Carved into the Living Rock: Japanese Stone Buddhist Sculpture and Site in the Heian and Kamakura Periods

By

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Abstract

This dissertation examines cliff-carved Buddhist stone sculpture through four site-specific case studies: two from the Heian period (794-1185) and two from the Kamakura period, including both central and peripheral sites in Nara Prefecture, the eastern Kantō region, and eastern Kyushu. The discussion of each site will focus on the role these sculptures played in the creation of a local sacred geography and the relationship between each site and its local pilgrimage practices, ranging from small-scale individual practice to the development of large-scale, multi-temple pilgrimage routes in the Edo period.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Found in lines along the roadside, scattered on temple and shrine grounds, and clustered throughout cemeteries, Buddhist stone sculptures are ubiquitous across Japan. While the majority of these sculptures date from the Edo period (1615-1868) through to the present day, examples from as far back as the Hakuhō period (645-710) can be found throughout the archipelago. This type of sculpture followed Buddhist monks and artisans to Japan not long after the religion's introduction to the Yamato court in the sixth century CE. At first artisans primarily produced small freestanding stone sculptures, and then expanded to larger-scale sculptures carved on exposed cliff faces and boulders. Production of these cliff-carved sculptures peaked during the late Heian (951-1185) and Kamakura (1185-1333) periods, while freestanding sculptures continued to be produced.

Buddhist stone sculpture has a long history in Japan that runs parallel to that of the more traditionally studied sculptural media of metal, clay, lacquer, and wood. Still, works in stone have not received the same scholarly attention as their siblings in other media, and outside Japan they have been largely ignored by scholars of East Asian art history. This dissertation examines cliff-carved Buddhist stone sculpture through four site-specific case studies: two from the Heian period (794-1185) and two from the Kamakura period, including both central and peripheral sites in Nara Prefecture, the eastern Kantō region, and eastern Kyushu. The discussion of each site will focus on the role these sculptures played in the creation of a local sacred geography and the relationship between each site and its local pilgrimage practices, ranging from small-scale individual practice to the development of large-scale, multi-temple pilgrimage routes in the Edo period.

One of the first difficulties encountered when discussing Japanese stone sculpture is the issue of language. There are a number of specific, succinct words in Japanese for certain kinds of sculpture that do not have a similarly concise English equivalent. *Sekibutsu* (石仏), the broader of the two terms related to stone sculpture, translates literally as "stone Buddha," and the term is often used as an umbrella term for any Buddhist sculpture that is carved from stone. Some scholars, however, make the argument that *sekibutsu* refers only to freestanding sculptures that have been carved from quarried stone.[1] *Magaibutsu* (磨崖仏), on the other hand, roughly translates to "cliff-carved Buddha," and refers to those sculptures that have been carved in the living rock of an exposed cliff face or boulder. Other scholars give a somewhat different explanation of the term, defining it as using a natural cliff overhang, a cave, or a niche to carve a Buddha image.[2] However, this clarification of terms is a relatively recent phenomenon. Early scholars of stone Buddhist sculpture in the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō (1912-1926) periods did use the term *magaibutsu* in their writings, but not in any systematic fashion, and there is no clear origin for the term itself.[3] In this dissertation, I will translate *sekibutsu* as "Buddhist stone sculpture" and *magaibutsu* as "cliff-carved Buddhist sculpture" or "rock-carved Buddhist sculpture," depending on the specific sculpture being discussed.

Examples of Buddhist stone sculpture and cliff-carved sculpture can be found throughout the Japanese archipelago, from the southern parts of Kyushu up to the northern reaches of Honshu. The earliest extant example, a stone Buddha triad at Ishiidera in Sakurai-shi, Nara Prefecture, has been identified as a work of the early Hakuhō period based on stylistic

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[1] Satō Sōtarō, "Magaibutsu kō," *Nihon no sekibutsu* 7 (Fall 1980): 16.
[2] Hattori Seidō, "'Magaibutsu yōgo kō," *Nihon no sekibutsu* 7 (Fall 1980): 49.

comparison with other works from that period.[4] Other early works have been placed in the early Heian period (794-951), but this is again due largely to stylistic analysis, as the inclusion of dates and inscriptions on stone sculpture was not a common practice at this time. Many of these early works tended to be carved from quarried stone or small freestanding stones that could be easily relocated onto temple grounds. It is worth noting that Japanese stone masons were well equipped to quarry and haul stones for sculpture, since they were already quarrying and hauling stone for temple foundations. However, the Nara period (710-794) also saw the introduction of cliff-carved Buddhist sculpture, a few examples of which are still extant today. A carving of six Buddha figures in the living rock at Takidera (滝寺) in Yamato-chō, Nara Prefecture, for example, is thought to have been made during that period, while another carved boulder in Mt. Kasuga's Hell Valley (Jigokudani 地獄谷), carved on multiple sides, indicates that the tradition of cliff-carved Buddhist sculpture was beginning to take root in Japan in the eighth century.[5] The first example of large-scale cliff sculpture, an incised Miroku (Sk. Maitreya) was also carved at Kasagi in Kyoto Prefecture around 740; however, the carving was destroyed by fire in 1331.[6]

Buddhist stone sculpture continued to be produced through the early Heian period (794-951), but cliff-carved sculptures did not make up a substantial percentage of the production until the late Heian period, when cliff-carved Buddhist sculpture underwent what can be described as a boom. This boom coincided with a rise in regional production; unlike the sculptures of the seventh and eighth centuries, which tended to be centered around the

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[3] Hattori, "'Magaibutsu yōgo kō," 51.
[4] Washizuka Hiromitsu, "Sekibutsu*," Nihon no bijutsu* 147 (1978): 20.
[5] Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 28-29; Sawa Ryūken, "Nihon no magai sekibutsu," in *Bukkyō bijutsu ron* vol. 3 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1997), 198.

then-capital city of Nara, many of the cliff-carved sculptures made during the late Heian period were created in what have traditionally been considered peripheral regions, including northern Kyushu and the present-day Kantō and Tōhoku regions.[7] A similar peak in production can be seen in the late Kamakura period (1249-1382); however, much of the stone sculpture created during the subsequent centuries and into the modern period consists of freestanding works carved from rocks that were quarried or otherwise relocated to a specific site.[8]

The study of stone Buddhist sculpture can be dated to the early twentieth century as scholars such as Ogawa Takuji (1870-1941), Hamada Kōsaku (1881-1938), and Ono Genmyō (1883-1939) included Buddhist stone sculptures in their seminal works of art history and archeology.[9] In the post-war period, interest in both stone and cliff-carved Buddhist sculpture can be traced to the publication in 1967 and 1968 of the two-volume *Sekibutsu no bi* (Beauty of Stone Buddhist Sculpture) by Satō Sōtarō.[10] The first volume of the series, *Shomin no negai* (Prayers of the Common People), focused on the category of freestanding stone Buddhist sculpture and included an essay on the sculptures as an expression of the concerns of the common people, as opposed to products of elite patronage. The second volume, *Iwa no hotoke* (Buddhas of the Crags), focused on cliff-carved sculptures but included an essay that focused on the category of Buddhist stone sculpture as a whole. Both essays take up only a small percentage of the pages of their respective volumes, and the bulk of the pages are given over to reproductions of black and white photographs of Buddhist stone sculptures presented in a highly

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[6] Sawa, "Nihon no magai sekibutsu," 199.
[7] Sawa, "Nihon no magai sekibutsu," 200-202.
[8] Satō, "Magaibutsu kō," 13.
[9] Sawa, "Nihon no magai sekibutsu," 193.

aestheticized framework that focuses on dramatic shadows and the texture of the rocks rather than documentary detail. In this way, the project *Sekibutsu no bi* is akin to the rediscovery of the seventeenth century itinerant monk Enkū's sculptures in the 1950s and 60s and an interest in the artistic and scholarly community in the idea of *mingei* (民芸), or folk art.

The 1970s saw the publication of two volumes of the journal *Nihon no bijutsu* (Arts of Japan) dedicated to stone sculpture. First, Ono Katsutoshi's *Sekizō bijutsu* (Art of Stone Sculpture), published in 1970, provided a general survey of all of Japan's stone sculpture, not just Buddhist works. Eight years later, Washizuka Hiromitsu's *Sekibutsu* (Stone Buddhist Sculpture) from 1978, surveyed specifically Buddhist works in stone. Additionally, the Nihon Sekibutsu Kyōkai (Japan Sekibutsu Research Group) was founded in 1977, and by 1979 the group began publishing a quarterly journal on the topic of Japan's stone sculptures. In 1983, a multi-volume set, *Nihon no sekibutsu* (Japan's Stone Buddhist Sculpture), was published, with each volume focusing on a specific region of Japan and the stone Buddhist sculpture that could be found there. This encyclopedic approach can still be seen in the Japan Sekibutsu Research Group's publication of dictionaries of Japanese stone Buddhist sculpture, but popular interest in the past decades seems to have shifted towards local surveys and the publication of regional guidebooks. Perhaps the most heavily researched and written upon stone sculptures are those found in northeastern Kyushu, especially the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures, the only stone sculptures to be designed as National Treasures. While academic study of Japan's stone Buddhist sculpture has fallen by the wayside in the past few decades, as art historians in Japan have been reluctant to engage with the topic, there are a significant number of stone sculpture aficionados,

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[10] Satō, "Magaibutsu kō," 13. Satō gives extensive credit to this publication in particular for sparking interest in the topic, although as the writer of the *Sekibutsu no bi*, he may be somewhat

many of who maintain image-heavy blogs on the topic.

There are, then, a considerable amount of resources for the study of Japanese stone Buddhist sculpture in Japanese. The same is not true of English-language scholarship, where stone sculptures have been largely omitted from the discussion of Japanese art. There are a few exceptions, one of which is the work *Early and Buddhist Stone Sculpture*, published in 2004 by A.K. Bhattacharyya, which provides a broad survey of Japanese stone sculpture while focusing heavily on iconographical classification. In addition, some translations of Japanese scholarship do include discussion of stone sculpture, such as Sawa Ryūken's *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, translated in 1972, and art historians such as Sherry Fowler have referred to stone Buddhist sculpture in her discussion of sculptural iconography at Murōji and Onodera. Other scholars in the field of history and religious studies have also included stone Buddhist sculpture as part of their overall discussion of a topic, such as Janet R. Goodwin's dissertation on Miroku (Skt. Maitreya) worship and her subsequent work on Kamakura period mortuary practices. More recently, Hank Glassman's book on Jizō (Ch. Dizang, Skt. Kṣitigarbha) includes a selection of the stone Jizō sculpture in Japan.[11]

The dissertation will focus on a careful selection of those stone sculptures that fall under the category of *magaibutsu*, or cliff-carved stone sculpture. While stone Buddhist sculpture as a whole offers the opportunity for numerous lines of inquiry, one reason for this focus is that the cliff- or boulder-carved sculptures are the most likely to remain in their original locations, giving

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biased.

[11] For more information, please see: Sherry Fowler, *Murōji: Rearranging Art and History at a Japanese Buddhist Temple* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005); Janet R. Goodwin, "The Worship of Miroku in Japan," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California-Berkely, 1977); Janet R. Goodwin, "Shooing the Dead to Paradise," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16/1 (1989): 63-80; Hank Glassman, *The Face of Jizō: Image and Cult in Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012).

us a greater insight into how the people who made them interacted with the landscape. Similarly, despite the effects of exposure and erosion, the iconographical groupings featured in this kind of stone sculpture is not subject to rearrangement in the same way that more portable wood or bronze sculpture may be. This is not to say that the iconographical identity of a particular figure is always clear and occasionally the names of the deities attached to the sculptures today have little connection with the actual iconography. Another reason for the focus on cliff-carved Buddhist sculpture is the intimate relationship between the creation of the sculptures at a specific site, for what were presumably specific reasons, and the development of sacred geography and pilgrimage patterns that often relate closely to the explicit marking of the landscape as sacred via *in situ* stone sculpture.

The analytical approach to this topic with be multi-disciplinary, drawing from Allan Grapard's theories of sacred geography in Japan, particularly what he describes as the "mandalization" of mountains especially common at sites associated with *shugendō* (修験道), a syncretic religious practice the can be traced back to the growing popularity of mountain asceticism in the Heian period.[12] This dissertation will also incorporate broader analytical framework of cultural geography, as well as the growing field of pilgrimage studies, to examine the relationships between the sites of inquiry, their immediate landscape, and the humans who moved through that landscape.

There are a great number of cliff-carved stone sculptures to choose from when selecting a group for study, largely due to the late Heian and Kamakura period boom in production, with a

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[12] Allan G. Grapard, "Geotypic Sacred Space: The Case of Mount Hiko in Japan," in *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar and R.J Zwi Werblowsky (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 234-235.

multitude of motivations. *Sekibutsu no bi*'s second volume compiled a list of 368 cliff-carved Buddhist sculptures in 158 locations dating from the Nara to the Edo periods.[13] This dissertation focuses on four sites and the sculptures found there. The sites have been selected because of their prominence in their home regions, the quality of the sculptures, and their connection to practices of regional pilgrimage. They have also been selected because they share because they share a connection with esoteric Buddhism.

The earliest sculptures at the first two sites to be discussed, Ōyaji in Utsunomiya, Tochigi Prefecture, and the Usuki sculptural group in Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, date to the late Heian period. Both these early sculpture groups and the subsequent additions at each site will be discussed, in order to demonstrate the extended lives of each site. The third and fourth sites to be discussed both date from the late Kamakura period and are somewhat more centrally located than the previous two. One, Tōnoo, lies in the mountains between Nara and Kyoto Prefecture, and is home to numerous cliff-carved sculptures spread along the mountain paths. The second is located along the former Tōkaidō, or Eastern Sea Road (and the current Highway 1), to the north of Hakone, in Kanagawa Prefecture, can be connected to Tōnoo by the sculptors themselves, who shared a lineage with some of the sculptors who created work in the Tōnoo region.[14]

Chapter Two, "The Ōyaji Cliff-Carved Sculptures," looks at the cliff-carved sculptures housed under the eaves of Ōyaji, a temple currently affiliated with the Tendai (天台) esoteric school of Buddhism and located at the eastern base of Takeyama, roughly eight kilometers northwest of the city center of Utsunomiya in Tochigi Prefecture. Unlike most temples in Japan,

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[13] Satō, "Magaibutsu kō," 13.

[14] Hida Romi, *Jōruriji to minamiyamashiro no tera,* Nihon no koji bijutsu 18 (Osaka: Hoikusha, 1987), 124; Glassman, *The Face of Jizō*, 84-85.

the sculptures housed in the main and side halls of Ōyaji are not freestanding sculptures of wood or bronze, but are instead carved into the living rock of a natural tuff cave formed by an overhanging cliff. The main hall houses an image of Senju Kannon (Skt. Sahasrabhuja-sahasranetra Avalokiteśvara), or Thousand-armed Kannon, while the side hall covers three carved grottos, each of which contains a Buddha triad. As one of the earliest extant examples of cliff-carved sculptures in Japan, the Ōyaji sculptures provides a good point of entry and of comparison with the later, larger, Usuki cliff-carved sculptures. This chapter looks at the origins of the Ōyaji sculptures, the historical and religious context of their production, and the possible relationship between these sculptures and a local community of mountain ascetic. The second part of this chapter will look at the role the Ōyaji sculptures and the temple's *engi*, or foundation legend, played in the temple's inclusion in the Bandō Thirty-three Kannon pilgrimage route in the Edo period.

Chapter Two is does not directly cite specific images of the Ōyaji sculptures, as photography is not allowed inside the temple buildings. Chapters Three, Four, and Five are accompanied by photographs taken on my site visits in Japan.

Chapter Three, "The Usuki Cliff-Carved Sculptures" brings the discussion of cliff-carved sculpture from the northern part of the eastern Kantō region to the northeastern coast of Kyushu. While this region is home to a large body of cliff-carved stone sculpture, this chapter focuses on the works carved to the west of the present-day city of Usuki. At this site, four distinct groups of sculptures were carved in the exposed cliffs along the northwestern reach of Mt. Himedake; each sculptural group consists of a number of figures, and the site as a whole is the largest group of cliff-carved Buddhist sculpture in Japan. The earliest of the groups, the Furuzono Group, has been dated via stylistic comparison to the late Heian period; the other groups range from the late

Heian period to the beginning of the Kamakura period.[15] This chapter examines at the origins of the site, the historical and religious context of the sculptures' production, and the possible motivations for continuing to add to a site on a similarly large scale over several centuries. The second part of the chapter will analyze the connection between the Usuki sculptures and the larger regional practice of mountain asceticism at the time of their creation, the life of the site over time, and the site's current status as the most recognized group of cliff-carved Buddhist sculpture in Japan.

Chapter Four, "The Tōnoo Cliff-Carved Sculptures" will bring the dissertation forward into the late Kamakura period and look at the cliff-carved stone sculptures that are spread along the trails between the temples of Gansenji and Jōruriji. Now a popular hiking route for stone Buddhist sculpture aficionados, these paths and their sculptures are evidence of how local religious practitioners understood their landscape and the role that stone sculptures came to play in the mortuary culture of the late Kamakura period. This chapter also discusses sculptors who produced some of the works, such as members of the I (伊) lineage whose founder had immigrated to Japan from China.[16] It is exceedingly rare to have a named group of artisans with such a clear connection to China, making these sculptures especially important in any discussion of cross-cultural exchange between Chinese and Japanese Buddhist art.

Chapter Five, "The Hakone Cliff-Carved Sculptures" continues the discussion of the I school of sculptors via the cliff-carved sculptures carved along the old Tōkaidō, which were also

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[15] Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Usuki magaibutsu hozon shūri kōji hōkokusho* (Usuki: Usuki City, 1997), 5.

produced by members of the I lineage.[17] This chapter extends the discussion of sacred geography and pilgrimage into the Edo period, while also addressing the role that stone sculpture played in the construction of local identity, as the Hakone stone sculptures were commissioned by local patrons, tied to local legends, and related to a local sacred geography.

These four case studies provide a lens through which to understand the broader phenomenon of cliff-carved stone sculpture in Japan during the late Heian and Kamakura periods in terms of the artistic, religious, and cultural history that surrounded their production. They will also serve to illustrate the afterlife experienced by these stone sculptures, as popular understanding of the works changes with time and new identities and meanings are anchored to the stone. For that reason, each chapter will also address the social lives of these sites in the twentieth century, especially modern tourists' interactions with each site.

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[16] Hida, *Jōruriji*, 124. According to thirteenth-century records from Tōdaiji, the founder of this lineage was of Chinese origin, but as 伊 is not a common Chinese surname, it is possible that the records are inaccurate and the founder may have been of Korean origin. My thanks to Dr. Amy McNair for pointing out this issue.

[17] Glassman, *Face of Jizō*, 84-85.

Chapter Two: The Ōyaji Cliff-Carved Sculptures

Roughly thirty minutes by bus to the northwest of the city center of Utsunomiya, Tochigi Prefecture, is the Tendai temple Ōyaji (大谷寺), best known as the nineteenth temple on the Saigoku (西国) Thirty-three Kannon pilgrimage route. The focus of this chapter, however, will not be on the temple as a whole but rather on the cliff-carved sculptures that serve as the temple's main and ancillary icons. These works are some of the oldest examples of stone sculpture in the Kantō region, with the earliest dating to the late eighth century, and they capture the diverse religious interests of the region over the three centuries of their production from the late eighth to the mid-thirteenth century.

There are four sculptural groupings at Ōyaji: a solitary Thousand-armed Kannon (Sk. Avalokiteśvara) and three triads that have been traditionally identified as a Shaka (Sk. Shakyamuni) triad, a Yakushi (薬師, Sk. Bhaiṣajyaguru) triad, and an Amida (Sk. Amitabha) triad. While it is tempting to read these four sculptural groupings as a unified whole, they were not carved simultaneously and so must be read as an accumulation of sculptures that relate to one another and the local religious climate at the times of their creation. The complexity of this accumulation, however, has been largely obscured by Ōyaji's significant status as a pilgrimage site in the Edo period (1615-1868), and because the Thousand-armed Kannon has become the main focus of discussions of this site. This chapter unpacks the layers of meaning presented by the gradual carving of multiple sculptural groups at Ōyaji and connects them to the spiritual concerns of their local creators.

Introduction

Ōyaji is located at the eastern base of Takisan (多気山); the temple's name, Ōya (大谷), translates roughly as "large valley" and refers to the fact that the temple's two main halls, a Kannon Hall (*Kannondō* 観音堂) and a Side Hall (*sōdō* 側堂), are built into two overhanging tufa cliffs. These cliffs form a cave that is roughly thirteen meters deep and twelve meters high with a hemispherical mouth thirty meters wide that opens to the southwest.[1] While this is not a standard method of construction among wooden temples in Japan, especially as the back of the cave serves as the rear wall of the halls, it does give visitors the impression of a temple embedded in the landscape. The main icons of each hall are carved into the living rock[2] of the cave, with the Kannon Hall housing the Thousand-armed Kannon and the Side Hall housing what have been traditionally identified as Shaka, Yakushi, and Amida triads. Despite these traditional identifications, very little is known for certain about these images and their intended identities and there are no accompanying inscriptions. For the sake of convenience, I will continue to refer to these triads by their traditional identifications, although I will bring up the question of identity where necessary.

Historical Background

Before discussing the Ōyaji cliff-carved sculptures, it is necessary to give a brief overview

[1] "Ōyaji." in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* (Tokyo: Heibonsha). Accessed via Japan Knowledge Database, March 1, 2016.

[2] In discussions of stone sculpture, "living rock" is commonly used to refer to natural rock formations, such as cliff faces and boulders, while quarried stone is not considered living rock.

of the history of the surrounding area, particularly its Buddhist history. Before the establishment of the modern Tochigi Prefecture in the Meiji period (1868-1912), this area was known as Shimotsuke (下野) Province, which was itself divided into nine counties. It is unclear when Buddhism was first introduced to the region; the earliest known temple is Shimotsuke Yakushiji (下野薬師寺) in Minamikawamachi, built sometime in the latter half of the seventh century.[3] This temple's construction has been attributed to Emperor Tenmu (c. 631-686). However, it is highly probable that the temple was built by powerful locals who were seeking to strengthen their connection to the capital roughly 410 kilometers away.[4] Regardless of the exact date of its introduction to the area, it is clear that Ōyaji was not the first Buddhist temple to be established in Shimotsuke Province.

Very little is known about Ōyaji's early history, although archeological evidence shows that there was a long history of human activity at the site before the temple's construction. From the Jōmon period (11,000 BCE-400 BCE) on, the area currently occupied by Ōyaji's Main Hall and Side Hall was used as a campsite, as the southwest-facing opening provided protection from the worst of the elements while still allowing any cool summer breezes to provide natural air conditioning.[5] Scholar Chosuke Serizawa argues that, since the Jōmon period cave sites tended to be primarily used by "mobile special-purpose groups,"[6] the Jōmon period activity at Ōyaji could suggest that the cave was considered a sacred space very early in its history. Hanawa

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[3] Utsunomiyashi Shi Hensan linkai, *Utsunomiyashi shi: genshi-kōdai hen*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Utsunomiya City, 1979), 817.
[4] Utsunomiyashi Shi, *Utsunomiyashi shi*, 818.
[5] While one set of human remains, dating from the Jōmon period was also excavated at the site, the lack of additional burials supports the scholarly consensus that the caves were not a regular grave site. Hanawa Shizuo, *Ōyaji no rekishi* (Utsunomiya City: Ōyaji, 1978), 12-13.

Shizuo similarly draws a connection between this site and the role of caves in Japanese religion as a site of visions of both *kami* and Buddhist figures.[7] While the exact relationship between the Ōyaji site and any specific *kami* worship is unclear, archeological evidence excavated at the site points to fairly continuous Buddhist practice at Ōyaji since the Heian period (794-1185), including roof tiles and coins, while Kamakura (1185-1333) sutra stones (*kyōseki* 経石) and bronze votive images (*kakebotoke* 懸仏) provide testimony of continued activity at the temple.[8] The exact dates of Ōyaji's founding and the construction of the original temple buildings, however, is unknown.

Two conflicting accounts exist for Ōyaji's founding. One account, first recorded in *Shimotsuke fudoki* (下野風土記, A Record of Shimotsuke), compiled by an anonymous author in 1688 (Genroku 1) and the oldest gazetteer to discuss the region, states that the temple was founded in 810 (Kōnin 1) by the Shingon monk Kūkai (774-835).[9] Although this does fall within Kūkai's lifespan, it is highly doubtful that Kūkai, also known as Kōbō Daishi, actually played any role in the construction of this historically Tendai temple. However, this account is included in one of the temple's official publications, namely *Bandō jūkyūban fudasho Ōya Kannon* (坂東十九番札所大谷観, The Nineteenth Station on the Bandō Pilgrimage: Ōya

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[6] Chosuke Serizawa, "Cave Sites in Japan," *World Archeology* 10, no. 3 (Feb. 1979): 347.
[7] Hanawa, *Ōyaji no rekishi*, 13.
[8] Utsunomiyashi Shi, *Utsunomiyashi shi*, 844.
[9] Hanawa, *Ōyaji no rekishi*, 14.

Kannon).[10] The second account of Ōyaji's founding can be found in *Sanjūsansho Bandō Kannon reijōki* (三十三所坂東観音霊場記, *The Miraculous Tales of the Thirty-three Bandō Kannon*), compiled by the Shingon priest Ryōsei (亮盛) and first published in 1771 (Meiwa 8).[11] According to this account, the temple was founded by three wandering Buddhist ascetics from the three sacred mountains of Dewa, in present-day Yamagata Prefecture, who upon their arrival in the area pacified the snake *kami* who was poisoning the local water supply. In the process, Thousand-armed Kannon that currently serves as Ōyaji's main icon miraculously appeared from the rock face.[12] This account dates the founding of the temple, referred to in the text as the Tenkaizan Ōyaji (天開山大谷寺), to the Daidō (806-810) and Kōnin (810-824) eras.[13] Neither one of these accounts were written anywhere near the founding dates they attribute to the temple, and thus must be taken with a considerable grain of salt. The temple buildings, meanwhile, are of no help in dating the founding, as they were destroyed three times by fire, most recently in 1811 (Bunka 8), and then rebuilt.

Despite the lack of a clear founding date and with only sacred histories to work from, the general scholarly consensus is that Ōyaji was founded sometime between the late Heian

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[10] Cited in Mark MacWilliams, "Temple Myths and the Popularization of Kannon Pilgrimage in Japan: A Case Study of the Ōya-ji on the Bandō Route," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 24, no. 3/4 (Fall 1997): 393.

[11] Ryōsei, "*Sanjūsansho Bandō Kannon reijōki*," in *Saikoku Bandō Kannon reijōki,* ed. Kanezashi Shōzō (Tokyo: Seiabō, 1973), 216-331.

[12] Mark MacWilliams, "Kannon *engi*: Strategies of Indigenization in Kannon Temple Myths of the Saikoku Sanjū Sansho Kannon Reijō-ki and the Sanjū Sansho Bandō Kannon Reijō-ki" (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1990), 137-42.

[13] MacWilliams, "Kannon *engi*," 137-38.

(951-1185) and the beginning of the Kamakura period.[14] This dating largely hinges on a combination of two factors: the estimated dating of the Ōyaji cliff-carved sculptures and the estimated dates for the Bandō Pilgrimage. The dating of the Ōyaji cliff-carved sculptures will be discussed more in depth later, but again general consensus is that the oldest of the sculptures were carved during the first half of the Heian period. The Bandō Pilgrimage, meanwhile, allegedly dates to the Shōan (1171-1175) era, although there are no clear historical records that document the exact founding. The earliest dated material found at Ōyaji, however, is an excavated plaque dated 1376 (Shōhei 17) that records the local Utsunomiya clan's patronage of a newly constructed Kannon Hall after the existing Hall burned down.[15] The Kannon Hall burned down again in the Genna era (1615-24), and was rebuilt under the supervision of Denkai Sōjō and the patronage of the Okudaira clan. From 1704-1710 (Genroku 17-Hōei 7), the temple grounds were expanded, and the Kannon Hall was once again rebuilt.[16] Much of the funding for this rebuilding came from high-ranking locals, and at this time a new Benten Hall, a main hall housing a Shō Kannon, a hall for the Ten Kings (*jūōdō* 十王堂), and a guest house were all added to the temple.[17] This suggests that Ōyaji began to grow in importance in the eighteenth century, becoming an especially prominent regional pilgrimage site, and the proliferation of votive placards after 1710 (Hōei 7) supports this assertion.[18]

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[14] Nagai Shinichi, *Kamakura to Tōgoku no koji* (Tokyo: Shueisha, 1981), 137.

[15] Kitaguchi Hideo, "Ōya Magaibutsu," *Kokka* 1216 (February 1997): 18-19.

[16] Hanawa, *Ōyaji no rekishi*, 22; MacWilliams, "Temple Myths and the Popularization of Kannon Pilgrimage in Japan: A Case Study of the Ōya-ji on the Bandō Route,″379.

[17] MacWilliams, "Temple Myths," 379.

[18] MacWilliams, "Temple Myths," 379.

The Ōya Cliff-Carved Sculptures

The Ōya cliff-carved sculptures were designated an Important Cultural Property in 1962, and the Thousand-armed Kannon is thought to be the oldest Thousand-armed Kannon in the Kantō region.[19] However, none of the exact dates for any of the Ōya cliff-carved sculptures are known. A rough chronological order for the sculptures' construction appears to have been settled upon by a majority of the scholars writing on the topic, but there are still some who propose alternate dates and orders of construction. According to the majority opinion, arrived upon by stylistic analysis and comparison with more firmly dated works, the Thousand-armed Kannon and the Yakushi triad are the two oldest sculptures, dating to around the tenth century.[20] Opinions sometimes differ on which came first, the Thousand-armed Kannon or the Yakushi triad, but a strong case is made for the Yakushi triad predating the Thousand-armed Kannon, and this argument will be discussed at length below.[21] The Shaka triad is thought to have been carved after the Thousand-armed Kannon while the Amida triad is usually firmly placed at the end of the chronological order.[22]

Proposed Chronology of the Ōyaji Cliff-Carved Sculptures

Sculpture	**Proposed Dating**

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[19] "Ōyaji." in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*.

[20] Tsuruoka Shizuo, *Kantō kodai jiin no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1969), 405.

[21] Hanawa, *Ōyaji no rekishi*, 15; Utsunomiyashi Shi, *Utsunomiyashi shi*, 848. Photographs of the Ōyaji cliff-carved sculptures are hard to come by, as photography is not permitted within the temple buildings. Photographs of all four sculptures can be found, however, in Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 34-36.

[22] Tsuruoka, *Kantō kodai jiin no kenkyū*, 406.

Yakushi Triad	Late eighth century—mid-tenth century
Thousand-armed Kannon	Late eighth century—mid-tenth century
Shaka Triad	Mid-tenth century—early twelfth century
Amida Triad	Mid-tenth century—mid-thirteenth century

There are two ways of reading these sculptural groupings. They can be read spatially but ahistorically, beginning with the Thousand-armed Kannon in its Kannon Hall and then continuing into the Side Hall, where the visitor encounters first the Shaka triad, then the Yakushi and Amida triads. The current construction of the halls at the temple encourages this reading, as the Kannon Hall is the first building seen after purchasing a ticket for entry. The main pathway through the temple courtyard runs to the Kannon Hall's entryway, and the Side Hall is connected to the Kannon Hall, encouraging the visitor to move smoothly from the Kannon Hall to the Side Hall and further enforcing a spatial reading of the sculptures, even as placards in front of each work informs the viewer of the estimated dates of the sculptures' creation.

The spatial but ahistorical reading, then, is compelling, but it is not chronologically accurate. Most Japanese scholars, writing on these sculptures, begin with the largest and Ōyaji's point of pride, the Thousand-armed Kannon. Then, they shift to discussing the Yakushi triad, even as many of them admit that the Yakushi triad probably predates both the Thousand-armed Kannon and the next sculptural group discussed, the Shaka triad. The Amida triad comes last in these discussions, just as it does in the Side Hall. However, for the purposes of this discussion, I will examine the Ōyaji sculptures in estimated chronological order of completion.

The Yakushi Triad

The Yakushi triad, located in the central portion of the Side Hall, is the smallest of the cliff-carved sculptures at Ōyaji and is located the closest to the ground. This triad is housed in a niche that has been carved deeply into the wall of the cave, so that the figures of the triad are able to stand perpendicular to the ground as opposed to following the slope of the wall. The niche itself is only 2.52 meters tall and 2.65 meters wide; the central seated figure of the triad, traditionally identified as Yakushi, is only 2.52 meters tall including the lotus throne, while the left and right standing figures are respectively 1.3 meters and 1.33 meters tall.[23] All three of the figures have been damaged significantly by erosion.

While the Yakushi triad is almost always referred to as a Yakushi triad, there is nothing in the sculpture itself that clearly marks it as Yakushi. Instead, there are only the traditional iconographical markers of a Buddha, namely the monk's robe and the *ushnisha*, here badly eroded. The central figure, the purported Yakushi, holds his proper right arm bent at the elbow and extended towards the viewer, suggesting the now-missing hand originally made a fear-not mudra. The figure's proper left hand is also missing, but the positioning of the proper left arm suggests that this hand was propped on the figure's proper left knee, where it could have been making the wish-granting mudra or holding the medicine jar that is Yakushi's traditional attribute in Japanese sculpture beginning in the ninth century.[24] Further complicating the question of the central figure's identity are the two standing figures. If this were a Yakushi triad, then these two standing figures should be the bodhisattvas Nikkō and Gakkō. However, these figures in on the cliff are more commonly identified as Buddhas, as they both wear monks' robes

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[23] Washizuka Hiromitsu, "Sekibutsu," *Nihon no bijutsu* 147 (August, 1978): 34.

and also have clearly visible ushnisha. Ōyaji literature, including the placard displayed in the Side Hall, makes a note of this unusual iconography, identifying all three figures as Buddhas and pointing out that this was not a standard configuration for a Yakushi triad. This, in turn, raises more questions about the identity of the Buddhas contained in this group. To the modern scholar of Buddhist iconography, especially one familiar with the Yungang Grottoes (雲崗石窟), Caves 16-20 in Shanxi, a grouping of three Buddhas evokes the Buddhas of the Three Periods, with Shaka seated in the center flanked by a Buddha of the Past and Miroku (Sk. Maitreya), the Buddha of the future, on his proper right and left. However, it is also possible that these three Buddhas were intended to be a three-statue Yakushi group similar to the late eighth-century triad housed in the Konpon Chūdō (根本中堂 Main Hall) of Mt. Hiei's Enryakuji (延暦寺).[25]

There are a number of reasons why this Buddha triad could have been traditionally identified as a Yakushi triad, despite the relative rarity of stone Yakushi triads in Japan.[26] First, Yakushi was a very popular deity in the Nara and Heian periods, and the earliest known temple

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[24] Yui Suzuki, "The Aura of Seven: Reconsidering the Shichibutsu Yakushi Iconography," *Archives of Asian Art* 60 (2010): 31. The placard displayed next to this triad at Ōyaji suggests the mudras were originally fear-not and wish-granting, but it does not provide any basis for the Yakushi identification.

[25] Yui Suzuki, *Medicine Master Buddha: The Iconic Worship of Yakushi in Heian Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 65-66. Suzuki addresses the topic of Saichō and the afterlife of his standing Yakushi icon in Chapters 3 and 4 of her work. See also Cynthea J. Bogel, *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icon and Early Mikkyō Vision* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2009), 273. While Suzuki is not specifically discussing Ōyaji, she does discuss how the use of Yakushi as a primary icon continued to be strongly associated with the founder of Tendai Buddhism, Saichō (767-822) and came to be used as a vehicle of legitimacy by monks who wanted to claim a connection Saichō's lineage.

[26] A.K. Bhattacharyya, *Early and Buddhist Stone Sculpture of Japan* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 2004), 45.

in the region was, as previously mentioned, dedicated to Yakushi.[27] Kitaguchi Hideo has even suggested a connection between Shimotsuke Yakushiji and the founding of Ōyaji.[28] Kitaguchi does not specify which head monk he is referring to, but the most notable head of Shimotsuke Yakushiji in the late eighth century was the exiled monk Dōkyō (道鏡, d. 772).[29] Other scholars like Hanawa Shizuo have pointed out that the Yakushi triad is the most provincial of the Ōyaji sculptures, which suggests either a lack of stylistic influence from the capital region or a more unskilled sculptor.[30] While it is difficult to make firm judgements on sculptures that are badly eroded, there are certain stylistic features that actually suggest a stronger connection to the capital region, or at least an awareness of Early Heian sculptural styles. All three of the Buddha figures are very fleshy figures, with potbellies and very rounded faces that echo the eighth century Tang-dynasty style as filtered through the temple workshops of Nara, and there is even a hint of *contrapposto* in the standing Buddhas that echoes the common Tang-inspired posture for standing bodhisattvas.[31]

The construction of the Yakushi triad also suggests a connection to Nara temple workshops, as each of the figures has been created using a modification of the wood-core dry lacquer technique associated with the Nara period workshop style associated with Tōdaiji, which was largely derived from early and mid-eighth century Tang Chinese techniques.[32] As this triad is

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[27] Bogel, *With a Single Glance*, 91, 275; Utsunomiyashi Shi, *Utsunomiyashi shi*, 1, 817.
[28] Kitaguchi Hideo, "Tochigi no butsuzō," *Tochigikenritsu hakubutsukan nenpō* 17 (June 1999): i.
[29] Suzuki, *Medicine Master Buddha*, 93.
[30] Kitaguchi, "Tochigi no butsuzō," 17.
[31] Bogel, *With a Single Glance,* 93-94.
[32] Bogel, *With a Single Glance*, 94. Washizuka Hiromitsu refers to this technique as stone-core sculpture (*sekishin sozō* 石心塑造); Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 33.

carved into the living rock of the cave wall, there is no wood-core; rather, clay and lacquer were layered over a carved stone core. The final layer of lacquer was then painted, although most of that paint has eroded away. This erosion has also made the layering of clay and lacquer over stone clearly visible on all three of the Buddha figures. The use of the modified wood-core dry lacquer technique is one of the reasons that the Yakushi triad is considered to be one of the earliest groups of sculptures carved at Ōyaji.[33]

Other reasons for dating the Yakushi triad before both the Thousand-armed Kannon and the Shaka triad, as well as the Amida triad, are more compelling. First, when compared to the Thousand-armed Kannon and the Shaka triad, the Yakushi triad is the only sculpture that does not follow the natural slant of the wall. Instead, the figures are placed perpendicular to the floor of the cave, and numerous Japanese scholars have used this positioning to argue that the Yakushi triad was carved at a different point in time from and most likely earlier than the Thousand-armed Kannon and Shaka triad.[34] Scholars also point to the niche around the Yakushi triad and the remaining structural evidence that the triad was originally housed behind a pair of wooden doors, similar to those on a small shrine (*zushi* 厨子), which was fastened into the rock on either side of the niche.[35] The doors for the Yakushi triad niche are no longer *in situ*, as they were removed and the left wall of the niche was shaved away to make room for the Amida triad.[36] The original presence of these doors, as well as the small scale of the Yakushi triad

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[33] This is probably because the actual stone of Mount Taki, a type of greenish tufa produced by sedimentation in the inland sea that once covered this region, provides decent stone for quarrying large blocks but is not the best for fine detail work.

[34] Hanawa, *Ōyaji no rekishi*, 17; Utsunomiyashi Shi, *Utsunomiyashi shi*, 850.

[35] Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 34; Hanawa, *Ōyaji no rekishi*, 17; Utsunomiyashi Shi, *Utsunomiyashi shi*, 1, 850.

[36] Hanawa, *Ōyaji no rekishi*, 17; Utsunomiyashi Shi, *Utsunomiyashi shi*, 850.

compared to the other three cliff-carved sculptures and its location closer to the floor of the temple, suggest that the Yakushi triad could have, at one point, been the main focus of worship at the site.

