

An *Otogizōshi* in Context

Saru no sōshi and the Hie-Enryaku-ji Religious Multiplex in the Late Sixteenth Century

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This article presents a multiple reading of Saru no sōshi: 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 sōshi 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 sōshi* 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 坂本, the market town (*monzenmachi* 門前町) that developed in conjunction with the Hie-Enryaku-ji multiplex³ of the Tendai 天台 sect. By the same token, *Saru no sōshi* contributes to our understanding of the cult at Hiyoshi Shrine 日吉大社⁴ 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 横川 (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 Sannō 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* 猿飼]). 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*

² *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 10 (1985) and *Kokubungaku* 39/1 (1994) accurately present the breadth of recent research on *otogizōshi*. The next issue of *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* (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 Sannō is ultimately the all-encompassing unifying force. The first part comprises the account of the origin of Mt Hiei (*Hiei engi* 比叡縁起), culminating in the revelation of Sannō; 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;⁵ 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 Sannō are as complex as they are central to medieval Tendai Shinto⁶ and to the religious reading of *Saru no sōshi*. The direct association of Sannō 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 Sannō deity because the character for *kami* 神 consists of the two elements, 申, “monkey” (of the zodiac), and 示, “to show” (*Yōtenki*, HANAWA 1936, pp. 613–14 and 620; GRAPARD 1987, p. 219).

Another line of association between the head priest and Sannō 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 SATŌ 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-

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 “Sannō Shinto” are both used to distinguish medieval Tendai *honji-suijaku* thought from the Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto of the early Edo period (see KUBOTA 1964).

tered in China by Ennin 円仁 (794–864) and Enchin 円珍 (814–891) and brought to Japan in the form of the cult of Matara-shin 摩多羅神 (also called Sekizan Myōjin 赤山明神 and Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神) (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 靈鷲山 in India (see, e.g., *Hie-shashintō himitsu-ki*, HANAWA 1932, p. 94).

The head priest of Hiyoshi Shrine was specifically in charge of Ōmiya 大宮, in which Ōnamuchi no kami 大己貴神 was enshrined. According to the most widely accepted tradition, Ōnamuchi no kami is identical to Ōmononushi no kami 大物主神 of Ōmiwa Shrine 大神神社 on Mt Miwa 三輪山; Ōmononushi 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-shashintō 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 religious-political influence of the Hie-Enryaku-ji multiplex during the medieval period (GRAPARD 1987, p. 214). From this fact the association between Ōmiya (Ōnamuchi 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 (Ōnamuchi 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 最澄, the founder of the Tendai sect, was walking on Mt Obie 小比叡 (alternative names Ushio 牛尾, Hamo 波母, Hachiōji 八王子) 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 *ō* 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]⁷ he built three temples,⁸ 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.

The Scroll

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* 猿之絵土佐筆一卷 [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.⁹ The box is probably not the scroll's original, nor

⁷ That is, precepts concerning what is forbidden (*kin-kai* 禁戒), Samadhi meditation (*zenjō* 禅定), and wisdom (*chie* 知慧).

⁸ That is, the *santō* 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 sōshi* (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 sōshi*, 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.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 sōshi* 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 sōshi* 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 (Kuriyashi Shibuzane, head priest of Hiyoshi Shrine and governor of Iga Province, and his two retainers). As mentioned, the main motif of *Saru no sōshi* is ostensibly a marriage of monkeys, the daughter of

¹⁰ This identification appears in *Sumiyoshi-ke kantei-hikae* 住吉家鑑定控 [Notes on identifications by the Sumiyoshi family], vol. 1, in *Bijutsu kenkyū* 38, p. 42 (1935), where the title is given as *Saru no sōshi*. According to *Zōho Nihon shōga kottō 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 Tenshō (1573–92) and Keichō (1596–1615) eras, according to *Kōchō meiga shūi* 皇朝名画拾彙, and during the Bunroku (1592–96) era, according to *Sumiyoshi elohoro* 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 sōshi*, one volume, identified by Sumiyoshi Naiki as Tosa Mitsuzumi’s work” (*TZKG*, vol. 5, p. 204).

