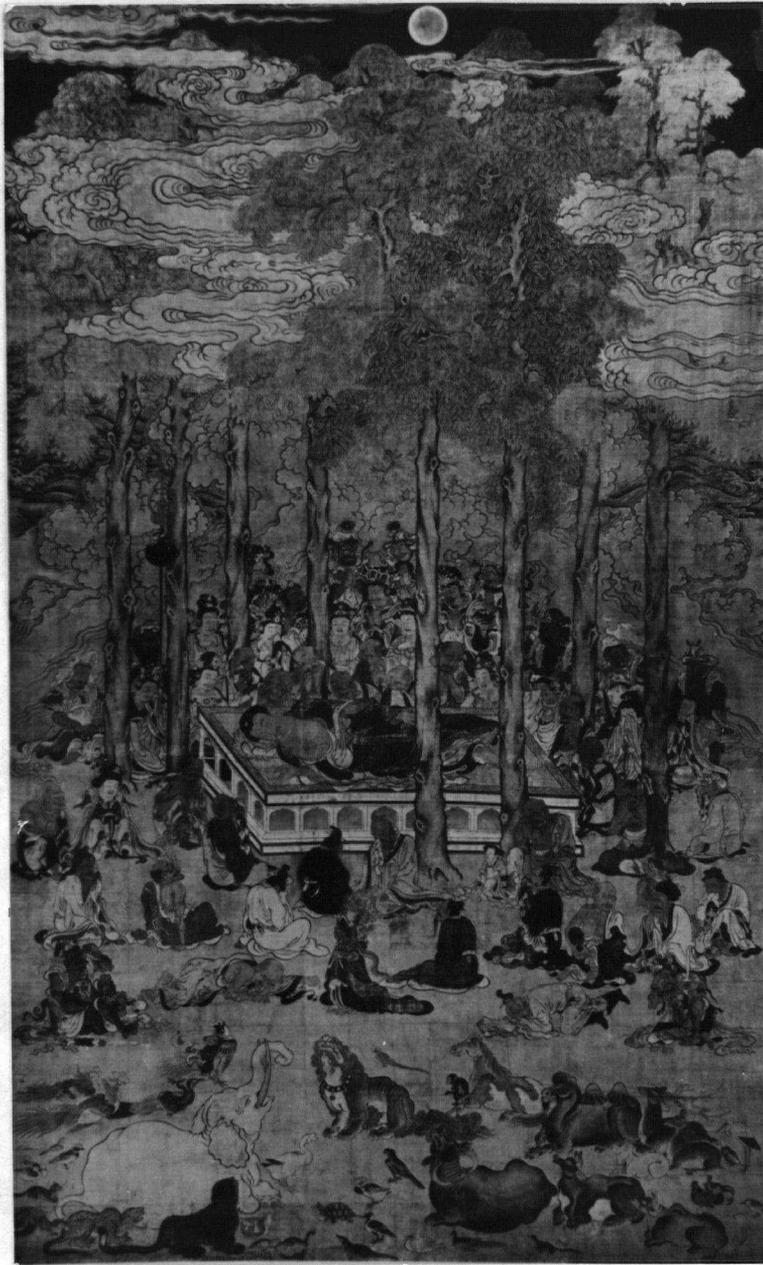


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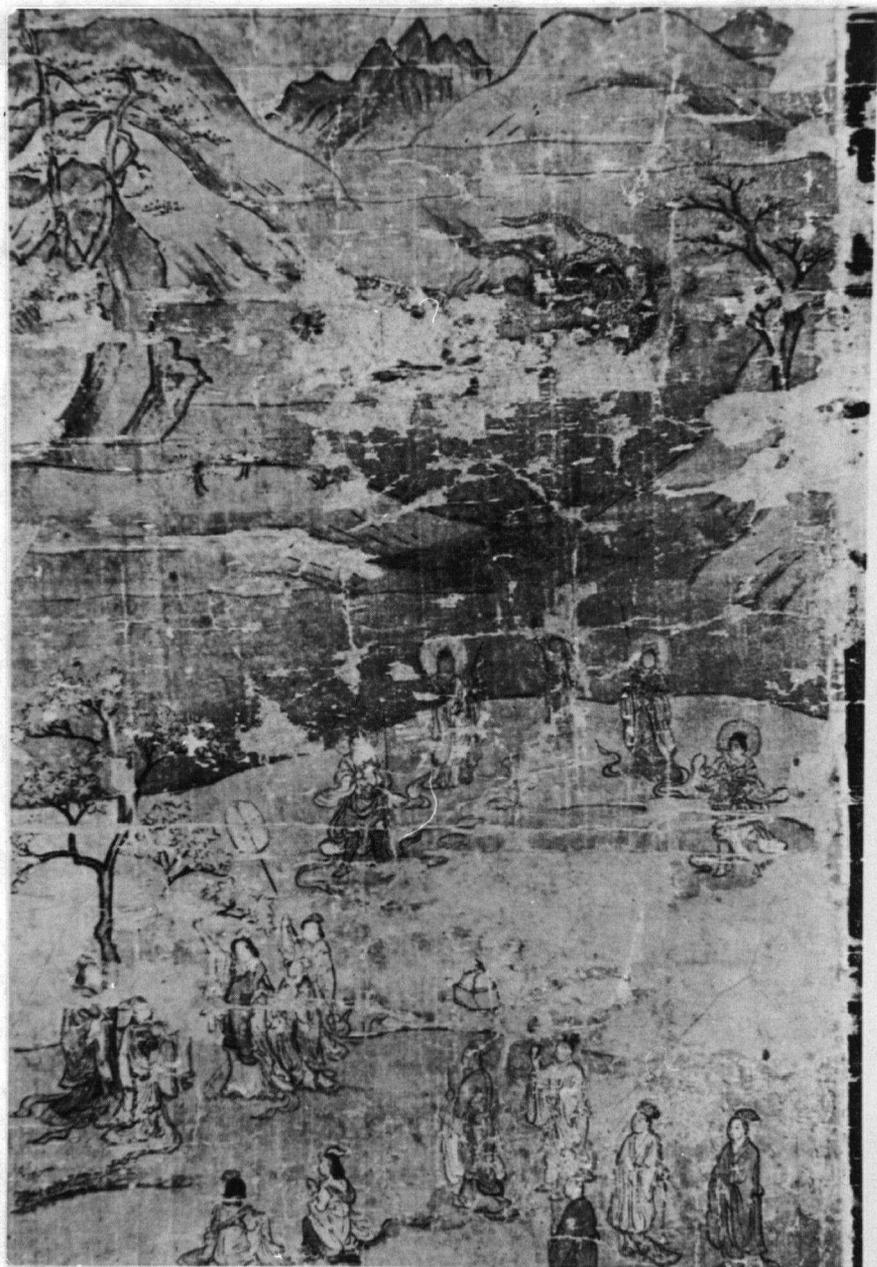


