This article presents a multiple reading of Saru no soshi: as a piece of lighthearted entertainment describing the marriage of the daughter of the monkey head-priest of Hiyoshi Shrine to a monkey from Yokawa; as an exposition of religious beliefs symbolizing the union of buddhas and kami in the Sannō deity; and as a ritual representing a sequence of ceremonies belonging to the contemporary Yayoi sairei. It is suggested that the production of Saru no soshi reflects and may indeed have been directly occasioned by the vigorous reconstruction efforts at Hiyoshi Shrine, led by the head priest Hafuribe Yukimaru, following the shrine’s destruction by Oda Nobunaga in 1571.

SARU NO SŌSHI 猿の草子[1] [Opusculum about monkeys] is one of several hundred fourteenth- to seventeenth-century short narratives, often illustrated, that are known as otogizōshi 御伽草子 (companion tales), Nara ehon 奈良絵本 (illustrated books from Nara), Muromachi monogatari 室町物語 (Muromachi [period] tales), or chūsei shōsetsu 中世小説 (medieval short stories). The multiple designations reflect past tendencies either to reduce the narratives to fairy tales for women and children (thus the Edo-period connotation of otogizōshi) or to focus on only their text or their pictures (e.g., chūsei shōsetsu). Recent research, however, generally agrees that most otogizōshi were situated at the interface of entertainment and religious ritual, that they were

[1] Unless specified otherwise, references to Saru no soshi are to the annotated edition by Sawai Taizō (1987) in the SNKBT edition. I am grateful to Professor Sawai for elucidating details of the transmission and explaining several problems of reading and interpretation, and to Mr. Timothy Clark of the British Museum for suggesting that I look into the historical background of the text. I am also grateful to Professor Minobe Shigekatsu of Nanzan University for his suggestions concerning this article. The illustrations are reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
performed or read in such a way that text and pictures interacted, and that they were intended for, and in fact reached, wide and varied audiences.2

The remarkable feature of Saru no sōshi is the extent to which it displays in a single work the general characteristics of the otogizōshi genre. An attentive reading of this scroll allows us, perhaps, to establish what might be called its discursive momentum: the epistemological structures and the historical references that the producer(s), the narrator, and the contemporary audience brought to bear on it when it was produced in the late sixteenth century, probably in Sakamoto, the market town (monzenmachi 門前町) that developed in conjunction with the Hie-Enryaku-ji multiplex3 of the Tendai sect. By the same token, Saru no sōshi contributes to our understanding of the cult at Hiyoshi Shrine 日吉大社 at the time.

In the most general terms, the narrative, which describes the auspicious wedding of the daughter of the monkey head priest (kannushi 神主) at Hiyoshi Shrine to a monkey from Yokawa (one of the three major compounds of Enryaku-ji 延暦寺), functions as a pivot for both dramatic and religious significations. In Saru no sōshi the dual text-picture structure of the monkey’s wedding at Hiyoshi Shrine meets, so to speak, a unifying Tendai-Shinto ritual.

Any reading of Saru no sōshi, whether religious or otherwise, must therefore refer to the janus-faced concept of the monkey, which was regarded in medieval Japan as simultaneously higher and lower than the human being (OHNUKI-TIERNEY 1987). In the context of Hiyoshi Shrine, the dichotomy is ultimately between the monkey as a manifestation of the Sanno 山王 Deity (the mountain-god protector of Mt Hiei and the Tendai doctrine) and as the Trickster (the monkey appearing in performances of sarumawashi 猿回し, saruhiki 猿曳, sarukai 猿卸]). The conceptual configurations in which these two aspects of the monkey occur are different, and both are used in Saru no sōshi.

The Trickster connotes a dualism. The performing monkey, in all its contorted familiarity, probably impresses upon us more than any other animal the inevitability and the humor of the human condition caught between ideals and reality. This is used to full effect in Saru no

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2 Kokubungaku kaishaku to kansho 10 (1985) and Kokubungaku 39/1 (1994) accurately present the breadth of recent research on otogizōshi. The next issue of Kokubungaku kaishaku to kansho (May 1996) is scheduled as another special issue on otogizōshi.

3 The term multiplex—a unified Shinto-Buddhist cultic center—is from GRAPARD 1992, p. 1.

4 Hiyoshi Taisha. “Hiyoshi” is said to be a modern variant of “Hie,” which is the older reading of the same characters. According to the Kokugo daijiten, the shift to “Hiyoshi” took place during the Kamakura-Muromachi periods; the hokku 発句 in text passage 5 of Saru no sōshi quoted below (see n. 16 and text) certainly assumes that reading.
Sōshi, where the head priest inside the text-picture structure controls events, such as the preparations for the marriage ceremonies, until the reality of the celebrations in the pictures takes over. The result is that this slight and predictable narrative motif is cleverly twisted, turned to surprise, and used to entertain the audience.

The narrative of the wedding is embedded in a larger tripartite structure of religious significance, where Sanno is ultimately the all-encompassing unifying force. The first part comprises the account of the origin of Mt Hiei (*Hiei engi* 比叡靈起), culminating in the revelation of Sanno; the second part comprises the marriage, understood as a case of *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合, the associations between buddhas and kami that are at the foundation of the Hie-Enryaku-ji cult; and the third comprises a prayer to the Seven Shrines of Hiyoshi 日吉七社 for their continued rule of the land. The scroll thus resembles *shinbutsu shūgō* in that it is a union of human drama and divine ritual.

The lines of association between the monkey head priest and the deity Sanno are as complex as they are central to medieval Tendai Shinto and to the religious reading of *Saru no sōshi*. The direct association of Sanno with the monkey is based on the graphic paranomastic explanation found in the Tendai Shinto tradition. According to this explanation, the monkey of Hiyoshi Shrine is the manifestation of the Sanno deity because the character for *kami* 神 consists of the two elements, 申, “monkey” (of the zodiac), and 示, “to show” (*Yotenki*, *Hanawa* 1936, pp. 613–14 and 620; *Grapard* 1987, p. 219).

Another line of association between the head priest and Sanno is through *shinbutsu shūgō*. Associations between buddhas and Hiyoshi Shrine kami are thought to have been established gradually during the Heian period (see *Ogasawara* 1987, *Kuroda* 1990, and *Sato* 1985 for historical references), although systematic records of the pantheon of associations date from the Kamakura period (*Murayama* 1974, pp. 313ff.). During this period kami gradually came to be seen as possessed of salvific power, and their function as divine protectors was widened to encompass the Buddhist realm. The idea of kami as *gohōjin* 護法神 (guardian deities of the Buddhist doctrine, and of the Tendai teaching in particular) had, however, already been encoun-

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5 I prefer the term *shinbutsu shūgō*, which, unlike *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹, does not connote a hierarchy between buddhas and kami (see, for instance, Jien’s [1155–1225] views in *Ogasawara* 1987, p. 296). In *Saru no sōshi* the historical primacy of the buddhas is upheld in the quoted version of the *Hiei engi*, but the thrust of the narrative invests Hiyoshi, and therefore presumably the kami, with more authority over events.

6 The two terms “Tendai Shinto” and “Sanno Shinto” are both used to distinguish medieval Tendai *honji-suijaku* thought from the Sanno Ichijitsu Shinto of the early Edo period (see *Kubota* 1964).
tered in China by Ennin (794–864) and Enchin (814–891) and brought to Japan in the form of the cult of Matara-shin (also called Sekizan Myōjin and Shinra Myōjin) (Kageyama 1978, pp. 285ff.). The Sannō tradition similarly refers to this deity in non-Japan settings, as the protector of Tiantai-shan (天台山) in China and the Vulture Peak (霊騨山) in India (see, e.g., Hie-sha shintō himitsu-ki, Hanawa 1932, p. 94).