Shibuzane to a monkey named Yasaburō, 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 Yasaburō;
 —retainers agree with Shibuzane's
 choice of Yasaburō

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 Yasaburō; birth of Wakagimi
 (Young Master); arrangements for
mukoiri (groom's procession)

dialogue: (continued in text passage 3)
 Shibuzane summons retainers



The yomeiri 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

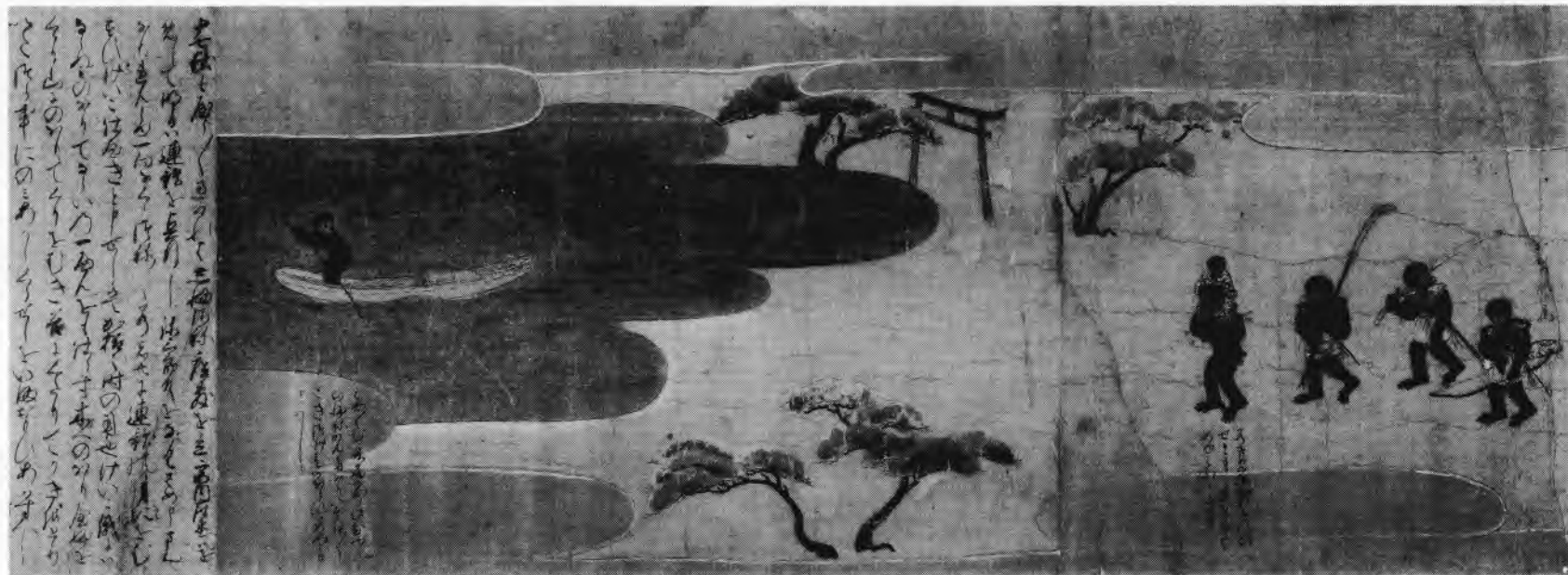
Text passage 5

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).

description:

decorations;

provenance of two *cha-no-yu* utensils:

Tsukumo 九十九 and Kateki 貨狄¹¹

PICTURE 6

the *renga* gathering

monkeys peeling chestnuts

dialogue:

renga;

Shibuzane asleep

Text passage 6

description:

conclusion of *renga* gathering

recitation:

