

Original Paper

The Great Round and The Kumano *Kanshin Jukkai Mandara*

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Abstract

The circle, along with its archetypal references, The Great Round and the mandala, takes a variety of visual forms, culture to culture, and supports different rituals which reflect prevailing cultural values concerned with the spiritual in this life and the hereafter. Following a brief overview of important precedents, a phenomenological description of the iconography of an Edo Period Japanese mandala, “The Kumano *Kanshin Jukkai Mandara*” is outlined.

Conventions

Foreign words which have not been absorbed into the English language will be italicized (*mandala/mandara*) as will the names of non-Christian deities and religions unless those names have been rendered into English by the addition of a prefix or suffix (*Buddha/Buddhism*). Capitalization of foreign words will reflect indigenous usage in the appropriate context (*Shintō/shintō*). The *rōmaji* used for Japanese words will follow the current Japanese government publication, *Rōmaji no Tsuzurikata, The Romanization of Japanese* (n.d.). Long vowels will be represented by a macron in all cases. *Kanji* will follow some of the expressions cited. Foreign place names will not be italicized. Surnames will be capitalized and will follow Japanese word order unless a reverse is demonstrated as preferred in the sources cited. Japanese nouns normally do not have plural forms and here remain unaltered, representing both singular and plural: for example, one *makimono* (scroll), many *makimono* (scrolls).

The Geometric Circle

The Sacred Circle, the Great Round and the mandala 曼荼羅 [1] are archetypal terms which reflect possibilities for embedded meaning in the image of the geometric circle, which is one of the four fundamental, pan-cultural symbols along with the dot, or center, the cross, and the square.[2] The circle can be apprehended as linear, as a material or non-material center and as an expanded dot. The circle is the only geometric shape without divisions and alike at all points.[3] All the points on the circumference of a circle are to be found at its center from which they originate and to which they return.

The circle is the symbol for time, for time enclosing space, as well as timelessness, having no beginning or end, as well as ‘spacelessness’, having no above or below. It also symbolizes the recurrence of time in the turning of the wheel of life and the divisions of the circle are used to measure its passing. Circular motion is perfect, immutable, without beginning, variation or end and from this idea emerges the concepts

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of both synchronic and diatronic time.[4]

Concentric circles represent states of being, the stages of inner perfection, the progressive harmonization of the spirit and the orders of creation as well as levels of meaning, for example, as for a word: the outer circle symbolizes its literal meaning, the second its allegorical and the third, its mystical sense.[5] Concentric circles are formed when an object is thrown into the water and they have been expanded graphically as representations of the experience of sinking into the seas of death and then, to miraculously re-emerge, forming the archetypal doctrine of death and rebirth, symbolized by concentric waves.

All variations of the Great Round can be regarded as representations of the Absolute, the sole, non-manifest Being. A circle is completely self-contained. It embodies a sense of completeness, freedom from separation and symbolizes the results of creation. It is a closed circuit and a symbol for protection for all who dwell within its embrace. It has, therefore, been seen as a magical power which has been employed as a defensive line around cities, temples and tombs to prevent the entry of evil spirits. The protective circle also takes the form of the ring, the bracelet, necklace, girdle and the crown. In ancient times, wrestlers drew a magic, protective circle around their bodies before a bout.

Circumambulation usually has a cosmic quality and is often a ritual of homage. It is most commonly performed in the clockwise direction. The Chinese emperor processed around the Forbidden City in a clockwise direction, defining the boundary between the sacred and the profane. The *Hindu* and Buddhist circumambulation of a sacred object (*Pradakshina*), keeps the object on the right and symbolizes the circling of the world, the All, contained in the Self. It is, in fact, a ritual pilgrimage to find the Self.[6] The circumambulation of holy places is a widespread phenomenon as it simulates the movements of the sun and stars. Clockwise circumambulation, as in the Celtic tradition, was seen as a sign of friendly intention. India, Tibet and Cambodia also follow the path of the sun. The opposite implied hostility or blood-lust to the Celts, but in *Islam*, the seven circuits of the *Ka'aba*, made by pilgrims anticlockwise, represent the seven attributes of God. Employing the course of the stars as they move around the pole sought to insure that the microcosm moves in harmony with the macrocosm.[7] In the Japanese *Kojiki* 古事記: *Records of Ancient Matters* (712 A.D.), it should be noted that male *kami* (deities) revolve in one direction and female *kami* revolve in another. Trouble is, available sources are in conflict about which direction each travels. Further, the primordial twin deities, *Izanami* and *Izanagi*, whose joining propagated all of the islands, flora and fauna of the Japanese archipelago, moved in an anticlockwise direction before they were committed, apparently reversing that direction upon their wedded circumambulation of the world pillar, the *axis mundi*. [8]

Mandala

The Sanskrit word '*maṇḍala*' has many meanings and no single translation does it justice. As it comes from the Sanskrit, it can suggest a 'group', 'collection', or 'company' but most familiar is the concept of the circle, disc or sacred center (*la*), which is marked off, adorned, or set apart as special (*mand*). [9] It is associated with certain diagrammatic images most frequently symmetrical, quadrated and employing variations of the circle within the square, often with the triangle or embedded implications of the triangular. The oldest yet discovered circular designs scratched in rocks, thought to be mandalas, originate from Paleolithic times, as much as 30,000 years ago and are referred to as 'sun wheels'. [10]

Sacred Geometry

In ancient Egypt, the circle, the triangle and the square symbolized the basis for a science of natural law called 'geometry', literally, 'measuring the earth'. After each annual flooding by the Nile, the communal activity would involve a necessary re-establishment of the boundaries of farm areas. The work itself was called 'geometry' and the annual ritual came to symbolize the restoration of earthly principles of law and order following a cycle of renewal in the aftermath of watery chaos. So, the practical chore of laying geometric lines upon the earth took on a metaphysical dimension in addition to the physical, economic and social aspects. The whole experience came to be understood as a channel through which the earth, as a manifest form, could integrate with the abstract, cosmic life of the heavens and as an approach to understand the way that the universe is ordered and sustained. Geometric diagrams continued to evolve becoming more refined and embedded with meaning, functioning as a visual field conducive to contemplation. They became a signal for the experience of the still moment revealing continuous, timeless, universal action usually hidden from our normative sensory processes and they gave rise to various disciplines aimed at intellectual and spiritual insight.[11]

The Greeks inherited the study of geometry from the Egyptians and considered it to be the most reduced, essential and ideal language by which to communicate the metaphysical. For them, it the highest level of reality, which they believed to consist of pure essences, or archetypes, and of which observable phenomena are but pale reflections. But they also noted that only by functioning at that highest level of reality could geometry serve as a vehicle for contemplation. In all, the Greeks outlined three levels to be understood: the 'typal', the 'ectypal' and the 'archetypal'. Things typal represent general categories of reality within which there is variability and diversity, such as 'bird'. The ectypal level at which 'bird' exists is invested in the concept of 'bird' or 'bird-like' on the unmanifest, pure and formal level. A higher level of awareness around the concept 'bird' is the archetypal which is concerned with universal processes and dynamic patterns: the 'birdness' of 'bird' which exists separately from any material form. Lawlor (1982), offers the interesting observation that...

