

**MEMORIALIZING IMPERIAL POWER THROUGH RITUAL IN THE *ILLUSTRATED*
*LEGENDS OF ISHIYAMA-DERA HANDSCROLL***

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Ishiyama-dera Handscroll***

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University of Pittsburgh, 2018

The fourteenth-century illustrated handscroll *Ishiyama-dera engi e* (石山寺縁起絵 *Illustrated Legends of Ishiyama-dera*) stands out for its unusual depictions of “secret” rituals—Esoteric Buddhist rites from which the uninitiated were barred from observation and participation. The artists of the handscroll carefully hid the central ritual activity behind curtains or beyond the picture plane, thus preserving a sense of secrecy. For the creators of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, ritual was a means of attaining success, particularly the success of the imperial line, as evidenced in the scroll text, which credits the births of several generations of emperors to the intervention of Ishiyama-dera’s main icon, a secret icon (*hibutsu* 秘仏) of Nyoirin Kannon (如意輪觀音). However, the scrolls utilize ritual in another way: through the memorialization of historic rituals for the benefit of their fourteenth-century audience. In this dissertation, I argue that images of historic rituals were used to promote belief and encourage patronage of Ishiyama-dera by appealing to a lay experience of ritual and by providing models of ideal patrons throughout Ishiyama-dera’s history. Approaching rituals through their representation in painting offers insights into how lay viewers and patrons of Buddhist rituals saw ritual—both physically, as the curtained, restricted rituals in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* demonstrate, and metaphorically, as a means to control their own power and success.

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NOTE ON THE TEXT

Japanese names are written surname first, with the exception of scholars publishing primarily in English. For historical figures, kanji, birth/death dates, and in the case of emperors, reign dates, are given at the first appearance of an individual. For the sake of clarity, imperial women, such as empresses, are referred to by their *in*-names, rather than their birth names, with the exception of Ano Renshi, who is more commonly known by this name.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

On the sixteenth day of the seventh month of 1019, three people underwent a rite to receive the rank of *ajari* (阿闍梨 SK. *Ācārya*) at the Buddhist temple Ishiyama-dera as part of prayers of thanksgiving presented by the courtier Fujiwara Michinaga (藤原道長 966-1027).¹ This scene is depicted in the fourth scroll of the illustrated handscroll *Ishiyama-dera engi e* (石山寺縁起絵 *Illustrated Legends of Ishiyama-dera*), opening with a view of the temple grounds, including the distinctive boulders that give the temple its name, and the main hall (*honden* 本殿) where the three *ajari* candidates are shown seated on an outside veranda (figs. 1 and 2).² Michinaga himself is depicted in the outer section (*gejin* 外陣) of the main hall while the head priest is shown seated inside the inner sanctum (*naijin* 内陣) with his back to the outer hall, facing an array of altars and ritual implements.³ This was a significant moment for Ishiyama-dera; according to the text accompanying the painting, Michinaga requested the ceremony in order to offer thanks to Ishiyama-dera's principal deity—the bodhisattva Nyoirin Kannon (如意輪觀音 Wish-Fulfilling, Wheel Turning Kannon, SK. *Cintamāṇicakra*)—to whom he attributed his success in becoming

¹ The third year of Kannin 寛仁. All year dates are presented according to the Western calendar, except where clarity requires the inclusion of the Japanese era names. This event is recorded in various sources. See DNS 2:14.312.

² The name Ishiyama-dera translates to 'stony mountain temple.' It received its name from the unusual rock formations visible on the slopes of the hill upon which the temple was built.

³ Ishiyama-dera's main hall is a single building divided into two sections. The inner hall of this building is the image hall, where the main icon is located, while the outer hall accommodates lay worshippers, who are not permitted entrance into the image hall.

the grandfather of three emperors, cementing his status as one of the most powerful men in Japan. While the temple had connections with emperors from the time of its foundation in 749, this scene cements the reputation of Ishiyama-dera's Kannon as a producer of imperial heirs. Moreover, this historical event gained a particular relevance some three hundred years after the *ajari* ceremony was performed, when the handscroll project was begun under the patronage of an aristocrat, Tōin Kinkata (洞院公賢 1291-1360), whose family had longstanding connections with Ishiyama-dera. Michinaga's devotional acts offered Kinkata a powerful historical precedent for a an event depicted in the sixth scene of the sixth scroll, related to Tōin Saneo (洞院実雄 1217-1273), Kinkata's great-grandfather, whose prayers to Ishiyama-dera's Kannon similarly enabled him to become the grandfather of three emperors.