The head priest of Hiyoshi Shrine was specifically in charge of Ōmiya (大宮), in which Onamuchi no kami (大己貴神) was enshrined. According to the most widely accepted tradition, Ōnamuchi no kami is identical to Omononushi no kami (大物主神) of Ōmiwa Shrine (神社) on Mt Miwa (三車命山); Omononushi no kami was invited to act as the guardian deity of the new imperial residence—and thereby of the imperial house—by Emperor Tenji (天智) when the latter moved the capital to Ōtsu in the seventh century (Sagai 1977, p. 68; Hie-sha shintō himitsu-ki, Hanawa 1932, p. 85). Historically, the advent of this kami was probably instrumental in transforming Hiyoshi Shrine from a local shrine to one of national importance and in retaining the religio-political influence of the Hie-Enryaku-ji multiplex during the medieval period (Grapard 1987, p. 214). From this fact the association between Ōmiya (Onamuchi no kami) and Shakamuni would have followed naturally: Shaka (muni) was after all effectively credited with the creation of the Hie-Enryaku-ji multiplex (according to, for instance, the Hiei engi).

The association in Saru no sōshi of the monkey head priest of Hiyoshi Shrine/Ōmiya (Onamuchi no kami) with Shaka turns full circle in the concluding passage of the Hiei engi as quoted in the scroll. According to this text, Saichō (取澄), the founder of the Tendai sect, was walking on Mt Obie (小比観山) within the Hiyoshi Shrine boundaries, when the three main buddhas of Enryaku-ji—Yakushi, Shaka, and Amida—appeared in the sky before him. When Saichō requested their names, they answered:

“Draw one horizontal stroke along the side of three vertical strokes, and to three horizontal strokes add one vertical stroke. We/I have come to this mountain in order to keep the teaching of the law of the Perfect [Tendai] Sect within the sect, and to further the means of salvation for those outside.” With these words the Great Master (Saichō) set this up in characters. Drawing one horizontal stroke along the side of three vertical strokes he got the character san [山] [mountain], and when he added one vertical stroke to three horizontal strokes
he got the character お 王 [king]. Thinking it must be a name, since mountain expresses a form both large and immovable and king expresses the virtues in the three fundamentals [san-zai 三才] of heaven, earth, and man, he worshipped the deity there as Sannō. As Mt Hiei expresses the three teachings [san-gaku 三学] he built three temples, and because human beings can perceive three thousand realms in one thought [ichinen sanzen 一念三千] he made three thousand the number of monks [shuto 衆徒]. (SNKBT, p. 440)

The seven major shrines of Hiyoshi are divided into two major traditions: Nishi-hongū-kei 西本宮系, clustered around Ōmiya, and Higashi-hongū-kei 東本宮系, whose principal shrine is Ninomiya (SAGAI 1979 and 1980). It is worth noting that Obie, where the above encounter from the Hiei engi takes place, is the location of Ninomiya, in which Ōyamakui no kami 大山咋神 is enshrined. Ninomiya is thought to represent the older tradition of local tutelary deities (jinushi no kami 地主の神) within Hiyoshi Shrine (KAGEYAMA 1978, p. 279), and the fact that it is mentioned can be read as an acknowledgement of the historical primacy and importance of these local deities. In a wider perspective, the presence of the three central buddhas, rather than merely Yakushi (who is traditionally associated with Ninomiya), indicates that Sannō is conceived here in the widest possible terms: the three buddhas are associated with the most important kami of Hiyoshi Shrine, the so-called sansei 三聖 (Ōmiya, Ninomiya, and Shōshinshi), and so on, presumably, for lesser buddhas and kami. Furthermore, in this paranomastic explanation Sannō, as the overarching syncretizing concept, informs not only the Tendai pantheon but Tendai doctrine as well (cf. GRAPARD 1987, p. 215, KURODA 1990, p. 150). The Monkey–Sannō association is therefore a truly powerful one.

I will now briefly introduce the scroll itself. Very little is certain about its transmission. It is described as Saru no e, Tosa-hitsu, ikkan 猿之絵土佐筆一巻 [Pictures of monkeys, painted by a Tosa master, one scroll] on the box in which it is stored in the Japanese collection of the British Museum.

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7 That is, precepts concerning what is forbidden (kinkai 禁戒), Samadhi meditation (zenjo 禅定), and wisdom (chie 知慧).

8 That is, the san-tō 三塔, namely the temple precincts of Tōtō, Saitō, and Yokawa.

9 The scroll is 30.8 cm long and is in ink and colors on paper. Its registration at the British Museum is Saru no soshi (1902.6-6.01, Japanese painting 59). The present account of the transmission is based mainly on SNKBT, p. 435.
perhaps is the title. The initial part of the scroll is missing, and the present title, Saru no sóshi, may have been taken from an accompanying guarantee of authenticity (kiwamegaki 極書), stating that the painter Sumiyoshi (Hiroyuki) Naiki 住吉(広行)内記 in 1806 (Bunka 6) identified the paintings as the work of Tosa Mitsuzumi 土佐光純.\textsuperscript{10} Purchased in Europe by Sir A. W. Franks, Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum during the second half of the nineteenth century, the scroll was bequeathed to the museum in 1902 (Smith et al. 1990, pp. 54–55). On internal grounds, there is little doubt that Saru no sóshi was produced by and for someone connected with the religious multiplex of the Hiyoshi Shrine and Enryaku-ji. Unfortunately, details of its Japanese provenance are unknown. What we do know is that the Hiyoshi Shrine, where the story is set, was ravaged and all Buddhist statues, writings, etc. destroyed in 1868 by local people and Yoshida Shinto fanatics from Kyoto, who were angry at what they saw as reluctance to comply with the edict bringing an end to the combination of buddhas and kami. It was not until 1978 that Saru no sóshi attracted scholarly attention, when it was recognized at a conference on Nara-ehon in London as a unique work without known variants in Japan. It has since appeared in two typeset editions (Okami 1981, Sawai 1987) as well as a complete color reproduction (Hirayama 1992).

The scroll consists of six text passages, ranging from a few lines to four or five pages in length, pictures alternating with dialogues (also of varying length). The fragmented opening picture may have been preceded by an introductory passage giving the setting, etc., which, had it been transmitted, might have directed and perhaps modified our reading of the scroll. For lack of other evidence, however, I have assumed that the scroll began with the picture that presently opens the series, showing a conversation between three monkeys (Kuri-bayashi Shibuzane, head priest of Hiyoshi Shrine and governor of Iga Province, and his two retainers). As mentioned, the main motif of Saru no sóshi is ostensibly a marriage of monkeys, the daughter of

\textsuperscript{10} This identification appears in Sumiyoshi-ke kantei-hikae 住吉家鑑定 査 [Notes on identifications by the Sumiyoshi family], vol. 1, in Bijutsu kenkyû 38, p. 42 (1935), where the title is given as Saru no sóshi. According to Zoho Nihon shoga kotto daijiten 増補日本書画骨董大辞典 (1915), various biographies (den 伝) agree that Mitsuzumi, a painter (monjin 門人) of the Tosa school, was active in the second half of the sixteenth century: during the Tenshô (1573–92) and Keichô (1596–1615) eras, according to Kôchô meiga shôi 皇朝名画拾, and during the Bunroku (1592–96) era, according to Sumiyoshi edokoro 住吉絵所. It may also have been the British Museum scroll that the scholar Furukawa Miyuki in 1874 perused and described as "Saru no sóshi, one volume, identified by Sumiyoshi Naiki as Tosa Mitsuzumi's work" (TZKG, vol. 5, p. 204).
Shibuzane to a monkey named Yasaburo, from Yokawa. The following presents an overview of the scroll, divided into pictures with dialogue (gachūshi 画中詞) on the one hand, and text passages on the other. For each picture, the occasion and/or the characters are noted as well as the topics of the dialogue. Each text passage is divided into description (ji no bun 地の文), and dialogue, again with topics and interlocutors noted.