The Ōya Thousand-armed Kannon

While the Yakushi triad could be the earliest cliff-carved sculpture at Ōyaji, the Thousand-armed Kannon has been the main focus of temple literature, as in Ryōsei's *Sanjūsansho Bandō Kannon reijōki*, compiled in 1771. This is most likely due to Ōyaji's position as the nineteenth temple on the Bandō Thirty-three Kannon pilgrimage, as the pilgrimage's focus on Kannon demands a similar focus on Kannon in the temples on its route. Regardless of the exact reason, the Thousand-armed Kannon has served as a main icon of Ōyaji since at least the founding of the Bandō pilgrimage.[37]

Like the three Buddha triads housed in the Side Hall, the Thousand-armed Kannon is carved into the living rock of the cave wall; unlike the Buddha triads, the Kannon is carved in the southern-facing curve of the cave and stands apart from the other three, a split only heightened by the division of the cave space into two halls. The Thousand-armed Kannon is also much larger than the Buddha triads, standing 3.89 meters tall on a lotus pedestal that is itself 1.27 meters tall. A 3.36 meter tall mandorla is carved onto the rock face around the body of the sculpture, and the entire work is housed in a shallow niche roughly 7.43 meters tall and 5.85 meters wide.[38] Unlike the Yakushi triad, the Thousand-armed Kannon is carved following the curve of the cave wall, and so it appears to lean towards the viewer. There is no evidence that

[37] The nineteenth temple on the Saigoku Thirty-three Kannon pilgrimage also enshrines a Thousand-armed Kannon, but that may be just a happy coincidence.

attendant figures were ever carved within the niche, even though at least one version of the temple's founding describes the Thousand-armed Kannon miraculously appearing from the rock face accompanied by attendant figures of Fudō Myōō and Bishamonten.[39]

The Ōya Thousand-armed Kannon today bears little resemblance to the original finished sculpture, as time and fire have not been kind to the work. In addition to damage from erosion, which suggests that the sculpture has not always been sheltered by a roof, the Kannon Hall has burned several times in its history. The most recent fire, in 1811 (Bunka 8), is credited with the sculpture's current red baked clay appearance, as it burned off most of the gilt and lacquer finish and fired the underlying clay.[40] Today, resin patches are also visible where the sculpture was repaired in the 1960s.[41] Despite the extensive damage to the sculpture, some technical, iconographical and stylistic features are still visible, including the small standing Amida in the Thousand-armed Kannon's crown. A small amount of the pre-1811 paint is still visible, and a significant amount of the clay layer is still present over the rock of the cave. This indicates that the Thousand-armed Kannon was carved using the same modified wood-core technique used in the Yakushi triad. Here, the stone core was painted with a layer of lacquer mixed with cinnabar, then layered with clay and lacquer before being painted with pigments and gold leaf.[42] In addition to this modified wood-core technique, the sculptors carved the large front arms from separate pieces of stone and then attached them with wooden dowels to the main body of the sculpture.[43] This allowed the sculptors to give the larger front arms a heightened degree of

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[38] Kitaguchi, "Ōya Magaibutsu," 18.
[39] MacWilliams, "Temple Myths and the Popularization of Kannon Pilgrimage in Japan," 398.
[40] Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 33.
[41] Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 33.
[42] Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 33.
[43] Kitaguchi, "Ōya magaibutsu," 18-19.

three-dimensionality that would not have been possible if the sculptors limited themselves to the living rock of the cave wall, and it suggests a higher degree of training and technical skill on the part of the sculptors of the Thousand-armed Kannon when compared to the Yakushi triad.

As with the Yakushi triad, the exact date of the Thousand-armed Kannon's creation is unknown, and there is ongoing debate over which came first, the Yakushi triad or the Thousand-armed Kannon. With no accompanying inscription or temple records, the dating relies on technical and stylistic analysis. The use of the modified wood-core sculptural technique suggests a date in early Heian period, while the style of the mandorla and lotus pedestal have been linked to characteristics of late tenth and early eleventh century sculpture.[44] While the modified wood-core technique could support a date in the late eighth century, the statue's iconography of a forty-two armed Thousand-armed Kannon did not become popular until the late Heian period.[45] Thousand-armed Kannon from the Nara period, on the other hand, such as the Tōshōdaiji Thousand-armed Kannon, are much more likely to have the full thousand arms.[46] An even stronger argument against an eighth-century dating is the fact that Ōya Thousand-armed Kannon is a cliff-carved sculpture. Although there are a few examples of stone sculptures of Buddhist deities in the eighth century, they are not cliff-carved sculptures but were instead carved from quarried stone blocks, and they are all located in or around the then capital city of Nara. Two examples of this are the eighth century Buddha triad at Ishiidera (石位寺) and Zutō (頭塔), constructed in 767 (Tenpyō Jingo 3) and consisting of multiple small stone reliefs set

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[44] Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 34.

[45] Sawa Ryūken, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, trans. Richard L. Gage (New York: Weatherhill, 1972), 50-51.

into a stepped pyramid stupa.[47] Cliff-carved stone sculptures did not become prominent in Japan until the mid-Heian period, possibly due to a rise in the number of ascetic priests living in remote areas who turned to cliff faces and other natural rock formations for image making.[48] Regardless of the exact dating, the Thousand-Armed Kannon was likely in place before Ōyaji became part of the Bandō pilgrimage, supposedly sometime in the Shōan era (1171-1175).

Another question surrounding the Ōya Thousand-armed Kannon is who was responsible for its construction. Temple legends alternately credit the sculpture to Kūkai or a miraculous manifestation, but more historically minded publications by Ōyaji connect the work with Buddhist image makers (*busshi* 仏師) affiliated with the Tendai monk Ennin (794-864) or the mountain ascetic Shōdō Shōnin (737-817), the founder of Chūzenji at Mount Nikkō.[49] However, since both Ennin and Shōdō Shōnin were active roughly a century before the estimated dating of the Ōya Thousand-armed Kannon, it is unlikely that craftsmen brought to the region by these religious figures were directly involved in the production of the sculpture. If Ennin and Shōdō Shōnin's craftsmen established temple workshops, however, it is possible that those workshops then trained successive generations of sculptors, some of whom may have been responsible for the Ōya Thousand-armed Kannon. The use of cinnabar mixed with lacquer in the bottom layers of the sculpture also support a connection to Tendai sculptural traditions, as the same technique was also used by Tendai-affiliated sculptors in northeastern Kyushu on their cliff-carved

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[46] See Penolope Mason, *History of Japanese Art, Second Edition* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), 97, for an image of the Tōshōdaiji Thousand-armed Kannon.

[47] A good quality image of the Ishiidera Yakushi triad can be found at http://www.geocities.co.jp/SilkRoad/7460/nara-isiidera.htm and good quality photos of Zutō can be found on the site's Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/shiseki.zutou/photos_stream. Accessed February 2, 2016.

[48] Sawa, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, 117.

sculptures.[50] The level of technical skill on display in the construction of the Ōya Thousand-armed Kannon supports the theory that its sculptors were highly trained, while the original use of gold leaf, now no longer extant, suggests that this sculpture was a much more lavish production than its temporal and spatial neighbor, the Yakushi triad. The sculpture's positioning on the southern facing wall of the cave further supports the idea that the Thousand-Armed Kannon was intended to stand apart from the Yakushi triad and serve as a main image for a temple that was beginning to take form at the site.

The Shaka Triad

The next cliff-carved sculpture carved at the site sits between the Thousand-armed Kannon and the Yakushi triad and has been traditionally identified as a Shaka triad. Like the Thousand-armed Kannon, the niche surrounding this triad has been carved to follow the curve of the wall, so the Buddhas and his two attendants lean slightly towards the viewer. This niche is also much larger than the one housing the Yakushi triad, at 6.43 meters high and 7.43 meters wide. The central seated Buddha is roughly a meter taller, at 3.5 meters without its lotus pedestal, than its neighboring Yakushi, and the left and right standing attendants are 4 and 3.7 meters tall respectively, again without their lotus pedestals. Once again, there are no accompanying inscriptions (or temple documents) that support a firm identification as a Shaka triad, and the iconography is itself inconclusive, especially as different sources give different interpretations of the two standing attendants. All three figures have been carved in fairly high relief using the

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[49] Hanawa Shizuo, *Bandō jūkyūban Ōya Kannon* (Utsunomiya: Ōyaji, 1984), 13-14.

same modified wood-core technique before being finished with a layer of white clay, sealed with lacquer, and painted.[51] The use of this technique, coupled with the slanting angle of the carving, suggests that the Shaka triad may have been carved around the same time as the Thousand-armed Kannon, and several scholars are willing to assign the triad a date in the latter half of the Heian period (951-1185) based on the fish-scale patterning on the lotus pedestals.[52] It is highly likely, however, that the Shaka triad was not carved at the same time as the Ōyaji Thousand-armed Kannon because the sculptors who made the Shaka triad used only white clay and paint, and there is no indication of the cinnabar-infused lacquer or gold leaf found on the Thousand-armed Kannon.

The seated Buddha, traditionally identified as Shaka, is in relatively good shape especially when compared to the Thousand-armed Kannon; the triads housed in the Side Hall do not appear to have suffered from the same fire damage. There are still traces of red paint on the seated Buddha's lips, as well as black pupils painted on its eyes. A few snail-shell curls are still attached to the Buddha's head towards the back of his *ushnisha*; these curls were originally shaped separately from clay and then glued to the stone with lacquer, allowing a higher level of detail than would have been possible through carving the Buddha's hairstyle from the actual rock.[53] Further traces of the clay layers can be seen near the hand and in the folds of the robe over the Buddha's proper left foot. The Buddha is carved in the pose of seated meditation, while his proper right hand is held up to his shoulder in the fear-not mudra. His proper left hand is held

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[50] Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 32. For more information on Tendai mountain asceticism in northern Kyushu, please see Allan G. Grapard, "Geotypic Sacred Space", 215-49.
[51] Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 34.
[52] Hanawa, *Ōyaji no rekishi*, 16-17; Utsunomiyashi Shi, *Utsunomiyashi shi*, 849.

palm upwards in front of the Buddha's rounded stomach. There is nothing about this pose or these mudras that would support a strong identification as a Shaka, but at the same time there is nothing to suggest that it could not be a Shaka.

The two standing attendants, however, muddy the iconographic waters. The figure on to the Buddha's proper right is identified in some sources as an ordained monk (*biku* 比丘),[54] but the placard in front of the triad at Ōyaji identifies it as the bodhisattva Jizō (Sk. Kṣtigarbha). The figure on the Buddha's proper left is clearly a bodhisattva, complete with *dhoti* (skirt), scarves, and a relatively intricate looped hairstyle, but there are no clear indications which bodhisattva this figure may be. Again, the placard on site identifies this as the bodhisattva Kannon, despite the fact that the bodhisattva does not appear to be wearing a crown that includes an accompanying Amida.[55] Both figures have traces of red paint on their lips, and there are traces of red paint on the monk's robes. The traces of a similar red paint are also visible on the seated Buddha's robes. The skin of both attendant figures has traces of white, either from the underlying clay layer or from paint. It is possible that all of these paint traces are the product of later touch-ups, but as there was a well-established tradition of painting cliff-carved stone sculptures throughout the Heian period, I am comfortable with the assertion that these figures were originally painted.

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[53] Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 34. In the Yakushi triad, for example, there is no evidence that any of the Buddhas had the snail-shell curl hairstyle; rather, all three Buddhas have a smooth hairstyle.

[54] Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 34.

While I will continue to refer to this triad as a Shaka triad for ease of reference, I would like to suggest at least one alternate interpretation of this triad. It is possible that this triad was also intended to be a Yakushi triad, as an iconographical drawing owned by the monk Shinkaku (1187-80) and now in the collection of the New York Public Library shows a Yakushi triad where the central Buddha is flanked by bodhisattva and monk attendants.[56] This drawing was part of a Benevolent Kings Ritual mandala drawing, and the triad is thought to have been the locus of an eighth century Benevolent Kings ritual intended to protect the state.[57] It is possible then that this iconographical configuration at Ōyaji was originally intended to be a Yakushi triad along the lines of this iconographical drawing, only to be identified as Shaka triad later in the life of the image.

The Amida Triad

The final cliff-carved sculpture to be discussed is carved to the left of the Yakushi triad and has been traditionally identified as an Amida triad. Like the Yakushi triad, the Amida triad's niche has been carved into the cave wall to create a flat backdrop for the sculpted figures, who sit

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[55] While this triad does appear in scholarship as a Amida flanked by Kannon and Jizō, and the three are an established, if rare iconographical pairing, close examination of the sculptures in person did not yield an identifiable Amida in the bodhisattva's crown. However, the sculptures are badly eroded, and it is possible that some of the iconographical details have been lost. For more information, see Sherry Fowler, *Murōji: Rearranging Art and History at a Japanese Buddhist Temple* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 187-188.

[56] Bogel, *With a Single Glance*, 24, 310. While Shinkaku compiled a large number of iconographical drawings into his *Besson zakki,* a careful perusal of the *Besson zakki* as reproduced in the third volume of Takakusa and Ono's *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō zuzō* reveals that Shinkaku did not include this specific iconographical drawing in his compendium.

[57] Bogel, *With a Single Glance*, 324.

or stand perpendicular to the floor.[58] The niche itself is 6.33 meters tall and 7.3 meters wide, while the central Buddha is 2.66 meters tall excluding the lotus pedestal, and the left and right standing figures are respectively 3.35 and 3.91 meters tall without their pedestals.[59] Out of all the cliff-carved sculptures at Ōyaji, the Amida triad is the best preserved, even though it has the least paint remaining on its surface. Instead, much of the clay finish is visible, although it is the same fired red color as the Thousand-Armed Kannon. The molded details of the figures indicate a high level of relief, and the seated Buddha still has much of its original clay snail-shell curl hairstyle. The two standing attendants echo the posture and iconography of the Shaka triad's attendants, but the figures are much squatter than the earlier triad, with an exaggerated leg to torso ratio. Surrounding the three main figures are six small seated Buddhas, which form a frame around the main figures' heads. A Sanskrit seed syllable "A," a textual stand-in for Amida, has all been carved to the left of the triad, and a later standing clay Buddha has been installed in a separate niche to the left of the Amida triad, but as this is a freestanding clay sculpture and not a cliff-carved sculpture, it will not be discussed further.

The Amida triad has been identified by some scholars as Amida flanked by the bodhisattvas Kannon and Seishi (Skt. Mahāsthāmaprāpta),[60] but this does not accurately reflect the actual appearance of the attendant figures. As with the Shaka triad, the figure to the central Buddha's left is an ordained monk with his hands pressed together in prayer, while the figure to the right is clearly identifiable as a bodhisattva. This bodhisattva, however, appears to be wearing a crown and there are some traces of a figure in the crown that could be an Amida,

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[58] As mentioned, previously the carving of this niche resulted in the shaving away of the left side of the Yakushi niche, so scholars are certain that this triad post-dates the Yakushi triad.

[59] Kitaguchi, "Ōya magaibutsu," 18-19.

[60] Utsunomiya Shishi, *Utsunomiyashi shi,* 851.

making this bodhisattva a Kannon. The central Buddha, meanwhile, holds his proper right hand in the fear-not mudra and his proper left hand palm up in front of his stomach. The six small seated Buddhas appear to be all making the same mudra with their hands pressed together in prayer. All of the figures in this triad are considered to have been carved at the same time, and general consensus is that they were the last to be carved at Ōyaji. Some scholars date their creation from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries,[61] while the double mandorla behind the central Buddha has led others to propose a twelfth-century date for the work's creation.[62]

There are several possible reasons for the triad's identification as an Amida triad. One is the presence of the six small seated Buddhas, which could refer either to ritual recital of the six-syllable Amida *nenbutsu* or to the Six Paths of Rebirth and Amida's salvific power. Another possible reason for this identification can be seen in the Kamakura-period production of Amida triads where Amida is flanked by Jizō and Kannon.[63] However, there is another possible identification for this triad, and that is a Yakushi triad; as with the Shaka triad, precedents do exist for the pairing of Yakushi with a monk and a bodhisattva, and the inclusion of the six small seated Buddhas could have been intended as additional Yakushi, making this triad a Seven Buddha Yakushi configuration.[64]

Reading the Site

As the previous sections have illustrated, the exact history of the Ōyaji cliff-carved

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[61] Utsunomiyashi Shi, *Utsunomiyashi shi*, 851.

[62] Tsuruoka, *Kantō kodai jiin no kenkyū*, 406.

[63] Glassman, *The Face of Jizō*, 76-77.

[64] There is at least one example of the Seven Buddha Yakushi in the neighboring province of Iwate, at Kokusekiji, that was produced in the ninth century. For more information, please see Suzuki, *Medicine Master Buddha*, 35-40.

sculptures is very complicated, and only a rough chronology can be agreed upon for the sculpture's production. Some scholars switch around the dates for the Thousand-armed Kannon and the Yakushi triad, dating the Kannon before the Yakushi, but the general consensus is that those two came first and the Shaka and Amida triads were added later. The current ahistorical presentation of the site, then, does not take into account that these sculptures were not created as a unified sculptural program and instead reflect an ongoing aggregation of meaning at the site. While we have no records of patronage for any of the Ōyaji cliff-carved sculptures, it is possible that both the Yakushi triad and the Thousand-armed Kannon could have been connected to penitence rites associated with both deities.[65] However, it is unclear if there was any unified motivation behind the gradual accumulation of cliff-carved sculptures at this site, although it is tempting to look at the incorporation of different Buddhas, particularly in the Amida triad, as reflecting ongoing shifts in the religious climate of the region, as Amida faith became more widespread in the region.[66]

Conclusion

Although there are no specific dates for the creation of any of the cliff-carved sculptures

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[65] Bogel, *With a Single Glance*, 96, 266.

at Ōyaji, their spread through the tenth to the twelfth century does reflect a regional trend. After the introduction of esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō* 密教) to Japan by Kūkai and Saichō (767-822), certain monks promoting the concepts of esoteric Buddhism began to go on preaching tours around the country and made their way into the Kantō region.[67] The wood Yakushi sculpture at Iwate Prefecture's Kokusekiji, dated to 862 (Jōgan 4) by inscription, is one material trace of the impact that the wandering monks had on the region.[68] As these wandering monks, sometimes referred to as *yamabushi* (山伏, literally translated as "one who lies in the mountains), became established in the region, they began to establish temples and monastic communities that often blended the Buddhist deities they brought with them with the local *kami* to create highly localized syncretic forms of esoteric Buddhism.[69] Mark MacWilliams discusses the interaction between the Buddhism brought to the Kantō region and the local forms of *kami* worship in his dissertation on the sacred histories of the Bandō Thirty-three Kannon pilgrimage, with special attention given to one of Ōyaji's founding legends. This legend, already briefly discussed in relation to the history of Ōyaji, can be understood as a mythic retelling of Buddhism's

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[66] Another possible interpretation of the Ōyaji cliff-carved sculpture has been proposed by Hosoya Tōsaku. This interpretation focuses primarily on the Thousand-armed Kannon and looks at the placement of this sculpture in relation to other temples that can be plotted on a line that begins with Utsunomiya Futaarayama Shrine (宇都宮二荒山神社) and ends at Mount Nantai (男体山). This line then extends at a thirty-degree angle and runs through the Ōyaji Thousand-armed Kannon, the Takiyama Fudō Myōō, Mount Kogaishi (古賀志山), the Iwasaki Kannon, the Fubasami Futaarayama Shrine (文挟二荒山神社), Mount Keimei (鶏鳴山), the Hosō Takao Shrine (細尾高尾神社), and finally ending at Mount Nantai. Tōsaku Hosoya, "Nisshin shinkō no hotoketachi: Ōyasanuki magaibutsu no zōken igi," *Kokugakuin daigaku Tochigi tankidaigaku kiyō* 26 (March 1992): 56.

[67] Washizuka, *Sekibutsu*, 33.

[68] Washizuka, *Sekibutsu*, 33.

introduction into the region, even as it also served to promote the temple to pilgrims making the Bandō Thirty-three Kannon pilgrimage, and the Ōyaji Thousand-armed Kannon is presented as a key part of the local sacred landscape.

It is interesting, although perhaps not surprising, that the legend's focus is primarily on the Thousand-armed Kannon statue, as those who crafted the legend were trying to connect their temple with a network of Kannon-centric temples and the pilgrimage developing between those temples. The size of the Thousand-armed Kannon likely also played a part, since, as the largest of the sculptures at the site, it could garner more attention than the other smaller Buddha triads. I would argue that the legend is rooted in the religious traditions and practice that may have led to at least the initial creation of the Yakushi triad at Ōyaji.

As previously mentioned, the Yakushi triad is the smallest of the three Buddha triads and the one closest to the ground. Although the dating is uncertain, it may predate the creation of the Thousand-armed Kannon. The spread of Buddhism throughout the Kantō and other, more remote, regions has been connected to the movement of Buddhist monks and settlers from the more central region establishing monasteries and small private temples as they colonized areas previously belonging to the Emishi, the indigenous population of northern Honshu.[70] I would like to suggest that the Yakushi triad was the product of small scale local production and as such perhaps reflects the private practice of a mountain ascetic. With time, and outside sponsorship, a more elaborate project like the Thousand-armed Kannon became feasible, and the devotional focus of the temple shifted towards that larger image. The additional Shaka and Amida triads were added later, again probably in response to local patronage, and with time the configuration for worship at Ōyaji settled. When temple monks set about crafting the founding legend, the

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[69] Bogel, *With a Single Glance*, 9.

long-established focus on the Thousand-armed Kannon enhanced the developing regional pilgrimage, and the three Buddha triads fell by the wayside, insomuch as cliff-carved sculptures can do so.

Today, Ōyaji's main focus continues to be on its Thousand-armed Kannon, which has been designated an Important Cultural Property and continues to draw pilgrims to the site as part of the Bandō Thirty-three Kannon Pilgrimage. When I visited the temple in 2013, I was at first the only visitor. Then, a tour bus pulled into the neighboring parking lot and a group of pilgrims disembarked and entered the temple grounds. Their primary interest was in the Thousand-armed Kannon, and while they did pass through the connected hall to view the Buddha triads, they spent the most time in the larger main hall, where the Thousand-armed Kannon stands behind a fully appointed and fairly lavish altar, somewhat obscured by curtains and dim candle light. In contrast, the Side Hall is practically bare, with only a wooden walkway, wood placards identifying the sculptures, and simple metal offering boxes placed in front of each triad. Regardless of the actual chronology of production or the original intent of their creators, the Ōyaji cliff-carved sculptures today are treated as one miraculous icon and three side triads, but a deeper exploration of the individual sculptures provides a fascinating window into the religious climate of the region throughout the ninth through eleventh centuries. As Buddhism spread, deities rose and fell in popularity, and the temple sought to establish its place in the region.

[70] Suzuki, *Medicine Master Buddha*, 34-35.

Chapter Three: The Usuki Cliff-Carved Sculptures

Introduction

Over eight hundred kilometers to the southwest of Ōyaji, is the Usuki Magaibutsu Park (臼杵磨崖仏公園), home to the most famous and largest grouping of cliff-carved sculptures in Japan. There are over sixty individual carvings at the site, traditionally grouped in four main groups and carved into the exposed rock at the base of what was known locally as Mount Dainichi (大日山).[1] This rock, composed of tufa, a kind of melted granite created by the prehistoric eruption of nearby Mount Aso. This kind of stone is especially vulnerable to erosion and breakage, and as a result the surviving statues have been badly damaged. Work on conservation and restoration of the site began in 1980 and ran until 1994; in 1995 fifty-nine of the restored stone images were designated as National Treasures, making them the first stone Buddhist images to receive this ranking.[2]

Despite being the most famous of the cliff-carved sculptures still extant in Japan, there is little known about the site. The relatively large scale and the variety of iconography of the Usuki images, however, serve as an important case study in the production of cliff-carved sculptures in a region that was not as peripheral as its modern perception would lead one to believe. This chapter outlines the historical and religious context for the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures,

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[1] Kawaga Mitsuo, "Usuki sekibutsu no kyōsa to kenkyū," in *Usuki Sekibutsu: yomigaetta magaibutsu,* ed. Kawaga Mitsuo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), 1.

[2] S. Kawasaki and C. Tanimoto "Deterioration phenomena and conservation methods of stone Buddha images in Japan," in *Frontiers of Rock Mechanics and Sustainable Development in the 21st Century*, ed. Wang Sijing, Fu Bingjun, Li Zhonkui (Lisse: A.A. Balkema, 2001), 413. Even the Ōyaji Kannon, despite its age, is only designated an Important Cultural Property and therefore lower on the hierarchy established by the National Treasures system.

examines the sculptures themselves within a rough chronology based on stylistic analysis, and explores the site's possible iconographic readings.

Locating Usuki

The Usuki cliff-carved sculptures share the name with the nearby city of Usuki (臼杵), a coastal town in southern Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, despite the fact that the sculpture site is almost five kilometers outside Usuki proper. Today, Usuki is considered off the beaten path by the average Japanese tourist, and the beaches and spas near Ōita provide much more of a draw. If one does chose to visit Usuki and the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures, the city is reachable only by a local train from one of the larger nearby cities. The park itself is accessible only by bus or car.

The Usuki cliff-carved sculptures, then, are on the outskirts of a region that itself was on the periphery in a cultural and religious landscape that took Heian as its center. Ōita Prefecture, known until the Meiji Period (1868-1912) as Bungo (豊後) or Bungo no kuni (豊後国), did share close ties to the Heian capital via the Usa Hachiman Shrine's earlier role in imperial history, but the province still sat at a geographical and cultural remove from Heian and its neighboring Buddhist establishments.

This geographical distance is only one of the points of commonality between the Ōyaji cliff-carved sculptures and those found at Usuki. Like Ōyaji, next to nothing is known about the patrons and artisans responsible for the production of the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures. While the Ōyaji cliff-carved sculptures do feature in the temple's founding legend, that origin is couched in the language of the miracle tale as well as being drafted at a considerable temporal

remove from the temple's founding. There are even fewer clues available in regard to the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures, as the neighboring temple of Mangetsuji (満月寺) was destroyed, along with all its records, sometime between 1573-1592.[3] While we do not have a temple founding legend to give us some idea of the religious environment that produced the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures, we can look to northeastern Bungo and the large role it played in the development of *shugendō* practice in the late Heian period (951-1185). Just as Ōyaji's founding legend suggests a connection between the temple and mountain asceticism at its inception, the prevalence of cliff-carved sculpture in association with *shugendō* practice in northeastern Bungo suggests that a similar religious environment likely existed at Usuki.

There are some clear differences between the Ōyaji and Usuki cliff-carved sculptures, however. The first, and most obvious, difference is the scale of the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures in comparison with the Ōyaji Thousand-Armed Kannon and Buddha triads; not only are the sculptures at Usuki physically larger, there are more of them spread over more ground. The Usuki sculptures are also more iconographically diverse, with more deities are represented, although there is some uncertainty over the exact identity of some of the Buddha images. This iconographic complexity, paired with the high level of technical skill behind their creation, illustrates the local desire to shape the sacred landscape of their location within both the regional religious landscape and the broader Buddhist tradition of stone Buddhist sculpture imported into Japan.

Historical Background

[3] "Mangetsuji ato," in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*, (Tokyo: Heibonsha), Accessed via Japan Knowledge Database, February 1, 2016.

While Usuki is today considered out of the way, as is much of Ōita Prefecture, during the Heian period, the northern portion of Kyushu was not as peripheral as the Kansai-centric view passed down to scholars of Japanese history would have us believe. Rather, the island of Kyushu played a very important role connecting southern Honshu with the rest of the world. All trade from the Korean peninsula and the Asian continent, especially China, was supposed to go through Kyushu's northwestern port city of Dazaifu (大宰府) to enter Japan.[4] By the eleventh century, foreign trading ships, mostly from Song Dynasty (960-1279) China were arriving at a brisk pace, while Japanese merchants visited the kingdom of Koryŏ (918-1392) on the Korean peninsula and, by the twelfth century, were traveling to Song China without approval from the Heian court.[5] Song Chinese merchants also did not always follow the rules, sailing to other harbors on the northwest Kyushu coast rather than through the officially sanctioned and regulated port of Dazaifu.[6]

Although Ōita Prefecture, then known as Bungo, is located on the northeastern coast of Kyushu, the province also functioned as an intermediary for exchange. Exposed to the culture of the Heian capital by ships on Japan's inland sea, the region was also exposed to continental culture, as Kyushu served as the main point of contact with both the Korean peninsula and the

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[4] For an excellent discussion of Kyushu and its role in Japan's international trade, please see Charlotte von Verschuer, *Across the Perilous Sea: Japanese Trade with China and Korea from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuires*, trans. Kristen Lee Hunter, Cornell East Asia Series (Ithica, NY: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2006).

[5] Koyama Yasunori, "East and West in the Late Classical Age," in *Capital and Countryside in Japan, 300-1180: Japanese Historians in English*, ed. Joan R. Piggott (Ithica, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2006), 375.

[6] Koyama, "East and West," 375.

Chinese mainland.[7] Early historical accounts of the region, detailed in *Nihon shoki* (日本書記, c. 720), and *Bungo no kuni fudoki* (豊後国風土記, estimated to have been compiled between 720-740), paint a picture of a fairly well-populated region at the village level, and the *Bungo no kuni fudoki* in particular emphasizes the government established districts, offices and highways already in place in the region by the eighth century.[8] *Bungo no fudoki* mentions at least one district that already housed two Buddhist temples, and historians of the region generally designate the Nara and Heian periods as the beginning of large-scale shrine and temple construction in the area.[9]

It is not clear why these particular exposed cliff faces were chosen as a site for the creation of cliff-carved Buddhist sculptures. The local history *Usayō jija kōryakki* (臼陽寺社考署記, 1741) describes the close relationship between Mangetsuji and the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures, despite the fact that Mangetsuji had been destroyed well before *Usayō jija kōryakuki* was compiled. The text describes how, when the temple buildings were being laid out, the builders took into account the positioning of at least one of the cliff-carved sculptural groupings into account.[10] However, the exact relationship between the cliff-carved sculptures and

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7 Chigusa Yoshindo, *Ōita no sekibutsu o tazunete,* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1988), 62.
8 For a full-text translation of *Bungo no kuni fudoki*, please see Michiko Y. Aoki, *Records of Wind and Earth: A Translation of* Fudoki *with Introduction and Commentaries* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 1997), 233-247. For additional information on Bungo in the *Nihon shoki*, please see “Bungo no kuni,” in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* (Tokyo: Heibonsha), Accessed via Japan Knowledge Database, February 1, 2016.
9 Aoki, *Records of Wind and Earth*, 233; Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 62.
10 *Usayō jija kōryakuki,* “Bungo sekibutsu zōritsu no rekishiteki haikei,” transcribed by in Iimema Kenji, in *Usuki Sekibutsu: yomigaetta magaibutsu*, ed. Kawaga Mitsuo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), 122-123.

Mangetsuji is not laid out in any existing records.[11] For example, we do not know if the temple predates the cliff-carved sculptures, or if one or more of the sculptures predate the temple. Without clear evidence one way or the other, we can look to the immediate environment, as the site could have been selected solely based on the abundance of exposed cliff available and easily reachable by the artisans.

Religious History

Usa Hachiman Shrine

Despite the large role Usa Hachiman shrine played in the religious life of the region, very little is known about the origins of the site. The shrine, whose exact founding date is uncertain, is mentioned in *Shoku Nihongi* (続日本記) entries for 725 (Jinki 2), 731 (Tenpyō 3), and 737 (Tenpyō 9), which detail construction work at the shrine.[12] Regardless of the confusion surrounding Usa Hachiman's origins, by the ninth and tenth centuries the shrine served as a center for the regional mixing of Buddhism and *kami* worship. This is attributed to spreading belief in Hachiman and the growing cult of the legendary eighth-century monk Ninmon (仁聞, ?-783), also known as Ninmon Bosatsu.[13] The cult of Ninmon, the traditional founder of a

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[11] For more information, see: Iimema Kenji, "Bungo sekibutsu zōritsu no rekishiteki haikei," *Usuki Sekibutsu: yomigaetta magaibutsu*, ed. Kawaga Mitsuo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), 120-130.

[12] Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 65. A good general history of Usa Hachiman Shrine can be found at "Usa Jinjū," *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*, (Tokyo: Heibonsha), Accessed via Japan Knowledge Database, February 1, 2016. A more in depth look at the complicated nature of early history of Hachiman and Usa Shrine can be found in Bernhard Scheid, "Shōmu Tennō and the Deity from Kyushu: Hachiman's Initial Rise to Prominence," *Japan Review* 27 (2014), 31-51.

[13] For more information, see Allan Grapard, "Lotus in the Mountain, Mountain in the Lotus: *Rokugō Kaizan Nimmon Daibosatsu Hongi*," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 41, No. 1 (Spring, 1986), 21-50. This article gives a full translation of the *Rokugō Kaizan Nimmon Daibosatsu Hongi*, which details Ninmon's miraculous life and religious activities.

network of Tendai temples that also served as *shugendō* centers, known as the Rokugō manzan (六郷満山) temples, helped strengthen the influence of esoteric Tendai Buddhism in Bungo, and more and more *yamabushi* took to the mountains of northeastern Kyushu.[14] By the twelfth century, Usa Hachiman and the Tendai Rokugō manzan temples were dominating the religious life of northeastern Kyushu.

Shugendō in Northeastern Kyushu and Ōita Prefecture

While *shugendō* did not take on the form of an organized religion until the eleventh century, practitioners of this highly combinatory religion, which mixed Buddhism, Daoism, and indigenous folk religion, were active in Bungo beginning in the ninth century.[15] The region was further opened to aesthetic practitioners under the auspices of Taimitsu (台密), which was the esoteric branch of Tendai.[16] By the twelfth century, the Tendai affiliated Rokugō manzan temples were entrenched in the religious landscape, and the religious culture associated with this temple network played a formative role in the development of particular regional customs and religious beliefs.[17] The rise of the Rokugō manzan temples can also be connected to an increase in the production of Buddhist sculptures in the region, particularly the carving of cliff-carved sculptures in the abundant local rock.[18] The popularity of cliff-carved sculpture in Bungo was significant enough to warrant a mention in the 1053 (Tenki 1) *Usa Ōkagami* (宇佐大鏡), which

[14] Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 66.
[15] Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 66.
[16] Grapard, "Lotus in the Mountain," 26.
[17] Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 67. Grapard gives some details of this process in his article "Lotus in the Mountain," but a more in depth exploration can be found in Allan Grapard's "The Textualized Mountain," in *The Lotus Sutra in Japanese Culture*, ed. George Tanabe Jr. and Willa Jean Tanabe (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 159-189.

mentions *iwayaji* (石屋寺), an archaic term referring to cliff-carved Buddhist sculpture.[19]

The twenty-eight temples that compose the Rokugō manzan network were, according to their sacred history, founded by Ninmon in 718 (Yōrō 2).[20] Ninmon was also credited with the creation of the nearby Kumano cliff-carved sculptures in northern half of Ōita Prefecture, as well as many of the region's other stone sculptures.[21] In all likelihood, the temple network attributed to Ninmon in the *Rokugō kaizan Ninmon Daibosatsu Hongi* already existed in relation to established views of mountains as multivalent symbols as places where *kami* could touch down on earth, realms of the dead in both the *kami*-centric and Buddhist view of the afterlife, and as magical realms that housed malevolent spirits, ghosts, demons, and assorted evil deities.[22] Many of these sites were also probably developed by Chinese or Korean religious leaders who had immigrated to the region and by local mountain dwellers, whose traditions were appropriated by Buddhist priests, and it has been suggested that the concept of Ninmon himself could have been based on a conglomeration of Chinese monks who immigrated to the region.[23]

Regardless of the exact origins of the Rokugō manzan network, scholars of *shugendō* link the production of cliff-carved stone sculpture in Kumano, in northern Ōita Prefecture, and its

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[18] Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 67.
[19] *Usa Ōkagami*, "Kōkogaku yori mita Usuki sekibutsu," transcribed by Toru Kikuta, in *Usuki Sekibutsu: yomigaetta magaibutsu*, ed. Kawaga Mitsuo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), 121-123. Kagawa goes on to explain the use of the term *iwayaji* in references to cliff-carved sculpture. It is worth noting that Chigusa points out that seventy percent of the natural environment of Ōita Prefecture and is volcanic, so there is an abundance of the porous and easy to carve tuff, known in Japanese as *gyōkaigan*, or fused ash stone, exposed to serve as the raw material for the sculptures. Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 58.
[20] Grapard, "Lotus in the Mountain," 42.
[21] In much the same fashion, Kūkai is credited with the creation of Ōyaji sculptures.
[22] Miyake Hitoshi, *The Mandala of the Mountain* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2005), 46. The complicated nature of mountains in Japanese sacred geography and its relationship with cliff-carved stone sculpture is discussed further in Chapters Three and Four of this dissertation.

surrounding regions, including Usuki, to the activities of *shugendō* practitioners, despite the fact that the physical temple network did not extend as far south in Bungo as Usuki.[24]

Usuki

While there is a smattering of archeological evidence of human activity around the present-day city of Usuki before the sixth century CE, the archeological record is scarce until after the introduction of Buddhism to the area by at least the early eight century.[25] Just as northeastern Kyushu as a whole was well connected with the Tendai branch of esoteric Buddhism, Tendai was also very important in Usuki, and sutra burials excavated in the area support the strength of Tendai in the region.[26] Mangetsuji was, in its original state, a Tendai temple, and it has been suggested that Usuki was also connected to at least some degree with the Rokugō manzan *yamabushi* network, especially those active in the Kumano area.[27] This in turn suggests a connection between the Kumano cliff-carved sculptures and the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures that is unfortunately beyond the scope of this dissertation.

While there are no firm historical records telling us who carved the Usuki sculptures and why, there is at least one widespread local folktale known as *Manano chōja densetsu* (真名野長

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[23] Miyake, *The Mandala of the Mountain*, 46; Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 67-68.

[24] For more on this topic, please see Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō no chiikiteki tenkai*, (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2012), 379-384, and Iimema, "Bungo sekibutsu zōritsu no rekishiteki haikei," 70-82. Discussion of the Kumano region in northern Ōita Prefecture is made more complicated by the existence of another, better known, sacred landscape also named Kumano in Wakayama Prefecture on the southern end of Japan's main island.

[25] Takahatsu Chōichi, *Usuki monogatari* (Usuki: Takahatsu Chōichi, 1988), 19. Historical records also support this account, as *Bungo no kuni fudoki* mentions the presence of two temples in Bungo, one for monks and one for nuns. Aoki, *Records of Wind and Earth*, 234.

[26] Takahatsu, *Usuki monogatari*, 20. Iimema, "Bungo sekibutsu zōritsu no rekishiteki haikei," 70-82.

者伝説 Legend of Elder Manano) that details their creation. According to this legend, the sculptures are connected to a local figure with the appellation Elder Manano (真名野長者, birth name Kogorō, 小五郎) and a Chinese monk by the name of Renjō (蓮城, Ch: Liánchéng).[28]

The story begins in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Emperor Kinmei (r. 539-571), with the Minister Koga and his daughter, Princess Tamatsu (玉津姫). Princess Tamatsu was, despite her family's high status, so ugly that no one wanted to marry her; this state of affairs continued until Miwa Myōjin, a powerful *kami* and protective deity of Mount Miwa in Nara, appeared to her in a dream and told her that her husband-to-be was a charcoal-burner by the name of Kogorō who lived in what is present-day Miemachi, a little under twenty-five kilometers southwest from the Usuki sculptures. Princess Tamatsu, encouraged by this dream, travelled to Bungo and, before arriving at Kogorō's hometown, washed her face in Gold Dragon Pool. The water of this pool transformed her into a beautiful woman, Kogorō married her, and they became very, very rich. The Emperor gave Kogorō the title of Elder Manano, and Kogorō, to show his gratitude to the Buddha for everything, built a temple on Mie Uchiyama and sent a generous donation to Mount Tiantai in China. Renjō, an abbot at Mount Tiantai, traveled to Japan to make Kogorō images of Yakushi and Kannon, which he carved on the rock face at Usuki, in return for Kogorō's

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[27] Takahatsu, *Usuki monogatari*, 18.

