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Introduction

The Buddhist mountain-temple Hasedera 長谷寺, located on Mt. Hase in the city of Sakurai (Nara Prefecture), has been a popular pilgrimage site since the Heian period (794–1185). The main reason for the popularity of the site is its miraculous icon, a monumental wooden image of Jūichimen Kannon 十一面観音 (Sk. Ekādaśamukha, the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara), known as the Hase Kannon 長谷観音.[1] The exact date and circumstances of the establishment of the temple are controversial and form the subject of scholarly debate, as the sources related to the temple are diverse—some are historical and others legendary.[2] By the late eighth century, however, Hasedera was mentioned in the official historical records, and in the ninth century, it was ranked as a *jōgakuji* 定額寺 (state-sponsored temple) controlled by Tōdaiji 東大寺.[3] This situation changed in the late tenth century, as related in *Tōdaiji yōroku* 東大寺要録 (Essential Records of Tōdaiji, twelfth century), which states that in Shōryaku 正暦 1 (990), Hasedera became a *matsuji* 末

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1 The stories about the miracles performed by the Hase Kannon were compiled in *Hasedera genki* 長谷寺験記 or *Hasedera reigenki* 長谷寺霊験記 (Records of the Miracles at Hasedera), which includes fifty-two stories. Some address the origin of the temple, the construction of its halls and statues, and the ceremonies performed, while others recount the benefits obtained by devotees. See Dykstra, "Tales of the Compassionate Kannon," pp. 117–19; and Yokota, *Hasedera genki*. The proposed dates for its compilation range from the first half of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. See Dykstra, pp. 121–22.

2 The Hasedera Bronze Plaque (late seventh century) and its controversial inscription have been used as evidence for the establishment of the temple. Kataoka Naoki has concluded that the inscription engraved on the artifact does not relate to the establishment of the temple, but to the creation of the bronze plaque itself. Moreover, the content of the plaque's inscription did not influence any of the later sources related to Hasedera. Kataoka, "Hasedera dōban," pp. 65–66.

3 Hasedera is mentioned in *Shoku Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan Continued, 797) in an entry for Jingo keiun 神護景雲 2 (768), when Shōtoku Tennō 称徳天皇 (r. 764–770) visited Hasedera and donated rice lands. *Shoku Nihon kōki* 続日本後紀 (Later Chronicles of Japan Continued), written in the early Heian period, records that in Jōwa 承和 14 (847), the mountain temples (*yamadera* 山寺) Hasedera and Tsubosakadera 壺阪寺 became *jōgakuji* because they were acknowledged as miraculous places. *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 (Veritable Record of Three Reigns of Japan, 901) reports that in Ninna 仁和 1 (885), their status as *jōgakuji* was reaffirmed. Tsuji, *Hasederashi no kenkyū*, pp. 68–71.

寺 (branch temple) of Kōfukuji 興福寺 in Kyoto.[4]

In addition to these historical records, stories about the creation of the Kannon image and its miracles, as well as the patronage of the temple's establishment, are found in compilations of Buddhist stories. The earliest extant narrative about the Hase Kannon is found in *Sanbō ekotoba* 三宝絵詞 (Text of the Illustrated Three Jewels), written by Minamoto Tamenori 源為憲 (d. 1001). The short story tells us about a vow made by the monk Tokudō 徳道 (b. 656) to sculpt an image of Kannon, focusing on the unusual characteristics of the wood used to create the image and the stone for its pedestal.[5] This became one of the key narratives about Hasedera, and expanded versions proliferated during the medieval period (roughly the eleventh to sixteenth centuries).[6]

Along with the textual material, sets of illustrated handscrolls known as *Hasedera engi emaki* (Illustrated Scrolls of the Accounts of Hasedera) were created between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. The textual component of these scrolls is a modified version of *Hasedera engibun* 長谷寺縁起文 (Accounts of Hasedera, hereafter *Engibun*), one of the expanded versions of the Hasedera narratives from the medieval period.[7] *Engibun*'s introduction states that it was written by Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903) in the late ninth century.[8] This attribution has been questioned, and although most scholars agree that Michizane is not the author, no consensus has been reached about the general date of *Engibun*'s composition; the proposed dates range from the late twelfth to the late thirteenth centuries.[9] The textual material associated with Hasedera has been studied thoroughly by scholars of Japanese literature and religion.[10] Yet studies about the scrolls are scant. Selected scenes from the scrolls have been included in exhibitions and collection catalogues with summaries of the story and brief descriptions of the paintings, and a few studies have addressed certain themes of the narrative and illustrations.[11] The only comprehensive study of the scrolls, however, which

4 Tsuji, *Hasederashi no kenkyū*, p. 76.

5 Minamoto, *Sanbō ekotoba*, pp. 91–96. For an English translation, see Kamens, *The Three Jewels*, pp. 320–25. A note in this text suggests that this story was recorded in *Kannon engi narabi ni zakki* 観音縁起並雑記 (Accounts of Kannon and Miscelaneous Records), dated to Tenpyō 天平 5 (733). Tokudō's birth year is cited in the medieval *Hasedera engibun* 長谷寺縁起文 (Accounts of Hasedera) but may be spurious.

6 Later versions are included in *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 (Brief History of Japan, late Heian period), *Tōdaiji yōroku*, *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集 (Anthology of Tales from the Past, late Heian period), *Shichidaiji nenpyō* 七大寺年表 (Chronology of the Seven Great Temples, 1165), *Kenkyū gojunrei ki* 建久御巡礼記 (Record of the Pilgrimage in the Kenkyū Era, 1191), *Kojidan* 古事談 (Account of Ancient Matters, 1212–1215), *Shoji konryū shidai* 諸寺建立次第 (Circumstances of the Establishment of Various Temples, ca. 1216), *Shoji engishū* 諸寺縁起集 (Anthology of Accounts of the Origins of Various Temples, ca. 1235), *Iroha jiruishō* 伊呂波字類抄 (Iroha Dictionary, thirteenth century), *Hasedera engibun*, and the *Hasedera engi emaki* 長谷寺縁起絵巻 text. For a study of these sources, see Tsuji, *Hasederashi no kenkyū*, pp. 171–91. For an excellent comparative analysis of the themes addressed in these sources, see Uchida, "Jisha engi," pp. 206–12.

7 See *Hasedera engibun*, in *Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 24, pp. 454–62. For a transcription of the *Hasedera engi emaki* text, see Miya, "Hasedera engi kotobagaki, kōkan," pp. 142–48; and "Hasedera engi emaki kotobagaki," pp. 223–31.

8 Scholars, such as Abe Yasurō and Fujimaki Kazuhiro, contend that *Engibun* must be read together with *Hasedera missōki* 長谷寺密奏記 (Record of Hasedera's Secret Report to the Emperor, hereafter *Missōki*), also attributed to Michizane (i.e., ninth century). According to these scholars, these two texts complement each other, giving a clear picture of the beliefs prevalent at Mt. Hase. *Engibun* and *Missōki* refer to the monk Tokudō's quest to make an image of Jūichimen Kannon. In *Missōki*, the narrative centers on the role of *kami* and (what we now refer to as) *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合 beliefs (discussed below). For instance, *Missōki* states that Techikarao Myōjin 手力雄大明神, the local *kami* at Hase, encountered Tokudō and told him that Hase was a sacred site associated with Amaterasu no Ōmikami 天照大神, the imperial *kami*. For this reason, Tokudō visited Ise, where the shrine of Amaterasu is located. During his visit, he discovered that Amaterasu no Ōmikami was Jūichimen Kannon and Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来 (the cosmic buddha), and Tokudō had a vision of the Hase Kannon's form. *Missōki* also explains that the sculptors who carved the icon transformed into the *honji* 本地 (buddha originals) of the first and third *kami* of Kasuga Daimyōjin 春日大明神 (the composite divinity of Kasuga Shrine). Importantly, *Missōki* includes a list of all of the *kami* at Hase. See Abe, "Hasedera engi to reigenki," p. 326; and Fujimaki, "Hasedera no engi: Saiseisan," pp. 113–14. Yet *Missōki* is not mentioned in *Engibun* or *Hasedera engi emaki*. For a study of *Missōki*, see Fujimaki, "Hasedera missōki."

9 For a summary of the dating of the text by different scholars, see Uejima, "Chūsei shinwa no sōzō," pp. 546–47.

10 Literature scholars studying texts related to Hasedera include Fujimaki Kazuhiro, Yokota Takashi, and Uchida Mioko.

11 A list of publications that include information about *Hasedera engi emaki* can be found on Refarensu Kyodō Dētabēsu, "Hasedera engi emaki no zentai ga keisai sarete iru shiryō no chōsa." Studies about the scrolls include Pradel, "La Leyenda Ilustrada de Hasedera"; Sakakibara, "Rokkan bon"; and Yamamoto, "Hasedera engi emaki no misogi denshō." Color photographs of the Idemitsu Museum scrolls are published in Idemitsu Bijutsukan, *Yamatoe*, plates 7-1 to 7-29, and black and white photographs of five sets of scrolls appear in the Hasedera catalogue of treasures, Gangōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, *Buzan Hasedera shūi*, pp. 190–237. In addition, the scrolls from SAM are available on ARTstor.

includes a transcription of the text sections, was published in the 1970s by the art historian Miya Tsugio.[12]

This essay explores the way in which the creator(s) of the *Hasedera engi emaki*—its text and illustrations—revamped the original story of the Hase Kannon by emphasizing the extraordinary qualities of the materials used to make the icon and its stone pedestal. An analysis of the text of *Hasedera engi emaki* reveals that the story contained in *Sanbō ekotoba* regarding the origins of the Hase Kannon, which appears to be related to indigenous beliefs, was expanded by adding Buddhist elements that explain the transformation of an allegedly cursed log into the appropriate material for a buddha image through Buddhist prayer, ritual, and the intervention of Buddhist deities. In the same way, the story of the stone pedestal was enhanced to lend it a Buddhist significance by connecting the pedestal to real and imaginary Buddhist sacred sites.

As is the case with many cultic centers in medieval Japan, the beliefs and practices at Mt. Hase centered on *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合, "the amalgamation of *kami* and buddhas." This combinatory religious system was largely Buddhist in nature, but contained Chinese yin-yang practices as well as Japanese cults of *kami* or local deities.[13] Although some sections of *Hasedera engi emaki* reflect *shinbutsu shūgō* beliefs, the revamped stories associated with the wood and stone used to make the statue of the Hase Kannon emphasize the role of Buddhist prayer and ritual in the transformation of the log into an image of Kannon and its connections to the Buddhist world to confirm its sacred nature.

