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## Officials of the Afterworld

### Ono no Takamura and the Ten Kings of Hell in the *Chikurinji engi* Illustrated Scrolls

*Takamurayama Chikurinji engi emaki* is a two-scroll *emaki* preserved at Chikurinji, a Shingon temple in Nyūno, Hiroshima prefecture, and dated to the Muromachi period. The first scroll of *Chikurinji engi* begins with the story of the founding of the temple by Gyōki; Ono no Takamura's mysterious birth; and the early stages of Takamura's life as a courtier. This paper focuses on the second of the two scrolls, which recounts the death of Takamura's father-in-law, his tour through hell, and his encounter there with Takamura, identified as the third of the Ten Kings of Hell. In particular, the paper looks into the development of Takamura's hell-legend, as well as the juxtaposition in the second *Chikurinji engi* scroll of early medieval motifs of hell with the cult of the Ten Kings. My comparison of the scroll with other medieval Japanese visual and literary sources, such as *setsuwa*, hell paintings, and sculptures of the Ten Kings and Enma, reveals that the *emaki* illustrates a representation of the afterworld that is typical of images from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

KEYWORDS: *Takamurayama Chikurinji engi emaki*—Chikurinji—Ten Kings of Hell—Ono no Takamura—Enma—Hell Paintings

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**T**AKAMURAYAMA *Chikurinji engi emaki* 篁山竹林寺縁起絵巻 (hereafter *Chikurinji engi*) is a two-scroll *emaki* preserved at Chikurinji, a Shingon temple in Nyūno 入野, Hiroshima prefecture, a place traditionally known as the birthplace of Ono no Takamura 小野篁.<sup>1</sup> The temple's main hall, which was completed in 1543, is designated today as an Important Cultural Property.<sup>2</sup> The scrolls have been dated by scholars to the Muromachi period. A copy made in 1638 has also been preserved at Chikurinji; furthermore, the temple owns a set of three hanging scrolls dating from the mid- to late-Edo period, while a mid-Edo period copy of the text is presently in the possession of Hiroshima University.

*Chikurinji engi* opens with the founding of the temple by Gyōki 行基, but much of it deals with the life of Ono no Takamura, who, according to the *engi*, was born mysteriously from a virgin who was a devotee of the temple. Though renowned as a courtier and scholar of the Heian period, Takamura is also famed for having been an official at the Court of Enma in hell, and for having traveled freely between this world and the afterworld. In *Chikurinji engi*, he is identified as Sōtei-ō 宋帝王, the third of the Ten Kings of Hell who preside at the entrance of the afterworld assigning souls to one or another of the six realms of existence.

This paper focuses on the second of the two *Chikurinji engi* scrolls in order to examine the evolution of Ono no Takamura's legend and images of hell in the late medieval period. In particular, I wish to look into the rather awkward juxtaposition of early medieval motifs with the cult of the Ten Kings as revealed in the scroll: in the earlier part, Enma 閻魔 is presented in his court without the Ten Kings, but this is followed thereafter by an abrupt introduction of Takamura as the third "official" (Sōtei-ō) with an emphasis on the Ten Kings. It is only through a close examination of the scrolls within the context of contemporary images of hell and the Ten Kings that this enigma can be explained.

### *Chikurinji engi and the Medieval Narratives of Ono no Takamura*

Ono no Takamura (802–852) was a scholar, poet, and courtier of the early Heian period. He is known as the leading poet of his time, renowned particularly for his

1. Monochrome reproduction and full text of the scrolls can be found in *Chikurinji engi* 1967, 138–82. The scrolls are also available in full color in the Hiroshima University Digital Museum.

2. 1543 is the year in which Hiraga Okisada of the powerful ruling family of Aki Province (present-day Hiroshima Prefecture) is known to have revived the temple (BUNKAZAI KENZŌBUTSU HOZON GIJUTSU KYŌKAI 1989, 3–4).



FIGURE 1. The Court of Enma. From *Chikurinji engi emaki* (Muromachi period). Courtesy of Chikurinji Temple and Hiroshima University Library.

erudition in Chinese. Most interestingly, he appears in Heian- and Kamakura-period *setsuwa* 説話 as an official of Enma's court (ASANO 1987; MATSUMOTO 1987; TANAKA 2002). *Chikurinji engi* reveals interesting developments that the Takamura legends pertaining to Enma and the Ten Kings had undergone by the late medieval period. The first *Chikurinji engi* scroll begins by telling of the founding of the temple by Gyōki. It then goes on to tell of the life of Ono no Takamura, beginning with his mysterious birth, his successful marriage to the daughter of the regent Ono no Yoshisuke (a.k.a. Yoshimi) 小野良相, and his achievements as a talented poet and court official who was sent on several missions to China, where he even impressed the famed Tang-period poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (Hakurakuten 白樂天) (*Chikurinji engi* 1967, 141–61).

The second *Chikurinji engi* scroll begins with the sudden death of Takamura's father-in-law, Ono no Yoshisuke. Yoshisuke is first taken to the Court of Enma, where he sees the deceased condemned for their crimes (FIGURE 1). He then takes a tour through the Eight Great Hells (*hachi dai-jigoku* 八大地獄; FIGURE 9), the Eight Cold Hells (*hakkan jigoku* 八寒地獄; FIGURE 10), and the Four Additional Hells (*shishu no zōjigoku* 四種の増地獄; FIGURE 11), where he witnesses the terrible tortures endured there. As one of the wardens is about to push Yoshisuke down into one of the great hells, the third official of hell, Sōtei-ō, appears and whispers to him, "You must tell him that you had vowed to copy the *Daihan-nya sutra* during your lifetime, but have not yet completed your vow" (*Chikurinji engi* 1967, 171) (FIGURES 5 and 6). As Yoshisuke sees Sōtei-ō's face, he realizes that Sōtei-ō is his son-in-law Takamura. Takamura tells him,

I was born in the human world in order to save sentient beings. I was born from a lowly woman in the countryside in order to save commoners (*banmin* 万民). In order to benefit those in the “upper realm,” I formed a karmic bond with you and served the lord [the emperor]. I spend day and night wandering in the human world, saving sentient beings. Then, when I am asleep, I return to the afterworld to pass judgment upon people’s sins. This is my vow. Do not reveal this to anybody. (Chikurinji engi 1967, 173; FIGURE 4)

Yoshisuke is then returned to life. However, after having completed the copying of the sutra, Yoshisuke describes what he saw in hell to his daughter and says, “Takamura is the third official of hell. Do not treat him lightly” (FIGURE 5). In the autumn of 852, the daughter asks her husband if it is true that he is Sōtei-ō of hell (FIGURE 6). Having learned that his father-in-law had broken his promise, Takamura calls out,

How regrettable that I, though being a great king of the ten heavens, was born in this world in order to save sentient beings, and am thereby called the subject of a small country (*shōkoku no shinka* 小国の臣下). (Chikurinji engi 1967, 175–77)

Takamura then leaves Yoshisuke’s mansion, runs toward Higashiyama, and in front of Otagidera 愛宕寺, kicks the ground and disappears into the afterworld (FIGURE 7). The scroll explains:

This hole is still there; the place where Takamura disappeared is called the Crossroads of the Six Realms (*rokudō no tsuji* 六道の辻), and is believed to be right above the palace of Enma. People of Kyoto gather here and celebrate the *urabon* 盂蘭盆 every year during the seventh month. (Chikurinji engi 1967, 177)<sup>3</sup>

The *emaki* goes on to narrate an incident that happened at Chikurinji one hundred years after the death of Takamura. In the summer of 951, a monk appears and says, “This is the temple of Kannon and the sanctuary of the Ten Kings. I have come to fulfill the vows of Gyōki and Sōtei-ō.” He carves statues of Jizō 地藏, nine of the Ten Kings of Hell, and the local mountain deity (FIGURES 11 and 12). He places them next to the statue of Kannon 観音, renames the temple Chikurinji, and then disappears. Later, a statue of the tenth king appears during the night, completing the set. People realize that the monk had been an incarnation of Ono no Takamura, and that one of the statues was a miraculous living

3. Otagidera is the present-day Rokudō Chinnōji 六道珍皇寺 in Higashiyama, Kyoto. According to *Konjaku monogatari shū*, this temple was founded by Ono no Takamura. It also appears in *Iroha jiruishō* as a temple built by Takamura. Hence, by the late Heian period, it was closely associated with Takamura. The temple owns images of both Enma and Ono no Takamura, and also has a well through which Takamura is said to have made his passage to and from the afterworld.



FIGURE 2.



FIGURE 3.



FIGURE 4.