Modern thought has difficult access to the concept of the archetypal because European languages require that verbs or action words be associated with nouns. We therefore have no linguistic forms with which to image a process or activity that has no material carrier. Ancient cultures symbolized these pure, eternal processes as gods, that is, powers or lines of action through which Spirit is concretized into energy or matter.[12]

Functioning, then, at the archetypal level, geometrical diagrams came to represent fundamental, causal energies in their interwoven, eternal dance within the scope of human consciousness in that cosmological systems are given visual form through geometric configurations. Lawlor (1982) offers that, unlike Euclidian and more recent geometries, ancient geometry does not take intellectual definitions or abstractions as a starting point. Rather, it begins with a meditation on an incomprehensible 'Oneness' whereas later geometries begin with 'zero'. [13]

The Square and the Circle

In Western and Eastern Europe, the circle enclosing the square stands for the heavens enclosing the earth. The geometrically impossible task of 'squaring the circle' was a Renaissance and alchemical allegory for the difficulty of constructing divine perfection from earthly materials.[14] Conversely, the cabalistic image of the circle within a square connotes the divine spark within the material body.

C.J. Jung (1921-1971) offered that knowledge of the common origin of the mandala's unconsciously preformed symbols had been totally lost in the West. He observed that mandalas from all parts of the world are governed by the same fundamental laws what could also be seen in the individual mandalas done by his patients. Jung regarded the circle as a symbol of the psyche, the psychological totality of the Self and the mandala as a map of the process of individuation. He saw the circle combined with the square as an image of the relationship between the psyche or self (circle) and the body or the material world of reality, represented by the square. Because of the protection it implies, he interprets the circle or mandala as a form of the mother archetype, as a birth place.[15] In his work with patients, Jung found this 'protective circle' to be a traditional antidote for chaotic states of mind as they were produced spontaneously in states of dissociation or disorientation and apparently used to regain inner order; as an attempt at self-healing; and as an instinctive drive toward rebirth.[16]

But attempts to establish the origins of the mandala which might be recognized as clearly within the established tradition is difficult. Martin Brauen (1998) reviews, inconclusively, efforts by a number of researchers to pinpoint and track the spread of mandala imagery and he questions assertions that mandalas and *yantras* [17] originate with Chinese cosmic diagrams of the Han period (206 B.C.- 220 C.E.) even though their basic structures can be found on the backs of mirrors of that period. Another theory offered is that the mandala arose in pre-Lamaist Tibet rather than India or China. But Brauen finds the Jungian hypothesis most persuasive, which regards the circle and quaternity as deeply rooted symbols in human awareness and which spontaneously emerge in widespread locations all over the globe with no possibility of cultural diffusion.[18]

The concept of the mandala exists worldwide in many varied two and three dimensional forms, for example: as layouts for city planning; as diagrams for floor plans in the stupas of India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Tibet, the pagodas of Japan, the temples of India and the shrines of Bhutan. They can be found in the Uroborus; the Neolithic henges of Northern Europe; Navajo sand painting; Celtic metalwork; the design of the basilica, the cathedral and the church; in the rose window, the medal and the trophy. One reads the message of the mandala in the form of the labyrinth and the reliquary; the chalice and the altar; in the sports arena and the warrior's shield and the crown of the emperor. The wedding ring stands for voluntary attainment and/or irrevocable surrender. The classic Christian mandala features Christ at the center with a circular halo about His head, the triangle representing the Trinity, the four Evangelists as the four cardinal points and all is presented on a square format. The universal character of quadrature in mandala imagery also divides into upper and lower realms with a pan-cultural reading of positive for the former and negative for the latter.

Cosmic Persona

There is a strong tradition of complex mandala/*yantra* designs originating from within a variety of Indian religions, the earliest known of which are from around 3000 years ago and are related to the five-layered Vedic altars, a form of three dimensional *yantra*. [19] Richly developed in *Hindu* imagery and further evolved in Buddhist practice, these mandalas symbolize a view of a centered universe is used as an instrument of contemplation in Lamaism and Tantric Yoga. [20] In some cases, such as the in *Jain yantra*, designs are intended for personal, private meditation. In later *Jain* practice, diagrammatic, symbolic representations of the human figure are thought to represent the 'cosmic person', at once containing and revealing the whole of the universe. The schematized image of the cosmic person serves as a map of ultimate consciousness, with the figure divided into four parts: the middle world of mankind with animals and plants corresponding to the area of the waist; the upper torso reflecting the higher world of the gods; the lower torso the domain

of demons and above these three realms there exists yet another region in which liberated souls dwell.[21] Whereas the *Hindu yogi* experiences his body as a microcosm of the universe, the Tibetan Buddhist regards the body as a mandala, a microcosmic diagram of the macrocosm.[22] Among the various characterizations of the mandala, it has often been seen as a “...cosmogram, a symbol of the collective unconscious, and as an inner forum for the psychic drama of man’s reintegration with the cosmos.”[23]

The mandala, as a two-dimensional geometric pattern presented as the embodiment of spiritual truth, is thought by many to have reached its greatest peak of aesthetic sophistication by the Tibetan Buddhists.[24] In Tibetan mandalas, the squares and circles often refer to concepts conceived pictorially as a palace, seen top-down, as from a bird’s eye view, with the classic *Kālacakra* Mandala being the most familiar example.[25] This same mandala is the format used by Tibetan monks in making the colored sand paintings which are intricate images, painstakingly created as a sacred place on the ground, marked out, purified and ceremonially prepared in honor of a saint or *buddha* or for the performance of any numbers of sacred rites and afterward, ritually destroyed to avoid contamination. The ‘palace’ format, as seen in presentations from the side, is typically laid out in various combinations of the square and the circle housing selected divinities, guardian deities, worthies, monks, kings, nature spirits, demons and mythological creatures arranged in hieratic frontality and presented in prescribed poses, each isolated within the shallow grid space, iconic and non-narrative.