This essay is divided into three main sections. The first focuses on *Hasedera engi emaki* and introduces the stories and the characters, explaining the division of the stories into sections and the subject of each illustration.[14] The second discusses the story about the numinous log used to make the icon. In the medieval version of *Hasedera engi emaki*, the wood used to make the icon came from an ill-fated log, as in the earlier version found in *Sanbō ekotoba*, but in *Hasedera engi emaki*, the transformation of the wood into a buddha image is explained through the Buddhist doctrine that non-sentient beings—more specifically, plants—can attain enlightenment, known as *sōmoku jōbutsu* 草木成仏 (literally, "grasses and trees become buddhas"). The log is introduced as having buddha-nature and subsequently is transformed into a Kannon icon through Buddhist prayer and the intervention of Buddhist deities. The third section examines the story of the large stone that serves as the platform for the Kannon image. In this case also, the story is more complex than that found in the earlier version, highlighting the role of the deities that inhabit Mt. Hase, the sacredness of the mountain, and its connections to the Buddhist world. The illustrations in *Hasedera engi emaki* rendered the invisible world of the deities visible to the viewers of the scrolls, making the story more credible and also more entertaining.

Hasedera engi emaki and *Engibun*

Before discussing the extant illustrated scrolls, the significance of the term *engi* in both *Engibun* and *Hasedera engi emaki* should be examined briefly. By the eighth century, the term *engi* began to be used to refer to accounts of the establishment of temples as well as accounts of the ordination of monks and nuns. Later, it came to refer to textual and visual materials that narrated the histories of religious institutions.[15] Although the titles *Hasedera engibun* and *Hasedera engi emaki* include the term *engi*, the narratives are not limited to the origins of the temple but include other related stories, such as those that refer to the sacred qualities of Mt. Hase and the possibilities for devotees to communicate with the various deities who reside there.

The main source used for this study is the sixteenth-century *Hasedera engi emaki* in the collection of the Seattle Art Museum (SAM), a work of the late Muromachi period (1392–1573).[16] Currently, eleven sets of *Hasedera engi emaki* are extant in temples, museums,

12 Miya, "Hasedera engi jō" and "Hasedera engi ge."

13 For a historical overview of the development of *shinbutsu shūgō* and *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 (literally, "original ground and manifest traces," the theory of *kami* as local manifestations of Buddhist deities), see Teeuwen and Rambelli, *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*, especially pp. 1–53.

14 This section is an updated and more complete version of the author's article "La Leyenda Ilustrada de Hasedera," which also discusses certain aspects of the narrative related to Shugendō 修験道 (a highly syncretic religious tradition) and *kami*.

15 For a comprehensive discussion of *engi*, see Kawasaki and Blair, "*Engi*: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins."

16 The first scroll measures 1530.1 x 30.8 cm; the second scroll, 1595.1 x 30.8 cm; and the third, 1310.1 x 30.8 cm. All the illustrations in this article are from SAM.

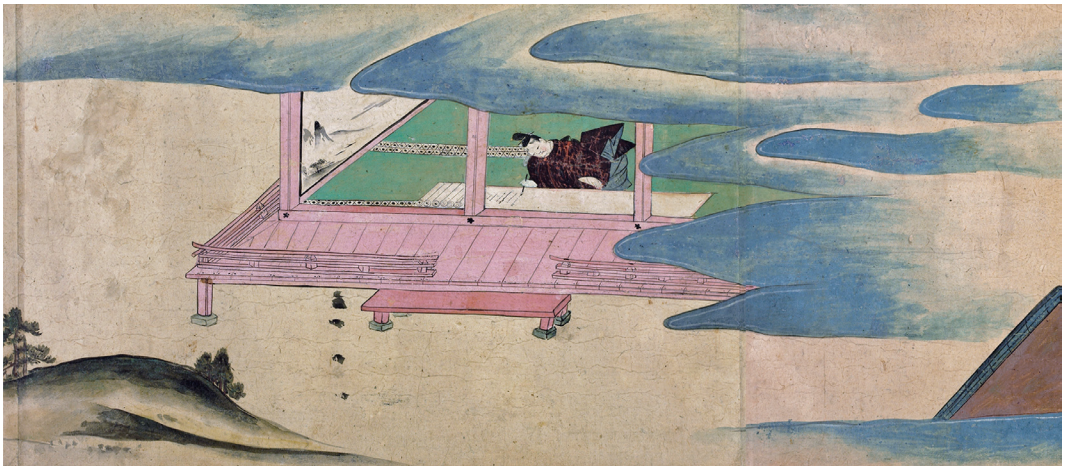


Figure 1. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll I, section 1. 16th c., Muromachi period. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper. H 30.8 cm. Margaret E. Fuller Purchase Fund. Gift to a City: Masterworks from the Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection in the Seattle Art Museum. Acc. # 57.15.1. Photograph by Susan A. Cole. Permission of Seattle Art Museum. Description and credit information applies to figs. 2–6.

and private collections in Japan and the United States.[17] Because all of the sets include similar texts and scenes, Miya Tsugio has suggested that they all were created using the same model.[18] As mentioned above, the text of *Hasedera engi emaki* is slightly different from *Engibun*.[19] In addition, minor differences in the text are found among the extant scrolls (especially omissions or mistakes in the transcriptions), but these do not significantly change the meaning of the story. In the case of the illustrations, although the scenes seem to follow the same model, slight variations are apparent in the compositions and the style of representation. Also, the amount of pigments used differs between the sets. For instance, in the SAM set, the pigments are dissolved in large amounts of water, producing an effect like watercolor painting. Other examples, such as the six-scroll set at Nara National Museum attributed to Tosa Mitsumochi 土佐光茂 (1494–ca. 1559), are painted using the expensive *tsukuri-e* 作り絵 or "built-up" technique, using multiple layers of mineral pigments and gold.[20] Most *Hasedera engi emaki* consist of three scrolls, except for the set attributed to Mitsumochi. In all cases, however, the narrative is divided into thirty-three sections, each with a corresponding illustration, and a postscript. The choice of this number is intentional and relates to the thirty-three manifestations of Kannon.[21]

The scrolls are unrolled from right to left, allowing the viewer to read each portion of the text and then see the corresponding illustration. Due to the location of the story told in *Hasedera engi emaki*, most of the illustrations include a landscape setting. In each of these settings, the characters involved in the specific section of the story are portrayed. In some cases, the same character, object, or building is represented two or more times in the same composition (figures 1 and 2).

This type of visual narrative strategy is known in Japanese as *iji dōzu* 異時同図, meaning "different

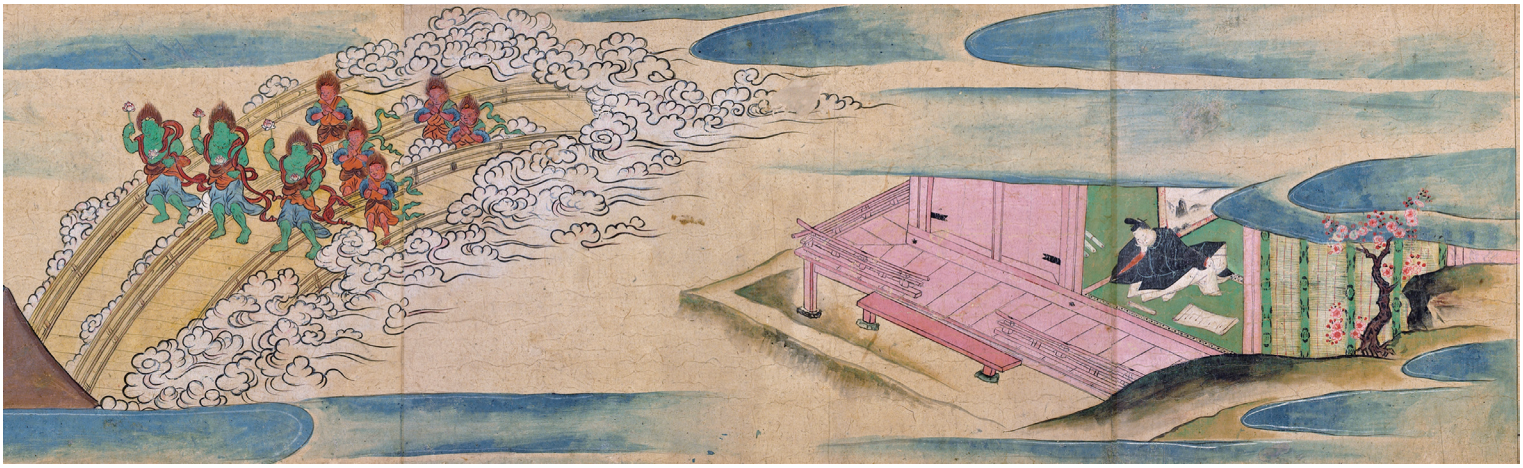
17 A list of the owners of the eleven *Hasedera engi emaki* sets is available in Gangōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, *Buzan Hasedera shūi*, pp. 17–18.

18 Miya, "Hasedera engi ge," pp. 69–70.

19 *Engibun* is written in *kanbun* (literary Chinese for Japanese usage), and the text of *Hasedera engi emaki* is written in vernacular Japanese using kanji and kana. Some sentences of *Engibun* are not included in *Hasedera engi emaki*; similarly, a few sentences in *Hasedera engi emaki* are not in *Engibun*. This circumstance demonstrates that the creators of *Hasedera engi emaki* made specific choices when designing the narrative scrolls.

20 This set of six scrolls was painted in 1523. For reproductions of some scenes, see Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Shaji engi-e*. See also McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu*, pp. 52–53. For a detailed study about authorship, see Sakakibara, "Rokkan bon."

21 For the thirty-three manifestations of Kannon, see Frédéric, *Buddhism*, pp. 156–62.



time, same picture," referring to the representation of two or more successive events in the same depiction.[22] Most scenes include a representation of mist, which functions as a transitional element between locations or events. Another key element in the composition is trees and flowers, representative of the four seasons, which serve to suggest the passing of time between the scenes.[23]

Uchida Mioko has researched the narratives about Hasedera written before *Engibun*, concluding that they are not exclusively about the origins of the temple and its image (as the term *engi* might suggest), and demarcating ten distinctive stories.[24] Following her model, table 1, at the end of this essay, includes a summary of the ten stories, as divided into the thirty-three sections of *Hasedera engi emaki*. To avoid confusion between the different items, each of the ten stories is given an ordinal number and title. The three scrolls are numbered using Roman numerals, and the stories are divided into sections listed by cardinal numbers, followed by a brief description of the corresponding illustration. In short, this table is a vertical version of the progression of the *Hasedera engi emaki*.