PLATE XXVI



PLATE XXVII



PLATE XXVIII



PLATE XXIX

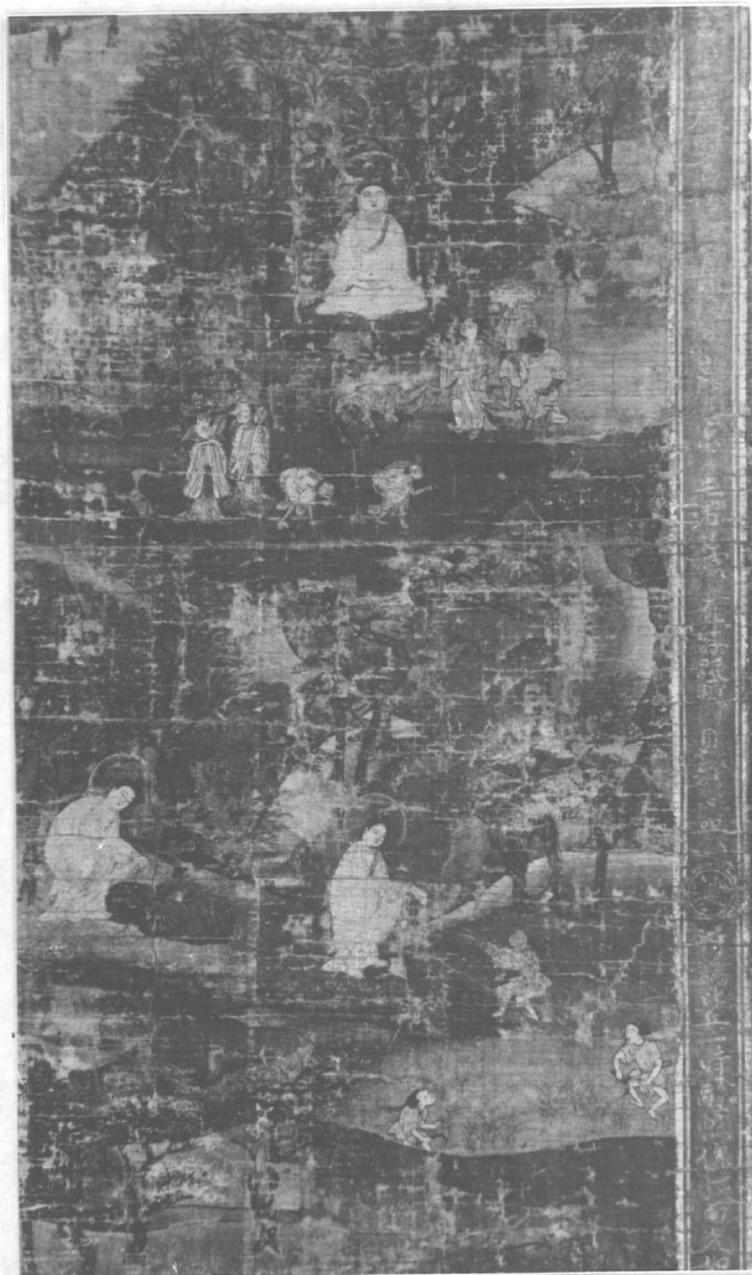


PLATE XXX



PLATE XXXI



PLATE XXXII



PLATE XXXIII



PLATE XXXIV



PLATE XXXV



PLATE XXXVI



PLATE XXXVII



PLATE XXXVIII



PLATE XXXIX



PLATE XL



PLATE XLI



PLATE XLII



PLATE XLIII



PLATE XLIV



PLATE XLV



PLATE XLVI

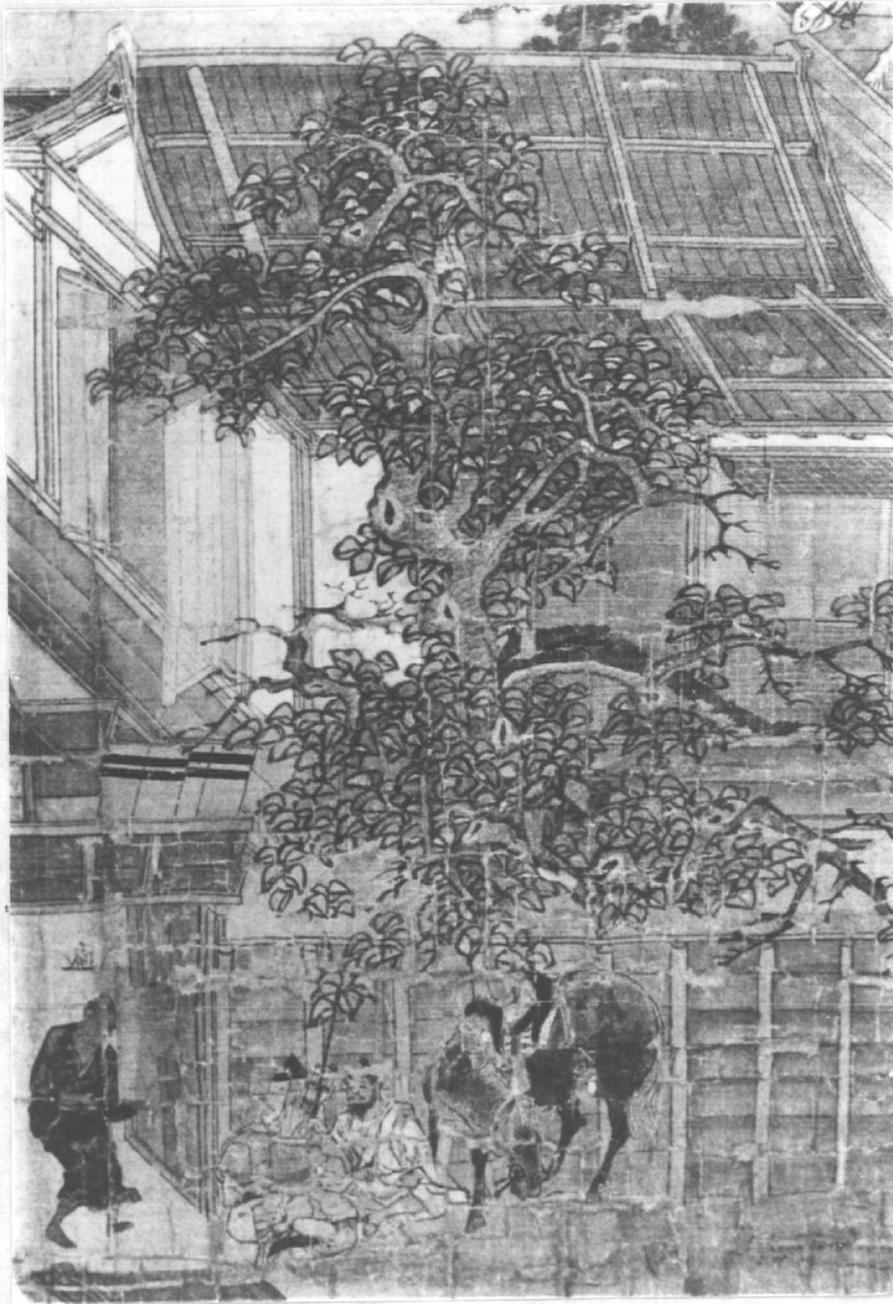


PLATE XLVII

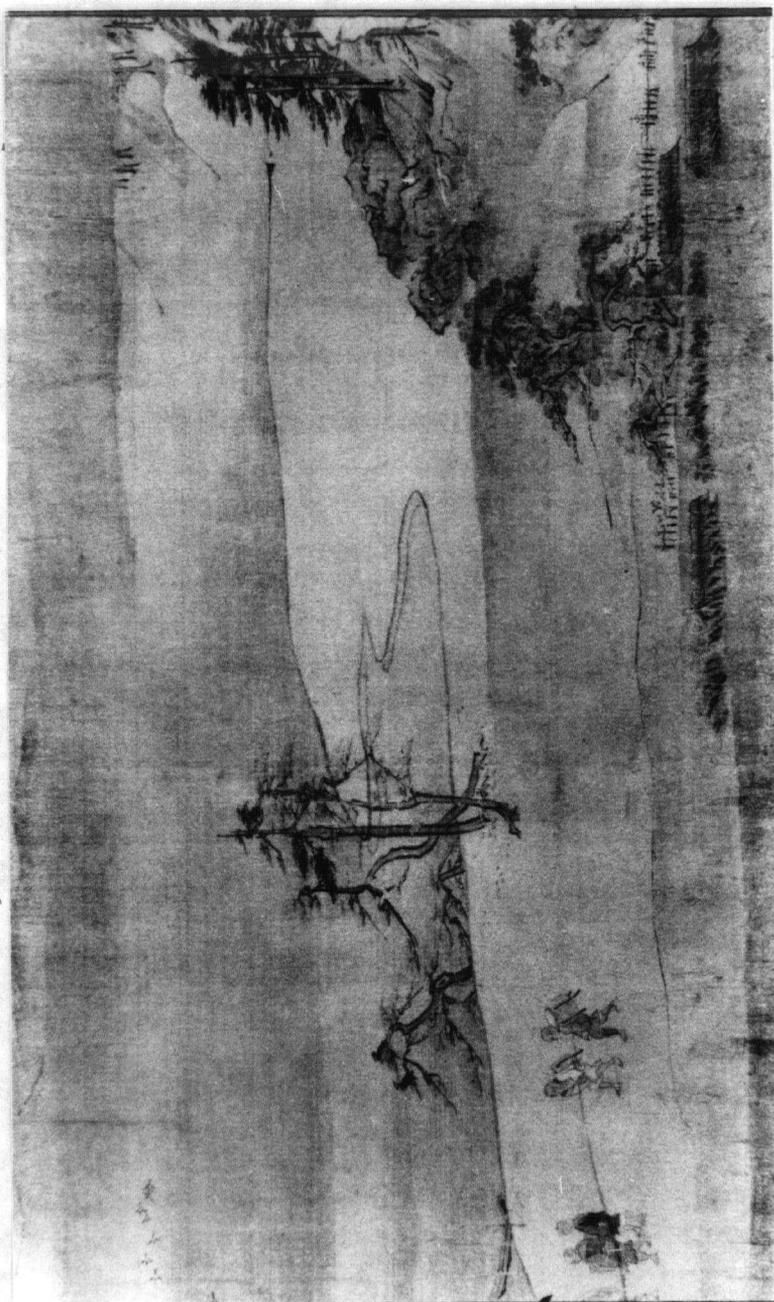


PLATE XLVIII



PLATE XLIX



PLATE L



PLATE LI



PLATE LII



PLATE LIII



PLATE LIV



PLATE LV

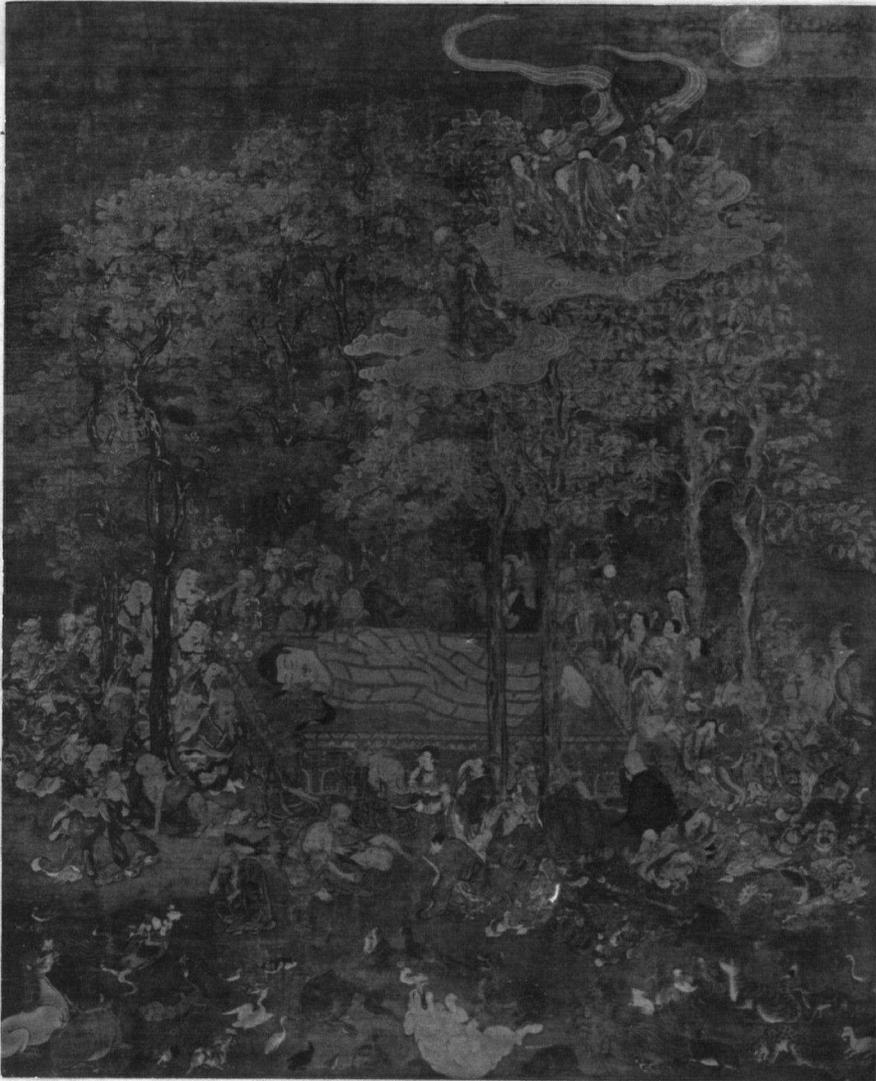
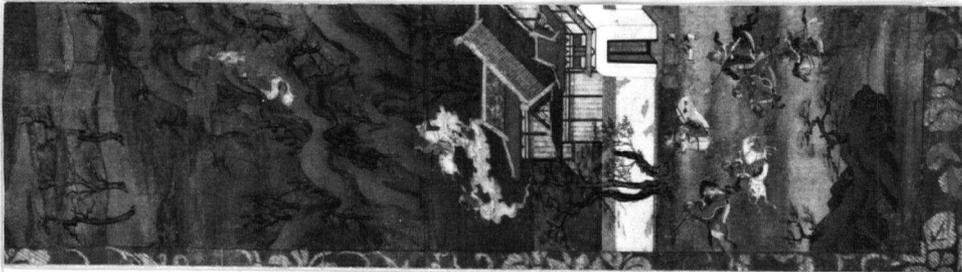
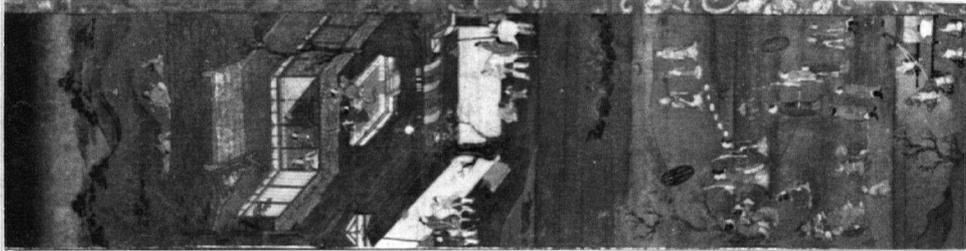
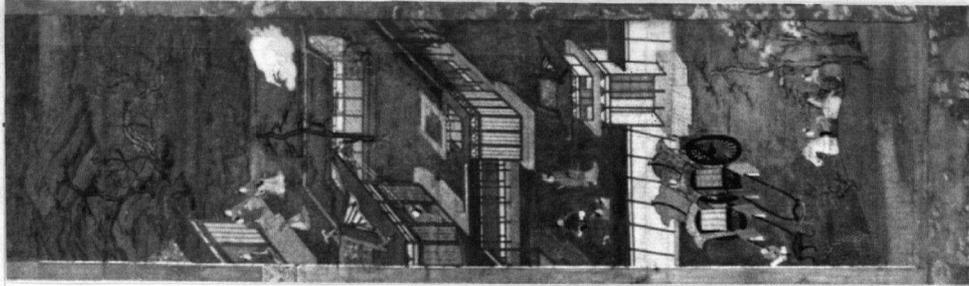


PLATE LVI



PLATE LVII



涅槃講式

惠心僧都述

先摠禮

拘尸那城跋提河

沙羅林中雙樹間

頭北面西右脇臥

二月十五夜半滅

次表白

謹敬白一代教主三身即一。非滅現滅最後人滅。釋迦大師十方來集。五百世尊。三世十方諸佛善逝。大般涅槃甚深妙典。八萬十二權實。聖教迦葉德王師子吼等。諸大菩薩。那律阿難等。諸聲聞衆。大自在天。尸棄大梵。釋提桓因。護世四王等。乃至沙羅林中五十二類。自界他方一切衆會。都盡空法界常住三寶而言。夫釋尊

恩德不可思議也。算數不可算盡。譬喻不可譬顯。山圻猶有限。海
