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This talk will introduce you to my dissertation which investigates the circumstances behind the emergence in late-medieval Japan of shaji sankei mandara, a genre of painting believed to have been created to be used by traveling monks and nuns in narrative recitation performances, in order to raise much-needed funds for the renewal of shrine-temple grounds and the various rites and festivals held within. In order to achieve this goal these paintings appeal directly to the tastes and priorities of a newly risen class of urban commoners to attract their patronage. For the first time these commoners were inserted as pilgrims and patrons into the image. We are thus offered a unique lens into this dynamic and transitional period in Japan's history, offering a rare and unusually detailed view of patterns of popular culture and worship.

The appearance of *shaji sankei mandara* may be traced to the late-16th century when, after a century of civil war, a fundamental shift occurred in the structure of Japanese society.  An emergent class of commoners now wielded new wealth and power, and many long-standing traditions and institutions bent to the tastes of these patrons. New schools and forms of art developed to give visual expression to the manners, customs and aesthetic sensibilities of this class; religious institutions actively solicited their economic support, spurring energetic and enthusiastic pilgrimage practices: sacred spaces that had been accessible only to the aristocracy and to prestigious religious practitioners were now visited in large numbers by groups of wealthy commoners.

*Shaji sankei mandara* visually reflect these socio-economic trends. The images depicted the commoner-pilgrims alongside the nobility and military aristocracy, as well as other social groups, in and around shrine-temple grounds. Though their primary purpose was to serve a practical function as temple advertisements, to popularize pilgrimage and encourage financial contributions among commoners, the *sankei mandara* had a secondary effect of elevating the status of these new patrons by giving them concrete visual form in their new role. *Sankei mandara* thus chronicle and illustrate dramatic changes in the structures of worship, patronage and popular culture that took place in late-medieval Japanese society.

*Sankei mandara* are schematic visual guides to sacred sites and their surrounds and have been referred to as guide maps and pleasure maps. The paintings include the gates and buildings that demarcate sacred and secular spaces, illustrating the spiritual benefits of visiting the site and the assortment of worldly pleasures to be experienced in the surrounding area. Within the sacred space one often finds the performance of contemporary rituals, a glimpse of the temple's icon and scenes from the engi, the origin history of the site, as well as merrymakers enjoying the beautiful scenery. Outside of the sacred area, one may find picnickers and sightseers, anecdotal scenes from the area's folklore, local specialties being sold in stalls, brothels, inns and native *kami* flying through the air. An odd assortment of other elements may be found too: local histories related to the area, hovering Buddhist deities, Datsueba, the old hag who steals the clothes of the dead before they appear for judgment, to name only a few.

Ise Mandara

Today four *Ise sankei mandara* are known to survive. All four paintings include the gates and boundaries of both inner and outer shrines. In three of the paintings, we find the Miyagawa River with a bridge crossing depicted in the lower right corner, providing access to the grounds. In the fourth, the Kozuko bunkakaikan version, there are two points of entry: the Miyagawa River, represented in the center right edge of the right scroll, and in the lower left corner of the left scroll, from another body of water. After purifying in the Miyagawa River, the pilgrim enters the lively town of Yamada, where local goods and specialties are sold. Moving further up through the space the pilgrim crosses the bridge over the eastward flowing Toyo River and then reaches the outer shrine, where obeisance may be paid alongside figures from various social classes. In three of the four versions, the pilgrim then

makes their way to the upper right register of the painting, where miko mai (dancing shrine maidens) perform a kagura dance before the ama no iwato of Mount Takakura, the place Amaterasu purportedly hid when she threw the world into darkness. From here the pilgrim begins a vertical descent, passing through the town of Okamoto cho, lined with comb shops, and down the Ai no Yama, the center for public entertainment and sex, eventually reaching Uji Bridge, where people can be seen crossing and throwing small change into the Isuzu river. From here one begins another vertical ascent, passing through the town of Uji, then reaching the Naiku on the left. A bridge to the right leads the pilgrim to Kazanomiya shrine while a mountain path to the left leads to Kongo temple and a distant view of Fuji's iconic peak.

In all four versions the basic composition is the same: the pilgrim follows a route that begins in the lower right quadrant and ends in the top left. The perspective is the same: the viewer looks down from an elevated vantage point. They all include the necessary natural and architectural elements that make the image immediately recognizable as Ise: Naiku, Geku, Uji bridge, Isuzu & Miyagawa Rivers, etc. Kanjin activity and various mythologies and folklore related to the site may also be found in all four examples. Also common to all is the inclusion of the sun and the moon, as well as figures of all classes making their way through the painting.