The narrative theme does exist in Tibetan imagery, but in the form of portraits and landscape motifs for illustrative and story-telling purposes. They are unconcerned with the formal aspects of realistic landscape space, and rather more intrigued by how landscape elements take on the quality of symbols, embodying the evocative powers of nature as a foil for the spiritual enhancement of the personage represented. Narrative elements of this character are found mostly in biographical portraits of monks and arhats[26]. These are rarely seen in the purely iconic *thangka*. [27] Tibetan painting, overall, tends to represent literary images and metaphors, rather than the imitation of nature and one finds no perspective, no subtle nuances of light and shade, no records of the change of seasons nor affinity with the lived natural environment. The peak developments of the Tibetan mandalas are born of art and not of nature.[28]

World wide, mandalas can be three dimensional and these are called, in Japanese, the *Kuyō* or *katsuma mandara* (Sanskrit: *karma-mandala*) but mandalas are most often seen in three types of two dimensional form: 1) the *dai mandara* (Skt.: *mahā mandala*), in which buddhas and bodhisattvas are diagrammatically represented emphasizing their attributes through a proscribed iconography of hand gestures, *mudrā*; 2) the *samaya mandara* (Skt.: *samaya-mandala*), in which symbolic objects are depicted, such as the wheel, sword or lotus, to represent the character and vows of various buddhas and bodhisattvas; and 3) the *hō mandara* (Skt.: *dharma mandala*), which uses Sanskrit script to symbolize the persona of the buddhas and bodhisattvas.

Japanese Mandalas

The above four types of mandalas are further classified in Japan into the *besson mandara* in which a single divinity and company are presented; the *bue mandara* depicting divinities belonging to the same family and the *toe mandara* displaying all families of divinities. The expression: ‘families of divinities’ would include all the buddhas, bodhisattvas, the fierce guardians, *Myōō*, and the *ten*, or heavenly beings.[29]

Buddhism was formally introduced into Japan in the 6th century C.E. in the form of Esoteric Buddhism, the sect which further developed the Tibetan/Chinese style of mandala based on squares and circles. But it did not produce these kinds of schematic images in any number until the 9th century, even though other Esoteric mandalas presenting deities, serene or wrathful, and bordered with fearsome images of guardians

were common before and after that time. In the Japanese mandalas of this tradition, one sees royal symbolism and architectural details around a centered, presiding deity ringed about with myriad attendant deities, representing the ever-changing nature of a universe in a constant cycle of growth and decay, generating infinite forms. The best extant examples are the *toe* type *Kongōkai mandara*, or “Diamond World Mandala” and the *Taizōkai*, or “Womb World Mandala”, a pair of configurations which together comprise the mandala of the “Two Worlds”. [30] They were introduced into Japan early in the 9th century by Kūkai (774-835), 空海, also known as Kōbō Daishi, who had used them and realized their significance during a period of study during 805 C.E. in China with the monk, Huiguo, in the capital city of Chang’an. [31] These two fundamental types of mandalas were based on two important sutras of esoteric Buddhism which became the basis for the *Shingon* sect. Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, in her signal 1999 publication on the Japanese mandala, acknowledges a number of traditions in Japanese mandala painting, but emphasizes three main ones: the Esoteric mandalas of the “Two Worlds” style discussed above; the “Taima” *mandara* of the Pure Land style; and *mandara* from the ‘*kami*-worshipping’ tradition. [32] Overall, the mandala in Japan became seen as a sacred representation of *satori*, the state of enlightenment achieved by the *Buddha*. [33]

Pure Land *Mandara*

As mentioned earlier, the Japanese transliteration, ‘*mandara*’, at around the 11th century, came to indicate religious paintings illustrating the longed-for sacred realms of the afterlife, in the heavenly domains of the *buddha*. [34] These images separate stylistically and philosophically from the Esoteric tradition and ten Grotenhuis (1999) suggests a better term might even be ‘*hensōzu*’ 変相図, visual interpretations of Buddhist doctrines, literary themes and/or legends. The *hensōzu* invite a narrative response, rather than the meditative, in that the choice of iconography and its arrangement invites a passage into a more realistic environment not characteristic of the flat, abstract space of the Esoteric mandalas. The imagery of the Pure Land *mandara*, then, is based in a world view and sensibility which combines elements of *Shintō* and Buddhism in that they depict more naturalistic representations of the shrines and deities of the *kami*-worshipping [35] faith. They are visions of holy spaces where the faithful can receive the compassionate teachings of the presiding deity, usually the *Buddha* in the *Amida* manifestation, deriving originally from the renditions of ideal, sanctified worlds favored by the Tang Chinese (619-907). [36]

Kami-worshipping *Mandara*

Kami-worshipping *mandara* are quite different from Esoteric mandala in their approach to space and iconography. One hears the schematic style of Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese Esoteric mandalas referred to as ‘the geometry of enlightenment’ whereas these later Japanese *mandara* might be called ‘the geography of enlightenment’ and in that way, possibly, the *Shintō* impetus might refer back to the Egyptian origins of this phenomenon in its connection to the earth, per se. Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis notes that the later, more folkish Kumano and Nachi *mandara* are the last stage of development of the Japanese tradition and that they are best classified as ‘*sankei*’ 参詣 or ‘pilgrimage’ mandalas. She offers that the Kumano *Kanshin Jukkai Mandara*, discussed below, represents that category because of the representation of the *Juk-kai*, ‘ten worlds’, and especially in the vivid depiction of various dedicated hells. [37]

The iconography of *mandara* originating in the *kami*-worshipping faith mark a clearly Japanese form within the pan-Asian traditions. Esoteric mandalas can be seen as cosmic ground plans, abstract spiritual maps which detail an abstracted relationship between deities and/or natural forces. *Kami mandara* are

more like practical maps in showing recognizable sacred places on this earth where the distinction between the human and the divine becomes fuzzy. These images are focussed on the physical beauty of natural settings and specific sites in Japan as *kami* manifest in the depiction of this earth and its very soil, *tsuchi* 土, an element not seen in either the Esoteric or Pure Land images. *Kami mandara* aim to capture the sanctity, the numinous quality of the hills, trees, and shrines of Japan as fundamental evidence of the presence of *kami*. Buddhist divinities and symbols also appear, representing the notion that “...Buddhist deities are the original forms of *kami*, who are their local manifestations”. [38] Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis (1999) discusses two examples of *mandara* from the *kami*-worshipping tradition which are focussed on two main sites: the Kasuga *taisha* 大社, shrine, [39] in Nara, as well as images from the area of Kumano, on the Kii Peninsula in Wakayama Prefecture.