chōka 長歌 on the view of Ōmi

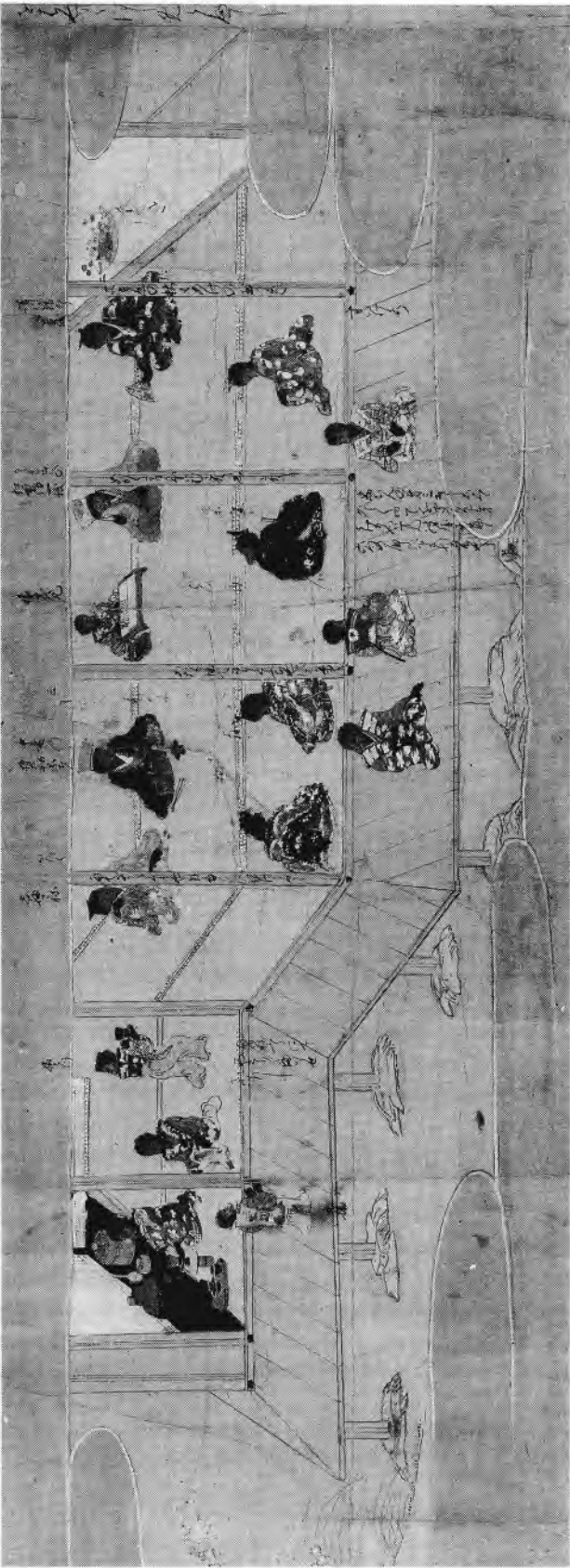
Province seen from Shiga District

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 *otogizōshi*, especially those in which the pictures include dialogue (*gachūshi*), 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 sōshi* 小男草子 are interspersed with humorous, equally simple asides and exclamations, such as *ana chiisa ya*, "How small he is!" (TOKUDA 1991). *Saru no sōshi* belongs to a minority of *otogizōshi* in which pictures relate to text passages in more than one way: appositionally, as illustrations proper, and predicatively, forming narrative

¹¹ The account of the two tea utensils is in accordance with what is mentioned *inter alia* in *Yamanoue no Sōji-ki* 山上宗二記 from 1589 (Tenshō 17); see *ZNE*, p. 28.



The *renga* gathering; *Saru no soshi*, picture 6 (© The British Museum).

sequences with the text passages.¹² 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 *Nō* and *Kyōgen*.

The dual text-picture structure is exploited almost dialectically in the narrative part of *Saru no sōshi*. 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 (*shichigo-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 肴の数は何々ぞ, "What side dishes are there?"; *SNKBT*, pp. 449–50),¹³ 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 *otogizōshi* enables the protagonist to achieve his or her

¹² The distinction obviously relates to the actual narration or performance of the scroll, e.g., MINOBE 1985, KANNOTŌ 1985, and TOKUDA et al. 1994.

¹³ It should be noted that the lists in *Saru no sōshi* very much reflect the lavish entertainments at contemporary banquets, such as described in *Asai Bizen no Kami shukusho kyōō-ki*, 1534 (Tenbun 3; see *ZNE*, 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 saké, while being entertained to *Nō* (and *Kyōgen*?) performances, one for each dish starting from the third.

aim.¹⁴ 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,¹⁵ 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 *renga* 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 *renga* 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 *renga*. It was for occasions like this that I would always tell young people to have a monthly *renga* 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

¹⁴ Shibuzane shares his propensity for lists with the nun in *O-yō no ama* (NISHIZAWA 1978; SKORD 1991, pp. 205–20).

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 *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,¹⁶ and so are those of the invited *renga* master and Yasaburō. The other participants, however, turn to comical *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 *renga* 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 *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 Ōmi Province. Yet even this provides a last surprise: the unexpected change of poetic expression to a *chōka*.

The dual signification of “monkey,” Sannō 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 (*tamukegusa*), as suggested in his *hokku*. He refers to his son-in-law Yasaburō as *saru* and *mashira* “monkey”;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 *iga*, “prickled skin of chestnuts,”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, *kan-nushi* 神主 versus *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

¹⁶ *SNKBT*, p. 459. This *hokku* is, in fact, by the historical poet Sōseki 宗碩 (1473–1533), who is mentioned in the text as a source of inspiration for the (fictitious?) *renga* master invited by Shibuzane.