[28] Chigusa credits his version of the story to *Kyodōshi shiryō jiten* (郷士資料事典) 44, Oita ken, 134, but like most folktales, an original source is difficult to track down. Kim Chan Hoe points towards a version of *Manano chōja densetsu* written by a Renjōji monk during the first half of the seventeenth century in his article discussing the Japanese folktale, a Korean folktale about a charcoal seller, and the legend of King Mu (r. 600-641) of Paekche and the founding of Mireuksa in 602. Kim Chan Hoe, "Ōita ken no *Manano chōja densetsu-monogatari* to Kankoku," *Polyglossia* 8 (January 2004): 99.

donation. According to Mangetsuji's temple legend, that is the origin of the Usuki sculptures, and in the early Muromachi period (1336-1573), stone images of Kogorō, Princess Tamatsu, and Renjō were carved in a boulder on the grounds of Mangetsuji.[29] (Figures 3.1, 3.2) The story of Kogorō and Princess Tamatsu does not end there, however. It just so happens that Princess Tamatsu's daughter, Princess Hannya, was so beautiful that the Emperor's son wanted to marry her. Kogorō refused him, so the prince disguised himself as a cattle-herding child, gained access to the house, introduced himself to Princess Hannya, and took her as his wife. The prince later became Emperor Yōmei (r. 585-587), and Princess Hannya bore her husband many princesses.[30]

There are a number of interesting facets to this legend. The first is that the legend sets up a connection between the origins of the Usuki sculptures and the imperial court culture of the Asuka (592-645) and Hakuhō (645-710) periods, as Princess Tamatsu comes from a high-ranking court family. Then there is the divine motivation behind Princess Tamatsu's travel to Bungo, as Miwa Myōjin appears in her dream to tell her about her future husband. This hints at both a desire to connect the Usuki site with a more prominent and central sacred site in Mount Miwa, but it also suggests a syncretic Buddhist-Shintō logic behind the creation of these Usuki sculptures, as Kogorō sends a donation to Mount Tiantai in China to thank the Buddha for guiding his wife to him. Thus the already syncretic mix of Buddhism and *kami* worship that informed the cult of the Miwa Myōjin is combined with continental Buddhism and given extra

[29] Sakamino Masanobu, "Usuki sekibutsugun," in *Usuki Sekibutsu: yomigaetta magaibutsu*, ed. Kawaga Mitsuo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), 65. While Shin Mangetsuji, the modern temple rebuilt on the original temple grounds, is clearly visible from most of the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures, the sculptures of Kogorō, Princess Tamatsu, and Renjō are not visible. The temple itself, again in its modern configuration, is roughly a ten-minute walk from the closest of the sculptural groupings.
[30] Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 94-96.

weight via its connection to Tendai's source.[31] The religious motivation behind the Usuki sculptures, then, is highly muddled within the story, and the relationship between the legend and the site only becomes more confused by the assertion that Renjō set out to carve images of Yakushi and Kannon. While there are images of both Yakushi and Kannon among the Usuki sculptural groupings, including the Furuzono Group and Hoki Group 1, Niche 1, they are by no means the only, or even the most prominent deities depicted at the site. Perhaps the most interesting fact is that the legend surrounding these sculptures assigns them a construction date roughly in the sixth century, five hundred years before the first of the Usuki sculptural groupings was carved.

The Usuki *Magaibutsu*

The sculptures carved into the cliffs at the base of Mount Dainichi are usually divided into four distinct groups: the Hoki Group 1 (ホキ石仏第一群), the Hoki Group 2 (alternately referred to as the Dōgasako (堂ケ迫) Group), the Sannōzan Group (山王山石仏), and the Furuzono Group (古園石仏). The Hoki Group 1 and 2 have the "hoki" rendered in *katakana* in all contemporary sources, but the original character was probably 岵 (*hoki*), an archaic word for cliff.[32] The translation of Dōgasako is also unclear, although it could be roughly translated as "niche in the valley." The Sannōzan Group's name is more straightforward, translating as

[31] For more information on Miwa Myōjin, please see Anna Andreeva, "The Karmic Origins of the Great Bright Miwa Deity: A Transformation of the Sacred Mountain in Premodern Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 65 no. 2 (2010), 245-296.

"Mountain King Mountain," while the Furuzono Group's name translates as "Old Garden."

Recent conservation and restoration work at the site resulted in the construction of roofed pavilions over all four of the groups to prevent further erosion damage from rain. There is archeological evidence, however, that roofed buildings have been part of the site since at least the last half of the thirteenth century.[33] As for the groups themselves, Hoki Group 1 is composed of four distinct sculptural niches; Hoki Group 2 similarly consists of two large sculptural niches.[34] (Figures 3.3-3.8) The Sannōzan Group, on the other hand, consists of a single sculptural niche containing three carved Buddha images. (Figure 3.9) The Furuzono Group, on the other side of the mountain base from the Sannōzan Group, also consists of a single long sculptural niche that contains a total of thirteen carved figures. (Figures 3.10-3.14)

Visitors to the site today have two points of entry to the circuit of walkways between the groups. They can proceed directly from the ticket booth to the first sculptural grouping, which is actually Hoki Group 2. From there, they would then walk counterclockwise along the base of the mountain, passing Hoki Group 1 and the Sannōzan Group before finishing in front of the Furuzono Group, or visitors can take the same path in reverse. While each sculptural group is accompanied by explanatory plaques that provide approximate dates of construction, either one of the routes presents an ahistorical viewing of the sculptures under the general category of late Heian period (951-1185) to Kamakura period (1185-1333). This is in large part because different sculptural groups were produced at different points in time, and even within the Hoki Groups,

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[32] The official Usuki Magaibutsu Sculpture Park website (http://sekibutsu.com/buddha.php) confirms this reading. This site also includes a map which illustrates the arrangement of the sculptures.

[33] Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Kokuhō Usuki magaibutsu hozon shūri kōji hōkokusho* (Usuki, Japan: Usuki City, 1997), 343.

[34] Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Kokuhō Usuki magaibutsu*, 7-9.

different niches were carved at different times.

A rough chronology, however, has been reconstructed as follows based on archeological work during the restoration and stylistic comparisons between the Usuki sculptures and more firmly dated wooden and bronze sculptures. The stylistic grounds for each dating will be discussed as part of the discussion of each group, but a summary of the chronology is as follows.

The Furuzono Group, considered to be the heart of the entire site, was most likely the earliest to be carved in the late Heian period.[35] Please see the chart below for a proposed chronology of the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures, beginning with the Furuzono Group. Although we do not know the exact dates of any of the carvings at the Usuki site, archeological excavations have uncovered examples of ceramics, namely plates and bowls that would have been placed before the cliff-carved sculptures likely to hold various offerings, dating back to the middle of the twelfth century and a single coin, excavated in front of the Furuzono Group, is dated 1078 (Shōryaku 2).[36] The presence of this coin does not guarantee that that layer of excavation dates to exactly 1078, but it does show that human ritual activity at the site goes back to at least the eleventh century. Additional pottery finds confirm that ritual activity continued at this site at least through the first half of the sixteenth century.[37]

Proposed Chronology of the Usuki Cliff-Carved Sculptures

Mid-tenth through early 12th century	1. Furuzono Group (Figures 3.10-3.14) 2. Hoki Group 1, Niche 2 (Figure 3.4)

[35] Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Kokuhō Usuki magaibutsu*, 5-9; Chigusa Yoshindo dates this group even more specifically to the first half of the Fujiwara period. Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 179.
[36] Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Kokuhō Usuki magaibutsu*, 322, 343.
[37] Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Kokuhō Usuki magaibutsu*, 338.

	3. Hoki Group 2, Niche 1 (Figure 3.7)
Early twelfth century	1. Sannōzan Group (Figure 3.9) 2. Hoki Group 1, Niche 1 (Figure 3.3)
First half of the thirteenth century	1. Hoki Group 1, Niche 3, 4 (Figure 3.5, 3.6) 2. Hoki Group 2, Niche 2 (Figure 3.8)

The current configuration of the site is deceptive, encouraging the visitor to see the Usuki *magaibutsu* as temporally collapsed, the products of a single period of activity that resulted in discreet sculptural groups that relate to a unified sculptural program.[38] The stylistic dating of the sculptures themselves, however, and the chronology that this allows us to reconstruct, suggests that the Usuki sculptures are best understood according to their order of production rather than their immediate spatial neighbors.

By common scholarly consensus, the first of these groups is the Furuzono Group, which is also the largest of the sculptural groups at the site.

The Furuzono Group

Stylistically, the Furuzono Group shares a number of characteristics with wood sculpture in the late Heian period, and the rough dating of the group to the early twelfth century via comparison with such dated sculptures as the Nara Enjōji Dainichi, carved by Unkei in 1176.[39] The iconography of this grouping is somewhat muddled, due in large part to the extreme damage done to the site over time through natural erosion, but the large central figure is generally held to

[38] This is not a unique situation, as something similar can be seen in Tang Dynasty (618-907) Chinese cave shrine sites at Longmen , where different patrons or groups of patrons could commission either entire caves with unified sculptural programs or individual niches with a cave that then became an accumulation of iconographies.
[39] Sakamino "Usuki sekibutsugun," 60-61.

be the Dainichi (大日如来, Skt. Vairocana), and it has been suggested this grouping represents the Diamond World (金剛界, *Kongōkai*) Mandala.[40] (Figure 3.10) This identification is supported by the Wisdom fist mudra (智拳印, *chiken-in*) this Buddha makes. Flanking Dainichi on each side is a line of six sculptures, for a total of thirteen, and as a result, the Furuzono Group has been widely associated with the Thirteen Buddhas iconography. The issues raised by this iconographical designation will be discussed later. The individual figures, going in order from center to edge of the group on Dainichi's proper right are commonly identified as the Buddha Ashuku (Skt. Akṣobhya), the Buddha Hōshō (Skt. Ratnasaṃbhava), the bodhisattva Monju (Skt. Mañjuśrī), the bodhisattva Seishi, Fudō Myōō (Skt. Acala) and Zōchōten (Skt. Virūḍhaka); from Dainichi's proper left, the figures are commonly identified as the Buddha Muryōju (Skt. Amitāyus), the Buddha Fukūjōju (Skt. Amoghasiddhi), the bodhisattva Fugen (Skt. Samantabhadra), the bodhisattva Kannon (Skt. Avalokiteśvara), Gōzanze Myōō (Skt. Trailokyavijaya) and Tamonten (Skt. Vaiśravaṇa). (Figures 3.11-3.13) By "commonly identified," I mean that these are the identifications given on the signs at the site and which carry over into most of the literature on the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures. Other sources are more conservative in assigning identifications and only limit themselves to firmly identifying the figures of Dainichi, Kannon, Seishi, Fudō Myōō, and Tamonten.[41]

According to our roughly reconstructed chronology, the next groups to be carved were the second niche of Hoki Group 1 and the first niche of Hoki Group 2. (Figures 3.4, 3.7) The second niche of Hoki Group 1 contains a group of three Buddha figures; the central Buddha is

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[40] Takahatsu, *Usuki monogatari*, 25.

commonly identified as Amida, while the Buddha on Amida's proper left is identified either as Shaka or as a generic Buddha, and the Buddha on Amida's proper right is identified as Yakushi. Again, signs at the site identify the proper left Buddha as Shaka, but in this case the writers of the majority of the literature on Usuki have been more cautious and identified the figure as a Buddha. The first niche of Hoki Group 2 also contains a Buddha triad, although in this case the central Buddha is flanked by two bodhisattvas. The central Buddha of this triad has also been identified as Amida, while the two bodhisattvas are perhaps naturally identified as Kannon on the proper left and Seishi on the proper right. While the bodhisattva identified as Kannon is missing much of its crown and the accompanying image of Amida that could confirm its identity, it is holding a lotus in its right hand, suggesting it was indeed intended to be an image of Kannon. The three sculptural groups carved around the same time, then, show a range of iconographical focus from the Diamond World mandala central in Japanese esoteric Buddhism to Amida worship and concerns with an advantageous rebirth. The arrangement of the three sculptural groups, on the other hand, shows that some attention was given to the layout of the niches. While the location of each sculptural group was naturally dictated in part by the location of easily accessible exposed rock faces, the three groups were carefully spaced out, one per northeastern rock face.

The Sannōzan Group

The next period of activity at the Usuki *magaibutsu* site resulted in the addition of two more sculptural groups. The first of these, the Sannōzan Group, (Figure 3.9) is somewhat of an outlier in terms of location. Unlike the other sculptural groups, this one is carved on one of the

[41] Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Kokuhō Usuki magaibutsu*, 5.

northwest facing rock faces, around the corner from the Furuzono Group and looking across at the Hoki Groups 1 and 2 rather than out across the surrounding plain. Like the Furuzono Group, there is no specific date for the work, but it has also been placed in the early twelfth century via stylistic comparison, in this case with such works as the Raigō triad housed in Raigō-in, a subtemple of Enryakuji.[42]

The Sannōzan Group is somewhat similar to Hoki Group 1, Niche 2, in that it is also a Buddha triad composed of three Buddha figures. These figures are identified at the site as Shaka flanked by Yakushi to the proper left and Amida to the proper right, and this identification carried over into some of the sources that discuss the Usuki sculptures.[43] Other sources are more conservative, identifying the proper right Buddha as Amida but refraining from identifying the other two Buddhas.[44] Despite the fact that all three figures in this triad are clearly Buddhas, the grouping is referred to by locals as the "Kakure Jizō," or "Hidden Jizō."[45] There is no clear reason as to why this particular grouping is referred to as Jizō when none of the three figures are Jizō. The adjective "hidden," however, may refer to the fact that this is the only one of the four groupings that is not immediately visible from the valley. It could also be a pun of sorts, as there is no visible Jizō in the group and therefore it is "hidden" from the observer.

Hoki Groups 1 and 2

The earliest portions of the Hoki Groups are Hoki Group 1, Niche 2 and Hoki Group 2, Niche 1. (Figures 3.4, 3.7) Hoki Group 1, Niche 2, is identified in some sources as a triad of

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[42] Sakamino, "Usuki sekibutsugun," 44-45. An image of the triad can be found at http://kyoto.asanoxn.com/places/ohara/raigoin.htm.

[43] Takahatsu, *Usuki monogatari*, 25; Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 178.

[44] Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Kokuhō Usuki magaibutsu*, 6.

Buddhas, with the central figure being read as Amida flanked by Yakushi and Shaka.[46] This same grouping can be seen in the later Sannōzan Group, and a similar interest in triads of Buddhas can be seen in the Ōyaji cliff-carved sculpture. Since this triad is so stylistically similar to the Furuzono Group and the Hoki Group 2, Niche 1 in its carving that it is considered to have been produced during the same period of production as the other two groups.

Hoki Group 2, Niche 1, meanwhile, is relatively obvious Amida triad, and its handling of the attendant bodhisattvas provides additional opportunities for dating by stylistic comparison. Like Hoki Group 1, Niche 2, it is considered to be one of the earlier works at the site along with the Furuzono group, as it is carved in much higher relief and, based on the traces remaining, was painted in a similar manner to the sculptures of the Furuzono group. Sakimono Masanobu also compares it stylistically with the Sanjūsangendō Thousand-Armed Kannon and the Sanzenji Amida triad, dated to 1131 (Tenshō 1), to support its attribution to the first period of production at the Usuki site.[47]

Hoki Group 1, Niche 1, consists of a triad of Buddhas flanked by two attendant bodhisattvas and, on the proper left, a badly eroded figure of Aizen Myōō. (Figure 3.3) The Buddha figures are again identified as Amida flanked by Shaka and Yakushi. Stylistically, it falls in a middle period of production at the site and is considered to have been produced around the same time as the Sannōzan Group, based on shared stylistic features.[48] However, the damage to the attendant bodhisattvas from erosion means the bodhisattvas cannot help add any specificity to the group's identification.

Interestingly enough, the group of five figures carved in Hoki Group 1, Niche 1, shares at

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[45] Chigusa, *Ōita no sekibutsu*, 177.
[46] Sakamino, "Usuki sekibutsugun," 37.
[47] Sakamino, "Usuki sekibutsugun," 28-29.

least part of the Sannōzan Group's iconographical identity. Signs at the site identity the central Buddha of the group as Shaka, while the two Buddhas on the proper left and right respectively are identified as Amida and Yakushi. Once again, the Amida identify is confirmed in other literature about the site, but the additional Buddhas do not have clear identities assigned to them.[49] The other two figures that accompany the central grouping are even more mysterious, as the standing attendant figure on the far proper left is clearly a bodhisattva and is usually assigned the identity of Kannon. The figure on the far proper right, on the other hand, is very badly eroded, and even the signage at the site goes no further than identifying it as a bodhisattva. Usually omitted from the discussion of this niche, as well as the discussion of the Hoki Group 1, Niche 2, is the multi-armed figure, tentatively identified at the site as Aizen Myōō, who sits sandwiched between the two niches, smaller in scale, very badly eroded, and possessing an uncertain relationship to either of groups it sits between.

The last sculptural groups carved at the Usuki site were additions to the two Hoki Groups: two niches were added to Group 1 and a second niche was carved next to Group 2's first niche. (Figures 3.5, 3.6, 3.8) These three niches contain a large number of sculptures, some of which refer to or repeat iconographical groupings featured in earlier niches. Hoki Group 1, Niche 3, for example, is another Buddha triad, but this time the central Buddha is clearly identifiable as Dainichi thanks to the figure's Wisdom fist mudra, although that is not a guarantee of the Buddha's identity. (Figure 3.5) The Buddha to Dainichi's proper right is similarly identified based on its *raigō*, or welcoming descent, mudra as Amida Buddha, while the Buddha to the proper left has a more ambiguous identity. Signage at the site identifies this third figure as Shaka, while the two standing bodhisattva are identified as Kannon and Seishi despite the severe erosion

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[48] Sakamino, "Usuki sekibutsugun," 38-39.

that makes any firm identification possible. Again, other sources refrain from identifying any of the figures beyond that of Kongōkai Dainichi and Amida.[50] Dating of this group is not precise, beyond placing it in the third period of activity at the site, probably because it shares a number of stylistic features with Hoki Group 2, Niche 2, including degree of relief and style of painting.

Hoki Group 2, Niche 2 also reflects some of the earlier iconographical focus, as its grouping of nine Buddha figures have been identified as nine Amida, each one representing one of the possible levels of rebirth in Amida's Pure Land.[51] (Figure 3.8) A similar iconographic configuration can be seen at Jōruriji, where a group of nine seated Amida statues are arranged on the altar.[52] An immediate point of comparison is the layout of the Nine Amida, as the Jōruriji Nine Amida consists of eight smaller statues flanking a taller Amida four to a side. A similar height relationship can be seen in Hoki Group 2, Niche 2, where eight shorter standing Amida flank a taller central Amida four to a side. While some of the sculptures are very badly weathered, enough detail remains for stylistic comparison. Sakamino Masanobu cites the Kyoto Shinshō Gokurakuji Amida, a late Heian period work, and the Kyoto Dainenji Amida, dated to 1243 (Kangen 1), to support dating the Hoki Group 2, Niche 2 to the first half of the thirteenth century.[53]

The final niche in Hoki Group 1, however, is the first of the niches to deviate from the

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[49] Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Kokuhō Usuki magaibutsu*, 7.

[50] Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Kokuhō Usuki magaibutsu*, 7.

[51] Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Kokuhō Usuki magaibutsu*, 8-9; Takahatsu, *Usuki monogatari*, 22. This is one of those rare occasions when all the literature seems to be in agreement on the identifications.

[52] Sakamino Masanobu, "Usuki sekibutsugun," in *Usuki Sekibutsu: yomigaetta magaibutsu*, ed. Kawaga Mitsuo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), 22. The width of the Nine Amida format makes it difficult to photograph, but a photo of part of the Jōruriji altar can be found at http://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/amida.shtml#kubon.

[53] Sakamino, "Usuki sekibutsugun," 24.

precedent of Buddhas and Buddha triads in favor of the bodhisattva Jizō and his attendants, the Ten Kings. (Figure 3.6) These figures, dressed in the flowing robes of secular court officials and holding their tablets of office, sit five to a side around the figure of Jizō, identified by his Buddhist monk's robes and shaved head. There is some indication that this niche may have played a role in funeral rites, but further investigation is necessary.[54] Regardless of the ritual relationship between this niche and funeral rites, the iconography, with its focus on Jizō and the Ten Kings, who were closely associated in the East Asian Buddhist imagination with the afterlife and the soul's eventual destination after judgment, does reveal a concern on the part of the niche's creators with death and what came after.[55]

Issues of Interpretation

Just as a reconstruction of the Usuki site's chronology involves a great deal of comparison between both the sculptures on site and contemporaneous examples found both in northeastern Kyushu and throughout Honshu, a reconstruction of each sculptural group's iconography represents a challenge. Only a few of the sculptures, predominately representing Dainichi, Amida, and Kannon, have firm identifications, and it is unclear where most of the iconographical readings put forward in writings on the site come from. The damage done by time does not make the matter any easier, as many of the sculptures have lost their arms, along with any accompanying mudras, and the erosion of several figures makes it very hard to assign

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[54] Takahatsu, *Usuki monogatari*, 24. Human remains were recovered in the excavations at the site.

[55] It is interesting that the Thirteen Buddhas iconography is also so closely associated with mortuary culture and funeral rites, and it is possible that the identification of the Furuzono group as the Thirteen Buddhas is the product of a later reading of the site that gave more weight to the Amida and Jizō imagery.

identities beyond 'bodhisattva' based on their relationships to the other figures.[56] In fact, the most iconographically complex of the sculptural groups, the Furuzono Group, does not seem to have any clear justification for its identification as the Thirteen Buddhas beyond the presence of thirteen figures.

The Thirteen Buddhas as a grouping of deities is considered to be an exclusively Japanese convention that evolved some time before the fourteenth century and became popular during the fifteenth century, at which point they were closely connected with funeral rites for the deceased.[57] The Furuzono group was likely carved sometime between the tenth and twelfth centuries, making if a very early example of Thirteen Buddhas imagery. In addition, the Thirteen Buddhas group that became standardized in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries traditionally consists of the Buddhas Shaka, Miroku, Yakushi, Amida, Ashuku, and Dainichi, joined by the bodhisattvas Monju, Fugen, Jizō, Kannon, and Seishi, and, Myōō (Bright Kings) Gōzanze Myōō and Fudō Myōō. While there is some overlap between the deities making up the Furuzono Group and the Thirteen Buddhas, there are also several deities that appear at Furuzono and not among the standard Thirteen Buddhas and vice versa. Four of the Buddhas (Shaka, Miroku, Yakushi and Amida) from the later Thirteen Buddhas grouping, for example, do not appear in the Furuzono Group, and in the end the Furuzono Group contains only seven of the same deities as the Thirteen Buddhas. Those seven are Dainichi, the Buddha Ashuku, the bodhisattvas Monju, Fugen, Kannon and Seishi, and Fudō Myōō. Included in the Furuzono Group and not included in the Thirteen Buddhas iconography are the Buddhas Ashuku, Muryōju, Fukūjōju and Hōshō, or

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[56] The only exceptions to this are the heavily eroded or otherwise damaged Myōō, who are still recognizable because of their distinctive multi-armed silhouettes.

[57] Karen M. Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 22.

rather, all of the Buddhas flanking Dainichi. The inclusion of guardians Zōchōten and Tamonten is a further deviation from the later norm of the Thirteen Buddhas. This suggests that it is likely that fifteenth-century observers of the site interpreted it based on their own religious context at a time when the Thirteen Buddhas had been well established as a popular set iconography, and assigned that reading to the Furuzono Group. This has had the consequence of skewing interpretations of the site even more towards a mortuary context, even if that was not necessarily the original intent of the sculptural group's creators.[58]

I would like to suggest an alternate reading of the Furuzono Group. There are in fact thirteen sculptures in this grouping, but the identities assigned to the sculptures themselves is only a little over fifty percent consistent with the iconography of the Thirteen Buddhas. The majority of the sculptures have been badly damaged by the moss that grew across the lower portion of the rock face, fed by water that seeped through the rock, but even the traditionally assigned identities suggest a different iconographical reading. Rather than seeing the five central Buddhas—Dainichi and his four cohorts—as part of a larger iconographical group, I would argue that these five Buddhas are intended to refer to the Five Buddhas of the Womb World (胎蔵界 Taizōkai), a grouping consisting of the four directional Buddhas and Dainichi based on the Womb World mandala. This grouping, also called the Five Wisdom Buddhas, consists of five Buddhas, with Dainichi at the center and flanked by Ashuku, Hōshō, Muryōju and Fukūjōju in the same order in which they appear in the Furuzono Group.[59] This reading would link the Furuzono Group even more strongly to the Womb World mandala and the esoteric Buddhism

[58] This is a reoccurring theme when discussing stone Buddhist sculptures in Japan, as the relative permanence of the medium made it popular as mortuary sculpture, something which will be discussed further in Chapter Three and Four.

that had come to dominate the religious landscape of northeastern Kyushu, but it does leave the question of the role of the other eight sculptures in the grouping.

Usuki in the Twentieth Century

The Usuki *magaibutsu* were rediscovered, in a sense, in the 1960s and 70s, when they were included in the growing number of surveys of Japanese stone sculpture. Work on conservation and restoration of the site began in 1980 and ran until 1994; in 1995, fifty-nine of the restored stone images were designated as National Treasures.[60]

Before restoration work began at the site, extensive archeological surveys of the areas immediately in front of each sculpture grouping were carried out, and the results were published. The archeological material uncovered in these excavations also formed the core of the Usuki Sculpture Park's accompanying museum, where much of the excavated material is on display today. The conservation process itself involved the construction of modern concrete and wood pavilions around each sculptural grouping, to reduce exposure to the elements. Each sculptural grouping was then conserved individually, to meet each group's specific needs; while all of the carvings were from the same soft and porous granite, the differing elevations and vagaries of water damage meant each group had a different set of challenges. Hoki Group 1, for example, was on higher ground and so suffered less ground water related damage. The base rocks of the

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[59] Hisao Inagaki, *A Dictionary of Buddhist Terms* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 1992), 66.

[60] The National Treasure system is part of the ranking of Tangible Cultural Properties operated by the Agency for Cultural Affairs and established via legislation for the protection, preservation, and classification of cultural properties. National Treasures are the highest tier of Tangible Cultural Properties, and the status is reserved for objects that are the best of the best in terms of workmanship, or high historical, cultural, or scholarly value. For more information on the National Treasure system, please see the Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan, "Policy of Cultural Affairs in Japan," available at http://www.bunka.go.jp/english/about_us/policy_of_cultural_affairs/index.html.

carved alcove, however, were badly cracked, and conservators decided to inject resin into the cracks to help harden the stone. Masonry work was also done to stabilize the base, and anchor bolts were fixed in the cliff face, while broken and fallen pieces of the statues themselves were reattached.[61]

The Furuzono Group, on the other hand, suffered from much more severe ground water damage, and water-related erosion was further compounded by the growth of moss at the base of all the statues. The lower portion of the rock face that houses the Furuzono Group is constantly seeping water, creating an ideal environment for moss to grow while hastening the disintegration of the lower halves of all the Furuzono Group statues. Conservation of this group required removal of the moss, the installation of an underground water drainage system, and restoration of some of the statues. Perhaps the most obvious restoration work was done on the central Buddha of this group, whose head in all photographs before the 1991-1993 restoration was shown placed on a stone slab in front of the body.[62] Because the image of the detached Buddha head had become the primary representation of the Usuki cliff-carved sculpture, there was some debate over whether to reattach the head or not. While the decision to reattach the head was eventually made, popular representations of the Usuki cliff-carved sculpture up into 2010, including the city's special Hello Kitty charm, still focused on the detached head of the central Furuzono Buddha. As images of the restored sculptures become more familiar, however, the image of the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures is likewise changing and the image of the intact Dainichi is proliferating.

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[61] An extensive discussion of the conservation procedures can be found in the Usuki-shi kyōiku iinkai, *Kokuhō Usuki magaibutsu hozon shūri kōji hōkokusho*. The process, as well as broader concerns in conservation and restoration of stone sculptures, is also discussed in Kawasaki and Tanimoto, "Deterioration phenomena and conservation," 415-416.

One consequence of the Usuki cliff-carved sculpture site's iconographic diversity is that it has allowed a variety of interpretations in the twentieth century. One such interpretation, put forth by Usami Noboru in 1986, treats the entire site as a single unit and presents a reading of the groups that responds to their physical location and not the order in which they were most likely produced. According to Usami's interpretation, the visitor to Usuki is meant to begin with the Furuzono Group, and even more specifically with the five central Buddhas, which he identifies as Dainichi flanked to the proper left by Shaka and Yakushi, and on the proper right by Amida and Miroku.[63] Usami posits that as the visitor walks from the Furuzono Group to the Sannōzan Group, that movement marks the beginning of a person's life; the Sannōzan Group, read as a Shaka flanked by Yakushi and Amida, is for some reason associated with childhood. Moving from the Sannōzan Group to Hoki Group 1's fourth niche (here identified as the sixth niche of the Dōgasako Group), the visitor moves into young adulthood (*seinen* 青年) and then adulthood (*sōnen* 壮年), with the Aizen Myōō sandwiched between these two niches signifying the visitor's entry into marriage due to Aizen Myōō's association with love and sexual matters. Usami interprets the next grouping, the Dainichi triad, as representing the teachings of the Buddha and the individual's advancement away from self and desire. Jizō and the Ten Kings, then, teaches the visitor about the judging of a soul's good or bad deeds. Finally, the Amida Triad in Hoki Group 2 represents the visitor's entry into old age, followed by the ending of life, and the Nine Amida grouping represents their rebirth into paradise; the visitor's movement from

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[62] An example of this kind of imagery can be seen on the Oita Prefectural Government's Digital Archive page: http://www.pref.oita.jp/site/archive/200673.html

[63] Usami Noboru, *Sekibutsu wa nani o kataru ka*, revised ed. (Usuki: Sekibutsu Kankō Sentā, 1995), 49.

one to the other symbolizes death.[64]

While this is certainly a novel modern interpretation of the site, it does not take into account the actual chronology of the various groups' construction, nor does it account for the religious environment in which they were constructed. Instead, it tells us more about how someone in the twentieth century choose to understand the site as a whole, rather than an aggregate of sculptural groups, carved over at least a few hundred years that responded to the religious and ritual concerns of their temporally distinct creators.[65] Instead, it appears as if Usami looked at the sculptures of Jizō and the Ten Kings next to sculptures of Amida, and built his interpretation backwards from there.

Conclusion

The Usuki cliff-carved sculptures are the largest and the most well-known group of stone sculptures in Japan and have also been the recipient of the most scholarly attention. As such, they show how rich a field the study cliff-carved sculptures can be, even when there is little known about the origins of the sculptures. Like the Ōyaji cliff-carved sculptures, the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures are the product of local religious concerns that connected directly to broader trends in the immediate region and beyond. The local legend around the origins of the Usuki cliff-carved sculptures strives to connect the site to the Heian region, Mount Miwa, and Mount Tiantai in China, making a place on the periphery connect to both the political and religious centers of its day. The sculptures themselves, with their unusual iconography, offer another avenue of

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[64] Usami, *Sekibutsu wa nani o kataru ka,* 48-49.

exploration into local Buddhist practices at the time of their creation, as well as some insight into how changing religious concerns lead to the reidentification of deities to suit the more immediate needs of the worshiper. The Usuki cliff-carved sculptures, then, provide a wealth of opportunities for study.

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[65] Despite the fact that this modern reading of the site has no iconographical standing and relies extensively on an ahistorical reading, it is a projection of modern concerns onto the site, and one that is available to visitors at the Usuki Magaibutsu Park via Usami's book, which is sold in the gift shop there. The theory does not, however, appear on any of the explanatory plaques placed throughout the park.

Chapter Four: The Tōnoo Cliff-Carved Sculptures

Introduction

The second half of this dissertation focuses on cliff-carved sculptures from the late Kamakura (1249-1333) and early Nanbokuchō (1334-1392) periods, which demonstrate many of the same relationships between the sculptures, regional sacred geography, and local *shugendō* practice. Chapter Three will discuss the Tōnoo (当尾)[1] cliff-carved sculptures in relation to a multiplicity of potential sacred geographies. Since many of the Tōnoo sculptures discussed have accompanying inscriptions, I will also look at the iconography and how it relates to the immediate concerns of the patrons, pointing out a shift in emphasis from the mountain ascetic to individuals or groups not necessarily affiliated with *shugendō* practice.

As previously stated, the late Heian period (951-1185) saw a boom in the production of cliff-carved Buddhist sculptures in regions traditionally considered peripheral to the then-capital of Heian kyō.[2] The sculptures at Ōyaji and Usuki, located respectively in present-day Kantō and northern Kyushu, are representative of this late Heian production, as the cliff-carved sculptures produced during that period tend to be more directly associated with a specific temple site and

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[1] I am romanizing the Japanese characters 当尾 as Tōnoo based on the reading とうのお given in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*. In other English-language sources, the most common alternate romanization sometimes given is Tōnō or Tōnoō, and variations on the reading also exist in Japanese-language sources. *Tōji hyakugo monjo* (東寺百合文書), for example, refers to the region as 塔尾 in an entry dated 1394 (Meitoku 5), while an entry in the *Chikamoto nikki betsuroku* (親元日記別録) dated 1481 (Bunmei 13) refers to the region as 当尾. "Tōnoo shō," in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*, (Tokyo: Heibonsha) Accessed via Japan Knowledge Database, January 24, 2016.

[2] Sawa Ryūken, "Nihon no magaibutsu," in *Sawa Ryūken chosakushū*, ed. Tamura Takateru, 193-216 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1997), 200-202.

can be linked more directly to a specific group of religious practitioners, despite the lack of extant contemporaneous records of their creation. Cliff-carved sculptures did continue to be produced throughout the Kamakura period (1185-1333) as a whole, but the genre saw a jump in production akin to the late Heian boom from the latter half of the thirteenth through the fourteenth century.[3] The reason behind these shifting patterns of production are unclear, but it is clear that cliff-carved sculptures produced in the late Kamakura period tend to be smaller than those dating to the late Heian. In addition, the practice of carving accompanying inscriptions became more widespread, preserving vital information on the patrons and the motivations behind their commissions.

This chapter will look at the cliff-carved stone sculptures spread along the trails that run between the temples of Gansenji (岩船寺) and Jōruriji (浄瑠璃寺) in the mountains between the old capitals of Nara and Kyoto.[4] The sculptures found in this region, known today as Tōnoo, are referred to collectively in modern-day tourist literature and guidebooks dedicated to the sculptures, but the unity suggested by this nomenclature is deceptive. As with the Ōyaji and Usuki sculptures, the sculptures at Tōnoo were not carved all at once. Rather, the sculptures carved into the living rock of this region were created at the behest of a variety of patrons, by a variety of sculptors, and as a result were products of a host of motivations. There is no uniform sculptural program like those seen at more tightly controlled sites such as the Byōdōin's Phoenix

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[3] Sawa, "Nihon no magaibutsu," 200-202.

[4] For a detailed map of the region, please see the map provided by the Kizugawa City Tourism Association, available as a PDF at http://0774.or.jp/pdf/tounomap.pdf.

Hall, but I argue that there was a shared general understanding of the sacred geography of the mountain that helped shape the creation of the Tōnoo cliff-carved sculptures.[5]

As there are over forty sculptures included under the umbrella of the Tōnoo group, this chapter focuses on a limited selection of sculptures, chosen for their size, the presence of inscriptions, and their location along the present-day hiking trail that runs between Gansenji and Jōruriji.[6] A majority of these sculptures were carved in the late Kamakura period, and a number of them can be dated precisely due to their accompanying inscriptions. It is unclear, however, how travelers in the late Kamakura period would have encountered these sculptures. On maps of the contemporary hiking trail, the numbering of the sculptures assumes the hiker is beginning at Jōruriji and travels east to Gansenji, but this seems to owe more to the present-day bus routes than anything else.

In his discussion of pilgrimage in the Japanese religious tradition, Ian Reader points out the lack of a clear-cut division between the sacred and the mundane in contemporary Japanese

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[5] Examples of cliff-carved sculpture created with a unified sculptural program can be seen more commonly in China, where Yungang and Longmen both contain cave shrines sponsored by either a single patron or group of patrons who provided the sculptor with a clear iconographical program. Perhaps the best example is Baodingshan at Dazu, Sixuan, a cliff-carved sculpture site produced under the auspices of a single monk, Zhao Zhifeng, between the dates of 1179 and 1249. For more information, see Angelica Falco Howard, *Summit of Treasures: Buddhist Cave Art of Dazu, China*, (Trumbull, CT: Weatherhill, Inc., 2001). The lack of a unifying sculptural program across the landscape seen at Tōnoo, however, has more in common with the cliff-carved sculptures at Namsan, south of Gyeongju, Korea and home to many sculptures from the Unified Silla (668-935) period. An English-language introduction to Gyeongju Namsan can be found in Sunkyung Kim's article "Awakened, Awaiting or Meditating?: Readdressing a Silla Period Image from the Buddha Valley on Mount Nam," *Journal of Korean Studies* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 119-150.

[6] There are certainly numerous sculptures that are not located along this well-beaten trail, but those sculptures are often difficult to locate today despite their inclusion on maps of the area, especially in the summer when what faint trails exist are completely overgrown. I went in search of one Jizō sculpture, identified on the map as the *Jōruriji Akamonato Mizunomi Jizō* (浄瑠璃寺赤門跡水呑地蔵), only to give up when the trail dissolved into dense undergrowth in July 2014.

practice: one person's sacred mountain pilgrimage can be another person's favorite nature hike.[7] This modern overlapping of sacred and mundane impacts our understanding of the Tōnoo region today, as the network of trails between the two extant temples are geared towards hikers and stone sculpture enthusiasts taking self-guided tours. The landscape between the temples, however, is a patchwork of residential and agricultural spaces, and the contemporary hiker encounters very little true wilderness. The main trails are carefully maintained, either paved or tamped down, and the occasional signpost spells out the distance to the next sculpture. While offerings can be found in front of many of sculptures, indicating they are still treated as objects of worship by some, sightseeing seems to have replaced much of the religious context of the hike in the twentieth century.

Despite today's secular function, the trails between Gansenji and Jōruriji did not begin as nature hikes, but instead likely grew out of paths through the landscape between the temples. Both temples were associated with practitioners of *shugendō* early in their history, and it is likely that this focus on mountain asceticism extended into the immediate environs. The iconography of the cliff-carved sculptures found between the two temples, however, points more towards overlapping concerns for the creation of an esoteric Buddhist sacred realm and more immediate concerns of the individual for the afterlife. In this chapter, I will examine a selection of the Tōnoo cliff-carved sculptures within the context of mountain pilgrimage in the Kamakura period, beginning with an overview of how mountains were treated as sacred space both before and after the introduction of Buddhism to Japan and how mountain pilgrimage functioned within Kamakura period religious practice. Turning to the Tōnoo cliff-carved sculptures, I will show

[7] Ian Reader and Paul L. Swanson, "Editors' Introduction: Pilgrimage in the Japanese Religious Tradition," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 24, no. 3/4 (1997): 29.

how these works functioned within their immediate landscape to support a number of religious aims.