 滴又非幾。實成以來。五百塵劫。慈悲護念。利生方便。置而不論。應
 世以來八十餘年。在世滅後。三輪四悉。思而可報。從王宮誕生。現
 三十二種之嘉瑞。至角城唱滅。受五十二類之供養。生身始終節
 節幾巨。益法輪半滿。會々幾開悟。就中敷教網。於三國濟苦海。沈
 淪轉法輪。於五濁運邪山之迷徒。末世恩德。我等所仰也。故迎二
 月十五日。想像涅槃會之儀式。戀慕沙羅林之古席。備供具而効
 純陀之誠。致渴仰。萌來世之緣。斯會旨趣。蓋以如此。今此講演略
 有五段。

第一 召請涅槃衆

第二 群類供養相

第三 示現涅槃儀

第四 衆會悲歎相

第五 廻向發願也

第一召請涅槃衆者。爾時世尊在拘尸那城力士生地阿夷羅跋提河側沙羅雙樹間。是則三世如來入涅槃砌也。勅力士掃治道路。命阿難令設牀座。佛壽八十一年春二月十五朝。自面門放五色光明。以神力出大音聲。其光徧大千。其聲至有頂。始從菩薩聲聞。終至禽獸。蟻。蜎。悉集吉祥福地。庭沙羅雙樹間。都此世界中六道四生皆來。一會互無妨礙。毒蛇毒蟲之類。惡鬼惡獸之族。皆生慈心。各致昵近。有恆沙金翅鳥。不食一龍子。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。涅槃衆會有權者。有實者。實者曰。召權者曰。請故云。召請涅槃衆也。抑我等彼如來涅槃夜。生在何惡趣。機不及禽獸。緣劣於蟻。蜎。空在滅後。不關五十二類之數。徒生邊國。遠隔十萬餘里。境嗚呼悲哉。頌曰。

以佛大神力 聲光遍十方 五十二類衆 皆集沙羅林

南無大恩教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廣博其相奇妙聊述少分以勸末代有二恆河沙優婆塞無垢稱王善德優婆塞爲上首二月十五朝驚聲光告爲佛茶毗各持牛頭栴檀悉來沙羅林間以妙香塗薪以妙花飭薪以寶蓋覆上以彩幡立前復三恆河沙優婆夷四恆河沙諸離車利子五恆大臣長者七恆諸王夫人又閻浮提內一切國王九恆諸龍十恆鬼王一々供具倍勝前前飛鳥含珍菓集蜂王吸妙花來山神作伎樂臨海神捧衆寶詣欲界諸天供養者採歡喜苑蔓折圓生樹枝況都攀天宮所設自在天妙供哉色界四禪供具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竊以寶蓋覆大千香木齊迷慮衆會過塵刹信力徹頭腦思昔恥今日聞古恨當時唯願如來哀愍聽許