¹⁷ Among several possible etymologies of *mashira*, one relates it to *masaru*, “excel,” and another to the Sanskrit *makata*, “monkey.”

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” (事の外くたびれたり。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 (*saru o mawasu*), 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 sōshi 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* 胡籜): “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 utaawase 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 nō* 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 兜率天, 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 鸕鷀草葺不合尊 (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 白鬚, 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* meets Hiko-ho-no-ninigi no mikoto 彦火瓊瓊杵尊 (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 (*kuniyuzuri* 国譲), and the descent of the imperial grandson (*tenson kōrin* 天孫降臨)—thereby (re)confirming Japan within the *shinbutsu shūgō* ideology as the divine land (*shinkoku* 神国), 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 (GOTŌ 1960, book 18, pp. 266ff.), with which it is otherwise identical. The result is

that Sannō and Hiyoshi Shrine receive the main focus, in line with the main discursive thrust of *Saru no sōshi*.

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.²⁰ 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 sōshi*). 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 Sannō). 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 sōshi*—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 *otogizōshi* motif: passionate relationships between unequals (of whom one party is usually human and the other nonhuman), relationships that are often childless and unsuccessful.²¹ 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 sōshi* is the scenery of the beach at Karasaki 唐崎 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

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 sōshi* 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 sōshi* 鼠の草子: just like *Saru no sōshi*, 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 shintō himitsu-ki*, HANAWA 1932, pp. 88ff). It is also found in a Muromachi-period *Sannō mandara-zu* 山王曼荼羅圖 (NARA KOKU-RITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 1964, #35, p. 41). It recalls the legend, already mentioned above, of Emperor Tenji inviting the deity of Ōmiwa 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-nomitachi no Ushimaru 琴御館宇志丸, who led the deity to its shrine, Ōmiya, inside the Hiyoshi Shrine complex.²² 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 spacially 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* 末法), 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 Shōshinshi 聖真子 (also read as Shōshinji or Shōjinshi). The historical origins of the Shōshinshi shrine are unclear, the first record of its existence dating

²² See SAGAI 1977, p. 55. Koto-no-mitachi no Ushimaru is said to have planted the pine tree at the beach of Karasaki upon arriving in Shiga from his native Hitachi Province (*Hie-sha shintō himitsu-ki*, HANAWA 1932, p. 85).

from 979 (Tengen 2).²³ The inclusion of Shōshinshi among the *Sansei*—the triad of major *kami*—and the association of Shōshinshi 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), Shōshinshi was identified as the child of the two main shrine deities, Ōmiya and Ninomiya. In *Saru no sōshi* 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 Shōshinshi with a female deity named Tagorihime no mikoto 田心姫命, but this identification may represent a later tradition.²⁴

Assuming the relevance of the associations Yasaburō/Amida and Himegimi/Shōshinshi for *Saru no sōshi*, 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* 御生れ), 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 1571.²⁵ The *Himitsu-ki* opens

²³ In *Jie daisō seiden* 慈惠大僧正伝 from 1031 (Chōgen 4), quoted in SATŌ 1985, p. 25.

²⁴ This association is found, for instance, in the apocryphal *Hie-sha negi kuden-shō*, tentatively dated to the late Kamakura–early Edo period in SATŌ 1985, pp. 24–26; the work appears in the *Kokushi daijiten* 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 素戔鳴尊, who in turn were associated with Hiyoshi deities. Tagorihime no mikoto is mentioned in *Kojiki* as Tagiribime no mikoto 田霧姫命.

²⁵ SAGAI (1977) credits Yukimaru with the following works: *Hie-sha shintō himitsu-ki*, 1577 (1932); *Hie-sha shin'yaku nenjū gyōji* 日吉社神役年中行事 [Annual events of celebrations of the kami at Hiyoshi Shrine], 1588; *Hie-sha bukhiryō no rei* 日吉社物忌令 [Regulations concerning purifications at Hiyoshi Shrine], 1578; *Hie heiran kasai-ki* 日吉兵乱火災記 [An account of the soldiers' burning of Hiyoshi Shrine], date unknown; *Hie shōshitsu heiran-ki* 日吉焼尖兵乱記 [An account of the burning and ravaging of Hiyoshi Shrine], date unknown; *Sannō 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 (*yōgō* 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たてん行丸)—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 Kyōgen (e.g., *Suehirogari* [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

ezu 山王諸社絵図 [Chart of the shrines of Sannō], date unknown; *Hie sannō-ki* 日吉山王記 [Records of the Hie Sannō] (a collection of letters from Yukimaru to the throne), date unknown.