The number of sections contained in each scroll differs. Scroll I includes thirteen sections, Scroll II has fourteen sections, and Scroll III consists of six sections and a postscript. Likewise, the number of sections and illustrations allotted per story is not uniform: some stories are illustrated by a single painting, whereas others include as many as nine scenes. In addition, the length of the illustrations is not standardized. Certain scenes, especially those representing the sacred landscape of the mountain (illustration 28) and the temple halls and Mt. Hase landmarks (illustration 32), are complex, expanded compositions. Furthermore, scenes such as illustration 1 (figure 1) include all of the events narrated, whereas others, such as illustration 12 (figure 6), show only selected events. Importantly, the textual component of the scrolls also varies. The texts in certain scrolls are long and include Buddhist concepts and terms, whereas others are short and factual. An interesting feature of *Hasedera engi emaki* is that some paintings include notes inscribed on the surface. These notes identify the characters and important features of the setting, and, in a few instances, explain the choices made by the artists in creating the paintings.[25]

Uchida has pointed out that none of the narratives written before *Engibun* contains all ten stories; most of the earlier Hasedera narratives include the stories of the making of the Hase Kannon (fourth, fifth, and sixth stories). She also has noted that two stories in *Engibun*, the eighth (Gyōki's 行基 (668–749) pilgrimage to Mt. Hase) and the tenth (Shōmu Tennō's 聖武天皇 (r. 724–749) visit to Hasedera), are only found in *Engibun*.[26] As mentioned above, these two stories are illustrated in extremely long compositions in the later medieval scrolls.

22 In English, the term "continuous narrative" is used to refer to this type of visual narrative. For a detailed study of forms of visual narrative in India, see Dehejia, "On Modes of Visual Narration." For *iji dōzu*, see Chino and Nishi, *Fikushion*, pp. 30–38.

23 Tamamushi, "Kaiga," pp. 85–89.

24 Uchida, "Jisha engi," pp. 206–13.

25 The set in the Idemitsu Museum contains many explanatory notes. See "Hasedera engi emaki kotobagaki," pp. 223–31.

26 For a useful table, see Uchida, "Jisha engi," p. 207.

Figure 2. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll I, section 2.

In the eighth story, the viewer journeys with Gyōki and a divine boy through the landscape of Mt. Hase and encounters the sacred spots on the mountain and the deities that inhabit it. Similarly, the tenth story takes the viewer on a tour through the temple grounds and sacred landmarks, following Shōmu's journey.[27]

In sum, in addition to describing the origins of the Kannon image, the establishment of Hasedera, and the temple's patronage, the contents of *Hasedera engi emaki* suggest that the creator(s) aimed to demonstrate the numinous nature of Mt. Hase by revealing its sacred spots, divine inhabitants, and protectors, which include *kami* as well as Chinese yin-yang and Buddhist deities. Importantly, these stories also suggest that, at Mt. Hase, it is possible to communicate with some of these deities through dreams. The illustrations allow the reader/viewer to see this invisible world. Moreover, the text also states that a visit to Hasedera grants Kannon's protection and the promise of salvation in the Pure Land of the buddha Amida. Furthermore, two of the sets also state that the illustrated scrolls were made for laypeople and monks who could not visit the temple, giving us an idea of the purpose of the scrolls.[28]

Tokudō, the Cursed Log, and the Hase Kannon

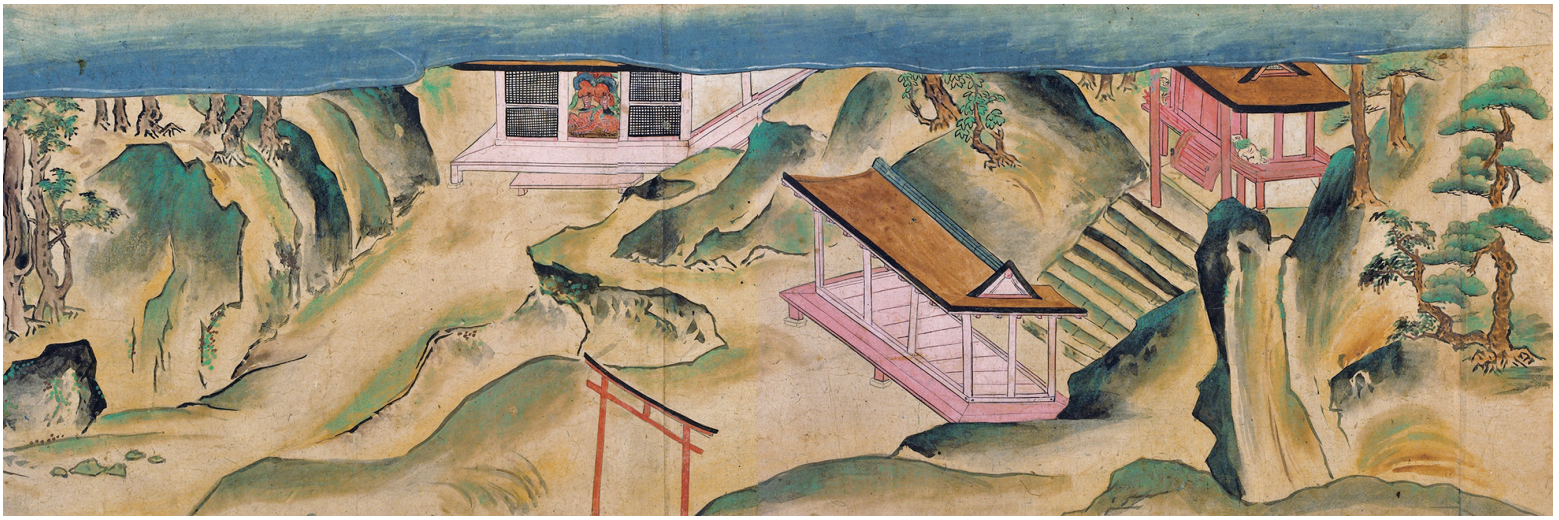
The monk Tokudō is the central character in *Hasedera engi emaki*. His life, and his efforts to make an image of Kannon and build a temple at Mt. Hase, are the focus of five of the ten stories. The fourth and fifth stories relate how the ill-fated log was used to make the Kannon image, and describe the patronage of Fujiwara no Fusasaki 藤原房前 (681–737). These two stories reflect beliefs associated with trees as the primary material for Buddhist icons, the idea that non-sentient beings can reach buddhahood, the role of Buddhist prayer and ritual in the production of icons, and the necessity of economic support for making Buddhist icons. As some of these themes do not appear in the original story, a broader analysis is necessary.

The religious significance of trees in the Hase Kannon story has been addressed by many scholars.[29] Some have propounded the idea that the concept of the ill-fated log is associated with *kami* cults, because, within this belief system, trees (and also stones) are thought to serve as *yorishiro* 依代 for a *kami*. *Yorishiro*, usually translated as "receptacle," is the place, object, or person inhabited by a *kami* when it descends for a religious

27 These scenes will be discussed in a forthcoming publication.

28 Miya, "Hasedera engi ge," p. 66; for the text of the SAM version, see Miya, "Hasedera engi kotobagaki, kōkan," p. 147.

29 For a summary of these positions, see Yamamoto, "Hasedera engi emaki no misogi," pp. 92–93. Rambelli has argued that, in *kami* belief, trees served as abodes of the *kami* and rarely were deemed to be *kami* themselves. See Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality*, pp. 141–42.



ceremony.[30] Other scholars argue that the story of the log relates to Buddhist ideas, especially those associated with the enlightenment of non-sentient beings, including plants.[31] The argument presented here is that the elements added to the log story aimed to emphasize the effective role of Buddhist prayer and ritual in the transformation of a numinous log into a Buddhist icon, and to parallel the making of the icon with the log's progression towards enlightenment. In the story as narrated in *Sanbō ekotoba* and in sections of the *Hasedera engi emaki* text, omitted or added elements helped to emphasize the creators' message, with the illustrations also playing a role.

In *Sanbō ekotoba*, the Hase Kannon story appears in the chapter titled "The Bodhisattva Ordination at Hatsuse" (third volume, chapter 20). This chapter includes the Hase Kannon story followed by an explanation of the bodhisattva ordination ritual. The short story about the Hase Kannon addresses three themes related to the making of the icon: two about the material (wood and stone), and one about its patronage. In this section, we focus on the wood.[32]

According to the text, during a great flood in the Year of the Rooster (601), "a large tree was set adrift until it came to rest at Miogasaki 三緒が崎 in the Takashima 高島 District in Ōmi 近江 Province.[33] A villager tried to cut off a piece of the log, and his house burned down. Destruction spread through the village and many people died. When these incidents were investigated, the villagers concluded that the log was cursed. For this reason, no one came close to the log. From Miogasaki, the log was moved to the village of Taima 当麻 in the Lower Katsuragi 葛城下 District by a man called Izumo Ōmitsu 出雲大満. When Ōmitsu first heard about the log, he vowed to "make that tree into a Jūichimen Kannon."[34] But he did not have the means to move it from Miogasaki. When he finally found men to help him, to their surprise, the log was light and could be moved easily. Unfortunately, Ōmitsu was not able to fulfill his vow, timed passed, and he died. After eighty years, the tree was still in Taima. When a plague struck the village, the cursed tree was blamed. Ōmitsu's son was ordered by the village authorities to move the log. In the Year of the Dragon (668), he and a group of villagers moved the log and cast it into the Hatsuse 長谷 River in the Upper Shiki 磯城 District. The log remained in Hase for about thirty years until the monk Tokudō heard about it. He thought of making an image of Jūichimen Kannon, because the log seemed to have a numinous quality; thus he moved the log to the northern peak, where the temple stands now. Unfortunately, Tokudō could not find the financial support to make the image. For seven or eight years, he prayed to the log:

30 See Havens and Inoue, *An Encyclopedia of Shinto*, vol. 2, p. 32.
31 This idea is discussed by Nedachi Kensuke, as cited by Yamamoto, "Hasedera engi emaki no misogi," p. 93.
32 For the sections related to the wood, see Kamens, *The Three Jewels*, pp. 320–21; and Minamoto, *Sanbō ekotoba,* pp. 91–93.
33 Kamens, ibid., p. 320; and Minamoto, ibid., p. 91.
34 Kames, ibid.; and Minamoto, ibid.