Kumano *mandara*

The Kumano *Sanzan* shrines, also called the Kumano *Sansha*, is the collective title for three different shrines: the Kumano Hongū *Taisha*, the oldest of the three, in Hongū, and dedicated to *KETSUMIKO no Kami*; [40] the Kumano *Hayatama Taisha* in Shingū, dedicated to Kumano *HAYATAMA no Kami* and the Kumano Nachi *Taisha* in Nachi Katsuura, dedicated to Kumano *FUSIMI no Kami*. [41] The present shrines were constructed in the late 18th century but since prehistory, this mountainous area overlooking the sea has been believed to be the dwelling place of the gods and has been a popular pilgrimage site. In medieval times, the values and tenants of the Kumano *Sansha* were spread by wandering monks, *hijiri*, 聖, shrine maidens, *miko*, 巫女, and mountain dwelling, ascetic-shamans, the *yamabushi*, 山伏.

By the time that the first written accounts of the Japanese creation myths were produced in the late 7th and early 8th centuries, the *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 and the *Kojiki* 古事記, respectively, myriad Chinese cultural forms, including their writing system, had been influencing the court for more than a hundred and fifty years. When these two chronicles were written, the two *kanji* that refer to things mysterious and supernatural in Chinese, were translated as ‘the way of the *kami*’, also pronounced *shintō*, in Japanese. These characters initially distinguished the worship of *kami* which has its animistic roots in Japanese prehistory, from the beliefs and practices of Buddhism. [42]

The *kami mandara* differ from the Esoteric mandalas in another important way: they are not based in scriptures, manuals nor rituals and they were not invoked by monks in the service of initiation rites nor as a focus for meditation. They were produced in shrine studios for use in main or subsidiary shrines; for use by lay associations of devotees who lived at some distance from the parent shrine; and as a focus for religious pilgrims who would no doubt contemplate and pray before the paintings as a source of strength while on their pilgrimages. But the distinguishing characteristic of this imagery is a narrative aspect that lent itself to a style of oratorical discourse used as a form of education in the spiritual principles necessary for a good life. The evolution of this style of visual/verbal storytelling, called *etoki* 絵解き, which elucidated the imagery of the ‘pilgrim *mandara*’, is now regarded as an early kind of ‘public art’ and receiving serious study by interdisciplinary scholars. [43]

Etoki

The visual culture in Japan’s middle ages, during the Kamakura to the Muromachi periods (1185-1568), developed steadily, especially the form of the rolled picture scroll, *emakimono* 絵巻物, which was sometimes quite long and designed to be seen laid out on a flat surface or rolled out in the hands with the narrative read right to left. The *byōbu*, folding screen, and especially the hanging picture scroll, or *makimono*, 巻き物,

also flourished as popular formats for images documenting details of the people's lives and customs. They are a visual record of the beliefs and philosophies of the time using pictures rather than words and, as such, provided easy access for people of every socio-economic status. Forms of *etoki* can be found all over South and East Asia and are thought to have existed in Japan since ancient times. The first clear record of *etoki* is the “*Shōtoku Taishi Eden*”. While viewing a Nara period (710-794) portrait of the Prince Shōtoku, Asuka period statesman and second son of Emperor Yōmei (r. 585-587), admirers would contemplate the life story, accomplishments and discipline of this pivotal person in Japanese cultural history, delivered by an informed and skilled ‘*Etoki*’, as an act of veneration. The Sengoku, or period of the Warring States (1467-1568), was difficult with constantly embattled *daimyō* all trying to enlarge and enrich their provincial domains, but was, nevertheless, a period of high economic and artistic development. Further, this era also saw a nationwide diffusion of religious philosophies as monks and priests from all faiths traveled about the archipelago teaching with the use of ritual, dance and oratory, all combined with a variety of forms of visual imagery.[44]

Pilgrims

Numbers of commoners also trod about on pilgrimages thought to have begun in the Nara period (710-794 A.D.) but becoming more popular in the following Heian period (794-1185). Kumano, on the island of Honshu, in southern Wakayama Prefecture was an important pilgrim center at that time, especially for adherents of the Shugendō sect.[45] These were ordinary people and a vigorous pilgrim population, but many were illiterate, so they were welcomed by the staff of the sites and attended to by means of an ‘*Etoki*’, who provided an oral overview of spiritual principles and ethical guidelines needing to be observed to avoid a tragic existence in the afterlife. We can see some typical details of the pilgrim's appearance in a 15th century painting called the “*Sanjuniban Shokunin Uta Awase*”, “The Thirty-Second Artisan's Poetry Contest”. They are wearing white gaiters and sleeveless jackets with the phrase: “Three devotees on a pilgrimage to the Western 33 Sites”,[46] written on the back. Straw sandals are on their feet, and the figures are topped by sedge hats. Straw sleeping mats hung around their waist; walking staffs are held in their right hands and they carried dippers in the left, along with their pilgrim identification tags. Not surprisingly, some ‘pilgrims’ carrying dippers were actually professional beggars.[47] And as *etoki* became a more entertaining event, less informed impostors began the practice as recorded in the “*Sanjuniban Shokunin Uta Awase*”. One self-appointed ‘*Etoki*’ is seen holding a traditional musical instrument, a *biwa*, standing in front of a *mandara* and using a pointer made from a stick with a feather attached to the end.[48]

Kumano *bikuni*

For reasons not yet clear, the enthusiasm for pilgrimage to holy places, so popular in the 15th century, decreased during the 16th century. We can see in the imagery of that time, that scenes of commoners on pilgrimages are replaced by priestesses called Kumano *bikuni* who traveled about propagating Kumano *Shinkō* 信仰, one of the denominations of Buddhism with admixtures of *Shintō*. References to the priestesses can be found in literature beginning with the Sengoku period and they are found portrayed in paintings beginning with the early Azuchi-Momoyama period. An example would be the “*Rakuchu Rakugaizu Byōbu*” (n.d.) a folk image depicting the street culture of old Kyoto as a retinue of Kumano *bikuni* walk through the downtown. *Bikuni* were commonly seen everywhere – in towns, at festivals, in fishing villages and in the countryside during this period. Presentations of *etoki* done by the Kumano *bikuni* were recorded on the “*Sumiyoshi Sha Saireizu Byōbu*” (n.d.), now in the collection of the Freer Museum in Washington,

D.C.[49] Illustrated on this *byōbu* 屏風, folding screen, one sees the Kumano *bikuni* lecturing to a group of women and children sitting in front of a tiny image, similar to the Edo period representation of the “Kumano *Kanshin Jukkai Mandara*” described below, with one of the priestesses pointing to ‘*kokoro*’, 心, the central *kanji*. And while the *bikuni* was elucidating this *moji*, character, it was the responsibility of a young assistant to collect money or rice from the audience as ‘tuition’ for the lecture, to help pay for the costs of travel.[50]

“Kumano *Kanshin Jukkai Mandara*”

Phenomenological Description

The version of the “Kumano *Kanshin Jukkai Mandara*”, also called the “Kumano *Kanshin Jukkai Zu*”, presented here is a *makimono* of the *toe* style. It’s status is designated as early Edo period, and it is the property of the Tōkyō *To Empuku-ji Zō*. It is permanently mounted flat under glass because the paint surface is now too fragile to be rolled up. It measures 135 × 125.3 cm and painted on ocher colored paper, *shihon chakushoku*, with low-quality clay-based paints, as was common practice for images intended for public use rather than done by private commission. The palette is restricted to black, white, red, brown, grey and a little grey-blue.

