Kumano Nachi Mandalas

Medieval Landscape, Medieval National Identity

by

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ABSTRACT

A Japanese national identity is generally thought to have originated in the 17th century, with the advent of the Kokugaku movement. I will argue that there is earlier evidence for the existence of a Japanese national identity in the Kumano Nachi mandalas of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. These mandalas employ the Nachi waterfall as a symbol of the strength and power of the Japanese land, counterbalancing Chinese Buddhist visual motifs. In this paper, I further assert that these mandalas are an early example of an artistic tradition of painting specific landscape features as symbols of a Japanese national identity, and that this tradition continues into the modern period.

For my little sister Bethany,

who completed her masterpiece on July 25, 2015

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CHAPTER 1

RELIGION, ART, AND IDENTITY

Introduction

The connection between landscape painting and national identity is one that has long been recognized in the art of the early modern and modern eras.[1] According to Stephen Daniels, "landscapes, whether focusing on single monuments or framing stretches of scenery, provide visible shape; they picture the nation. . . . Since the eighteenth century painters and poets have helped narrate and depict national identity."[2] However, this relationship has been primarily looked at in relation to the nation-state, from its beginnings in the 17th and 18th centuries and up to the present day.[3] The reason for this limitation is quite simple—most scholars of history and politics contend that the rise of nationalism and national identity coincided with that of the modern nation-state.[4] Nationalism and the nation-state are supposed to have exploded onto the scene in the 18th and 19th centuries, revolutionizing politics and identity in an utterly unprecedented turn of events, giving birth to the modern world. However, as Prasenjit Duara has convincingly argued, there is abundant evidence that national identity is not a new idea; rather, it is the "world system of nation-

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[1] Malcom Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 175.

[2] Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Cambridge, GBR: Polity Press, 1993), 5.

[3] See: Ewa Matchotka, *Visual Genesis of Japanese National Identity: Hokusai's Hyakunin Isshu* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009); Toshio Watanabe, "Japanese Landscape Painting and Taiwan: Modernity, Colonialism and National Identity" in *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, ed. Yuko Kikuchi, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 67-82; Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Cambridge, GBR: Polity Press, 1993); Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

[4] For the purposes of this paper, I use Connor Walker's definition of a nation as "a self-aware ethnic group." See: Walker Connor, "A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group is a …, " *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1, no. 4 (1978): 388.

states" that is unique to the modern world.[5] According to Duara, in recent scholarship there is a

> . . . highly suspect presumption of an epistemological gap between national consciousness as cohesive and self-aware and pre-modern consciousness as dominated either by universal cosmologies or parochial identities.[6]

Various kinds of nationalisms developed in premodern cultures, and premodern people were fully capable of thinking of themselves as part of discrete cultural and political groups that shared common interests and were different from, or superior to, other groups. In Japan, there is evidence of a concept of a Japanese national identity going back at least as far as the Heian period (794-1185), although such a thing is commonly supposed not to have existed until the 17th century, at the earliest, with the advent of the Kokugaku or Nativist movement among Japanese intellectuals.[7]

In the West, Baroque and Renaissance landscape painting consisted of abstracted scenes of idealized nature that existed primarily as backdrops to human activity.[8] The concept of landscape as the primary focus of a painting would not develop until the mid-17th century, when Dutch painters began producing realistic Dutch landscape paintings.[9] With the rise of the nation-state in the 18th and 19th centuries, landscape painters such as J.M.W. Turner, John Constable, Jean-Francois Millet, and Vincent van Gogh

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[5] Prasenjit Duara, "On Theories of Nationalism for India and China," in *In the Footsteps of Xuanzang: Tan Yun-Shan and India*, ed. Tan Chung (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 1999), 17.

[6] Ibid., 22.

[7] Susan L. Burns, *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan.* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 5-6.

[8] Lawrence O. Goedde, "Renaissance Landscapes: Discovering the World and Human Nature," in A Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Art, eds. Babette Bohn and James M. Saslow (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 381.

[9] Ibid., 390.

> . . . contributed in no small measure to the imaginative recreation of an 'authentic' nation by means of their images of its locations and populations, and through the increasing circulation and diffusion of many prints and engravings after these images. . . . these inner quests by artists for a return to Nature, and for national authenticity, self-identification and re-rooting in the homeland, helped in varying degrees to 'nationalise' the educated classes and endow the nation and its nationalism with some of its distinctive cultural attributes and qualities.[10]

These paintings were frequently portrayals of rich agricultural land, or idealized depictions of national beauty spots that the viewer could identify as "home," even if he or she lived in a city. Although the focus was on the landscape, these paintings were often populated with happy peasants in ethnic garb, reinforcing the link between cultural identity and geography. As Malcom Andrews puts it, "landscape in art can express a set of political values, a political ideology, when it is least seeming to invoke political significance."[11]

In premodern China, pure landscape painting was a highly esteemed genre of art. Natural scenes spoke to Confucian ideals of plainness, humility, honesty, and purity. The contemplation of a painted landscape was the next best thing to a rural retreat. Chinese scholar-painters generally painted idealized imaginary landscapes, imbuing them with layers of symbolic meaning. Tang and Song-period painting was greatly admired by the Japanese, and the Japanese landscape painting tradition began during the period of intense cultural appropriation from China from the 7th to the 9th century. Chinese influence can be seen in the landscape backgrounds of Heian-period *emakimono* and illustrated sutras.

However, in the Kamakura period (1185-1332), there was a surprising development: a genre of Shinto mandalas emerged, and their artists began to depict shrine grounds and sacred landscape features in a realistic manner. Nachi Ōtaki, a

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[10] Anthony Smith, "'The Land and Its People': Reflections on Artistic Identification in an Age of Nations and Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 19, no. 1 (2013): 87, 103.

[11] Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art*, 156.

waterfall belonging to the Kumano Sanzan shrine group, was one place that was frequently painted. In this paper I argue that Nachi mandalas contain early artistic expressions of a growing consciousness of a distinct Japanese identity vis-à-vis China. I further argue that this was the beginning of a tradition of using specific, religiously significant landscape features as symbols of national identity that would later manifest itself in paintings of other shrines and, much later, the *ukiyo-e* of the early modern period. I chose to focus on Kumano because of its early importance as both a Buddhist and a Shinto holy land, as well as its broad appeal to people at different levels of society and throughout Japan.

My methodology consists of a two-pronged approach: in the first half of this paper, I use historical analysis to explore the contentious topic of national identity in premodern Japan as well as the significance of Kumano as an early locus of spiritual and political importance. In the second half I adopt an iconographical approach to explore the possible manifestations of national identity in Japanese painting. To the best of my knowledge, there has been no previous study of Japanese premodern national identity from the perspective of art. As for the study of Japanese Shinto mandalas in particular, Nakano Teruo's article for the *Tokyo National Museum Bulletin*, "Kumano Mandara Zukō" [Investigation of Kumano Mandalas] (1985) is an exhaustive visual analysis of twenty-one Kumano mandalas. [12] In English, the definitive book on mandalas is Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis' *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* (1999). Another important work is Leonard Bruce Darling Jr.'s PhD dissertation, "The Transformation of Pure Land Thought and

[12] Despite its recent unpopularity with scholars of Japanese religion, I have chosen to use the word Shinto as a term for the indigenous Japanese *kami* traditions that existed before, and contemporaneously with, Buddhism. For more on this debate, see: Klaus Antoni, "Does Shinto History 'Begin at Kuroda'? On the Historical Continuities of Political Shinto," in *Politics and Religion in Modern Japan: Red Sun, White Lotus*, ed. Roy Starrs (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 84-103; and Susan C. Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga Seen through Its Art* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1992), 185-198.

the Development of Shinto Shrine Mandala Paintings: Kasuga and Kumano" (1983). Susan Tyler's *The Cult of Kasuga Seen Through Its Art* (1992) is an outstanding work on Shinto shrine art, including mandalas. The exhibition catalogues published by the Wakayama Prefectural and City museums, while extremely difficult to acquire in the United States, are excellent and indispensable resources. The Nezu Museum in Tokyo has also published an important exhibition catalogue on an exhibit devoted to Nachi and other Shinto mandalas, called *Nachi no taki: Kumano no shizen to shinkō no zōkei* [Nachi Waterfall: The Formation of the Nature and Faith of Kumano] (1991). As for the religious history of the Kumano pilgrimage, the most comprehensive work in the English language is D. Max Moerman's *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (2005).

In terms of national identity in Japanese art, as I mentioned previously, scholars have focused on the period from Edo (1615-1868) to the end of World War II. Works such as Ewa Machotka's *Visual Genesis of Japanese National Identity: Hokusai's Hyakunin Isshu* (2009) and Rosina Buckland's *Painting Nature for the Nation: Taki Katei and the Challenges to Sinophile Culture in Meiji Japan* (2013) are two recent books that examine expressions of national identity in Edo *ukiyo-e* and Meiji painting, respectively. I believe that this paper will be the first to address the subject of national identity in medieval art, as well as the first to explore a possible connection between *ukiyo-e* landscapes and Shinto mandalas.