Outline of Saru no sōshi

PICTURE 1
Shibuzane & two retainers

dialogue: none

Text passage 1
dialogue: Shibuzane talks about:
  marriage of daughter;
  suitable son-in-law;
  origin of Mt Hiei;
  description of the groom Yasaburo;
  —retainers agree with Shibuzane’s choice of Yasaburo
description:
  decide date for yomeiri (bridal procession);
  list of things in dowry

PICTURE 2
yomeiri procession from Hiyoshi

dialogue:
  beans; appearance; marriage

Text passage 2
description:
  Himegimi (the lady); love of the Lady and Yasaburo; birth of Wakagimi (Young Master); arrangements for mukoiri (groom’s procession)
dialogue: (continued in text passage 3)
  Shibuzane summons retainers
The yomari procession: Saru no sōshi, picture 2 (© The British Museum).
PICTURE 3
Shibuzane and retainers
baby monkey picking chestnuts
dialogue:
picking chestnuts

Text passage 3
dialogue: Shibuzane orders:
preparations for mukoiri;
banquet (16th Day in 9th Month);
decoration of room;
lists of food: fish; game;
vegetables; relishes; saké

PICTURE 4
procession
mukoiri = miyamairi
dialogue:
appearance; quivers;
Yasaburō’s splendid appearance;
fatigue

Text passage 4
description:
description of servants and retainers-in-waiting

PICTURE 5
seventeen dishes/exchanges of cups
(jūshichikon) (an exchange of saké [kon]
consisting of three cups)
dialogue:
drink; Shibuzane presenting
Yasaburō with a horse and a sword;
fatigue; service; Wakagimi

Text passage 5
description:
Shibuzane summons retainers
dialogue: Shibuzane gives orders:
to prepare for a renga gathering;
admonishes the retainers who are uninterested in renga
The *miyamairi* procession led by Wakagimi carried on the shoulders of an older monkey approaches the beach of Karasaki; *Saru no sōshi*, picture 4 (© The British Museum).
**Picture 6**

the *RENGA* gathering
monkeys peeling chestnuts

dialogue:

*RENGA*;

Shibuzane asleep

description:

conclusion of *RENGA* gathering

recitation:

*CHOKA* 長歌 on the view of Ōmi

Province seen from Shiga District

The scroll in the British Museum is collated in such a way that the *
RENGA* gathering precedes the banquet, i.e., text passage 5/picture 6
precede text passage 4/picture 5. The reordering in the *SNKBT* edition,
as presented above, is made on the basis of internal textual evidence,
such as dates of events. It does not, I believe, affect the
following arguments concerning the structure of the scroll.

**Marriage of Monkeys at Hiyoshi Shrine**

In most illustrated *otogizoshi*, especially those in which the pictures
include dialogue (*gachushi*), there exists a characteristic dual structure
(e.g., Minobe 1985, p. 62): the text passages with their narrative
description, neutral style, and literary language, and the dialogue of
the pictures with its playful (*kokkei*) style and vernacular language
that directly expresses the character’s mind. For instance, the simple but
effective illustrations of the *Tenri-bon* 天理本 (Tenri manuscript) of
*Kotoko no soshi* 小男早子 are interspersed with humorous, equally simple
asides and exclamations, such as *ana chiisa ya*, “How small he is!”
(Tokuda 1991). *Saru no soshi* belongs to a minority of *otogizoshi* in
which pictures relate to text passages in more than one way: appositionally,
as illustrations proper, and predicatively, forming narrative

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11 The account of the two tea utensils is in accordance with what is mentioned *inter alia* in
*Yamanoue no Sei-ki* 山上宗二記 from 1589 (Tenshō 17); see ZNE, p. 28.
The renge gathering; Saru no sōshi, picture 6 (© The British Museum).
sequences with the text passages. In fact, the central pictures—the procession of the bride (yomeiri 嫁入り), the visit of the son-in-law (mukoiri 婿入り), the banquet, and the renga gathering (pictures 2, 4, 5, 6)—are all sequentially linked to their adjacent text passages, and only the two smaller pictures of Shibuzane planning with his retainers illustrate the text as such. By and large, then, the events unfold on the two levels of text passage and picture-with-dialogue, along a single straight story line in time. The effect is a repeated shift between a rather solemn mode and a light comical mode, altogether not unlike the interchange between No and Kyōgen.

The dual text-picture structure is exploited almost dialectically in the narrative part of Saru no soshi. The point should not be missed that, despite the yomeiri narrative motif, the protagonist in the text is not the bride but the bride’s father. Thus it is Shibuzane who acts and is in charge throughout (or so he thinks). Several passages read almost entirely as Shibuzane’s speech acts: deliberating, planning, ordering, and admonishing. This is particularly true of passage 1, which opens with a long passage of Shibuzane’s direct speech as he deliberates the pros and cons of prospective sons-in-law. Passage 3 takes up directly from the descriptive passage 2, relating Shibuzane’s orders concerning the mukoiri. The long lists of things (monozukushi 物尽くし), mostly in five-seven morae verses (shichip’o-cho 七五調), are not interpreted as Shibuzane’s direct speech in the SNKBT edition, but in my view the passage illustrates the blurring of Shibuzane and the role of the narrator: the rhetorical questions at the beginning of two of the lists (さて又美物は何々ぞ, “Now, what food would be good?” and 育の数は何々ぞ, “What side dishes are there?”; SNKBT, pp. 449-50), suggest that this is the direct rendering of the workings of a mind, presumably Shibuzane’s, followed by a shift to indirect speech as witnessed by sentence-final nari.

Arguably, the lists of things with their pleasing rhythm, as illustrated in the list of the bride’s books (Genji Sagoromo 源氏狭衣, Shinkokin 新古今, Kokin Man’yō 古今万葉, Ise monogatari 伊勢物語; SNKBT, p. 442), show Shibuzane to possess the special gift for verbal artistry that so often in otozishō enables the protagonist to achieve his or her

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12 The distinction obviously relates to the actual narration or performance of the scroll, e.g., Minobe 1985, Kannoto 1985, and Tokuda et al. 1994.

13 It should be noted that the lists in Saru no soshi very much reflect the lavish entertainment at contemporary banquets, such as described in Asai Bizen no Kami shukusho kyō-ki, 1534 (Tenbun 3; see ZEN, p. 28; Hanawa 1931): after the formal banquet followed by tea and the inspection of horses, the party would proceed to seventeen dishes (sakana) accompanied by seventeen exchanges of sake, while being entertained to No (and Kyōgen?) performances, one for each dish starting from the third.
In both passages 5 and 6, the action in the preceding picture is rounded off by a brief description (a single sentence) before returning to Shibuzane’s direct speech (passage 5) and the *chōka* 長歌 (passage 6), respectively.

As already mentioned, most of the pictures (2, 4, 5, and 6) actually move the story along, from the preparations to the celebrations. At the same time they signal a change of mode. If Shibuzane’s orders and plans in the text passages essentially function on the level of marked modal expression, of imperative or optative, these plans and orders are actually carried out in the pictures, which may therefore be interpreted as representing the unmarked mode of factuality. As opposed to the text passages, where only Shibuzane and a few retainers are present, the pictures are densely populated. Judging from the fact that the higher-ranking monkeys are all identified with a nearby locality, we are here presented with the stratified society of contemporary Shiga. Each and every monkey is given a name, and social status is consistently expressed by name, dress, and by topic of conversation. The pictures of the celebrations—yomeiri, miyamairi 宮参り, mukoiri, and the *renge* gathering—are all focused centrally and in such a way that Shibuzane and others of high status are in the central portion of the picture and the lowest servants are on the margins. The result is that if the scroll is “read” linearly from right to left, the down-to-earth comments by servants tend to be juxtaposed to the text passages, often effectively puncturing Shibuzane’s dignified posture. For instance, passage 4 praises the retainers and servants in attendance, but the immediately following picture 5 opens with one guard commenting: “He has fallen asleep drunk, because he was requested to exchange so many cups. He looks as if he can’t hold his drink” (*SNKBT*, p. 455).