The original model of this *mandara*, of which it is thought that around 33 derivations still exist, may have been derived from the Korean Buddhist painting “*Sengaki Zu*” (n.d.) and brought to Japan from Korea by TOYOTOMI Hideyoshi during the *Bunroku Keichō no Eki*, the Japanese invasions of Korea in 1592 and 1597.[51] The structure of all variations of the “Kumano *Kanshin Jukkai Mandara*” is modeled on the archetypal, quadrated images of the ‘Great Round’ found all over the world. The circle, square and various embedded triangles are present in this model which, at the same time, is a lively description of the life, values and belief systems of the Japanese people in the area of present day Wakayama Prefecture from the Sengoku Period (1467-1568) to the early Edo Period (1600-1868).[52]

Segaki

The Kumano *mandara* focusses on the rite of ‘*Segaki*’ 施餓鬼, literally: ‘Hungry Ghost Feeding’, a kind of ‘Mass for the Dead’ or offering for the repose of the soul, which is a common theme of concern for students of the Buddhist scriptures. The intent is to care for and comfort the deceased, especially relatives, who might have fallen into any of the hellish domains illustrated, and may be suffering there.[53]

The space of the *mandara*, which is almost square, can be divided by imaginary horizontal and vertical centerlines, and around that intersection, in the center, one finds a circular, hierarchical organization of the most significant figures in the iconography. Graphically, one sees a half-circle, silhouetted in black, arching like a rainbow, in the upper half of the quadration. It represents the curve of the life path through the twenty-four ages of man, moving counterclockwise with the sun, and is measured out by twenty-four figures walking along the path. This archway, a symbol for one’s life, is called *Yamasaka* 山坂, with an entrance to the world of life on the viewer’s right and an exit on the left, representing the East and West cardinal points.

Centered just below the midpoint of the arch is the *Buk-kai* 仏界, a location displaying the figure of the *Amida Butsu*, *Buddha* 阿弥陀仏, 仏陀 on a cloud. Four *bosatsu* 菩薩, saints, are in attendance. They symbolize the world of the ‘*Hotoke no Michi*’,[54] 仏の道 ‘The Way of the *Buddha*’ and the path toward spiritual enlightenment. Under the *Amida Buddha*,[55] and just above the true center, there is a white circle on which one sees the *kanji* character for ‘heart’, *kokoro* 心. The theme of ‘*kokoro*’ in Japanese

Kumano Kanshin Jukkai Mandara

Private Collection

都指 熊野観心十界図 江戸
東京都・円福寺蔵

As seen in

“Female Identity”

女はどう表現されてきたか

1996.10.9 [水] — 11.10 [日]

岡山県立美術館

thought, goes far beyond the concept of the physical heart to incorporate culture-based elements from theology and psychology and represents the centering philosophical principle in this imagery.[56] Outward from the *kokoro* radiate ten very thin red lines, embedded triangulations, which connect the *kokoro* to ten locations, called “*Jik-kai*”, “Ten Worlds”, [57] fanning out in a roughly circular pattern arrayed around the square format. This configuration, according to the *Tendai* sect of Buddhism, symbolizes the conviction that the mind of a person contains all the phenomenon of the universe within these ten locations, four of which are called “The Four Holy Worlds” or, “The Four Holinesses”, and six are dedicated hells, *jigoku*. Despite the apparently unfavorable odds, it is an article of faith that very person is eligible to go to heaven and rest in peace. Instruction for commoners as to how to surmount these odds and reach that happy end was the mission of the *Etoki*. [58]

Just above the intersection of the quadration formed by the horizontal and vertical axes of the *mandara*, and just below the *kokoro*, one sees an altar with three arrangements of food set up where the ritual of *Segaki* is performed for the repose of the souls who are suffering. Under the *Segaki* altar, encircled by grey clouds on the left and ocher clouds on the front and right, is the “Children’s Limbo”, *Sai no Kawara* 賽の河原. A ‘half-way’ place, it is shown with children who died before birth or very young, being protected and presided over by the figure of *Jizō Bosatsu* 地藏菩薩, popularly known as *O-Jizō sama*. [59]

In the middle, just below the shore of the children’s limbo, is a *torii* 鳥居, *shintō* gateway, marking the entrance to one of the hells, *Jigoku-dō* 地獄道, where we see a big black pool surrounded by flames, for cooking the deceased. *Kuro Oni* 黒鬼, Black Demons, are spearing the women in the pool and a priest sitting under the nearby *torii* is crying, distraught at this scene. The presence of the *torii* is important because it indicates that common people are permitted to move through it and escape if fervent petitions are made on behalf of their salvation. [60]

There are no *torii* framing “The Four Holinesses” in the upper part of “The Circle of Life”: the central *Buk-kai*, described above; the *Bosatsu-kai* 菩薩界, represented by figures with halos on each side of the altar; the *Shōmon-kai* 声聞界 and *Engaku-kai* 縁覚界, symbolized by figures floating on rugs to the left and right of the *Buk-kai*. Commoners may not enter those holy places. [61]

On the extreme right at the horizontal center line, there is a beautiful house for the living and on the other side, directly opposite, is a cemetery. This imaginary line connecting the living and the dead divides the *mandara* with the top half locating the upper world of the “Four Holinesses”: that of the *Buddha*, *Buk-kai*; the world of the disciple, *Shōmon-kai*; and *Engaku-kai*, the world of the spiritually self-evolved. In addition, there are two *torii*, to the left and the right of the *kokoro*, representing the abodes of *Tendō* 天道, the ‘World of Heavenly Spirits’ and *Nindō* 人道, the ‘World of Humans’, respectively. [62]