Figure 3. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll I, section 9.

Figure 4. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll I, section 10.

"May the wondrous power of prayer spontaneously create a buddha [image]" (*raihai iriki, jinen zōbutsu* 礼拝威力、自然造仏).[35] The events that follow in the text are related to patronage and the discovery of the stone used for the pedestal.

In brief, the *Sanbō ekotoba* story begins by stating that the monumental tree was uprooted from an unknown location during a storm, landing in Miogasaki.

35 Kamens, ibid., p. 320; and Minamoto, ibid., p. 93. The term *jinen* or *shizen* is usually translated as "nature." The meaning of the term, however, is "individual essence." In medieval Japan, the idea that enlightenment could be attained through non-ordinary experience of the human material world was developed into rituals to acquire "spontaneous wisdom" (*jinenchi* 自然智). For a detailed discussion of the term *jinen* in the Buddhist context, see Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality*, pp.133–35.

Figure 5. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll I, section 11.

From there, it was hauled to Taima, and lastly to the Hase River. Certain unfortunate events at the places where the log landed also are related, as well as the difficulties experienced by Ōmitsu and Tokudō in fulfilling their vow of making an image of Jūichimen Kannon. This story might reflect the Japanese belief that a dead tree was considered a negative sign leading to disasters, such as diseases and death, among others. Thus, from the introductory segment that tells about the tree being set adrift after a storm, to the ensuing tragic events occurring at the places where the log was taken, we may surmise that this story, as recorded by Tamenori, reflected popular beliefs about trees in the tenth century. In addition, the tale shows that, although trees were readily available, making them into buddha images was not necessarily a simple task.

In *Hasedera engi emaki*, the story of the numinous log is told in sections 7 through 14.[36] This story includes the narrative about the disasters at the sites where the log was moved, with some slight variations (sections 11 and 12). The beginning of the story omits the reason why the tree died (i.e., its uprooting by the storm). Instead, the writer adds an explanation about the log's unusual qualities. In section 9, the log is described as measuring about thirty meters and having the wondrous power to grow fragrant white lotus flowers when lotus petals are scattered by celestial beings. Due to this unusual feature, the valley where the log rested was known as White Lotus Flower (*byakurenge* 白蓮華, Sk. *puṇḍarīka*) Valley.[37] As is well known, in Buddhism the lotus (Jp. *renge* 蓮華, Sk. *padma*) is a symbol of purity and spontaneous generation. It is also a symbol of mercy and compassion, and an attribute of Kannon.[38] In Esoteric Buddhism, the heart of a being is compared to an unopened lotus—when the virtues of the Buddha develop therein, the lotus blossoms.[39] The illustration of this scene (figure 3) provided the means of convincingly recreating the alleged supernatural qualities of the monumental log. The addition of the celestial being scattering lotus petals further emphasizes the numinous incident. Importantly, the notion that lotus flowers bloom from this log might indicate that the tree had the buddha-nature within itself.

The writers also included various deities to accompany the log, who are depicted in the scrolls multiple times. These deities are introduced in section 7, when the monk Dōmyō 道明 (n.d) recounts his dream and conversation with "a group of different beings" (*sūhai ikei no tagui* 数輩異形のたぐい). Thus, *Hasedera engi emaki* states that the log was accompanied by an old man (*okina* 翁) dressed in white, who claimed to be the *kami* Mio Daimyōjin 三尾大明神.[40] He said that his role was to protect the log and therefore, he

36 "Hasedera engi emaki kotobagaki," pp. 224–26.

37 Ibid., 225.

38 For various meanings of the lotus, see Saunders, *Mudrā*, pp. 159–64.

39 Tajima Ryūjin, as cited by Frédéric, *Buddhism*, p. 62.

40 The inclusion of *okina* in narratives was a new feature of medieval literature; see Drott, *Buddhism and the Transformation of Old Age*.

Figure 6. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll I, section 12.

had been travelling with his retinue throughout the country to fulfill this mission. In addition to the old man was a *dōji* 童子 (literally, youth or child; hereafter, divine boy) holding a baldachin, who said that he was a protector of Mt. Hase, and that he had invited the log to the mountain because this was a suitable place for it.[41] The illustration of section 7, however, does not include any of the deities mentioned; it only shows Dōmyō and Tokudō talking. These "different beings" are represented for the first time in illustration 10 (figure 4), which corresponds to the section narrating how the log was washed away from the White Lotus Flower Valley by a storm.

Accordingly, the painting includes a stormy scene, with the log being moved by a flood and accompanied by Mio Daimyōjin and the divine boy, as stated in the text; the scroll portrays an old man dressed in white and a boy holding a baldachin. The five demon-like figures are part of Mio Daimyōjin's retinue, and the popular Fūjin 風神 (Wind God) and Raijin 雷神 (Thunder God), one holding a bag and the other with a ring of small drums around his head, are surrounded by heavy clouds to convey the storm. The addition of Mio Daimyōjin, the divine boy, and their entourage validates the extraordinary nature of the monumental log as they accompany it to its destination, Mt. Hase. They are portrayed repeatedly in the illustrations (eight times in total), during the log's journey from the White Lotus Flower Valley to Mt. Hase, and through the carving of the wood.[42]

Because Mio Daimyōjin is a *kami*, his inclusion in the story has been considered evidence that the log story was related to *kami* beliefs, yet Yamamoto Yōko has rightly pointed out that Mio Daimyōjin identifies himself as the "protector of the log.[43] According to Edward Drott's study on *okina*, this character as a *kami* associated with cultic centers often was added to narratives, especially in the Kamakura period (1185–1333).[44] Moreover, Buddhist clerics seem to have been involved

41 The term *dōji* has multiple meanings. In the Buddhist context, *dōji* refers to a child who has entered a temple to become a monk, to some forms of bodhisattvas who appear as young princes, and also to the attendants of bodhisattvas and Wisdom Kings (Myōō 明王, Sk. Vidyārāja). *Kōjien*, s.v. "dōji." The *dōji* in *Hasedera engi* are guardian spirits who appear in the form of boys, which Blacker has named "divine boys." For *dōji* as guardian spirits, see Blacker, "The Divine Boy." For *dōji* as young princes, see Guth, "The Divine Boy in Japanese Art." Following Blacker's nomenclature, "divine boy" is used in this essay.

42 The different beings are portrayed in sections 10 (figure 4), 11 (figure 5), 12 (figure 6), 13, 15 (figure 8), 16 (figure 9), 18 (figure 10), and 19 (figure 11).

43 Yamamoto, "Hasedera engi emaki no misogi," p. 94.

44 Drott, *Buddhism and the Transformation of Old Age*, pp. 96–109.

Figure 7. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll II, section 14. 16th c., Muromachi period. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper. H 30.8 cm. Margaret E. Fuller Purchase Fund. Gift to a City: Masterworks from the Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection in the Seattle Art Museum. Acc. # 57.15.2. Photograph by Susan A. Cole. Permission of Seattle Art Museum. Description and credit information applies to figs. 8–13.

in the development of the *okina*'s *kami* identity, because the titles *myōjin* 明神, *daimyōjin*, or *gongen* 権現 usually were given to local gods who sought Buddhist salvation.[45]

In medieval literature, divine boys appear as protectors, usually associated with monks and ascetics who have acquired spiritual powers through ascetic practices. They are servants, guardians, saviors, and agents of the monks' powers.[46] In the case of *Hasedera engi*, the divine boy holding a baldachin claims to be one of the protectors of Mt. Hase who accompanies the log because "it has been invited to move" to the mountain. Di-

45 Ibid., p. 179.

46 For specific stories about each of these roles, see Blacker, "The Divine Boy."

Figure 8. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll II, section 15.

vine boys with slightly different roles appear three more times in the *Hasedera engi emaki* story; two of them are associated with the discovery of the stone pedestal.[47]

As mentioned above, the presence of Mio Daimyōjin, the divine boy, and their entourage is highlighted in the illustrations. For instance, illustration 11 (figure 5) depicts the disasters and deaths caused by the log in Ōtsu.

The illustration follows the text, which states that the villagers tried to cut the log, precipitating disasters such as fires and disease; the performance of a divination also appears in the scene. In the house, a woman (dressed in red) and a man are seated facing each other, with some sticks in front of them.[48] Section 12 recounts the story of two people: Oi no Kadoko 小井門子, a woman from the village of Yagi 八木; and Hōsei 法勢, a novice from the village of Taima. Both wanted to make a buddha icon, but died without fulfilling their vow.

In this case, the illustration (figure 6) shows a group of men pulling the log, accompanied by its protectors, as it is moved out of Taima, and a house with a deceased pearson and people in mourning. The long scene strategically aims to emphasize the monumental size of the log.[49]

In *Hasedera engi emaki*, the journey of the log to Hase is slightly longer than that described in *Sanbō ekotoba*. Rather than the Miogasaki–Taima–Hase route, the log begins its trip in White Lotus Flower Valley in 518, arriving in the village of Ōtsu 大津 in the Shiga 志賀 District, where it remains for about seventy years. In 585, it is moved to the village of Yagi in Yamato 大和 Province; in 598, to Taima in the Lower Katsuragi District; and in 668, the log ends up in Hase River.[50] The last section of the fourth story, section 14, tells us about Tokudō not being able to fulfill his vow (figure 7):

> After about fifteen years, Tokudō continued his religious practices, but he could not fulfill his vow. When he asked for divine help, he dreamt that there were three lights on the eastern peak. A strange person told him that the three lights represented the benefits of the three times (*sanze no riyaku* 三世の利益), and that he should carry the

47 Yokota discusses in detail the role of each of the divine boys in *Engibun*. See Yokota, "Hasedera no zen'aku shoshin."

48 In the Idemitsu version, the note states, "Divination is performed for the village's misfortunes." See "Hasedera engi emaki kotobagaki," p. 225.

49 In the Idemitsu version, the first note states, "The move of the log from Ōmi to Yamato was complicated, hence omitted"; and the second states, "The Death of Oi no Kadoko. Hōsei's death is omitted." Ibid., pp. 225–26.