Japan, China and *Honji Suijaku*

One cannot conceive of a national identity without first falling under the influence of a group perceived to be foreign. For the Japanese, the primary catalyst was China. As early as the Kofun period (c. 300-352), ritual implements such as

bronze mirrors and bells show the influence of Han craftsmanship.[13] In the Asuka period (552-645), Japan began sending official missions to the Chinese capital at Chang'an to bring back knowledge and culture. The Chinese written language was adopted, and the Taika legal reforms were based on Confucian ideals. In the Nara period (710-794), a new capital was built on a geomantic grid plan that mimicked that of Chang'an, and Chinese esoteric Buddhism became popular in the Nara imperial court. The tide of Chinese culture sweeping over Japan was not met with universal approbation. According to the 8th-century Japanese history book, the *Nihon shoki*, Chinese Buddhism was protested by some aristocratic clans in 552 AD, who warned that by worshipping ". . . foreign Deities . . ." Japan would ". . . incur the wrath of the National Gods."[14] A plague soon struck Japan, and in order to placate the "National Gods," a statue of the Buddha was thrown into a canal and ritual objects burnt. Despite this early setback, Buddhism would soon dominate the religious, political, and philosophical thought of the court and nobility, and then spread to the common people. Buddhism was embraced, but was also to undergo a process of naturalization and integration with Shinto.

Prior to the 10th century, the *kami* were considered independent agents, both for good and evil. They were not necessarily in agreement or in conflict with Buddhism, but could coexist with it. After the introduction of Buddhism, it was a common practice to build Buddhist temples inside the precincts of a shrine, where monks would chant sutras for the salvation of the *kami*.[15] This situation changed in

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[13] Edward J. Kidder, *Himiko and Japan's Elusive Chiefdom of Yamatai: Archaeology, History, and Mythology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 160-179.

[14] *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697,* vol. 2, trans. W.G. Aston (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1993), 67.

[15] Susan Tyler, "'Honji Suijaku' Faith," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16, no. 2/3 (1989): 237.

the 10th century, when the doctrine of *honji suijaku* rehabilitated Japan's native deities, making them active players within the Buddhist cosmology. *Honji suijaku* posited that the Shinto *kami* were traces (*suijaku*) of the original (*honji)* Buddhist deities, who changed their form to be more easily comprehended by the Japanese. The *kami* inhabiting Shinto shrines and other sacred places or things, like mountains, great rocks, trees and waterfalls, were paired with corresponding Buddhist deities. It is important to note that this was not a one-to-one system: *kami* were not limited to an association with one Buddhist deity, and by the same token, Buddhist deities were associated with thousands of different *kami*.[16] Shinto shrines commissioned mandalas that visually illustrated the connection between the enshrined *kami* and their Buddhist counterparts.

Reverse *Honji Suijaku*

In the 9th century, after nineteen Japanese missions had visited China, the program was halted because the Tang dynasty had been overthrown. When order was restored under the Song Dynasty, the Japanese did not resume the missions. Various reasons have been proposed for this lack of interest, including the weakening of the government's economic power,[17] the increased activity of Korean traders that reduced the necessity for the Japanese to make journeys to China themselves, and a sense on the part of the Japanese that they had already learned everything they needed.[18] Whatever the cause, the Heian court was much more inward-looking than

[16] William E. Deal and Brian Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2015), 150.

[17] Marian Ury, "Chinese Learning and Intellectual Life," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 2, *Heian Japan*, eds. Donald H. Shivley and William H. McCullough (Cambridge, GBR: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 344.

[18] Robert Borgen, "The Japanese Mission to China, 801-806." *Monumenta Nipponica* 37, no. 1 (1982): 24-25.

its predecessors. It was at this time that what scholars recognize as a distinct Japanese style emerged in literature, painting, poetry, music and other arts.[19]

At the same time, there was a growing sense that Japan had surpassed China in its spiritual wisdom. The early 12th-century *Konjaku monogatarishū*, a didactic collection of sometimes whimsical and earthy Buddhist tales, conveys a distinct sense of national pride. These stories would have been known to the intellectual elite, but they also would have been spread to the common people throughout Japan by those itinerant performers whom Barbara Ruch has termed "missionary-jongleurs."[20] In one story, a Chinese *tengu* goblin, named Chira Yōju, flies to Japan to see if it is as easy to make fools of Japanese Buddhist monks as it is their Chinese counterparts.[21] Chira Yōju is immediately vanquished and returns to China covered in shame, vowing never again to visit Japan. In another story, a different Chinese *tengu* is utterly astonished to find that Japanese monks are so spiritually accomplished that even the privies of Japanese monasteries emit Buddhist wisdom.[22] One of the purposes of the *Konjaku monogatarishū* was to instill Buddhist principles through an entertaining medium, but stories like *Chira Yōju* also reminded their audiences that while Buddhism initially came to Japan via China, Japan had far surpassed its original master. This illustrates an important point about the development of Japanese national identity: whereas in the Edo and Meiji periods,

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[19] Helen Craig McCullough, "Aristocratic Culture," in *the Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 2, *Heian Japan*, eds. Donald H. Shivley and William H. McCullough (Cambridge, GBR: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 390.

[20] Barbara Ruch, "Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of a National Literature," in *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, eds. John Whitney Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 279-310.

[21] Haruko Wakabayashi, *The Seven Tengu Scrolls: Evil and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy in Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2012), 22-23.

[22] Irene H. Lin, "Child Guardian Spirits (Gohō Dōji) in the Medieval Japanese Imaginaire," *Pacific World* 6 (2004), 167.

Buddhism would be vilified as an interloper from China, in the medieval era a distinction was made between Buddhism and China.[23] To reject Buddhism because of its associations with China would have seemed like throwing the baby out with the bathwater. Two centuries after the *Konjaku monogatarishū* was written, a new doctrine would claim that China and the rest of the world had in fact received the original spiritual truths from Japan.

In the 14th century, *honji suijaku* was turned on its head when the Tendai monk, Jihen, and the Shinto priest Watarai Ieyuki, among others, declared that the *kami* were the true manifestations of the universal deities, and that the Buddhist deities of other lands were merely guises that the *kami* assumed to save the benighted denizens of other realms. This reverse *honji suijaku* was the culmination of a feeling that had been growing through the medieval period that Japan had become more spiritually enlightened than China.

These changing attitudes toward China are typical of the coalescence of a national identity—as Prasenjit Duara states,

> . . .an incipient nationality is formed when the perception of the boundaries of community are transformed: when soft boundaries are transformed into hard ones . . . Not only do communities with rigidified boundaries privilege their differences, they tend to develop an intolerance and suspicions toward the adoption of the other's practices, and strive to distinguish, in some way or the other, practices that they share.[24]

Prior to the fall of the Tang dynasty and the ending of Japan's missions to China, the boundaries between the two countries were "soft"—that is, the differences between them were not at the forefront of Japan's conception of the relationship. However, by the late Heian and Kamakura periods, the boundaries were becoming more rigid;

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[23] The *Konjaku monogatarishū* also includes many stories about India's place within Buddhist geography; this possibly represents a desire on the author's part to subvert China's role, as Japan perceived it, as the center of Buddhist authority.

[24] Duara, "On Theories of Nationalism," 159.

these are what Duara refers to as "hard" boundaries, in which differences are focused upon. This reaffirms the outside group as truly "foreign" or "alien."

Shinkoku*, Country of the *Gods

Klaus Antoni, in his book *Kokutai—Political Shintô from Early-Modern to Contemporary Japan* (2016), reminds us of ". . . the astonishing fact that during Tokugawa times and even earlier, Japanese thinkers themselves had developed their own kind of ethnocentric 'national idea.' It centered on the construct of a Japanese sacred community, seen as the *shinkoku*, 'the country of the gods'. . .."[25] The first appearance of the term *shinkoku* was in the 8th century *Nihon shoki*, in a recounting of a military campaign. [26] In the 14th century, it was popularized by the nobleman and historian, Kitabatake Chikafusa.

In 1274, and again in 1281, the Mongolian army attempted to invade Japan. Though greatly outnumbered, the Japanese defeated the invaders, assisted in each instance by large typhoons (*kamikaze,* "divine wind") that delivered Japan from its enemies. These miraculous victories lent credence to the idea that Japan was the *shinkoku*. Kitabatake Chikafusa opened his 1339 book on the imperial line, *Jinnō Shōtōki,* with the bold statement:

> Great Japan is the divine land [*shinkoku*]. The heavenly progenitor founded it, and the sun goddess bequeathed it to her descendants to rule eternally. Only in our country is this true; there are no similar examples in other countries. This is why our country is called the divine land.[27]

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[25] Klaus Antoni, *Kokutai—Political Shintô from Early-Modern to Contemporary Japan* (Tübingen: Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, 2016), 385.