Michinaga's *ajari* ritual had significance for Ishiyama-dera's affiliation with the Shingon sect as well. *Ajari* is a rank in the Buddhist hierarchy, particularly in the Esoteric schools of Tendai and Shingon, that could only be conferred with the approval of the emperor. As such, the example of Michinaga's *ajari* ceremony links Ishiyama-dera's identity as a temple with imperial patronage to its role as a site of Shingon learning and practice. It is notable that the ritual itself is not depicted in the painting; rather, the emphasis lies on the activity occurring in the worship hall and the exterior aisle. The head priest is shown facing away from the viewer, towards the inner sanctum of the temple, but the icon of Nyoirin Kannon, the focus of the ritual, is hidden from sight. Michinaga's *ajari* ceremony is not the only ritual to be depicted this way in the handscroll; in fact, most of the rituals scenes hide or obscure the ritual activity described in the text. In some cases, this is done with even more visual deliberation: in three scenes the ritual is hidden from the view of both figures within the painting and the viewers of the scroll by white curtains that surround the head priest, altars, and icon. This method of illustration reflects both the type of

rituals being depicted—esoteric rituals were for the initiated alone and were often performed behind curtains—and the experience that lay audiences would have had with them.

The relationship between ritual and the maintenance of power has been an integral part of ritual studies generally, and Japanese Esoteric Buddhism specifically. The relationship of the lay patron to the rituals he or she commissioned, however, has received less attention than the role of the practitioner of the ritual or the doctrinal underpinnings of a given ritual. In spite of the metaphysical implications of “ritual” as a step in the pursuit of enlightenment for the Esoteric Buddhist schools, many rites were performed for worldly benefits, and as such reflected the fears and desires of the Japanese imperial court.⁴ For this reason, rather than looking at what these scroll paintings can tell us about how Buddhist priests performed rituals in pre-modern Japan, I will explore what the illustrations in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* convey about the role rituals played for lay people as patrons, and also what role preserving stories of historic rituals offered the patrons of the scroll, who were increasingly temporally removed from these events.⁵ This dissertation argues that the way in which these rituals were depicted reflects the ways rituals were envisioned and employed by elite lay patrons, who had the experience of witnessing Buddhist rituals but not of performing them. The commemoration of historic rituals, moreover, played a significant part in reinforcing ritual power for patrons living in much later, more uncertain times, by providing precedents for the utilization of ritual to secure worldly benefits. In

⁴ For the role ritual played in the pursuit of enlightenment in the Tendai and Shingon schools of Esoteric Buddhism, see Lucia Dolce, “Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School,” in Orzech et al. ed., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, (Boston: Brill, 2011): 756-757.

⁵ A note on the term layperson: I use this term to refer to anyone who was not a fully ordained Buddhist priest or nun. Many individuals, including emperors and empresses, took partial or ‘lay vows,’ often in response to illness or as a marker of retirement from official, public life. However, in spite of the fact that they may have worn some markers of monastic life, such as the *kesa* (surplice), they were not qualified to perform rituals and maintained essentially the same role as patrons that they had had prior to taking vows. Most of the laypersons I discuss in this dissertation were members of the aristocracy, not commoners, who generally did not have the resources to commission the types of rituals recorded in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*.

order to understand why ritual is depicted in the way that it is, we must ask who was looking at these paintings and how their relationship with Buddhist rituals may have informed these illustrations.