Despite these common elements, close inspection of each painting will reveal many points of difference among these four examples, both in execution and in the numerous details. Take for example the torii. In the Mie version, all the torii appear unpainted, while in the shrine version, only those before the two small shrines in the foreground are painted and in the Mitsui and Kozuko bunkakan examples, all are painted. Should we take these images at face value, as actual representations of what the torii looked like? In which case, do the variations reflect different moments in the shrine's history? Ise specialists claim the shrines and their torii were never painted. So were the artists simply following convention, painting the shrines as they had seen shrines painted in other images and in their local shrines? Were they simply trying to liven up the painting with color, while also highlighting the shrines? Had these artists never actually visited Ise shrine? Why not provide a faithful representation if these images were to act as guide-maps to the shrines, presumably commissioned by the shrines themselves?

Another point of difference is the placement of the sun and moon: in two versions the sun appears on the left; in two versions it appears on the right (in traditional mandala the sun is on the right; the moon is on the left). Why change the placement? Is it because Amaterasu is the sun goddess and the artist made the choice to deviate from convention and illustrate the sun above her shrine?

What about the inclusion or exclusion of Datsueba (the old hag that steals the clothes of the dead) and Enma (king and judge of the underworld)? In the shrine version Datsueba sits in a hut before the second bridge; in Mitsui and Powers it is Enma who represents the realm of the dead. We find neither Datsueba nor Enma in the Kozuko example. Why would some artists include or exclude these Buddhist gods of the underworld? Could it have to do with conventions that were prevalent at the time? Or is it a reflection of something that was happening at a particular moment in history? Notice that the shrine version, the only one of our paintings to include Datsueba, is also the only example in which we find a kanjin nun, sitting at the foot of Uji Bridge. Could this indicate a strong female movement at the time this painting was made? Or were these paintings simply intended to be a kind of storyteller's toolbox, packed with visual information, and it is simply coincidence that we find Datsueba in the same painting as the kanjin nun?

The execution of the figures making their way through the space also varies significantly from image to image. This seems to suggest that our four Ise mandara examples were not direct copies, even though the fundamental composition is so close. This variation becomes more striking when we compare these paintings with surviving Nachi sankei mandara, for example, where every composition and detail is nearly identical. Could the Ise mandara have been produced in different studios but commissioned with firm compositional guidelines? Perhaps there were many more of each version-type that have now been lost? These paintings are, after all, not very durable and were regularly put under stressful conditions.

While I can continue to describe the many discernible differences between these paintings, I think it is important to emphasize their overarching commonality and so the main question I would like to pose is in what way do sankei mandara, and these examples in particular, enrich and respond

to the tapestry of Japanese art history? How can this set of examples augment how we think, or help us think in new ways, about Japanese painting? Since sankei mandara have not been included in the canon of great Japanese art we are released from some of the constraints encountered when attempting to discuss these elite works (such as…). Though not part of the canon, sankei mandara are closely related to paintings that do make the cut: engi-e, miya mandara, fuzoku-ga, emaki. They draw from this wide variety of sources, unburdened by the pressure of having to conform to particular painting standards or to a single genre. For this reason, what some regard as a weakness in sankei mandara could be made into a strength. Their hybrid nature may in fact connect us to some larger picture of Japanese art, revealing hitherto unconsidered points of contact between painting studios and master-disciple practices, patronage, painting methods, etc.

These are some of the issues I have been contemplating and questions that have naturally arisen through the process of looking closely at this group of paintings. Thanks to the Ise –Japan Study Program the way I think about sankei mandara and Ise sankei mandara in particular has deepened. Having the opportunity to meet Chieda sensei was fantastic, he introduced me to a fifth Kongoshoji Ise sankei mandara and provided me with a number of documents necessary for my research. Through the lectures, fieldwork and conversations with Kogakkan professors, my understanding of Japanese history and religion also deepened. I am grateful for the opportunity to participate in the Ise Japan study program and the generosity of the city of Ise and Kogakkan University. It was a fantastic and invaluable experience.

私はコロンビア大学で博士課程の勉強をしております。 博士論文は日本の中世後期に出現した社寺参詣曼荼羅という絵画の背景について取り上げました。 今回は、社寺参詣曼荼羅と特に伊勢参詣曼荼羅について述べたいと思います。

社寺参詣曼荼羅は社寺の再建や祭事のための寄付を募ることと参詣者を勧誘する目的で勧進聖や比丘尼が絵図を使って、 信仰を喚起し、参詣や寄進を勧めるための絵解きに用いたと考えられています。そして勧進活動や参詣勧誘の目的を達成するために、一般民衆の好みや身近に感じるものに直接訴えかけるように描かれました。

参詣曼荼羅に使われた視覚的な言語によって、 日本のダイナミックな過渡期の時代の民衆の文化や礼拝の様子などが特殊なレンズを通してよく見えるようになります。

参詣曼荼羅の制作が盛んであった１６世紀から１７世紀初頭にかけての時期は、戦乱の時期であり、社寺が朝廷や幕府からの経済的な庇護を期待できなくなった時期といえます。そのため、日本の社会構造が根本的に変化しました。庶民クラスは新たな富と権力を持ったので、長年の伝統と施設が寄付をする庶民の人々の好みに傾きました。そして貴族や高名な宗教実践者のみ入られる霊場は大勢の裕福な庶民によって 参拝されるようになりました。