[26] Bernhard Scheid, "Land of the *Kami* and Way of the *Kami* in Yoshida Shintō," in *Religion and National Identity in the Japanese Context*, eds. Klaus Antoni, et al. (Münster, DEU: Lit Verlag, 2002), 195.

[27] Kitabatake Chikafusa, *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns: Jinnō Shōtōki of Kitabatake Chikafusa*, trans. H. Paul Varley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 49.

From the mid-14th century onward, the concept of Japan as *shinkoku* would become part of the discourse of Japanese scholars, who believed that Japan was a divine country, unique among all others.[28] Klaus Antoni posits that it was this medieval development that ". . . marked the birth of pre-modern and modern religious nationalism and traditionalism in Japan . . .."[29]

The renowned Japanese scholar of religion, Kuroda Toshio, disagrees that the concept of *shinkoku* was a "manifestation of 'national self-awareness,'"[30] asserting that ". . . the medieval concept of *shinkoku* was religious in essence. It would thus be a mistake to see it as something akin to modern national consciousness or ethnic thought. . .."[31] I believe that, with regard to Kitabatake's statement, if the word *shinkoku* is being used religiously or politically, there is no functional difference in the outcome. Kitabatake is differentiating Japan from all other countries by reason of its divine inheritance. If Kitabatake had claimed Japan's superiority for reasons of ethnicity or government, the result would be the same—an ideological, "hard" boundary between Japan and other countries, and a conviction that Japan is unique among them. These things are the cornerstones of national identity. The eminent scholar of nationalism, Walker Connor, claims that "the essence of the nation . . . is a matter of self-awareness or self-consciousness."[32] According to J. Edward Mallot, "to accomplish an invented sense of uniqueness and solidarity, nationalism . . . must

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[28] Antoni, *Kokutai*, 46.

[29] Ibid., 46.

[30] Kuroda Toshio, "The Discourse on the 'Land of Kami' (*Shinkoku*) in Medieval Japan: National Consciousness and International Awareness," trans. Fabio Rambelli, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 3-4 (1996): 354.

[31] Ibid., 376.

[32] Walker Connor, "A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group is a …, " *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1, no. 4 (1978): 389.

articulate a vision of 'us and them' . . .."[33] Even if what is recognized as modern nationalism had not yet fully coalesced, the evidence I have given shows that by the medieval period, what was at the very least an incipient nationalism had formed.

Despite his earlier objections, in the same essay quoted above, Kuroda goes on to say:

> . . . [*shinkoku* thought] functioned as a form of national consciousness within the framework of Japan's relations with other lands. Although essentially religious in nature, the *shinkoku* concept, insofar as it constituted an awareness of Japan as a *kuni* 国 (country), comprised a recognition by the Japanese of 'their land' as a part of the actual East Asian world.[34]

Indeed, "the *shinkoku* concept reflected . . . [a] sort of self-righteous contempt with regard to the outside."[35] This definition fits entirely with what I consider to be national identity, which, after all, is created in opposition to an outside influence, and, as Prasenjit Duara's research has shown, happened much more often in the premodern world than scholars have heretofore acknowledged. This was clearly Japanese nationalism—whether it was incipient or fully-formed must rely on definitions for which there is no current consensus.

It is important to note that this is not at all indicative of a rejection of Buddhism. Indeed, during the medieval period, Buddhism enjoyed the apex of its popularity in Japan. There were certainly sects, such as Watarai Shinto, which rejected Buddhism for nationalistic reasons. Kitabatake Chikafusa himself was influenced by Watarai Shinto theology.[36] However, in the mandalas that I will discuss in Chapter 3, the Buddhist deities are unquestionably portrayed as beings of power

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[33] J. Edward Mallot, *Memory, Nationalism and Narrative in Contemporary South Asia* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 94.

[34] Kuroda, "The Discourse on the 'Land of the *Kami*," 379.

[35] Ibid., 380.

[36] Mark Teeuwen, *Watarai Shintô: An Intellectual History of the Outer Shrine in Ise*. (Leiden, NLD: CNWS Publications, 1996), 151-2.

and majesty. They are deserving of respect, yet they are still foreign beings whose power is equaled or eclipsed by that of Japan as represented by the Japanese landscape.

Just as the changing conception of Japan's relationship with China is not indicative of a rejection of Buddhism, neither is it indictive of a rejection of Chinese culture. Chinese poetry, literature, and arts were highly valued in the medieval period. However, from the 12th century onward, there was a feeling of uncertainty about Japan's role in an ever-expanding world, particularly amongst the great Buddhist nations of China and India.[37] I believe that the medieval Japanese national identity arose from a desire to define Japan as a nation in its own right, part of the larger community of Buddhist nations, and independent from China.

Another important caveat to bear in mind is that the sources upon which I will draw, both artistic and literary, were the provinces of the intellectual and economic elite. While one of the distinctive features of the modern nation-state is that it seeks to draw all social and economic classes into a sense of shared identity that is defined by the nation, the national identity shared by the premodern Japanese elite was not necessarily shared by the common people. There is very little documentary evidence since few members of the non-elite were literate. However, there are signs that the identity of the Japanese common people was not necessarily centered on what Prasenjit Duara terms "universal cosmologies or parochial identities." I have already discussed the *Konjaku monogatarishū* tales, and in Chapter 2 I will discuss the phenomenon of the itinerant missionary-storyteller at greater length. However, determining whether the common people of Japan shared a form of national identity

[37] D. Max Moerman, "Locating Japan in a Buddhist World," in *Cartographic Japan: A History in Maps*, eds. Kären Wigen, Sugimoto Fumiko and Cary Karacas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 89.

is not the goal of this paper—it is, rather, to discuss signs of national identity in religious art, which has traditionally been the province of the elite.

In the above chapter, I have shown literary and religious developments that indicate the strengthening of what I believe is a sense of national identity in medieval Japan. Chapter 2 consists of a short history of the Kumano pilgrimage. In Chapter 3, I discuss evidence of the development of a Japanese national identity in painting, specifically in the Kamakura to Muromachi-period mandalas of Nachi Taisha, one of the three Kumano Sanzan shrines. In Chapter 4, I take a brief look at the development of this concept in the *ukiyo-e* of the Edo period.

CHAPTER 2

THE KUMANO PILGRIMAGE

Kumano in the Heian Period, 794-1185

According to the *Nihon shoki*, Buddhism came to Japan in the Asuka period when the kingdom of Paekche in Korea sent sutras, a statue of the historical buddha, Shakyamuni, and other Buddhist paraphernalia to the court of the emperor, with warm commendations:

> "This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain and hard to comprehend . . .. This doctrine can create religious merit and retribution without measure and without bounds, and so lead on to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom."[38]

Despite this, Buddhism's unofficial history in Japan likely started somewhat earlier, brought by Chinese and Korean immigrants.[39] As William E. Deal and Brian Ruppert note, it was expedient for the ruling classes to claim official ownership (and thus control) over this powerful—but potentially subversive—new philosophy.[40]

By the Heian period, Buddhism was the favored spiritual and intellectual occupation of the emperor and the court. At this time, most Japanese Buddhists were convinced that the world had entered (or would soon enter) into its lowest ebb of spirituality and virtue, the age of *mappō*: a ten-thousand-year span of darkness and apocalypse. New Buddhist teachings from China held that during the time of *mappō* it was extremely difficult or impossible to build merit on one's own. The best hope for salvation in this time of degeneracy was to throw oneself on the mercy of Amida Buddha and be reborn in the Pure Land.[41] This was a paradise so perfect and

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[38] *Nihongi* vol. 2, 66.

[39] Deal and Ruppert, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, 18.

[40] Ibid., 20-21.

[41] Sybil Thornton. "Konodai Senki: Traditional Narrative and Warrior Ideology in Sixteenth-Century Japan," *Oral Tradition* 15, no. 2 (2000): 336.

conducive to virtue that anyone who was reborn there was certain to attain enlightenment. Pure Land Buddhism became very popular with the Heian court.

In the age of *mappō*, one of the few ways to gain merit was to copy sutras and thus ensure the spread of the doctrine. The Heian court took this a step further by putting sutras in durable containers and burying them at sacred locations. In the early Heian, the Fujiwara clan had taken over the reins of power by ensuring that each emperor marry a Fujiwara daughter. After a Fujiwara grandson was born, the head of the Fujiwara clan would urge the young emperor into retirement, and then serve as regent to the new infant emperor. One activity that the Fujiwara regents engaged in was making pilgrimages to Mount Yoshino, in the northern Kii peninsula, and with elaborate ceremonies, burying sutras there. It has been argued that these pilgrimages and ostentatious ceremonies were part of the Fujiwara clan's attempt to prove its legitimacy and right to rule.[42]

In the late Heian, the emperors managed to wrest power from the Fujiwara regents. These emperors surrendered the throne to their sons, took Buddhist monastic orders, and moved to luxurious temple residences. From here, the so-called cloistered emperors maintained firm control over their sons and the government. The cloistered emperors wanted to maintain the tradition of pilgrimages and sutra burial, but they also wanted to distance themselves from the Fujiwara.[43] In order to do this, they selected a new pilgrimage location, still on the Kii peninsula but far south of Yoshino. This area, called Kumano, was the favored location for the mountain austerities of the Shugendō sect, which formed in the 9th and 10th

[42] Heather Blair, *Real and Imagined: The Peak of Gold in Heian Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press, 2015), 161-3.