The Sacred Mountain

Mountains have long been an important component in Japanese religious thought. While we cannot say for certain when mountains began to be treated differently or why, evidence of this treatment can be found in early eighth century texts of the *Kojiki* and *Fudoki*, and the idea of mountains as sacred only grew during the Heian period (794-1185).[8] It is possible that this growth was due to imported Daoist ideas of mountains as realms of the immortals, and it was almost certainly due to Buddhist ideas of sacred space that took root after the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century.[9]

It is difficult to identify the exact contours of the pre-Buddhist view of mountains in Japan, but scholars generally agree that mountains were held as sacred either in their own right or in connection with *kami*, and Hori Ichiro, in his study of Japanese folk religion, breaks mountain worship up into three broad categories. The first of these views mountains as objects of worship in their own right, the second sees mountains as sacred through their relationship to agriculture and role as watersheds, and the third frames mountains as realms of the dead that are

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[8] Allan G. Grapard, "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Towards a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions," *History of Religions* 21, no. 3 (1982): 199. Hori Ichiro also addresses this topic in Chapter Four of *Folk Religion in Japan,* eds. Joseph M. Kitagawa and Alan L. Miller, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 141-179. Other works that focus on the sacred character of mountains include: Kageyama Haruki, *Shintaizan* (Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1971); H. Bryan Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō*, (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970); Caroline Hirasawa, *Hell-bent for Heaven in* Tateyama mandara*: Painting and Religious Practice at a Japanese Mountain* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Heather Blair, *Real and Imagined: The Peak of Gold in Heian Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015).

[9] Grapard, "Flying Mountains," 199-202.

sacred but unsafe for the living.[10] Certain mountains were considered *shide no yama* (死出の山), translated by Hori as "mountains leading to the other world" and perhaps more literally as "mountain of death (and entering the afterlife).[11] One reason for this is the actual funeral practices in ancient Japan led to the connection of death with mountains. According to the *History of the Kingdom of Wei* (*Wei zhi*), written in China circa 297 CE, the people of Wa (Japan) would cover graves with earth to make a mound.[12] These tomb mounds can still be seen on the plains around Nara and other early centers of population, as imperial tombs during the Kofun period (300-710) were either dug into mountainsides or, when built on the plains, covered with an earthen tumulus to simulate a mountain peak.[13] For the non-imperial dead, the customary practice was to expose corpses on a convenient mountainside, as the Japanese equation of death with pollution and ideas that spirits lingered after death encouraged hasty disposal of the dead.[14] As a result, mountains became a realm of the dead on two levels, as sites where corpses were actually physically present and as sites where the spirits of the dead lingered.

After the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century, new classes of sacred geography added new layers of interpretation to the already multivalent mountains of Japan. Grapard identifies this as the time when his second category of sacred space, the sacred area, became an important component in Japanese religious thought.[15] According to Grapard, a sacred area is distinguished from a sacred space both in scale and how the area is delineated as sacred, an idea

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[10] Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan*, 149-151.
[11] Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan*, 155.
[12] William De Bary, ed. *Sources of Japanese Tradition, vol. 1, From Earliest Times to 1600*, Introduction to Asian Civilizations (New York Columbia University Press, 2001), 6.
[13] Janet R. Goodwin, "Shooing the Dead to Paradise," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16, no. 1 (1989), 72.
[14] Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan*, 151; Goodwin, "Shooing the Dead to Paradise," 72; Grapard, "Flying Mountains," 200.

Grapard traces back to practices of temple construction that originated in India.[16] Two of these practices, the construction of an area to invoke deities and the establishment of consecrated zones for temple construction can be seen in Japan after the ninth century, as entire geographical areas would be set aside as the exclusive property of religious institutions, either Buddhist, *kami*-centric, or syncretic.[17]

Sacred areas in Japan could be established via a variety of ways. The emperor could, of course, play an important role by granting land to certain temples and shrines and therefore establish sacred zones, but different schools of Buddhism also had sets of rituals whose performance would sacralize a particular area.[18] In esoteric Buddhist thought, mandalas represent the universal Buddha body (Sk. *dharmakāya*), which permeates the universe in a concentric configuration. Different aspects of the universe are in turn represented in the mandala by means of symbols, Buddhist deities or, in Japan, *kami*.[19] Since under this principle of *dharmakaya*, a person's speech, mind and physical world could, and should, be read semiotically as if they were the actual speech, mind or physical substance of the universal Buddha, then the

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[15] Grapard, "Flying Mountains," 202.
[16] Allan G. Grapard, "Geotyping Sacred Space: The Case of Mount Hiko in Japan," in *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar and R.J Zwi Werblowsky (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 227.
[17] Grapard, "Geotyping Sacred Space," 227. This does not fully explain the establishment of *kami*-centric shrines before the introduction of Buddhism, including the shrines at Izumo and Ise, but this debate is beyond the scope of this dissertation.
[18] Grapard, "Geotyping Sacred Space," 227; Grapard, "Flying Mountains," 203.
[19] Seidel, "Mountains and Hells," 125. For more information on mandala within the Japanese context, see Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999). For more information on *shugendō* and its use of geographical mandala, see Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō shisō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1985), 236-65. For a general grounding on the *shugendō* understanding of space, several of Hitoshi's translated essay provide a good introduction: Miyake Hitoshi, *Shugendō: Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion*, ed. H. Byron Earhart (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

world itself could be viewed as the original mandala.[20] Through this line of thought, esoteric Buddhist practitioners were able to project mandalas over the landscape of Japan, as the landscape itself represented the *dharmakaya* and could thus be mapped with either a figurative or literal mandala.[21]

There were other, non-doctrinal reasons for the popularity of mountains as sacred areas. Imported Chinese religious traditions encouraged retreating into the mountains, but mountains were also largely non-arable and thus much easier for the emperor to set aside for a temple complex. Once set aside as a Buddhist sacred area, a mountain could easily be interpreted through the lens of Buddhist sacred geography, but the pre-Buddhist connections between mountains and the dead were by no means severed. Instead, mountains became connected with Buddhist realms of the dead, both the paradises and the hells, especially as prominent monks such as Kyōkai (757? - after 822) described hell as being on the same level as the high plain of the gods and the world of human beings.[22] The volcanic landscape of Japan, meanwhile, provided plenty of locations that could be identified as hells due to their lack of vegetation and the steam or noxious fumes escaping from the earth, but even non-volcanic lower slopes of mountains could be read as hell realms in relation to the peaks associated with paradises.[23]

In their introduction to *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, Jacqueline Stone and Mariko Walter draw a connection between what they call the “combinatory logic” that

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[20] Grapard, “Geotyping Sacred Space,” 235.

[21] Two examples of mountain landscapes being rendered as painted mandala are the *Tateyama mandara* and the *Kumano mandara*, both of which have been the focus of scholarly studies. For more information see: Hirasawa, *Hell-bent for Heaven*; D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005).

[22] Michele Marra, “The Development of Mappō Thought in Japan (I),” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 15, no. 1 (1988): 35.

[23] Hirasawa, *Hell-bent for Heaven,* 66-77, 82-85.

resulted in *honji-suijaku*'s merging of local Japanese *kami* with continental Buddhist deities and a similar logic that combined Buddhist concerns with death-related matters with the ancient Japanese belief in unhappy and vengeful spirits.[24] The "combinatory logic" of this syncretic tradition can also be seen in the association of mountains, seen as sacred in and of themselves, with specifically Buddhist hells and paradises. For example, the mountains Gassan (月山) in Yamagata Prefecture, Osorezan (恐山) in Aomori Prefecture, and Tateyama (立山) in Toyama Prefecture were all identified as realms of the dead.[25] Osorezan was explicitly identified as an entrance to hell, as was a cave on Mount Fuji that was described in the sixteenth century text *The Tale of the Fuji Cave* (富士の人穴草, *Fuji no hitoana sōshi*); other mountains, including Tateyama and the Kumano Mountains, were equated with Buddhist paradises.[26] One mountain, then, could contain multiple realms, as was the case at Tateyama, which was rendered in the painted *Tateyama mandara* as containing both a selection of hells and Amida's paradise at the peak.[27] Caroline Hirasawa lays out this multiplicity in her book on Tateyama and the *Tateyama mandara*, analyzing both the physical landscape and the painted rendering of the sacred

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[24] Jacqueline Ilyse Stone and Mariko Namba Walter, "Introduction," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, ed. Jacqueline Ilyse Stone (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 5.

[25] Carmen Blacker, "Initiation in the Shugendo: the Passage Through Ten States of Existence," in *Initiantion* ed. C.J. Bleeker (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), 98; Hirasawa, *Hell-bent for Heaven*, 79-85.

[26] Blacker, "Initiation in the Shugendo," 98; R. Keller Kimbrough, "Translation: The Tale of Fuji Cave," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 33 no. 2 (2006): Online only, 1-22. Accessed January 18, 2016, http://nirc.nanzan-u.ac.jp/nfile/2903.

[27] Hirasawa, *Hell-bent for Heaven,* 1-6; Anna Seidel, "Mountains and Hells: Religious Geography in Japanese Mandara Paintings," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, no. 5-6 (1993): 123, 126; Blacker, "Inititation in the Shugendo," 98. Tateyama is not the only example of paradises and hells being mapped on the same mountain; Mount Kasuga and Mount Fuji are two other prominent examples of this tendency.

landscape, taking care to lay out the multitude of meanings present depending on who was interacting with the landscape and how they were doing so.

Mountains also continued to function as burial sites throughout the Kamakura period and into the Edo period (1615-1868). Despite the modern twentieth century association of Japanese Buddhism with cremation, it was not widely practiced even among the elite until the eighth century, when the imperial family adopted it, and cremation was not the dominant funeral practice in Japan until the late nineteenth century.[28] As a result, mountains continued to function as a site for either the entombment or exposure of a corpse, and even when the bodies of an important monk or noble were cremated after the tenth century, the remains would often be enshrined as relics on the grounds of mountain temples.[29] Mountains, then, continued to function as literal realms of the dead, or at least their decaying bodies, making the association of mountain slopes with more figurative realms of the dead, including the Buddhist hells, even stronger.

While mountains were not necessarily dotted with physical tombs, other traces of their connection to the realm of the dead could be easily seen. From the tenth century on, mortuary sculpture, or sculpture produced exclusively in connection with death and funerals, provided the living a way of coping with increased anxiety that the dead would become *onryō*, vengeful spirits that would return to harm the living.[30] While the earliest extant portrait sculpture in Japan is the dry lacquer image of Ganjin (Ch. Jianzhen) dated circa 763, portrait sculpture and mortuary

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[28] Mariko Namba Walter, "The Structure of Japanese Buddhist Funerals," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, ed. Jacqueline Ilyse Stone (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i 2008), 249.

[29] Walter, "The Structure of Japanese Buddhist Funerals," 248; Brian O. Ruppert, "Beyond Death and the Afterlife: Considering Relic Veneration in Medieval Japan," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, ed. Jacqueline Ilyse Stone (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2008), 114-115.

sculpture are best understood as separate categories. Portrait sculpture took as its subject the deceased individual but was made for the living, as it was often enshrined within the temple and treated as an icon.[31] Mortuary sculpture such as the five-tiered pagoda known as *gorintō* on the other hand, functioned more like a votive offering and was created for the deceased but did not depict them. Janet Goodwin argues in her study of Kamakura period mortuary practice that the primary purpose for this genre of sculpture was to help the dead achieve salvation while protecting the living from any harm the dead might do.[32]

Mortuary sculptures began to be commissioned in the Heian period, although production increased significantly in the Heian period. These sculptures, usually carved from stone, could be figurative, incorporating the iconography of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas popularly associated with the afterlife, but figurative statues were greatly outnumbered by a certain kind of five-tiered stupa called *gorintō* and carved steles.[33] These stupas could be made of either stone or wood, but the ready availability and relative low cost of stone combined with its durability and suggestion

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[30] Ruppert, "Beyond Death," 107.

[31] For more information on the different roles of portrait sculpture, please see: James C. Dobbins, "Portraits of Shinran in Medieval Pure Land Buddhism," in *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, ed. Robert H. Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf (Stanford: Standford University Press, 2001), 19-48; Gregory P.A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 1-86; Gerhart, *The Material Culture of* Death, 147-177.

[32] Goodwin, "Shooing the Dead to Paradise," 74-75. Goodwin also sees the idea of "socially responsible concern" in the practice of commissioning *gyakushū*, Buddhist funeral rites done before death to ensure a person's salvation and guarantee that they would not hurt others after their own death. Goodwin, "Shooing the Dead to Paradise," 71. Gerhart similarly emphasizes the demarking the spaces for the dead and containing them within. Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death*, 111-112.

[33] Goodwin, "Shooing the Dead to Paradise," 66-67. For further discussion of *gorintō* and other grave markers, see Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death*, 31-33, 105-11. For general information on *gorintō*, see Tadao Aoki, *Sekibutsu to sekitō* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2001); Ishida Mosaku, "Tō, Tōba, Stupa," *Nihon no bijutsu* 77 (October 1972); Ono Katsutoshi, "Sekizō bijutsu," *Nihon no bijutsu* 45 (February 1970).

of permanence, led to stone becoming the more popular medium for mortuary sculpture.[34] Many of these sculptures were, naturally, commissioned by the family of the deceased, but in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, confraternities began to appear that would pool funds in order to commission a sculpture for the group as a whole.[35] This made it possible for individuals from a broader range of socio-economic statuses to participate in shaping the sacred geography of the immediate landscape through their choice of iconography and location.

Many of these mortuary sculptures were located on mountains, usually near Buddhist temple complexes or otherwise accessible by mountain paths. There were likely practical reasons for this, as stone was plentiful in the mountains in the form of exposed cliffs or large boulders. Sculptures in placed in the mountains could also serve multiple functions, in effect giving the patron more value for their money. First, they served the immediate function of helping the dead attain salvation while protecting the living from the dead. As mountains already had a strong connection to a realm of the dead, be it a Buddhist hell or something more nebulous, placing sculptures in the mountains could also be seen as a way to communicate the statue's karmic benefit more directly to the intended deceased recipient. Finally, the sculptures could contribute, either intentionally or not, to what Allan Grapard refers to as the "mandalization" of a mountain, where religious practitioners, often followers of *shugendō*, projected esoteric Buddhist mandala over a geographical area through rituals and pilgrimages.[36]

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[34] Goodwin, "Shooing the Dead to Paradise," 67.

[35] Goodwin, "Shooing the Dead to Paradise," 67. This sculpture would then be commissioned and idealy completed before the group members' deaths, making it mortuary sculpture in its iconographical focus on the afterlife rather than its posthumous commission.

[36] Grapard, "Geotyping Sacred Space," 234. Miyake Hitoshi also addresses this topic in his English-language *The Mandala of the Mountain: Shugendō and Folk Religion*, ed. Gaynor Sekimori (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2005), 63.

Mountain Pilgrimage

In regions that were already sites of esoteric religious practice, the connection between a geographical area and a Buddhist mandala became particularly strong as rituals developed specifically to equate a landscape with a mandala. *Yamabushi*, religious practitioners who took to the mountains and performed austerities to in search of spiritual enlightenment, were especially crucial to the process of mandalizing a landscape.[37] As a *yamabushi* walked through the mountains, they could perform certain rituals at different stages of their journey that would tie elements of the landscape to different elements of the painted Diamond or Womb World mandalas.[38] This contributed to the development of set routes through mountain landscapes as certain spots came to be associated with specific parts of esoteric mandala. Goodwin, however, discusses how this mandalization did not make the mountains safe in the spiritual sense, so sculptures could be used to mark safe passages through the mountains for the ascetics and pilgrims traversing this dangerous realm of the dead and the *kami*. Most popular of these were stone images of Fudō Myōō, the deity thought to be the guide and protector of religious ascetics, who frequently appeared in carved stone images multiple times along the routes in question.[39]

As the mountain landscape around certain temples, already defined as sacred areas, began to be read as mandalas, the so-called “mandalized” landscape came into existence, reflecting a perception of space, time, and human activity that combined native *kami* worship with imported

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[37] Grapard, “Flying Mountains,” 207. Grapard provides a translation from the *Buchū shōkanjō keihaku* that describes the mountain as follows: “The peak is the pure temple of the two realms: it is the original, noncreated mandala; the summits covered with trees are the perfect altars of the nine parts of the Diamon mandala, and the caverns filled with fragrant herbs are the eight petals of the lotus in the Womb mandala…The natural mandala is made up of the many mountains where one practices the Three Mysteries.” Cited in Grapard, “Flying Mountains,” 212.
[38] Grapard, “Geotyping Sacred Space,” 234-235.
[39] Goodwin, “Shooing the Dead to Paradise,” 73-74.

Daoist, esoteric Buddhist and Pure Land thought.[40] All of these factors also influenced the development of mountain pilgrimage throughout the Kamakura period, as practitioners walking through the mountains were in fact the ones responsible for establishing a conceptual connection between the landscape and Buddhist divinities.[41] Mountain pilgrimage, then, added more layers of sacred meaning to the landscape, and the visualization of certain landscapes as sacred realms is fundamental to understanding the paths of medieval and early modern Japanese pilgrimage.[42]

Pilgrimage has been defined as the process or practice of making a special journey to or through sacred locations that is coupled with performing acts of worship at particular location(s).[43] In Japan, these "sacred locations" include places and settings with religious significance, such as temples, shrines, and elements of the landscape, such as mountains.[44] As we have already discussed at length, mountains carried multiple and overlapping meanings by the Kamakura period, and the Japanese terms for mountain pilgrimage often reflected these meanings. Two terms, *reijō* (霊場), or sacred place, and the more mountain-specific term *reizan* (霊山), sacred mountain, can be used to refer to places of spiritual power that by their nature attracted spirits, including those of the dead.[45] Other terms for pilgrimage such as *mineiri* (峰入り) refer specifically to mountain pilgrimage, translating roughly to mean "entering the

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[40] Grapard, "Flying Mountains," 220.
[41] Grapard, "Flying Mountains," 211.
[42] Reader and Swanson, "Editors' Introduction," 259. Hoshino Eiki, "Pilgrimage and peregrination: Contextualizing the Saikoku *junrei* and the Shikoku *henro*," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* vol. 24 no. 3-4 (1997): 274
[43]Reader and Swanson, "Editors' Introduction," 228.
[44] Reader and Swanson, "Editors' Introduction," 228.
[45] Reader and Swanson, "Editors' Introduction," 235.

mountains," while another form of religious practice known as *kaihōgyō* (回峰行), or "circling the peaks," has been described as a form of circular pilgrimage.[46] Of these two, *mine-iri* were open to laypeople and could refer to less intense travel routes, while *kaihōgyō* was often more intense and physically grueling, as well as not being open to lay people. This intense form of pilgrimage can be seen at Buddhist temple complexes such as Mount Hiei, where the so-called "marathon monks" perform a ritual circumambulation of the mountain visiting a circuit of sacred sites, and other forms of circular pilgrimage through a mountain range can be seen as contributing to the equation of certain mountains with the circular mandalas of esoteric Buddhism.[47]

Pilgrimages could take on variety of forms, and there were multiple pilgrimage sites available; a person's motivation for going on pilgrimage could be equally varied. Certain pilgrimages, however, such as the Kūkai-centric Buddhist pilgrimage around Shikoku island, came to be tied to ideas of death and rebirth, as popular belief held that a successfully completed Shikoku pilgrimage would erase all the pilgrim's sins and enable them to enter the Pure Land after death.[48] However, for many would-be pilgrims, sites like Shikoku were too far away. As a result, scholars of Japanese pilgrimage such as Michael Bathgate argue that, due to the great difficulties involved in pilgrimage to a distant place, the predominant form of pilgrimage in the

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[46] Reader and Swanson, "Editors' Introduction," 237.

[47] Barbara Ambros, "Geography, Environment, Pilgrimage," in *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, ed. Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 291. Catherine Ludvik,
"In the Service of the *Kaihōgyō* Practitioners of Mt. Hiei: The Stopping-Obstacles Confraternity (Sokushō kō) of Kyoto," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* vol. 33 no. 1 (2006): 116-118.

[48] Reader and Swanson, "Editors' Introduction," 245.

medieval period was essentially local in nature.[49] For example, for residents of Nara or Heian (present-day Kyoto), the mountains near their cities served as more readily accessible sites for pilgrimage, as many of the mountains in question were already regarded as sacred areas, well populated with Buddhist temples and shrines to various *kami*. The local sacred geography could meet a pilgrim's needs as well, if not better, than a more distant sacred site.

On the local level, mountains were just as firmly entrenched in the realm of other, be it as sacred space, a realm of *kami* and/or Buddhas, or as a realm of the dead. Multiple categories of other could be overlaid on a single mountain, as with Nara's Mount Kasuga that was thought of as a realm of the dead, due to its perceived connection to Buddhist hells, as a Buddha realm, and as a sacred space populated by the *kami* of the Kasuga Shrine. Hori echoes this sentiment in his description of mountains as "the world of spirits and of the deities, Buddhas or bodhisattvas, where shamans and ascetics must undergo the austerities of hell to receive the powers and blessings of paradise and where souls of the dead must also undergo initiation in order to enter paradise or Buddha's Pure Land."[50] Mountains contained a number of possible interpretations and a number of potential religious experiences.

Frequently, pilgrimage routes in the Kamakura period could help clarify a mountain's sacred landscape, as certain parts of a mountain or mountain range could be tied to esoteric mandalas or to Pure Lands through the pilgrim's religious experience. Outdoor religious sculpture, frequently Buddhist in nature, could also further define the sacred space of the mountain, depending on the iconography of the image and the motivation of the patron or patrons for requesting that iconography and that location. As a result, the sacred geographies of a

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[49] Michael Bathgate, "Stranger in the Distance: Pilgrims, Marvels and the Mapping of the Medieval (Japanese) World," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 25 (2008): 135.
[50] Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan*, 177.

mountain can be decoded by analyzing the placement of their outdoor sculptures and their placement relative to the mountain paths, valleys, and peaks. This is especially useful when the mountain in question is no longer being marketed as a site of pilgrimage in the modern period and the original meanings of the paths have been lost. An example of such a case can be found in the mountains between Nara and Kyoto Prefecture at Tōnoo.

Tōnoo, Jōruriji, and Gansenji

Tōnoo takes its name from the old name for the general region and today refers to a network of paths that run between the temples of Jōruriji and Gansenji.[51] While the paths at Tōnoo now function as hiking trails, they were originally used for mountain pilgrimages of the kind commonly associated with *yamabushi* and other practitioners of mountain asceticism.[52] However, the paths at Tōnoo cannot be separated entirely from the Buddhist institutions that bracketed it, as Gansenji and Jōruriji inevitably played a role in shaping the sacred landscape around them with their emphasis on the worship of Amida Buddha. Thus, our discussion of Tōnoo will begin with the two temples.[53]

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[51] Hida, 13. Again, a good general map of the region can be found via the Kizugawa City Tourism Association at http://0774.or.jp/pdf/tounomap.pdf.
[52] Hida, *Jōruriji,* 100.
[53] Hida asserts in his history of the temples that Gansenji was intended to be the starting point for regional pilgrimage, but there is no evidence that there was only one dedicated path between the temples. Hida, *Jōruriji,* 97.

According to the temple history *Jōruriji rūki* (浄瑠璃寺流記, written 1350), Jōruriji was founded in 1047 (Eishō 2) by the monk Yoshiaki (義明) of Taimadera.[54] Jōruriji originally enshrined a statue of Yakushi as its main icon; the temple's name, which translates roughly as Pure Lapis Lazuli Temple, similarly refers to Yakushi's Eastern Pure Land.[55] Temple history also holds that the main image of Yakushi was moved to its current home, a pagoda on the eastern side of the temple complex, in 1107 (Kashō 2).[56] At this time, a Nine Amida Hall, originally built for another temple site, was moved to Jōruriji.[57] The following year, a service was held for the Jōruriji's head monk, who had died accompanied by signs indicating that he had been received by Amida.[58] This further cemented the temple's shift from Yakushi worship to Amida worship; this shift was conveniently timed to parallel the growing popularity of Amida worship in Japan as a whole.[59] Jōruriji also maintained a strong relationship with Kōfukuji and the prominent Fujiwara clan in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the temple is sometimes discussed as an example of the Fujiwara focus on Amida in the late Heian period.[60] Despite this historical connection, Jōruriji is today affiliated with the Shingon school of Buddhism, while the actual origins of the temple complex may owe more to regional practitioners of mountain

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[54] *Jōruriji rūki* (浄瑠璃寺流記) in "Jōruriji," *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* (Tokyo: Heibonsha), accessed via Japan Knowledge Database, January 23, 2016. Other sources, however, refer to Jōruriji as having been built in the eighth century, the tenth century, and the thirteenth century, adding confusing to the dating. "Jōruriji," *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*.

[55] However, Jōruriji also appears in historical records as Nishi Odawaraji, further confusing the matter.

[56] *Jōruriji rūki* in "Jōruriji," *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*. The specific date given is in fact the eleventh day of the first month, Kashō 2.

[57] Hida, *Jōruriji,* 23.

[58] *Jōruriji ryūki* in "Jōruriji," *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*.

[59] *Jōruriji ryūki* in "Jōruriji," *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*.

asceticism and the huts they built for the practice of austerities than the official temple history lets on.[61]

Gansenji's origins are similarly obscure. The temple's official history traces its founding to 749 (Tempyō-Kanpō 1) by the imperial decree of Emperor Shōmu (r. 724-749), after which Kūkai's sister built Hōōn'in there where she prayed for the birth of a son to Emperor Saga (r. 809-823). That son became Emperor Ninmyō (r. 833-850), who then expanded the temple in 813 (Kōnin 4) and gave it the name Gansenji.[62] Despite these accounts, the first firm date available for the temple buildings themselves is 1279 (Kōan 2), when there was something of a construction boom at the site.[63] Further complicating the matter is the fact that the wooden sculpture of Amida enshrined in Gansenji's main hall is dated to 946 (Tengyō 9) by an inscription written inside the statue.[64] This could mean that Gansenji might, in fact, date back to the eighth century, or it could have been founded later and the tenth century statue could have been installed in the main hall at some point in their respective histories. The movement of icons, especially reasonably portable wooden ones like the Gansenji Amida, has been well documented in Japanese Buddhist art history, and it is therefore likely that the Gansenji Amida is, like the Jōruriji Nine Amida Hall, also a transplant. Regardless of its exact origins, Gansenji was a

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[60] "Jōruriji," in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* (Tokyo: Heibonsha), accessed via Japan Knowledge Database, January 24, 2016.
[61] "Jōruriji," in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*. Temple histories, or *engi*, are generally held to be unreliable narrators of the past. Composed by temple monks long after the actual historical events took place, temple histories were often written with an aim towards promotion and marketing the temple. For further reading on this topic, please see: Heather Blair and Kawasaki Tsuyoshi, "Editors' Introduction: *Engi*: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* vol. 42 no. 1 (2015): 1-26; Yoshida Kazuhiko, "The Credibility of *Gangōji engi*," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* vol. 42 no. 1 (2015): 89-107.
[62] "Gansenji," in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* (Tokyo: Heibonsha), accessed via Japan Knowledge Database, January 24, 2016.
[63] Hida, *Jōruriji,* 13.

prominent temple in the region in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, affiliated with the Mount Takao Yakuō'in and consisting of thirty-nine temple buildings covering roughly sixteen *chō,* or 1.75 kilometers.[65]

Gansenji became a branch temple of Jōruriji in the Edo period.[66] By the nineteenth century, the temple's lower profile meant that it only received two lines of text in Harada Kan's (1781-1860) nineteenth-century gazetteer *Dai Nihon meisho zue* (Famous Places of Japan), compared to Jōruriji's eleven lines and double-page illustration.[67] This uneven relationship has persisted into the present day, as Jōruriji has more of a presence in the tourist literature of the region. This, coupled with the fact that most tourists approach the Tōnoo region via bus from Nara, supports a modern reading of the region's trails that starts at Jōruriji and ends around Gansenji. This reading is supported by official maps of the Tōnoo region that begin numbering the area's stone sculptures starting on the western side. However, according to historical records, Gansenji played a much bigger role in the region in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the thirteenth century spike in temple construction at Gansenji has been linked to the proliferation in stone sculpture production as Gansenji's growth fueled a corresponding rise in activity in the surrounding mountains.[68] The modern understanding of the Tōnoo region tends to frame the region's sacred geography in terms of its relationship to Jōruriji, but the landscape throughout the region has been reshaped by time and human activity. Today, the mountains

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64 Sherry Fowler, *Murōji: Rearranging Art and History at the Japanese Buddhist Temple* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 152.

65 "Gansenji," in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*. The Mount Takao Yakuō'in (薬王院) is today one of the major centers of Shugendō practice in the Kanto region.

66 "Gansenji," in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*.

67 Harada Kan, *Dai Nihon meisho zue* vol. 2, compiled by Dai Nihon meisho zue kankōkai (Tokyo: Dai Nihon meisho zue kankōkai, 1919), 621-625.

68 Hida, *Jōruriji*, 100.

between Gansenji and Jōruriji are blanketed by a landscape of homes and farms, very different from their original, wilder setting. It is worth keeping in mind that while cliff-carved stone sculptures may not be subject to the exact same issues as more portable and fragile Buddhist icons, the context surrounding them is just as likely to have been changed by human actions.

That said, there is no set path through the region today, although official tourist maps do assume the modern visitor is arriving by bus from Nara. Still, visitors coming south from Kyoto may begin their hike at Gansenji, and smaller paths weave in and out of the 'main' trails throughout the region. A visitor in the thirteenth century or during the Edo period would have a similar freedom of choice. For the sake of clarity, I will start my discussion of the Tōnoo sculptures from the Gansenji side of the region.

The Tōnoo Cliff-Carved Sculptures

The historical entrance to the Gansenji temple complex is located on the southern side of its mountain home, a good distance from the main grouping of temple buildings today. When a visitor in the last quarter of the thirteen century entered through that gate, they would encounter a cliff-carved stone sculpture before they encountered any actual temple buildings, as a ten-minute walk would bring them to an image a known today as *Miroku no Tsuji* (ミロクの辻, carved 1274), or the Crossroads Miroku. (Figure 4.1, 4.2) Unlike the cliff-carved sculptures at Ōyaji and Usuki, this sculpture is not carved in any degree of relief but is rather incised into the southern face of a rock outcrop in a sunken niche formed by its mandorla. While this kind of incised sculpture does not run the same risk of parts breaking off as those at Ōyaji and Usuki, it is more susceptible to the powers of erosion, moss, and lichen, as the level of surface detail is already minimal. Today,

the Crossroads Miroku is very difficult to make out with the naked eye, but it is still recognizable as a standing Miroku as Buddha of the Future due to its monk's robes. The high level of technical skill that went into the sculpture's carving is still apparently under the lichen, as the incised lines are kept even throughout much like the iron-wire line seen in Heian period Japanese Buddhist painting. There is also a degree of detail to the figure, including lines that trace the curves of Miroku's chest and stomach; the folds of the monk's robe are carved in flowing lines whose even rhythm still manages to echo the naturalistic fall of cloth over a standing figure.

The Crossroads Miroku is accompanied by an inscription that gives us several important pieces of information about the work and its creation. First, it was commissioned by an individual named either Eisei or Nagakiyo (永清) in 1274 (Bun'ei 11) to help ensure his father's rebirth into Miroku's Pure Land.[69] The inscription then goes on to identify the sculptors responsible for the carving as members of the I (伊) lineage, the descendants of a Chinese stoneworker surnamed Yi who had come to Japan from Southern Song China (1127-1279) at the beginning of the Kamakura period to work on the reconstruction of Tōdaiji.[70]

Although it is not mentioned anywhere in the inscription, it is quite likely that the patrons of this sculpture had in mind the larger and more famous cliff-carved Miroku at Kasagidera (笠置寺) when they set about commissioning this work. The Kasagidera Miroku was a fifteen-meter high incised line cliff-carved sculpture that was well known by the end of the

[69] This inscription can be found, in the original Japanese in Hida, *Jōruriji*, 124.
[70] Washizuka Hiromitsu, "Sekibutsu,"*Nihon no bijutsu* 147 (August 1978): 72.

twelfth century, appearing frequently in the monk Jōkei's (1155-1233) fundraising appeals.[71] Another copy of the Kasagidera Miroku can be found at Ōnodera, to the east of Nara, where Emperor Gotoba (1180-1239) commissioned the work in 1207.[72] The significance given to Kasagidera's stone sculptures can be seen even into the nineteenth century via its inclusion in gazetteers such as *Dai Nihon meisho zue*, which illustrated Kasagidera and its environs with the heading "*Meiseki no saizu* 名石之細図," or "a detailed map of famous stones."[73] While it is not clear if there was a relationship between Kasagidera and the temples of the Tōnoo region beyond a relative geographical proximity, but Kasagidera's stone sculptures would have been well known throughout the region and the Kasagi Miroku's significance would have been reinforced by the 1207 duplication of the sculpture at Ōnodera.

After the Crossroads Miroku, modern visitors are faced with an actual crossroads. They can take the left-hand path, which leads further into the countryside and eventually to Jōruriji, or take the central path and head straight toward Gansenji proper, or take the right-hand path, which makes an arc along the mountain before approaching Gansenji from another direction. The right-hand path would take the visitor by an additional cliff-carved sculptures from the late Kamakura period of a triad of Jizō Bodhisattvas, each holding a priest's staff in one hand and a wish-granting jewel in the other. This triad does not have an accompanying inscription, but the iconography suggests that its patron was also concerned with issues of death and the afterlife, as

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[71] Karen L. Brock, "Awaiting Maitreya at Kasagi," in *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, ed. Alan Sponberg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 216-218. For a more in-depth discussion of Jōkei's fundraising campaign for Kasagidera, please see Janet R. Goodwin, "Alms for Kasagi Temple," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 46 no. 4 (Nov. 1987): 827-841.

[72] Brock, 221. For more information on the Ōnodera Miroku, please see Fowler, *Murōji*, 107-112.

[73] Harada, *Dai Nihon meisho zue*, 630-631.

Jizō was seen as a bodhisattva especially effective at rescuing an individual from the wide variety of Buddhist hells.[74]

The central path takes a more direct approach to Gansenji and, after arriving at the temple, appears to serve as the trailhead for one of the clearest paths between Gansenji and Jōruriji. This path today is well maintained and paved in spots, but the fact that it passes by some of the more impressive stone sculpture in the region suggests it may have been one of the more traveled routes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as well. After descending a relatively steep slope, currently installed with a safety railing and half-buried stairs, the modern visitor will find the first of sculptures along this path. Of the cliff-carved sculptures, this sculpture is spatially the closest to Gansenji, and both the accompanying inscription and the iconography further support a close relationship between this work and Gansenji proper.

The sculpture is carved into the base of another exposed rock outcrop and consists of a 1.2 meter tall carving of Fudō Myōō known today as the Ichigan (一願不動) Fudō, or One Vow Fudō. (Figures 4.3, 4.4) The sculpture itself is somewhat awkwardly carved in low relief, with only the head carved in higher relief. Certain aspects of the iconography are clear, such as the sword in the figure's proper right hand and the top in its proper left hand, but other details are harder to make out due to the effects of erosion and the light layer of moss that has grown over the sculpture's upper half. It is clear to the naked eye that the Fudō Myōō's hair is pulled up in a topknot of sorts, but it is unclear if the figure has fangs to go with the characteristic bulging eyes. A swell at the neck suggests that at one point a more clearly defined necklace was depicted there, and the robe is draped over the proper left shoulder and falls in regular U-shaped folds down the

[74] For more information on Jizō as a savior bodhisattva, please see: Zhiru, *The Making of a Savior Bodhisattva: Dizang in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007);

figure's legs. Neither the hands or the feet are highly detailed and the feet are splayed out awkwardly, with heels facing one another and the toes of each foot pointing in opposite directions. Proportionally, the sculpture is also awkwardly laid out, with small hands and feet, an overly long torso coupled with short legs, and an oversized head with similarly oversized eyes. Finally, Fudō Myōō's sword looks more like a rod of some kind, with only the slightest suggestion of a point at a tip, and the blade itself is carved crookedly into the stone. All in all, this sculpture does not look like it was carved by someone with a high level of technical skill, unlike the Crossroads Miroku and the other sculptures found along this particular path.

There is an inscription that accompanies the Fudō Myōō, which reads as follows:

弘安十年丁亥三月廿八日

於岩船寺僧□□□□造立[75]

Kōan jūnen teigai sangatsu nijū hatchinichi

O Gansenji sō □□□□ zōryū

Kōan 10, twenty-fourth cyclical year, third month, twenty-eighth day

Monk [characters are illegible] made [this] at Gansenji

This inscription gives the date of 1287 (Kōan 10) and is the first extant reference to the temple being called "Gansenji."[76] Unfortunately, the inscription is too eroded to make out the name of the individual who made the work, but the characters that do remain suggest that the

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Hank Glassman, *The Face of Jizō.*

[75] Yamamoto Kanjirō, *Minami yamashiro no sekibutsu jō* (Kyoto: Sōgeisha, 1986), 28. Thanks are owed to Dr. Sherry Fowler, Dr. Amy McNair, Dr. William Lindsey, and fellow graduate students Janet Chen and Yen-yi Chan for their assistance with the translation of this and subsequent inscriptions.

[76] Yamamoto, *Minami yamashiro*, 28; Hida, *Jōruriji*, 127.

sculpture as a whole was commissioned by a single individual who was a monk.[77] This, coupled with the fact of the sculpture's location, suggest that the One Vow Fudō was carved by a monk with ascetic inclinations, since Fudō Myōō was one of the Buddhist deities strongly affiliated with *shugenja*. Fudō Myōō usually served as a guide and protector for mountain aesthetics, and images of Fudō Myōō would frequently be carved multiple times along mountain pilgrimage routes.[78] At Tōnoo, the fact that images of Fudō Myōō do not proliferate across this region indicates that mountain asceticism was not the driving force behind the creation of most of the Tōnoo stone sculptures.[79] The primary patrons had, instead, other concerns, even as they placed their sculptures along trails that likely existed due to *shugendō* practices of pilgrimage throughout the mountain landscape.

After passing by the One Vow Fudō, modern hikers find themselves in a landscape that is a roughly even mix of dense forest and well-tended farmland. There is also a steady downward angle to this portion of the hike, and after only a short walk the trail passes by what is today perhaps the most famous of the Tōnoo cliff-carved sculptures. Like the Crossroads Miroku and One Vow Fudō, this sculpture also has a popular name that is more descriptive than anything else; it is popularly known as the *Warai Butsu* (わらい仏), or Smiling Buddha(s), but it is also referred to as the Gansenji Amida Triad.[80] (Figures 4.5-4.8) While the triad has been historically and popularly interpreted as an Amida triad, some of the iconographical features in the central Buddha's attendants makes the attendants seem more like Buddha images than bodhisattvas.

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[77] Yamamoto, *Minami yamashiro*, 28.
[78] Goodwin, "Shooing the Dead to Paradise," 63-80.
[79] There are in fact only two stone Fudō Myōō images in the Tōnoo region, the one near Gansenji and one on the southwestern side of the region, associated with Jōruriji.

The Gansenji Amida triad consists of three seated figures carved into an oblong rock crag that emerges from the dirt at an angle. This slant requires the figures of the triad to also be tilted at an angle. All three figures are surrounded by a single mandorla that was carved into the living rock that creates an abbreviated image niche for the triad. Like the *Crossroads Miroku*, this grouping also seems to have been carved with a high degree of skill, as subtle details such as the petals of the lotus throne and the incised lines of the double mandorla behind the central Amida are still visible despite the effects of the twin forces of erosion and lichen.

The largest figure is seated at the center of the grouping and is traditionally identified as an Amida. It is clearly intended to be a Buddha figure as the individual bumps of the snail-shell curl hairstyle are visible and it wears the monk's robe, in this case draped over both shoulders. The figure's hands are held in a mudra that could either be the Amida's meditation mudra (*mida jōin*, 弥陀定印) or the upper grade, upper birth (*jōbon jōshō*, 上品上生) of the mudras of the nine grades of Amida's welcoming descent (*Amida kuhon'in*, 阿弥陀九品印).[81] In both these mudras associated with Amida, the hands are held in the lap with the thumbs touching the forefingers, which are pressed back to back. Examples of the upper grade, upper birth welcoming descent, or *raigō* (来迎) mudra can be seen in Jōruriji's Nine Amida. Either mudra in the Gansenji Amida triad would support the group's traditional identification as an Amida triad, but

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[80] There are three figures in the sculptural grouping, but it is unclear if the *butsu* or the name is meant to be singular or plural. Since this complicates the English translation of the popular name, I will refer to this sculpture as the Gansenji Amida Triad for the sake of clarity.