雖_レ蟲_レ惡_レ供_レ物_レ准_レ梅_レ檀_レ羹_レ雖_レ微_レ淺_レ信_レ心_レ齊_レ純_レ陀_レ誠_レ伽_レ陀_レ曰_レ。

我_レ今_レ所_レ獻_レ食_レ願_レ得_レ無_レ上_レ報_レ一_レ切_レ煩_レ惱_レ結_レ摧_レ破_レ無_レ堅_レ固

南無恩德廣大釋迦大師三反

第三_レ明_レ示_レ現_レ涅_レ槃_レ相_レ者_レ爾_レ時_レ世_レ尊_レ於_レ七_レ寶_レ師_レ子_レ座_レ以_レ真_レ金_レ手_レ却_レ身_レ所_レ著_レ僧_レ伽_レ梨_レ衣_レ顯_レ出_レ紫_レ磨_レ黃_レ金_レ師_レ子_レ相_レ胸_レ普_レ告_レ大_レ衆_レ言_レ汝_レ等_レ一_レ切_レ天_レ人_レ大_レ衆_レ應_レ當_レ深_レ心_レ看_レ我_レ色_レ身_レ世_レ尊_レ以_レ黃_レ金_レ色_レ身_レ告_レ大_レ衆_レ已_レ即_レ放_レ無_レ量_レ百_レ千_レ萬_レ億_レ大_レ涅_レ槃_レ光_レ普_レ照_レ十_レ方_レ一_レ切_レ世_レ界_レ已_レ復_レ告_レ大_レ衆_レ當_レ知_レ如_レ來_レ爲_レ汝_レ等_レ故_レ累_レ劫_レ勤_レ苦_レ盡_レ修_レ一_レ切_レ難_レ行_レ苦_レ行_レ以_レ大_レ悲_レ本_レ願_レ於_レ此_レ五_レ濁_レ惡_レ世_レ成_レ阿_レ耨_レ菩_レ提_レ拜_レ尊_レ顏_レ聞_レ音_レ聲_レ遇_レ光_レ明_レ見_レ神_レ變_レ者_レ皆_レ無_レ不_レ得_レ解_レ脫_レ本_レ誓_レ願_レ力_レ於_レ斯_レ既_レ窮_レ在_レ世_レ他_レ緣_レ於_レ今_レ又_レ盡_レ汝_レ等_レ以_レ至_レ誠_レ心_レ看_レ我_レ色_レ身_レ當_レ修_レ清_レ淨_レ業_レ未_レ來_レ當_レ得_レ此_レ色_レ身_レ如_レ是_レ告_レ畢_レ即_レ從_レ師_レ子_レ牀_レ上_レ昇_レ虛_レ空_レ高_レ七_レ多_レ羅_レ樹_レ還_レ下_レ又_レ告_レ大_レ衆_レ我_レ以_レ甚_レ深_レ般_レ若_レ一_レ切_レ世_レ界

五八〇

涅槃講式

天人四衆遇涅槃光瞻仰如來者三途八難極重罪苦四重五逆
 所有煩惱永滅無餘皆得解脫如是慳勸示已還著僧伽梨衣如
 常即入諸禪定逆順出入超越三昧於七寶牀右脇而臥入第四
 禪寂然無聲一切大衆問河泥慮頭覺知世尊涅槃如來入滅其
 儀如此伽陀曰

爲度衆生故 方便現涅槃 而實不滅度 常住此說法

南無非滅現滅釋迦大師三反

第四明衆會悲歎相者一切大衆皆哀哭言惑慧日沒涅槃山浩
 船沈生死海煩惱大鬼已流行愛見羅刹今將來大梵天王飛下
 高臺閣投身傷嗟如來前大帝釋崩落善法堂揚聲蹉跎涅槃場
 阿難啼哭言我今爲誰持衣鉢我今隨誰聞妙法慕百千萬□之
 遺德泣二十五年之給仕凡身子目連者先度不滅見涅槃儀式

□缺字恐切字

阿難羅云纔殘留付囑五百世尊迦葉後雙林庭猶禮兩足於舍
維前摩耶驚五夢之告重拜萬德於金棺中知而不知值與不值
皆是大聖善巧也豈非隨宜神力哉我等唯漏在世正機深恥滅
後宿緣拙仍伽陀曰

爲凡夫顛倒實在而言滅以常見我故而生憍恣心

南無常在靈山釋迦大師 三反

第五明迴向發願者夫生釋尊遺法戀慕雙樹泥洹之儀列滅後
弟子懇盡一念恭敬之信是以迎本師形像擬烏瑟白毫之相修
涅槃講會謝中春半夜之恨釋尊垂感應聖衆致隨喜然則長壽
金剛之身者讓不壞德於貴體常住無變之教重贖命功於壽算
乃至世々恩所生々知識共會此願皆成佛道伽陀曰

願此此功德普及於一切我等與衆生皆共成佛道

五八二

涅槃講式

南無大恩教主釋迦大師生々世々值遇頂戴

天和二壬戌年仲夏吉辰

原本 東京燈明寺本多師藏卷軸

涅槃講式終

九

Myōe Shōnin's Shiza Kōshiki

四座講式

八六

本云
嘉禎二年丙申二月二十六日 宗快記之
文永十一年甲戌九月十八日 於八幡寫之
畢
正和三年八月十八日 於北山殿寫之畢
淵覺

康永三年癸未初秋上旬之比 於大原來迎
院向坊移 賢昇
康永四年五月二十五日 於北山殿御所
以大原山來迎院南坊本書寫畢 辨覺
應永二十四年丁酉七月一日 於西塔北谷
觀行坊書之 傳運

應永三十三年七月十一日 於西塔北谷
正觀院書之畢 四意
于時永正二年乙丑八月二十六日 於澁州
因幡社十乘房書畢 爲因幡社不斷如法
經末代流通 以美江寺常住之本寫訖
右一帖者於武州湯島天神 從喜見院發盛
法印傳領之訖 自愛自愛
享保十九甲寅歲 定光院明賢之記室

No. 2731

●四座講式
涅槃講式
先總禮

栴尸那城跋提河 在娑羅林雙樹下
頭北面西右脇臥 二月十五夜半滅

南無大恩教主釋迦牟尼如來生生世世值
遇頂戴
次導師著座 次法用 次表白
敬白大恩教主釋迦牟尼如來 涅槃道教八
萬聖教 娑羅林中五十二類 一一微塵毛端
刹海 不可說不可說三寶境界而言
夫法性絕動靜動靜任物 如來無生滅生
滅約機 至如彼神悉長者栴檀塔中見常
住佛身 海雲比丘大海水上開普眼契經誰
含歡喜之喚于藍齒誕生 流痛惜之淚于雙
林入滅乎 是知八相一代之化儀驚長眠群
類之明燈 三百五十之諸度渡沈淪諸子之
飛梯也 其光照遠迨於末代 其濟度不捨
乎闍提 嗚呼遇哉快哉 我等有聞信之功德
者長夜將曉 有結緣之善根 者苦海當渡 矣
依之每迎 今月今日 開演四座法筵 泣戀
雙林入滅之昔 暫忍現在遺跡之德 且爲
慰滅後孤露之悲嘆 且爲成當來值遇之
大願也 開一一旨趣在後後講席 當座是
開白涅槃之初度也 於中立入滅茶毘涅
槃因緣 雙林遺跡 發願迴向五門 粗顯戀慕
悲歎之旨

第一願入滅哀傷者 凡如來一代八十箇年
迦韋誕生 伽耶成道 鷲峯說法 雙林入滅 皆
起從大慈大悲 悉出從善巧方便 雖歡成
化儀 匪皆無非 利生緣 然而初生之我當度
脫三有之苦 唱火宅諸子且息乎焚燒之苦
滅度之從今以後 無再見之告 苦海溺子倍
漂于哀戀之淚 如經云 佛告阿難 如來不

久後有十五日 當般涅槃 爾時夜又大將
名般遮羅 與百萬億夜叉衆等 同時舉聲
悲泣雨淚 以手收淚而說 偈言 世尊金色
光明身 功德莊嚴 滿月面 眉間白毫 殊特相
我今最後歸命禮 已上諸天八部 悲泣雨淚 今
復以如是 先聞涅槃必定之告 大眾不堪
追戀之苦 況居諸屢轉三五之運 數已迫之
時 如來示哀戀之粧 大眾作最後之恩 其
中心悲歎何物爲喻乎 遂則於力士生地 娑
羅林間 放面門之光 於二月十五之朝告
最後之別於五十二類之耳 菩薩聞天龍
八部 一恒沙大菩薩等 爲始 無量數蜂虫衆
類爲終 八十恒沙羅刹王 可畏羅刹爲 上首
二十恒沙師子王 師子吼王爲 上首 乃至鬼
雁鴛鴦之族 水牛牛羊之輩 皆觸光聞音
各生大苦惱 入天擔金銀財寶 禽獸銜華
望樹乘 往詣雙樹間 集會如來前 悉流汗
瞻仰滿月之尊容 各連淚聽聞微妙之正
法 其正法者 所謂聲聞緣覺同歸 一果定性
無性 悉有一性 金剛寶藏 我之所有 三點四
德 我之所成 云云 聞深義悲喜相交 思讚訓
追戀彌倍 面而含憂悲之色 聲聲唱苦惱之
語 諸天龍神之淚 流地而成 河 夜叉羅刹之
息 滿空似風 漸屬中夜 涅槃時至 滿月之
容 含哀戀之色 青蓮之畔 現大悲之相 却
僧伽梨衣 顯紫金胸臆 普告大眾 言我欲
涅槃 一切天人大眾 當深心見我色身 如
此三反告畢 即從七寶師子床上 昇虛空
高一多羅樹 一反告言 我欲涅槃 汝等大眾