[43] Ibid., 123-4.

centuries.[44] Practitioners of Shugendō, called *yamabushi* or *shugenja*, were wandering holy men who practiced a combination of esoteric Buddhism and pre-Buddhist magico-religious rites.[45] The cloistered emperors and court aristocrats were also to become devotees of Kumano, making many trips from Heian-kyō (present-day Kyoto) and back, from the 10th century to the early 13th century.[46] The emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127-1192) visited Kumano thirty-three times, and the emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239) made twenty-eight visits.[47]

This sudden popularity in the late Heian was the reason Kumano rose to prominence as one of the most sacred places in Japan, and has remained so to this day. However, the motivations behind these pilgrimages are not yet completely understood. The trip to Kumano was an extremely arduous one, with few comforts, and it meant being cut off from the center of power for long periods of time. From the capital at Heian-kyō to Kumano and back, the journey took around a month.[48] It was also extremely costly, both for the emperor and his courtiers, and for the landholders who lived along the way, who were expected to provide appropriate accommodation, food and entertainment for the imperial party as it passed

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[44] Miyake Hitoshi, "Rethinking Japanese Folk Religion: A Study of Kumano Shugen," in *Religion in Japan: Arrows to Heaven and Earth*, eds. P.F. Kornicki and I.J. McMullen (Cambridge, GBR: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 120.

[45] Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow,* 2nd ed. (London: Unwin-Hyman Limited, 1986), 165-6.

[46] There were many routes to Kumano, but the most popular was the route that ran down the west side of the Kii peninsula, through present-day Sakai, Wakayama City and Tanabe. On the east side of the peninsula there was another Kyoto-Kumano route that ran through Ise. And finally, it was possible to go down the center of the peninsula, via Kōyasan or Yoshino.

[47] James Foard. "Ippen Shonin and Popular Buddhism in Kamakura Japan" (PhD Diss., Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1977), 146.

[48] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 7.

through.[49] As D. Max Moerman has discussed, pilgrimages gave the emperors and nobles a chance to tour their realms, display their wealth, and remind their subjects of their duties, in a grand display of legitimacy-building pageantry.[50] Beyond these secular motivations, the cloistered emperors likely saw the Kumano pilgrimage as a form of penance and a chance for merit-building.[51] The court maintained a strong interest in Buddhism, and the popular Pure Land sects were deeply concerned with death and the afterlife. It was in the late Heian period that Kumano came to be seen as a physical manifestation of Amida's Pure Land on earth. Kumano had been considered a land of the dead in prehistoric times; according to the *Nihon shoki*, Kumano is where Izanami, one of the two divine progenitors of Japan, died in childbirth and was buried.[52] The ground was already prepared for its reenvisioning as a paradisiacal Buddhist afterlife.[53] To cloistered emperors and nobles uncertain about the destination of their souls after death, a merit-building visit to the earthly Pure Land may have been a worthwhile investment, despite the physical and financial demands of the journey.

Kumano from the Kamakura Period to the Edo Period, 1185-1615

The peace of the Heian period officially ended when the Minamoto clan seized the reins of power from the emperor and established themselves as hereditary shoguns, ruling from the city of Kamakura. The emperor was pushed into a ceremonial role, and Heian-kyo lost much of its former significance. Emperors no

[49] Koyama Yasunori 小山靖憲, *Kumano Kodō* 熊野古道 [Kumano Old Road] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 48-9.

[50] D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise,* 160-80.

[51] Koyama Yasunori 小山靖憲, *Kumano Kodō* 熊野古道, 112-113.

[52] Teranishi Sadahiro 寺西貞弘, *Kodai Kumano no shiteki kenkyū* 古代熊野の史的研究 [Research on the History of Ancient Kumano] (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 2004) 47-50.

[53] Gorai Shigeru 五来重, *Kumano mōde: Sanzan shinkō to bunka* 熊野詣：三山信仰と文化 [Kumano pilgrimage: Sanzan cult and culture] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2004), 24-25.

longer had the economic or political influence that was necessary to make pilgrimages to Kumano. If the emperor could no longer visit, Kumano had to appeal to the newly dominant warrior class to maintain its status as an important pilgrimage destination.[54] Large Kumano mandalas were commissioned, painted on silk or paper, and Kumano missionaries (itinerant holy men as well as nuns called Kumano *bikuni)* traveled the length and breadth of Japan using the mandalas to preach the Kumano cult, as well as engaging in storytelling and other entertainments. They also sold Kumano amulets—sheets of paper with a pattern of stylized crows on one side—and these were used all over Japan for swearing vows and making contracts.[55] Kumano became such a popular pilgrimage destination that the phrase "the pilgrimage of ants to Kumano" became a popular term to describe the swarms of pilgrims descending upon the shrines.[56] Kumano cultivated pilgrims from all over Japan, including the northern reaches of Japan's main island, Honshu.[57] D. Max Moerman has called Kumano's influence over medieval Japan "pervasive," reaching far beyond its regional boundaries.[58]

With the influx of pilgrims into Kumano, there was a need for services. The *oshi* system developed to meet this need: pilgrims would arrange in advance for an *oshi* to provide food, lodging and guides.[59] The result was that the pilgrimage became much less arduous for those who had the money to pay for services. This

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[54] Katō Takahisa 加藤隆久, *Kumano Sanzan shinkō jiten* 熊野三山信仰事典 [Encyclopedia of the Kumano Sanzan cult] (Tokyo: Ebisu Kōshō Shuppan, 1998), 398-9.

[55] Shimomura, Miroku 下村巳六, *Kumano no denshō to nazo* 熊野の伝承と謎 [Kumano legends and mysteries] (Tokyo: Hihyōsha, 1995), 11-12.

[56] Foard, "Ippen Shonin and Popular Buddhism in Kamakura Period Japan," 137.

[57] Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*, 20.

[58] Ibid., 24.

[59] An *oshi*, or *onshi*, is a low-ranking Shinto priest.

was the advent of a long and continuing tradition of religious tourism in Japan. In the Muromachi period (1333-1573), Kumano *sankei* mandalas were created, which depicted the progress of pilgrims visiting the Kumano Nachi shrine. The pilgrims, both male and female, are shown as having wonderful spiritual experiences as well as a pleasant time. D. Max Moerman has called it a form of advertisement.[60] These mandalas were shown throughout Japan by the Kumano missionaries and were no doubt attractive to many potential pilgrims.

By the Muromachi period, however, Kumano's fortunes were on the wane.[61] Japan was entering the Sengoku, or Warring States period, and frequent battles between regional warlords caused great instability. Pilgrims preferred more accessible destinations, such as Ōyama or Hieizan to Kumano's rugged isolation. Kumano would not regain its popularity until the Edo period when travel for pleasure became a common activity. However, Kumano had lost much of its imperial cachet by then; while still famous, it would never again be Japan's most important pilgrimage destination. That honor went to Kumano's neighbor to the east, Ise Jingū, where Amaterasu, the founder of the imperial lineage, was enshrined.

Kumano Nachi Taisha

Kumano Nachi Taisha is one of the three grand shrines that comprise the heart of the Kumano pilgrimage. It lies on the east side of the Ise peninsula's southern end. About ten kilometers to the northeast of Nachi is Kumano Hayatama Taisha in the coastal town of Shingū, and twenty kilometers to the northwest of Nachi lies Kumano Hongū Taisha, deep in the center of the Ōmine mountains. All three shrines share similar architectural styles, and have done so since at least the

[60] Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*, 24.

[61] Miyake Hitoshi, *The Mandala of the Mountain*, ed. Gaynor Sekimori (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2005), 67.

Kamakura period, as evinced by the Kumano *miya* mandalas which depict shrine grounds in detail. The Nachi shrine is named for Nachi Ōtaki,[62] the highest waterfall in Japan. The shrine buildings are located both near the base of the waterfall, and on a hill opposite, which affords a dramatic view. Nachi Ōtaki was a likely sacred site for the animistic beliefs and shamanic practices that composed the form of Shinto that predated Buddhism and would eventually develop into the Shinto of medieval Japan.