FIGURES 2-4. Yoshisuke meets Sōtei-ō (Takamura). From *Chikurinji engi emaki* (Muromachi period). Courtesy of Chikurinji Temple and Hiroshima University Library.

transformation (*shōjin* 生身) of the king. *Chikurinji engi* concludes by emphasizing the temple's holiness and commenting upon people's veneration of it:

Those with bad karma cannot visit the temple. Some feel ill in body and mind at the foot of the mountain. Others climb to the top of the hill, then see a great river with big waves and go insane. Yet others get to the gate and fall dead on the street. Even though some make it to the temple hall, they can only see darkness before their eyes and cannot see the Buddha. Many are such as these, but if one succeeds in worshipping at the temple even once, one will live at peace during one's lifetime under the protection of Kannon, and in the afterlife, the Ten Kings will lead one to a good rebirth. Therefore, on the ninth of the first month of each year, people high and low offer their wealth to obtain the auspices of the temple's amulet (*goō no hōin* 牛王法印). The temple is a very holy place.

(*Chikurinji engi* 1967, 179-81; FIGURE 8)



FIGURE 5. Yoshisuke completes the sutra. From *Chikurinji engi emaki* (Muromachi period). Courtesy of Chikurinji Temple and Hiroshima University Library.

FIGURE 6. Takamura learns that Yoshisuke has told the secret to his daughter. From *Chikurinji engi emaki* (Muromachi period). Courtesy of Chikurinji Temple and Hiroshima University Library.



FIGURE 7. Takamura leaves and disappears into a hole. From *Chikurinji engi emaki* (Muromachi period). Courtesy of Chikurinji Temple and Hiroshima University Library.



FIGURE 8. Takamurayama Chikurinji. From *Chikurinji engi emaki* (Muromachi period). Courtesy of Chikurinji Temple and Hiroshima University Library.

The legend that Ono no Takamura was an official at Enma's palace appears in a number of *setsuwa* from the late Heian period and after. In *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集 (20–45), for example, there is a tale titled, “How Ono no Takamura Saved the Minister Nishisanjō Out of Mercy” (*Konjaku monogatari shū*, 309–11). According to this story, Fujiwara no Yoshisuke of Nishisanjō becomes seriously ill, suffers for a few days, and then suddenly passes away. He is immediately apprehended by the messengers of King Enma and taken to Enma's palace. There he sees Takamura seated among the king's officials, with a scepter in his hand. As Yoshisuke is sentenced to punishment, Takamura appeals to Enma: “This minister of Japan has a righteous mind and has been good to his people. Please forgive him on account of me.” To this, Enma responds: “That is very difficult, but since you ask, I shall release him.” Yoshisuke is immediately taken back and revived. Later, Yoshisuke asks Takamura about the incident at Enma's palace. With a slight smile, Takamura responds, “I was appreciative of what you did for me in the past [Yoshisuke had defended Takamura when he was accused of a crime some years before], and I wanted to express my gratitude to you.” Yoshisuke thereby learns that Takamura is no ordinary man, but a subject (*shin* 臣) of King Enma. The news spreads widely and people are frightened to learn that Takamura travels between this world and the afterworld as a subject of King Enma. In a similar story in *Gōdanshō* 江談抄, also from the late Heian period, Takamura is identified more specifically as the second official (*myōkan* 冥官) at the Court of Enma. In this version, he saves his friend Fujiwara no Takafuji, who had died a sudden death (*Gōdanshō*, 577–78).

The preceding two tales, both of which date from the twelfth century, are the oldest surviving examples of the legend of Takamura associated with the Court or Palace of Enma. In both stories, a person who has some kind of a relationship with Takamura dies and goes to the palace of King Enma. He then finds

Takamura, who is there as an official, and Takamura, for his part, recognizes the deceased. Finally, Takamura intercedes with Enma, and the person revives. This plot is typical of many of the later legends of Takamura as well. By the late Kamakura and Muromachi periods, Takamura's legend had been further elaborated. A short biography of Takamura in the mid-fourteenth-century chronicle *Teiō hennenki* 帝王編年記, for example, describes him thus: "During the daytime, he stays in Japan (*Nihonkoku* 日本国). At night, he serves as an official at the Court of Enma. He is said to have had two lives, and to have been an incarnation of Monju 文殊 (Mañjuśrī, the bodhisattva of wisdom)" (*Teiō hennenki*, 200). The fourteenth-century *Yata Jizō engi-e* 矢田地蔵縁起絵 similarly explains that "whereas Takamura's body resides in Japan (*honchō* 本朝), his spirit serves at the Court of Enma" (*Yata Jizō engi-e*, 65).

Of the numerous *setsuwa* that associate Takamura with the afterworld, the one closest to *Chikurinji engi* is the version in the fifteenth-century *Sangoku denki* 三国伝記 (*Sangoku denki*, 284–85). *Sangoku denki* describes Takamura as an incarnation of the third official of the Palace of Enma, and notes that his body serves the Imperial Court while his spirit travels to the afterworld. He marries the daughter of Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Mimori (a.k.a. Tadamori) 藤原三守. One day, Mimori falls ill. Knowing that Mimori is destined for hell, Takamura tells him that he should make a vow to copy the *Daihannyakyō* (Skt. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sutra*) before he dies. Mimori does as he is told, and then dies. When he arrives at the Palace of Enma and awaits judgment, the third official, Takamura, announces that this sinner has vowed to copy the *Daihannya sutra*. The other officials are therefore pleased to return Mimori to the world of the living.

The *Sangoku denki* story resembles the *Chikurinji engi* tale in many ways: Takamura's father-in-law dies suddenly; Takamura is identified as the third official at the Court of Enma; and, most significantly, Takamura suggests that Mimori/Yoshisuke make a vow to copy the *Daihannya sutra*. It is important to note that this last detail is not found in any of the other Takamura tales.

### *King Enma's Court and the Hells*

#### THE COURT OF KING ENMA

The second *Chikurinji engi* scroll opens with an account of Ono no Yoshisuke's sudden death and his arrival at the Palace of Enma (FIGURE 1). The palace is described as the place where "the officials and servants of the afterworld (*myōkan myōshu* 冥官冥衆) are lined up to pass judgments depending on the weight of sins." Of those who are present in front of the officials, some remain wandering in the "intermediate existence" (*chū'u* 中有), others are shot like an arrow into the air to the divided paths of the six realms, and still others are headed to the Court



of Enma to meet his judgment. This image of the court as a place with many officials serving the king had been prominent in *setsuwa* since the Heian period.

At the Court of Enma, those whose good and evil karma are unclear are to be tested in different ways. *Chikurinji engi* explains that a person

may be taken to the Jōhari mirror (*jōhari no kagami* 淨玻璃の鏡), which reveals every moment of [one's] actions, or placed on the karma scale (*gōhei* 業秤), which weighs the sins, or may be shown the plaque of good and evil (*zen'aku no fuda* 善惡の札), on the surface of which [one will find] the truth of the charges against one. (*Chikurinji engi* 1967, 161–63)

In the painting that follows the written text (FIGURE 1), King Enma is portrayed in a white robe and Chinese-style cap, seated in a chair. Also depicted in the scene are two officials and two *oni*, as well as three naked men: one seated in front of Enma, next to one of the officials; the other tied with a rope held by one of the *oni* and seated in front of the Jōhari mirror; and the other bound to the karma scale. There is one other man in a white undergarment, seated next to an official and in front of the good and evil plaque. This man must be Yoshisuke.

The Court or Palace of Enma appears in numerous *setsuwa* tales as the entrance to hell, and the plaque of good and evil has also been mentioned in many sources since the Heian period (WAKABAYASHI 2004, 298–305). The plaque of good and evil, for example, is described in *Konjaku monogatari shū* as being one *jō* 丈 (approx. 3 meters) tall and two *shaku* 尺 (60 cm) wide, with a list of sins inscribed in large characters on its surface (NKBT 23: 240–44). The plaque is also found in illustrations of the Court of Enma in early Kamakura-period works such as *Kitano Tenjin engi* 北野天神縁起 (*Kitano Tenjin engi*, 32).

Interestingly, there are several motifs in the *Chikurinji engi* depictions of Enma's court that show that the scrolls were produced later. First and foremost among these is the visual representation of King Enma himself. He is portrayed as a Chinese-style king, seated in a chair behind a desk. While this is an image familiar to many of us today, it does not appear until later in the Kamakura period, with the introduction of paintings of the Ten Kings of Hell from China. These paintings of the Ten Kings, which were produced in large quantities at the port of Ningbo in southern China during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were exported to Korea and Japan and became the principal prototype for Japanese depictions of the Ten Kings (KAJITANI 1974). Until then, we rarely find visual references to Enma. In the thirteenth-century scroll *Nōe Hōshi ekotoba* 能恵法師絵詞, for example, Enma is not depicted; according to the text, his voice is heard from behind a screen.