1.1 THE MIRACLES, LEGENDS, AND HISTORY OF ISHIYAMA-DERA

As an *engi* (縁起, also *jisha engi* 寺社縁起), a literary genre that recounts the miracles, legends, and history of a Buddhist temple or Shinto shrine, the content of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* revolves around the miraculous events surrounding its main icon, beginning from the founding of the temple in the 700s and ending with a scene from the late 1200s. While the handscroll emphasizes the miraculous origins of the temple, it also generally follows what is known of the temple's history. Ishiyama-dera was founded in 749 in Ōmi province (today Ōtsu, Shiga province), under the auspices of Emperor Shōmu (聖武天皇 701-756), and briefly served as the main temple of his short-lived Hora Palace (保良宮).⁶ The version of this history as recorded in the handscroll emphasizes that Ishiyama-dera was originally built after prayers were performed by the priest Rōben (良弁 689-773), director (*bettō* 別当) of Tōdai-ji (東大寺), on rocky, mountainous land near Lake Biwa; the prayers resulted in the discovery of gold needed to finish gilding Tōdai-ji's Great Buddha icon. Ishiyama-dera later became a popular pilgrimage destination, particularly for women during the Heian period (平安 794-1185), and today it is the thirteenth stop on the Saigoku pilgrimage route (*saigoku sanjūsansho* 西国三十三所), a route consisting of thirty-three

⁶Kudō Yoshiaki, "Ishiyama-dera no sōken," in *Nihon koji bijutsu zenshū: Ishiyama-dera to Ōmi no koji*, vol. 11, ed. Itō Nobuo, (Tokyo: Shueisha, 1981), 93.

temples dedicated to the bodhisattva Kannon. Ishiyama-dera was renowned for the miracles performed by its main deity, although today it is perhaps most famous as the site where Murasaki Shikibu (紫式部 c. 973-c.1014) first began composing the *Tale of Genji*, a detail for which the temple was also revered in pre-modern times. The main icon (本尊 *honzon*) is a wooden two-armed Nyoirin Kannon, a slightly less common iconography, especially considering that the icon is only holding a lotus stem topped with a wish-fulfilling jewel and not the wheel that constitutes part of Nyoirin Kannon's standard iconography (fig. 3).⁷ This two-armed style of Nyoirin Kannon became associated with Ishiyama-dera exclusively in later esoteric ritual manuals, but there was also an earlier precedent of a two-armed Nyoirin Kannon in China.⁸ The current icon is approximately ten feet tall and dates to the Heian period, when it was created in the late eleventh century after the main hall burned down. According to the handscroll preface, the original image enshrined in the main hall before the fire was a bronze icon of a two-armed Nyoirin Kannon that was given to Rōben by Emperor Shōmu, and was believed to have been encased within the larger wooden sculpture after the reconstruction of the temple hall. The icon was opened up during repairs by Ishiyama-dera's abbot Jitsui (実位) in 1245, who found several smaller icons inside, which he left in place after recording the contents.⁹ During modern conservation efforts several smaller Asuka- (飛鳥 592-710) and Nara-period (奈良 710-794) bronze icons were discovered, including several Kannon, encased inside of it.¹⁰ The exact origins of these small icons, including whether or not any of them did once belong to Shōmu, is unknown. However, knowledge of their existence in the Kamakura period may have contributed to the legend that the

⁷ The standard form of Nyoirin Kannon has six arms.

⁸ Fremerman, "Divine Impersonations," 16 and 76-77.

⁹ Washio Henryū and Ayamura Hiroshi, ed., *Ishiyama-dera no shinkō to rekishi*, (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2008), 57-58. See also DNS 5. 18: 404.

¹⁰ Washio and Ayamura, *Ishiyama-dera no shinkō to rekishi*, 58.

original icon had miraculously escaped the fire that claimed the main hall—an episode recorded in the fifth scene of the fourth scroll of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*. This is the only scene in which the icon is illustrated in the handscroll, and, notably, it is depicted as a small, standing, gilt icon (fig. 4), not the seated half-lotus position of the larger, Heian-period icon.