In the text passage preceding the *renge* gathering, Shibuzane’s sudden eloquent misgivings about the poetic skills of his retainers make one wonder if this is not the author’s direct admonition to the audience: “We have absolutely no practitioners of *renge*. It was for occasions like this that I would always tell young people to have a monthly *renge* gathering for practice. Accomplishment is not attained overnight. They never practiced once, but foolishly spent their days climbing trees, crawling among bushes, going up on the mountain to crack chestnuts or down to the valley to take persimmons. We should reflect

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15 The rats in *Nezumi no sōshi* (manuscript from Suntory Bijutsukan) are also all named, however insignificant they are for the plot, and even when the picture otherwise has no text. Perhaps this was to make for easy reference, should the narrator choose to improvise.
on this now” (SNKBT, p. 459). As it turns out, Shibuzane is right. His own \textit{hokku} 発句, “Trees still standing with chestnuts / offerings / to gods of Hiyoshi” (たてながら 栗や日吉に 手向草) is competent,\textsuperscript{16} and so are those of the invited \textit{renge} master and Yasaburō. The other participants, however, turn to comical \textit{haikai} 俳諧, such as, “The reddest faces / the groom, the father-in-law” (赤くなる顔は婿殿舅殿; SNKBT, p. 462). Shibuzane falls asleep. Even so, the following text passage opens with what can only be characterized as an inversion of critical judgement: “Thus one \textit{renge} and yet another passed, their minds all different expressed in many golden words and wonderful phrases” (角て連歌一順, 再篇も通りぬれば心々様々にして, 金言妙句ども多かりけり; SNKBT, p. 465). At this point, the comical nucleus of \textit{Saru no sōshi}, the contrast between what ought to be and what is, fades away as the vantage point abruptly widens to a panoramic view across Omi Province. Yet even this provides a last surprise: the unexpected change of poetic expression to a \textit{choka}.

The dual signification of “monkey,” Sanno versus Trickster, is actualized in the contrast between Shibuzane (who is in command in the text-passages) and the lowliest servants (who appear in the pictures). Shibuzane’s religious and ritual function is invariably stressed: as head priest he knows the order of the past, makes divinations, and controls the celebrations and offerings (\textit{tamukegusa}), as suggested in his \textit{hokku}. He refers to his son-in-law Yasaburō as \textit{saru} and \textit{mashira} “monkey”;\textsuperscript{17} his own name as it appears in the margin of picture 1, Iga no kami Kuribayashi 伊賀守栗林 (Shibuzane) しぶざね, “(Sour-Grape) of the Chestnut Wood, Governor of Iga,” is also suggestive. So is the place-name Iga, which is a pun on \textit{iga}, “prickled skin of chestnuts,”\textsuperscript{18} and possesses phonetic associations with Shiga District, where Hiyoshi Shrine is located. However, when Shibuzane compares himself to the human daimyō he is considering as a possible son-in-law, the distinctions he draws are primarily of social or religious rank, that is, \textit{kannushi 神主} versus \textit{gekan 下官} (lowly official). His love of splendor and insistence on his own dignity as head priest give Shibuzane a comical, conceited air. This tends to highlight his monkey identity, yet there is no confrontation: he is unmasked only by the pictures.

In the pictures there is endless talk about red faces, but the low monkey nature reveals itself only through the suggestive names of

\textsuperscript{16} SNKBT, p. 459. This \textit{hokku} is, in fact, by the historical poet Soseki 宗碩 (1473–1533), who is mentioned in the text as a source of inspiration for the (fictitious?) \textit{renge} master invited by Shibuzane.

\textsuperscript{17} Among several possible etymologies of \textit{mashira}, one relates it to \textit{masaru}, “excel,” and another to the Sanskrit \textit{makata}, “monkey.”

\textsuperscript{18} I thank Professor Sawai for bringing this point to my attention.
humble servants like Yabukuguri (Bush-crawler) no Yoichi and Kinobori (Tree-climber) no Heihachi, or through comments like that of the monkey in the yomeiri procession who chooses to walk on four legs: “I am so tired. It is quicker to crawl on four legs than to stand” (事の外たくびれたり。立つよりも這ふが早く候; SNKBT, p. 444). In picture 3, juxtaposed to Shibuzane and his servants are two “monkey-like” monkeys picking chestnuts in what can be taken as an ironic comment on the long list of delicacies in the following text passage (SNKBT, p. 448). There is also at least one reference to performing monkeys—even if it takes the form of a disclaimer of identity—by a monkey watching the banquet from the top of the roof: “When I am downstairs I am ordered to do all sorts of difficult jobs and they order me around as if I were a performing monkey (sarunowamasu), and so I have climbed up onto the roof so I can relax” (SNKBT, p. 457).19

Thus the dramatic and comical character of the scroll hinges on contrasts between the pictures and the textual passages. The reality of the pictures clashes with Shibuzane’s attempt in the text to construct and control events. The comical effect is made more poignant, perhaps, by the paradox that in the pictures, where the monkey identity is revealed, the human audience most clearly recognizes its own society.

Saru no soshi as Ritual

The motif of marriage at Hiyoshi Shrine is obviously central to the scroll, but it does not exhaust its structure. The marriage celebrations

19 I would like to suggest two other possible associations with groups of people who made a living from the monkeys: monkey handlers and tanners of monkey hides, both of whom may have had special affiliations to Hiyoshi Shrine. In picture 4 two attendants in the son-in-law’s procession discuss the proper way to carry a quiver (yanagui 胡籙): “Your quiver has slipped to the back. That’s not the way to attach it, let me tell you.” “You are talking about something you don’t know, because this form is in accordance with the tradition of the Lord of Ogasawara. Mind your own business” (SNKBT, p. 451). It is known that quivers at that time had covers of monkey-hide, which was believed to protect the warrior’s horse against illness and injuries (Ohnuki-Tierney 1987, p. 48). The monkeys’ concern about the correct way to carry a quiver could also have been prompted by the fact that the monkey performer carried sticks and whips for the dressage of the monkey in a quiver on his back (or slung over the back like a quiver; see Sanjuniban shokuin utawase emaki in Mori 1985, p. 28). The second reference from picture 2 is (even?) less obvious and may be an overinterpretation: two monkeys admonish another that etamame 枝豆 (green, i.e., unripe, soybeans), written etamame, is an inauspicious word to use during a yomeiri procession (SNKBT, p. 443). Etamame could be a partial pun on eta, with its contemporary variant etta, a word that in its narrow sense referred to people who prepared animal hides, but that also seems to have been associated with people in other professions affiliated to the religious multiplexes, such as monkey performers, picture explainers (etoki 絵解き), sarugaku no no 猿楽の能 actors, and footmen in processions (Nagahara 1992, chapters 12-13), just like the monkeys here.
are bounded by two narratives differently oriented in time: the *Hiei engi* in passage 1 and the final *chōka* in passage 6. Both are unrepresented in the pictures, and are therefore presumably subordinate within the main narrative structure. The temporal progression among them is straightforward: *Hiei engi* refers to the past, the celebrations to the present, and the *chōka* to the future. In the context of the narrative of the marriage, the relationship between the three parts is causal: just as the account of Mt Hiei’s origins conditions the marriage (or, more specifically, Shibuzane’s choice of a son-in-law), the marriage—by securing the lineage of the head priest—represents the condition for the divine authority that is sought and established by means of the *chōka*. More significantly, however, this larger triad structure allows us an extended symbolic, religious reading of the scroll.

**THE ORIGINS OF MT HIEI (TEXT PASSAGE 1)**

It is indicative of its significance that the *Hiei engi* represents by far the longest passage in *Saru no sōshi*. It can be summed up as follows. First, Shaka, while still living in the Tosotsu-ten 多頭天, creates the land in which he intends to propagate the Buddhist doctrine after his appearance in this world. Second, at the time of Ugaya Fukiaezu no mikoto 鬥邉草葺不合尊 (the father of Emperor Jinmu 神武) Shaka obtains the land at the foot of Mt Hiei from the old fisherman kami at the intervention of Yakushi. Shirahige 白髭, the kami who has to yield his land to Shaka, is none other than Sarutahiko no kami 猿田彦神, who in the myths of *Kojiki* 鬱金垣 meets Hiko-ho-no-ninigi no mikoto 彌火瓊杵杵尊 (then on his descent from the heavens) and pledges to guide him on his way (Philippi 1968, pp. 137–38). Third, around the year 800 Sannō is revealed to Saichō, the founder of the Tendai sect.