50 The choice of these villages is not random; they are related to the ancient fluvial transportation of lumber. Uchida, "Jisha engi," pp. 215–16.

numinous log to this peak and make the Buddhist image there.[51]

This move to the eastern peak is a modification found in *Hasedera engi emaki*. *Sanbō ekotoba* explains that Tokudō could not fulfill his vow because he did not have the means to carve the image, and that funding was provided by the female ruler Iitaka 飯高 (better known under her Chinese-style name, Genshō Tennō 元正天皇, r. 715–724), who decided to support Tokudō's project after Fujiwara no Fusasaki himself made a contribution. The image was finished and dedicated in Jinki 神亀 4 (727).[52]

In contrast to the short reference to patronage given in *Sanbō ekotoba*, in *Hasedera engi emaki*, five sections are dedicated to this subject and the process involved in the making of a Buddhist image. These additions to the story are significant because they also include motifs depicted in the illustrations about the beliefs and practices related to the transformation of wood into a buddha image. Thus, section 15 begins when the log is pulled to the eastern peak in 720. The narrative tells us that Tokudō built a hut, made offerings of flowers, and prayed to the Three Treasures. He prayed to make an image of Jūichimen Kannon that would bring benefits, such as peaceful imperial rule, a prosperous Fujiwara family, and peace in the Dharma realm (*hokkai* 法界, Sk. *dharmadhātu*). Importantly, he specifically says, "I pray so that 'the great compassion of the universal vow of the bodhisattva' (*daiji no guzei* 大慈の弘誓) listens to my vow, and this numinous tree spontaneously shapes (*naritamae* 成給へ) into a buddha image."[53] The last sentence in section 15 states that, in 724, Fujiwara Fusasaki went to Yamato as an imperial messenger and to hunt. The painting (figure 8), however, shows only two scenes: the log accompanied by its protectors being pulled up a hill by a group of men, and Fujiwara no Fusasaki and his hunting party.

Particularly important in this section is the sentence about praying so the numinous tree spontaneously shapes into a buddha image. This obviously derives from a sentence in *Sanbō ekotoba*: "May the wondrous power of prayer spontaneously create a buddha [image]." If interpreted literally, both sentences suggest that Tokudō was expecting the log to transform magically into a buddha image through the power of his prayer in *Sanbō ekotoba*, and, more specifically, through the power of Kannon in *Hasedera engi emaki*. Yet, the transformation of the log into a buddha image might not be limited to the physical transformation of the wood, but might be related to the controversial Buddhist doctrine that non-sentient beings can attain enlightenment, a

51 "Hasedera engi emaki kotobagaki," p. 226. Unless otherwise noted, translations from the *Hasedera engi emaki* are by the author. *Sanze no riyaku*, the benefits of the three times, refer to the benefits of the three time periods of past, present, and future.

52 Kamens, *The Three Jewels*, p. 321; Minamoto, *Sanbō ekotoba*, pp. 93–94.

53 "Hasedera engi emaki kotobagaki," p. 226.

Figure 9. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll II, section 16.

possibility discussed in Mahayana Buddhism. It was argued that non-sentient beings have the potential to become buddhas, that they have the buddha-nature in principle, but do not have the buddha-nature in practice, and for this reason, cannot reach enlightenment on their own.[54]

The new themes added to *Hasedera engi emaki* seem to follow the ideas propounded by the Shingon 真言 school that plants and other material objects can become buddhas. More specifically, Shingon doctrines stipulate that the soteriological journey to buddhahood includes four stages: 1) arousing the desire for enlightenment; 2) performance of ascetic and religious practices; 3) awakening; and finally, 4) nirvana. These stages correlate to the four phases of a sentient being's life, the cycles of the seasons, and the cardinal directions governing vegetal life, as shown below.[55]

Life phase	**Season**	**Direction**	**Soteriology**
Birth	Spring	East	Desire for enlightenment
Growth	Summer	South	Practice
Degeneration	Fall	West	Enlightenment
Death	Winter	North	Nirvana

Section 16 refers to the encounter between Fusasaki and Tokudō and section 17 to Fusasaki's successful request to the imperial court to support Tokudō's project.[56] Interestingly, the illustration of section 16 (figure 9) includes the hut built by Tokudō on the eastern peak, where he is fervently praying, as mentioned in section 15.

On the right side, Fusasaki and his attendants listen respectfully to Tokudō's prayer, and on the left side, Fusasaki and Tokudō are having a conversation that will culminate with Fusasaki's support and Tokudō's fulfillment of his vow.

The text of section 18 tells us that, "On the eighth day of the fourth month of 729 (Jinki 6), an auspicious date and time were selected to perform the empowerment prayer (*kaji* 加持) for the *misogi* 御衣木. The person in charge was the monk Dōji 道慈 (d. 744)."[57] At this point, the material is no longer called a tree or log, but *misogi*, a noun used to refer to the wood used for making icons.[58] The painting shows the prepared block of wood inscribed with a sketch of Jūichimen Kannon, and the monk Dōji performing the empowerment

54 This is a complex theme. See La Fleur, "Sattva"; Rambelli, *Vegetal Buddhas*; and Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality*.

55 For a detailed discussion, see Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality*, pp. 19–27.

56 Section 16 contains important political and religious statements. See Fujimaki, "'Hasedera engibun' Amaterasu no ōmikami, Kasuga daimyōjin."

57 "Hasedera engi emaki kotobagaki," p. 226.

58 *Misogi* refers to the trees that are used as material to make icons of buddhas or *kami*. *Kōjien*, s.v. "misogi."

Figure 10. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll II, section 18.

prayer, an important step before the sculptors begin to work. Some monks and courtiers sit nearby, as well as the protectors of the log (figure 10).[59]

Section 19 tells us that the making of the image began right away, and that the sculpture, measuring two *jō* 丈, six *shaku* 尺 (about 8 meters), was finished in three days by the sculptors Kei Bunkai 稽文会 and Kei Shukun 稽主勳.[60] This section includes an interesting twist: a man named Tsumaro 津麿呂 went to the mountain searching for lumber, and when he looked toward the place where the craftsmen were working, he saw that Bunkai was a six-armed Jizō 地蔵 (Sk. Kṣitigarbha) and Shukun was a six-armed Fukūkenjaku Kannon 不空羂索観音 (Sk. Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara).[61] Tsumaro informed Tokudō, but when they returned, the craftsmen had a human appearance. The first scene of the illustration shows Tsumaro looking toward the working area where the Buddhist deities and the craftsmen work side by side, and the last scene shows a puzzled Tsumaro and Tokudō looking toward the same area. In this case, Jizō and Fukūkenjaku Kannon represent Tsumaro's vision, and the craftsmen working show Tokudō's view. The addition of these two deities certainly enhances the story by suggesting divine intervention. Although the text states that the image of Kannon was finished, the illustration does not show it completed (figure 11).

In sum, the new themes added to the story of the numinous log in *Hasedera engi* aimed to correlate the making of the Hase Kannon to the log's progression toward enlightenment. By claiming that white lotus flowers bloomed from the log, the writer transformed it into a supernatural log, suggesting that, although the log was technically dead, it had the buddha-nature, and therefore, that its salvation was possible. The addition of the move to the eastern peak might be associated with the desire for enlightenment. As non-sentient beings do not have the buddha-nature in practice, Tokudō's performance of prayers and offerings fulfilled the required practice, which was reinforced by Dōji's performance of the empowerment prayer. The illustration shows the *misogi* inscribed with a sketch of Jūichimen Kannon, which could be also be interpreted as part of the progression toward becoming a buddha. If the writer was influenced by the aforementioned Shingon ideas, then it might not be a coincidence that the stone pedestal, upon which the Hase Kannon stands, was found on the northern peak of the mountain.

59 In the SAM version, a wooden frame marks the sacred space (figure 10), but this is not the case in all versions.

60 The names of these artists seem to appear only in the Hasedera narratives and do not refer to historical figures. They are also mentioned in *Fusō ryakki*, *Shichidaiji nenpyō*, *Shoji konryū shidai*, and *Hasedera genki*. Miya, "Hasedera engi ge," p. 68.

61 *Missōki* explains that the sculptors who carved the icon transformed into the *honji* of the first and third *kami* of Kasuga Daimyōjin, Takemikazuchi 武雷槌 and Amenokoyane 天児屋根, respectively. See Yokota et al., "Chūsei Hasedera kīwādō shōjiten," pp. 162–63. Because *Engibun* and *Missōki* were written during the time that Hasedera was a branch temple of Kōfukuji, these documents reveal the Kōfukuji–Kasuga agenda. See Tsuji, *Hasederashi no kenkyū*, pp. 207–32.

Figure 11. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll II, section 19.

▪ Stone Platform

Stones are a significant element in the Hasedera narratives, and many are mentioned in the text and portrayed in *Hasedera engi emaki*.[62] An unusual flat stone serves as the pedestal for the Hase Kannon image.[63] In *Sanbō ekotoba*, a short paragraph tells us that, after the image of Kannon was finished and dedicated in Jinki 4 (727), in a dream Tokudō saw a deity, pointing to the northern peak. This unidentified deity informed him about a large rock buried at the base of the peak and instructed him to unearth it and place the image of Kannon on it. Tokudō woke up, went to the peak, and dug up a large flat stone, which measured eight feet wide and eight feet long.[64]

In *Hasedera engi emaki*, the discovery of the stone is more complex, and is recounted vividly in three sections. Furthermore, section 27, which describes the monk Gyōki's pilgrimage through the mountain landscape, includes a detailed discussion of the stone's significance. The story of the stone platform begins in section 20, which refers to the message from the deity. It continues in section 21, which tells about the unearthing of the stone by deities, and ends in section 22 with the placement of the icon on top of the stone. In all instances, epithets are used to refer to the stone platform. The story begins,

> Tokudō was worried because he had to build a Buddhist hall on the steep mountain. While performing his Buddhist practices, he had a dream in which Konjin 金神 appeared.[65] [Konjin] pointed to the northern peak and told Tokudō that an adamantine treasured large stone (*kongō hō banjaku* 金剛宝盤石) with gold on its surface lay on the peak. He explained that the stone connected Hase to the edge of a golden wheel (*konrinsai* 金輪際), and that it had three branches.[66] This stone is the place where the bodhisattva of great compassion [Kannon] preaches the Dharma; it is his adamantine treasured lion throne (*kongō hō shishiza* 金剛宝獅子座).[67] I, the *hachibushū* 八部衆, and myriads of other deities live on the mountain.[68] Since ancient times, we have protected this mountain.[69]

62 For a comprehensive study of the stones at Mt. Hase, see Yokota, "Hase Kannon daizaseki denshō no tenkai," "Hase Kannon daiza sakikusa setsu no keisei," and "Hasedera shūhen no ishi to kamigami." Sections 27 and 31 of *Hasedera engi emaki* include many stones associated with *kami* names. See also Fujimaki, "Nantōkei Hasedera engi," pp. 77–79.