[81] "*Mida-no-jouin*," *Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System*, accessed January 23, 2016, http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/m/midanojouin.htm; "*Amida kubon-in*," *Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System*, accessed January 23, 2016, http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/a/amidakubonin.htm

I would argue that the location of Amida within the landscape of Tōnoo supports a reading of the mudra as a welcoming descent mudra, which is further supported by the two attendant figures.

The two seated figures have been identified as the bodhisattvas Kannon and Seishi. While the seated figure to the Amida's proper right does not have much in the way of iconographical identifiers, the hands clasped in prayer coupled with the fact that the other figure, a Kannon, holds a lotus throne supports the identification as Seishi. Similar iconography can be seen in the late eleventh century *Amida raigō* triptych currently housed at Mount Kōya, which also shows an Amida flanked by Seishi with hands clasped in prayer and Kannon holding a lotus throne.[82] Much of the surface detail on Gansenji Amida triad's Seishi has been heavily eroded, so it is unclear if the bodhisattva has the traditional princely robes and hairstyle. The figure to the Amida's proper left, on the other hand, retains more surface detail than Seishi, holds a simplified rendering of a lotus throne on a pedestal, cementing its identification as Kannon. The details of the hairstyle and robes are easier to make out, but the smooth cap of hair does not share many similarities with traditional bodhisattva hairstyles. This Kannon also appears to be missing its crown. (Figure 4.8) However, the raised lines on the figure's chest could represent an attempt to render the bodhisattva's jewelry, in this case a necklace.[83] If the iconographical identifications for this triad do hold, then the iconography of Seishi with hands clasped together and Kannon holding a lotus throne suggests that this cliff-carved sculpture was intended to represent an actual *raigō*, or welcoming descent, where Amida would descend with a retinue of varying size to carry the deceased believer to Amida's Western Pure Land. The central Amida's mudra, then, does not

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[82] A good image of this painting can be found in Penelope Mason, *History of Japanese Art* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), 147.

[83] It is also possible that it could have been intended to represent the neckline of a monk's robe and therefore a folk interpretation of the bodhisattvas Kannon and Seishi not in line with the more traditional represention s.

just serve as an iconographical marker for Amida but rather indicates exactly which level of welcoming descent is being performed here. In this case, the mudra indicates the highest of the high ranking welcoming descents, and while such a procession would typically include a large number of attendant figures, the sculptors were perhaps constrained in this case by the size of the stone they had to work with.

The Gansenji Amida triad also has an accompanying inscription, which reads:

永仁七年　二月十五日

願主岩船寺住僧[the remainder of the inscription is unclear]

大工末行[84]

Einin shichinen *nigatsu jūgonichi*

Ganshu Gansenji jūzō. . .

Daiku Sueyuki

Einin 7 [1299] second month, fifteenth day

Petitioning monk(s) of Gansenji. . .

Craftsman Sueyuki

This inscription gives an exact date: the fifteenth date of the second month of 1299 (Einin 7).[85] This most likely indicates either the date of completion or the date of the sculpture's dedication. The inscription also includes a specific reference to Gansenji, thus the triad's identification as the Gansenji Amida Triad, and indicates that it was commissioned by a patron or group of patrons from Gansenji. In addition to this inscription, there is a text naming the

84 Yamamoto, *Minami yamashiro,* 27.
85 Hida, *Jōruriji*, 124.

craftsman behind the work: Sueyuki, who was from the I family, the same family of artisans that carved the Crossroads Miroku.[86] Stylistically, it is very hard to compare the Gansenji Amida triad to the Crossroads Miroku, as the former is a high relief carving rather than an incised line carving. Instead, the smiling facial expressions and soft rounded curves of the figures are closer to stylistic features usually associated with Korean Buddhist stone sculpture.[87]

Iconographically, reading this grouping as an Amida triad also helps makes sense of its placement in landscape between Gansenji and Jōruriji as seen through within framework of Buddhist sacred geography. The rock outcrop housing the sculpture is on the upper level of the mountain, looking out over a steadily descending slope and narrow valley. (Figure 4.9) As peaks and other elevated points were associated with Pure Lands and other paradises in strictly Buddhist readings of the landscape, the placement of the Gansenji Amida triad at an elevated point emphasizes the idea of the welcoming descent, as if this particular triad was frozen in stone as they began their journey from the Western Pure Land. The choice of iconography, coupled with the inscription, also indicates that the patrons who commissioned this sculpture were involved in the region's religious community and shared its focus on Amida worship, but their primary concern in commissioning a sculpture had less to do with mountain asceticism and more to do with personal concerns with the afterlife and their own rebirths.

Proceeding down the slope towards Jōruriji, the modern-day hiker encounters a series of farm fields before reaching the next prominent pair of cliff-carved sculptures. The outcrop of rock that houses this sculptures is located at the base of a heavily wooded slope, and between the forces of erosion pushing soil downhill and the active growth of the surrounding forest, at least

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[86] Hida, *Jōruriji*, 124.

one of the sculptures on the outcrop is not clearly visible at the height of summer. Like the other cliff-carved sculpture, this pair also has a descriptive name and is collectively referred to as *Karasu no tsubo no magaibutsu* (カラスの壷の磨崖仏). (Figures 4.10-4.11) This name roughly translates as "the cliff-carved sculptures of the basin of a mortar for hulling grain." The mortar in question, complete with basin, sits higher up on the trail and is actually encountered first if the traveler is approaching from the direction of Gansenji. (Figure 4.12) This "mortar" is not a worked piece of stone but rather a relatively small and square naturally occurring boulder with rounded corners. It has received special attention from the namers of the nearby cliff-carved sculpture due to the unnaturally round hole on the top of the stone, which is the "basin" (*tsubo*, 壷) of the "mortar" (*karausu*, 唐臼).[88] It is unclear if this "basin" is naturally occurring or if it was carved in the rock. If it was carved, then based on personal observation, it is the only portion of the boulder that has been worked in that way.

The Karasu cliff-carved sculpture, meanwhile, is carved on two sides of the outcrop, the western and the southern. The carving on the western side is of a low-relief seated Amida, roughly 1.13 meters tall, next to an incised line stone lantern with a carved recess where an actual candle could be placed. (Figure 4.11) The carving on the southern face is a standing Jizō, and although the two figures share some stylistic similarities such as the use of the mandorla to create an image niche, they do not give the impression of a unified grouping like the Gansenji Amida triad. To the modern viewer, the disconnect between the images is due in large part to the

[87] It could also be associated with Buddhist sculpture of the Chinese Northern Wei dynasty (386-534) or the Korean Unified Silla (668-935) but selecting that style in thirteenth-century Japan would have been highly anachronistic even for artisans of Chinese descent.

fact that the standing Jizō requires the viewer to leave the path to view it, and even then is virtually invisible due to overgrowth and soil accumulation. The seated Amida, on the other hand, is clearly visible from the trail. Regardless of the differing levels of visibility, the inscriptions that accompany each sculpture indicate that they were carved at the same time in 1343 (Kōei 2 of the Northern Court).[89]

The inscription that accompanies the Amida reads:

康永二年癸未三月十五日 願主恒性[90]

Kōei ninen kibi sangatsu jūgonichi ganshū Kōshō

Kōei 2, twentieth cyclical year, third month fifteenth day, petitioner Kōshō[91]

The inscription accompanying the Jizō reads:

康永二年癸未三月廿四日願主勝珍[92]

Kōei ninen kibi sangatsu nijū yokka ganshū Shōchin[93]

Kōei 2, twentieth cyclical year, third month twenty-fourth day, patron Shōchin

Both of these inscriptions give the date of either completion or dedication, which was only eleven days apart, and tell us that the Jizō sculpture was completed first. Both inscriptions also give fairly boilerplate dedicatory texts on behalf of the patrons Kōshō and Shōchin.

As for the sculptures themselves, the seated Amida shares some stylistic similarities with the Gansenji Amida triad, especially in the handling of the robes and the lotus throne, but

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[88] While the correct pronunciation of the characters for mortar is "karausu," the "u" seems to have been dropped at some point and the name of the sculpture is rendered in *katakana* as "karasu."

[89] Yamamoto, *Minami yamashiro*, 22; Hida, *Jōruriji*, 129.

[90] Yamamoto, *Minami yamashiro*, 22.

[91] The reading of this name is speculative, as it is often difficult to transliterate names.

[92] Yamamoto, *Minami yamashiro*, 22.

the Karasu Amida's head is more square and the facial features are less gracefully carved than in the Gansenji Amida. The mudra is similarly difficult to make out, but a rubbing taken of the Amida and its image niche published in *Minami yamashiro* indicates that it is an Amida-specific meditation mudra rather than a welcoming descent mudra based on the angle of the forefingers.[94] The standing Jizō, meanwhile, suffers from more awkward proportions than the seated figure, with an overly large head and hands coupled with an unnaturally short torso and legs. However, much of the awkwardness in the proportions and in the carving of the monk's staff can be explained by the constraints of working on this particular surface of the boulder, as the standing Jizō seems to be carved on the one section of rock level enough to be worked.

Of all the cliff-carved sculptures encountered so far, the Karasu sculptures have the clearest proscribed interaction. While *One Vow Fudō* may have been made to serve as a protector and guide for *shugendō* practice, the *Crossroads Miroku* and Gansenji Amida triad seem more akin to votive offerings, as their iconography suggests they were created to result in the clear desired outcome of a successful rebirth. While there are currently spaces for offerings in front of each of the latter, consisting of square stone vases and small wooden offering boxes set at a remove from the cliff-carved sculptures themselves. (Figures 4.1, 4.3, 4.10, 4.13) There is no way of knowing if these spaces were part of the original construction and conception of the space.

With the Karasu cliff-carved sculpture, the deep niche carved into the incised stone lantern indicates that the passing pilgrim could stop here and offer some kind of votive light to Amida by placing a candle in that niche.[95] The irregular soot marks darkening the stone of the

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[93] The reading of this name is speculative, as it is often difficult to transliterate names.
[94] Yamamoto, *Minami yamashiro*, 21.
[95] Hida, *Jōruriji*, 129.

niche suggest that it was in fact used this way over the centuries. This is the earliest example in the Tōnoo region where the connection between a cliff-carved sculpture and an offering practice is made explicit.

Not far from the Karasu cliff-carved sculpture, the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century pilgrim would have had the option of stopping by the temple of Zuiganji (随願寺).[96] This temple is no longer extant, but a small shrine to the tutelary deity of the region, Heijitsu Shrine (平日神社), can be currently found at the site. In addition to the small shrine building, a number of the freestanding stone sculptures produced for Zuiganji are still extant and grouped around the shrine building, including a thirteen-story stone pagoda inscribed with an account of Zuiganji's founding.[97] The inscription does not specify, however, what exactly the relationship was between Zuiganji and its neighboring temples of Gansenji and Jōruriji. It is likely that Zuiganji played some role in shaping the sacred geography of its immediate surroundings, but the cliff-carved stone sculptures in its immediate vicinity do not draw any strong connections between the temple and their patronage. That said, it is clear that a great deal of the freestanding stone sculpture installed in the Tōnoo region has been moved. Heijitsu is one example of a place where sculptures were relocated to a sacred space from unknown original locations, most likely as residences and farms replaced temple buildings in the immediate neighborhood. Another example is the grouping of freestanding stone sculpture referred to as the Daimon sekibutsu group (大門石仏群), which is located on the other side of the present day paved road next to a

small shrine identified as Kasuga Shrine (春日神社). Unfortunately, it would be impossible to recreate fully the placement of these sculptures across the Tōnoo region, so our view of the relationship between the region's sacred geography and its stone sculptures will have to rely only on those sculptures that cannot be moved and are still embedded in the living rock of the landscape.

Returning to the fixed points of the cliff-carved sculpture on the path between Gansenji and Jōruriji, the final major example is found past Heijitsu Shrine, in a bamboo grove on the left-hand side of the path. This is also the last grouping before the modern-day hiking trail runs in to the modern-day paved road, making it one of the most accessible and therefore better known of the sculptures. This grouping consists of three figures carved into two separate boulders, both of which are liberally coated in moss and somewhat overgrown. (Figures 4.13-4.15) The sculptures are known popularly as either *Yabu no naka sanzōn* (薮の中三尊) or the *Yabu no Jizō* (薮の地蔵), meaning the Triad in the Grove or the Jizō of the Grove respectively, but once again the name is descriptive.

On the left-hand boulder, facing away from the path and in towards the other two figures, is a carving that has been traditionally identified as an Amida. (Figures 4.14). This identification is supported by the sculpture's mudra, which although difficult to make out due to erosion and a prodigious growth of moss, is identifiable as the general meditation mudra, where the hands are

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[96] Hida, *Jōruriji*, 130. This temple is mentioned in an entry in Fujiwara no Yukinari's (972-1028) diary, *Gonki* 権記, dated 1006 (Kankō 3), the second month, tenth day, which describes retreating to Zuiganji to enter the priesthood. Accessed via *Sekkanki koki roku deetabaasu*, January 23, 2016, http://rakusai.nichibun.ac.jp/kokiroku/.

[97] Hida, *Jōruriji*, 130.

pressed together in what is likely the meditation mudra associated with Amida.[98] The handling of the lotus throne and mandorla are also similar to that of the Gansenji triad and the Karasu sculptures, as the throne is an incised line sculpture while the mandorla doubles as an image niche for the high-relief carving of Amida. Other stylistic features, however, are markedly different from the previously encountered cliff-carved sculptures, especially the handling of the folds of the Amida's sleeves and the overall handling of the face and facial features.

The central boulder, meanwhile, faces out towards the path and, as mentioned previously, is carved with two figures. The larger of the two is a standing figure clearly identifiable as Jizō holding a monk's staff and a wish-granting jewel. (Figure 4.15) While many of the stylistic features of the sculpture have been obscured by erosion and lichen, enough of the facial features remain to show that this Jizō shares key similarities with the Amida to its right, namely a wide oval face, a broad flattened nose, and a somewhat protruding upper lip. The line of the eyebrows also appears to be the same, although that particular detail is less clear. It is also unclear what the standing Jizō is standing on, as the soil buildup at the base of the rock has largely obscured any pedestal. It is also possible that the sculptors found that they could not include a pedestal.

To the Jizō's proper left is one of the more peculiar sculptures found in the Tōnoo region, at least in terms of iconographical grouping. This figure is clearly identifiable as an Eleven-Headed Kannon, even though erosion has worn away many of the details of the Kannon's extra ten heads. (Figure 4.15) Still, the heads are distinguishable, as is the mandorla of the standing Amida traditionally seen in the Eleven-Headed Kannon's crown. Many of the other stylistic features of this sculpture have been worn away with time, but the careful viewer can still

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[98] Again, it is very difficult to make out the exact mudra due to the effects of erosion and the moss that currently grows over the fingers, but like the Karasu Amida, the forefingers here seem

make out the flask held in the Kannon's left hand while the right hand holds a monk's staff, like the one held by Jizō. The folds of the Kannon's robe and scarves are also still visible, although many of the details of the facial features have been worn away. Enough remains, however, to indicate that the Kannon has the same kind of facial structure and features as the Amida and Jizō it accompanies.

Once again, the Yabu sculptures are accompanied by an inscription, although it is badly weathered. The parts that can be made out include the date, 1262 (Kōchō 2), and the name of the main craftsperson, Tachibana Anjō (橘安縄), his assistants, and the nine patrons, both monks and laymen, who commissioned the work.[99] From this inscription, we can gain several key pieces of information. First, it tells us that this grouping is the oldest known dated cliff-carved sculpture in the Tōnoo region. Second, it tells us that some of the patrons were monks at a temple in the region, while others, based on their names, were laymen. Third, it connects this sculpture to several others in the area, as the Tachibana family was another one of the major groups of craftsmen carving stone sculpture around Tōnoo.[100] At the same time, the iconography of the grouping, with its unusual pairing of Amida, Jizō, and the Eleven-Headed Kannon, suggests that the patrons were most likely primarily concerned with issues of death and the afterlife, as all three of these deities were considered particularly efficacious at helping the soul of the deceased to a better place.[101]

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to be at a right angle and there is no accompanying Kannon and Seishi with clear welcoming descent imagery.

[99] Hida, *Jōruriji*, 131; Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 72.

[100] Fowler, *Murōji*, 253.

Conclusion

By carefully looking at Tōnoo within the larger context of sacred mountains and mountain pilgrimage in the Kamakura period, we can see how certain concerns are played out in the production of stone Buddhist sculpture that blurs the line between mortuary and non-mortuary sculpture. Some of the cliff-carved sculptures found in the region are clearly related to mortuary sculpture, such as the Crossroads Miroku with its inscription dedicating the work to the patron's father. Other sculptures reference a mortuary context through their emphasis on Buddhas and bodhisattvas associated with death, hells, and rebirth such as Amida, Jizō, and Eleven-Headed Kannon.

Tōnoo also provides us with an example of layered of sacred geography, specifically pre-Buddhist associations of mountains with the realms of the dead mixing with post-Buddhist ideas of making a landscape sacred through religious practices such as pilgrimage. The trend of commissioning sculptures of Buddhist deities, especially Jizō, who were associated with the afterlife, suggests that the mountain between Gansenji and Jōruriji was also associated with the afterlife. Many of those statues of Jizō were freestanding stone works, and so can mostly be found in clusters around the temples and shrines in the region.[102] While it is unclear if the mountain was interpreted along the same lines as Tateyama and Mount Kasuga, with hell realms on the slopes and a Pure Land at the peak, the idea that a statue could directly address the souls of the dead through its placement on the mountain reflects Goodwin's idea that sculpture associated with funerals worked to benefit both the living and the deceased. A carving of Miroku or Jizō placed in the mountains could address the spirits of the dead directly, so the patron could

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[101] Fowler, *Murōji*, 188-189.
[102] Glassman discusses this phenomenon of grouping unconnected stone sculptures together at a site in *The Face of Jizō*, 157-158.

help them transfer to their final destination, and they could also serve to protect the living pilgrim from the dead.[103]

The idea of the mountain as a realm of the dead, then, was alive and well at Tōnoo in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but what of ideas of mandalization? As I have already mentioned, the rise of Gansenji and Jōruriji occurred around the same time that mountain asceticism was on the rise, and the presence of a stone statue of Fudō Myōō at one of the trailheads at Gansenji suggests that mountain ascetics played a role in the initial development of pilgrimage routes between Gansenji and Jōruriji. At the same time, the multiplicity of paths between Gansenji and Jōruriji, as well as the different dates for the sculptures along those routes, suggests that multiple parties were involved in inscribing multiple meanings upon this mountain and its pilgrimage routes, resulting in an accretion of meaning that can be untangled through careful analysis of the remaining stone sculptures and their original context. Today, Tōnoo may serve as a nature hike and something of an open-air museum of stone sculpture, but by placing the site within both the broader geographical contexts and the specific local contexts, we can gain a deeper understanding of the ideas that shaped the region's sacred landscape and encouraged local commissions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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[103] It is also worth noting that one of the names used for this region, Tōnoo written with the kanji 塔 (*tō*) instead of 当 (*tō*) echoes the language used to refer to tomb mounds. Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 23-27. Andrew Nelson's *The Modern Reader's Japanese-English Character Dictionary* gives the definition of 塔 (*tō*) as tower, pagoda, steeple, obelisk, monument; the compound 塔婆 (tōba) refers to a wooden grave tablet, stupa, or pagoda. An example of this character's association with tomb mounds in nomenclature can be seen at Zutō (頭塔) in Nara, a three-tiered earthen mound inset with carved stone panels that was named after its supposed role as the internment site for a famous monk's head.

Chapter Five: The Moto-Hakone Cliff-Carved Sculptures

Introduction

Chapter Four addresses the Moto-Hakone (元箱根) cliff-carved sculptures, which were created in the late Kamakura period (1249-1392) in present-day Kanagawa Prefecture. The Moto-Hakone sculptures, named after the nearby town, are carved from a series of rock outcrops on the western slope of Mount Futago (二子山), the southwestern slope of Mount Komagetake (駒ケ岳山) and the eastern shore of what is today called Shōjin Pond (精進池).[1]

First, this chapters introduces the three distinct groups of sculpture found at the Moto-Hakone site: the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas (Nijūgo Bosatsu, 二十五菩薩), the Six Paths Jizō (Rokudō Jizō, 六道地蔵), and the Ōchō Jizō (応長地蔵), which takes its name from the date of 1311 (Ōchō 1) in the inscription accompanying the sculpture. I discuss the carving and iconography of each grouping, with special attention given to the inscriptions that accompany many of the individual sculptures, and argue that the Moto-Hakone sculptures can be best understood as the products of donors who commissioned individual pieces based on their personal religious concerns, but that subsequent generations encountering the site reframed the Moto-Hakone sculptures within a larger cultural landscape both religious and secular. This is

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[1] *Ike* (池) can be translated as either "lake" or "pond," and the translation into English has not been consistent in relation to this particular body of water. However, 'pond' seems to be the more common translation, and the one used by Hank Glassman in his discussion of the site.

demonstrated by the sculptures' inclusion in Edo period (1615-1868) prints, maps, and gazetteers that included illustrations of site in their portrayal of the region.

The Twenty-five Bodhisattvas

Of the three cliff-carved sculptures at the site, the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas feature the oldest inscriptions. As implied by the name, this grouping consists of twenty-five standing images carved into a total of twenty-two niches over two rock outcrops, with three of the niches containing two standing images apiece. The bulk of these sculptures are of the bodhisattva Jizō, but one Amida and one Kannon are also represented, thus the name Twenty-Five Bodhisattvas instead of "Twenty-five Jizō." This grouping has also been greatly altered by the construction of National Route 1, as the modern highway runs between the two rock outcrops and resulted in the need for significant preservation work, which was carried out beginning in 1974.[2] The sculptures located on the rock outcrop now located on the eastern side of National Route 1 will be referred to as Group A and the sculptures on the western side of the highway will be referred to as Group B for ease of discussion.

Group A is carved on the smaller of the rock outcrops, located on the western foot of Mount Futago. (Figure 5.1) This grouping consists of three image niches, one carved on the northern face of the rock and two carved on the southern face. Each image niche contains a standing Jizō, and the heights of the three figures are roughly similar, ranging from 47.3 cm to

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[2] This preservation work is detailed at length on the official Hakone City website: http://www.town.hakone.kanagawa.jp/hakone_j/ka/shougai/hakonenobunkazai/page6/page64.html.

48.5 cm, and the two on the southern face are depicted standing on lotus pedestals.[3] (Figure 5.2) There are no inscriptions accompanying these three sculptures, although stylistic analysis suggests that they were likely all carved at the end of the thirteenth century, around the same time the neighboring Group B was carved.[4] An excavation trench dug north of the Group A outcrop did not uncover any archeological material.[5] Perhaps as a result, Group A tends to be passed over by scholars in favor of more in-depth discussions of the sculptures of Group B.

Group B is carved on the larger rock outcrop, located on the southern foot of Mount Komagetake. (Figure 5.3) A total of nineteen image niches have been carved on the eastern, southern, and western faces of the outcrop, and three of the nineteen image niches contain two standing figures instead of the more common single figure. The eastern rock face hosts four standing Jizō figures in individual niches, as well as a carved inscription; a southeastern facing portion of the outcrop has three image niche, two containing a single standing Jizō and one that contains the group's singular Kannon. (Figure 5.4) These three niches also share a rock face with an inscription that is badly eroded. The southern face, meanwhile, is only carved with two image niches containing single standing Jizō, as is the southwestern facing portion. It is not until the western rock face that we see image niches that contain paired figures, including a standing Amida is paired with a standing Jizō. (Figure 5.5) Two inscriptions are also found on the western rock face.

Of the four inscriptions found among the sculptures of Group B, with the earliest inscription dated 1293 (Einin 1).[6] Two other inscriptions are dated 1295 (Einin 3) and 1296

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[3] Tōkai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun no chōsa kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tokai Daigaku Kyōyōgakubu, 1993), 39.
[4] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 47.
[5] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 51.
[6] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 48.

(Einin 4); the other remaining inscription's date is badly eroded but most likely reads 1294 (Einin 2).[7] The oldest of the inscriptions is also the longest of the four and begins with a list of names, presumably donors, which includes references to both men and women. An invocation follows the names and reads:

永仁元[(癸)巳]八月十八日　　一結衆等　敬心

右志者為各[悉]聖霊法界衆生平等利益也[8]

Einin gan [(ki)mi] hachigatsu jūhachi　　nichi isshō shūtō kyōshin

Migi shisha tame kaku [shitsu] shōryō hōkai shujō byōdō rieki nari

A rough translation would be as follows: "Einin 1, thirtieth cyclical year, eighth month, eighteenth day, all in the assembly bound together, with reverent hearts: the aforementioned donors [dedicate this sculpture] for the equal benefit of the honored spirits of the dead and all sentient beings of this dharma realm." While the bulk of the inscription serves to list the donors, the closing dedication directs the karma produced by the sculpture's production in the direction of the spirits of the deceased and all sentient beings. This suggests that this text was intended as a dedicatory inscription for the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas grouping as a whole. That did not keep some patrons from commissioning independent inscriptions to accompany specific images. The second and fourth inscriptions, in particular, are examples.

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[7] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 49-50.

[8] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 49. Thanks to Dr. Amy McNair for pointing out that 一結 was probably a miswriting of 一切, which as part of a set phrase with 衆等 translates roughly as "all in the assembly."

The second inscription, located next to the fifth image niche on the southeastern face, is badly eroded, and what text remains can be found on to the right-hand side of the niche. It reads as follows:

為二恩聖霊少

[神]ケ[池]地蔵[尊][9]

I nion shōryō shō

[Kami] ga ike Jizō son

For the honored spirits of the deceased parents

Honorable Kami Lake Jizō

This first line of the inscription is a request for a favor, while the second line directs that request to Jizō, specifically a Jizō of the Kami Lake. This could be a reference to the lake next to the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures, but it is unclear as the modern name of the lake is different from the one given in the inscription.

The inscription on the left-hand side of the image niche is very difficult to make out, but the date of 1296 (Einin 4), eighth month has been deciphered.[10] Again, the first line of the text dedicates this niche to the honored dead, while the second provides a name for this specific Jizō, associating it with a Kami Lake. Unfortunately, it is unclear if that Kami Lake is intended to refer to an actual body of water that had this name or if it refers to a more metaphysical lake, located in one of the other five realms of existence. The third inscription, located on the western face, is the most eroded of the group, and only a few characters are visible, including one of the

[9] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 49.
[10] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 49.

characters for Jizō. The characters *nin ni* □*ni* □ (仁二□二□) are also still legible, and have been interpreted as reading 1294 (Einin 2), second month.[11]

The fourth inscription is also located on the western rock face, as part of the eighteenth image niche. This inscription is in better shape, although several of the characters have mostly eroded away. The inscription text is also split on both sides of the image niche and reads:

(Right)
永仁三年十月廿四日比[丘] □□

(Left)
尼□生[為]父母[并]自身也[12]

(Right)

Einin san nen jūgatsu nijūyon nichi bi[ku] □□

(Left)

Ni □ *shō [tame] fubo [hei] jishin nari*

This inscription reads, "Einin 3 (1295) tenth month twenty-fourth day monk(s)…. "Nun(s)…for the sake of their parents and for their own bodies." Once again, this text dedicates the image niche to a specific group, in this case the parents of the donor or donors, who, according to the inscription, have traditionally been interpreted as nuns. This is perhaps the most specific of the dedicatory inscriptions, as the other two make reference to more general classes of the spirits of the dead. Still, the date on this inscription, Einin 3, tenth month, fourth day, places its completion before the carving of the first inscription, suggesting that this particular image

[11] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 50.

niche and its inscription was just one part of the larger sculptural project taking place on the rocks of Groups A and B.

Finally, there is a carving on the bottom portion of the southern face that is non-figural but is not classed as an inscription. This carving consists of three Sanskrit seed syllables, read in Japanese as *i*, *kiriiku*, and *sa*.[13] (Figure 5.6) The top seed syllable, *kiriiku*, stands in for Amida Buddha. The *i* and *sa* stand in for the bodhisattvas Jizō and Kannon respectively. Hank Glassman, in his discussion of the Moto-Hakone Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, also points out the the seed syllable *i* is associated specifically with the Kongōhō Jizō, who is the Jizō in the Six Paths that is specifically affiliated with the salvation of hungry ghosts.[14]

While not every image niche is accompanied by an inscription, the stylistic similarities between the works suggests they, like the sculptures in Group A, were all carved around the same time, suggesting a period of activity from 1293 to 1296; since the individual image niches are not dated, it is not possible to determine exact dates for any of the sculptures. Iconographically, the sculptures of Group A and B are depicted with the standard iconographical markers for the individual deities.[15] The multiple Jizō are depicted with the standard iconography for the bodhisattva: a shaved head, wearing monk's robes, and holding a monk's staff and wish-granting jewel in their right and left hands respectively.[16] There is some variety in the shape of the various niches, and the lotus throne is at times carved in low relief at the base of the image niche and at others incised into the rock outside the niche proper. (Figure 5.7) The stylistic handling of the individual figures is also varied, as different Jizō have varied head

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[12] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 50.
[13] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 50.
[14] Glassman, *The Face of Jizō*, 87.
[15] Washizuka Hiromitsu, "Sekibutsu," 72.

shapes and facial expressions, and the delineation of the shaved head also varies in some of the carvings. While the majority of the sculptures in Group A and B do not have specific dates associated with them, it could be possible to work out a rough internal chronology based on the small stylistic details from sculpture to sculpture.[17] Perhaps more importantly, the stylistic variations within the Jizō figures supports the idea that the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas sculpture was not the product of a single artisan but rather a group of artisans working under the umbrella of a shared workshop style.

The sculptors responsible for the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, as well as the nearby Six Paths Jizō and Ōchō Jizō, have been identified as members of the Ōkura (大蔵) school of carvers, an offshoot from the I school established by the Chinese stone carver I Gyōmatsu (伊行末, Ch. Yi Xingmo) at the end of the twelfth century. Examples of work by the I school, headed by Gyōmatsu's disciple I Gyōkichi (伊行吉), can be seen among the cliff-carved sculptures of Tōnoo and in other Nara area sites; the Ōkura branch of the school, named after Gyōmatsu's disciple Ōkura Yasukiyo (大蔵安清), were active primarily in the Kamakura and Hakone areas. The Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures are credited to a disciple of Yasukiyo by the name of Ōkura Yasu'uji, whose name features in an inscription at the site, with the assistance of unnamed assistant craftsmen.[18] Educational material provided at the on-site museum further identify the sculptors with the founder of nearby Gokurakuji (極楽寺), who had a stone working workshop

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[16] For further discussion of the development of Jizō imagery, please see Glassman, *The Face of Jizō*.

[17] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 48.

and brought artists from the western regions of Japan.[19] Regardless of the exact part played by either the Ōkura school or the Gokurakuji workshop, the role of multiple hands in the creation of the Moto-Hakone sculptures is perhaps best seen in the small stylistic variations between the Jizō images that make up the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas.

While there are stylistic differences among the Jizō, they are all iconographically consistent. Just as the Jizō follow the iconographical standards for that deity, the solitary Amida on the western side of Group B is also depicted according to the standard iconography for a Buddha, in this case with the *ushnisha* and a simplified snail-shell curl hairstyle common in stone sculptures. (Figure 5.5) This simplified rendering, where the individual curls are not depicted, is probably due to the difficulty of carving fine detail into the stone commonly available for carving in Japan.[20] Still, it is often difficult to tell one Buddha from another without specific iconographical markers. In the case of cliff-carved sculptures, directionality can play a large role in making an identification, and this sculpture's placement on the western side of the rock outcrop supports reading it as Amida Buddha in his Western Pure Land. Though the grouping of Amida with a Jizō is iconographically unusual, especially when the Amida in question has no other attendants, this is not the first time that Amida has been seen with Jizō; two examples of this iconography can be seen in the Tōnoo cliff-carved sculptures from the late thirteenth century. In the case of the Jizō of the Grove, the Amida is grouped with Jizō and Kannon both, while another example, the Karasu cliff-carved sculpture from 1343, features an

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[18] Glassman, *The Face of Jizō*, 84.
[19] Hakone machi kyōiku i'inkai seihate gakushūka bunka, *Hakone sekibutsu sekitō* (Hakone: Kanagawa-ken sokuhei kaigen Hakone-machi, n.d.); Hakone machi kyōiku i'inkai seihate gakushūka bunka, *Ashi no yu • Ashi no mizumi rekishi sanpo 5* (Hakone: Hakone machi kyōiku i'inkai seihate gakushūka bunka, n.d.).

Amida on the western face and a Jizō on the southern face of the rock outcrop. (Figures 4.11, 4.13, 4.14)

Glassman suggests that this pairing is evidence of the blending of a popular Jizō cult, centered on the Kasuga region, with Amida worship in the thirteenth century.[21] The carving of a Sanskrit seed syllable triad that features Amida, Kannon, and Jizō further suggests that the patrons behind the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas were blending cults of Amida and cults of Jizō. (Figure 5.6) The sheer multiplicity of Jizō images at the Moto-Hakone certainly suggests that faith in Jizō ran high among the sculptures' patrons, but I would argue that the inclusion of a lone Kannon transforms the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas from an idiosyncratic portrayal of the combinatory religious practices to an admittedly idiosyncratic sculptural representation of a *raigō*, or Amida's welcoming descent because of the already established iconography of Amida and the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas.

The Kannon in question is somewhat difficult to spot, as it is not on one of the more visible portions of the rock outcrop. Instead, the Kannon is carved on the southwestern face in a niche towards the very top of the rock. (Figure 5.4) The Kannon is also significantly smaller than its immediate neighbor, one of the ubiquitous Jizō, and is indeed smaller than most of the Jizō images in both Group A and B. The posture of the Kannon also makes it difficult to spot. Instead of a frontal view of the figure, as is commonly seen in cliff-carved stone sculpture and indeed in Buddhist sculpture as a whole, the Kannon is turned to the side, giving us a profile view. The figure's head leans forward and the one visible arm is outstretched in front of the body, as if the Kannon were offering something. Most tellingly, the angle of the body is swayed, with a bend at

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[20] In those cases where a sculptor has attempted to render individual curls, as in the Buddha Triads at Ōyaji, the curls are frequently made separately and then attached to the head of the sculpture

the knees suggested by the curve of the Kannon's robe. This posture, with legs bent and arms outstretched, is commonly associated with the genre of welcoming descent paintings known as "rapid descent," where the speed of the bodhisattvas' journey to greet the deceased is conveyed through a bent-knee posture. Painted representations of this "rapid descent" include the Kyoto National Museum's *Amida and the Twenty-five Attendants* (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), while the Metropolitan Museum of Art's *Welcoming Descent of Amida and Bodhisattvas* (late fourteenth century) shows a more sedate descent but still includes a slightly crouched Kannon holding out a lotus throne.[22] The inclusion of this particular posture for Kannon among the carvings that make up the Moto-Hakone Twenty-five Bodhisattvas transforms the grouping from a collection of Jizō plus an Amida to an unusual take on the twenty-five bodhisattvas who attend Amida on his descent to greet the deceased. The emphasis on faith in Jizō is clear in the substitution for twenty-three of the attendants, while the Kannon serves as the twenty-fourth attendant. Finally, Amida is both the attended and the twenty-fifth figure attendant, deviating from the iconographical norm of Amida plus twenty-five attendants as seen in the above-mentioned paintings. The physical positioning of the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas grouping, however, supports the idea of Amida descending from the west, as the rock outcrop that hosts Group B is located on the southwestern slope of Mount Komagetake.

The Six Paths Jizō

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[21] Glassman, *The Face of Jizō*, 87.

[22] Kyoto National Museum's *Amida and the Twenty-five Attendants* can be found at http://www.kyohaku.go.jp/eng/syuzou/meihin/butsuga/item06.html; the Metropolitan Museum of Art's *Welcoming Descent of Amida and Bodhisattvas* can be found at http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/45249.

To the south of the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas is the largest of the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures, that of the Six Paths Jizō. (Figure 5.8). The image niche as a whole is roughly seven meters high. The Jizō itself is three meters, making this sculpture the largest cliff-carved sculpture in Japan made during the Kamakura period.[23] Based on the Six Paths Jizō's size and its status as a solitary figure, this work has been treated as the *de facto* main icon of the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures. However, the Six Paths Jizō is dated by its accompanying inscription to 1300 (Shōan 2), or four years later than the completion of the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas. As a result, we cannot assume that the Six Paths Jizō was carved at the behest of the same group of patrons as an expansion on a coherent sculptural program. Rather, the Six Paths Jizō represents a distinct, albeit related, religious motivation, inscribed on a neighboring outcrop of rock that responds to a shared sense of the sacred geography of the area around Shōjin Lake.

Unlike the standing Jizō of the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, the Six Paths Jizō is in a posture of seated meditation on a large lotus throne, carved completely from the same rock outcrop; like the Jizō of the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, this figure incorporates the standard iconography for Jizō, including the shaved head, monk's robe and staff, and wish-granting jewel cupped in the left hand. Today, the Six Paths Jizō is encased on three sides by a wooden structure; this hall is of recent construction, but archeological evidence supports there being an existing hall at the site from at least the late Muromachi period (1392-1573) until it was destroyed in a fire in the nineteenth century.[24] The metal monk's staff and the crystal *urna* are also recent restorations, as labels on site explain that they were restored in 1933. The Six Paths

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[23] Washizuka, "Sekibutsu," 75-77.
[24] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 75.

Jizō's inscription is also fairly eroded due to centuries of exposure, but a significant amount can be reconstructed. The first part of the inscription reads as follows:

[箱]根山寶[蔵] [嶽］[之］　[地］

奉造立六地蔵［堂］願□者[25]

[Ha]konezan hō [zō] [take] [no] [chi]

Tatematsu zōryū rokujizō　［ dō ］-gan □-sha

The first six characters of first line of the inscription names the Mount Hakone treasure house and makes a reference to the peak, while the first eight characters of the second line can be very roughly translated as "Making an offering by building a Six Jizō [Hall on the land of the peak]…."[26] The last third of the line is difficult to translate smoothly due to the missing characters, but it makes a reference to vows (*negai*) and a person or group of persons. This is followed by two lines of characters that are too eroded to decipher. The next legible section is also difficult to make out, but it does give the date, 1300 (Shōan 2) and refers to the Six Jizō.

This inscription gives the reader several key pieces of information. First, it references Mount Hakone, a major landmark and significant religious site in the area, which will be discussed more in depth later in this chapter. Second, it specifically says that this is a Six Paths Jizō, an important identification considering there is only one Jizō present on this particular rock outcrop. The motif of Six Jizō, one for each path of transmigration, can be seen in Japanese Buddhist imagery beginning in the twelfth century and gained in popularity through the

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[25] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 76.

[26] Many thanks to Dr. Sherry Fowler, Dr. Amy McNair, and Dr. William Lindsey for their suggestions on this translation.

Kamakura period (1185-1333).[27] It is common, however, to convey this iconographical identification through a multiplication of Jizō images, one for each of the six paths. The Moto-Hakone Six Paths Jizō is a rare solitary Jizō identified with the idea of the six paths of rebirth.