Today, the temple's Nyoirin Kannon—the Heian-period icon—is considered a *hibutsu* (秘仏) or “hidden Buddha” that is kept inside a wooden feretory (*zushi* 厨子) built into the back wall of the inner sanctum of the main hall. It is unclear at what point the icon became a secret icon, although it probably coincided with the temple's shift to the Shingon school of Buddhism at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, or, perhaps, with the creation of a new icon following the 1078 fire.¹¹ Originally Ishiyama-dera was a Kegon-sect temple, following the practices of its founder Rōben, and thus did not have the same emphasis on secret icons that Shingon does. Even following this sectarian shift, however, the temple maintained a connection with Tōdai-ji, the temple responsible for Ishiyama-dera's foundation, throughout the Heian and Kamakura periods.¹² Ishiyama-dera's identity as a Shingon temple is emphasized throughout the scroll, both in the scenes depicting rituals that belong to the corpus of Shingon ritual activity and in the highlighting of important Shingon priests who resided at the temple. Furthermore, Nyoirin Kannon was a deity who became primarily associated with the esoteric sects (Tendai and Shingon) over time, and figured in important esoteric rituals.¹³

¹¹ Barbara Ambros dates Ishiyama-dera's shift to Shingon as 925; Ishiyama-dera's website dates it to the end of the ninth century, during the abbacy of Shōbō (聖宝 832-909). See Barbara Ambros, “Liminal Journeys: Pilgrimages of Noblewomen in Mid-Heian Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 24 (1997): 304 and <http://www.ishiyamadera.or.jp/ishiyamadera/history.html>, accessed 8/3/2016.

¹² See Nishida Tomohiro “Kamakura kōki no Ishiyama-dera to kenmon jiin 鎌倉後期の石山寺と権門寺院,” *Tokyo daigaku shiryō hensanjo kenkyū kiyō* No. 18. *Tokyo shiryō hensanjo* (2008-3): 32.

¹³ See Sarah Fremerman, “Divine Impersonations: Nyoirin Kannon in Medieval Japan,” PhD diss., Stanford University, 2008.

As I will explore further in the third chapter, Nyoirin Kannon was also a particularly appealing bodhisattva for female devotees. The wish-fulfilling jewel held by the bodhisattva was associated with childbirth, which likely contributed to Ishiyama-dera's development as a pilgrimage site popular with noblewomen during the Heian period. Although the patrons of the scroll set appear to have been male, tales of female piety and devotion figure heavily in the scenes depicted in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, both in the scenes of miraculous events and in those of rituals. Several female relatives of Kinkata, including three great-aunts and a cousin, were important women at court who had risen to prominence as either empresses or the mothers of emperors and princes. Several of the rituals depicted in the scroll were offered on behalf of women or were requested by women for someone else. As a result, the *Ishiyama-dera engi e* also offers an opportunity to reconsider the role of women as patrons and recipients of rituals during the Heian and Kamakura periods, as well as the use of their stories as models of patronage for later generations.

1.2 DEPICTING RITUAL

The relationship between art and ritual has received increased attention in recent years across various fields, including anthropology, art history, and religious studies. These studies have generally focused on two main questions: how do we study ritual objects that have entered museums as 'art?' and what was the role of such objects in their original ritual context?¹⁴ Many of these studies have focused on uncovering the ritual functions of objects that are now primarily

¹⁴ See for example "Art in Ritual Context," ed. Kathleen Ashley and Irene J. Winter, special issue, *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6, no. 1 (1992): 1-11; For an overview of the effect of viewing objects in the museum context, see Carol Duncan, "The Art Museum as Ritual" *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 77 No. 1 (1995): 10-13.

treated as art objects, while others have focused on paintings and sculpture that remain *in situ* in religious buildings but have had their relationship to ritual overlooked. These studies have also spurred conversations about the appropriate ways of dealing with ritual objects, like sacred icons, in museums, or how to convey an object's historical purpose when it is far removed from its original location in a sacred space. In some cases, attempts have been made to return the ritual function to objects in museums by re-introducing ritual into their new contexts.¹⁵ Within East Asia, the question of art and ritual has frequently focused on the status of Buddhist icons (and other ritualized images, like mandala) as works of art. Bernard Faure addressed this issue in his article, "The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze," which questioned how Western scholars approach the study of Buddhist art, and whether Buddhist art constitutes its own category within art history.¹⁶ The edited volume, *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context* (2001), expanded this conversation with contributions from a range of authors, offering insight into how icons were used and the relationship between their aesthetics and their religious function. Conversely, Cynthia Bogel has addressed how treating ritual objects as works of art has spread to their reception, even when they remain in the religious context of the temple, through the example of the Nyoirin Kannon icon at Kanshin-ji.¹⁷