Although Kumano was the most important imperial pilgrimage destination in the late Heian period, there are no known representations of the shrines in Heian art. However, in the Kamakura period, a tradition of Kumano religious painting blossomed. In the in the mid- to late 13th century a genre of Shinto shrine mandalas, adapted from esoteric Buddhist mandalas, sprang up practically overnight. For those who could not make the journey to Kumano, a visual representation of the shrine was the next best thing.[63] Mandalas were used in various rituals, and by meditating on a mandala, the viewer could make a spiritual pilgrimage. In her study of a Sannō mandala, Meri Akichi quotes a diary entry by Emperor Hanazono made in 1325 which attests to the popularity of Shinto shrine mandalas:

> This evening in the crown prince's palace, Kiyotsune told us that for the past three or four years, paintings of the Kasuga Shrine has [sic] been used to substitute for the rituals at the shrine. The painting depicting a view of the shrine is called mandara. Everyone seems to have one these days.[64]

There were several different kinds of Shinto mandalas that appeared in the late Kamakura and Muromachi periods. The eminent scholar of Japanese religion,

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[62] "Ōtaki" means "great waterfall."

[63] Sherwood F. Moran, "The Nachi Waterfall: A Painting of the Kamakura Period," *Arts Asiatiques* 5, no. 3 (1958): 214.

[64] Diary of Emperor Hanazono, quoted by Mari Arichi in "Sannō Miya Mandara: The Iconography of Pure Land on This Earth," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33, no. 2 (2006): 322.

Nakano Teruo 中野照男, has recognized four distinct categories of Kumano mandalas: *honji, suijaku, honjaku* and *miya*.[65] *Honji* mandalas show the shrine *kami* in their original forms as Buddhist deities, usually arranged in the shape of a lotus or in rows. *Suijaku* mandalas feature the shrine *kami,* often in anthropomorphic form. *Honjaku* mandalas are, as the term implies, combinations of the *honji* and *suijaku* varieties, in which both the Buddhist deities and shrine *kami* are depicted. *Miya* mandalas can depict either Buddhist deities or *kami*, but the primary focus of the mandala is on the architectural layout of the shrine. The aforementioned mandalas were painted as vertical hanging scrolls, on silk or paper, but the *sankei*-type mandalas are very large and square—since these were used by Kumano proselytizers in their itinerant preaching, it was important for them to be visible to a large crowd and to provide many different points of discussion. *Sankei* means pilgrimage, and *sankei* mandalas depicted the route of pilgrims through various holy places.

Mandalas were primarily produced by temple or shrine ateliers that employed priest-artists.[66] It is difficult to assign definite dates to mandalas—in most cases, experts are only able to narrow the possible date to a range of fifty or a hundred years, with the earliest examples appearing in the mid- to late 13th century. It is my assertion that the earliest mandalas are likely the ones that bear the closest structural resemblance to esoteric Buddhist mandalas. Esoteric mandalas were central to the rituals of two major schools of Japanese Buddhism, Tendai and Shingon, both popularized in Japan in the 9th century. The artists and commissioners of the early works, searching for a way to embody Shinto concepts in a mandala,

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[65] Nakano Teruo 中野照男, "*Kumano mandara zukō*" 熊野曼荼羅図考 [Investigation of Kumano mandalas], Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Kiyō 東京国立博物館紀要 [Bulletin of the Tokyo National Museum] 21 (1985): I.

[66] Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography,* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 144.

would likely have looked first to esoteric mandalas, with which they would have been familiar.

CHAPTER 3

MANDALAS

Kamakura-period Kōzanji *Honji* Mandala

Held at Kōzanji in Kyoto is what I believe to be one of the earliest examples of a Kumano mandala, containing what may be the earliest depiction of Nachi Ōtaki. According to Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, the mandala's box is inscribed with the date 1282, which she considers a plausible date for this mandala, but not definitive.[67] The center arrangement is very similar to that of the Taizokai or Womb World esoteric mandala, which was introduced from China to Japan in the early 9th century.[68] In the center of the Taizokai mandala, the cosmic buddha Dainichi Nyōrai sits on a lotus, in the center of an abstracted lotus shape with eight petals. In the center of each petal sits a Buddhist deity, also seated upon lotus. On the petals directly above, below, right and left of Dainichi Nyōrai are the buddhas of the four directions. Between these buddhas are the four great bodhisattvas, Kannon, Monju, Jizō and Fugen. Between each petal is the head of a *kongōsho* (*vajra*). The center of the Kōzanji *Honji* mandala closely imitates this design, although the deities are different. In the center is the Buddha Amida, making the *mudra* (hand symbol) of meditation. To Amida's right is the thousand-armed, eleven-headed Kannon that is the Buddhist manifestation of Nachi Ōtaki, and proceeding clockwise, a second manifestation of Kannon; the historic buddha, Shaka; a third manifestation of Kannon; the Buddha of medicine, Yakushi; the bodhisattva, Jizō; the eleven-headed Kannon; and finally, the

[67] Ibid., 169, 60.

[68] Ōkōchi Tomoyuki 大河内智之 in *Kumano — Seichi e no tabi* 熊野-聖地への旅 [Kumano — The journey to holy ground], ed. Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 和歌山県立博物館 [Wakayama Prefectural Museum] (Wakayama, JPN: Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 2014), 243.

bodhisattva Ryūju.[69] As in the Taizokai mandala, the head of a *kongōsho* separates each petal. One notable difference, however, is that the entire lotus is framed by a lunar disk, which, as Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis points out, is a device used in the Kongōkai (Diamond World) mandala, which is the counterpart to the Taizokai mandala. The lunar disk motif was to become a defining characteristic of Shinto mandalas. This borrowing from the two most important esoteric Buddhist mandalas did not happen by chance. The term Ryōbu Shūgō Shintō, meaning a combination of the *kami* with the Kongōkai and Taizokai mandalas, was commonly used as a general name for Shinto-Buddhist syncretism.[70]

Although the center of the Kōzanji *honji* mandala is very similar to the Taizokai mandala, the rest of the mandala is entirely different and bears no similarity to any Buddhist mandala found in Japan. The background is a landscape of mountains and trees, and the style in which they are depicted is much more typical of *Yamato-e* painting than it is of religious painting.[71] Roaming this landscape are deities such as Zaō Gongen, Fudō Myōō, Bishamonten and others associated with Kumano.[72] Most of depicted deities are Buddhist in origin. It is very unusual to see landscapes in Japanese Buddhist mandalas.[73] The Taima mandala depicts Amida

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[69] ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas,* 168.

[70] Itō Satoshi, "The Medieval Period: The Kami Merge with Buddhism," in *Shinto, a Short History*, ed. Inoue Nobutaka, trans. Mark Teeuwen and John Breen (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 68-9.

[71] Shigetomi Shigeko 重富滋子, "Suijakuga ni okuru Kumano mandara" 垂迹画におくる熊野曼荼羅 [Kumano mandalas in *suijaku* painting], in *Nachi no taki — Kumano no shizen to shinkō no zōkei* 那智の瀧 — 熊野の自然と親交の造形 [Nachi Waterfall: The Formation of the Nature and Faith of Kumano], ed. Nezu Bijutsukan 根津美術館 [Nezu Art Museum] (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan, 1991), 96.

[72] ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, 169.

[73] Ariga Yoshitaka 有賀祥隆, "'Butsuga sansuizu' no keifu"「仏画山水図」の系譜 [The lineage of Buddhist landscape paintings] in *Nachi no taki — Kumano no shizen to shinkō no*

enthroned in his palace in the Pure Land, but very little of the natural world is depicted. More relevant are other paintings in the Pure Land tradition, portraying the Amida *raigō*, in which Amida and his retinue of celestial beings descend to meet the soul of a dying person and escort the soul to paradise. In the early 13th-century Yamagoshi *raigō*, Amida emerges from behind a landscape of rolling hills, with a large lunar disk serving as a halo behind his head. The Four Heavenly Kings stand at the base of the hills, flanking a pair of aristocrats who are likely the patrons of the piece. Above them float the bodhisattvas Kannon and Monju. The landscape in this painting is highly stylized, and the basic shape of the hills and the arrangement of the figures are very symmetrical. However, the artist has tried to soften the symmetry of the hills by including such things as bushes, leafless winter trees and jutting cliffs. An earlier example of landscapes in Amida *raigō* can be found in the 11th-century wall paintings of the Byōdōin temple south of Kyoto.

It is possible to trace the central design of the Kōzanji mandala to the Taizokai esoteric mandala, and the landscape to Pure Land paintings, but what makes the Kōzanji *honji* mandala so distinctive is that, unlike the aforementioned landscapes, which were painted from the artists' imaginations, there is a real place illustrated in this landscape. Although it is true that most of the landscape is imaginary, in the upper-left a small image of Nachi Ōtaki is just visible. Beside it stands the thousand-armed, eleven-headed Kannon that is the Buddhist manifestation of the deity of the waterfall. Why is it that, in a mandala made up almost entirely of Buddhist deities, set in an imaginary landscape, a real Japanese waterfall makes an appearance?

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zōkei 那智の瀧 — 熊野の自然と親交の造形 [Nachi Waterfall: The Formation of the Nature and Faith of Kumano], ed. Nezu Bijutsukan 根津美術館 [Nezu Art Museum] (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan, 1991), 100.