The Jōhari mirror and the karma scale, too, were introduced with the Ten Kings of Hell as props specific to certain kings. In the tenth-century Chinese

*Scripture of the Ten Kings* (*Bussetsu Jizō bosatsu hosshin innen jūōkyō* 仏説地藏菩薩發心因緣十王經) and its Japanese counterpart, *Jizō jūōkyō* 地藏十王經, written sometime between 1100 and 1300, the karma scale is mentioned in connection with the fourth king, Gokan-ō 五官王, and the karma mirror in connection with the fifth king, Enma-ō (DNZ 1, 404–7). We find these motifs in paintings of the Ten Kings of Hell by Chinese artists as well as in Japanese copies of the Chinese Ten Kings. For example, in the painting of the Ten Kings in Jōfukuji 淨福寺 by Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (dated 1489), which draws largely on motifs from the Chinese works, we find the mirror and the scale in the paintings of Enma and Gokan-ō, respectively.

What is notable in *Chikurinji engi* is that both the mirror and the scale are placed in the Court of Enma, and no other kings are depicted anywhere in the court or discussed in the text. This compression of motifs from the Ten Kings paintings is not unique to *Chikurinji engi*. There is a scene in the fourteenth-century *Kasuga Gongen genki-e* 春日權現驗記絵, for example, in which both the mirror and the scale are depicted in Enma's court. This is the earliest visual compression of the Court of Enma that I have found so far, containing the King, the mirror, and the scale all in one scene.

However, in the *Kasuga Gongen genki-e*, Enma is not portrayed in the typical Chinese style, but with symbolism that suggests “foreignness” or “otherworldliness” as found in depictions of dragon kings and foreign kings. By the sixteenth century, we find more examples. The *Jikkai-zu* 十界図 (Illustration of the ten realms) at Taimadera 当麻寺 and the *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* 熊野勸進十界曼荼羅 both date from the sixteenth century, and they both depict Enma (in the guise of a Chinese official), the mirror, and the scale compressed into one segment of the painting that symbolizes the entrance to the six realms (*rokudō* 六道). Another example is the *Yata Jizō maitzuki nikki e* 矢田地藏毎月日記絵, also from the sixteenth century, which exists in the same handscroll format as *Chikurinji engi*. The scroll shows the bodhisattva Jizō taking a person (presumably the viewer) through the various realms each month, relieving the suffering encountered there, and eventually leading him to the Pure Land. In a scene labeled “Ninth month ... saved from the suffering of the karma scale,” we find a hell warden holding a rope binding a sinner, the karma mirror, and the karma scale all depicted in one scene (*Yata Jizō maitzuki nikki e*, 66–67). The scene of the Court of Enma in *Chikurinji engi* may be classified along with this as a type of “compressed representation.”

### *Depictions of Hell in Chikurinji engi*

Rather than dwelling upon Enma's court, *Chikurinji engi* continues by reporting extensively upon the various hells that Yoshisuke sees. Descriptive hell

paintings had been quite common since the Heian period (NAKANO 1989; MIYA 1988; HIRASAWA 2008). The Japanese developed a great interest in Chinese Buddhist hells introduced by such writings as Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集, and paintings and narratives were made based on the descriptions found in these writings. The earliest surviving examples are contained in *Jigoku zōshi* 地獄草紙, dating from the mid-twelfth and thirteenth centuries, fragments of which are presently kept in the Nara National Museum, the Tokyo National Museum, and multiple private collections (*Jigoku zōshi*). Each scene consists of a textual portion stating the name of the hell, the sins committed by those who go there, and the types of torture that sinners suffer therein. Each section of text is followed by an illustration that depicts the sinner(s) being tortured in the hell. Many of the descriptions and illustrations are based on the vivid descriptions of hell in sutras such as the *Kisekyō* 起世經 and the *Shōbōnenjokyō* 正法念處經, upon which Genshin, too, drew for his descriptions of hell in *Ōjōyōshū*.

*Ōjōyōshū* became a major source for the visual representation of hell from the Kamakura period onwards. The thirteenth-century *rokudō-e* (Paintings of the six realms) at Shōjūraigōji 聖衆來迎寺 is one such example. It is a set of fifteen hanging scrolls, four of which contain scenes of hell, and one of which depicts the Court of Enma. At the top of each scroll is a square sheet on which a description of each hell is inscribed; much in these descriptions is based on *Ōjōyōshū*. Similarly, many of the other paintings of hell and the six realms from the Kamakura and Muromachi periods are faithful visual representations of the realms as described in *Ōjōyōshū*. Several sets of *Ōjōyōshū emaki* are also known to have been made by the Muromachi period. By the Edo period, *Ōjōyōshū* became the subject of illustrated books, which were printed and widely circulated (MIYA 1988, 56–58).

By the Kamakura period, we also find depictions of hell incorporated into narrative tales, as seen in *Kitano Tenjin engi* and *Kasuga Gongen genki-e*. In *Kitano Tenjin engi*, for example, the monk Nichizō 日藏 is taken by an *oni* (who presumably is the spirit of Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真, turned into a thunder god after his death) on a tour through the six realms (*Kitano Tenjin engi*, 33–43). By the Muromachi period, the “tour of hell” had become a popular means of encouraging faith among people (KIMBROUGH 2006, 269–72). With the development of *etoki* 絵解き, or “picture explanation” performances, the audience could actually experience the tour as they listened and followed the professional reader explaining each scene to them.

By the thirteenth century, we find the Ten Kings integrated into narrative paintings of hell and the six realms. For example, in the triptych of screens depicting the six realms (*rokudō-zu* 六道図) from Gokurakuji 極楽寺, which the art historian Takasu Jun refers to as the *Rokudō Jūō-zu* 六道十王図, the Ten Kings

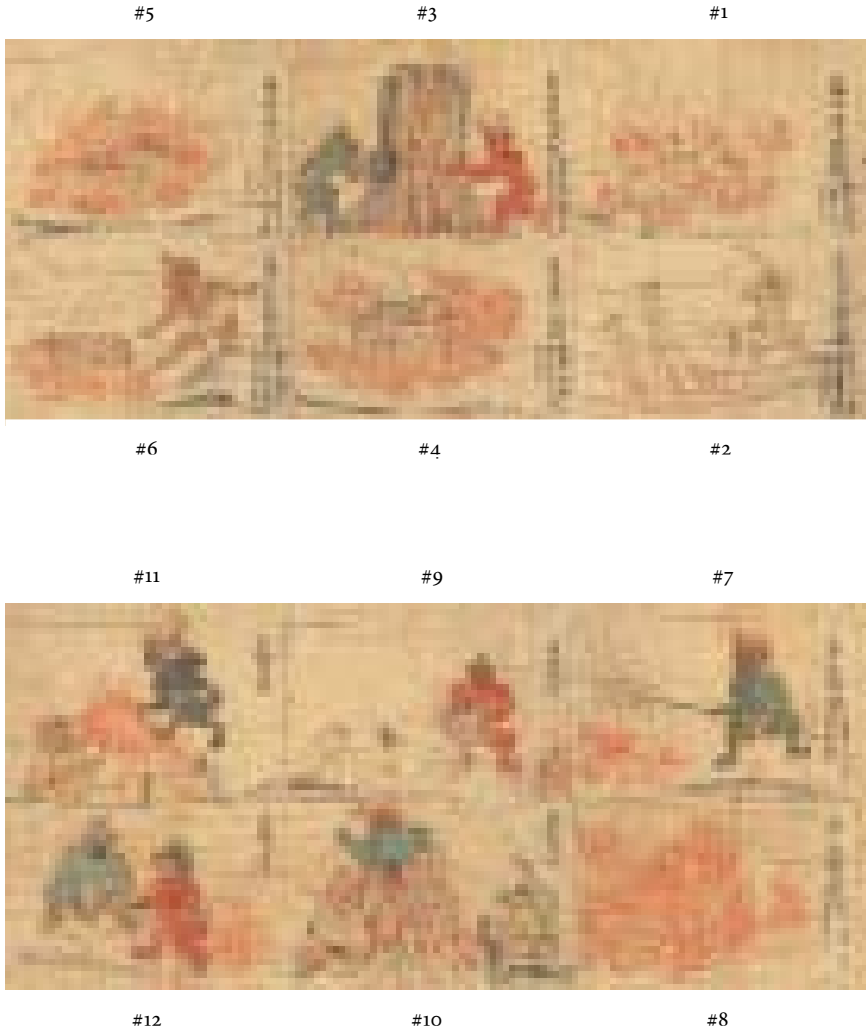


FIGURE 9. The Eight Great Hells. From *Chikurinji engi emaki* (Muromachi period). Courtesy of Chikurinji Temple and Hiroshima University Library.

are clearly modeled after the earlier Chinese models, illustrated at the top with their *honjibutsu* 本地仏 (the individual Buddhas of which they are incarnations) inscribed in writing, while the rest of the painting illustrates the six realms, with a particular emphasis on hell (TAKASU 1992, 1993, and 1997). In these paintings, the greatest emphasis is placed on the illustration of hell, in which figures such as Mokuren 目連 are depicted to enhance the paintings' narrative content. In the narrative context of these paintings, we might say that the Court of the Ten Kings serves as an "entrance" to the six realms. In *Chikurinji engi*, too, the Court of Enma serves as a prologue to the extensive "tour of hell" that follows.