63 The flat square pedestal is an unusual feature for a Buddhist icon. For a short study about the uncommon iconographical features of the Hase Kannon, see Hatta, "Hasedera Jūichimen Kannon zō no zōyō," pp. 16–19.

64 Kamens, *The Three Jewels*, p. 321; Minamoto, *Sanbō ekotoba*, pp. 93–94.

65 Konjin is a deity associated with yin-yang beliefs. *Kōjien*, s.v. "Konjin."

66 Yokota explains that, in the Buddhist worldview, the edge of a golden wheel supports the earth. Yokota, *Hasedera genki*, p. 5. The term *banjaku* refers to a large rock. *Kōjien*, s.v. "banjaku."

67 *Shishiza* (Sk. *siṃhāsana*, lion's throne) is the seat that a buddha or enlightened master uses when delivering a discourse. Buswell, *The Princeton Dictionary*, s.v. "*siṃhāsana*."

68 *Engibun* lists the names of the Eight Classes of Beings and the names of the Eight Dragon Kings, but they are not listed in *Hasedera engi emaki*. *Engibun*, p. 458. For the names of the Eight Dragon Kings, see Inagaki, *A Dictionary*, s.v. "Hachi dairyūō."

69 "Hasedera engi emaki kotobagaki," p. 227.

Figure 12. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll II, section 21.

The illustration for section 20 shows Tokudō, dozing off within a house, and Konjin, pointing to the hills depicted in the background. Konjin looks like a divine boy, with his hair parted in the middle and tied in pigtails; he is dressed in a white jacket and pants with red sections, and holds a single-pronged *vajra*.

As mentioned above, in *Sanbō ekotoba*, Tokudō excavates the stone by himself. The unearthing of the stone is dramatic in *Hasedera engi emaki*. Section 21 describes the conditions and the beings involved in this process:

> When Tokudō woke up in the middle of the night, a strong wind blew on the peak, and a Dragon King (Ryūō 竜王) created a thunderstorm with heavy rains and landslides, which produced loud sounds as the rocks broke. Tokudō gathered the courage to peek through the window and, when lightning hit the ground, he could see the Tenryū Eight Classes of Beings (Tenryū hachibushū 天竜八部衆, i.e., protectors of Buddhism) and the Eight Divine Boys (Hachi daidōji 八大童子) frantically digging in the ground.[70]

In figure 12, Tokudō is represented peeking through the sliding door, looking at the stormy scene while the divine beings dig up the stone.

The painting does not follow the text faithfully, as not all of the Eight Classes of Beings and Eight Divine Boys are portrayed. The storm is depicted in a dynamic composition, with black clouds framing the Wind God, who creates strong winds from his bag, and the Thunder God, who bangs on his drums to generate thunder. Two divine boys—one holding a single-pronged *vajra*, and the other, a trident—dig up the large square stone with the assistance of another divine being who uses his sword.[71] The large square stone is represented with swirling lines on the surface and appears to be surrounded by water. On the left side of the composition, a Dragon King and a demon-like figure carry logs and stones.

The narrative about the stone pedestal ends in section 22:

> When dawn broke and Tokudō looked toward the northern peak, he saw a flat stone, the adamantine treasured seat (*kongō hō za* 金剛宝座). It measured about eight *shaku* on each side; the surface was flat as the palm of a hand and looked like the texture of twill fabric. It had the holes for the feet of the bodhisattva [image], and they were exactly the size of the statue's [feet].[72]

70 Ibid. The Eight Classes of Beings include gods or heavenly beings, dragons, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kiṃnaras*, and *mahoragas*. See Sawa, *Butsuzō zuten*, pp. 122–26. The Eight Divine Boys are the attendants of Fudō Myōō 不動明王 (Sk. Acalanātha).

71 The divine boy holding the single-pronged *vajra* might be Anokuta Dōji 阿耨達童子, and the one holding the trident might be Eki Dōji 慧喜童子. Sawa, *Butsuzō zuten*, p. 107.

72 "Hasedera engi emaki kotobagaki," p. 227.

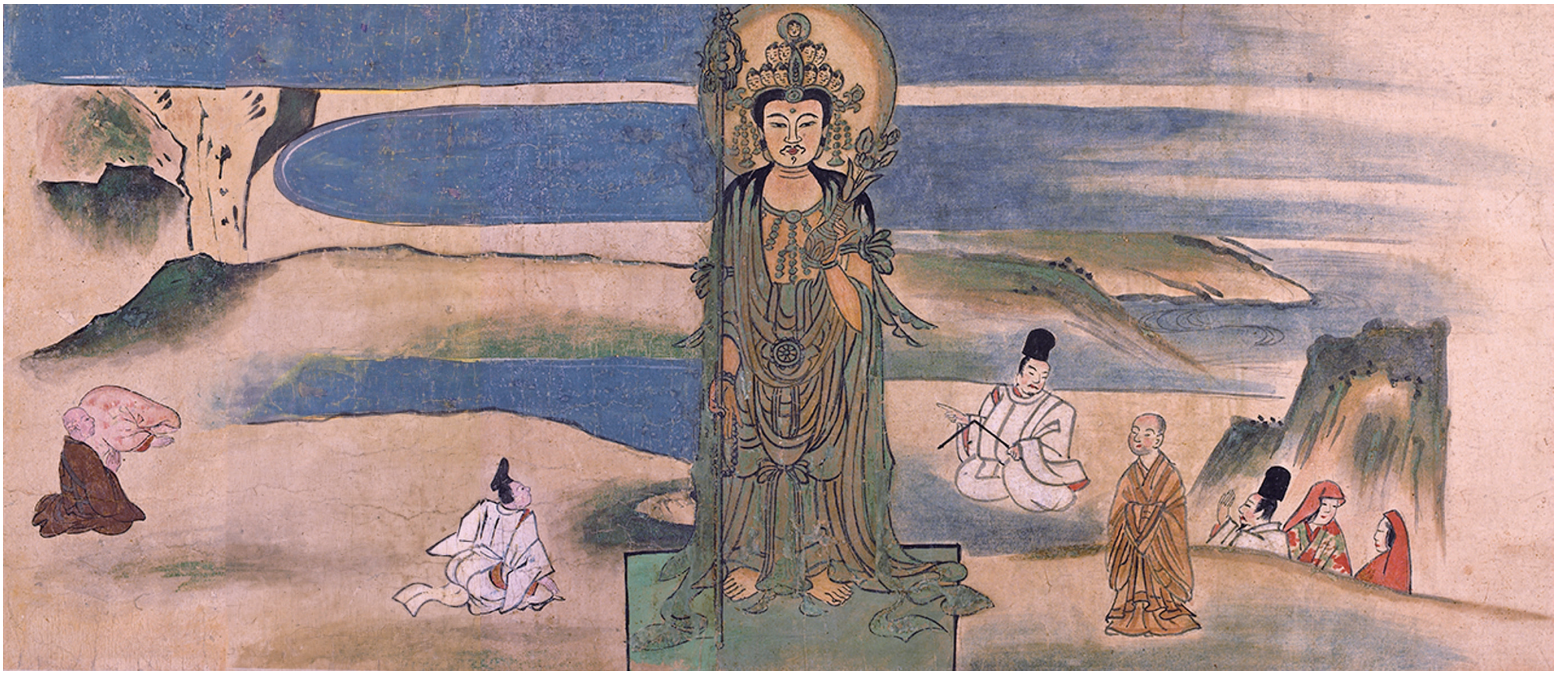


Figure 13. *Hasedera engi emaki*, scroll II, section 22.

The illustration of this scene (figure 13) is particularly important because, for the first time, we get a glimpse of the monumental sculpture of Kannon holding his attribute, a *shakujō* 錫杖 (monk's staff), and standing on the square stone pedestal. Tokudō and a group of men and women stand in awe, dwarfed by the monumental image.[73] Because Hasedera burned down many times in the medieval period, this painting of the Hase Kannon would have had special significance as an object of worship when the icon was not available.[74] As Kevin Carr has proposed, narrative paintings were not just experienced as illustrations of entertaining stories, but also as iconic images that represented the deity and created a sense of its sacred presence. Because stories like *Hasedera engi emaki* combine iconic and narrative modes, Carr has suggested the term "iconarrative," an object that is a story in form, but functions as an icon or object of worship.[75]

Further explanation of the significance of the stone is included in section 27, when Gyōki performs a spiritual pilgrimage on the mountain guided by a divine boy, who is a messenger of Kongō Dōji 金剛童子 (Sk. Vajrakumāra).[76] During this journey, the divine boy gives a detailed explanation of the stone platform. He tells Tokudō that this "adamantine treasured seat" has three branches, and that we can see the top of the seat on this mountain, but the bottom connects with the edge of the golden wheel. One branch is connected to the west, to central India, to the stone of enlightenment; the second branch is linked to the pure mountain Potalaka (the Pure Land of Kannon, Jp. Fudarakusen 補陀落山) and the seat of Kannon; and the third branch is on this mountain. Unfortunately, these important features are not visually represented in the illustrated scrolls.

The idea of three branches connecting the stone platform to the stone of enlightenment and to Potalaka is not original to *Engibun* and *Hasedera engi emaki*. Yokota has found that the earliest extant source containing a similar statement is *Kenkyū gojunrei ki* 建久

73 The two figures dressed in white might be the sculptors, as the one next to Tokudō holds a carpenter's square.

74 Records indicate that the temple burned down in 944, 991, 1025, 1052, 1094, 1219, 1280, 1495, and 1536.

75 Carr, "The Material Facts," pp. 31, 40–41.

76 Kongō Dōji is a Wisdom King thought to be the metamorphosed body of the buddha Amida 阿弥陀 (Sk. Amitābha). In Japan, he is the god of war, invoked against calamities affecting the state. See Frédéric, *Buddhism*, pp. 216–17. See also Sawa, *Butsuzō zuten*, p. 121.