Kamakura-period Shōgoin *Honji* Mandala

It is true that Nachi Ōtaki plays a very minor part in the Kōzanji *honji* mandala, but in a late 13th-century *honji* mandala from Shōgoin, it has taken on a much more prominent role.[74] Abandoning the Taizokai lotus motif, the artist has taken the daring step of making the deities somewhat subordinate to the landscape. The mountain in the background looms up over the deities and dominates the painting. The thousand-armed, eleven-headed Kannon, the buddha Amida and the Buddha Yakushi and their attendant deities are relegated to the lower half of the painting, seated in rows on lotus pedestals, hovering over the dark blue of Nachi bay. The aforementioned Kannon, Amida, Yakushi, as well as Shaka in the center, are all set against small lunar disks. Above and below the rows of deities, figures associated with Kumano, both deities and holy men, roam the landscape. Most striking is the large depiction of Nachi Ōtaki. It is placed directly to the right of the rows of deities, forcing them out of a position of honor in the center of the mandala. At the base of the waterfall stands the eleven-headed, thousand-armed Kannon. The accurate way in which the waterfall is painted suggests that the artist had either been to Kumano in person, or seen the work of an artist who had. Nachi Ōtaki has a distinctive shape—two thirds of the way down, the stream of water hits a series of ledges, making it fan out. This feature is not visible in the Kōzanji *honji* mandala, but it can be clearly seen in the Shōgoin mandala. Further, the bare cliffs around the falls resemble the Nachi cliffs.

It is compelling that Nachi Ōtaki forces the rows of Buddhist deities out of their traditional place in the center of the mandala, while the mountains loom above them. These mountains serve as a visual counterbalance, but also as a spiritual counterbalance, reminding the viewer that although Buddhist deities are enshrined

[74] ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas,* 171.

here, this is a manifestly Japanese landscape. What was only hinted at in the Kōzanji mandala is forcefully stated here. Another ideologically important device is the positioning of the rows of Buddhist deities inside Nachi Bay, set apart and contained by the coastline. This serves to remind the viewer that these are deities from foreign shores, approaching Japan from over the water, placing them in their proper context as esteemed immigrants.

Kamakura-period Nachi Mandala

Nachi Ōtaki is the subject of one of the most famous paintings of the Kamakura period. Designated a Japanese National Treasure, it is held by the Nezu Museum in Tokyo. Sherwood Moran called it ". . . the earliest landscape in Japanese art, that is, a landscape in its own right."[75] As in the Shōgoin *honji* mandala, this depiction of Nachi bears certain signs that the artist was familiar with the falls and felt it important to make a faithful visual representation. When one visits Nachi Ōtaki, one sees that the water fans out about two-thirds of the way down. Broad, bare cliffs frame the falls, and at the base there is a wide talus deposit. In the mandala, the water clearly fans out and then tumbles down and around this talus deposit. A thick forest grows above the waterfall in the mandala as it does at the real Nachi, and distinctive *sugi* (cryptomeria) trees tower in the foreground. Although it bears little resemblance to any other Japanese mandala, it is generally referred to as a *suijaku* mandala because it depicts a Japanese deity that is not in its Buddhist manifestation.[76] Indeed, there is little sign here of religion of any kind. The waterfall dominates the scene; Max Moerman calls it a "visual synecdoche" for the Nachi

[75] Moran, "The Nachi Waterfall," 207.

[76] Hugo Munsterberg, *The Landscape Painting of China and Japan* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1955), 92.

shrine.[77] Barely visible at the bottom is the Honji-dō, where the thousand-armed, eleven-headed Kannon, the Buddhist manifestation of the Nachi *kami*, is enshrined.[78] It is impossible to miss the ideological significance of the scene's framing. The artist has deliberately called attention to the overwhelming power and beauty of Nachi Ōtaki, while reducing the symbols of *honji suijaku* to a few barely visible lines. Buddhist counterparts are certainly still acknowledged, but in a surprising volte-face from the Kōzanji *honji* mandala, it is now the Japanese deities, made manifest in the Japanese landscape, which take the place of honor. Ironically, although this painting symbolically demonstrates a turning inward and perhaps away from Chinese religious influences, in technique it has clearly been influenced by the Southern Song court.[79] It is unlikely, however, that the artist was aware of the debt his brushwork and composition owed to Chinese painters.

Nanbokuchō-period Hongū Taisha *Honji* Mandala

Artists frequently based their mandalas on older mandalas, either virtually copying them or merely adopting design elements. Great interest lies in comparing works with the older mandalas that inspired them. Kumano Hongū Taisha holds a mid- to late 14th-century *honji* mandala whose layout is identical to that of the 13th-century Kōzanji *honji* mandala. The central lotus design with its eight deities surrounding a central Amida figure is faithfully replicated in the 14th-century mandala, with only minor differences. The figures roaming the mountainous landscape behind the lotus are similar, but placed in different locations. One particularly interesting difference is in the top-right portion of the mandala, where

[77] Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*, 68.

[78] Leonard Bruce Darling, Jr., "The Transformation of Pure Land Thought and the Development of Shinto Shrine Mandala Paintings: Kasuga and Kumano," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1983), 434.

[79] Moran, "The Nachi Waterfall," 210.

Nachi Ōtaki, which was very understated in the 13th-century mandala, is now much more emphasized. In the extreme upper-right corner is the thousand-armed Kannon of the waterfall.[80] It is not particularly distinct from the other figures, while the Kannon in the 13th-century mandala glows with a soft radiance. Thus, the Nanbokuchō mandala has diverged from its 13th-century model in an intriguing way—the artist has deliberately chosen to draw more attention to Nachi Ōtaki and reduce the prominence of its Buddhist manifestation deity.

Muromachi-period Seigantoji *Honji* Mandala

A 14-16th-century *honji* mandala held by Seigantoji has an unusual design: a nebulous cloud of blue with a tiny latticed-star pattern floats in the center of the Kumano landscape. On this patterned cloud float the thousand-armed, eleven-headed Kannon, the buddhas Amida and Shaka, and other Buddhist deities, in rows, seated on lotus pedestals. Above them are mountains, the full moon, and the stars of the *Hokutoshichisei* (Big Dipper) constellation.[81] Below the rows of buddhas are the Nachi shrine grounds. Although this mandala seems completely unorthodox at first glance, its structure resembles a mirrored version of the 13th-century Shōgoin mandala. The most visually impressive feature is the depiction of Nachi Ōtaki that dominates the left side, twice the height of the waterfall in its Shōgoin mandala depiction. With its dramatic scale and solid, bright white color, it catches the viewer's attention before any other element in the image, successfully competing with the array of Buddhist deities beside it. Unlike the Shōgoin mandala, however, the Seigantoji mandala's depiction of Nachi is less realistic: against a featureless void, it

[80] Ōkōchi Tomoyuki 大河内智之, in *Kumano Hongū Taisha to Kumano Kodō* 熊野本宮大社と熊野古道 [Kumano Hongū Taisha and the Kumano Kodō], ed. Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 和歌山県立博物館 [Wakayama Prefectural Museum] (Wakayama, JPN: Wakayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 2000), 250.

[81] Ōkōchi 大河内, *Kumano — Seichi e no tabi* 熊野-聖地への旅, 243-4.

falls straight down, lacking the fanned-out spray of water that is the distinctive characteristic of the real Nachi Ōtaki. Despite this, the shrine grounds in the lower third of the mandala are depicted in an accurate manner.[82] At this late date, it is likely that the artist, if he had not actually visited Nachi himself, had at least seen representations in mandalas, making it possible to paint the shrine grounds with accuracy. Therefore, it seems possible that the way in which the falls are painted is a deliberate abstraction on the part of the artist, possibly to make them more severe and visually striking.

Muromachi-period Nachi *Sankei* Mandalas

Kumano s*ankei* mandalas were created to encourage people from all over Japan to make the pilgrimage to Kumano. They depict pilgrims having a pleasant journey, receiving abundant spiritual blessings, and seeing all kinds of interesting sights. Since the Kumano pilgrimage (and pilgrimage in general) had a reputation for being a dangerous, arduous, and unpleasant undertaking, it is possible that the administrators of the Kumano Shrines hoped that these mandalas would change that reputation. Many of these mandalas are in poor condition due to being folded and carried all over Japan. Itinerant *hijiri* (holy men) and Kumano nuns used them in their repertoire of religious storytelling entertainment, along with similar mandalas that depicted the glories of paradise and the agonies of hell. As Barbara Ruch has written, these medieval travelling missionaries and entertainers were a major part of the creation of a Japanese national identity because they brought the same stories to everyone. For the first time, people from all over Japan shared common myths and heroes: "Even a national ethic, a national sentiment, was formed that was without question the product of the religio-secular missionary-jongleur of the fourteenth and

[82] Ibid., 243-4.

fifteenth centuries."[83] Because "missionary-jongleurs" of Kumano took the Nachi *sankei* mandalas on their journeys, the middle and lower classes from all over Japan had a chance to become familiar with the image of Nachi Ōtaki.[84] In a Nachi *sankei* mandala held by the Tōkei Shrine, Nachi Ōtaki dominates the scene much as it does in the Seigantoji mandala, immediately catching the viewer's eye with its bright, solid white color. Also like the Seigantoji mandala, the waterfall has not been painted in a realistic way—it goes straight down, and the bare rock walls surrounding it have been omitted. The Buddhist pagoda of the temple of Seigantoji rises to the left of Nachi Ōtaki, but with its reddish earth-tones, it blends into the background, completely dwarfed by the towering, white waterfall. Nachi Ōtaki is indubitably the focal point of this mandala.