As mentioned above, the description of hell in *Chikurinji engi* is divided into three sections: the Eight Great Hells, the Eight Cold Hells, and the Four Additional Hells. The text preceding each scene offers a brief description of the hells. In the painting following the text, a horizontal line divides the paper in half; vertical lines further divide the paper into twelve, eight, and four boxes, respectively, each illustrating a different hell. Yoshisuke does not appear in any of these hells. In other words, the scenes of hell are descriptive rather than narrative, consisting of individual blocks or "snapshots" of the hells. In this sense, it is compositionally similar to the twelfth-century *Jigoku zōshi*.

(1) *The Eight Great Hells* (*Chikurinji engi* 1967, 163–65). First, the Eight Great Hells are illustrated in twelve boxes (FIGURE 9):

1. *Tōkatsu jigoku* 等活地獄 (Skt. *Sañjīva*), The Hell of Repeated Resuscitation. According to the text, the sinners who fall into this hell suffer from flames of immense heat. They die at one moment, then revive again in the next. The illustration shows sinners writhing in flames.

2. *Kokujō jigoku* 黒縄地獄 (Skt. *Kālasūtra*), The Hell of Black Cords. In this hell, sinners are bound by hot iron cords, and their bodies and minds are incinerated. In the painting, we can see three sinners tied with a rope held by the warden.

3. *Shūgō jigoku* 衆合地獄 (Skt. *Samghāta*), The Crushing Hell. Here, sinners are chased into a valley between hot iron mountains. The mountains are then pushed together by the hell wardens, crushing the people between them. Blood and pus flow like oil.

4. *Teikyō* 啼叫 (*Kyōkan* 叫喚) *jigoku* (Skt. *Raurava*), The Screaming Hell. In order to escape from suffering, the sinners here look for a place to hide. They find an iron room, but just as they enter it, the room is engulfed in flames. As the sinners' bodies burn, their screams resemble the sound of thunder. The painting shows sinners inside a flaming house.

5. *Daiteikyō* 大啼叫 (*Daikyōkan* 大叫喚) *jigoku* (Skt. *Mahāraurava*), The Great Screaming Hell. The torture is the same as in *Teikyō jigoku*, but the sinners' screaming is louder. Here again we find burning houses, with flames slightly larger than the ones in the previous scene.

TABLE 1. Hells not depicted in *Chikurinji engi* that appear in other paintings and illustrated works. (None of these hells appear in any of the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century paintings listed in TABLE 2.)

Hells not depicted in <i>Chikurinji engi</i>	Mizunoo Mirokudō Rokudō Jūō-zu	Idemitsu A (Jūō jigoku-zu)	Ōjōyōshū emaki	Taimadera Jikkai-zu	Idemitsu B (Rokudō-e)	Chinnōji Kumano mandara	Chōgakuji Rokudō Jūō-zu	Yata Jizō engi	Kumano karjin jikkai mandara
	14 <sup>th</sup> c.	14 <sup>th</sup> c.	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	16 <sup>th</sup> –17 <sup>th</sup> c.
Sai no Kawara					x	x	x		x
Hell of Two Serpent Women							x		x
Blood Pond Hell						x	x		x
Hell for Barren Women						x	x		x
Datsueba	x	x			x	x	x		x

6. *Ennetsu jigoku* 炎熱地獄 (Skt. *Tapana*), The Flaming Hot Hell. In this hell, the hell wardens place sinners on a hot iron board and grill them like fish. The sinner in the painting is laid upon a flaming grill.

7. *Gokunetsu jigoku* 極熱地獄 (Skt. *Pratāpana*), The Hell of Extreme Heat. The wardens here use a three-pronged hot iron skewer to pierce sinners from the bottom to the top. The painting shows a warden holding a skewer and broiling a sinner over flames.

8–12. *Muken jigoku* 無間地獄 (Skt. *Avīci*), The Hell of No Respite. Flaming thorns appear from the ten directions to burn the bodies of sinners, who are quickly reduced to ashes and coal. The ashes are placed in an iron winnowing basket and sifted, and then turned back into humans. The reconstituted sinners are then chased up and down an iron mountain; the wardens pull out their tongues with pliers and stretch them like cowhide, using one hundred nails to nail them down. Finally, the sinners are laid on the hot iron ground, facing up. Their mouths are pried open with tongs, and burning iron balls are forced inside. Molten copper is poured down their throats, and it flows through all their organs. Illustration #8 depicts sinners burning in flames; #9 shows hell wardens sifting something with a winnowing basket beside two naked people; #10 shows sinners being dragged by the wardens up a mountain; #11 shows a man tied to a pole, while his tongue is stretched out and nailed to the ground; and #12 shows a

TABLE 2

<i>Chikuriniji engi</i>	<i>Oyōshū</i>	<i>Jigoku zōshi</i>	<i>Kitano tenjin engi</i>	<i>Shōjūraigōji Rokudo-e</i>	<i>Gokurakujū Rokudo-e</i>	<i>Eikandō Zen-rinji Jikkai-zu</i>	<i>Kasuga Gongen genki-e</i>	<i>Mizunoo Mitokudo Rokudo Jū-zu</i>	<i>Idemitsu A (Iuo Jigoku-zu)</i>	<i>Oyōshū emaki</i>	<i>Taimadera Jikkai-zu</i>	<i>Idemitsu B (Rokudo-e)</i>	<i>Chi-mōji Ku-mano mandara</i>	<i>Chōgakujū Rokudo Jū-zu</i>	<i>Yata Jūzō mai tsuki nikki e</i>	<i>Kumano Kanjin Jikkai mandara</i>
Muromachi period?	985	12 <sup>th</sup> c.	13 <sup>th</sup> c.	13 <sup>th</sup> c.	13 <sup>th</sup> c.	13 <sup>th</sup> c.	1309	14 <sup>th</sup> c.	14 <sup>th</sup> c.	14 <sup>th</sup> c.	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	17 <sup>th</sup> c.
The Court of Enma																
Enma+Mirror+ Scale				○	○	○	○				○	○	○	○	○	○
Eight Great Hells																
Tōkatsu (sinners in flames)	○															
Kokujō (sinners tied in ropes)	○				○			○								
Shūgō (crushing mountains)	○		○	○	○	○	○	○	○			○	○	○		
Kyō(kan) (house in flames)	○								○				○			○
Daikyō(kan) (great house in flames)	○															
Ennetsu (sinner grilled)	○									○				○		
Gokunetsu (sinner on skewer)	○													○		○
Muken 1 (sinners in flames)	○															
Muken 2 (warden with winnow)	○															
Muken 3 (mountain of ashes)	○															
Muken 4 (tongue stretched out)	○															
Muken 5 (iron ball into the mouth)	○															
Eight Cold Hells																
Additional Hells																
#1 Buried flames	○															
#2 Excrement swamp	○															
#3 Forest of Sword Leaves	○															
#4 River of Boiling Ashes	○															

○ shows that the motif appears in the work.

○ shows that the motif appears in the same hell as in *Chikuriniji engi*.

\*In the Hara scroll of *Jigoku zōshi*.

sinner lying on the ground while two wardens pry open his mouth and force an iron ball inside.