So, the upper half of the *mandara* is positive as it symbolizes the stages of life, as one lives it, as well as the overarching presence of the world of enlightenment. However, the lower half is to remind us of the negative in the world of possibilities. We see terrifying scenes, around the lower four *torii*, known as the “Four Evil Ways”. The *Gaki-dō* 餓鬼道, to the left of the Children’s Limbo, is where bad deeds condemn one to eternal hunger; the *Chikusho-dō* 畜生道, to the right of the *Jigoku-dō*, is for those who kill and abuse animals; and just above it, we see the *Shura-dō* 修羅道, a scene of unending warfare. [63]

The “Four Evil Ways”, when connected to the “The Four Holinesses”, forms a circle, even with the *Chikusho-dō* a bit out of line. This Great Round symbolizes ‘metempsychosis’, the “Transmigration of the Soul” 輪廻転生, in Buddhist theology. However, human beings are excluded from the *Buk-kai*, *Bosatsu-kai*, *Shōmon-kai*, *Engaku-kai* and the *Tendō*, so they must make their path through the *Yamasaka*, *Nindō*, and “Four Evil Ways”. Centering this Great Round is the crucial ritual of *Segaki* with the symbol of *kokoro* encircled above, the most important point leading to redemption, being taught by the *Etoki*. [64]

Primordial Dualities

The Sun and the Moon are drawn in the right and the left upper corners, symbolizing, respectively, the bright orange sun of day and life, in contrast to the black moon of night and death. The eternal cycle of death and rebirth is reflected also in the trees sprouting above the arch of the *Yamasaka*. The symbolism parallels the human life span from right to left with the *Ume*, Plum, which blooms earliest in late winter. Following the *Ume*, is the *Yanagi*, Willow; and the *Sakura*, Cherry Blossom, as markers for the unfolding of spring. Then we see the *Matsu*, Pine and *Sugi*, Cedar, as sentinels of summer. The *Momiji*, Maple, displays fall colors, with a snow-covered, dormant tree resting in winter. On the right, in the beautiful new house with white clouds above, a baby has just been born. Opposite, on the left, there are dogs and crows signaling a death and we see a body on a black cloud with a fearsome *Aka Oni*, Red Demon, in attendance while the life deeds of the deceased are considered by *Enma Dai-O* 閻魔大王, seen sitting at a table at the foot of the *Yamasaka*. This “Lord of the Dead” is shown studying a life being replayed in a crystal ball and taking notes on his ledger, with the scales of justice on his proper right. Behaviors deserving of condemnation will direct the *Aka Oni* to toss the corpse down into the “Four Evil Ways” where the deceased, before condemnation to one of the hells, is obliged to walk barefoot through the mountains of swords being driven along by another *Aka Oni*, seen just under the dogs and crows.[65]

At this point in the oration, the *etoki* might provide a more detailed view of the horrors of eternal, intolerable pain awaiting the condemned for their temporal deeds. Around the *torii* marking the *Shura-dō*, near the mid-line, on the right, soldiers on foot and horseback are in interminable fear and torment, killing and being killed forever. Pictured in the *Chikusho-dō*, just below the *Shura-dō*, are those responsible for causing misery to the animals which are seen with their heads impaled atop the bodies of abused cows, horses, chickens and even snakes. In the *Gaki-dō*, we see *Gaki* with stomachs hugely distended from hunger but with tiny necks too small to swallow. They are forever starving. When they try to eat, fire flashes up from the food and water turns into flame. Just above the *Gaki-dō* is *Umazume-jigoku* 石女地獄, a special hell for sterile women. The two figures seen here, in a pool of fire, are digging around a stand of bamboo. Bodies are being cooked in the *Jigoku-dō*, stabbed with spears and stirred by three *Kuro Oni*, which contrasts with the freezing of corpses in the pool nearby, the *Kanpachi-jigoku* 寒八地獄. Continuing with the scenes edged around the Children’s Limbo, we see corpses being dismembered and ground up in a mortar attended by one white and one other *Oni*. Further torture sites include the *Kuronawa-jigoku* 黒縄地獄 where huge nails are being driven through the body of a man; the *Tobarin-jigoku* 刀葉林地獄, lower left of the Children’s Limbo, where men and women are eternal sex slaves; *Ryōfu-jigoku* 兩婦地獄, symbolized as two snakes with the heads of women which are coiling in a deadly competition around the body of a man; the *Chinoike-jigoku*, lower right corner, is the ‘blood torture pond’ which is full of women with menstrual problems and lastly, next to it, we see the *Yamiana-jigoku* 闇穴地獄, the dark pit at the bottom right, where there is nothing but eternal darkness. A gifted *etoki* could lead the audience into these frightening realms of the imagination and render the scenes vivid, underscoring the need for people to live ethical and moral lives.[66]

Women’s Spirituality

In the case of the *etoki* done by the Kumano *Bikuni*, it is supposed that the oration did not focus on the broader philosophical implications of the *mandara* imagery but, rather, it is thought that emphasis was placed on the horror of the “Four Evil Ways” and how women might take only six paths, avoiding *Chinoike-jigoku*, the “Torture of Blood Pond” and *Umazume-jigoku*, the “Hell for Sterile Women”, as the

majority of the audience was women and children. The way to salvation was held out to the women with instruction in the obligations and practices of the ritual of *Segaki*.^[67] It is apparent that no special hells for men are represented in the *mandara*. There are only two locations picturing issues and displaying images of men: the warriors around *Shura-dō*; and those being called to judgement in front of *Enma Dai-Ō*.

Divine Child

Significantly, then, we observe a youth pictured at the center of the *mandara*, just in front of the altar, flanked right and left by a line of priests in attendance at the rite of “*Segaki no Urabonne*” 施餓鬼の盂蘭盆会. Known as the “Bon Festival”, or “Feast of Lanterns”, today, it is a Buddhist ceremony wherein prayers are offered for one’s ancestors and, in Japan, held every July 15th, according to the lunar calendar. Who is this boy? And why is he given a central place in this *mandara*? It is not clear, but speculation is that the figure of the boy is the same person as the priest who is crying under the *torii* while the *Kuro Oni* impale the women, one of whom is his mother. Another boy, next to the three priests, to the right of the altar, is also thought to be that same boy, this time seen kneeling in front of the *Shaka-Nyorai* 釈迦如来, asking how he can save his mother who is suffering in Hell. It is believed that the *etoki* also identified other women in various scenarios in the *mandara* as this boy’s mother. Existing, then, in both synchronic and diatronic time, the boys are thought to be manifestations of *Mokuren-sonja* 目連尊者, one of the disciples of *Buddha*, and is the model for the filial duty to take care of one’s ancestors. Approaching the altar from center left, is a couple holding fig leaves above their heads, which is the signal that the *Gaki*, Hungry Ghosts, are coming to the *Segaki* altar. It is imagined that these two might be the parents of *Mokuren*.^[68]

It is apparent that this *mandara*, and the *etoki* that accompanied it, evolved to address the most serious concerns of women. Most importantly, the primary bond between women, children and babies who pass away is acknowledged and illustrated by the sixteen figures of children being well cared for by the *Jizō Bosatsu* in the limbo formed by a narrow tributary from the *Saigawa*, Sai River. Devotion to the *Jizō Bosatsu* was encouraged by the Kumano *bikuni* as he is also credited with salvaging the couple seen at left, in white clothes, standing on the bridge crossing over the river, under which other corpses and monsters are floating by. Another important divinity symbolizing salvation is the *Nyoirin Kannon* 如意輪観音,^[69] seen just above the *Chinoike-jigoku*, “Torture of Blood Pond”, performing the rite of “*Ketsubonkyō-kujō*” 血盆経供養, for the salvation of the woman kneeling on the left. We can also see two women already saved symbolized by their rebirth atop lotus blossoms blooming above the pond of blood.