Nachi Ōtaki in the Kamakura-period *Ippen Hijiri-e*

While not a mandala, there is one early religious painting of Nachi Ōtaki that ought to be mentioned here. Completed in 1299, the *Ippen hijiri-e* is an *emakimono,* or illustrated hand-scroll, that tells the story of the life of Ippen, an itinerant *hijiri* or holy man. Although Ippen was a Buddhist *hijiri*, it was important for him to visit Kumano because of its associations with the Pure Land of Amida.[85] While there, Ippen experienced a revelation, and set about preaching the *nenbutsu* (chanting the name of Amida) as the simplest way to ensure rebirth in the Pure Land. Ippen's visit to Kumano is illustrated in the *Ippen Hijiri-e*, and the most visually arresting scene is the depiction of Nachi Ōtaki. The style of this scene is different from the rest of the scroll. The influence of Chinese painting is evident in the lively, choppy brushwork

[83] Ruch, "Medieval Jongleurs," 293-94.

[84] R. Keller Kimbrough, *Preachers, Poets, Women and the Way: Izumi Shikibu and the Buddhist Literature of Medieval Japan* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2008), 2.

[85] Foard, "Ippen Shonin and Popular Buddhism in Kamakura Period Japan," 139-40.

and in the composition of the scene.[86] The painting's bright coloring, however, belongs to the *yamato-e* tradition. The *Ippen* depiction of Nachi Ōtaki is quite realistic—the forest above the falls, the bare cliffs that frame the stream of water, and the protruding ledges that cause the water to fan out. Even the slope of talus is distinguishable at the base of the falls. Also pictured are the temple halls dedicated to the Buddhist manifestation of the Nachi deity, similarly dwarfed by the waterfall. The trees, too, are typical of the area. Indeed, the painting bears so much in common with the Kamakura-period Nachi mandala that it is quite possible that the artist(s) of *Ippen* studied the Nachi mandala, or even belonged to the same atelier that produced it. One notable difference between the two paintings is that, while there are no forms of animal or human life to be seen in the Nachi mandala, in *Ippen* there is one: a gargantuan wolf perched on a cliff ledge near the top of the falls.[87] No other figures, not even Ippen himself, intrude on the scene. The wolf was traditionally associated with ideas of mountains and wilderness, the sacred and dangerous domain of the spirits—such as Kumano.[88]

Ideologically, the *Ippen* Nachi Ōtaki is interesting in the same way as the Nachi mandala—it seems to be conveying the same messages. The Japanese landscape, in the form of Nachi Ōtaki, and the symbolic wolf, tower majestically over the small *honji* temples at the very bottom of the scene. The Japanese indigenous religion is deeply bound up with animism and the sanctity of natural spaces, particularly those of some great power, such as a waterfall. Like the Nachi mandala,

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[86] Miya Tsugio 宮次男, in *Nihon emakimono zenshū* 日本繪巻物全集 [Japanese scroll paintings], vol. 10, *Ippen Hijiri-e* 一遍聖繪, ed. Miya Tsugio 宮次男 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Publishing Co., 1960), 8.

[87] Ibid., 8.

[88] Brett L. Walker, *The Lost Wolves of Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 66.

this scene envisions the cathedral of Japanese nature and makes the temples of foreign deities seem insignificant by comparison.

Other Shinto Mandalas: Kasuga, Sannō and Fuji

While Kumano was the first and most important pilgrimage destination during the premodern and much of the medieval period, there were other important pilgrimage sites that featured in their own mandalas. One of these was Nara's Kasuga Shrine. Unfortunately, Kasuga did not have any exceptionally striking natural landmark. However, Mount Mikasa, a gentle slope barely more than a thousand feet at its highest point, was the most common feature of Kasuga mandalas.[89] In a late 13th-century Kasuga *honji* mandala, a golden lunar disc fills the entire upper half of the scene. Six deities are seated inside: Shaka, Yakushi, Jizō, Monju, the eleven-headed Kannon, and Fukūkensaku Kannon.[90] From the lower half of the scene rises Mount Mikasa, like a little base upon which the large lunar disk rests. The mountain does not have the beauty or raw power that Nachi Ōtaki conveys, and thus the mandala seems a little unbalanced, both visually and ideologically.

Later, in a Nanbokuchō-period (mid- to late 14th century) Kasuga mandala, the artist has attempted to remedy this difficulty in a novel way. The mandala is a combination of the *honjaku* and *miya* varieties, in which the Buddhist deities, their *kami* manifestations, and the shrine grounds are all depicted.[91] A larger-than-life-size Mount Mikasa takes a central position and is highlighted by the bright autumnal colors of its trees. Standing on the summit of the mountain is the white deer sacred to Kasuga. A tree stands upon the deer's saddle, and supported by the tree is a

[89] Susan C. Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga Seen through Its Art* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1992), 47-48.

[90] ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, 146-7, 155.

[91] Gyōtoku Shin-ichirō, in *Shintō: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*, ed. Victor Harris (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 166.

golden lunar disk (or mirror).[92] While the deer is standing on Mount Mikasa, the lunar disk is solidly within the realm of the buddhas and *kami*. This arrangement lends the landscape of the Kasuga Shrine a much more dignified and majestic aspect than does the previously discussed 13th-century Kasuga *honji* mandala. The Nanbokuchō mandala focuses the viewer's attention on the sanctity of the Japanese landscape rather than that of the foreign deities, who are almost an afterthought at the very top of the mandala.

Another example of this process of emphasizing landscape can be seen by comparing two mandalas of the Sannō Shrine in Shiga Prefecture. Mount Hachiōji is a small, steep hill that lies at the foot of the Hira mountain range that runs between Kyoto and Shiga prefectures. Mount Hachiōji was believed to be the embodiment of the *kami* whose Buddhist form was the thousand-armed Kannon.[93] In a Kamakura Sannō *honjaku* mandala, the Buddhist deities associated with the shrine and their smaller *kami* manifestations are enshrined against the backdrop of Mount Hachiōji.[94] Mount Hachiōji is, in fact, not fully visible in this painting because the artist has chosen to emphasize the buddhas and bodhisattvas above all else—their golden, radiating bodies overshadow the tiny *kami* seated at their feet. Mount Hachiōji is reduced to a few stylized outcroppings here and there.

In a stunning reversal, in a late Kamakura-to-Muromachi-period Sannō *honjaku miya* mandala, it is Mount Hachiōji that completely dominates the landscape.[95] Similar to the Nanbokuchō Kasuga mandala previously discussed, a row

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[92] Ibid., 166.

[93] Meri Arichi, "*Sannō Miya Mandara*: The Iconography of Pure Land on This Earth," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33, no. 2 (2006): 328.

[94] Haruki Kageyama and Christine Guth Kanda, *Shinto Arts: Nature, Gods, and Man in Japan* (New York: Japan Society, 1976), 98.

[95] Arichi, "*Sannō Miya Mandara*," 329-331. Although Meri Arichi favors a late Kamakura date, in my opinion this piece is more likely to be from the Nanbokuchō or early

of Buddhist deities followed by a row of their *kami* counterparts runs across the top of the painting. In the Nanbokuchō Kasuga mandala, Mount Mikasa, although its size is exaggerated, takes up only about a sixth of the painting, while the same amount of space is allocated to the Buddhist deities. In the Sannō *honjaku miya* mandala, about one-twelfth of the painting's space is dedicated to the miniscule Buddhist deities, while a dramatically oversized Mount Hachiōji occupies fully one-third. There is no mistaking that the mountain is what the artist intended to be the object of awe and reverence.[96] The figures of the buddhas, bodhisattvas and *kami* alike are utterly insignificant in comparison to the mountain, whose size and majesty have been unrestrainedly embellished by the artist. As I have already shown, the artists of mandalas did not hesitate to alter geographical reality to force the scene into visual accordance with its spiritual or ideological significance.[97] It is perhaps significant that in this and many other Shinto mandalas, the anthropomorphized *kami* are portrayed in such an insignificant manner; it is almost as if these human representations of the *kami* were not recognized to be as potent as their natural landscape manifestations.

In the Muromachi period, Mount Fuji became a popular pilgrimage destination. In a 16th-century Fuji *sankei* mandala, Fuji dominates the upper third of the scene, majestically golden, and flanked by solar and lunar disks. A procession of tiny pilgrims snakes up the mountain's slope. The lower part of the mandala shows the pilgrims' long approach toward the mountain from Suruga Bay. At the top of the mountain are enshrined three tiny Buddhist deities that are the counterparts to the

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Muromachi period. As Arichi notes, the painting's inscription, written in 1616, claims an original date of 1447, but this seems dubious.