可見我色身。如此二十四反告諸大眾。我欲涅槃。汝等大眾深心可見我色身。此為最後見。今夜見已無復再見。如是示諸大眾已。還舉僧伽裂衣。如常所被。如來復告諸大眾言。我今遍身疼痛。涅槃時到。作是語已。順逆超越入諸禪定。從禪定起已。為大眾說妙法。所謂無明本際性本解脫。乃是我今安住常寂滅光名大涅槃云云。示大眾已。遍身漸傾右脇已臥。頭枕北方足指南方。面向西方後背東方。即入第四禪定。歸大涅槃。青蓮之眼閉。永止慈悲之微咲。丹葉之唇默然終絕。大梵哀聲。是時漏盡羅漢志。梵行已立之歡喜。登地菩薩捨諸法無生之觀智。密迹力士捨金剛杵叫天。大梵天王投羅網幢倒地。八十恒沙羅刹王。中舌閉絕。二十恒沙師子王。投身吠叫。鳧雁鴛鴦之類。皆懷悲毒。陀羅之族。悉含愁。獐虎猪鹿。交蹄忘噉。害。獼猴放犬。抵項訪悲心。跋提河浪音催。別離之歎。娑羅林風聲。勸哀戀之思。凡大地震動。大山崩裂。海水沸涌。江河沾濕。草木叢林。悉出憂悲之聲。山河大地皆唱痛惱之語。經說。衆會悲感相云。或有隨佛滅者。或失心者。或身心戰者。或互相執手。哽咽流淚者。或常捶胸大叫者。或舉手拍頭自拔髮者。乃至或有。遍體血現。流瀝地者。如是異類殊音。一切大眾哀聲。普震一切世界。已上良以八苦火宅中難忍者。別離之焰也。三千法王去。熱惱何物為喻乎。仍拭悲淚。收愁歎。唱伽陀可行禮拜矣。

二七三 四座講式

我如初生之嬰兒。失母不久必當死。世尊如何見放捨。獨出三界受安樂。南無大恩教主釋迦牟尼如來生生世世值遇頂戴。

第二舉茶毘。哀傷者。青蓮止咲。葉屑斷息之時。經絡於白氍毹。收斂於金棺。一切大眾欲舉聖棺入城內。十六極大力士。運大神力。聖棺都無動。爾時聖棺自飛舉虛空中。起娑羅林。徐徐乘空。從拘尸那城西門入。菩薩聲聞天人大眾。遍滿大地。虛空悲號哀歎。爾時聖棺從拘尸那城東門出。右繞入城南門。從北門出。乘空左邊。還從拘尸那城西門入。如是經三匝。已還入西門。又從東門出入。北門。從南門出。右邊還入西門。乃至如是。左右邊。拘尸那城。經七匝。徐徐至茶毘所。飛下安七寶師子床。天人大眾。圍繞聖棺。悲泣供養。其哀慟聲。震動大千。莊嚴妙香樓上。將舉火荼毘如來。是時一切大眾各持七寶香爐。大如車輪。悲泣啼哭。置香樓。其火自然殄滅。一切諸天。火一切海神。火皆亦如是。時大迦葉至茶毘所。聖棺自然開。千帳白氍及兜羅綿皆解散。顯出紫磨黃金色身。迦葉與諸弟子。見之。閃絕地。悲泣供養。已香水灌洗。白氍纏絡。棺門即閉。迦葉說偈悲哭。如來重顯出兩足。從千輻輪放千光明。遍照十方一切世界。加葉說偈哀歎曰。如來究竟大悲心。平等慈光無二。照衆生有感無不應。示我二足千輻輪。

乃至千輻輪中放千光。遍照十方普佛刹云云。爾時雙足還入棺封閉如故。其後復投七寶大炬火。皆悉殄滅。如來以大悲力。從胸臆中。火出。漸漸荼毘。經七日。焚燒妙香樓。其時哀傷幾爾乎。豈圓滿月輪之容。忽咽于樹檀之烟。紫磨金之膚。懸于無餘之焰乎。情以尙有餘。悲以亦無窮。大眾之悲歎。良有所由乎。其後天人大眾。分取舍利。各還本國。競修供養。凡一一悲歎。非輪器所記。仍各凝戀。慕渴仰之思。唱伽陀可行禮拜矣。

嗚呼大聖尊。釋迦入寂滅。今但聞其名。惜哉我不見。南無大恩教主釋迦牟尼如來生生世世值遇頂戴。

第三舉涅槃因緣者。夫如來屬乎般若之翅。雖拂生死之雲。縶于大悲之鎖。未免衆生之手。還火宅而誘嬉戲稚子。浮苦海以救狂醉溺人。廣大慈悲。盡衆生界。無際大願。不倦利他。若惡我等過。永閉無餘之戶者。如我等無異之智。無由。今者已滿足之悅。何有乎。當知待歡喜。因而示出現。誠憐愍心。以入涅槃也。華嚴云。欲令衆生歡喜。故出現於世。欲令衆生憂悲感慕。故示現涅槃。法華云。爲凡夫顛倒。實在而言。滅以常見。我故而生憍恣心。神惡長者說。不滅度際。法門體云。普見十方一切世界。去來今佛。無涅槃者。除化衆生方便滅度。香象大師釋云。變異他心。令見出沒。其實當身。無出無滅云云。乃至顯現。甚深出沒。無礙廣大佛事。未曾

八九

失時等涅槃諸義。此中可廣說。然則如來涅槃非捨衆生。唯憐難化之過。專勸哀悲之思也。今但問其名。惜哉。我不見之寶積之芳契。咸皆懷戀慕而生渴仰心之法花之遺訓。見聞之處。悲喜甚深。快哉。既罹教網之一目。盍出苦海之波浪。何況出現涅槃如永波。總別十門。互全收。戀慕渴仰之風涼。於波提河之岸。憐念厭念之雲暗。於娑羅林之空。涅槃山之峯。待出現之月。生死海之底。得菩提之珠。何其為難乎。仍擬戀慕渴仰思。可唱伽陀。行禮拜矣。

爲凡夫顛倒 實在而言滅
以常見我故 而生憍恣心

南無大恩教主釋迦牟尼如來生生世世值
遇頂戴

第四舉雙林遺跡者。我等泣於滅後之悲。何時啖於見佛之幸。哀悲之利。懷嫉於中天禽獸。戀慕之至。遺根於邊地人身。仍聊像雙林之砌。然慈愍之息。拘尸那城西北。跋提河西岸。有娑羅林。其樹似柳皮青葉白。四樹特高。如來寂滅之所也。經云。大覺世尊入涅槃已。其娑羅林東西二雙合爲一樹。南北二雙合爲一樹。垂下寶床。覆陰如來。其樹慘然變白。猶如白鶴。枝葉華果。瀑裂墮落。漸漸枯衰。摧折無餘。或記云。其樹高五丈。下根相連。上枝相合。相似連理。其葉豐醇。華如車輪。葉大如瓶。其味甘如蜜。取意摩耶夫人降天。哭如來之處。執金剛神。雙地拾金杵之跡。如此道跡。連連降次。城北渡河。

三百餘步。有如來焚身之處。地今黃黑。土雜灰。灰至誠求請。或得舍利。彼如燈法師。涉流沙之廣。蕩沙雪嶺之巖。辭情於六親。終命於雙林。見人流悲淚。聞者催哀傷。矣。今拜見雙林涅槃像。如來頭北面西臥。大眾前後左右。邊師子虎狼收。猛惡之感。菩薩聲聞。低悲啼之貌。先作瞻仰。身毛且豎。大我。落白心府。忽驟。於是供香花。遍于禽獸。羅刹。貴受最後遺訓也。述悲戀。迫于雙林。提河。馴爲如來遺跡也。誠今日法式。觸耳目。催哀傷。又披涅槃部聖教。多有三水口。篇文字。是菩薩聲聞啼哭之儀。鬼畜修羅流淚之貌也。若然者。三水。洪乎涕淚。至于膝周。匝五由旬之淚河。口篇吐乎大衆啼哭聲。震動三千界之大聲。解紐哀傷。易起。見字悲淚。難禁乎。何必聞智辨開演。而生戀慕。待委細料簡。以致渴仰乎。仍試悲淚。抑憂惱。唱伽陀。可行禮拜矣。

次往涅槃處 威佛最後身
於此雙林下 利益群生類

南無拘尸那城跋提河邊如來入滅娑羅雙
林

第五發願迴向者。願以此戀慕渴仰之善根。必成就見佛聞法大願。夫佛無出沒。隱顯從緣。閻浮界中示入滅化儀。他方刹內有。生身說法。契機施。虧盈。如日月出沒。于四州。任物現生滅。似衆星隱顯。於晝夜。今舉戀慕之聲。而誓無餘之空。放悲歎之息。以叩涅槃之窓。教主釋尊。出四寂之室。身子目連。

趣大悲之門。星馳雲集。花散海會。住虛空。雲山衆。滿大地。證明何疑。知見何空。何況色身融法界。觀智是佛世也。體性極實。機緣是道場也。於是莊大願。船浮于戀慕之浪。舉正信。帆馳于渴仰之息。生死苦海。無念朝徑。涅槃彼岸。無生菩提。其中間。離近惡伴。儻障。諸佛菩薩爲友。捨不開正法障。無上大法爲心。乃至現當二世。所願圓滿。鐵圍沙界平等利益。仍唱伽陀。可行禮拜矣。