社寺参詣曼荼羅はこれらの社会の経済動向を視覚的に反映しています。絵図は社寺の敷地内とその周辺で、そこに貴族や軍部特権階級と並んで平民の姿が描かれました。

参詣曼荼羅は聖地とそれらの周囲の図解ガイドであり、案内図や遊楽図と呼ばれています。絵図に含まれる 空間で社寺を拝礼する精神的な効果と周辺地域で経験できる様々な世俗的な娯楽を描写しています。 そしてその領域の外では、ピクニックしている人達や観光客、地域の民間伝承からの逸話的なシーン、地元の特産を販売したり、売春宿、旅館、飛んでいる神々などを見ることができます。

伊勢神宮に寄せる信仰に基づいて制作された参詣曼荼羅は、現在、神宮徴古館、三井文庫、パワーズコレクション、高津古文化会館が所蔵する四点が知られています。四点の絵図は内宮と外宮の門と境界、俗界と聖界、が含まれています。(3) 右下隅の宮川に掛かる橋を渡り山田町に入るところから出発し、外宮を拝して、進んで高倉山の天岩戸、そして間の山を下り、宇治橋を越え、内宮を拝し風日祈宮に至って神宮での参詣が終わります。一番上部には朝熊山の金剛証寺と富士山が描かれています。

これらの四点の絵図の共通の要素にもかかわらず、それぞれの絵図の細部をよく見ると、描き方や細かい部分で、多くの違いが見えてきます。例えば鳥居を見てみると、 神宮徴古館の絵図では 前景の二つの小さな神社と中景の一つの神社の鳥居のみ塗られています。パワーズの絵図では神社の前の鳥居だけ塗られています。また、三井と 高津古文化会館の絵図では鳥居すべてが塗ら

れています。 皇學館大学のある講師は、伊勢の堂舎と鳥居は一度も塗られたことがないと主張しました。それでは絵師が、慣例に従って、単に彼らが見た他の絵図や地元の神社の鳥居を描いたのでしょうか？ これらの絵図は恐らく神社自身が依頼し、神社への案内図として機能をする必要があったのに、なぜ忠実な表現を提供しなかったのでしょうか？

そして奪衣婆と閻魔の場合はどうでしょうか。神宮の絵図では奪衣婆が第二の橋の前の小屋に座っていますが、三井とパワーズの絵図では隠世を表すのは閻魔です。 なぜ絵師は仏教の冥界の神々を含んだり除外したりするのでしょうか？それはそれぞれの時代での慣例だったのでしょうか？神宮の絵図は四点の中で唯一奪衣婆と、宇治橋のふもとに座って寄付を募る勧進比丘尼が含まれているということに注目してください。これは絵図が作られた時の一種の女性運動を示している可能性がありますか？ またはこれらの絵図は、単に視覚的な情報を詰め込む落語の道具箱のようなものであることを意図し、そして勧進比丘尼と同じ絵図に奪衣婆を描写したのは偶然でしょうか？

これらの絵図の間に多くの識別の違いを見出すことはできますが、私はそれよりも四点の絵図の包括的な共通性を強調するのは重要だと思います。そこで私が疑問に思うのは、どのように参詣曼荼羅が、そして特にこの四点の絵図が、日本の美術史の織りなす様々な理論を豊かにし、反映したのでしょうか。またどのようにこの四点の絵図は日本絵画の考え方を増強したのか、あるいは日本美術に対する新しい考え方に影響したのでしょうか。 参詣曼荼羅は偉大な日本美術の基準には含まれていなくても、基準に入る絵画と密接に関連しています：縁起絵、洛中洛外図、宮曼荼羅、風俗画、絵巻などです。それら多種多様な形態から引き出されました。これらの混成する性質はおそらく日本の芸術のいくつかの大きなイメージとつなぐことができます。例えば絵所の接点や絵師や弟子の慣行や依頼、塗装方法などでまだ熟考されていない点を 明らかにすることができると思います。

以上が私が 四点の絵図や参詣曼荼羅をよく観察し、検討してきた問題や生じた疑問です。 伊勢と日本スタディプログラムのおかげで、伊勢参詣曼荼羅に関しての考え方が広がりました。 特に千枝先生とお会いでき、新しい 金剛証寺伊勢参詣曼荼羅を教えていただいたことが印象に残ります。その上、千枝先生は色々な大切な資料も提供してくださいました。 このプログラムでの興味深い授業やフィールドワークを通じ、伊勢と日本の宗教やその歴史に関してのことについて深く理解できました。このプログラムに参加させて頂き、深く感謝いたします。