Several of the illustrations depicting the Eight Great Hells clearly incorporate existing motifs from earlier hell scrolls and paintings (see TABLE 2).<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the description of each hell is faithful to *Ōjōyōshū*. For example, hell number three, the *Shūgō jigoku*, is depicted with green and red hell wardens, one of which is clearly horse-headed (*mezu* 馬頭), pushing two huge rocks to crush the sinners in between. The same description can be found in *Ōjōyōshū*:

[The *Shūgō* hell] exists below *Kokujō*. Its size is the same as the *Kokujō* hell. There are many iron mountains in pairs, each facing each other. The *gozu* (ox-headed wardens), *mezu*, and other hell wardens hold staffs in their hands and chase [sinners] in between these mountains. At this moment, the two mountains come closer, then come together; the bodies are crushed and blood flows and fills the ground....  
(*Ōjōyōshū*, 15)

The crushing mountain is a common motif in most medieval hell paintings. However, not all of these paintings show ox-headed or horse-headed wardens pushing the mountains. Those that include them in the *Shūgō* hell are *Kitano Tenjin engi*, the *Shōjūraigōji* painting, *Kasuga Gongen genki-e*, and the *Gokurakuji* painting.

In scene eleven, perhaps one of the most gruesome ones, a man is tied to a pole and his tongue is stretched out and nailed to the ground. This scene is quite frequently found in hell paintings from the Kamakura and Muromachi periods: the *Shōjūraigōji* painting, the Mizunoo Mirokudō 水尾弥勒堂 painting, and the Idemitsu Museum 出光美術館 painting B. *Ōjōyōshū* describes this hell as follows: “[The wardens] pull out the tongue from [the sinner’s] mouth, stretch it with one hundred iron nails, and then make sure that there are no wrinkles, just like one stretches out cowhide” (*Ōjōyōshū*, 25). Some paintings, like the Idemitsu Museum painting B, even have an ox and a plow driven by a hell warden over the stretched-out tongue of a sinner. However, *Chikurinji engi* does not go so far.

4. For comparison, I have used the following paintings of hell, all of which, except *Kitano Tenjin engi* and *Kasuga Gongen genki-e*, are reproduced in Toyama-ken Tateyama Hakubutsukan 2001: *Jigoku zōshi* (twelfth century, Tokyo National Museum), *Jigoku zōshi* (Nara National Museum, twelfth century), *Kitano Tenjin engi* (thirteenth century), *Shōjūraigōji Rokudō-e* (thirteenth century), *Kasuga Gongen genki-e* (1309), *Ōjōyōshū emaki* (private collection, fifteenth century), *Eikandō Zenrinji Jikkai-zu* (hereafter “Zenrinji A,” thirteenth century), *Gokurakuji Rokudō-e* (thirteenth century), *Mizunoo Mirokudō Rokudō Jūō-zu* (fourteenth century), *Idemitsu Museum Jūō jigoku-zu* (hereafter “Idemitsu Museum A,” fourteenth century), *Idemitsu Museum Rokudō-e* (hereafter “Idemitsu Museum B,” sixteenth century), *Eikandō Zenrinji Jūō-zu* (hereafter “Zenrinji B,” sixteenth century), *Rokudō Chinnōji Kumano kanjin jikkai-zu* (sixteenth century), and *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* (seventeenth century).



The last scene of the *Muken* hell depicts a man whose mouth is pried open with tongs by the hell wardens. Similar scenes are found in many medieval hell paintings. In these paintings, the man is either tied to a pole or laid on the ground, and the wardens are prying his mouth open with tongs. When we read *Ōjōyōshū*, however, we realize that the scene depicted in *Chikurinji engi* refers specifically to a section in that work's description of the *Muken* hell: "[The hell warden] lays him on the hot iron ground, face up, pries his mouth open with hot iron tongs, places iron balls of the triple heat (*sannetsu* 三熱) inside his mouth, which then burn his mouth and throat, run through his organs, and flow out from his bottom" (*Ōjōyōshū*, 25). The painting, indeed, shows a red warden holding a red hot iron ball in his tongs, apparently ready to place it in the sinner's mouth. The same scenes are found in the Shōjūraigōji painting, the Mizunoo Mirokudō painting, and the Idemitsu Museum painting B.

Some of the scenes are found less frequently, but do appear in other hell paintings. For instance, scenes four and five represent the *Kyōkan* and *Daikyōkan* hells, and both scenes include houses engulfed in flames. We find a similar motif in the fourteenth-century Idemitsu Museum painting, in which the hell is labeled *Daikyōkan*. In the Rokudō Chinnōji *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*, we also find a burning house in the scene of hell. These scenes probably illustrate the *Kyōkan* hell described in *Ōjōyōshū* as the flaming iron room into which sinners are chased (*Ōjōyōshū*, 17).

Other scenes also seem to come as a set, describing a certain sequence of tortures. Scenes six and seven, for instance, show a warden skewering and barbecuing a sinner on a grill over flames, and then lifting the skewer from the flames. These scenes surely illustrate the *Ōjōyōshū* description of the *Shōnetsu* hell: "[The wardens] grill [the sinner] over raging flames, roll him over to the left and right, front and back. . . . Then, with a huge iron skewer, [they] pierce him from the bottom through his head, turn it around and grill it. . ." (*Ōjōyōshū*, 20).

Scenes nine and ten provide another example of illustrations that show a sequence of tortures, this time in the *Muken* hell, as described in *Ōjōyōshū*: "[The wardens] fill the iron winnowing basket with iron and coal of the triple heat, heat it evenly, and then pile the iron and coal on the ground of searing iron. Then, [they make the sinners] climb the great hot iron mountain. They climb up, then climb down, and once they come down, they climb up again" (*Ōjōyōshū*, 25). In scene nine, a warden is sifting something through a sieve, and in scene ten, the sinners are chased up and down a mountain. While most scenes constitute what we may call conventional motifs in other paintings of hell, this particular scene is an example of a motif that is not as easily recognizable. Nowhere in the other medieval hell scenes do we find an iron mountain like this. Only after having read *Ōjōyōshū* can we ascertain that the mountain in scene ten was made of iron and coal that were sifted in the winnowing basket. However, we must also



FIGURE 10. The Eight Cold Hells. From *Chikurinji engi emaki* (Muromachi period). Courtesy of Chikurinji Temple and Hiroshima University Library.

note that the author has added another part to this sequence that is not found in *Ōjōyōshū*—that the sinners are burned to ashes and coal, and are revived again once their ashes are sifted through an iron sieve. Indeed, in scene nine, we find sinners seated by the ashes. These sinners may well be those who were revived after their bodies were incinerated in scene eight.

(2) *The Eight Cold Hells* (*Chikurinji engi* 1967, 167–69)

After the Eight Great Hells come the Eight Cold Hells. These hells are said to exist separately from the Eight Great Hells, and the residents of these hells are tormented by unbearable cold. *Ōjōyōshū* only makes a passing reference to these hells, citing Vasubandhu's *Abhidarmakośabhāṣya*, known to Genshin as *Kusharon* 俱舍論. According to *Kusharon*, they are (1) Arbuda (The hell of chilblains), (2) Nararbuda (The hell of swollen chilblains), (3) Aṭaṭa, (4) Hahava, (5) Huhuva, (6) Utpala (The hell of the blue lotus), (7) Padma (The hell of the crimson lotus), and (8) Mahāpadma (The hell of the great crimson lotus) (*Ōjōyōshū*, 29 and 408). In the first hell, the intense cold produces chilblains all over one's body. In the second hell, the chilblains worsen and eventually burst. The names for the next three hells come from the shrieks of the sinners. In the sixth hell, one's flesh turns blue from the intense cold; it is therefore called The Hell of the Blue Lotus. In the last two hells, one's flesh cracks open from the severe cold, and thus resembles a crimson lotus. In *Chikurinji engi*, the Eight Cold Hells are illustrated in a somewhat similar manner—sinners drowning in water. As the scene proceeds, however, the water becomes whiter and whiter (probably rep-

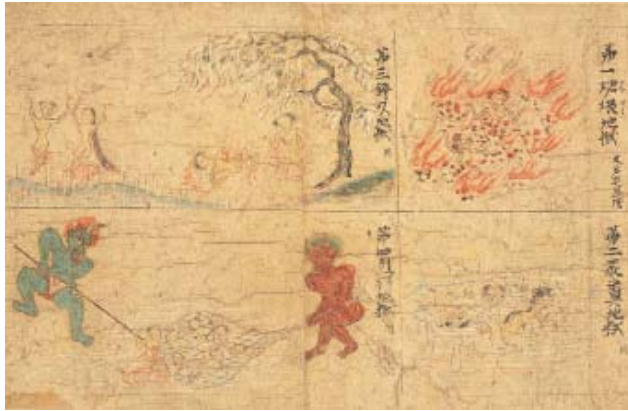


FIGURE 11. The Four Additional Hells. From *Chikurinji engi emaki* (Muromachi period). Courtesy of Chikurinji Temple and Hiroshima University Library.

resenting frost or ice), and in the last two sections, the sinners' bodies are red and cracked, with the cracks forming the shapes of flower petals (FIGURE 10).