如來涅槃諸功德 甚深廣大不可量
衆生有感無不應 究竟令得大菩提

南無沙羅林中最後寂滅紫金妙體
大神分 次六種迴向

十六羅漢講式
先總禮
我此道場如帝珠 十六大聖影現中
我等於彼大聖前 頭面接足歸命禮
南無護持遺法十六大阿羅漢生生世世值
遇頂戴
次導師著座 次法用 次表白
敬白大恩教主釋迦牟尼世尊。華嚴法花八萬聖教。護持遺法十六羅漢。九十九億無學聖衆。一一微塵毛端刹海。不可說不可說三寶境界而言
夫自祇樹息蔭。娑羅變葉以後。人天失覆護。世間無依怙。於是迦葉結集三藏法

門阿難住持十二部經挑法燈於昏衢導
 群盲於正路既而陰形於鷄足之洞分散於
 恒河之岸爰在十六羅漢見住五濁惡世
 城澆遺法愛念衆生我等出離之方便偏
 拈羅漢之慈悲其恩高於須彌其德深於
 溟海依之迎二月十五如來涅槃之忌棄
 捧如在之供具報無際之恩德之因聊讚
 護法之功德願望二世之值遇就中有五
 段一舉羅漢住處二舉如來付囑三舉福
 田利益四讚現在神德五發願迴向也

第一舉住處者法住記云第一尊者寶渡羅
 跋羅憍聞與自眷屬一千阿羅漢多分住西
 翟陀尼州第二尊者迦諾迦伐蹉與自眷屬
 五百阿羅漢多分住北方迦濕彌羅國第三
 尊者迦諾跋釁憍聞與自眷屬六百阿羅漢
 多分住東勝身州第四尊者蘇頻陀與自眷
 屬七百阿羅漢多分住北俱盧州第五尊者
 諾矩羅與自眷屬八百阿羅漢多分住南瞻
 部州第六尊者跋陀羅與自眷屬九百阿羅
 漢多分住毗舍離州第七尊者迦理迦與
 自眷屬一千阿羅漢多分住僧伽茶州第八
 尊者伐闍羅弗多羅與自眷屬一千一百阿
 羅漢多分住鉢刺犁州第九尊者成博迦
 與自眷屬一千二百阿羅漢多分住香醉山
 第十尊者半託迦與自眷屬一千三百阿羅
 漢多分住三十三天第十一尊者羅估羅
 與自眷屬一千四百阿羅漢多分住畢利闍
 州第十二尊者那伽犀那與自眷屬一千
 二百阿羅漢多分住半度波山第十三尊者

因揭陀與自眷屬一千三百阿羅漢多分住
 廣脇山第十四尊者伐那婆斯與自眷屬一
 千四百阿羅漢多分住可住山第十五尊者
 阿氏多與自眷屬一千五百阿羅漢多分住
 鷲峯山第十六尊者住茶半託迦與自眷屬
 一千六百阿羅漢多分住持軸山此等尊者
 既出四倒之牢獄離九結之纏縛生分已
 盡梵行已立所作已辦後有已斷爲護佛
 法抑無餘之樂爲利衆生處火宅之內報
 身雖卜十六處應現彌布三千界證明處
 處佛事接取種種根機遺法佛子滅後衆生
 誰人不致歸依渴仰乎仍讚聖德可行禮
 拜矣

報身多在十六處 隨緣應現三千界
 內祕普賢廣大行 外現聲聞衆生
 南無護持遺法十六大阿羅漢生生世世值
 遇頂戴
 第二舉如來付囑者或傳記引經云世尊
 臨涅槃時諸大眾悲哽嗚咽悶絕覺地蘇起
 唱言怪哉世尊將滅沒如來入滅後我等誰
 人爲所歸世尊告言汝等不可愛惱我雖
 入滅資頭盧羅云等諸大阿羅漢各領百千
 聖衆爲眷屬在我滅後爲衆生作依止
 卽召十六聖衆而示大眾更舒金色手摩
 其頂告言以我無上正法付囑汝等我入
 滅後彌勒出世前廣作佛事導利衆生十
 六羅漢總聞此金言啼泣如小兒不覺投
 鉢白佛言大象去象子隨去世尊入滅後
 我等何可留住佛言止止不可復言我化

緣已盡雖住於世無利益汝等有緣未盡
 住世間利益無量於是衆聖默然聽受不
 遠佛勅略抄我等生滅後二千之末烈邊
 地道弟之數閑披如來付囑之教文藉見羅
 漢納受之儀式不省乎當今忽如值于昔
 梵音遺訓之聲留於耳底羅漢啼泣之質影
 於眼前哀感斷腸悲淚絞袖設雖非羅漢
 設雖非菩薩毒龍惡鬼若受如來之付囑
 者願爲毒龍惡鬼奴不論天人莫簡修
 羅於是尊者有三明自在之力具八解洞達
 之德愛佛法如摩尼撫衆生類赤子諸
 佛尚護念菩薩又敬重三界諸天戴其足四
 種輪王缺探履我等三毒醉患之耳底聞如
 來遺囑之音四倒狂亂之窓內待羅漢醫王
 訪須臾一心渴仰之音悅二聖憐愍之恩
 矣

我所說諸法 卽是汝等師
 頂戴加守護 修習勿廢忘
 南無護持遺法十六羅漢生生世世值遇頂
 戴
 第三舉福田利益者凡十六尊者尋其本
 地極位大菩薩隱解行之玉於慈悲之懷語
 其垂跡付法大羅漢旣覺滿之月於樂樹之
 下驅大心師子送於三藐三菩提之輻輳
 小機羊鹿放於四諦十二緣之苑誠是諸佛
 輪王之主兵寶也衆生象馬之調御師也自
 佛世二千之當初至法滅七萬之時代護法
 神德利生靈相誰敢算知乎法住記云若此
 世界一切國王輔相大臣長者居士若男若

四座講式

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女發怒淨心爲四方僧設大施會。此十六阿羅漢及諸眷屬。隨其所應分散往赴。現種種形陰弊聖儀。示同凡衆密受供具。令諸施主得勝果報。護持正法。饒益有情。刀兵劫後人壽漸增至百歲位。與諸眷屬來人中。願說正法。饒益有情。乃至人壽七萬歲時。無上正法永滅沒。至此時可唱入滅云云。說法利生既代補如來。滅後愚子誰不致歸依。恭敬渴仰可讚福田利益矣。

世界若無佛 及衆賢聖人
世界衆生類 無有一切樂
南無護持道法十六大羅漢生生世世值遇頂戴

第四讚現在神德者。雖諸物隱靈怪於末代。佛法失効驗於邊地。新於像末盛於華夷者。卽羅漢聖僧之功德也。聞外國風儀。有信男信女。設齋會供羅漢。向其方所而舉召請之音。戀其神德。以擬渴仰之思。敬請儀如待客。閉扉息音。當于時而威應揭焉。徵祥履現。或氍毹下花鮮。或浴室內板濕。如彼憐貧女而嘗一飯。悲居士以受三劍。等。大悲利物之方便。豈乎哀乎矣。夫雖稱性之德。自他平等。隨理之行。彼此皆同。凡眼隔難思之境。愚情嫉奇特之法。至如彼威德太子具四八相。吉祥童女蓮花化生。雖示生信之緣。更非滌分之境。今十六尊者。金剛三昧堅乎血肉之質。無生真理住乎生死之報。功德等於如來。上求菩提之誓。究果報同於我等。下化衆生之願。滿其供養之行。儀

又聊凡夫之眼耳。經營深浴者人間之恒例也。不用金銀者比丘之法式也。道安法師平生欣兜率上生。至秦建元二十一年正月二十七日。忽有異僧。形甚卑賤。來寺寄宿。道之處講堂。卽至夜分異僧從窓隙出入。見人怪而告法師。卽知大聖深懷敬重。法師自言。自惟罪根未除。願示濟度方法。異僧答曰。須浴聖僧。情願必果。具示深浴儀式。法師又問。順次之生處。異僧舉手以撥天之西北。重雲忽開。卽見兜率勝妙之報。非唯法師一人。數十人大衆皆見。奇特境界。各凝隨喜渴仰。法師受聖告而後營深浴。現有非常小兒。與數十伴侶來就浴室。眼前奇異之勝事何事如之哉。羅漢聖僧之功德不可不崇。希供飲食福德雲集。總營深浴罪根。露消總九十九億之羅漢於佛前受壽別十六無學之聖者。住世間護法。察人之德。失知法之興廢。隱顯隨時神異無方。我等之歸三寶。信四諦之善根。專酬羅漢之廣恩。仍讚功德可行禮拜矣。

心如大海全容受 志若須彌不動搖
共坐如來解脫床 哀愍衆生如一子
南無護持道法十六大阿羅漢生生世世值遇頂戴

第五發願迴向者。願以此慈慈渴仰之善根。必成就自利利他之大願。先增十六大聖之威光。無煩于護持佛法。次勸三有群類之發心。有勇于斷惡修善。乃至擊大法鼓而辨振無間。闡提斷善之族。進三菩提道。吹