We are dealing here with the complex weave of Buddhist and Shinto concepts characteristic of *shinbutsu shūgō* ideology. Chronologically the buddhas antedate the kami. Actually the *Hiei engi* credits Shaka with the creation of a Japan that is seen as centered around Hiyoshi Shrine. The fact that the creation is described as happening in three successive stages is perhaps an indirect reference to the number 3, an important one in Tendai doctrine. The narrative, however, also echoes the sequence of myths in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*—the creation of the land (*kunitsukuri* 国作), the yielding of the land (*kuni-yuzuri* 国譲), and the descent of the imperial grandson (*tenson korin* 天孫降臨)—thereby (re)confirming Japan within the *shinbutsu shūgō* ideology as the divine land (*shinkoku* 神國), protected by Sannō. Significantly, the present version lacks the details of Shaka’s life and the list of *shinbutsu shūgō* found in the *Taiheiki* version (Goto 1960, book 18, pp. 266ff.), with which it is otherwise identical. The result is
that Sanno and Hiyoshi Shrine receive the main focus, in line with the main discursive thrust of *Saru no soshi*.

**THE ASSOCIATION OF BUDDHAS AND KAMI**

In the sixteenth century the custom of the bride going to live with her husband’s family (virilocal marriage or *yomeiri-kon*) was new and perhaps still confined to classes where the transfer of wealth and status was important. Thus as a narrative theme *yomeiri* probably still possessed the charm of novelty, which would partly justify the emphasis on the celebrations culminating in the *mukoiri* party-cum-*miyamairi* (the two effectively fall together in *Saru no soshi*). In contrast, the romantic aspect of the couple’s love and the birth of their child is played down, receiving only three lines (and the whole point of mentioning these events at all is apparently to stress that they are sanctioned by Sanno). Marriage here is evidently about paternal or divine authority.

It might be possible to argue in general terms that the “happy marriage” in *Saru no soshi*—the fruit of unchallenged paternal judgment prudently aimed at a union of equals—expresses a new social ideal, and that it should be seen in contrast to another *otogizoshi* motif: passionate relationships between unequals (of whom one party is usually human and the other nonhuman), relationships that are often childless and unsuccessful. However, from the perspective of the preceding *Hiei engi* it is probably more pertinent that the head priest of Hiyoshi Shrine controls the events (and, in particular, decides upon a son-in-law from Enryaku-ji). This suggests that the scroll was intended to project the superiority of Hiyoshi Shrine. If so, one might expect a wider cosmological reading to be possible.

Interestingly, the only clear pictographic reference to Hiyoshi Shrine inside *Saru no soshi* is the scenery of the beach at Karasaki with a torii and pine tree (picture 4; see illustration above). This is a well-known mythological topos in the Hiyoshi tradition, and is depicted in a very similar way in the sketches of Hiyoshi’s head priest at the

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20 According to *Kokugo daijiten*, early occurrences of the word *yomeiri* or *yomeri* are from Kyōgen and *Nisemonogatari* 仁勢物語 (section 60). Interestingly, we get a glimpse of the class differences inside *Saru no soshi* in picture 2 when the servant girls in the *yomeiri* procession discuss whether to accept love letters, a custom that would seem to belong to the older marriage system of the man visiting the woman and that apparently still prevailed among the common people.

21 A case in point may be *Nezumi no soshi* 鼠の早子: just like *Saru no soshi*, this scroll contains elaborate pictures of a *yomeiri* procession, a wedding banquet, and a dowry, and contains illustrated lists (*monozukushi*) in *waka* form. However, the relationship is childless and ends in the estrangement of the couple.
time (Hie-sha shinto himitsu-ki, HANAWA 1932, pp. 88ff). It is also found in a Muromachi-period Sannō mandara-zure (NARA KOKURITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 1964, #35, p. 41). It recalls the legend, already mentioned above, of Emperor Tenji inviting the deity of Omiwa Shrine to act as the guardian of his new imperial residence in Ōtsu (SAGAI 1977, p. 68). According to tradition, when the deity descended to the pine tree at the beach of Karasaki and asked for directions, it was none other than the first head priest of Hiyoshi Shrine, Koto-no-mitachi no Ushimaru, who led the deity to its shrine, Ōmiya, inside the Hiyoshi Shrine complex. The fact that Karasaki is depicted in Saru no sōshi at the point when the miyamairi procession carrying Wakagimi approaches Hiyoshi Shrine suggests that the miyamairi may be interpreted as the coming (or perhaps the return) of a kami, most likely a cosmological identification of Wakagimi with Ōmiya. I shall return to this below.

As seen in the traditional interpretation of the Sannō name, the number 3 was symbolically applied not only to matters of Tendai doctrine but also to the time and space of Mt Hiei. Thus the three main Buddhas—Shaka, Yakushi, and Amida—were spatially associated with the three major temple compounds—Tōtō, Saitō, and Yokawa, respectively—and temporally with the period of the Correct Law (shōbō 正、法), the period of the Copied Law (zōhō 象法), and the period of the Decline of the Law (mappō 未法), respectively (GRAPARD 1987, pp. 215, 222). Pursuing the cosmological perspective apparently suggested for the two characters of Shibuzane and Wakagimi, we can see the union between the daughter of the head priest of Hiyoshi Shrine and Yasaburō of Yokawa as a reenactment of the union of the kami of Hiyoshi Shrine and the buddhas of Enryaku-ji. The fact that Yasaburō is from Yokawa is probably not accidental, since this affiliation would associate Yasaburō with Amida and the Present-Future. The possibility that this association was, in fact, on the minds of the producers is further enhanced, I believe, by the fact that the first character in Yasaburō 弥三郎 is identical with the second character in Amida (or to the first character if the abbreviated form Mida is used).

Nor does the possibility of identifications stop here. Yokawa-Amida was combined in the shinbutsu shūgō theory with a kami that in the medieval sources was most commonly identified as Shōshinshī 聖真子 (also read as Shōshinji or Shōjinshī). The historical origins of the Shōshinshī shrine are unclear, the first record of its existence dating
The inclusion of Shōshinshī among the Sansei—the triad of major kami—and the association of Shōshinshī with Amida were presumably justified by the fact that Hachiman was the (main?) deity of that shrine. According to Tendai Shinto tradition (Yōtenki, Hanawa 1936, p. 619) and to the contemporary Hie-sha shintō himitsu-ki (Hanawa 1932, p. 102), Shōshinshī was identified as the child of the two main shrine deities, Ōmiya and Ninomiya. In Saru no sōshī Ninomiya is mentioned only in connection with the oracle who fixes an auspicious date for the yomeiri; it should be noted, however, that the rituals of this and other Higashi-hongū shrines center on prayers for fertility and abundant harvest (Kageyama 1978). One is tempted here to mention another tradition that identifies Shōshinshī with a female deity named Tagorihime no mikoto, but this identification may represent a later tradition.

Assuming the relevance of the associations Yasaburō/Amida and Himegimi/Shōshinshī for Saru no sōshī, it follows that Shibuzane, as Himegimi’s father, is associated with the Ōmiya deity. This association is supported by the fact that the head priest of Hiyoshi Shrine is in charge of Ōmiya, as mentioned above. Finally, if Wakagimi’s miyamairi is, as suggested, seen to echo Ōmononushi no kami’s arrival at Ōmiya, perhaps in a divine (re)appearance (miare 御生死), the association between Shibuzane and Wakagimi has turned full circle.