*Ōjōyōshū* does not go into depth in describing these hells. Perhaps for this reason, we find very few illustrations of the cold hells in medieval hell paintings. The only examples are the Gokurakuji painting, Idemitsu painting A, and the Chōgakuji 長岳寺 painting, in which we find a single illustration of a cold hell. *Chikurinji engi* is therefore a rare example of an illustrated source containing detailed depictions of the Eight Cold Hells.

### (3) *The Four Additional Hells* (*Chikurinji engi* 1967, 169–71)

The last set of hells illustrated in the scroll is the Four Additional Hells (FIGURE 11). These additional hells (*bessho* 別処) are mentioned in *Ōjōyōshū* after the description of the Eight Great Hells (*Ōjōyōshū*, 27–29). They are found outside of the four gates of the Eight Great Hells. The first is the *Tōe* 燗燠 hell, The Hell of Buried Flames and Heated Ashes. People in this hell must walk while their feet are scorched by flames and embers (*Ōjōyōshū*, 27). *Chikurinji engi* likewise shows sinners burning in flames and embers.

Next is the *Shishi funnai* 死屍糞泥 hell, a muddy swamp filled with dead bodies and excrement. According to *Ōjōyōshū*, the sinners here are buried to their necks in fetid muck. Furthermore, there are insects called *hikuta* in the swamp that break through one's skin and bones and feed on one's body (*Ōjōyōshū*, 28). The hell is included in the twelfth-century *Jigoku zōshi*. *Chikurinji engi* refers to this hell as the *Shifun* 屍糞 *jigoku* and to the insects as *rōkota*, and it shows

people drowning in a pond filled with white liquid. The visual presentation of this scene resembles the cold hells previously discussed.

The third of the Four Additional Hells is the *Hō* (or *Fu*) *nin* 鋒刃 *jigoku*, The Sword-Forest Hell. As sinners walk beneath the trees, a soft breeze blows, causing sword-leaves to fall from the trees and cut the sinners' bodies (*Ōjōyōshū*, 28–29). In *Chikurinji engi*, we find men and women walking under a tree with leaves of swords, their bodies slashed by the falling blades. The text of *Chikurinji engi* further mentions that swords on the ground cut the feet of the sinners as they walk; the sinners are depicted treading upon swords that protrude from the earth.

Finally comes the *Rekka* 烈河 *jigoku*, The River of Boiling Ash Hell. *Ōjōyōshū* describes hell wardens standing on both banks of the river; some hold whips and ropes, while others hold a huge net to catch the sinners who come by (*Ōjōyōshū*, 29). *Chikurinji engi* adds that some wardens hold an iron spear, which they drive through the bodies of sinners. The painting depicts two wardens, one holding a net with sinners inside, and the other skewering sinners with a spear.

In sum, the hells that are illustrated in *Chikurinji engi* are relatively faithful to *Ōjōyōshū*—perhaps more so than the hells in many other medieval hell paintings. At the same time, the author of *Chikurinji engi* may have also consulted other sources in addition to *Ōjōyōshū*, particularly for depictions of the Eight Cold Hells and the Four Additional Hells. In terms of composition, the illustrations resemble the more detailed hell paintings in works like *Jigoku zōshi*, which are similarly lacking in narrative content. And in terms of iconography, TABLE 2 shows that *Chikurinji engi* is closest to the Gokurakuji (thirteenth century) and Idemitsu (fourteenth century) hell paintings. Furthermore, as seen in TABLE 1, there are hell motifs that appear in almost all hell paintings from the sixteenth century onward that are not found in *Chikurinji engi*. Examples include the Blood Pond Hell (*Chi no ike jigoku* 血の池地獄), the Hell for Barren Women (*Umazume jigoku* 石女地獄), and the Sai Riverbed Hell for Children (*Sai no kawara* 賽の河原). These hells are not found in *Ōjōyōshū*, but develop as popular hells in late-medieval Japan, and are depicted in most sixteenth-century and Edo-period hell paintings. The absence of these hells suggests that *Chikurinji engi* was produced before the development or popularization of these motifs.

### *Takamura's Identity as Sōtei-ō, the Third King of Hell*

After Yoshisuke has toured hell, and just as one of the wardens is about to push him down into one of the Eight Great Hells, Takamura suddenly appears, presenting himself as the third official of hell, Sōtei-ō. This is the first time that the Ten Kings are mentioned in *Chikurinji engi*; their appearance is a feature of Takamura's story that is unique to this scroll.

Whereas in the aforementioned medieval texts, including *Sangoku denki*, Takamura is described simply as the second or third official at Enma's court, *Chikurinji engi* identifies him specifically as "the third official, Sōtei-ō." The term used for "official" here is *myōkan*, which is used throughout earlier *setsuwa* in which Takamura is described as serving King Enma. These officials are similar to the officials serving the court in Japan. For instance, *Konjaku monogatari shū* describes Enma's palace as employing "numerous imperial police (*kebiishi* 檢非違使) and officials (*kanjin* 官人), just like the office of the imperial police in our country" (*Konjaku monogatari shū* 3, 526–27). The role of the many servants and officials in the afterworld is described in some detail in *Nōe Hōshi ekotoba* (*Nōe Hōshi ekotoba*, 2–22). In the first scene, the monk Nōe, who has just died, is taken to the afterworld by a military officer (identified as a messenger of the god Hachiman), followed by two *oni*. He is then met by an official at the gate. Another official brings a scroll, which presumably is a report on Nōe, to his superior. Nōe goes through the first gate and is summoned to meet five higher officials. Next to the building in which those five officials are seated is another building where three officials, still higher in rank, sit and listen to the report given by the lower official. Finally, after going through another gate, Nōe is taken to an audience with Enma. In the palace, he is met by another high official who announces Nōe's arrival to Enma, who is to pass the final judgment. In *Yatadera engi* 矢田寺縁起, also from the thirteenth century, a *myōkan* is sent to summon the monk Manmai 満米, while Takamura is described as one of Enma's higher officials who recommends Manmai to him. These examples suggest that *myōkan* were seen as the officials who served Enma, and that there was a hierarchy among them.

It is in *Heiji monogatari* 平治物語 that we see one of the earliest examples of an actual historical figure described as having become a *myōkan*, and identified with a specific bodhisattva. This figure is Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲 (d. 1160), a statesman and a scholar/poet who was killed in the Heiji Disturbance. He is described as the third *myōkan* and an incarnation of Monju. More such examples are found in Muromachi-period works. In the aforementioned *Teiō hennenki*, Takamura, too, is identified as the third *myōkan* and an incarnation of Monju.

A key to understanding the attribution of bodhisattva identities to these *myōkan* is the development of the cult of the Ten Kings, which was introduced to Japan from China by the late twelfth century. The *Jizō jūōkyō*, modeled after the Chinese *Scripture on the Ten Kings*, was almost certainly composed in Japan sometime between 1100 and 1300. Paintings of the Ten Kings of Hell were introduced from China by the Kamakura period, and Japanese copies were produced soon after. In both the scriptures and the paintings, a Buddha or bodhisattva identity (*honjibutsu* 本地仏) was attributed to each of the Ten



FIGURES 12–13. The monk makes sculptures of the Ten Kings, Jizō, and the mountain deity. From *Chikurinji engi emaki* (Muromachi period). Courtesy of Chikurinji Temple and Hiroshima University Library.

Kings.<sup>5</sup> Rituals pertaining to the Ten Kings were also widely practiced from the Kamakura period, particularly in association with post-mortem rituals (*tsuizen* 追善) and pre-mortem rituals (*gyakushu* 逆修). In these rituals, the Ten Kings came to be associated with each day of the *tsuizen* and *gyakushu* memorials (that is, the seven seven-days plus the one hundredth day, first year, and third year), and paintings and sculptures of the Ten Kings were offered to the temple on each day.<sup>6</sup> This ritual is known to have developed from the “seven seven-day observance,” or the *shichi shichi sai* 七七齋, in which Buddhas and bodhisattvas were venerated on each day. Naturally, the *honjibutsu* attributed to each of the Ten Kings also became central to the ritual of the Ten Kings.