大法螺而音通。有頂非想昧劣之輩。發十須彌心。方今如來入滅。當于今聖衆悲感。新於常歎。爲助彼哀傷。聊開此講肆。行儀雖賤。懇志不淺。伏乞護持道法十六羅漢。九十九億無學聖者。悉知證明善願圓滿。仍擬一心渴仰。可願二世值遇矣。

願我生生見諸佛 世世恒聞深妙典
恒修不退善薩行 疾證無上大菩提
南無護持道法十六大阿羅漢生生世世值遇頂戴
大神分 次六種迴向
十六羅漢講式

道跡講式
先總禮
敬禮天人所恭敬 西天如來諸道跡
我等道法諸佛子 戀慕渴仰致供養
南無人天有情所歸依 處大聖化儀處處道跡
大導師著座 次法用 次表白
敬白大恩教主釋迦牟尼如來。華嚴法華八萬聖教。親見道跡諸大祖師。一一微塵毛端刹海。不可說不可說三寶境界而言。
夫自提河輟。調豎林。暗影之後。鬼畜乾。人天無據。於是大悲無止而留跡於娑界。凡愚遇之以愆愁於滅後焉。然而西天境。池雲漢。東土路隔。鯨波欲見。未得天眼。眼。杏子萬里之雲。欲往復無身邊。身繫于千重之霧。悲哉我等。非唯漏於在世說法之衆

會亦絕望於滅後遺跡之拜見。春日思罔而
 歎息擁胸。秋夜眼覺以悲淚灑面焉。如彼
 法顯智猛智嚴法勇等。悲之如悲乎病患。
 戀之過乎男女之戀。遂則捨身以尋遺跡。
 輕生以訪經論。我等何人輒聞無望乎。是
 以每迎菩薩聲聞。戀在世之昔。草木石水
 垂滅後之悲。今日。專學。西者渴仰之風儀。
 聊加束土信敬之片善。以是莊遺跡之靈
 德。以是遂大聖之值遇也。集會諸人皆凝
 敬勳之戀慕。所設供具悉投隨分之資糧。誠
 信至深。釋尊必增護念。丹祈無貳。二類定
 加證明。就中有五段。一別舉菩提樹靈異。
 二總舉處處遺跡。三讚遺跡甚深功德。四
 舉遺跡戀慕人。五發願迴向也。

第一別舉菩提樹靈異者。摩竭提國前正覺
 山西南。行十四五里有菩提樹。菩提樹者
 即畢鉢羅樹也。如來坐其下成等正覺。因
 而謂之菩提樹。在世當初。依菩薩淨業承
 如來威神。示現種種神變。施作種種佛事。
 全不覺凡樹。宛如有心識。是以說法最初
 第二七日中。其菩提樹高顯殊特。金剛為莖
 瑠璃為幹。衆雜妙寶以為枝條。寶葉繁茂
 其形如雲。雜色寶華分枝布影。復以摩尼
 而為其葉。含輝發焰與花間列。又放光明。
 於光明中留摩尼寶。摩尼寶內有諸菩薩。
 又以如來威神力故。恒出妙音說種種法。
 無有盡極。如來入滅之以來。復五百歲之
 頃。諸物雖隱。靈怪。此樹獨異相無盡矣。無
 憂王初嗣位。信受邪道毀佛遺跡。斬截菩

提樹。欲令事火婆羅門祠天。即放光焚燒。
 猛火中含青翠色。大王視異悔過深。欣慶
 躬修供養。又王妃素信外道。密遣使人夜
 分之後重伐其樹。大王朝將禮敬唯在禮
 株。深增悲慨至誠祈請。以香乳澆其株。不
 日還生。王深敬異。其為狀也。莖幹黃白枝
 葉青翠。冬夏不凋光鮮無變。然每至如來
 涅槃之日。其葉皆凋落。須之復本。是日諸國
 君王異方法俗。數千萬眾不召來集。而奏音
 樂。列香華。燈炬繼日就修。供養。各悲泣哽
 咽收樹葉而去。非唯王臣生仰崇。又如來
 致歸依。所謂成道之始。凝七日諦觀。二代之
 終。運六匝之圍繞。世尊尚企二度之觀禮。我
 等何忘一夜之渴仰乎。就中今日今夜為
 西天悲戀之正中。想像王臣戴星月。人民中
 風箱。圓樹流淚。我等雖為邊族。苟植遺
 法。應根行而不交。何無端睡密室乎。仍
 各思念靈德。可生渴仰矣。

遺雙輪等難具舉。且出一二。摩竭提國有
 石。其上有雙輪跡。昔如來一代已暮入滅時
 至。與諸大眾趣拘尸那城。是為最後之隨
 從。更無日子待。再會大眾。溺淚侍衛前後。
 如來變紫金面。示哀戀。迴青蓮。願摩
 竭國。立此石上。普阿難曰。我將入寂滅。
 最後留此足跡。為願摩竭國也。大眾見
 聞之哀傷。翰墨何記乎。其又足跡長一尺八
 寸。廣餘六寸。兩足俱有輪相。十指皆帶花
 文。魚形映起光明時照。若有欲移餘處。石
 雖不大。眾莫能動。設賞迦王不信佛法。欲
 滅聖跡。鑿已還平。文綵如故。棄之宛伽河
 流。尋復本處。加之五百塵點。往劫行事在。于
 今炳然。薩埵捨身流血尚存。連擊與子杖。墮
 留跡。布髮掩泥之處。捨身求佛之地。月光
 斬首尸毘伺鷹。此等聖跡。彌綸五天。靈相
 紛紜見者增信。或惡獸作衛護。或天人雨
 寶花。或異香。或風。或樂音。驚耳矣。彼土人民
 競致巡禮。泣捧供具。嚴香奇異之勝事。只
 可閉眼而想像。仍唱。伽陀。可行禮拜矣。

淨飯王宮生處塔 菩提樹下成佛塔
 荒野箇中法輪塔 給孤獨園名稱塔
 林如城邊寶階塔 耆闍崛山般若塔
 庵羅衛林維摩塔 娑羅林中圓乎塔
 南無人天有情所歸依處大聖化儀處處遺
 跡

第三讚遺跡甚深功德者。凡如來所有功德。
 皆內合法界外向衆生。泥木形像從大智
 出生。紙墨經卷從法界等流。況於龍窟真

影現神變石而双輪放光明乎。尋其本性是如來性起之功德。成所作智之應化也。語其因起又衆生機感之所得。本識果種之變作也。是以五百塵點之間三災屢現四劫交來。唯此靈跡常住無變。水火不焚。風災不被。久留後代。永爲衆生歸仰。如來以此方便。妙轉乎狂逸之群類。衆生依彼善巧。堅懸于慈悲之鉤。皆是隨染之果幻。自然之大用也。若約衆生爲衆生緣感之功德。若約如來爲如來性起之大用。緣性無無終同。法界無作者無成者。法性隨緣甚深。不思議應用也。當知如來慈悲不捨一生。播融進之德。山動深廣之智海。更有一大事因緣也。爲在世機感示眞身。爲滅後無福留遺跡。爲逸夷贈名字。爲開提結逆緣。彼此皆同如來大智之善巧。大悲利物之方便也。花嚴經說遺跡利益云。滅除一切諸煩惱患得實聖樂云云。又寶積經舉滅後懸慈善根說遺跡信仰功德之文。立如來愛子名。授成佛記。誠世間戀人之習尚。重其形見。信家歸佛之張誰輕。其道跡乎。設雖有信仰之過。誰堪乎哀戀之思。況道跡敬重人得如來愛子之名乎。況懸慈渴仰。聖受無上菩提記乎。仍唱。伽陀可行禮拜矣。

第四舉遺跡懸慕之人者即非他。上古三藏諸宗祖師。懸遺跡而捨命。訪經論以輕生。人其數惟多。不遑毛舉。諸德雖數多。最初開荒途。法顯三藏是也。三藏以晉隆安三年發自長安西渡流沙。上無飛鳥下無走獸。四顧茫茫。測向之唯視日以准。東西算骸以知行路。遇熱風。煥身。擒惡鬼。捨命。但先志次命。遂至天竺。欲詣靈鷲山。人諫曰。勝途多難。實處有煩。黑師子多噉人。不如遠致。禮敬乎。法師答曰。遠涉數萬里。至靈鷲身命不期。出息難保。豈可使積年之誠。既至而廢乎。雖有險難。吾不厭也。法顯至山。燒香禮拜。翹感奮跡如視聖儀。慨念悲傷。收淚而言。佛於此山說首楞嚴經。法顯生不值佛。但見遺跡而已。珍愛難仰。更忘歸願。燈炬續明。一心感悅。彼山有大石室。昔如來於此入定。法師於其前誦首楞嚴經。有三黑師子來蹲。法師前祇履振尾。法師泣勵聲誦經。更無惜身命之氣色。師子見之。深生尊重。低下尾。伏法師前。即含慈愛色。摩師子而語曰。汝欲害我者。且待誦經竟。師子低頭。一心聽經。良久乃去。此等諸德。恨生不遇。佛幸見遺跡。立亡身。誓懷生別之悲。實足傷哉。或由榜峻壁而臨深。踏飛。短。渡。險。多有零落。江山。都有不聞存沒。哀哉悲哉。佛道何道行之人。輕乎重生。命。法家何家。入之人。拋乎珍名利。披其傳記。不勝悲喜乎。仍擬隨算結緣。思唱。伽陀可行禮拜矣。