[96] Ibid., 332.

[97] Laura Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender, and Status in Edo Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 29.

kami of Fuji: Amida, Yakushi and a bodhisattva triad.[98] As in the previous Sannō honjaku miya mandala, the mountain is unmistakably the dominant element. The Buddhist deities, while present, and in a place of honor at the peak of the mountain, are barely visible and almost insignificant compared to the looming bulk of Fuji.

In a Fuji *sankei* mandala from the early 17th century, the images of the Buddhist deities have become even smaller and harder to detect. Three dark shadowy figures hover at the very top of the mandala, above Mount Fuji, and between the sun and the moon. It is uncertain whom the figures represent, but they are thought to be the Amida triad (the buddha Amida, and the bodhisattvas Kannon and Seishi).[99] The only other symbol of Buddhism to be found in this mandala is the small pagoda within the shrine fence, whose size has diminished considerably since its portrayal in the lower left portion of the 16th-century Fuji *sankei* mandala.

As I have shown in this chapter, in their depictions of Nachi Ōtaki, Kumano mandalas of the Kamakura period feature a new awareness of the possibility of depicting landscape as it actually appears. Further, I have argued there is an increasing tendency to use the waterfall as a counterbalance, challenging both the visual and ideological dominance of the foreign deities, and that this trend can also be seen in representations of other shrines and their landscape features, continuing into the 17th century.

[98] Wakayama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 和歌山市立博物館 [Wakayama City Museum], *Sankei mandara to jisha engi* 参詣曼荼羅と寺社縁起 [Sankei mandala and jisha engi] (Wakayama, JPN: Wakayama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, 2002), 87.

[99] Ibid., 87.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

From the beginning of the Kamakura period, Kyoto had been losing its cultural dominance. While the emperors still lived there, the shoguns who ruled Japan made their capitals much further east, first in Kamakura and then in Edo (modern Tokyo). When Edo became the capital of the Tokugawa shoguns at the beginning of the 17th century, Japan's first metropolis was born. Kyoto's aristocratic culture could not compete with the boisterous, bourgeois Edo and its print culture, famous and varied cuisine, kabuki theater, pleasure districts and sumo wrestling. Sites like Nachi Ōtaki, Mount Mikasa and Mount Hachiōji, whose fortunes were linked with Kyoto, lost much of their spiritual and cultural relevance. Mount Fuji, visible from both Kamakura and Edo, was to become the landscape element most associated with Japanese national identity. It would not be immortalized in mandalas, however, but in a new kind of secular art marketed to the urban middle and lower classes. *Ukiyo-e* woodblock prints have been, for the most part, studied separately from earlier Japanese painting, but *ukiyo-e* painters were undoubtedly influenced by Japan's earlier painting traditions.

The earliest *ukiyo-e* prints date to the late 17th century. Until the 19th century, however, the genre was dominated by two subjects: beautiful women and kabuki actors.[100] Some early prints combined landscapes with poetry, but as James King says, these are ". . . more about ingenuity than nationalism. . .. Largely absent from these images is any notion of Japan as a distinct place with a distinct landscape."[101] It was to be the newly flourishing Edo travel industry that created a market for

[100] James King, *Beyond the Great Wave: The Japanese Landscape Print, 1727-1960* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 39.

[101] Ibid., 61.

distinctive landscapes of Japan. It was the great *ukiyo-e* artist, Hokusai, who would create the model for all future *ukiyo-e* landscapes. His series *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* portrayed the mountain dominating the landscape, just as Nachi Ōtaki, Mount Mikasa, Mount Hachiōji and Fuji itself had dominated the mandalas of the medieval period. Unlike the mandalas, however, there is very little evidence of Buddhism depicted in the series. It is true that the *Gohyaku Rakanji* print portrays a group of visitors to Rakanji temple, but it is the central image of Mount Fuji that draws the undivided attention of the visitors, rather than anything at the temple itself. The temple is a viewing platform from which to behold the grandeur of Mount Fuji.

In the *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* the great mountain watches beneficently over travelers, craftsmen and fishermen. Here we see the influence of the early modern Western landscape—the pleasant scenery, the gentle colors, and the happy peasants.[102] An excellent example of this is *Fuji from the Katakura Tea Fields in Suruga*. Fuji rises gently from softly curved slopes, presenting a majestic, yet gentle countenance. Healthy and neatly dressed farmworkers peacefully work at their tasks or take a break for a chat. The idealized landscape, with traditional thatched roof houses, blue canals, fields of tea plants and piles of straw give a sense of bucolic well being. Scenes like these likely had a particular appeal for urbanites, for whom the countryside represented a romantic ideal. Interestingly, Hokusai also painted a series entitled *A Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces,* and, strangely enough, Nachi Ōtaki, Japan's tallest and most famous waterfall, does not feature in the series. Despite this, James King has posited that the Kamakura-period Nachi mandala had a direct influence on Hokusai and the way he painted both Mount Fuji in the *Thirty-Six*

[102] The artist Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818) painted several works imitating bucolic Dutch landscapes in oils, so we know that such paintings were known in Japan during Hokusai's time.

Views and the waterfalls in *A Tour of Waterfalls,* as physical manifestations of ancient nature spirits, towering above the realm of mortals.[103] I believe that this use of spectacular landscape features as physical symbols of national identity did not originate with *ukiyo-e,* but has an antecedent in Shinto mandalas.

Mount Fuji is featured in one of the most unusual woodblock prints of the Edo period: a 91.4 by 96.5-centimeter sheet that can be folded into a three-dimensional Fuji *sankei* mandala. Pilgrims are shown making the ascent, and Miyazaki Fumiko posits that it was created by *oshi* and used as an advertisement to encourage pilgrimages to Mount Fuji.[104] By this time the mountain had fully supplanted Kumano Nachi, both as a symbol of national identity and as a popular pilgrimage site.

In 19th-century Japan, Mount Fuji was popularly asserted to be taller than any mountain in India or China.[105] It became a symbol both for Japan and for Japanese superiority over other lands, militarily as well as culturally.[106] This would continue into the modern period, as the image of Fuji could be seen on currency, postage stamps, and propaganda for both the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-5 and World War II.

In this paper I have argued that Nachi was an early symbol of Japanese national identity that was used as a counterbalance to images of Buddhist deities in Shinto mandalas. The need for this distinction was due to a general dissatisfaction with Japan's indeterminate status amongst other nations, particularly China, to

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[103] King, *Beyond the Great* Wave, 79-80.

[104] Miyazaki Fumiko, "An Artist's Rendering of the Divine Mount Fuji," in *Cartographic Japan: A History in Maps*, eds. Kären Wigen, Sugimoto Fumiko and Cary Karacas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 100.

[105] Christine M. E. Guth, "Hokusai's Great Waves in Nineteenth-Century Japanese Visual Culture," *The Art Bulletin* 93, no. 4 (2011): 473.

[106] H. Byron Earhart, *Mount Fuji: Icon of Japan* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), 122-3.

whom Japan owed a great cultural and religious debt. This feeling was on the rise in the late Heian and Kamakura periods, likely aggravated by the fall of the Tang dynasty as well as the two Mongol invasions in the 13th century. The doctrine of *honji suijaku*, which posited that the Buddhist deities took on the forms of *kami* in order to bring enlightenment to Japan, was first articulated in the early 10th century, but by the 14th century, the reverse *honji suijaku* doctrine claimed that the situation was exactly the opposite, and that the Japanese *kami* were the true universal deities who had taken on Buddhist forms. Since the first Shinto mandalas appeared in the 13th century, it does not seem far-fetched to speculate that they were rooted in the same intellectual ferment that produced reverse *honji suijaku.*

From the mid-13th century, it was the land that mattered to mandala artists and patrons, and this sentiment increased over the centuries, as seen in later *honjaku* mandalas, *sankei* mandalas, and *ukiyo-e*. The land itself was the body of the multitude of *kami* who comprised Japan. Sacred land was painted in mandalas, but at the same time, mandalas were manifest on the very surface of Japan. From the late Heian period and onward, various sacred sites were seen as physical mandalas in three dimensions.[107] Kumano itself was the manifestation of the Taizokai or Womb World mandala. This was an esoteric Buddhist mandala, but as the Nachi mandalas made clear, Buddhism was only an aspect of a greater truth: the holy of holies was the very land of Japan, in the shape of Nachi Ōtaki.

[107] Grapard, Allan G. "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions," *History of Religions* 21, no. 3 (1982): 210-11.

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Kumano honji mandala. Nanbokuchō period; ink, colors and gold on silk; hanging scroll; 93.7 x 40.7 cm. Kumano Hongu Taisha, Tanabe, Wakayama, Japan.

Kumano Nachi honji mandala. Late 13th century; ink, colors and gold on silk; hanging scroll; 146 x 51.4 cm. Shōgoin, Kyoto, Japan.

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