The second most important realm for women, as seen at that time, was their relationship to their husband. We see eleven couples represented in the lower half of the *mandara* in various scenarios. One couple, lower left, is seen kneeling to the right of a seated, red-robed figure. They have been stripped of their white burial clothes by *Datsueba* 奪衣婆, who is sitting on a rock under the tree where he hangs the white neck scarves, *byakue* 白衣, which represent purity of spirit. Further down in the lower left corner, we see a couple hanging onto their *byakue* in the hell for people who commit terrible crimes, called *Mugen-jigoku* 無限地獄. This couple, symbolized as in repentance, does not sink and may be eligible for salvation if their living relatives and friends attend to their responsibilities and perform the rite of *Segaki*. To the right of the *torii*, just under the Children’s Limbo, a man is being impaled by a huge stake driven into his back by a demon, while the wife, kneeling in white robes, prays. It is the same couple who are walking and crying in *Yamiana-jigoku*, the “Hell of Eternal Darkness” at bottom and right of center. Just above it, a man is being encircled by the horned snake-bodies of two jealous women, wrapping around him in a deadly embrace. The evils of sexual slavery are illustrated with a man hanging onto a giant phallus and a woman riding a chariot of fire drawn by a demon, seen to the left of the *Jigoku-dō torii*. Another couple is being

chased by a demon, running barefoot through the mountain range of swords, and a couple is walking by on the upper left edge of the Children's Limbo covering their heads with lotus leaves. Finally, as mentioned above, we see the white-robed, aristocratic couple, standing on the bridge, left, over the *Sanzu no Kawa*, having been saved from the torrent by *Jizō Bosatsu* who is walking just ahead of them. It is important to notice that two of the hells represented are for women only and indicate the prejudice which confined the lives of women during that time.

On the other hand, in the upper half of the *mandara*, we see that the woman is represented as the symbol for the whole family. She is framed by the ideal house and blessed with a newborn. The baby begins the life journey, a circumambulation, and grows up, marrying along the way of the *Yamasaka*. The couple continues on together until almost the end when the man dies before the woman and she must continue on alone, as represented by the last three figures, before she reaches the end of the *Yamasaka*, marked by the *torii* on the left.[70]

Sacred Circles, the All and the Self

At the center of the concentric circles encompassing this image is the figure of *Mokuren*, a typical boy representing the variability and diversity of human beings, as well as the archetypal divine child. Surrounding and protecting him, the middle of the concentric circles within the ten realms, *Juk-kai*, represents the ectypal level in which a complex system of symbols formalizes the metaphysical concept of 'Rinnetensei' 輪廻転生, the "Transmigration of the Soul", or metempsychosis. Outside the *Juk-kai*, is the largest of the concentric circles, an imaginary geometric circle which is, indeed, functionally framed by the material square of the image format. But a smaller and more significant earthly square is just above center, formed by the structure of the *Segaki* altar which admits, at the top, the divine circle of the compassionate heart, the *kokoro*.

Having taken the audience on a vivid loop around the *mandara*, visiting a range of possibilities in temporal existence as well as opening up horrific scenes of the hereafter, it was the task of the *Etoki* to embed the images and then to return the audience to the living world with insight, optimism and strong motivation to serve the needs of their ancestors. The key to this finale is in the two white-clad aristocrats who are following the *Jizō Bosatsu* over the red bridge. In a blessed reprieve from the hellish rounds of "The Four Evil Paths", they appear to be making a happy exit back into the real world, scene left. The *Etoki* might then point out that this noble couple is the same as the couple in the beautiful house at the beginning of the *Yamasaka*. The audience has idealized and identified with this pair strongly from the beginning. They function as a centering symbol on the pilgrimage to find the 'All contained in the Self' within the cosmological systems given form in this *mandara*.

At that, the women of the audience might be exhorted to focus on their own 'attitude of heart'; to accept the tenants illustrated; and to train their own children after the model of *Mokuren* and, in this way, to insure their own future in the afterlife, thereby continuing the sacred circles of salvation.[71]

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Notes

1. ten Grotenhuis, 1999, the first volume on the Japanese mandala/*mandara* in any Western language, accepts the Japanese transliteration of the Sanskrit 'mandala'. In both Japanese and Chinese Buddhism, the Sanskrit was transcribed to approximate the sound of 'mandala' in Japanese and Chinese. *Mandara* refers to certain Japanese images derived from the Tibetan/Chinese tradition as well as those images depicting the geography, environs and iconography sacred to the indigenous *kami*-worshipping faith, *Shintō*, p. 2.
2. Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1996, 195 ff; J.C. Cooper, 1978, *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Traditional Symbols*, 36-37. The primordial origin of all writing may have begun with a mark, a dot, experienced as a center; around that point, a circle naturally manifest; through the center dot, vertical and horizontal lines were struck, extending to the circumference and perceived as the cardinal points; framing all, the square is implicit.
3. Tresidder, J., 1997, p. 46.
4. See Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1969-96, pp. 195-202 and J.C. Cooper, 1978, *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Traditional Symbols*, pp. 36-38.
- 5.-7. Ibid.
8. Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994, p. 201.
9. ten Grotenhuis, 1999, p. 2. Another interpretation: Pratapaditya PAL, *Art of Tibet*, Los Angeles