Objects like illustrated handscrolls generally fall outside of the purview of ritual studies, although many depict religious subjects or were created for religious (primarily memorial) purposes, and few scholars have examined depictions of rituals in works of art, either inside or

¹⁵ Yui Suzuki has addressed the circumstances of Buddhist sculptures on display in Japan and how their ritual roles have been both elided and reintroduced into the museum context by looking at the examples of museums erected on temple grounds. Yui Suzuki, "Temple as Museum, Buddha as Art: Hōryūji's "Kudara Kannon" and Its Great Treasure Repository," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, No. 52, Museums: Crossing Boundaries (Autumn, 2007): 128-140.

¹⁶ Bernard Faure, "The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze," *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 24 (Spring, 1998): 768-813.

¹⁷ Cynthia J. Bogel, "Canonizing Kannon: The Ninth-Century Esoteric Buddhist Altar at Kanshinji," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 84, No. 1 (2002): 30-64.

outside of Japan.¹⁸ Most studies on the depiction of rituals have generally been found in the context of architecture and the rituals performed in and around buildings.¹⁹ As a result, such depictions of rituals have still been treated as part of the larger context of the ritual space. For example, Anning Jing's study of the wall murals inside the Water God's Temple at Guangsheng monastery revealed a relationship between the images and the types of rain-making rituals that were once performed at the temple.²⁰ Other scholars have addressed how iconography reflects ritual performance and visualization, such as Robert Sharf's "Visualization and Mandala in Shingon Buddhism" and Phillip Bloom's "Ghosts in the Mists: The Visual and the Visualized in Chinese Buddhist Art, Ca. 1178," both of which address the role of artworks that depict deities and images that are meant to appear in the mind of the practitioner during certain rituals.²¹ These approaches have allowed us to expand our understanding of the relationship between the ritual space and the art depicted within it. Such images, however, generally treat rituals as repeatable events, reflecting the fact that these same ceremonies would be repeated throughout the years in the same format and in the same location, as in Jing's study.²² Furthermore, as part of architectural decoration (even in the case of portable objects like large hanging scrolls), such illustrations of ritual were meant to be viewed by a larger group of people, sometimes in the

¹⁸ Julia Werts' edited volume, *Visualizing Rituals: Critical Analysis of Ritual Practice* (2008) offers a broad introduction to the different ways ritual activity has been represented, but few of the chapters deal explicitly with the depiction of pre-modern religious ritual activity.

¹⁹ These studies often offer insight into the type of rituals performed at the site, information which is often not available elsewhere. For example, Judith Barringer has analyzed ritual processional scenes in the sculptural cycles of the Parthenon for their insight into female ritual activity at the site, particularly in the context of annual ritual processions. Judith M. Barringer, "The Athenian Acropolis, Female Power, and State Religion," in *Art, Myth, and Ritual in Classical Greece*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 59-108.

²⁰ Anning Jing, *The Water God's Temple of the Guangsheng Monastery: Cosmic Function of Art, Ritual, and Theater*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2002.

²¹ Robert H. Sharf, "Visualization and Mandala in Shingon Buddhism," in *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, Robert H. Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf ed., Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001. Phillip Bloom, "Ghosts in the Mists: The Visual and the Visualized in Chinese Buddhist Art, Ca. 1178," *The Art Bulletin*. Vol. 98 (2016): 297-320.

²² At least one of the murals, however, is a commemoration of a historical event that held special significance for the temple. Jing, *The Water God's Temple of the Guangsheng Monastery*, 51 and 57.

context of the very rituals they depicted. Although not focused on depictions of ritual specifically, Naoko Gunji's work on the performance of *etoki* readings of screen paintings as part of the ritual corpus of Amida-ji highlights the tension between ritual space and ritualized images, as the locations depicted in the main hall screen paintings were sometimes viewable from the hall itself.²³