Edo-period graffiti can also be found carved alongside the older inscription; luckily the size, depth, and roughness of the later additions make it clear that they were not part of the original text. This graffiti consists of three sets of characters: *Odawara* 小田原, *sekihiko* 石彦, and *sekiho* 石浦. "Odawara" refers to the neighboring town, while the two other inscriptions translate as "stone lad" and "stone bay" may refer to the workmen who carried out work on the structure in the Edo period.[28] Considering the Six Path Jizō's location on a well-known road, it is surprising that these were the only additions made to the work. Instead, later visitors seem to have confined themselves to the erection of stone lanterns and small-scale freestanding statues that litter the ground in front of the Six Paths Jizō's hall.

The Ōchō Jizō

The final example of cliff-carved sculpture at the Moto-Hakone site is popularly referred to as the Ōchō Jizō, after the date 1311 (Ōchō 1) its accompanying inscription. (Figures 5.9-5.10) This grouping consists of three standing Jizō images, one taller one in its own individual niche and two smaller Jizō that share a small niche to the larger Jizō's proper left. Of all the cliff-carved sculpture at this site, this is the example that is the smallest in scale, most likely due

[27] Glassman, *The Face of Jizō*, 26-27.

to the space restraints imposed by the size of the rock outcrop, which is only 124 centimeters tall. This grouping is also the closest spatially to Shōjin Lake, located as it is in a small grove of trees on the lake's eastern shore. Despite the small surface area available to the carvers working on the Ōchō Jizō, two inscriptions and a Sanskrit seed syllable have been carved on the rock face. One inscription is located above the smaller image niche and the other and its accompanying seed syllable is located to the larger Jizō's proper right. The text of the former inscriptions is as follows:

敬白

右志者為

聖霊　仏得道

之　　藤原　女[29]

Keihaku

Migi kokorozashisha no tame

Shōryō hotoke tokudō

Kore　Fujiwara onna

This inscription, like those seen accompanying the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, dedicates the image to the spirits of the dead, prays this offering will help them become Buddhas, and identifies the patrons as a woman or women associated with the Fujiwara family. The second inscription contains the date, 1311 (Ōcho) as well as a reference to a large number of patrons who contributed to this work's creation:

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[28] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 77.

應長元年七月八日

□衆六十人之頭[足]百　敬白[30]

Ōcho gannen shichigatsu hachinichi

□ *Shū rokujū nin no atama [soku] hyaku keihaku*

Ōcho 1 (1311), seventh month, eighth day

The head of this group of sixty people respectfully states…[31]

Next to this inscription is the Sanskrit seed syllable for Amida, which continues the juxtaposition of Amida and Jizō already seen in both the figures and text of the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas.

Moto-Hakone and Sacred Geography

The location of the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures between the mountains Mount Futago and Mount Komagetake connects this site nicely with the reoccurring theme of this dissertation, that mountains functioned as a liminal realm in Japanese thought. It is tempting to assume that these sculptures, so accessible today by highway, were also easily accessible to the travelers on the Tōkaidō. The Tōkaidō does run through the general neighborhood connecting Odawara and Hakone. This section of the highway was considered the most steep and difficult section of the of the highway, and the climb to the Hakone checkpoint itself was so treacherous

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[29] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 67.
[30] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 67.
[31] With sincere thanks to Dr. Amy McNair and Dr. William Lindsey for their assistance with this translation of this particular passage.

that the region earned the title "impregnable pass of the realm."[32] Prior to the Edo period, movement through these mountains had been restricted to the Hakone pass by geography alone, and those traveling east to Kamakura during the Kamakura period inevitably took this mountain pass, some pausing to compose works of prose and poetry on the mountainous landscape.[33] However, when the three cliff-carved sculptural groupings were added to the landscape, they had surprisingly little relationship with the flow of travelers through the Hakone mountain range. Instead, they were located along an older local road, one that led to the hot spring resort of Ashi no yu (芦の湯). This is perhaps best illustrated by a map in the first volume of *Hakone shichi to yu shi* (箱根七湯志), a nineteenth-century guide to the Hakone hot springs written by Mamiya Nagayoshi (1805-1872).[34] This map includes both the main road through the region, the Tōkaidō, and also the smaller side roads that led the various resorts in the area. Not only is the road to Ashi no yu included, but Shōjin Lake is also included, here labeled Shōshi ike (生死池), which translates to Birth and Death Lake. The multitude of names for the key geographical features surrounding the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculpture will be discussed further below.

The physical geography of the region is well mapped in various Edo-period sources. The sacred geography of the general area is also well-defined, with a focus on the sacred peak of Mount Hakone, where the central mountain of what was once the syncretic Buddhist institution of Tōfukuji was enshrined as the Hakone Gongen, the *kami* of Mount Hakone, and is still

[32] Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 163 (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1994), 110.
[33] Donald Keene, *Travelers of a Hundred Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 114.

identified on maps to this day as Kamiyama (神山).[35] This is an example of the mountains embodying *kami*, but the mountains of the Hakone region were also associated with the dead. This can be seen in the designation of Shōjin Lake (Figure 4.11) as “Birth and Death Lake” in *Hakone shichi to yu chi*; however, in other maps the lake is named Oigo ga ike (生子ケ池) or “Living Child Lake.”[36] In this map, the mountain behind the lake is labeled Shideyama (死出山), or “Entering Death Mountain.” In the local imagination, then, the geographical landmarks around the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures were well imbued with connections to the realm of the dead.

Piled atop this idea of the mountains as connecting to a general afterlife, the Hakone region was also considered to connect to Buddhist conceptions of the afterlife. While mountains as a realm of the dead is not necessarily a Buddhist concept, after the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century these realms of the dead came to take on a distinctly Buddhist tinge, as new categories of sacred geography added new layers of interpretation to mountains that were already meaning-rich. One of the major categories that developed at this time is the one Grapard identifies as “the sacred area,” and with the establishment of an increasing number of mountain-based temples, the mountain as sacred area became an important component in

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[34] Mamiya Nagayoshi, *Hakone shichi to yu*, vol. 1 (undated), frame 5, accessed January 24, 2016 via National Diet Library Digital Collection, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2553996/5.

[35] Barbara Ambros, “Clerical Demographics in the Edo-Meiji Transition: Shingon and Tōzenha Shugendō in Western Sagami,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 64, no. 1 (2009): 83. A quick Google search for maps of the Hakone area, or even a Google Maps search will confirm that the central mountain of what is now Hakone Shrine is in fact named Kamiyama.

[36] *Hakone izu* (Tsutaya heizaemon, 1854), accessed January 25, 2016 via National Diet Library Digital Collections, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/9367509/2.

Japanese religious thought.[37] In the Hakone area, Tōfukuji contributed to the development of the region as a sacred area primarily through its status as a Kogi Shingon academy and the presence of a local *shugendō* headquarters.[38] Esoteric Buddhism, after all, had a number of rituals whose performance would sacralize a particular area, and once set aside as sacred areas, these mountains could be reinterpreted as Buddha realms.[39]

While it is unclear if the summit of Kamiyama or any of its surrounding mountains were viewed as a Pure Land, later Edo-period writers firmly identified the area around the Moto-Hakone *sekibutsu* with Sai no Kawara, the children's limbo, while other sections of the mountain landscape were identified as hell realms due to the presence of sulfuric vapors.[40] The constantly repeating imagery of Jizō, after all, supports the equation of this region with a hell realm, as Jizō was thought to be particularly efficacious when it came to helping the souls of the dead out of the hell realms. This is also supported by Shōjin Lake's alternate identity as Chi no ike (血の池), or "Blood Pool Lake."[41] The Blood Pool Hell was reserved for women, especially those who died in childbirth, and by giving this name to this real-world geographical feature, the surrounding area become similarly imbued with the aura of the Buddhist hells. Images of Jizō, so effective at saving the dead from the multitude of Hells, naturally proliferated. The presence of

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[37] Grapard, "Flying Mountains," 198-199.
[38] Koji Shingon, or Old Shingon, was one of the two schools of Shingon formed in the Kamakura period as the result of a political dispute between the monks of Denbō-in and Kongōbuji. Ambros, "Clerical Demographics in the Edo-Meiji Transition," 83-125.
[39] Grapard, "Geotyping Sacred Space," 227.
[40] Washizuka, *Sekibutsu*, 78.
[41] Glassman, *The Face of Jizō*, 87; Hank Glassman, "At the Crossroads of Birth and Death: The Blood Pool Hell and Postmortem Fetal Extraction," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, ed. Jacqueline Stone and Mariko Walter (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 176-177, 182-184; Caroline Hirasawa, *Hell-Bent for Heaven in* Tateyama mandara*: Painting and Religious Practice at a Japanese Mountain* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 113-115, 125.

Amida and Kannon among the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, adds the promise of rescue from the hells and places a layer of welcoming descent and rebirth in the Pure Land over the hells.

As discussed in the previous chapters, many examples of cliff-carved sculpture are connected to *shugendō* practice, particularly the idea of mountain pilgrimage. Often this connection is made explicit by the inclusion of a stone image of Fudō Myōō, the deity thought to be the guide and protector of religious ascetics. Fudō Myōō is, however, notably absent among the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures. Despite this, other elements of the Moto-Hakone works suggest a connection between the sculptures and *shugendō* practices around the turn of the thirteenth century. In the Kamakura period, *shugendō* began to emerge as an organized religious movement, and from the twelfth century on it flourished primarily in the form of local mountain headquarters centered on either a single sacred mountain or a group of sacred mountains.[42] These local branches of *shugendō* could be found throughout most of Japan, perhaps because of almost any mountain's potential to be a sacred site. The Mount Hakone area was no exception. By the Edo period, Tōfukuji at Hakone was staffed by not only Kogi Shingon priests and shrine priests, but also fifteen *shugenja* lived nearby.[43]

As the formal doctrine of *shugendō* borrowed heavily from esoteric Buddhism, both Tendai and Shingon, and *shugendō* practitioners placed a high value on ascetic techniques taken from a range of Buddhist sources.[44] Mountain retreats were seen as an important component to *shugendō* practice, and mountain pilgrimages were thought to result in the development of

[42] H. Byron Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō: an Example of Japanese Mountain Religion*, A Monumenta Nipponica Monograph (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970), 1.
[43] Ambros, "Clerical Demographics in the Edo-Meiji Transition," 114.
[44] Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō*, 2.

magico-religious power, frequently described as "becoming a Buddha in this very body."[45] The idea of mountain pilgrimage—of entering and wandering through the mountains—came to take on the character of a spiritual journey to another world, and thus *shugendō* practitioners propagated the already deep-rooted idea that the mountain at the heart of their practice was in fact an otherworld.[46] There was no set definition of exactly what kind of otherworld the *shugenja* would experience however, and *shugendō* practitioners could experience a wide range of otherworlds depending on the how the mountain was interpreted. Many individual mountains were seen as having multiple identities, with Buddha realms, hell realms, and realms of the *kami* all layered on a single mountain.[47]

While we have seen that the area around the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures came to be associated with the hell realms at some point during the Edo period, there is also evidence that the Mount Hakone area was interpreted in terms of a "cosmic trinity." In his seminal study of *yamabushi* and *shugendō*, Wakamori Torō identifies Mount Hakone as possessing three sacred peaks: Inohanagatake, which was shared with Mount Kintoki, Myōjingatake and Komagetake.[48] The identification of Komagetake as a sacred peak is particularly interesting when we take into account the fact that the Moto-Hakone *sekibutsu* are clustered between Mount Futagoyama and Komegatake, suggesting that these sculptures could have some connection to *shugendō* mountain practices. The inscription on the Ōchō Jizō with its prayer to become a

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[45] Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō*, 2.

[46] Miyake Hitoshi, "The Foundation of Shugendō Religious Thought," in *Shugendō: Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion*, ed. H. Byron Earhart, 109-130 (Ann Arbor: The Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2001), 115.

[47] A set of three sacred mountains, however, could be interpreted by *shugenja* practitioners as the "cosmic trinity of womb *mandala*, diamond *mandala*, and womb-and-diamond *mandala*." Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō*, 28.

[48] Wakamori Torō, *Yamabushi: Nyūbu, Shugyō, Juhō* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1964), 182-183.

Buddha also suggests a connection to *shugendō* practices and its emphasis on becoming a Buddha in life, in this body.

Another connection between *shugendō* and the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures is the presence of the Six Paths Jizō. Usually, images of Six Paths Jizō are depicted as six identical Jizō, one for each potential path of rebirth.[49] Since the Six Paths Jizō at Moto-Hakone, however, is a single Jizō that is clearly identified as being a Six Paths Jizō in the inscription, the patrons responsible for its production may have placed a great deal of importance on this iconographical identification. This emphasis on the Six Paths portion of the Jizō's identification suggests a connection to *shugendō* practices, as *shugendō* practitioners had come to use the Buddhist doctrine of ten worlds to frame their practice of mountain austerities.[50] These ten worlds were then broken down into the preliminary six paths (*rokudō*) and the final four enlightened stages, with the six paths (the hell path, path of hungry ghosts, beast path, the *asura* path, human path, and heavenly path) and the four enlightened stages identified as the disciple, the self-enlightened Buddha, the bodhisattva, and the Buddha.[51] In entering a sacred mountain landscape, a *shugendō* practitioner would in effect be entering into the ten worlds of existence, traveling through these by virtue of austerities, and emerge from the mountain having achieved Buddhahood.[52] The fact that the inscription accompanying the Six Paths Jizō references Mount Hakone further connects the sculpture to a center of *shugendō* practice in the region.

The Moto-Hakone Cliff-Carved Sculpture and Pilgrimage

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[49] Glassman, *The Face of Jizō*, 84-87.
[50] Swanson, "Shugendo and the Yoshino-Kumano Pilgrimage," 59.
[51] Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō*, 30.
[52] Swanson, "Shugendo and the Yoshino-Kumano Pilgrimage," 59.

Although the connection between the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures and various threads of late Kamakura period religious thought is somewhat easy to draw, any attempt to relate these sculptures directly to pilgrimage practices is much more difficult. The entire Mount Hakone region can be understood in terms of *shugendō*-centric mountain pilgrimage, but it is unclear how much pilgrimage traffic came to the region from outside. Part of the difficulty comes from the question of how, exactly, we should define pilgrimage.

During the Kamakura period, there is no question that the Mount Hakone area served as site for mountain pilgrimage of the *mineiri,* or 'entering the mountains' variety, as *shugendō* practitioners dedicated themselves to their austerities. During the Edo period, however, things began to change with the greater institutionalizing of both Tōfukuji and its affiliated *shugenja.* Tōfukuji became a major Kogi Shingon center and one of the thirty-four Kogi Shingon academies in the Kanto region, and it also administered the shrine dedicated to Hakone Gongen, the *kami* divinity of Mount Hakone.[53] As a result, this institution was staffed by both Buddhist ritual clerics and shrine priests; in addition, fifteen Honzanha and Tōzanha *shugenja* lived in the neighboring towns. While Tōfukuji benefited from shogunal patronage, receiving 200 *koku* of rice, roughly equivalent to 30,000 kilograms, to assist in administering the Hakone Gongen Shrine, *shugendō* practitioners did not flourish under the government's political domination and were largely forced off the mountain and into the neighboring towns and villages.[54] Many of these practitioners began to focus more and more on the parish relationship they developed in the surrounding regions, and as a result the Mount Hakone *shugendō* practitioners functioned more

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[53] Ambros, "Clerical Demographics in the Edo-Meiji Transition," 83

[54] Ambros, "Clerical Demographics in the Edo-Meiji Transition," 83; Earhart, *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō,* 33.

as guides and facilitators for local pilgrims than as mountain ascetics.[55] However, records of pilgrimages to Mount Hakone are sorely lacking. Pilgrims tended to keep diaries only when they traveled a great distance from home, and most of the available pilgrimage records from the Edo period describe the Ise pilgrimage as experienced by pilgrims from outside Kinai.[56]

Further complicating the situation is the almost total destruction of Mount Hakone as a syncretic religious institution in the Meiji period (1868-1912). Under the forced separation of Buddhist and Shintō institutions, Tōfukuji became the shrine Hakone Jinja and the Buddhist head laicized in order to become the head shrine priest of this newly established Shinto institution.[57] In addition, *shugendō* was officially proscribed in 1872, as it did not fall into the new Buddhist and Shinto paradigm the Meiji government was actively promoting.[58] Members of the Hakone religious community could become either Shinto or Buddhist priests, and if neither option appealed to them, they would have to return to lay life. As a result, the original religious context for the Moto-Hakone *Sekibutsu* disappeared, and in the twentieth century, tourist literature on the site focused on a general Jizō-centric reading that equated the immediate environment with the hell realm and ignored the previous religious complexities of the site.

The sacred geography surrounding the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures is a fairly tangled knot of syncretic traditions, where one landscape feature can carry multiple names and multiple meanings. While it is unclear if this site featured in any of the official pilgrimage routes that ran through the region, it was a well-established feature of the more secular nineteenth century period pilgrimage to the Hakone hot springs. This can be seen in maps drawn in the two major guidebooks for the region, the previously mentioned *Hakone shichi to yu shi* and the

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[55] Ambros, "Clerical Demographics in the Edo-Meiji Transition," 83.
[56] Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers,* 249.
[57] Ambros, "Clerical Demographics in the Edo-Meiji Transition," 114.

Hakone shichi yu shiori (箱根七湯栞), written by Rokasanjin and dated 1811 (Bunka 8).

Handwritten copies of both of these books are in the holding of the National Diet Library and can be accessed via their online database.[59]

Hakone shichi to yu shi has already been discussed in terms of its map of the region. *Hakone shichi yu shiori* also includes a map of the region, this one a little more detailed and faithful to the actual geography of the region.[60] Unlike Mamiya's map, the map drawn by Rokasanjin also includes little sketches of the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas and the Jizō Hall housing the Six Paths Jizō, as well as several of the surrounding stone lanterns. This attention to the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures continues in the entry for Ashi no yu and its surroundings. First, Rokasanjin treats the viewer to a double-page spread of the road and the immediate landscape, including the labeled twin peaks of Mount Futago.[61] The next two-page spread shows the immediate surroundings of Oigo Lake, including the Jizō Hall and the Ōchō Jizō grouping.[62] A corner of the Six Paths Jizō is visible under the thatched roof of the structure labeled Jizō Hall, and the accompanying stone lanterns and freestanding sculptures are also included. The illustration of the Ōchō Jizō grouping includes sketches of each of the niches and a scribbled line meant to indicate one of the inscriptions. Perhaps most importantly, the grouping is

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[58] Swanson, "Shugendo and the Yoshino-Kumano Pilgrimage," 76.

[59] The full text of Mamiya's *Hakone shichi to yu shi*, Volume 1, can be found at http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2550862/1, while the full text of Rokasanjin's *Hakone shichi yu shiori* can be found at http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2550862/1.

[60] Rokasanjin, *Hakone shichi yu shiori*, vol. 1 (1811), Frame 23-24, accessed January 25, 2016 via National Diet Library Digital Collections, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2550862/23, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2550862/24.

[61] Rokasanjin, *Hakone shichi yu shiori*, Volume 2, Frame 71, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2550863/71.

[62] Rokasanjin, *Hakone shichi yu shiori*, Volume 2, Frame 72, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2550863/72.

labeled in the illustration as Ōchō no hi (應長の碑), or the Ōchō monument, confirming that this particular grouping has been known by this name since at least the early nineteenth century. The next page spread continues our tour of the Moto-Hakone site, as Rokasanjin has sketched the two rock outcrops that house the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas and has included abbreviated sketches of the sculptures themselves.[63] While only five of the twenty-five sculptures are rendered, three on a rock in the upper center of the page and two on the center right rock. A cartouche to next to each of the rocks identifies them as being part of the Twenty-Five Bodhisattvas. The accompanying text, however, does not go into much detail about the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures, especially when compared to Mamiya's handling of the same material in his *Hakone shichi to yu shi.*

Although Mamiya's hand-drawn map is less detailed than Rokasanjin's, he does include the same key features, including Mount Futago, the lake, and little dots marking the famous stone lanterns found among the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures.[64] In fact, when the reader reaches the entry for the Moto-Hakone site it become clear that Nagayoshi was much more interested in the writing of his account rather than the illustrations; the text is accompanied with a quick sketch of the Ōchō Jizō grouping with the focus on copying the inscriptions rather than rendering the sculptures.[65] Nagayoshi also transcribes the inscriptions on the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas grouping and provides another example of an author from the nineteenth century referring to the grouping by the name "*Nijūgo bosatsu*," or Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, indicating

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[63] Rokasanjin, *Hakone shichi yu shiori*, Volume 2, Frame 73, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2550863/73.

[64] Mamiya, *Hakone shichi to yu shi*, Volume 1, Frame 5, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2553996/5.

[65] Mamiya, *Hakone shichi to yu shi*, Volume 2, Frame 46, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2553997/46.

that this name for the grouping dates to at least the nineteenth century.[66] This interest in the inscriptions carries through the entire entry, suggesting that Mamiya thought the inscriptions themselves were worthy of recording and viewing when on tour of the region. The accompanying illustrations, all of which are quick monochrome ink sketches, also suggest that Mamiya might have been less confident in his artistic abilities than Rokasanjin.

After these two region-specific guidebooks, knowledge of the Moto-Hakone stone sculptures spread through other printed media of the nineteenth century. In an 1860 print *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō in the Landscape from Odawara to Hakone Mountain Road*, by the *ukiyo-e* artist Utagawa Sadahide (1807-1873) includes the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculpture in its panoramic view of the stretch of the Tōkaidō between the Odawara and Hakone checkpoints.[67] In his rendering of the region, Sadahide pays particular attention to the topography, depicting the rivers, lakes and mountains a traveler would encounter on their way from Edo to Kyoto. In contrast, the towns of Odawara and Hakone are not shown in any great detail, and the print is dominated by both the Hakone mountain range on the left-hand side of the print and a large white rectangle that floats over the center of the landscape. This rectangle contains three distinct illustrations with accompanying text; reading right to left, the illustrations depict a fish and two lizards, a stone lantern, and a large boulder with Buddhist images carved into it.

While records of religious pilgrimage to Mount Hakone during the Edo period are somewhat lacking, the region was famous for other, more secular matters. For one, the Hakone

[66] Mamiya, *Hakone shichi to yu shi*, Volume 2, Frame 43, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2553997/43.
[67] Utagawa Sadahide's print can be found in the Spencer Museum of Art's online collection at http://collection.spencerart.ku.edu/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=14919&viewType=detailView.

checkpoint was one of the first major barriers along the Tōkaidō, and all traffic west from Edo had to pass through this checkpoint. The Hakone Pass was frequently illustrated in *ukiyo-e* print series that focused on the fifty-three stations of the Tōkaidō, such as Utagawa's Hiroshige's Great Tōkaidō from 1833-1834 print of Mount Hakone.[68] Hakone was also associated with certain *meibutsu*, or "famous products"—unique specialties that were marketed as souvenirs to the growing number of travelers in the nineteenth century.[69] One of Hakone's famous products was the supposedly fire-resistant salamanders depicted in Utagawa Sadahide's print, along with a fish that probably was another famous local product.[70] The inclusion of these famous products in Sadahide's print, along with a stone lantern and the Moto-Hakone *sekibutsu* suggests that this section of the print was intended to serve as a kind of advertisement for Hakone, promoting famous local products along with famous local sites. This element of advertising ties into the growing popularity of leisure travel in the nineteenth century, despite the Tokugawa government's refusal to recognize the concept of the tourism. However, pilgrimage and convalescence at a hot springs resort were both approved justifications for travel.[71] Hakone, fortunately enough, could meet both requirements, as Mount Hakone was tied into the local pilgrimage networks, and its hot springs were considered especially effective at curing a wide range of ailments.[72] These hot springs, as sites of more recreational activity, tend to feature more often in prints of Hakone, but illustrations of local pilgrimage can also be found. A print triptych from 1858 by Utagawa Sadahide illustrates the crush of pilgrims at Ōyama, well known

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[68] A print can be viewed via the Spencer Museum of Art's online collection at http://collection.spencerart.ku.edu/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=7077&viewType=detailView

[69] Jilly Traganou, *The Tōkaidō Road: Traveling and Representation in Edo and Meiji Japan* (New York, NY: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 72.

[70] Traganou, *The Tōkaidō Road,* 72.

[71] Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers*, 238.

as a local pilgrimage site.[73] In the landscape beyond Ōyama, the artist has identified other mountain peaks and religious sites with small red cartouches. One of these cartouches identifies its mountain peak as Mount Hakone and its associated peaks, indicating that Mount Hakone did have a place in the broader religious landscape of Sagami province. Textual sources also tie Ōyamadera to Hakone, and pilgrims to Ōyama also frequently combined their pilgrimage with a trip to Enoshima or the hot springs at Hakone, further connecting the two sacred mountains.[74]

It is worth noting that Sadahide's 1860 print *The Fifty-three Stations* focuses on the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, continuing the emphasis on this grouping seen in earlier guidebooks. In fact, the Six Paths Jizō largely falls by the wayside in the first half of the nineteenth century and much more focus is placed on the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas. There are a number of reasons why this might have been the case. One reason could have been that single statues of Jizō were widespread across the Japanese landscape by this point, so the sheer number of the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas made this grouping more interesting. There is also the fact that there is more iconographical diversity among the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas due to the inclusion of Amida and Kannon, and then there is the high quality and quantity of inscriptions that caught the antiquarian's attention. Regardless of the exact reasoning, these drawn and printed representations that included maps of the region, placed their focus on the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas. This focus, however, shifted in the Meiji period as Western tourists began visiting

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[72] Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers*, 236.

[73] A copy of this triptych can be found in the British Museum's online database at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3068743&partId=1&searchText=utagawa+sadahide&images=true&page=1

[74] Mark Ravina, "Review: Emplacing a Pilgrimage: The Ōyama Cult and Regional Religion in Early Modern Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 70, no. 2 (2010): 567-572; Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers*, 248; Barbara Ambros, *Emplacing a Pilgrimage: The Ōyama Cult and Regional Religion in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 165.

Hakone's famous hot springs. Photographs of the Six Paths Jizō from this period are quite numerous and follow the same general formula: either an individual or a group stands in front of the statue, facing the camera or turned towards the Jizō image.[75]

Conclusion

Like the cliff-carved sculptures discussed in the previous three chapters, the Moto-Hakone sculptures may not have physically moved from their rock outcrops, but they did undergo significant changes in meaning throughout their history as the landscape changed around them and their details wore away. While not as extreme a case as the Ōyaji or Usuki cliff-carved sculptures, where there are no accompanying inscriptions and where possibly alternate identities have been assigned to the assorted Buddhas, the Moto-Hakone sculptures have also taken on new layers of meaning as successive generations of travelers have passed by. Evidence of the original meaning and intent is still there, preserved in what remains of the inscriptions, but the neighboring lake and mountains have changed names and meanings, depending on the source, and in the process have changed how the sculptures fit within the landscape. Perhaps the biggest change to the Moto-Hakone site, however, did not come until the twentieth century and the construction of National Highway 1. Now, the site has been split in two, with Group A and B of the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas divided by the highway. The Six Paths Jizō is also divided from its neighboring sculptures by the highway, although the recent construction of a tunnel under the road has made visiting the Jizō less of a fraught experience. Still, the modern highway has drastically changed how viewers relate to the sculptures, down to

[75] Copies of these photographs can be found in the Nagasaki University Library's Metadata Database of Japanese Old Photographs in Bakumatsu-Meiji Period at

the very angle of approach. National Highway 1, after all, does not follow the path of the original old road that led by the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures, as it skirts the base of Mount Futago. Coming from a northerly direction the old road took a much more direct approach up and down the slopes, so that the viewer's experience would be one of descending the mountain side, passing the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, and then taking in the rest of the site.[76] While the modern viewer can never recapture the older viewing experience, a careful study of the site and how it was presented nineteenth-century gazetteers provides a path to understanding how the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures were seen in their own time and beyond.

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http://oldphoto.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/en/target.php?id=297 and in the Library of Congress's Prints & Photographs Online Catalog at http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2009633072/.

[76] Tokai Daigaku, *Motohakone sekibutsu seitōgun*, 38.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

In the proceeding four chapters, this dissertation's discussion of cliff-carved Buddhist sculptures has covered a great deal of time and space even as the focus has been limited to a selection rather than the full scope of cliff-carved sculpture in Japan. The history of stone sculpture in Japan is a very long one, after all, and Buddhist stone sculptures have been a part of the visual culture of Japanese Buddhism since the introduction of Buddhism to the Nara court. Modern scholarship on Japanese Buddhist stone sculpture, however, is not of comparable depth, especially in the English language. This dissertation celebrates the achievements the artists and patrons of premodern Buddhist stone sculpture, contributes to the expansion of the field and suggests paths for future scholarship.

Ōyaji, Usuki, Tōnoo and Hakone, the four sites discussed above, are different in many respects, but through these differences they provide an accurate representation of the range of cliff-carved sculptures available for the scholar to study. There are examples of cliff-carved sculpture from the late Heian period throughout the islands of Honshu and Kyushu, including sites in eastern Honshu and northeastern Kyushu that would benefit from further study. The cliff-carved stone sculpture of Ōita Prefecture as a whole, of which the Usuki sculptures are only a fraction, would make for a particularly rich field of study. Examples of cliff-carved sculpture from the late Kamakura and Muromachi periods are similarly numerous, and both the Tōnoo and Moto-Hakone regions have many sculptures that are geographically close to the sculptures discussed in Chapters Three and Four. A broader regional study of either site has the potential to be particularly revealing of patterns in local religious practice.

The four sites discussed also serve to illustrate how certain themes reoccur from site to site as part of broader patterns of religious practice. The cliff-carved sculptures at Ōyaji and Usuki speak to the late Heian interest in esoteric Buddhism and the use of at times unconventional iconography. Chapters One and Two also illustrate the difficulty of decoding that iconography in the present day, as centuries' worth of religious practice and reinterpretations at the sites has resulted in a 'traditional' interpretation that may or may not be the originally intended iconography. Tōnoo and Hakone show how the focus of late Kamakura and Muromachi cliff-carved sculptures shifted from esoteric Buddhism towards more personal concerns with the afterlife, as seen in the proliferation of images of Amida and Jizō. Ōyaji and Tōnoo also demonstrate the relationship between cliff-carved sculpture and traditions of moving through the sacred landscape, and a case has been made that Usuki and Hakone also reflect regional interpretations of sacred geography and mountain-based religious practice. The relationship between cliff-carved Buddhist sculpture and *shugendō* or other mountain-based religious practice be seen at all four of the sites discussed in this dissertation, regardless of time period, and similarly all four sites share a concern with the afterlife, although the mortuary context is emphasized more prominently at Tōnoo and Hakone as commissions became more personal.

In addition to the above themes, this dissertation also seeks to show the wide variety of potential avenues of scholarly exploration opened by taking Japanese cliff-carved sculpture as a starting point. Chapter One introduces the potential for comparison within Japan, providing a framework for scholars and students to explore stylistic and cultural connections within a region and with larger cultural hubs, in this case the Heian capital. Chapter Two, with its discussion of the Usuki sculptures and northeastern Kyushu's relationship to China and the kingdoms of the Korean peninsula, touches on the wide range of opportunities available for scholars and students

interested in discussing Japanese cliff-carved sculpture in relation to its Chinese and Korean counterparts. Both Chapters One and Two present strategies for working with late Heian cliff-carved stone sculptures that do not feature in many contemporaneous primary sources, and it is my hope that future scholars will similarly engage with the folklore and temple founding legends that circulated around such sites. For those later sites which include inscriptions, Chapters Three and Four illustrate how inscriptions can be incorporated into both the study of a site as a whole and of individual sculptural works.

Perhaps the most intriguing avenue for future exploration can be seen in Chapter Four and its discussion of the Moto-Hakone cliff-carved sculptures in light of nineteenth century prints, books, and hand-drawn maps. Due to the lack of contemporary primary sources dealing with the creation of many cliff-carved sculptures, it can be difficult to determine how people interacted with the sculptures and their surrounding landscape. In prints such as Utagawa Sadahide's 1860 print *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō in the Landscape from Odawara to Hakone Mountain Road* and in books such as Mamiya Nagayoshi's handwritten and illustrated *Hakone shichi to yu*, this dissertation reveals the potential for using more recent print culture to examine how cliff-carved sculptures were perceived by the nineteenth-century viewer. Their interpretations can tell us a great deal about the religious environment of their own time, just as the reinterpreted iconographies of sites such as Ōyaji and Usuki can speak to the changing religious environment and the reidentifications that result. With freestanding sculptures, the sculptures themselves can be moved as their identities are reinterpreted and as guest Buddhas are introduced. With cliff-carved works, the sculptures themselves are a fixed point, regardless of how the religious landscape shifts around them.

This dissertation does not seek to be the definitive work on cliff-carved stone sculpture in Japan, but rather the beginning of an ongoing conversation. There is still a great deal of ground to cover, and countless sites left to investigate, as well as additional work that can be done on the four sites discussed above. As the majority of cliff-carved sculptures are outside and exposed to the elements, it is important that they be studied before even greater erosion takes place and erases valuable details. It is my hope that this work will inspire future scholars and students to tackle the often difficult but ultimately rewarding study of Japanese cliff-carved sculptures, a study which can contribute much to the fields of Japanese art history, religious history, and print culture, as well as the broader topics of Asian art history and religious history. This is a While much of the relationship between Japanese stone sculpture and the Korean and Chinese traditions has been outside the scope of this dissertation, the potential for comparative study is great. Japanese cliff-carved stone sculpture, so little discussed in English scholarship, is a particularly rich field of study and this dissertation should be only the beginning.

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Appendix

Chapter Three: Figures

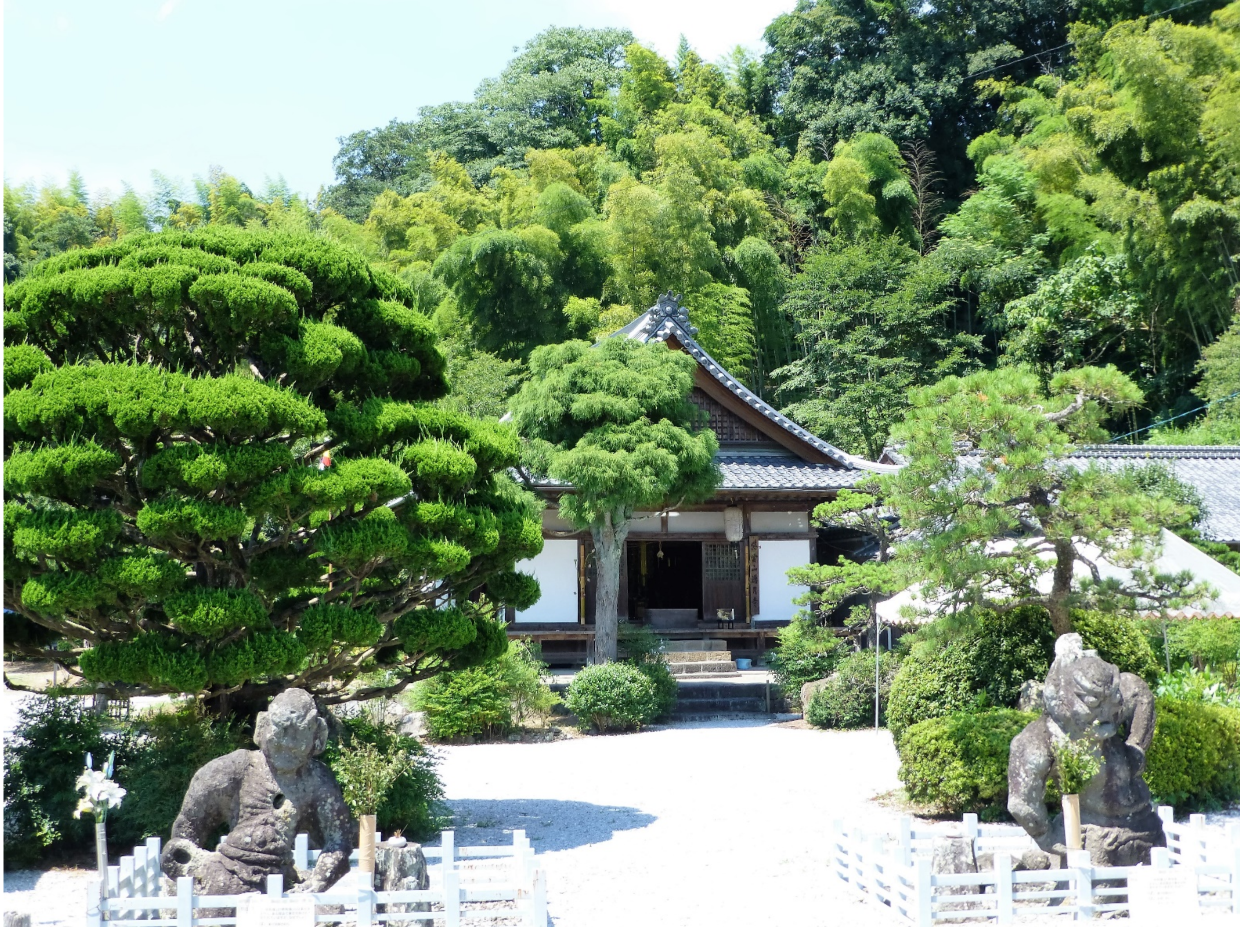

Figure 3.1
Shin Mangetsuji.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

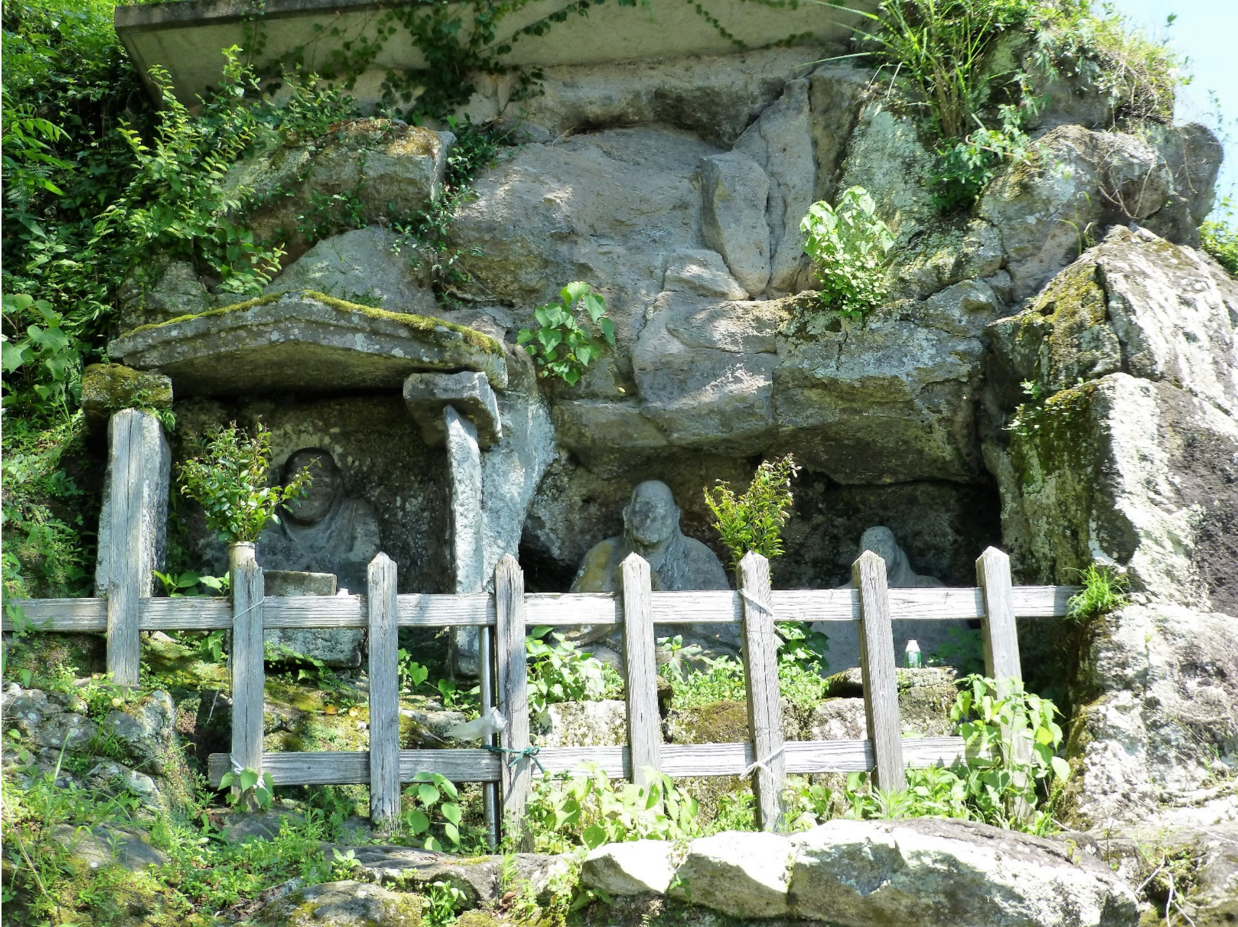

Figure 3.2
Sculptures of Elder Manano, Princess Tamatsu, and Renjō.
Shin Mangetsuji, Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