御巡礼記 (Record of the Pilgrimage in the Kenkyū Era), dated to Kenkyū 建久 2 (1191). This twelfth-century text, however, states that the stone platform is specifically linked to Maghada (southern Bihar) in India, where three generations of buddhas reached enlightenment, and that Mt. Potalaka is in the southern sea.[77] Yokota searched for possible Buddhist sources for these ideas, and found some of them (such as Maghada being the place where three generations of buddhas reached enlightenment), along with the terms used to refer to the stone platform, in Buddhist texts, but none of the texts coherently explains the significance of the connections between the stones and the sites mentioned. He also has proposed that the idea of the three branches might be related to knowledge of the transmission of Buddhism through the three countries (India, China, and Japan), specifically to the stories that involve the miraculous move of foreign sacred mountains to Japan. These stories were popular at sites of Shugendō practice, traditions associated with mountain ascetics; as Mt. Hase was one of those sites, it is likely that such ideas reached the Hasedera monks.

In sum, the short story included in *Sanbō ekotoba* about Tokudō's discovery of the large stone that serves as the Hase Kannon's platform was given a specifically Buddhist significance by the creators of *Hasedera engi emaki*. In so doing, Mt. Hase was connected to the land where Buddhism originated and to the Pure Land of Kannon, enhancing the sacred nature of the mountain and the icon.

Conclusion

Among the many legendary accounts about Hasedera, the creators of *Hasedera engi emaki* chose as their source *Hasedera engibun*, allegedly composed by Sugawara no Michizane in the tenth century. Current scholarship agrees that *Engibun* is a product of the twelfth or thirteenth century, and that various *Hasedera engi emaki* were produced between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. The focus of this study, the set at the SAM, is dated to the sixteenth century. By comparing the stories of the log and the large stone recorded in *Sanbō ekotoba* to the *Hasedera engi emaki* text, it becomes clear that the additions to the *Engibun* and *Hasedera engi emaki* versions of these stories carried a specific message. To construct the Hase Kannon's sacred aura, the creators of *Hasedera engi emaki* underscored the wondrous qualities of the material. In the case of the log, they kept some motifs that demonstrated its numinous nature, such as the disasters that it caused in the places where it landed. Yet, the motifs that were added, such as the deities whose main role is to protect the log, served to enhance the log's perceived sacredness. Furthermore, the writer(s) used the idea that non-sentient beings could reach enlightenment, showing that the log followed the various steps in this process before its transformation into a Kannon image. The white lotus blooming from the log served to demonstrate that the log had the buddha-nature, and that it could move to the next step through Tokudō's devoted prayers and offerings, and Dōji's empowerment prayer. With its move to the northern peak, the log finally reached "enlightenment" when it was transformed into an image of Jūichimen Kannon through the intervention of two Buddhist deities. At Hasedera, the preservation of the sacred material used to make the Hase Kannon was important; thus, after some of the fires that destroyed the temple through the centuries, new stories about the wood were created. These stories created after the fires claimed that some small part of the statue had survived and was used to make, or inserted into, the new image.[78]

In the same way, the expanded story about the large square stone platform not only highlights the size and unusual shape of the stone, but explains that Mt. Hase is connected through the stone to a site associated with the historical Buddha and to Mt. Potalaka, the imaginary site associated with Kannon. In *Hasedera engi emaki* certain sections of the text contain complex religious and political statements, which are not illustrated. Yet, the sections that are illustrated allow the scrolls to show the presence of the deities who accompanied the log through its journey, Tokudō's ability to receive messages from the protectors of Mt. Hase, and, importantly, the progressive transformation of the log into the miraculous Hase Kannon.

77 Yokota, "Hasedera Kannon daiza sakikusa no keisei," pp. 16–17.

78 Discussed by Yokota, "Hasedera Kannon no misogi."

Table 1. Stories as divided among the three scrolls of Hasedera engi emaki, summary of sections, and brief description of illustrations.

SCROLL I	
First Story	**Sugawara no Michizane and the compilation of *Engibun* in Kanpyō 寛平 8 (896)**
Section 1	Michizane visited Hasedera to compile *Hasedera engi*. While studying temple documents, he had a dream in which three Zaō Gongen 蔵王権現, using golden ladders, came down to Hasedera's Main Hall from Mt. Kinpu 金峯山 and told him about the virtues of the mountain.[79]
Illustration 1 *Figure 1*	Three scenes: Michizane dozes off, the three Zaō Gongen come down on golden ladders, and Michizane writes the *engi*.
Second Story	**Establishment of Hatsusedera 初瀬寺 and Hasedera and explanation of the temples' names**
Section 2	A stupa fell from the hand of an image of Bishamonten 毘沙門天. This image was in a hall next to the shrine of Takikura Gongen 瀧倉権現, the local *kami*.[80] The stupa was found by Takeshiuchi no Sukune 武内宿祢; after performing divinations, Sukune concluded that Mt. Hase was a blessed place, and buried the stupa.[81] Three hundred years later, this stupa was discovered by the monk Dōmyō, who established Hatsusedera, the first temple on the mountain, with the support of Tenmu Tennō 天武天皇 (r. 673–686).
Illustration 2 *Figure 2*	The composition includes the shrines of Takikura Gongen and Bishamonten, Takeshiuchi no Sukune picking up the stupa from Hatsuse River, and Dōmyō holding the same stupa and walking toward a Buddhist hall and a pagoda. A representation of the Hasedera Bronze Plaque is also part of the composition.
Third Story	**The life and religious training of the monk Tokudō**
Section 3	The second temple is known as Hasedera, and it was established by the monk Tokudō. He was born in Saimei 斉明 2 (656), and his birth name was Kara Yatabe no Miyatsuko Komemaru 辛矢田部造米丸. He was an incarnation of Hokki (also Hōki) Bosatsu 法起菩薩, and his mother was impregnated when the Myōjō Tenshi 明星天子 entered through her mouth.[82]
Illustration 3	Komemaru's mother is being impregnated by the morning star while she sleeps in a house. In the same house, the birth of Tokudō is portrayed.[83]
Section 4	After the deaths of his parents, Komemaru decided to follow the Buddhist path for their salvation. He entered Mt. Hase to perform religious practices, receiving the precepts and his religious name in Tenmu 天武 4 (676).
Illustration 4	Tokudō is tonsured in a small structure in a mountain setting.
Section 5	Tokudō mastered the Buddhist teachings, but could not master *shugen* 修験 (the generation of miraculous powers through ascetic practices). Thus, he continued to perform virtuous acts.
Illustration 5	Tokudō practices the Buddhist way in a mountain setting.

79 The references to Mt. Kinpu and Zaō Gongen are evidence of the prevalence of Shugendō practices on Mt. Hase. Mt. Kinpu is an important center of Shugendō practices in Nara Prefecture, and Zaō Gongen is the tradition's main deity. For the various roles of Zaō Gongen, see Blair, *Real and Imagined*. For aspects of Shugendō in *Hasedera engi emaki*, see Pradel, "La Leyenda Ilustrada de Hasedera," pp. 61–64.

80 Takikura Gongen is an ancient *kami* of Hase. Three shrines dedicated to this *kami* are located on the grounds of Hasedera today. See Yokota et al., "Chūsei Hasedera kīwādō shōjiten," pp. 148–49.

81 Takeshiuchi no Sukune, or Takeuchi no Sukune, is a legendary character who appears in *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan, 720) and *Kojiki* 古事記 (Record of Ancient Matters, 712) where he plays an important role at the court of such early rulers as Kōgen 孝元 (214–158 BCE) and Keikō 景行 through Nintoku 仁徳 (71–399 CE). *Kōjien*, s.v. "Takeuchi no Sukune."

82 Hokki Bosatsu is a bodhisattva mentioned in *Kegongyō* 華厳経 (Sk. *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, the Garland Sutra). This deity was the protector of Mt. Katsuragi, a center of Shugendō practice. Miyake, *Shugendō jiten*, p. 346. For an overview of Shugendō, the religion of mountain ascetics, see Kasahara, *A History of Japanese Religion*, pp. 314–31. Myōjō Tenshi (Sk. Aruṇa) is a Vedic deity. He accompanies Indra and fights against darkness before the sun god Surya rises in the morning. Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 1307.

83 For a detailed analysis of birth scenes in *emaki*, see Suzuki, "Twanging Bows and Throwing Rice."

Section 6	While at Mt. Hase, Tokudō discovered that it was a sacred mountain and decided to build a temple. When he looked toward the northern peak, he saw a golden light. This light appeared every time he performed his Buddhist practices.
Illustration 6	Tokudō looks toward the light emanating from the northern peak while performing his religious practices.
Fourth Story	**The numinous log**
Section 7	Tokudō wanted to make a buddha image for the temple, and searched for appropriate wood. He asked the monk Dōmyō, who told him about a strange log lying in Hatsuse River. Dōmyō told him that, in a dream, he had talked to an *okina*, who identified himself as Mio Daimyōjin, the protector of the log, and to a divine boy, who said that he was a protector of Mt. Hase.
Illustration 7	Dōmyō and Tokudō talk.
Section 8	Tokudō asked a village elder about the log's history. The elder responded that the log was cursed.
Illustration 8	An old man and Tokudō talk.
Section 9	The elder told Tokudō that the log measured more than ten *jō* 丈 (about thirty meters total), and that fragrant lotus flowers bloomed from it when celestials scattered lotus petals on it. For this reason, the locals named the site the White Lotus Flower Valley.
Illustration 9 *Figure 3*	A celestial being scatters lotus petals, while white lotus flowers bloom from the log.
Section 10	The elder also told Tokudō that in Keitai 継体 11 (518), a storm washed the log out of the valley.
Illustration 10 *Figure 4*	The large log is being washed away during a storm. It is accompanied by the Wind God, the Thunder God, Mio Daimyōjin (represented as an old man), a divine boy holding a baldachin, and five demon-like figures.
Section 11	The log ended up in the village of Ōtsu in the Shiga District, where it stayed for nearly seventy years; many disasters happened in that village. After performing divinations, the villagers found out that the log was cursed.
Illustration 11 *Figure 5*	Mio Daimyōjin, the divine boy holding a baldachin, and three demons sit near the log. A village is shown where villagers try to cut the log, which causes sickness, fires, and death.
Section 12	A woman named Oi no Kadoko from the village of Yagi in Takechi 高市, Yamato Province, thought of making a buddha icon for the sake of her parents and husband. In Yōmei 用明 1 (585), she had the log moved to a crossing, and died due to the curse. The log stayed in Yagi and tragic events continued. In Suiko 推古 7 (599), a novice named Hōsei decided to make a Jūichimen Kannon image and moved the log to Taima in Lower Katsuragi, but he died. The log stayed in Taima for about fifty years and tragic events continued to occur there.
Illustration 12 *Figure 6*	The long log is hauled by a group of men, and a person appears on his deathbed in a house.[84]
Section 13	In Tenji 天智 7 (668), the log ended up in the sacred river at Hase, and remained there uneventfully for about thirty-nine years. After hearing the stories, Tokudō understood that the log was numinous, and requested permission from the villagers to take it.
Illustration 13	The log at Hase; Tokudō talks to an elder.