The attribution of specific bodhisattvas to the Ten Kings is furthermore significant to the aforementioned examples of *myōkan* and their *honjibutsu*. While Monju is popularly known as the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, Monju is also the *honjibutsu* of the third king, Sōtei-ō. Likewise, *Taiheiki* 太平記 contains a reference to the eighth *myōkan* at Shoshasan 書写山, a site renowned for the cult of Kannon (*Taiheiki* 3, 367–69). Kannon is the *honjibutsu* of the eighth king, Byōdō-ō. Though the term “king” is not used in any of the above texts, and the texts make

5. In the *Jizō jūōkyō*, the *honjibutsu* attributed to each of the Ten Kings are as follows: (1) Shinkō-ō 秦広王 → Fudō 不動; (2) Shokō-ō 初江王 → Shaka 釈迦; (3) Sōtei-ō → Monju; (4) Gokan-ō → Fugen 普賢; (5) Enma-ō → Jizō; (6) Henjō-ō 變成王 → Miroku 弥勒; (7) Taizan-ō 泰山王 → Yakushi 藥師; (8) Byōdō-ō 平等王 → Kannon; (9) Toshi-ō 都市王 → Ashuku 阿闍; and (10) Godō Tenrin-ō 五道轉輪王 → Amida 阿弥陀 (DNZ 1, 404–407; SHIMIZU 2002).

6. *Tsuizen* is a memorial service for the dead, held by the deceased’s family. It has been practiced in Japan in the form of the “seven seven-day observance” (*shichi shichi sai*, the first seven feasts) since the early Heian period, as has been *gyakushu* (lit. “performing in advance”), a pre-mortem service held for and/or by a living person. The purpose of these services is to accrue merit for the afterlife during the “intermediate existence,” or *chū’u*, a period beginning at death and lasting until one is reborn in another form. Different Buddhas and bodhisattvas were venerated at each service during the Heian period. By the Kamakura period, three Buddhas were added for the one hundredth day and the first and third years. See TAMAMURO 1963, and GOODWIN 1989.

no reference to the Ten Kings, the attributed *honjibutsu* suggest that the third and the eighth *myōkan* correspond to the third and the eighth of the Ten Kings of Hell.

In sum, Takamura's identity as the "third *myōkan* Sōtei-ō" embodies the evolution of the concept of *myōkan* in medieval narratives. With the introduction of the Ten Kings, *myōkan*, which were officials or servants of Enma in earlier *setsuwa*, eventually came to take on the identity of judges, or the Ten Kings. With the introduction of the Ten Kings, Takamura, who had in earlier *setsuwa* been identified vaguely as the second or third official serving Enma, took on a new identity as Sōtei-ō and an incarnation of Monju. But it is important to note that regardless of the popularity of the Ten Kings in memorial rites and narratives, Enma continued to be the central figure—the king among kings, we might say—throughout medieval Japan. The Ten Kings, who were at times referred to as *myōkan* (which actually includes Enma), were still often described as officials serving at the Court of Enma.

### *The Sculptures of the Ten Kings*

By examining the sculptures of the Ten Kings depicted toward the end of *Chikurinji engi*, we can see the centrality of Enma in the evolution of Ten Kings sculpture as well. First, there is a scene showing a monk carving the images (FIGURE 12). Two kings have already been completed, the monk is working on the third, and seven blocks of wood surround the statue of Jizō, which has been placed at the center. The statues are in a seated position, with legs crossed, slightly larger than the monk. The scene that follows shows all Ten Kings plus the mountain deity surrounding the Jizō statue (FIGURE 13). The statue labeled *yama no kami* 山の神 (mountain deity) looks no different than the kings. All eleven are dressed in white robes, wearing caps, holding scepters in front of them, and seated on the floor with legs crossed. All have beards, and their faces are also white, except for Enma, whose face is painted red. They are almost identical to the "living" Enma and Sōtei-ō who appear earlier: each has a beard, wears a Chinese cap and robe, and holds a scepter.

Some features of the two kings depicted earlier in the scroll suggest that they may have been modeled on the wooden sculptures at Chikurinji, the originals of which are now lost. First, the kings are shown wearing white robes. This is unusual for the Ten Kings, who are portrayed in most paintings in colorful Chinese robes, and it may suggest that the former Chikurinji sculptures consisted of unpainted wood. Second, although King Enma is seated in a chair as in most of the Ten Kings paintings, he is seated cross-legged, as if he were sitting on the floor. While the Ten Kings are usually painted seated in chairs, there are a number of *emaki* and hanging scrolls from the Kamakura and Muromachi periods in which they are depicted seated on the floor in their palace. When it comes

TABLE 3

Abbreviations: J = Jizo, SS = Shiroku Shimei, D = Datsueba, K = Kushōjin

LOCATION	TEMPLE	DATE	HEIGHT	COMMENTS	TYPE I	TYPE II	TYPE III
Kyoto	Daigōji	1223		Daigōji shin'yōroku	○		
Kamakura	Enrōji	ca. 1250	187.5 cm	D, K, Kxz, oni		○	
Nara	Byakugōji	1259	118.7 cm	SS, 太山王	○		
Nara	Kongōsanji (Yatadera)	Kamakura period	55.7 cm	seated in a chair	○		
Kyoto	Hōshakuji	Kamakura period	161 cm.	SS (King?), K, Ankoku-ōji	○		
Tokyo	Genkakuji	Kamakura period?			○		
Shiga	Jōshinji	Late Kamakura period	100 cm	Only two, with J (standing)			
Kyoto	Rokuharamitsuji	Late Kamakura period	89.2 cm	SS, D (Later)	○		
Agachō, Niigata	Jizō-dō	Late Kamakura period	73 cm.	J, K, seated in a chair	○		
Nara	Tōdaiji	Late Kamakura or Nanbokuchō	121 cm.	J, 太山王	○		
Suzuka	Rinkōji	Nanbokuchō period			○		
Matsumoto	Gofukuji	Muromachi period	79–92 cm.	SS, J			○
Nishio	Kōzenji	Muromachi period	47.5–75.7 cm.	J (small), SS, D, Enma with red face	○		
Yokosuka	Jitokuji	1433	38 cm.	SS?		○	
Isobechō, Shima	Gyokusen-an	1439–	44–71 cm.			○	
Tokyo	Hōsen'in	1473	89 cm.		○		
Kyoto	Jōnenji	1474	35 cm.	Kxz, D			○
Atsugi	Fukushōji	ca. 1500	94.8 cm.		○		
Nara	Shōgakuji	1552	76.8 cm.	Kxz		○	
Yoshii, Gunma	Kinzōji	1585	24–26 cm.	D, J			○
Nara	Kongōsanji (Yatadera)	1591 (Datsueba)		D			○
Ikeda, Gifu	Rokunoi Enma-dō	Kanbun (1661–1673)					○
Tsu	Shinkyōji	1682	197 cm.	SS	○		
Tokyo	Ryūzenji	1683	49.4 cm		○		
Zushi	Sōtaji	1685	36.8 cm	D		○	
Tokyo	Chōdenji	Genroku (1688–1703)	133 cm.		○		
Hisai	Chōzenji	1705	57.8 cm.	SS, red face	○		
Fukuoka	Kōmyōji	1740	50 cm				○



to sculptures, almost all are seated cross-legged, either on the floor or on raised platforms in the shape of *tatami* mats. It is highly possible, therefore, that the Enma that appears earlier in the scroll is modeled on the wooden images of the Ten Kings that were kept at Chikurinji.

Statues of the Ten Kings from the Kamakura and Muromachi periods have been preserved in many temples throughout Japan. TABLE 3 shows a list of sculptures of Enma and the Ten Kings from the Kamakura to early Edo periods.<sup>7</sup> Although it is far from complete and requires further investigation, the table gives us an idea of the different types of images that survive today and indicates the period during which they were made. Sculptures of the Ten Kings may be divided into three main categories: Types I, II, and III. Type I consists of one large image of Enma, often accompanied by smaller images of his attendants (Shiroku 司録 and Shimei 司命), Kushōjin 俱生神, and/or Taizan fukun 太山府君 (Ch. Taishan fujun; Lord of Mount Tai).<sup>8</sup> These images have been strongly influenced by Chinese paintings of the Ten Kings, and the figures in them are all portrayed as Chinese officials, just as in the Ten Kings paintings. Naturally, these sculptures were produced after the Kamakura-period introduction of continental Ten Kings iconography. However, due to Enma's popularity from earlier times, in Type-I sculpture Enma alone represents the Ten Kings of Hell.

Although most of the Kamakura-period sculptures of the Ten Kings belong to Type I, we can only find a couple of Type-I examples from the Muromachi period. (However, such sculptures begin to appear again frequently in the Edo period.) The types found most frequently during the Muromachi period are II and III, both of which consist of sets of ten or more sculptures of the Ten Kings and their attendants. The popularity of these two types reflects the dissemination of the cult of the Ten Kings after its initial introduction in the Kamakura period.