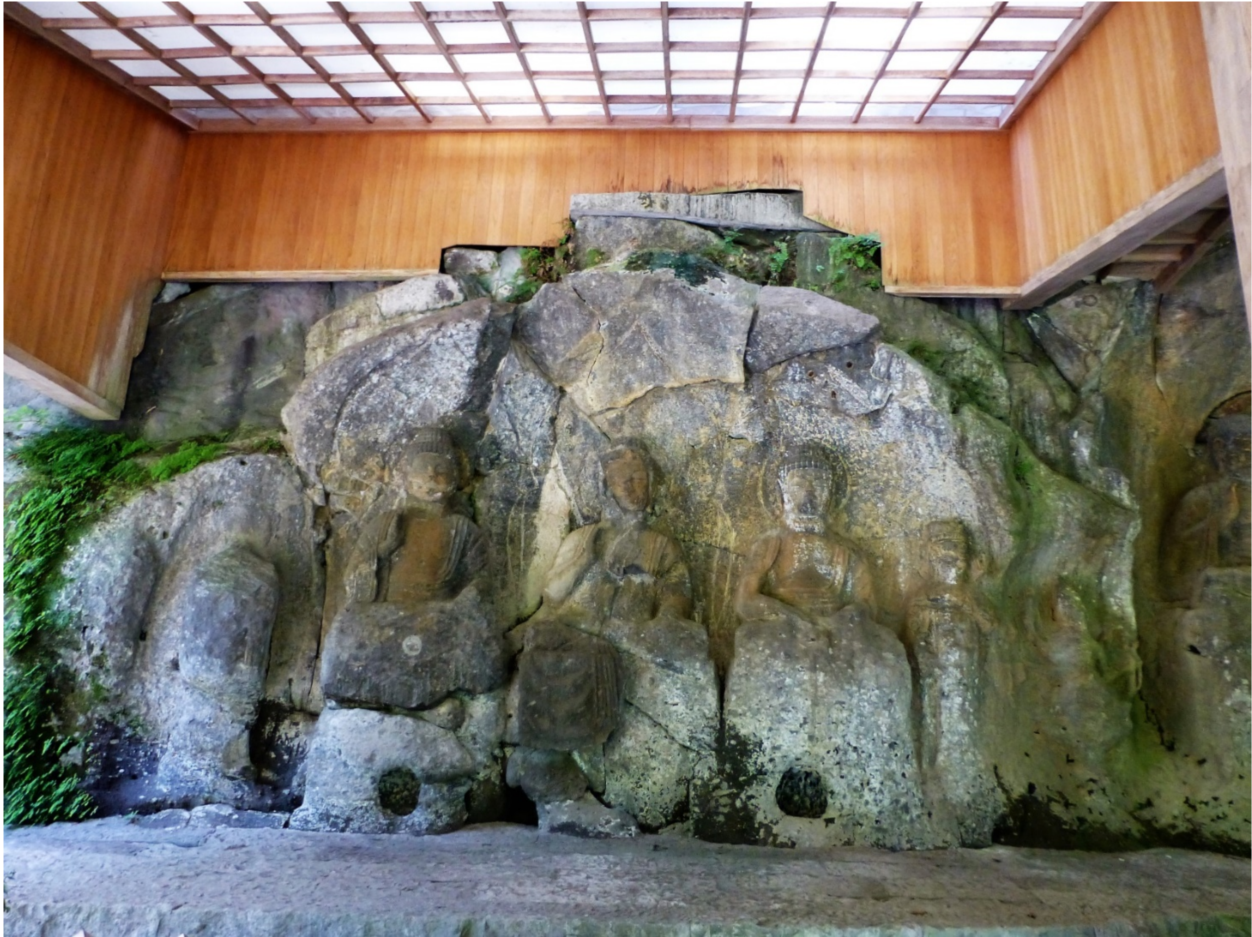

Figure 3.3
Hoki Group 1 Niche 1.
Central Buddha, height: 156 cm; left Buddha, height: 143 cm; right Buddha, height: 153 cm; left bodhisattva, height: 160 cm, right bodhisattva, height: 174 cm.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 3.4
Hoki Group 1 Niche 2.
Central Buddha, height: 182.5 cm; left Buddha, height: 164 cm; right Buddha: 168 cm.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

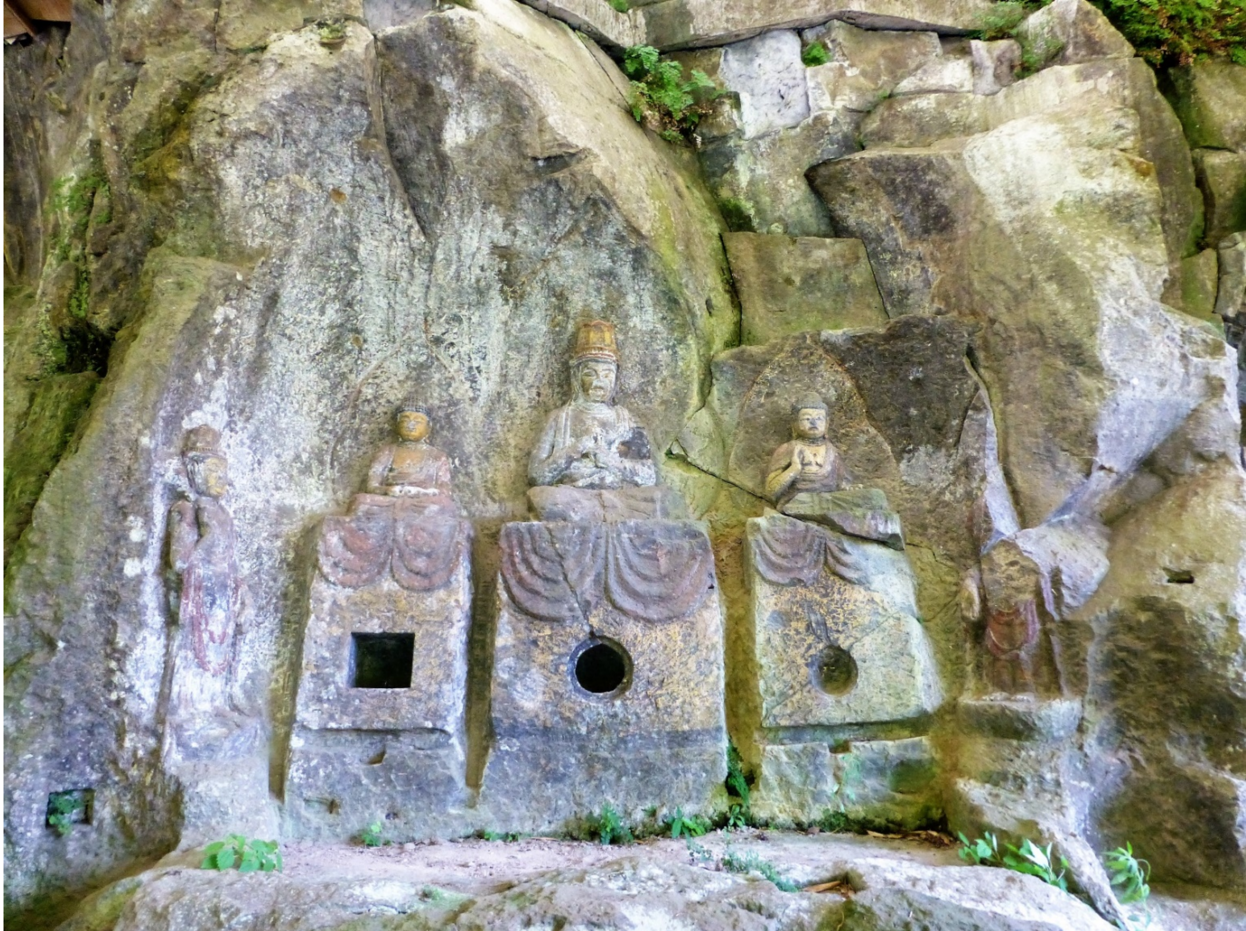

Figure 3.5
Hoki Group 1 Niche 3.
Central Dainichi, height: 98 cm; left Buddha, height: 61 cm; right Buddha, height: 60.5.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

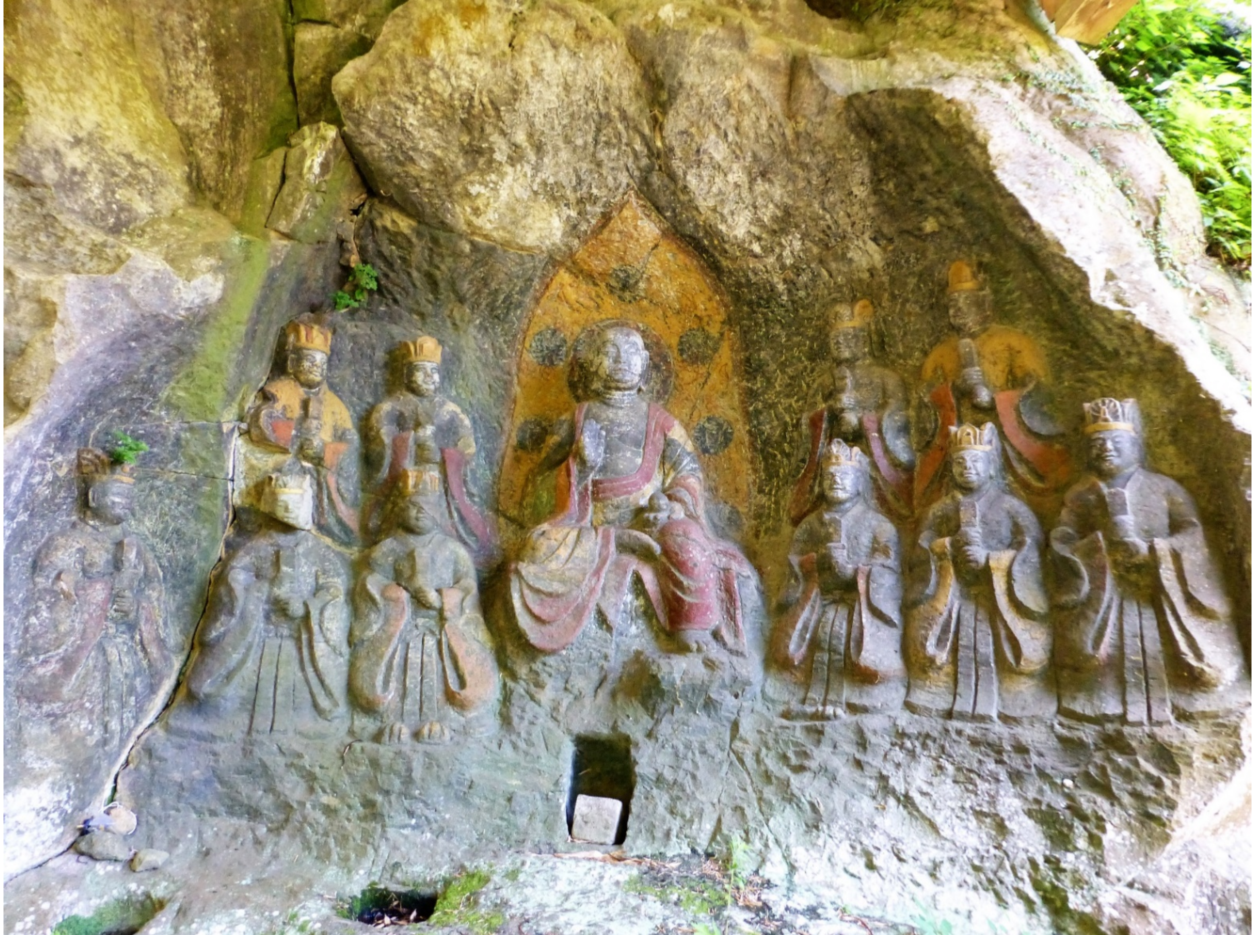

Figure 3.6
Hoki Group 1 Niche 4.
Central Jizō, height: 94 cm; Ten Kings, height: 85-97 cm.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

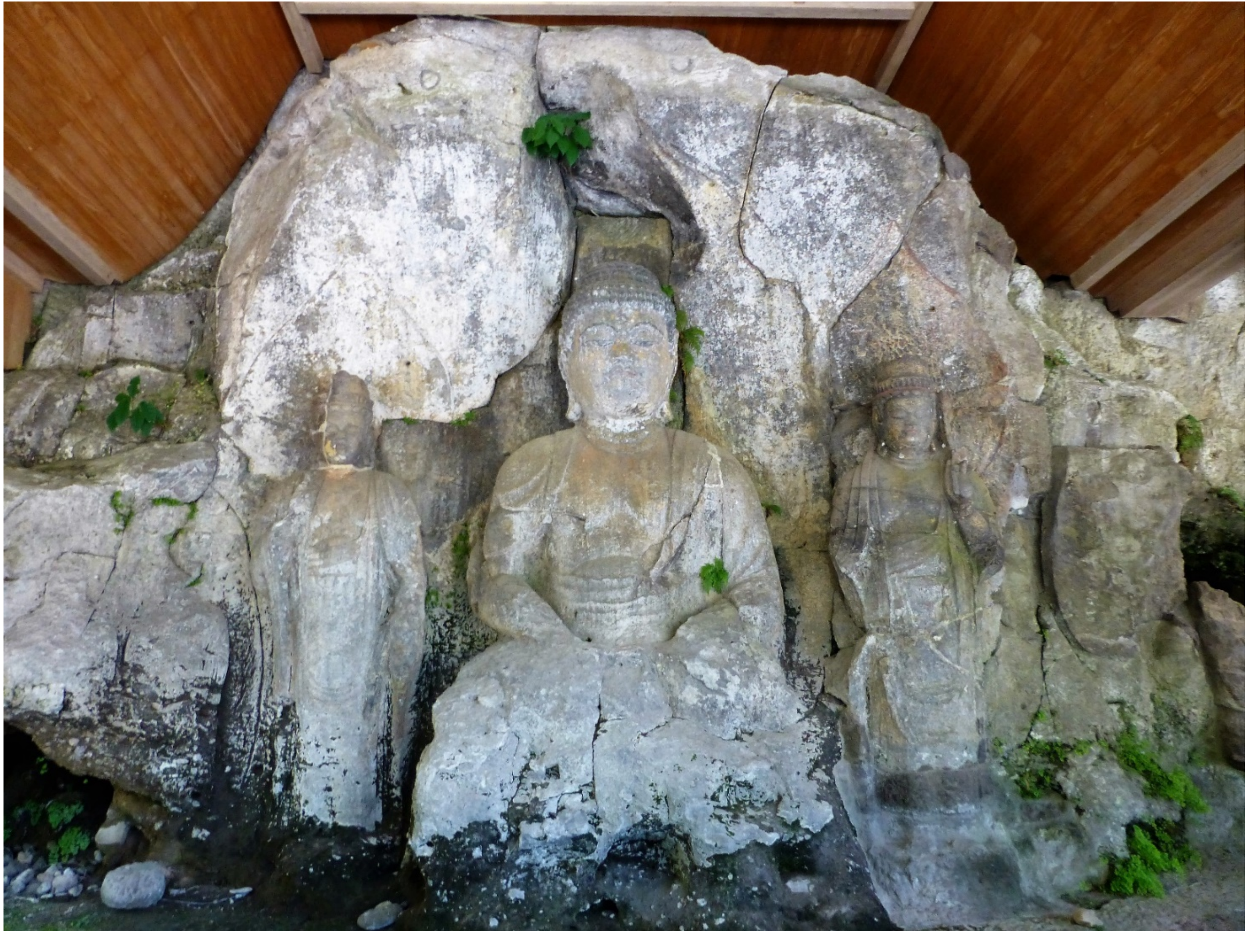

Figure 3.7
Hoki Group 2 Niche 1.
Central Buddha, height: 279 cm; left attendant, height: 263.4 cm; right attendant, height: 265 cm.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

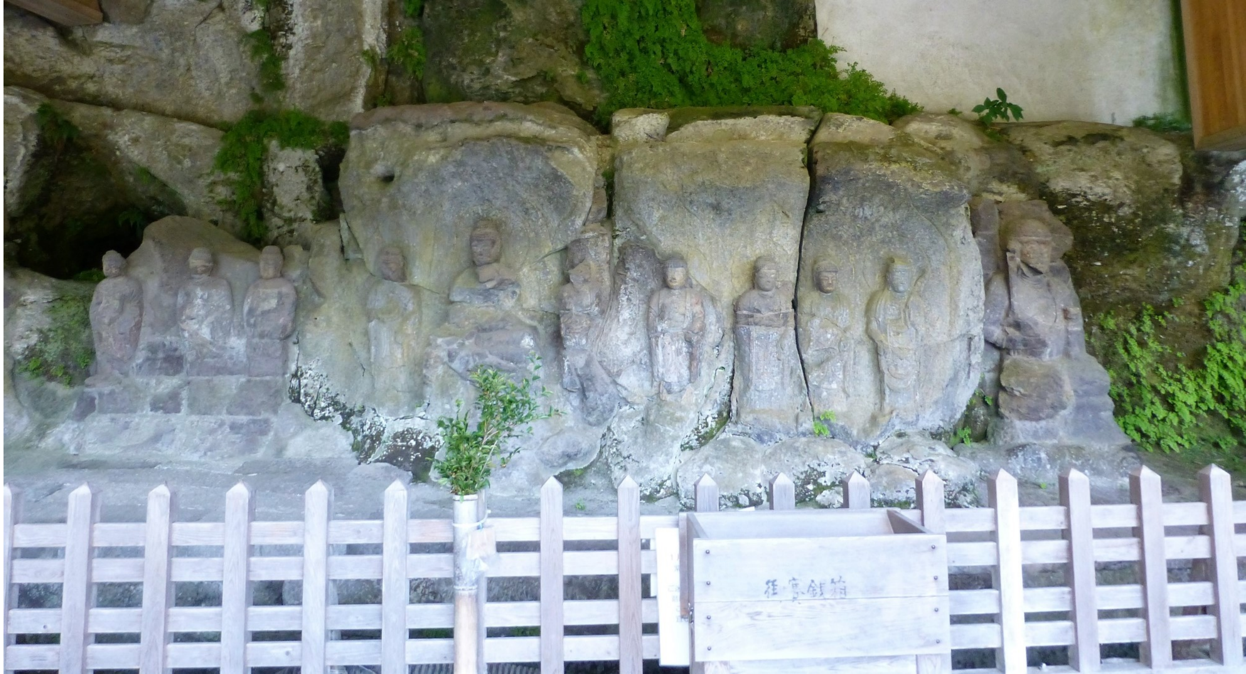

Figure 3.8
Hoki Group 2 Niche 2.
Central Buddha, height: 91.2 cm, flanking figures, height: 97-149.2 cm.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 3.9
Sannozan Group.
Central Buddha, height: 266.7 cm; left Buddha, height: 165.1 cm; right Buddha, height: 165.2 cm.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 3.10
Furuzono Group, central section.
Central Dainichi, height: 280 cm; flanking sculptures, height: 161-185 cm.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 3.11
Furuzono Group, proper left section.
Height: 161-185 cm.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

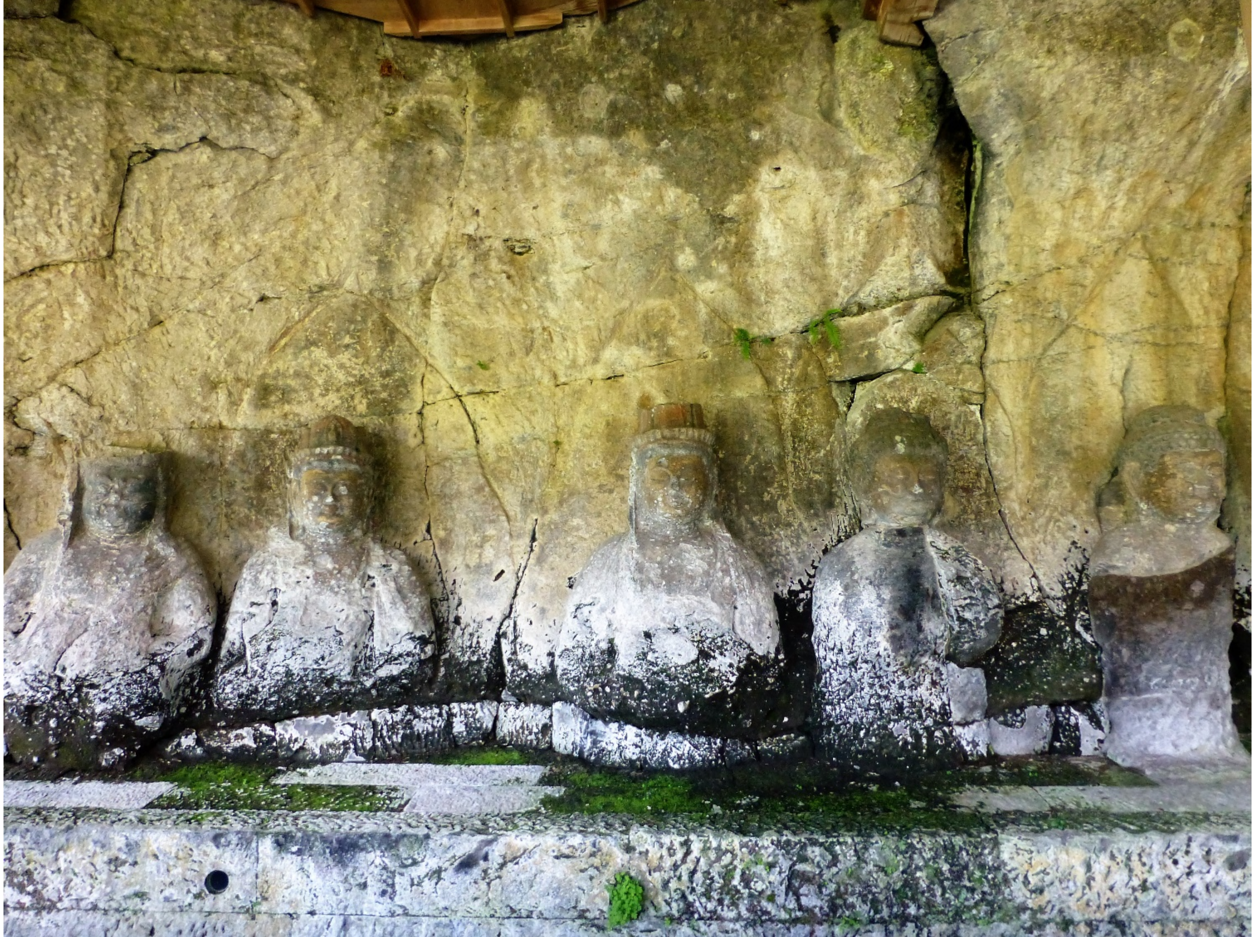

Figure 3.12
Furuzono Group, proper right section.
Height: 161-185 cm.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 3.13
Furuzono Group, proper left Tamonten.
Height: 262 cm.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 3.14
Furuzono Group Niō.
Height: Unknown.
Usuki Magaibutsu Park, Usuki, Ōita Prefecture, Kyushu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

Chapter Four: Figures

Figure 4.1
Crossroads Miroku.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 4.2
Crossroads Miroku, detail.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 4.3
One Vow Fudō.
Height: 120 cm.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 4.4
One Vow Fudō, detail.
Photograph by the author.

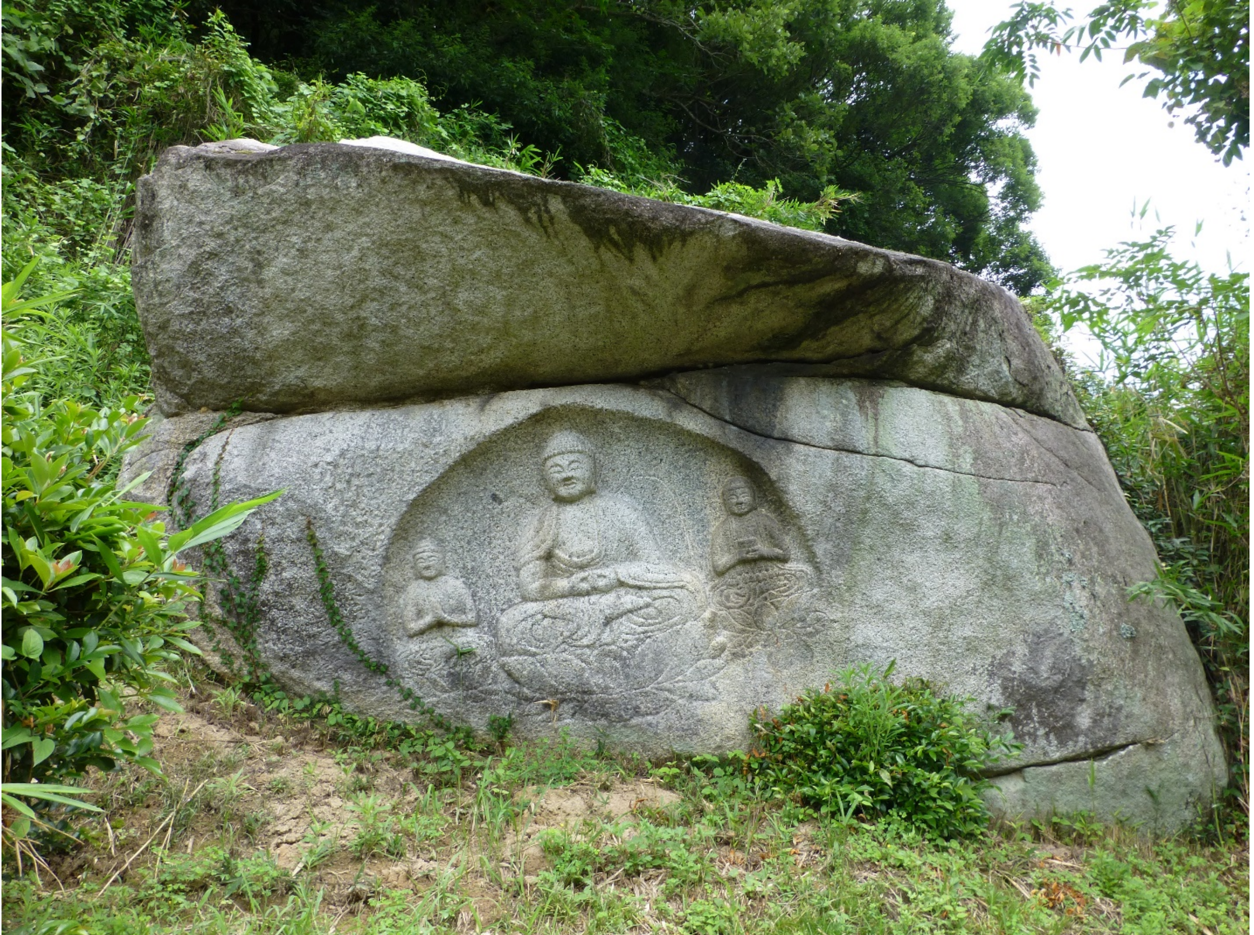

Figure 4.5
Ganseji Amida Triad and environs
Photograph by the author.

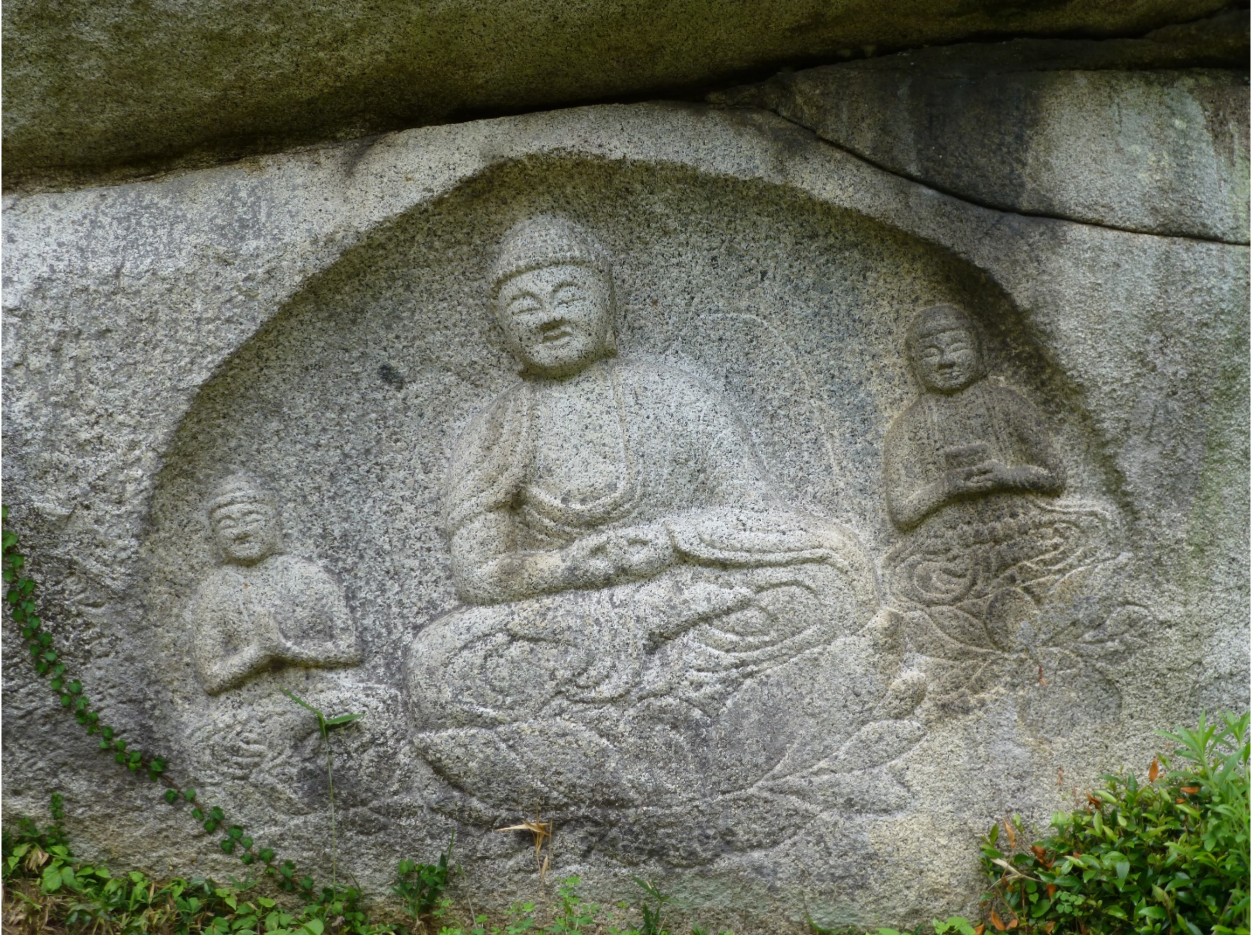

Figure 4.6
Gansenji Amida Triad
Photograph by the author.

Figure 4.7
Gansenji Amida Triad: Amida and Seishi, detail.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 4.8
Gansenji Amida Triad: Amida and Kannon, detail.
Photograph by the author.

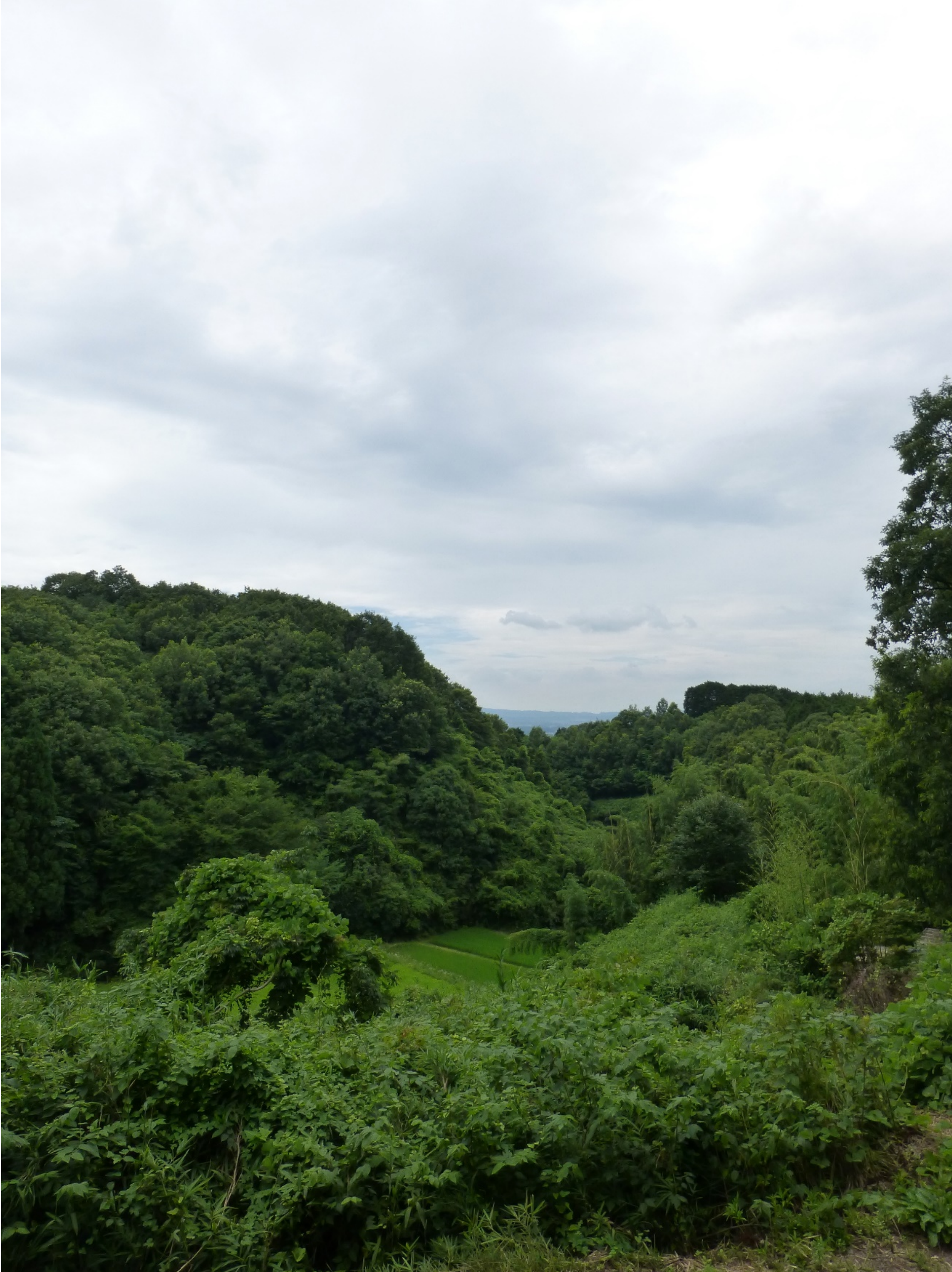

Figure 4.9
The view from the Gansenji Amida triad today.
Photograph by the author.

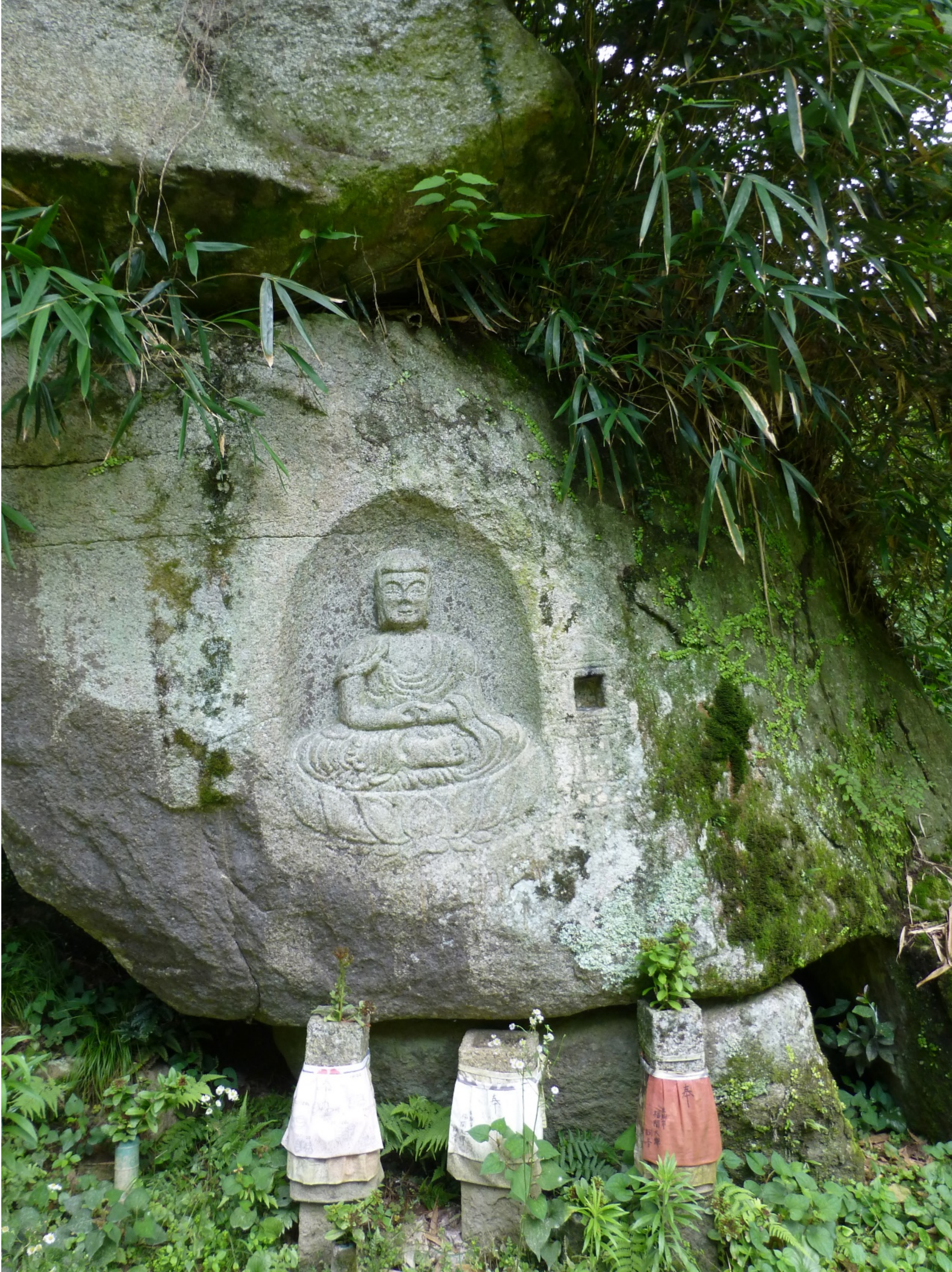

Figure 4.10
Karasu no tsubo Amida.
Niche height: 113 cm.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 4.11
Karasu no tsubo Amida, detail.
Photograph by the author.