- County Museum, 1983, offers that 'la' means 'container' and 'mand' connotes the idea of 'essence'. In Esoteric Buddhism, 'la' indicates 'possession' or 'attainment'. See also: *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1993.
10. Jaffe, A., 1979, p. 77.
 11. Lawlor, R., 1982, p. 6.
 12. Op. cit., p. 8
 13. Ibid. See also pages 16-23 for a fuller contrast of the discussion of the character of meditation vested in the concept of 'zero'.
 - 14.-15. Tressider, J., 1997, p. 47.
 16. Brauen, M., 1992, p. 122.
 17. Sanskrit: Mystical diagram referred to in the portions of the *Rigveda* dealing with the performance of sacrifices, rites and charms; important in the meditation practices of *Kundalini Yoga* aiding the interior visualization of the divine; best known is the *Shrī-Yantra*. *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion*, 1994.
 - 18.-19. Brauen, M., 1992, pp. 121-122.
 20. Jaffe, A., 1979, p. 77.
 21. Moon, B., 1997, pp. 16 and 300.
 - 22.-23. Op. cit., pp. 37 and 44.
 24. Buddhism was introduced into Tibet during the reign of King Songtsen Gampo (r.c. 609-49) and most major monasteries were founded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.
 25. See Brauen, M., 1998, for an overview of the basic theory and practice using this Tantric Buddhist image.
 26. Sanskrit: 'Worthy One' who has attained the highest level of the *Hinayana*; one who needs no more learning; who has extinguished all defilements and who will attain full extinction following this life.
 27. Also, *thangka*: picture; painting; in Tibetan Buddhism, a scroll painting framed in silk; themes and iconography are fixed by tradition and based in three formal principles: expression, proportion, detail.
 28. Pal, P., 1983, p. 58-59.
 29. *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1993, p. 917.
 30. Also called the "Dual" mandala. See ten Grotenhuis, 1999, for reproductions, plates #6 and #9. Ink and water color on silk, 13.6 × 164.2 cm. Collection of the Saiin, Kyōōgokoku-ji (Tōji) Temple in Kyoto.
 31. Op. cit., p. 3. Kūkai (774-835), also called Kōbō Daishi, founder of the Shingon sect of Japanese Buddhism headquartered at Mt. Koya; renowned as a painter, woodcarver and engineer; first to introduce *Shintō* deities into Buddhist iconography in the form of the *bodhisattva*; his successors developed the system called *Ryōbu-shintō*, formally combining Buddhism and *Shintō*. Kohn, M.H., 1991, *passim*.
 32. ten Grotenhuis, p. 183.
 33. The term became concretized with the *Zen* sect of Buddhism. *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion*, 1986.
 34. In *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, there are countless 'pure lands', each ruled over by a *buddha*; these lands are transcendent in nature; believers hope to be reborn in them; in folk belief, they are geographically localizable places of bliss representing the awakened mind; last stage before attaining *nirvana*; retrogression is no longer possible. Kohn, M.H., p. 174.
 35. According to Brian Bocking, 1996, pp. 84-85, the term *kami* is best left untranslated; in ordinary

- usage it is usually hyphenated indicating that something is 'kami-like'; refers to the divine, sacred, spiritual, numinous quality of nature, places or things, as well as deities, members of the Imperial line, heros, ancestors or elements of mythology; character of the general usage in Japan dictates that often it should not be capitalized in *Rōmaji*.
36. ten Grotenhuis, 1999, p. 3. One of the most important of these Pure Land *Mandara* in Japan is the Taima *Mandara* style, named after the Taimadera Temple in Nara Prefecture, where the prototype, an 8th century, four meter square tapestry imported from China is kept.
 37. Personal communication, November 5th, 2000.
 38. ten Grotenhuis, 1999, p. 3.
 39. The Kasuga *Taisha* is a *shintō* shrine founded by FUJIWARA no Fuhito, aristocrat and court official, in 709 C.E., in the city of Nara, for the protection of the new capital. Around 768 A.D., the shrine, which had been on nearby Mount Mikasayama, was moved nearer to the center of town where it stands today; noted for it's distinctive architecture, *kasuga zukuri*; the park surrounding it is full of deer, thought of as sacred messengers of the *kami*; the symbolism of the deer is seen in Kasuga *mandara*. *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1993.
 40. Another name for *SUSANO no Mikoto*, the upstart brother of the Sun Goddess, *AMATERASU O-Mikami*.
 41. *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1993.
 42. ten Grotenhuis, 1999, p. 143.
 43. Kuroda, H., 1999, tapescript p. 3.
 44. A body of 'pilgrimage' mandalas, the "*Sankei Makimono*", late Sengoku period to early Azuchi-Momoyama period (1467-c.1568), is representative of the art familiar to the common people of the time; notable *makimono* from this period would include the Nachi *Sankei Mandara*, the Kimiidera *Sankei Mandara* and the Kokawadera *Sankei Mandara*, all located in Wakayama Prefecture.
 45. Traditional religious practice followed by the *yamabushi*, priest/shamans practicing austerities in the mountains; combining Buddhist, Taoist and *Shintō* elements; practice diminished due to the 1886 edict, the "*shinbutsu bunri*", separating Buddhism from *Shintō*; surviving in a few areas such as Kumano. *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1993.
 46. These 33 sites are actually 34 temples dedicated to the *Kannon*; located in the Chichibu district of Saitama Prefecture; *Kannon sama* (Skt.: *Avalokiteshvara*) is the *bodhisattva* of compassion; the most popular *bosatsu*, manifestation of the *Buddha*, in Japan where the figure is female. Bocking, B., 1996, *passim*.
 - 47.-53. Kuroda, H., 1999, pp. 3-4.
 54. *Hotoke*: another manifestation of the *Buddha*.
 55. The *Buddha* of the Western Pure Land, a transcendental *buddha*, as contrasted with the historical *Buddha*. Pure Land Buddhism arose in India, grew in China and attained a fuller development in Japan. Inagaki, H., 1989, p. 5.
 56. Hayao KAWAI, Jungian psychoanalyst and specialist in Japanese mythology, translates 'psyche', from the title of his book "The Japanese Psyche", 1988, as '*kokoro*'.
 57. The concept, "Ten Worlds", is represented by three different *kanji* and three romanizations, *Juk-kai*, *Jik-kai* and *Jitsu-kai*.
 - 58.-67. Kuroda, H., 1999, *passim*.
 68. Mokuren: One of the ten great disciples of the *Buddha*; well known for his supernatural power; his offerings to a company of monks, *segaki*, to save his mother from torment in the *Gaki-dō*, Hell of the Hungry Ghosts, is said to be the origin of the 'bon' festival (*Obon*, *urabon*, *urabonne*).

69. Refers to one of the six manifestations of the *Kannon*, the 'One Who Observes the Sound of the World'; in most parts of Asia she is represented as male but in parts of China and in Japan, the image is female. The *Nyoirin Kannon* is the 'wish-fulfilling' deity. Inagaki, H., 1988, pp. 161 and 235.
- 70.-71. Ibid.