One should note the existence of another contemporary text that apparently promotes the centrality of this complex association in the Hiyoshi tradition. This is the above-mentioned Hie-sha shintō himitsu-ki [Secret record of the Shinto of Hiyoshi Shrine], compiled by the key figure of the association, the head priest of Ōmiya, Hafuribe Yukimaru (1512–1592), who wrote extensively on all matters relating to Hiyoshi Shrine as part of an energetic effort to restore the shrine after its destruction by Oda Nobunaga in 1571. The Himitsu-ki opens

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23 In tie daishō seiden 慈恵大僧正伝 from 1031 (Chōgen 4), quoted in Sato 1985, p. 25.
24 This association is found, for instance, in the apocryphal Hie-sha negi kuden-sho, tentatively dated to the late Kamakura–early Edo period in Sato 1985, pp. 24–26; the work appears in the Kokushi daigiten under the heading Hiyoshi Taisha, and in Grapard 1987, p. 214. According to the Kojiki and Nihongi, Tagorihime no mikoto was one of the children of Amaterasu 天照大神 and Susanoo no mikoto 素隷鳴尊, who in turn were associated with Hiyoshi deities. Tagorihime no mikoto is mentioned in Kojiki as Taffinbime no mikoto.
25 Sagai (1977) credits Yukimaru with the following works: Hie-sha shintō himitsu-ki, 1577 (1932); Hie-sha shin'yaku noji gyōji 日吉神社年中行事 [Annual events of celebrations of the kami at Hiyoshi Shrine], 1588; Hie-sha hukkīryō no rei 日吉火忌令 [Regulations concerning purifications at Hiyoshi Shrine], 1578; Hie heiran kasai-ki 日吉官兵火災記 [An account of the soldiers’ burning of Hiyoshi Shrine], date unknown; Hie shōshitsu heiran-ki 日吉失火災記 [An account of the burning and ravaging of Hiyoshi Shrine], date unknown; Sanno shosha
with the genealogy of the head priest and a lengthy account of the dealings between the Ōmiya deity and Koto-no-mitachi no Ushimaru, Yukimaru’s ancestor and the first head priest. This sequence of events is later described as the revelations (yogo 影向) of Sannō (Himitsu-ki, p. 94). Importantly, this structure allows Yukimaru to draw a historical parallel between the two legendary figures (the ancestor and the kami) and himself. In the very first lines of the text he describes how, following the destruction of Mt Hiei, he returned to Hiyoshi Shrine in the middle of the third month (sangatsu chūjun 三月中旬), that is, at the very time of the rituals of Yayoi sairei 弥生祭礼, just like the Ōmiya deity. He then set out to investigate the shrine buildings and reconstruct them on paper and, by implication, in reality as well, just like his ancestor Ushimaru. Indeed, Yukimaru records that he composed a waka vowing to restore the shrine—“The shrine Ushimaru first built Yukimaru shall restore at a time when [the tradition] has been broken” (宇志丸の造り初にしひえの社絶たる時代ててん行丸)—and that he recited it as he retraced the steps of the deity and his ancestor from Karasaki to the shrine where offerings used to be made (Himitsu-ki, p. 94).

PRAYER FOR THE CONTINUATION OF DIVINE RULE (TEXT PASSAGE 6)

As mentioned above, the chōka that concludes the scroll lacks a narrative introduction and leaves the modern reader in some doubt as to whose voice is being represented. In the context of the wedding celebration it would be very much in line with contemporary Kyögen (e.g., Suehirogar [KOYAMA 1960, SHIBANO 1980]) to read the chōka as a concluding expression of harmony, in which the master joins with the retainers and servants. However, the chōka in Saru no sōshi, though it might well represent a collective act, is not a humorous or nonsensical song but a solemn prayer that obliterates the humor and satire of what precedes. Its purpose is clearly to secure the peace and prosperity of the land.

The opening verses announce the setting: “The time is autumn, the place is Shiga” (頃は秋処は志賀の事なれば; SNKBT, p. 464). The utamakura of “Shiga” has associations with imperial and divine rule (e.g., Shiga no miyako [Emperor Tenji’s capital, 660–71]), and therefore to the origins of Ōmiya. The final verses offer a prayer for the future of the Seven Shrines of Hiyoshi, while their territory is marked with a shimenawa: “Hanging a shimenawa/ at the Seven Shrines/ of Ōmi/ I [we] pray for a future of eight thousand generations” 近江なる七の社の
御注連経 懸けて八千代の 末や祈観 (SNKBT, p. 467). The prayer addresses the seven deities (and thus Sannō) in their capacity of rulers of the land, and specifically of the Province of Ōmi encircling Lake Biwa.

Indeed, the verses, as they look across Ōmi Province from a mountain or from the shores of Lake Biwa, bring to mind the divine commanding viewpoint of a kunimi poem (PLUTSCHOW 1990, pp. 106ff). Such an interpretation is, I believe, suggested by the theme of the chōka: the four seasons (shiki 四季), described from early spring until the end of winter in a largely thematic ordering of places in Ōmi Province that features mountains in the spring, plains in the summer, rivers and bays in the autumn, and a variety of natural phenomena in the winter. This chronological arrangement amounts to an emphatic negation of the fundamental poetic rules of the renga gathering—what we recognize instead is the orderly encyclopedist mind that produced the earlier lists of things (monozukushi). Depictions of the four seasons in mandalas26 and otogizōshi picture sequences have been seen to represent the land in an ideal and long-lasting peace (TOKUDA et al. 1994, p. 27). This interpretation seems equally appropriate here. Assuming the not uncommon ambiguity between the person(s) praying and the deity (see PLUTSCHOW, ibid.; PHILIPPI 1990, p. 3), the chōka should probably be understood as a prayer for the continuation of the divine rule and, at the same time, as an assertion of it.

Although the chōka is not specifically introduced as a religious ritual, there are several indications that the text dealing with the preparations for the renga gathering is leading up to something ritualistic in nature. One notices, for example, that the names of the participants—like Tokihisa 時久 and Nobuhisa 延久—denote long and thus auspicious spans of time (SNKBT, p. 460). The Hie-Enryaku-ji association is consistent on this level, too, as indicated by the identity of the two participant monks, Matsu-no-moto-bo Ichigi of Karasaki 唐崎の 松本坊一祇 and the renga master Kaki-no-ki-bo Sochin of Chūdō 中堂の 柿木坊宗鎮. Although apparently not a historical person, the latter character has strong historical associations: not only is Chūdō (alternative name Shuryōgon-in 首楞厳院) the temple in Yokawa where one of the Sanno shrines was located (KAGEYAMA 1978, p. 304), but Sōchin himself derives his credibility as a poet from his ties with the tradition of Jien 慈円 (1155–1225), abbot (zasu 座主) of Enryaku-ji, famous poet, and author of the historical work Gukansho 愚管抄. Jien wrote both waka and chōka on the kami of Hiyoshi Shrine, and is known to

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26 The Sanno mandala in the Nara National Museum is a case in point; the summer of the foreground contrasts with the winter of the background. Sannō-gū Mandara-zu (first half of the fifteenth century) in NARA KOKURITSU HAKUBUTSukan 1979, illustration 20.
have worshipped Sannō (MANAKA 1974, pp. 258–59). His contempor­
ary centrality in the Hiyoshi tradition can be gleaned from the fact
that his name and his poems are mentioned in the Himitsu-ki.

We are fortunate in that we have at least one text relating to reli-
gious practice at Hiyoshi Shrine around 1600: the Hie-sha norito kuden-
sho (1601), a collection of norito (prayers) used in rituals.27 Other
textual evidence (KAGEYAMA 1978, p. 284) indicates that the wedding
celebrations in Saru no sōshi followed a course similar to that of the
major rituals at Ōmiya, particularly the ritual journey of the kami to
Lake Biwa (a ritual that formed part of the Yayoi sairei, corresponding
to the present-day Sannō Festival 山王祭; see Himitsu-ki, p. 90). These
rituals began on the second day of the monkey (saru) of the third
month. Following a norito for the well-being and wealth of the emper­
or, his servants, and the people, the divine horse was led in front of
Ōmiya and the departure of the portable shrines (mikoshi 御霊舎) of the
Seven Shrines was announced. This was followed by the recitation of
three kamiuta/shinka 神歌. The journey of the kami was apparently to
Mitsu no Hama at the shore of Lake Biwa and from there by boat to
Karasaki no Ura. Ritual prayers were said and offerings made on or at
the lake and again on the way back at Kasuga no Oka 春日の岡 in front
of Ōmiya, where the protector stone of the doctrine (go-hōshi 護法石)
was located (Kuden-sho in SAGAI 1980, pp. 47ff., Himitsu-ki, p. 106).
The Himitsu-ki also mentions music, poetry, and kagura performances.