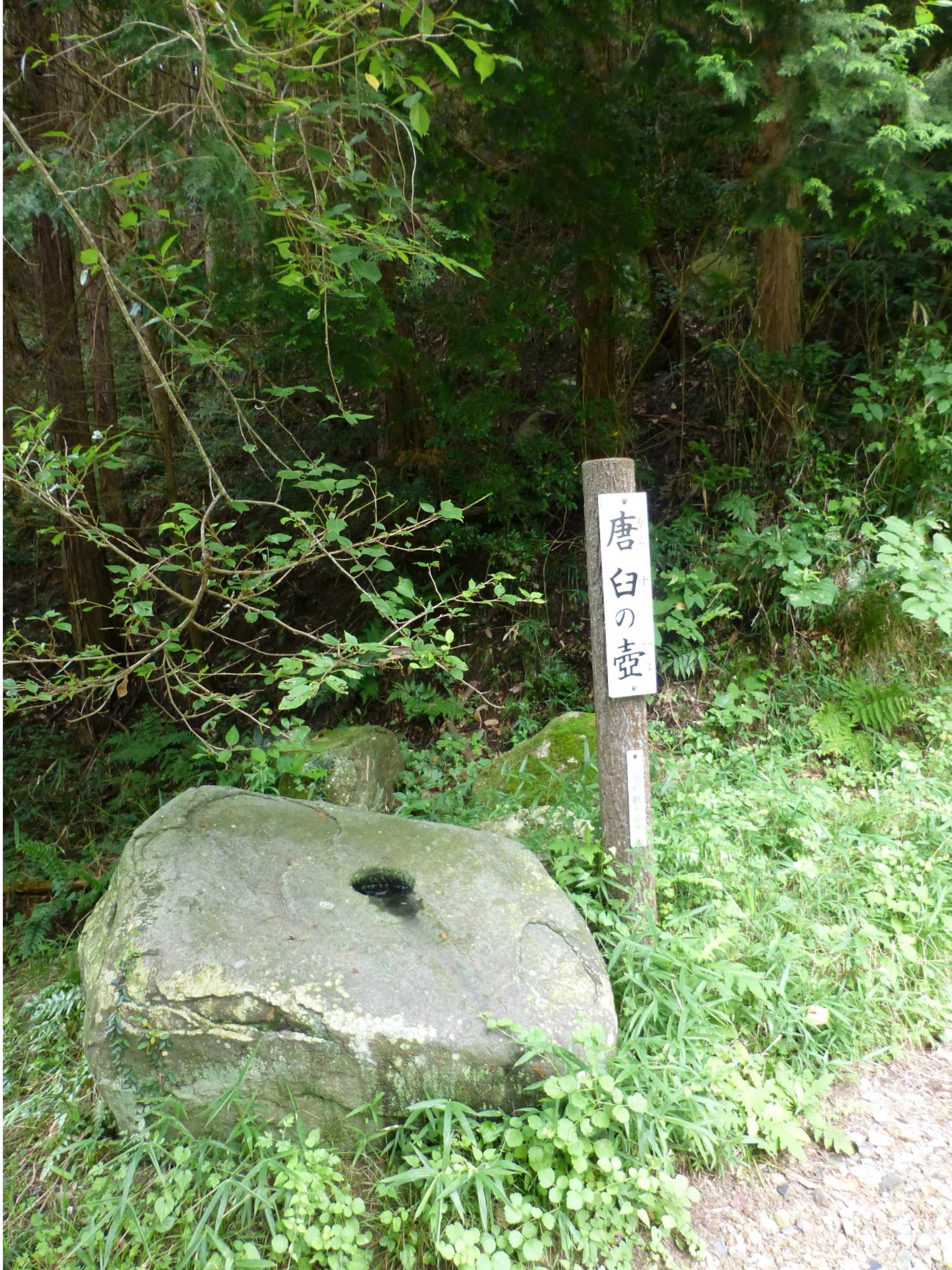

Figure 4.12
Karausu no tsubo
Photograph by the author.

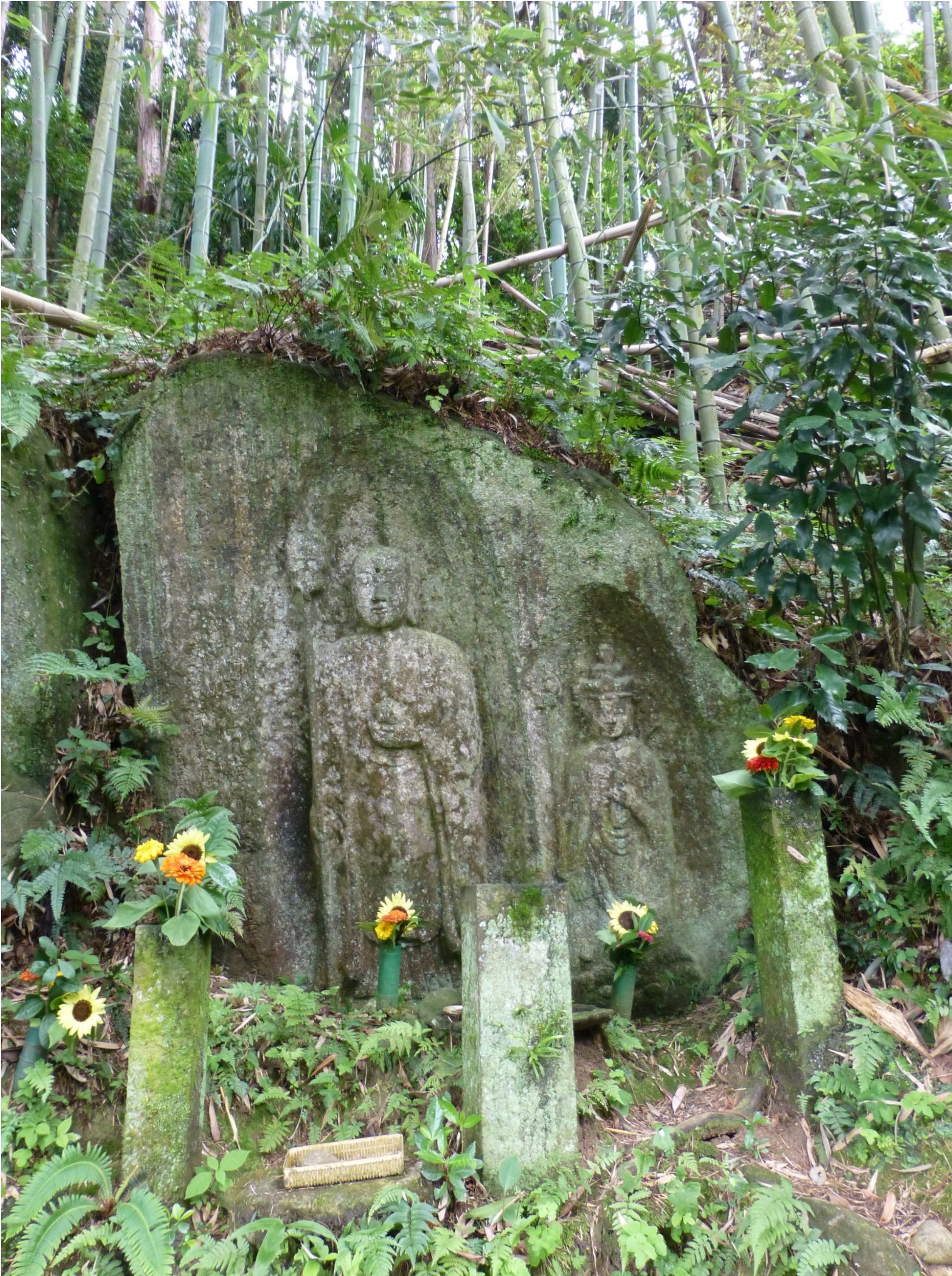

Figure 4.13
Yabu no Jizō: Jizō and Eleven-headed Kannon.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 4.14
Yubu no Jizō: Amida
Photograph by the author.

Figure 4.15
Yubu no Jizō: Jizō and Eleven-headed Kannon, detail.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 3.16
A collection of free-standing stone sculpture, Tōnoo.
Photograph by the author.

Chapter Five: Figures

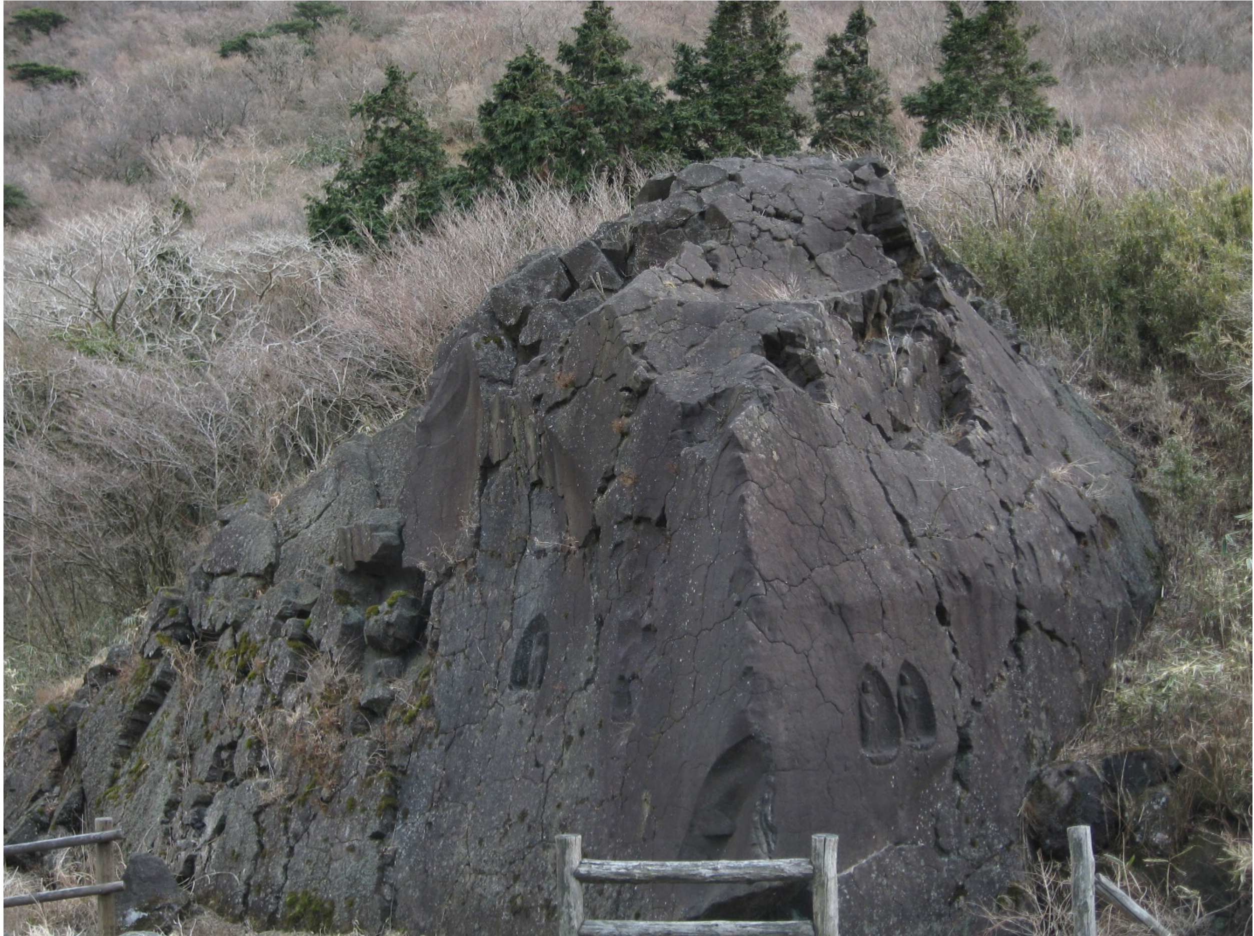

Figure 5.1
Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, Group A.
Jizō, northern face, figure height: 48 cm; Jizō, southern face, figure height: 47.3 cm & 48.5 cm
Moto-Hakone, National Highway 1, between Odawara and Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, Honshu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

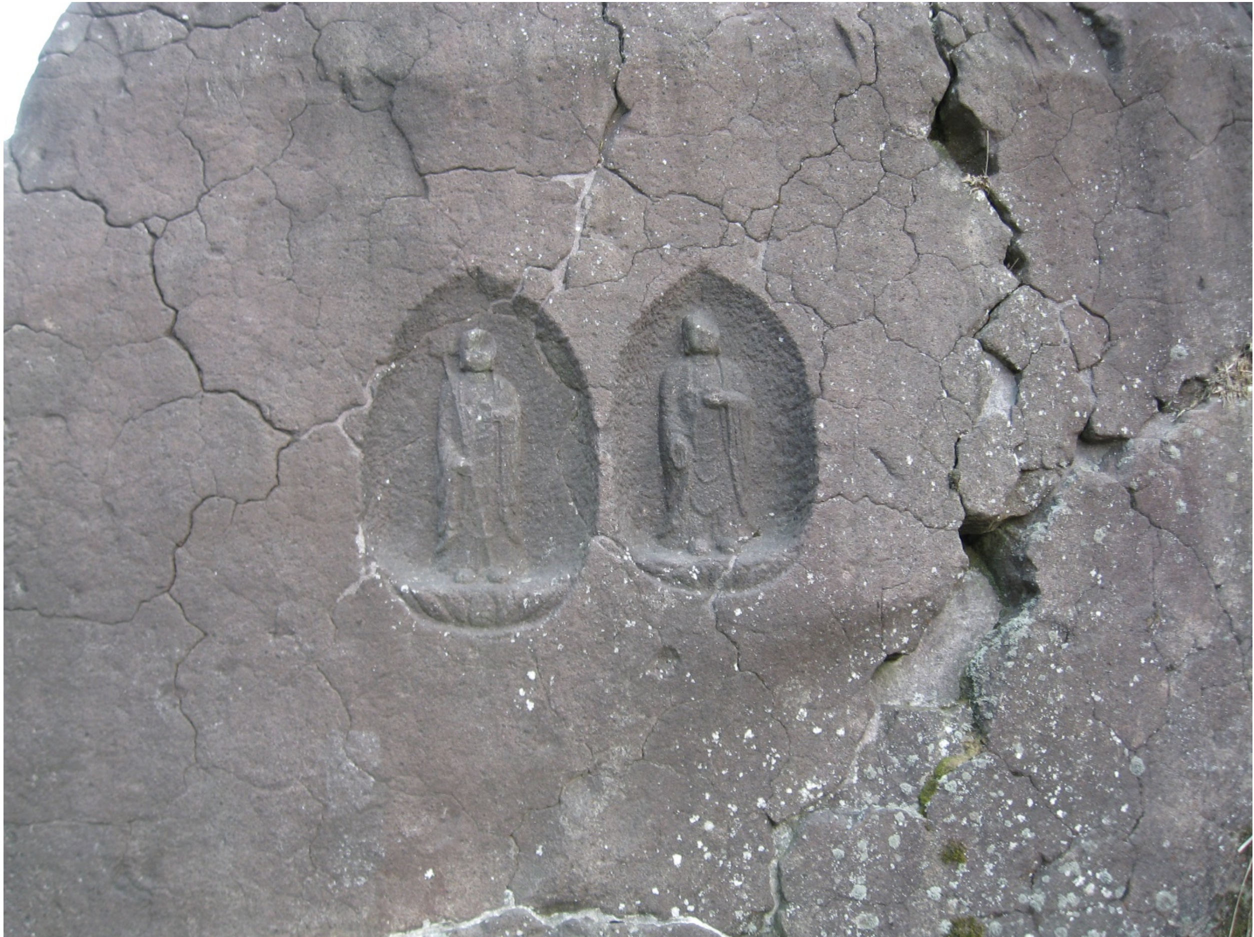

Figure 5.2
Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, Group A, southern face.
Figure Height: 47.5 cm & 48.5 cm
Moto-Hakone, National Highway 1, between Odawara and Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, Honshu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

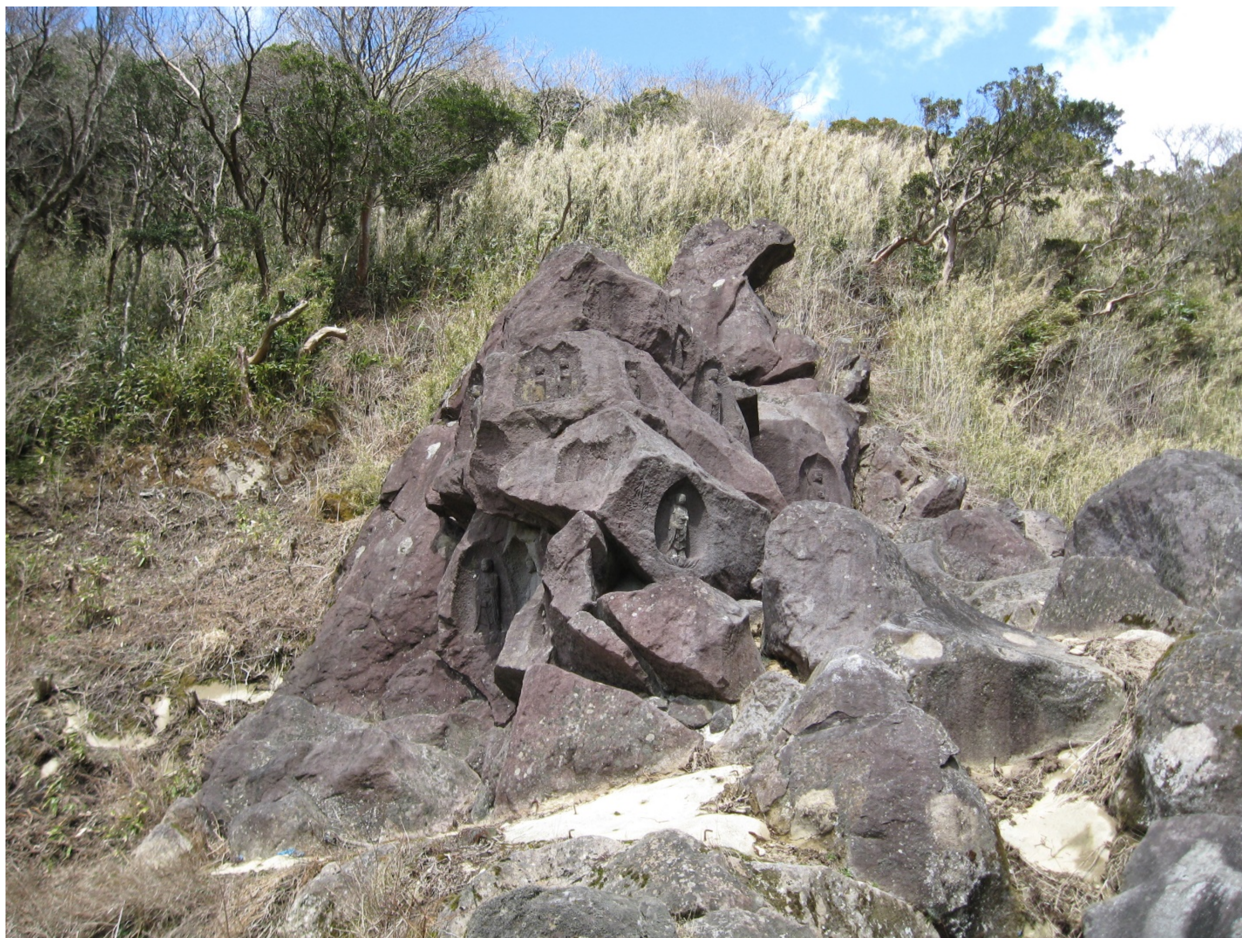

Figure 5.3
Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, Group B.
Figure height: 22.5 cm—97 cm.
Moto-Hakone, National Highway 1, between Odawara and Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, Honshu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

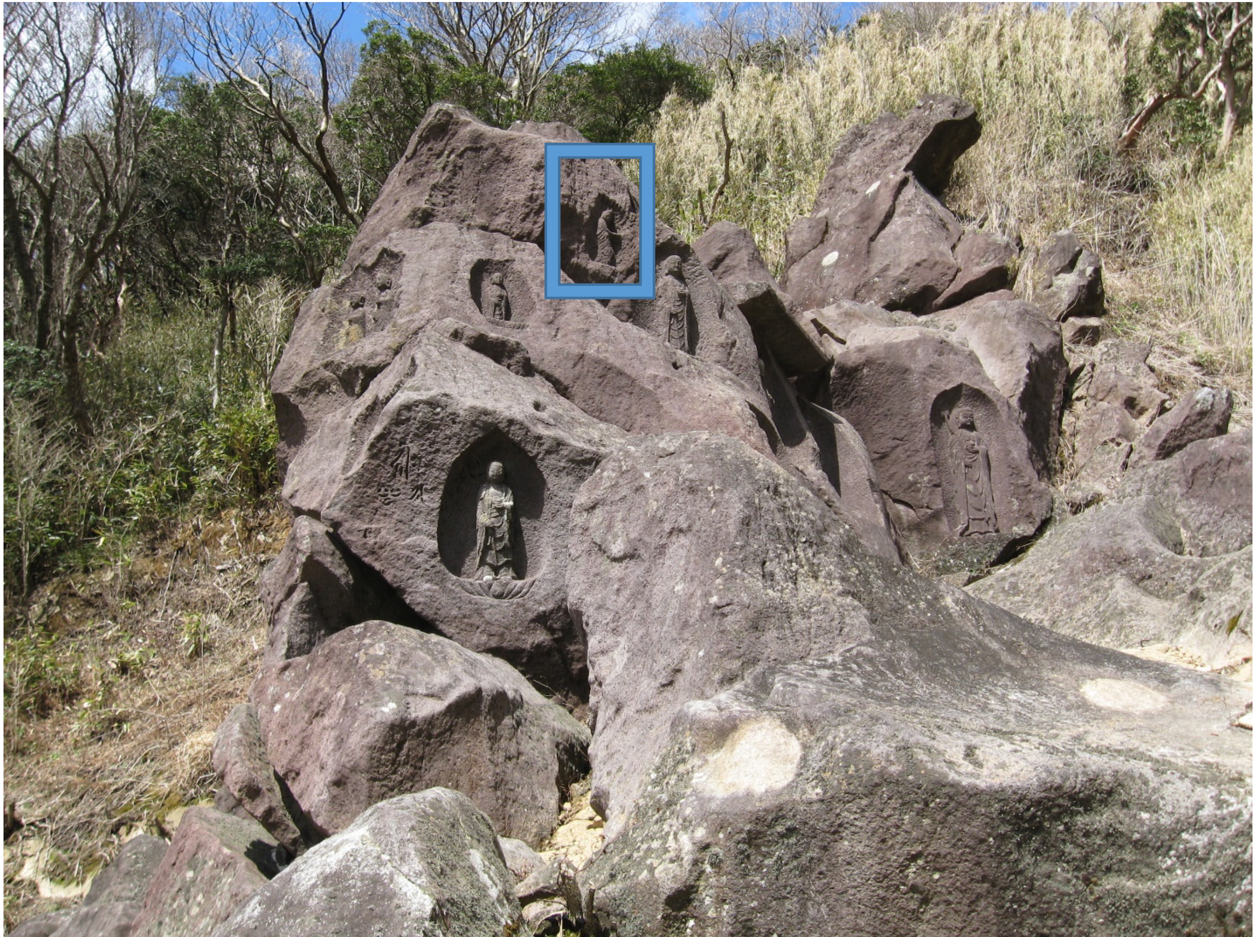

Figure 5.4
Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, Group B. The Kannon is indicated by a frame.
Kannon, figure height: 31.8 cm.
Moto-Hakone, National Highway 1, between Odawara and Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, Honshu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 5.5
Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, Group B. The Amida is indicated by a frame.
Amida, figure height: 97 cm.
Moto-Hakone, National Highway 1, between Odawara and Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, Honshu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

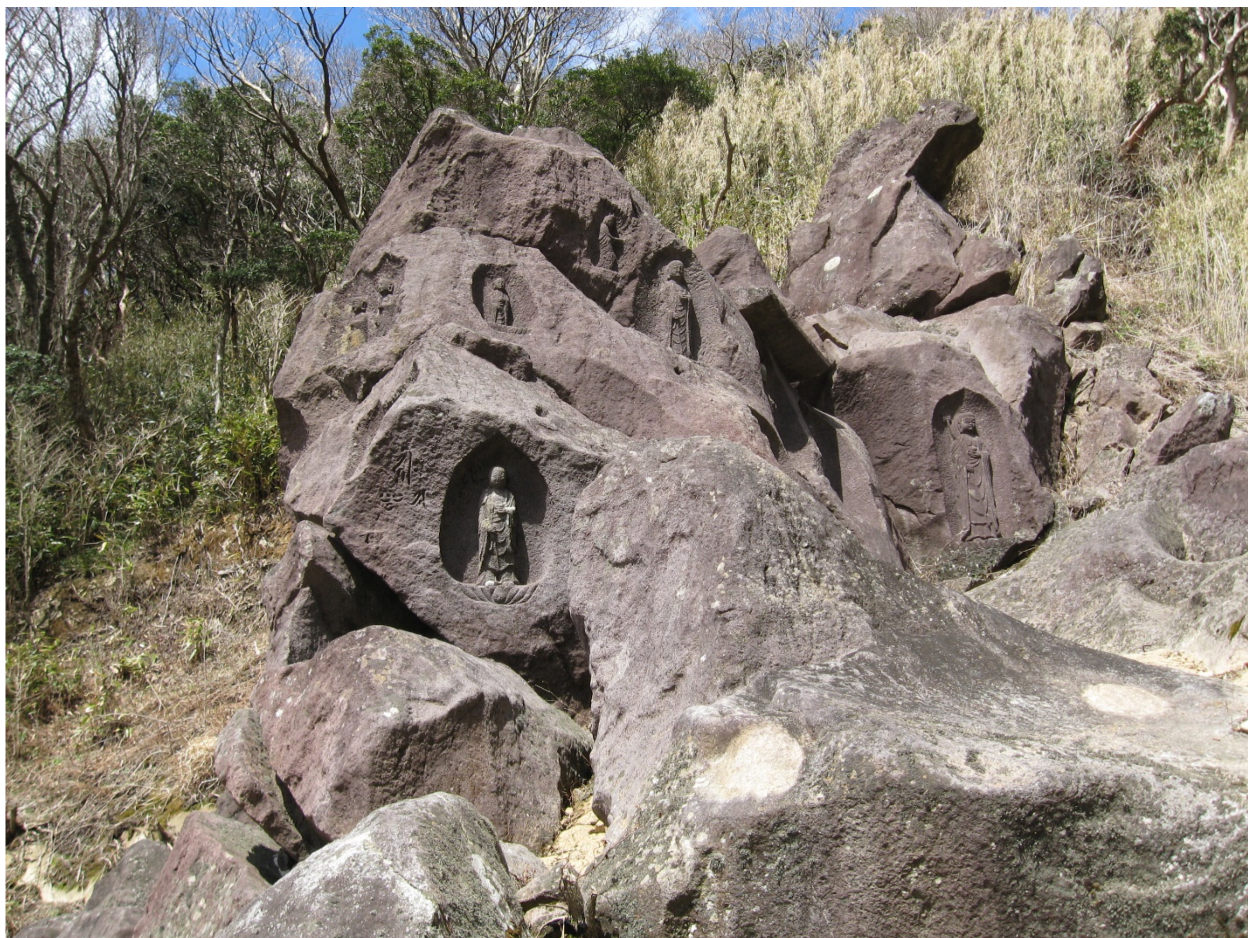

Figure 5.6
Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, Group B: Jizō with carved seed syllables.
Jizō, figure height: 46.2 cm; inscription height: `25 cm
Moto-Hakone, National Highway 1, between Odawara and Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, Honshu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 5.7
Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, Group B: Jizō with inscription.
Figure height: 67 cm; inscription height: 70 cm.
Moto-Hakone, National Highway 1, between Odawara and Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, Honshu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

Figure 5.8
The Six Paths Jizō.
Seated figure, height: 315 cm; lotus pedestal, height: ~92 cm.
Moto-Hakone, National Highway 1, between Odawara and Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, Honshu, Japan.
Photograph by the author. The metal *shaku* and crystal in the forehead are not original.

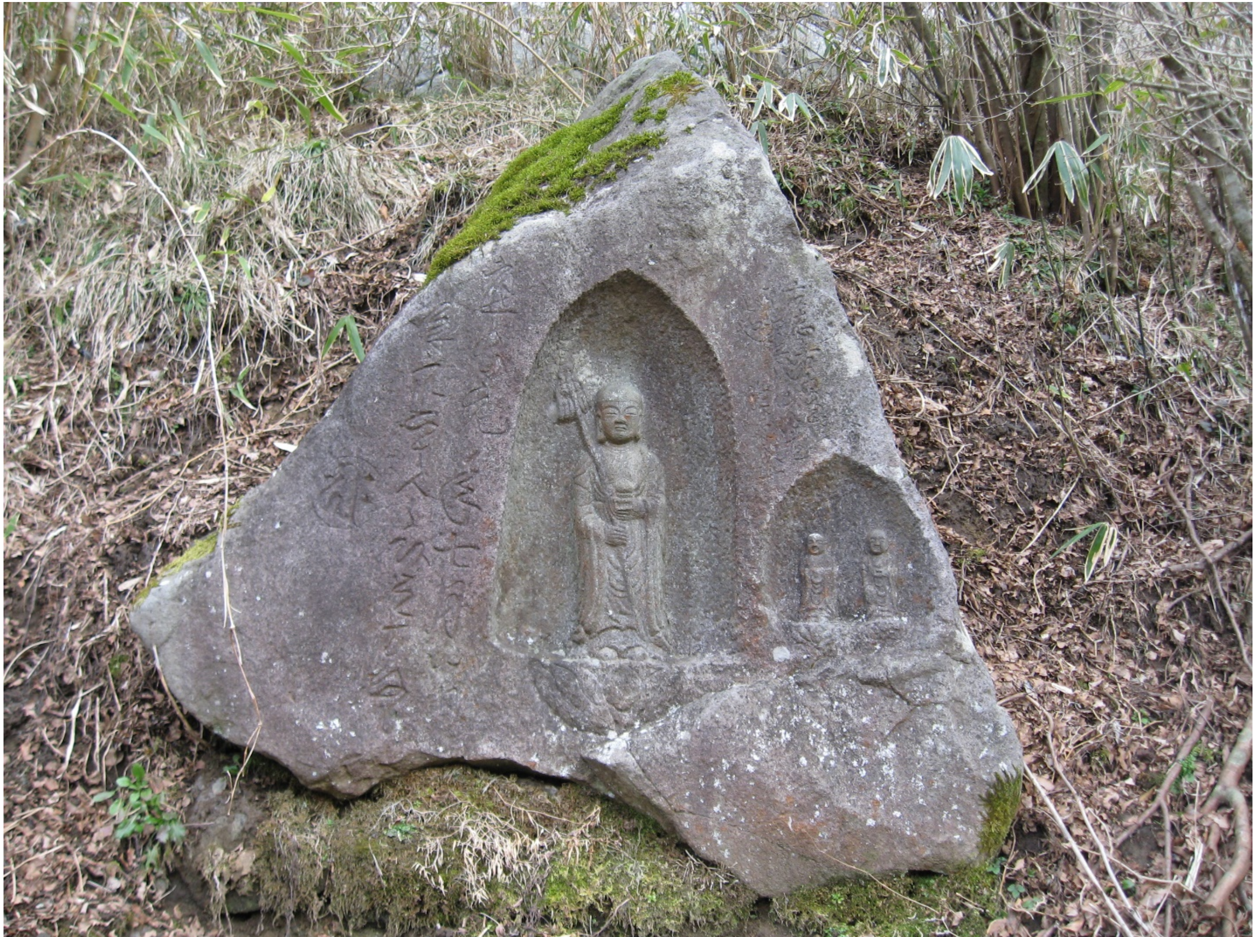

Figure 5.9
Ōchō Jizō.
Single figure, height: 50.5 cm; double figure, height: 16 cm.
Moto-Hakone, National Highway 1, between Odawara and Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, Honshu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

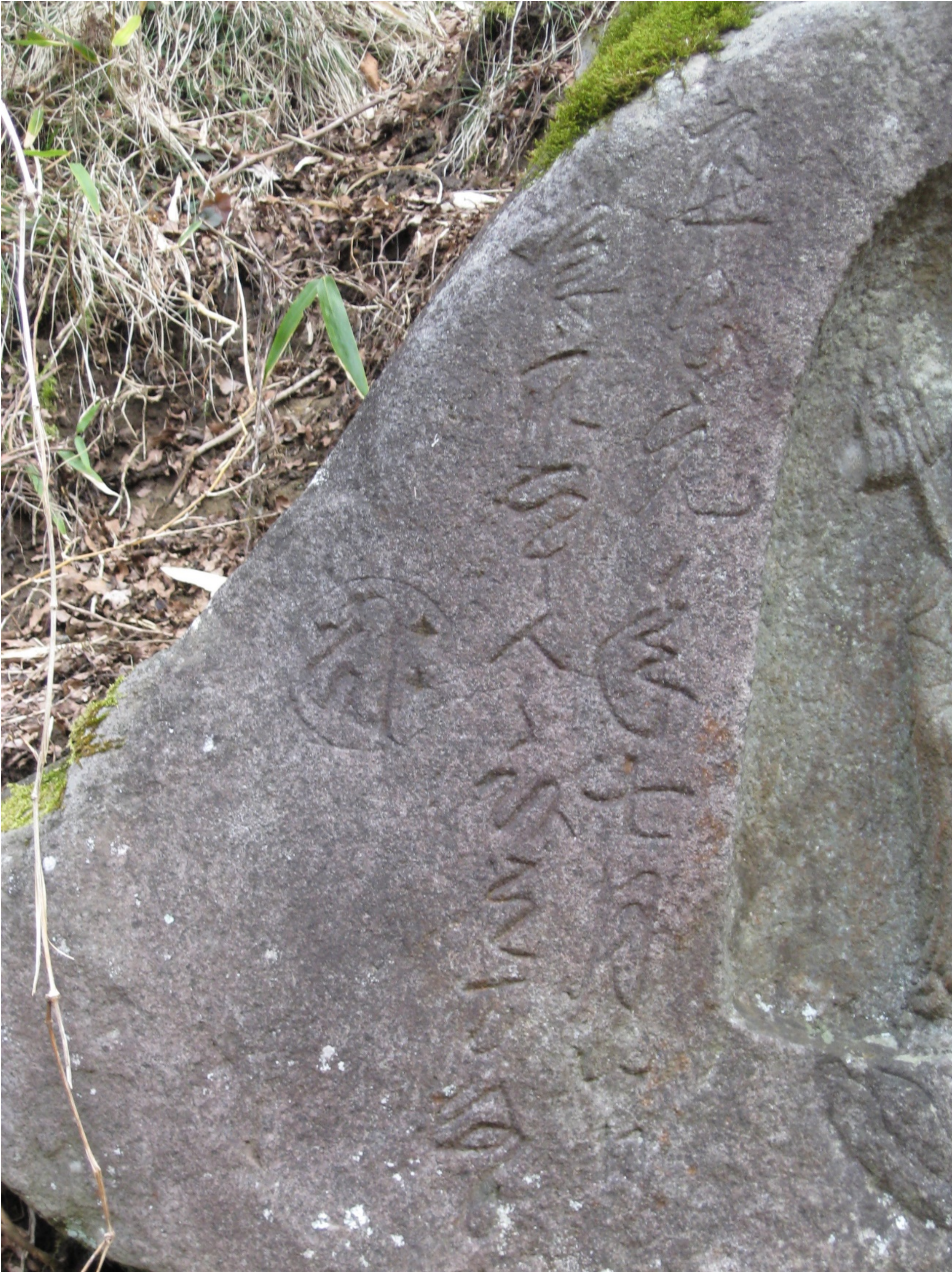

Figure 5.10
Detail: the Ōchō Jizō inscription.
Moto-Hakone, National Highway 1, between Odawara and Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, Honshu, Japan.
Photograph by the author.

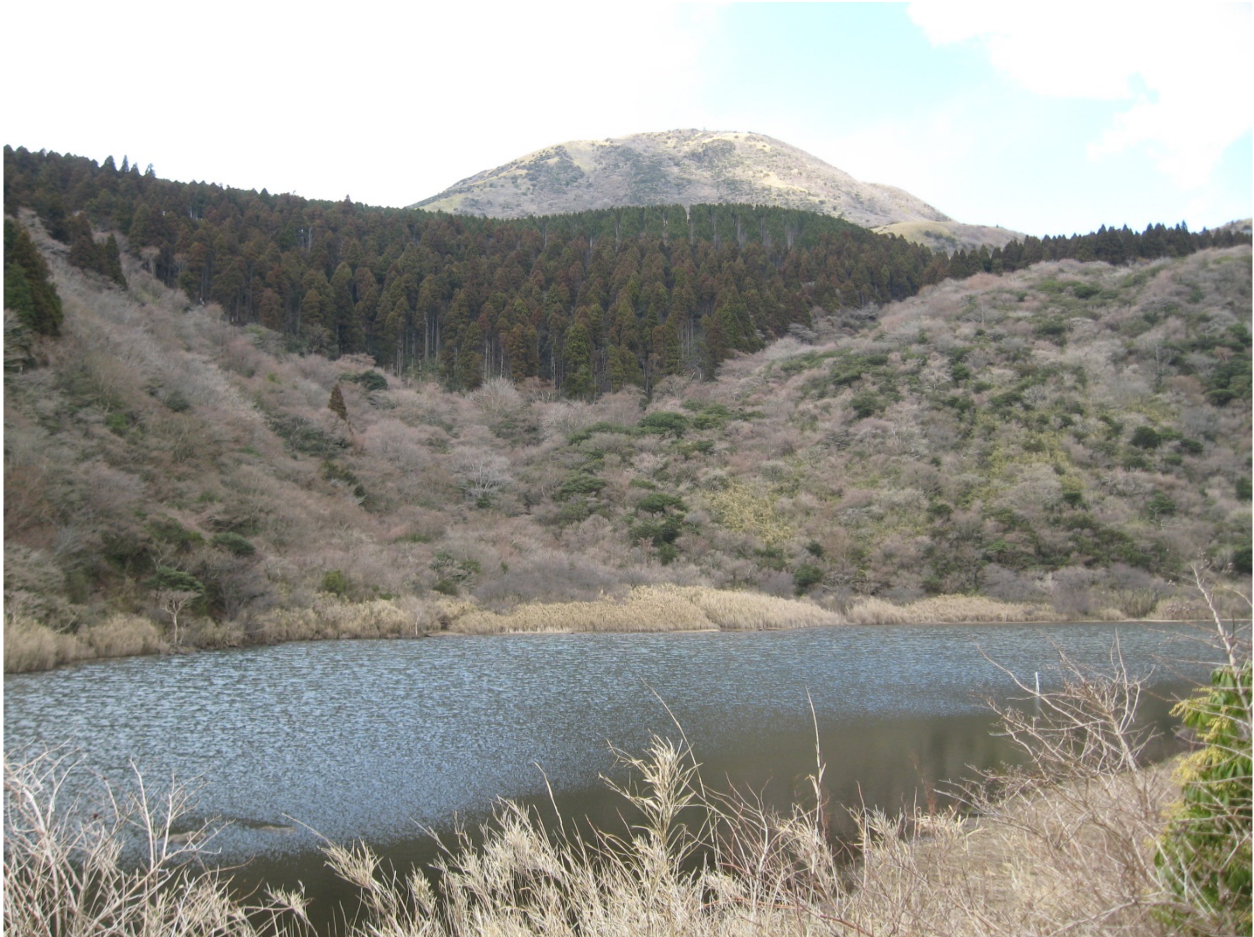

Figure 5.11
Shijin Pond, Moto-Hakone.
National Highway 1, between Odawara and Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, Honshu, Japan
Photograph by the author.