我誠實定 安慰如是狀
彼雖不見佛 而與見佛同
南無遊行西天親見遺跡深心求法諸大祖師
第五發願迴向者。願以此懸慕渴仰之功德。必成就自利利他之大願。先不偶于三祇百劫之大道。不奈乎住行地之經歷。生相之靈暗。于金剛心之慕。無明之眠覺。於薩般若之曉。見聞隨喜之族。而面受益不空。安養行者。預彌陀之引攝。兜率行者。待彌勒之來迎。乃至生生世世見佛聞法。現當所願速疾圓滿。仍唱。伽陀可行迴向矣。

願以此功德 普及於一切
我等與衆生 皆共成佛道
南無如來成道大菩提樹大聖化儀處處遺跡

大神分 次六種迴向
遺跡講式
舍利講式
先總禮
敬禮天人大覺尊 恒沙福智皆圓滿
因因果滿成正覺 住壽雖然無去來
南無大恩教主釋迦牟尼如來生生世世值
遇頂戴
南無滅後福田遺身舍利生生世世值遇頂
戴
次導師著座 次法用 次表白
敬白大恩教主釋迦牟尼如來。滅後福田遺

身舍利。涅槃道教八萬聖教。能持遺法十六
尊者。同體別體一切三寶而言。

夫佛日既隱。長夜待曉。法船復摧。苦海憑
何渡。於是鑿舍利之威光。而希尋乎八正
之直路。得壽教之秘授。以適攀于六度之彼
岸。良遣使還告之方便者。一師所釋也。醫王留
藥之善巧。不可得而稱者歟。仍弟子等二
月十五一晝夜間。舉四座之讚詠報。一分之

佛恩。所謂先對。及林入滅之像。諸德各捧。最
後之供。次跪于六羅漢之前。貴賤互盡。渴仰
之誠。重像覺樹枯衰之粧。上下皆凝。戀慕之
思。今讚遺身舍利之德。老少悉流。亡據之
淚。其中間一夜之間。覺睡勵聲。稱念大悲
寶號。請求來世值遇。當座之即第四度結願
迴向講肆也。就中有三段。一總讚舍利功
德。二別舉當代靈德。三結願迴向也。

第一總讚舍利功德者。如來受胎生留遺
形碎。全身現舍利之本意者。流傳於邊地
末代。周旋於六趣四生。齊為授利益故也。
夫生身遙別。二千年之始滅後我。等何為遺
跡。遙隔乎數萬里道。邊地衆生無見。若無
碎身之方便者。何慰滅後之悲歎乎。華嚴
經云。隨應化彼一切天人龍神夜叉乾闥婆
阿修羅迦樓羅緊那羅摩睺羅伽等。故碎末
全身示現舍利云云。涅槃經云。供生身並舍
利二人所得福正等無異。悲花經中說
舍利利益。三災劫末時。為琉璃寶珠。從金
剛際出。上至阿迦尼吒天。雨種種花。當其
雨花時。復出種種微妙音。空聲無相聲無作

聲等。作如此佛事。令無其邊衆生於三
乘中。令得不退轉。乃至於五佛世界微塵
數等。大劫中亦復如是。取一一滴。隨治深必
與海水乾竭。佛化流。生界定與。生海無
窮。五界微塵利益。尚非極說。異類世界化導
誰致識知。仍憑無盡利益。唱伽陀。可行禮
拜矣。

於如來舍利 一與供養者
盡生死煩惱 畢竟得涅槃
南無滅後福田遺身舍利生世世值遇頂
戴

第二別讚當代利益者。夫邊地輕人。愚人賤
法。聖賢不來。生法化不弘行。然依大聖之
善巧舍利之威神。翻邪見信佛法。其靈應
惟多古今非一。佛法始來漢朝時。摩騰與
道士譯神驗。日舍利直上空中。旋環如蓋。
遍覆大眾。映耀日光。天雨寶花。散大眾上。
又天妙樂音。遍滿空中。大眾見聞。歡未曾有。
隨喜銘肝。咸淚絞袖。皆五體投地。頂禮法
師足下。出家得度。衆數千有餘。其中諸山道
士六百九十八人。六百二十人出家。又僧會
往吳國。吳主請云。若應祈念。得舍利立塔
婆。致禮敬。若其虛妄。須加刑。即請期一七
日。無其感應。又申二七日。寂然無應。吳主
嘲嫉。欲加罪。更請三七日。僧會語同伴曰。
法之興廢在此。今度無感。誓以死為期。至
三七日。春猶無見。所流淚悲感。莫不震懼。
既入五更。忽聞瓶中。若有聲。即果得舍
利。五色光焰。照耀瓶上。擊之。碓俱陷。舍利

二七三 四座講式

無損。燒之不燃。火爐作大蓮華。光明照曜
宮殿。臣主驚嘆。流隨喜淚。初建伽藍。崇重
佛法。其寺稱建初寺。其里名佛陀里。又融
羅城頂骨舍利。香泥上示來報。頂骨周一尺
二寸。其相仰平。形如天蓋。其色黃白。髮孔分
明。欲知來報者。以末香和泥。以印頂骨。
隨其業緣。而其形煥然。近有北天王取印
文。初得馬形。悲慨而投。珍財積功。懺悔大
得。師子形。又投財寶。持齋式。次得人形。倍
勵精進。即得天形。悲喜交流。方還本國。其精
舍四十步內。雖天震地裂。此處獨無動。我等
得舍利於掌中。拜遺身於肉眼。是過分之幸
也。隨供拔罪根。隨崇倍福德。沉深入觀
智。即是法身。仰作渴仰。即是生身乎。一心
合掌。可悅舍利值遇矣。

舍利神變不思儀 見聞隨喜得利益
超於生身住世間 為迷正路作明燈
南無滅後福田遺身舍利生世世值遇頂
戴

第三結願迴向者。凡當今日一夜所修善
業。或財供或法供。併戀慕渴仰之功德也。皆
眼湛哀悲之淚。捧供物於頂上。各面含渴
仰之色。致禮拜於足下。互凝難遣之想。悉
集會佛前。明一夜而稱念寶號。重四座
讚歎。大恩皆無不起。自醒醉昏藥之微心。
志願之風。早通於摩竭之空。妙供之雨。速灑
於靈跡之場。仰願大恩。教主釋迦如來。護持
遺法十六尊者。九十九位無學聖衆。滅後福
田遺身舍利。十方三世諸佛菩薩。親見遺跡

於如來舍利 一與供養者
盡生死煩惱 畢竟得涅槃
南無滅後福田遺身舍利生世世值遇頂
戴

第二別讚當代利益者。夫邊地輕人。愚人賤
法。聖賢不來。生法化不弘行。然依大聖之
善巧舍利之威神。翻邪見信佛法。其靈應
惟多古今非一。佛法始來漢朝時。摩騰與
道士譯神驗。日舍利直上空中。旋環如蓋。
遍覆大眾。映耀日光。天雨寶花。散大眾上。
又天妙樂音。遍滿空中。大眾見聞。歡未曾有。
隨喜銘肝。咸淚絞袖。皆五體投地。頂禮法
師足下。出家得度。衆數千有餘。其中諸山道
士六百九十八人。六百二十人出家。又僧會
往吳國。吳主請云。若應祈念。得舍利立塔
婆。致禮敬。若其虛妄。須加刑。即請期一七
日。無其感應。又申二七日。寂然無應。吳主
嘲嫉。欲加罪。更請三七日。僧會語同伴曰。
法之興廢在此。今度無感。誓以死為期。至
三七日。春猶無見。所流淚悲感。莫不震懼。
既入五更。忽聞瓶中。若有聲。即果得舍
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佛法。其寺稱建初寺。其里名佛陀里。又融
羅城頂骨舍利。香泥上示來報。頂骨周一尺
二寸。其相仰平。形如天蓋。其色黃白。髮孔分
明。欲知來報者。以末香和泥。以印頂骨。
隨其業緣。而其形煥然。近有北天王取印
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勵精進。即得天形。悲喜交流。方還本國。其精
舍四十步內。雖天震地裂。此處獨無動。我等
得舍利於掌中。拜遺身於肉眼。是過分之幸
也。隨供拔罪根。隨崇倍福德。沉深入觀
智。即是法身。仰作渴仰。即是生身乎。一心
合掌。可悅舍利值遇矣。

二七五

Shiza Kōshiki

二七三 四座講式

諸大祖師。必照覽大會之懇志。來世值遇不
露。定知見無二之丹所。順次得果無疑。乃
至三界向為一家。共瀝一味之法雨。四生合
為一族。悉萌一性之覺芽。仍住歡喜適悅
之思。可誦發願迴向之句矣。

願於來世恒沙劫 念念不捨天人師

如影隨形不暫離 晝夜勤修於種智

願以此功德 普及於一切

我等與衆生 皆共成佛道

南無滅後福田遺身舍利自他法界平等利

益

大神分 次六種迴向

舍利講式

九六