御注連繩 懸けて八千代の 末や祈覽 (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-bō Ichigi of Karasaki 唐崎の松本坊一祇 and the *renga* master Kaki-no-ki-bō Sōchin 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 首楞嚴院) the temple in Yokawa where one of the Sannō 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 *Gukanshō* 愚管抄. Jien wrote both *waka* and *chōka* on the kami of Hiyoshi Shrine, and is known to

²⁶ The Sannō mandala in the Nara National Museum is a case in point; the summer of the foreground contrasts with the winter of the background. *Sannō-gu Mandara-zu* (first half of the fifteenth century) in NARA KOKURITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 1979, illustration 20.

have worshipped Sannō (MANAKA 1974, pp. 258–59). His contemporary 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 religious practice at Hiyoshi Shrine around 1600: the *Hie-sha norito kuden-sho* (1601), a collection of *norito* 祝詞 (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 emperor, his servants, and the people, the divine horse was led in front of Ōmiya and the departure of the portable shrines (*mikoshi* 御輿) 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 (*gohōseki* 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 interpretation 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 *kanbun* 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 *chōka* 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 *chōka*. 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 Iimori and therefore cannot attend the planned *renga* gathering. In actual fact, the real-life Sōyō 宗養 (1525?–1563) went to Iimori 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.²⁸ 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

²⁸ *Eiroku yo-nen Iimori senku* 永祿四年飯盛千句 (1561) and *Eiroku go-nen Iimori-jō Dōmyō-ji hōraku hyaku-in* 永祿五年飯盛城道明寺法樂百韻 (1562), in ZNE, p. 27.

the Kanze chief actor (Kanze-dayu 観世大夫),²⁹ 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 Nagamasa’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 sōshi*³⁰ relate to *renga* and *sarugaku no nō*. 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 sōshi* 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 sōshi* would be roughly contemporaneous with the production of the scroll, scholars have hypothesized that the scroll was produced between 1565

²⁹ The seventh-generation head (*tayū*) 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., Mōri, Nagao, Naoe 直江, Ōuchi 大内, etc., among which only the reference to Nagau’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 蠶川親俊 (?–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 英俊 from Kōfuku-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 celebration: although in 1563 the head priest Yukimaru managed to stage a funding appeal (*kanjinchō* 勧進帳) 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 antagonism came to a head when the anti-Nobunaga forces of Asai and Asakura were allowed to take refuge at Mt Hiei, resulting in an ultimatum from Nobunaga to the priests (MCMULLIN 1984, p. 172). Indeed, no records have been found from the 1560s of the type of major celebration 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 東照大権現 (Great Incarnation [Avatar] Shining over the East) (OOMS 1985, p. 59). Given such historical developments, we should at least consider what evidence, if any, supports a post-1571 date for the scroll.

It is, indeed, from this perspective that the contemporary head priest Hafuribe 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 unrelenting 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-

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.

pens, Yukimaru achieved all of this, perhaps not without the display of certain pragmatic skills of self-promotion, as suggested above.³⁴

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 of Ōmiya was begun. In the fourth month [?] of 1589 (Tenshō 17) new *mikoshi* for Ōmiya and Shōshinshi 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.³⁵ 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*.³⁶ 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 zange 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;³⁷ Matsunaga Hisahide 松永久秀, a vassal, was put to death by Nobunaga in 1577 for betrayal;³⁸ the Mōri 毛利 family fought Nobunaga in sea battles and was defeated in 1578;³⁹ Nagao 長尾 (Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信) engaged in ongoing conflict with Nobunaga and finally died of illness in 1578;⁴⁰ the poet Sōyō associated with Miyoshi Chōkei (1523–1564), an anti-Nobunaga daimyō. The Kanze-dayu Sōsetsu 宗節 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

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 *ZNE*). 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 Mōri 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 sōshi* 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

- SNKBT* *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系, 101 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989–.
- TZKG* *Teisei zōho kōko gafu* 訂正増補考古畫譜. Vol. 1 of *Kurokawa Mayori zenshū* 黒川真頼全集 (6 vols.), Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1910.
- ZNE* *Zaigai Nara ehon* 在外奈良絵本. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1981.

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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 shinto himitsu ki*.

⁴² Indeed, the whole Tendai Shinto tradition and its literary-religious interface is as yet almost uncharted territory. See TAJIMA 1986.

⁴³ Editor's note: See the following article on Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto by Sugahara Shinkai.

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