Of Types II and III, Type II treats Enma as the dominant, central image. He is carved larger than the other nine kings, and often placed at the center. The earliest surviving example of a set of Type II statues is at En'nōji 円応寺 in Kama-

7. To make this list, I have consulted NAKANO 1992, 84–96, KANAGAWA KENRITSU KANAZAWA BUNKO 1991, YOKKAICHI-SHI SHIRITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 2001, and various temple homepages.

8. Shiroku and Shimei are underworld officials who often accompany Enma. Shiroku is generally depicted holding a brush and a scroll, while Shimei is shown opening a scroll and reading it. Kushōjin are a pair of gods who remain on the right and left shoulders of a person from the time of his or her birth and record all of the person's good and evil deeds. Taizan-fukun was originally the god of Mount Taishan in China, where he was associated with the afterlife. He was later incorporated into the Ten Kings cult as the seventh king, Taizan-ō. In Japan, he also appears as one of the subjects of Enma in the Taizōkai mandara 胎藏界曼荼羅. According to Nakano Genzō, the placement of Taizan-fukun as Enma's attendant in some of the sculptures is derived from esoteric paintings (NAKANO 1989, 138–42; TANAKA 1992, 84).

kura, and dates from the mid-thirteenth century. This style of statuary appears sporadically throughout the Muromachi and Edo Periods, suggesting that even after the Ten Kings were introduced, Enma continued to be venerated as the most important. After all, by the time the Ten Kings were imported to Japan, Enma had already established himself in the world of *setsuwa* as the “Judge of the Afterworld.”

In Type III sets of images, all of the Ten Kings are treated equally, and they are all of the same size. The inscriptions on the back or inside of many of these sculptures suggest that they were made for post-mortem and pre-mortem rituals in which each king represented one of the ten *tsuizen* and *gyakushu* observances. For example, an inscription inside the sculpture of Henjō-ō at Jitokuji 自得寺 says “sixth seventh-day, Henjō-ō artist Hayashi Sadaie 林貞家, fifth year of Eikō (1433), Fourth month, [unknown] day,” while the inscription inside Byōdō-ō says, “one hundredth day, Byōdō-ō, Busshi (sculptor) Hayashi Sadaie, fifth year of Eikō, Sixth month, [unknown] day,” suggesting that the sculptures were produced one by one, each on a specific day of observance when the soul of the departed was to travel through the court of that particular king (KANAGAWA KENRITSU KANAZAWA BUNKO 1991, 56). Paintings of the Ten Kings are also known to have been frequently offered to temples for *tsuizen* and *gyakushu* services in the late medieval period (ABE 2002, 48–55). Type III images seem to have been the most popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but by the seventeenth century, they were largely replaced by Type I statuary, in which Enma alone is made to represent the Ten Kings, and Type II images, in which Enma is depicted as the largest and the most important figure among the ten.

Looking at the sculptures that are depicted in *Chikurinji engi*, the first thing to note is that the statue of Jizō, which is significantly larger than the others, is placed in the center, surrounded by the kings. Jizō has long been the central figure for salvation from hell, and he is often depicted in hell paintings, too. Many of the Korean Ten Kings paintings imported to Japan have a similar composition, with Jizō depicted in the center and surrounded by the Ten Kings (NAKANO 1992, 42–50). This compositional style is found in some of the medieval Ten Kings paintings modeled after those imported from Korea. For example, of the various surviving *Rokudō Jūō-zu*, or “paintings of the Ten Kings of the six realms,” the thirteenth-century Zenrinji copy takes this form. The Chinese-style Ten Kings paintings, which portray each of the Ten Kings individually on separate sheets of silk or paper, sometimes accompany a separate Jizō painting. Moreover, some hell and *rokudō* paintings also feature Jizō in different parts of hell as a symbol of salvation. Many of the sculptures of the Ten Kings, particularly those dated from the late-Kamakura and Muromachi periods, are accompanied by a Jizō statue. Jizō, in other words, has been an essential figure in representations of hell that advocated the possibility of salvation through faith. And one significant aspect

of King Enma, who came to occupy such a central place in the cult of the Ten Kings, is the fact that his *honjibutsu* is Jizō.

Perhaps because of Jizō's centrality in the *Chikurinji engi* sculptures, Enma is portrayed merely as one of the Ten Kings. This is another important feature of the sculptures in *Chikurinji engi*: all of the statues are of the same size. In other words, they constitute a set of Type III images. However, we must also note that Enma is still given some special significance, for although he is the "fifth" king, he is granted pride-of-place in the top right corner. Furthermore, he is the only king with a red face. Placed right below Enma is the third king, Sōtei-ō.

Finally, the sculptures in the painting are depicted slightly taller than the kneeling monk who is carving them. In TABLE 3, we can see several Type II and Type III sculptures of the Ten Kings dating from the fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century that are between 75 cm. and 90 cm. high, or roughly the size of the statues illustrated in *Chikurinji engi*. On the other hand, the Ten Kings sculptures dating from the Edo period tend to be smaller in size, between 25 and 50 cm. In sum, we may say that the sculptures illustrated in *Chikurinji engi* are typical of fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century sculptures of the Ten Kings.

### Conclusion

In this paper, I have looked at three different elements that together comprise *Chikurinji engi*: its narrative concerning the legend and identity of Ono no Takamura; its description of the Court of Enma and the various Buddhist hells; and its presentation of the sculptures of the Ten Kings. In terms of narrative, although the story of Takamura as an official in Enma's court appears in early Heian literature, the *Chikurinji engi* account is closest to the fifteenth-century *setsuwa* from *Sangoku denki*. The attribution of the identity of Sōtei-ō to Takamura, however, is new to this *emaki*. This suggests that the *emaki* was produced under the influence of the Ten Kings cult. In regard to its depictions of hell, its illustrations are clearly based on the descriptions found in *Ōjōyōshū* and other iconographic sources dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and certainly predating the development of such new and popular sixteenth-century sites as the Sai Riverbed Hell and the Blood Pond Hell. Meanwhile, the visual representation of Enma's court is very close to paintings from the sixteenth century, such as *Yata Jizō engi* and *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara*. Finally, the sculptures that are illustrated toward the end of the *emaki* are typical of Ten Kings sculptures dating from the fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries.

What do these different components of *Chikurinji engi* tell us about the *emaki* itself, about the development of the legend of Takamura, and about images of hell in late medieval Japan? *Chikurinji engi* clearly combines various motifs associated with hell and the Ten Kings that existed at the time it was produced.

Enma already appears in Heian period *setsuwa* as the king of the afterworld, and so does his palace, or court. It was only with the introduction of the scripture of the Ten Kings and paintings of the Ten Kings from China in the late-Heian and Kamakura periods that the Japanese began to recognize Enma as one of the many kings that preside at the gates of hell. *Tsuizen* and *gyakushu* memorial rites, as well as the practice of serially producing one painting or sculpture for each of the ten memorial services, became widespread during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, and helped propagate the image of ten equally important kings. That the Ten Kings became exceptionally popular during the Muromachi period can be seen from the fact that most of the sculptures dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries come in sets of ten, all of the same size. It is also from around this time that Ono no Takamura, who appeared in earlier *setsuwa* simply as one of the many officials serving Enma, began to be identified with the Ten Kings.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were a period in which diverse images of Enma and the Ten Kings coexisted in Japan. In *Chikurinji engi*, the paradoxical treatment of the afterworld as a place in which Enma and his court constitute the single most important destination for the deceased, and in which the Ten Kings (including Enma) are simultaneously depicted as being equally important, may be viewed as a product of this enigmatic juxtaposition of Enma and the Ten Kings. A comparison of the *Chikurinji engi* scroll with other medieval legends and paintings reveals that the coexistence of these two very different images of Enma was not unique to *Chikurinji engi* in late medieval Japan. And it is this paradox embedded in *Chikurinji engi* that best serves as evidence that the scroll was indeed produced during the late Muromachi period.

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- DNZ *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經, 150 vols., revised and updated edition, edited by Nishi Yoshio 西義雄 and Tamashiro Kōshirō 玉城康四郎. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1980.
- GR *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類從, 530 vols., edited by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一. Tokyo: Naigai Shoseki Kabushiki Kaisha, 1938-1940.
- KT *Kokushi taikai* 国史大系, edited by Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美 et al., Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1968- .

- NET *Nihon emaki taisei* 日本絵巻大成, 28 vols., edited by Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美 et al. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977- .
- NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系, 102 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959- .
- NST *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想大系, 77 vols., Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970- .
- SNEZ *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū* 新修日本絵巻物全集, 32 vols., Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1975- .
- ZNET *Zoku Nihon emaki taisei* 続日本絵巻大成, 14 vols., edited by Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美 et al. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1983- .

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