Returning to Saru no sōshi, we may first note that the date of the
yomeiri is fixed by divination at Ninomiya as the fifteenth day of the
third month. This would be a very likely day for the beginning of the
Yayoi sairei, marked by the departure of the mikoshi (the palanquins of
the ladies in Saru no sōshi). A local audience would, of course, be
aware of this date. Second, the picture of Wakagimi at Karasaki—his
first appearance in the scroll—could be a reference not only to the
legend of the Ōmiya deity, but also to the rituals and offerings on the
lake and at Karasaki (as could be the juxtaposed picture of a monkey
fisherman rowing his boat, hopeful, it seems, of a reward [go-hōbi 御褒美]
should he present his catch). Finally, while in this interpreta­
tion the chōka’s poetic form recalls the kamiuta, its function is rather
that of a norito; indeed, it is almost like a rephrasing of the terse kan- 
bun line 天地泰平四海静謐 found in the norito recited upon the return to
Ōmiya (SAGAI 1980, p. 50).

By now it should be evident that very little, if anything, was left to
chance in Saru no sōshi. It is a truly ornate, sometimes crudely encyclo-

27 Quoted extensively in SAGAI 1980, pp. 48ff.; see KAGEYAMA 1978, p. 280, on kamiuta
and Mt Hiei.
pedic, edifice of meaning, rather like a mandala. There is one major question left, however: the actual occasion for the production of the scroll. Presumably we have to look for a special moment that encompasses, so to speak, the Yayoi sairei in spring and the mukoiri and choka in autumn.

**Dating Saru no sōshi**

It is quite common for the *otogizōshi* to contain odd historical references to people and events. Such references are generally nonspecific or oblique, at least to the modern reader. In *Sarugenji no sōshi* 猿源氏草子, for example, the courtesan whom Sarugenji is courting lives at the address where the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408) is known to have kept his favorite mistress (Ruch 1971, p. 597). Such implausible references are obviously intended for their comic effect. Generally speaking such references are easily picked up by the audience only if they relate to well-known and preferably contemporary events or persons. Thus the better the producer of an *otogizōshi* knows the audience and the more confident (s)he is that it shares the same knowledge of the world in general, the more effectively (s)he can use historical references. Shibuzane’s inveterate name-dropping certainly reinforces the impression that the discourse in *Saru no sōshi* was directed toward a well-defined audience in Shiga, an impression only strengthened by the string of place-names and the entire tenor of the choka. As pointed out by Okami (see ZNE, p. 29), this abundance of historical and local references gives *Saru no sōshi* its special lively character. It also makes it possible and meaningful to speculate about the date and the specific occasion of its production.

Most if not all of the verifiable historical references in *Saru no sōshi* have been dated to the 1530s through the 1560s (ZNE and SNKBT). The crucial reference upon which most other identifications hinge is to the fact that the poet Sōyō has gone to Limori and therefore cannot attend the planned renga gathering. In actual fact, the real-life Sōyō 宗養 (1525?–1563) went to Limori 飯盛 in 1560 at the invitation of the daimyō Miyoshi Chōkei 三好長慶, a renga enthusiast, and left two renga sequences from that visit. Sōyō is also known to have traveled the Ōmi route to Echizen Province in 1559, and may even have made an appearance in Sakamoto on the way. In another possible historical reference in the preceding passage, Shibuzane considers an invitation to

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28 *Eiroku yō-nen limori senku* 永禄四年飯盛千句 (1561) and *Eiroku go-nen limori-jō Dōmyō-ji horoku hyaku-in* 永禄五年飯盛城道明寺法楽百韻 (1562), in ZNE, p. 27.
the Kanze chief actor (Kanze-dayu 観世大夫), but eventually gives it up, “because the province is in unrest due to the antagonism between north and south. Furthermore, since I have been on good terms with Lord Rokkaku for many years, what would the reaction be if it was rumored that I had invited Kanze [to perform] for a visit by my son-in-law?” (SNKBT, p. 449). Given the above reference to Sōyō, the conflict mentioned is perhaps Asai Nagamas’s 浅井長政 (1545–1573) invasion in 1565 of the southern area around Hikone, controlled by Rokkaku Yoshikata 六角義賢 (1521–1598), but I am unaware of any satisfactory explanation of this reference in this context.

It seems significant that the more specific references in Saru no soshi30 relate to renga and sarugaku no no. Familiarity with the waka in the imperial anthologies is quite evident in the chōka, with eleven or more quotations from these anthologies. Quite likely one or more people involved in such artistic pursuits participated in the production of the present scroll; they may have been priests from Hiyoshi Shrine, as suggested by Sawai (1987, p. 435). One can also speculate that the skills and knowledge of the kike 記家, chroniclers on Mt Hiei who “specialized in the study and interpretation of documents (kiroku 記録)” (Kuroda 1990, p. 143) were put to use in a larger cooperative effort. In either case, there can be no doubt that both the artistic31 and the economic means to produce a scroll like Saru no soshi were present in Sakamoto. Sixteenth-century Sakamoto thrived on its geographical position as a monzenmachi and as an entrepôt for goods to and from the Hokuriku provinces. The year after the destruction of Mt Hiei in 1571 the town’s reconstruction was ordered by Nobunaga himself. It is also potentially significant that the town’s ties with Hiyoshi Shrine were not only religious—the head priest would act as an intermediary (in a secular sense) between the townsmen and the Buddhist establishment on Mt Hiei (Tsuji 1980, p. 22).

On the assumption that the historical references in Saru no soshi would be roughly contemporaneous with the production of the scroll, scholars have hypothesized that the scroll was produced between 1565

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29 The seventh-generation head (tayu) of the Kanze school, Mototada (1509–1583) (=Sōsetsu), handed over the title to his son in 1565 before taking religious vows. His son died, however, and in 1571 he returned to serve Tokugawa Ieyasu.

30 These references provide the key to the identifications of persons mentioned by family name only, e.g., Mori, Nagao, Naoe 直江, Ouchi 大内, etc., among which only the reference to Nagao’s visit to the capital can be dated to 1553 (Tenbun 22) or, perhaps more likely, to 1559 (Eiroku 2). See SNKBT.

31 For a reference to contemporary renga in Sakamoto, see Tsuji 1980, p. 21. The official from the capital, Ninagawa Chikatoshi 蜷川親俊 (?–1569), mentions a renga gathering in Sakamoto in 1542 (Tenbun 11.1.17) during his visit to offer sutras [at Hiyoshi Shrine?] (Kuwayama 1978, p. 7).
(or possibly the early 1560s) and 1571, when Oda Nobunaga burnt
the shrines and temples on Mt Hiei (SNKBT, p. 434, Smith et al. 1990,
p. 55). It is known that in 1570 (Genki 1) all was apparently well at
Hiyoshi Shrine—when the priest Eishun from Kofuku-ji in Nara
visited he was impressed by the buildings, although he also commented
on the almost deserted appearance of the place.32 By and large, however,
the late 1560s were hardly times for optimism, let alone celebra­
tion: although in 1563 the head priest Yukimaru managed to stage a
funding appeal (kanjincho for repairing the buildings, in 1568
Nobunaga began curtailing the power of the multiplex by confiscating
some of its landholdings (McMullin 1984, p. 163). In 1570 the antag­
onism came to a head when the anti-Nobunaga forces of Asai and
Asakura were allowed to take refuge at Mt Hiei, resulting in an ultima­
tum from Nobunaga to the priests (McMullin 1984, p. 172). Indeed,
no records have been found from the 1560s of the type of major cele­
bration at Hiyoshi that might have occasioned the scroll.

On the other hand, it is well known that the fortunes of Mt Hiei
soon took a turn for the better after 1571. Not only were most of the
buildings eventually rebuilt after the death of Nobunaga in 1582
(Tenshō 10), but an important alliance was formed between Mt Hiei
and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the master of the new political order, who
sanctioned the reconstruction and whose name has been linked to
Hiyoshi Shrine. This was followed by another alliance with Tokugawa
Ieyasu, which culminated in 1615 with the shrine’s conferral upon
Ieyasu of the exalted title Tōshō Daigongen (Great Incarnation [Avatar] Shining over the East) (Ooms 1985, p. 59). Given
such historical developments, we should at least consider what evi­
dence, if any, supports a post-1571 date for the scroll.