84 In the SAM version, the house scene is placed before the log hauled by a group of men. Figure 6 has been reconstructed based on other extant versions of *Hasedera engi emaki*.

SCROLL II	
Section 14	After nearly fifteen years had passed, Tokudō could not fulfill his vow of making the buddha image. In a dream, he saw a strange person, who told him to carry the numinous log to the eastern peak, where three lights represent the benefits of the three times.
Illustration 14 *Figure 7*	Tokudō sleeps and a man points toward the eastern peak, where three oil lamps are lit.
Fifth Story	**Interactions between Tokudō and Fujiwara no Fusasaki and the making of the Hase Kannon**
Section 15	In Yōrō 養老 4 (720), Tokudō moved the log to the eastern peak, made offerings, and prayed that the log would transform itself into a buddha image for the prosperity of the imperial and Fujiwara 藤原 families. In Yōrō 8 (724), Fujiwara no Fusasaki went to the Yamato Province as an imperial messenger. He also went hunting, and while doing so in the mountains, he heard someone praying fervently.
Illustration 15 *Figure 8*	The log is hauled to the eastern peak; Fusasaki and his hunting party arrive in Hase.[85]
Section 16	Fusasaki asked Tokudō about the reason for his prayers. Tokudō explained about his vow to make a Jūichimen Kannon image, which he wanted to do because the prosperity of Buddhism in Japan depended on Amaterasu no Ōmikami 天照大神 and Kasuga Daimyōjin 春日大明神, as both *kami* had promised each other to protect the country.
Illustration 16 *Figure 9*	Fusasaki listens to Tokudō's prayer; Tokudō fervently prays to the log (accompanied by its protectors); and Fusasaki and Tokudō talk.
Section 17	Fusasaki decided to support Tokudō. In Jinki 1 (724), he presented a petition and received a positive response from the emperor. Three months later, the emperor donated three hundred bushels of rice.
Illustration 17	Fusasaki reads the imperial response, and farmers carry the rice bushels.
Section 18	In Jinki 6 (729), the monk Dōji performed an empowerment prayer for the *misogi*.
Illustration 18 *Figure 10*	Dōji performs the prayer ceremony in front of a block of wood with an image of Kannon sketched on it, as the protectors of the log watch.
Section 19	The image, which measured two *jō* six *shaku*, was finished in three days. A man named Tsumaro saw that the craftsmen, Kei Bunkai and Kei Shukun, had transformed into a six-armed Jizō and a six-armed Fukūkenjaku Kannon, respectively. He informed Tokudō, but the latter could not see the deities.
Illustration 19 *Figure 11*	Tsumaro looks toward the craftsmen's working area. Two sculptors work side by side with their deity counterparts. The log's protectors are near the working area. Tsumaro points toward the working area as Tokudō looks on.[86]
Sixth Story	**Discovery of the monumental stone**
Section 20	Konjin appeared to Tokudō in a dream, and informed him about a large stone that could serve as the bodhisattva's platform.
Illustration 20	Tokudō sleeps and a divine boy, holding a *vajra*, points to the northern peak.
Section 21	During a loud, stormy night, Tokudō saw the Tenryū Eight Classes of Beings and the Eight Divine Boys frantically digging up a stone.
Illustration 21 *Figure 12*	Tokudō peeks through a sliding door as the deities unearth the large stone. The Wind God and Thunder God actively create the storm.

85 In the SAM version, the scene of the log being hauled to the peak is located after illustration 19. Figure 8 has been reconstructed based on other extant versions of *Hasedera engi emaki*.

86 Figure 11 has been reconstructed based on the narrative and the Idemitsu version. In the SAM version, section 20 and illustration 20 are between the scene representing Tsumaro looking toward the working area and the workshop scene.

Section 22	The following morning, Tokudō saw the "adamantine treasured seat", i.e., the adamantine platform. It measured eight *shaku* (about 2.6 meters) on each side. It was flat, and the image's feet fit perfectly on top of it.
Illustration 22 *Figure 13*	The monumental statue of Kannon stands on the pedestal, while Tokudō worships along with other men and women.
Seventh Story	**The Hase Kannon's eye-opening ceremony**
Section 23	The eye-opening ceremony was scheduled. Shōmu Tennō ordered a copy of the *Dai hannya kyō* 大般若経 (Great Wisdom Sutra).
Illustration 23	A group of monks copies sutras.
Section 24	On Tenpyō 5 (733).5.18, Fusasaki brought the imperial offerings to Hasedera. On 5.20, he presented the offerings and music. The monk Gyōki was the leading officiant, the monk Gira 儀邏 (n.d) oversaw the prayers, and one hundred monks participated in the ceremony. During the night, the Kannon image emitted light from its forehead and illuminated the whole mountain.
Illustration 24	In the scene of the eye-opening ceremony, the officiants are seated facing each other, a group of monks is seated on a square stage, and lay people are behind them. The space is decorated with banners, and a shaft of light coming through the mist indicates the presence of Kannon.
Section 25	The same night, eight divine boys appeared to Tokudō and informed him that they were the protectors of the stone seat. They also pledged to protect those who pray to the Buddha, and to give them good fortune and the promise of salvation.[87]
Illustration 25	Eight divine boys appear to Tokudō, who worships them.
Section 26	On 5.21, the *Dai hannya kyō* was offered. The leading officiant was Gyōki, the prayer officiant was the Vinaya monk Zen'ei 禅叡 (n.d), and sixty other monks participated. The emperor had a dream in which he saw a light entering the palace, and he rejoiced.
Illustration 26	A shaft of light enters the palace.
Eighth Story	**The monk Gyōki's pilgrimage to Mt. Hase**
Section 27	Gyōki embarked on a one-hundred-day retreat at Mt. Hase. On the seventy-seventh day, a golden-colored divine boy appeared from the right side of the Kannon image, and identified himself as one of the protectors of the mountain and a messenger from Kongō Dōji. He explained the sacred spots at the site and the divine beings who inhabit Mt. Hase.
Illustration 27	Gyōki talks to a divine boy. They are surrounded by worshippers, who appear to be impressed by the large size of the icon.

SCROLL III	
Section 28	Gyōki wanted to see the mountain, and the divine boy took him.
Illustration 28	Long and complex composition showing Gyōki and the divine boy exploring the sacred spots on the mountain.

87 These eight divine boys are not the Eight Divine Boys associated with Fudō Myōō. They are the protectors of the stone pedestal who promise spiritual benefits to the people who visit Mt. Hase. Their names are listed in the text. See Miya, "Hasedera engi kotobagaki, kōkan," p. 146; and "Hasedera engi emaki kotobagaki," p. 228.

88 *Samādhi* (Jp. *sanmai* 三昧) means "concentration," and refers to the Buddhist meditation theory and practice that relates to the ability to focus on a specific object of concentration. Buswell, *The Princeton Dictionary*, s.v. "*samādhi.*"

89 The term *ryōkai* used here refers to the mandalas of the Two Realms.

Section 29	The divine boy explained to Gyōki that the glorious sites can only be seen in a state of *samādhi*.[88] Gyōki reached *samādhi*, saw the deities of the Two Realms (*ryōkai* 両界), and worshipped them.[89] Both returned to the side of the Kannon image, and the boy disappeared.
Illustration 29	Gyōki sees the buddhas of the Two Realms.
Ninth Story	**Construction and dedication of Hasedera's main hall**
Section 30	Gyōki returned to his temple and reported to the throne about Mt. Hase, and requested the construction of a Buddhist hall. In the meantime, Tokudō organized a fundraising effort that included people from high and low classes.[90] The ridgepole-raising ceremony took place on Tenpyō 7 (735).5.16.
Illustration 30	Gyōki reports to the throne, Tokudō writes the fundraising slips, craftsmen are shown at work, and preparations for the ridgepole ceremony are made.
Section 31	The halls were finished on Tenpyō 19 (747).9.28, and the completion ceremony (*rakkei kuyō* 落慶供養) was performed. One hundred monks participated in the ceremony. Bodhisena (704–760), an Indian monk, was the leading officiant, and Gyōki was in charge of the prayers.
Illustration 31	Music and dances are performed during the halls' dedication ceremonies.
Tenth Story	**Shōmu's donation and visit to the temple**
Section 32	Shōmu visited Hasedera on Tenpyō shōhō 天平勝宝 4 (752).11.16. He offered a copy of the *Saishōō kyō* 最勝王経 (Golden Light Sutra) and one section of the *Lotus Sutra* that he himself had written.[91]
Illustration 32	Long composition showing Shōmu's cart and entourage, important halls of Hasedera, and landmarks at Mt. Hase.
Section 33	On Tenpyō shōhō 5 (753).11.19, Shōmu had a dream, and by imperial command, a curtain was hung on 12.20. Prayers needed to be offered for the generations to come, for the security of the empire, and for the happiness of the people. The monk Kengyō 堅璟 (714–793) received the imperial donation.
Illustration 33	A red curtain with motifs of circles on lotus flowers is shown. Each circle contains the seed syllable (Sk. *bīja*) for Kannon. A monk, courtiers, and women look at the scene; Kengyō is also portrayed.
Postscript	The postscript reiterates that Mt. Hase is a sacred Buddhist site, and that Shōmu is a manifestation of Kannon; Tokudō, of Hokki Bosatsu; Gyōki, of the bodhisattva Monju 文殊 (Sk. Mañjuśrī); and Bodhisena, of the bodhisattva Fugen 普賢 (Sk. Samantabhadra).[92]

90 This constitutes the last mention of Tokudō in the text.

91 The SAM version includes a postscript stating that the painting of the temple grounds (illustration 32) is intended for monks and laypeople who have not yet visited Hasedera.

92 Fujimaki calls the people listed "the four saints of Hasedera." Except for Tokudō, the three others mentioned are also part of a group known as "the four saints of Tōdaiji." The fourth figure in the latter group is the monk Rōben 良弁 (689–773). Fujimaki, "'Hasedera engibun' ni miru 'Tōdaiji,'" pp. 151–56.

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