It is, indeed, from this perspective that the contemporary head
priest Hafūribe Yukimaru appears as a credible real-life model for
Saru no sōshi’s Shibuzane.33 Almost nothing is known of his life before
1571, but judging from his reaction to Nobunaga’s destruction of
Hiyoshi Shrine he must have been a strong-willed person of unrelent­
ing purpose. In 1575 (Tenshō 3) he was among the first priests to
return to Mt Hiei, and became the prime mover in the reconstruction
of Hiyoshi Shrine. By then he was already in his sixties, and it is only
natural that he would be anxious to ensure that records of the
shrine’s pantheon, rituals, teachings, and buildings would remain
should he die before the reconstruction was completed. As it hap­

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32 In Tamon’in nikki 多聞院日記, quoted in Shiga-ken no chimei 滋賀県の地名, p. 201; see Sagai 1977, p. 59.
33 The following account of Yukimaru’s life is based mainly on Sagai 1977.
In repeated petitions for authorization and support relating to the reconstruction, Yukimaru cleverly used the historical and religious association of the Hiyoshi Shrine and the imperial house. After Oda Nobunaga’s death in 1582 the recovery gained pace. In 1583 (Tenshō 11) the shrine held the first Yayoi sairei since the destruction, and in the fourth month of 1585 the rebuilding or Ōmiya was begun. In the fourth month [?] of 1589 (Tenshō 17) new mikoshi for Ōmiya and Shōshinshì took part in the annual Yayoi sairei; in 1589 Yukimaru reported the building of the living quarters for the head priest. Finally, in 1591 (Tenshō 18) Yukimaru engineered the resumption of the visits of the imperial messenger to Hiyoshi Shrine after a lapse of more than a hundred years (SAGAI 1977, pp. 67 ff.).

Although the dates for these historical events do not quite match the dates of the celebrations (particularly the miyamairi) in Saru no sōshi, several of them would have presented very suitable occasions for the production of the scroll. This is particularly true of the 1589 completion of the mikoshi for the two central deities, which effectively marked the full resumption of the rituals described above and which would seem to fit the scroll’s auspicious and powerful exposition of the Hiyoshi Shrine, and of Ōmiya in particular. By then Hafuribe Yukimaru must have appeared a truly remarkable figure, worthy to be cast in the role of Shibuzane, the protector of the divine unity of Mt Hiei. Indeed, as we have seen in Himitsu-ki from 1577, Yukimaru himself may have provided some of the ideological inspiration for Saru no sōshi. The scroll would have been a tribute to him, to the restored Ōmiya, and to Hiyoshi Shrine in general. The birth of his grandson Yukimasa 行正 in 1585 would have added to the overall similarity.

Finally, it should be noted that the later dating of 1585–91 would match the admittedly inconclusive records of the painter Mitsuzumi, to whom, as mentioned above, the scroll was attributed at a later period. An art historical assessment of Saru no sōshi, together with an assessment of Mitsuzumi’s oeuvre, might shed some light on this aspect of the scroll.

34 SAGAI (1979, pp. 24–25) points out another of Yukimaru’s possible rewritings of tradition.
35 Interestingly, TAJIMA (1974, pp. 50ff.) has suggested a similar backdating of another apparently contemporary Tendai Shinto popular “production,” Saru shika sange monogatari [A story of the confessions of a monkey and a deer], for reasons similar to those that I am suggesting here: the text is internally dated to 1571, but Tajima believes that a date several decades later is more in keeping with its optimistic joyful poems, etc.
36 The lack of both material and research relating to medieval Tendai Shinto makes it next to impossible, of course, to assess the extent to which Yukimaru modified tradition.
This leaves unanswered, however, the question of the historical references in *Saru no sōshi*. If the scroll dates from the 1580s, why did the producers choose to refer to people who had, for the most part, been dead for one or two decades? Perhaps the aim was to take the sting out of the satirical aspect—after all, the character of Shibuzane is somewhat conceited and pompous, as indeed Yukimaru might well have been. The historical persons and places referred to were by 1590 almost all readily associated with opposition to Nobunaga. In fact, most, if not all, of the persons mentioned fared badly at his hands: Rokkaku (Yoshikata) was defeated by Nobunaga in 1570; Asai Nagamasa, under attack by one of Nobunaga’s armies, committed suicide in 1573; Matsunaga Hisahide, a vassal, was put to death by Nobunaga in 1577 for betrayal; the Mōri family fought Nobunaga in sea battles and was defeated in 1578; Nagao (Uesugi Kenshin) engaged in ongoing conflict with Nobunaga and finally died of illness in 1578; the poet Sōyō associated with Miyoshi Chōkei (1523–1564), an anti-Nobunaga daimyō. The Kanze-dayu Sōetsu of the 1560s showed some foresight by taking employment with Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1571. In 1590 these persons would still be remembered, so that referring to them would presumably have had the desired comic effect.

Still, it may be an oversimplification to read the historical references in *Saru no sōshi* as a postmortem political statement against Nobunaga—there was by no means a consensus at the time regarding the reasons for the destruction of the Hiei multiplex in 1571. Yukimaru, for one, seems to have been of the opinion that the priests of Enryaku-ji, by allowing the troops of Asai and Asakura to take refuge on Mt Hiei, defiled the mountain and thereby brought on the catastrophe (Tajima 1974, pp. 54ff.). Rather, the references appear to be a more general comment on the actions of someone associated with Ōmiya. For those who remembered and understood, might not these old references have brought home all the more forcefully the point that only Hiyoshi (and more generally Mt Hiei) had managed to

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37 The Lord Asai who presented Shibuzane with a writing table may be identified as Asai Nagamasa.

38 The Matsunaga mentioned in the account of the tea container Tsukumo has been identified as Matsunaga Hisahide (1510–1577), who became governor of Yamashina Province in 1560 (Eiroku 3; see ZNF). Matsunaga is likely to have acquired Tsukumo during the 1536 attack by Mt Hiei monks on Nichiren temples in Kyoto. It passed through Oda Nobunaga’s hands before finally disappearing. For good at Honnō-ji in 1582.

39 The Mori family fought Nobunaga in sea battles and was defeated in 1578; the poet Sōyō associated with Miyoshi Chōkei (1523–1564), an anti-Nobunaga daimyō. The Kanze-dayu Sōetsu of the 1560s showed some foresight by taking employment with Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1571. In 1590 these persons would still be remembered, so that referring to them would presumably have had the desired comic effect.

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39 The Mori mentioned in *Saru no sōshi* is presumably Mōri Motonari (1497-1571), who received fiefs in Tsukushi (Kyūshū) in the provinces of Buzen and Chikuzen.

40 It is thought that the Nagao referred to in the text is Uesugi Kenshin (1530-1578), who is known to have visited the capital in 1559.
revive? If so, even the date of Wakagimi’s *miyamairi* may eventually receive its own interpretation: the sixteenth day of the ninth month is *three* (the favorite Tendai number) days after the date Oda Nobunaga destroyed Hiei, a date that no one on Mt Hiei or in Sakamoto could possibly have forgotten.\(^{41}\)

All in all it seems likely that *Saru no soshi* was part of the larger picture, yet to be established,\(^{42}\) of intense intellectual and political activity spearheaded by Hafuribe Yukimaru that accompanied the rebuilding of the Hiyoshi Shrine. Such activity is likely to have formed in some measure the background for Tenkai’s 天海 launching of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto 山王一実神道 (KUBOTA 1964), and hence for the start of a new era in Tendai Shinto doctrine.\(^{43}\)

**ABBREVIATIONS OF PRIMARY SOURCES**

<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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\(^{41}\) Yukimaru returns to this date and its events again and again in his writings, e.g., in the very opening paragraph of *Hie-sha shintō himitsu ki*.

\(^{42}\) Indeed, the whole Tendai Shinto tradition and its literary-religious interface is as yet almost uncharted territory. See TAJMA 1986.

\(^{43}\) Editor’s note: See the following article on Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto by Sugahara Shinkai.
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