This is all to say that while the role of art in ritual has been addressed from a variety of angles and approaches, the role of ritual in a work of art has been overlooked. Depictions of rituals like those in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* and other illustrated handscrolls have yet to be fully incorporated into the present corpus of research on art and ritual. While icons and hanging scrolls may or may not have been visible to a lay audience during the performance of rituals, illustrated handscrolls were usually not part of the material accoutrements of a ritual. Paintings in handscrolls naturally commanded a much smaller audience, and would not have been viewed in conjunction with the performance of Buddhist rituals. Some of these scrolls, like *Ishiyama-dera engi e* or the better documented *Kasuga gongen genki e* (春日権現験記絵 *Illustrated Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, 1309) were donated to the temple or shrine whose legends they depict as part of offerings made along with prayers and rituals. The patrons were generally members of the aristocracy, and the artists and calligraphers responsible for creating the scroll were individuals capable of producing high-quality work. The ways in which ritual is represented in such scrolls, as a result, reflects broader concerns with the role rites and ceremonies played in the culture of the pre-modern Japanese court. Rather than focusing on the details of doctrine, *engi emaki* (縁起絵巻, founding legend handscrolls) depict religious life as lived by the lay elite.

²³ Naoko Gunji, "Amidaji: Mortuary Art, Architecture, and Rites of Emperor Antoku's Temple," (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2007), 176.

Although rarely the main subject matter, images of rituals often appear in Japanese illustrated handscrolls. The *Nenjū gyōji emaki* (年中行事絵巻, 17th c. copy of a 12th c. original), which primarily focuses on court rituals, presents a visual record of how the yearly life of ritual at court ought to be conducted through examples retrieved from the reigns of earlier emperors. While most *engi emaki* center around miraculous tales, the inclusion and exclusion of rituals within these tales offers a view into how ritual was envisioned, revered, and utilized in pre-modern Japan. However, when scholars have considered illustrations of ritual events in handscrolls, they have been treated largely as incidental, a means of gaining insight into the ephemeral aspects of the world of medieval Japan. Scholars have not questioned why these images were created, what effect they were meant to have on their audience, or how they reflected that audience's experience of ritual. The ritual scenes in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* have occasionally been studied for their insight into costume and display, as with the scene of the first celebrations of the anniversary of the Buddha's nirvana, the *Nehan-e* (涅槃会, also called *Jōraku-e* 常楽会), which includes an illustration of *bugaku* (舞楽) dancers performing on an outdoor stage. In such cases, paintings of Buddhist or court ritual and ceremony have been employed as a means of filling in the gaps left by written records in order to reconstruct the appearance and performance of these rituals. Tsuchiya Megumi, for example, has used the *Ishiyama-dera engi e* *Nehan-e* scene as part of her research on the participation of dancing youths (舞童 *budō*) in Buddhist ceremonies of the Kamakura period.²⁴ While such approaches offer valuable insight into how rituals were conducted and the types of accoutrements that were included as part of the overall ceremony, they do not investigate the role of such scenes within

²⁴ Tsuchiya Megumi 土谷恵, *Budō, tendō to jibandō—egakareta chūsei jūin no warabetachi* 舞童・天童と持幡童-描かれた中世寺院の童たち in Fujiwara Yoshiaki and Gomi Fumiko ed., *Emaki ni chūsei wo yomu*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1995. 180-225.

the handscroll as a whole. Furthermore, these studies often do not take into consideration the fact that the rituals depicted may have been illustrated centuries after the event being portrayed and, as such, may not accurately reflect those earlier times.

Ishiyama-dera engi e was the product of the patronage of elite members of the Japanese court, including emperors and shoguns. While the project was initiated sometime in the mid-1300s by the aristocrat Tōin Kinkata, it appears that it was never completed during his lifetime. In the ensuing decades and ultimately, centuries, other individuals took an interest in the unfinished project and took on the role of patron for the later scrolls.²⁵ These were individuals who had a long-standing relationship with ritual as participants of court rituals and patrons of Buddhist and Shinto ceremonies. Unlike other handscrolls in which ritual activity is depicted in the painting but is not the subject of the handscroll text, the rituals in the Ishiyama-dera handscroll are often part of the written text. While many handscrolls, particularly *engi*, depict generalized ritual activity occurring as background scenes, the Ishiyama-dera handscroll foregrounds specific ritual events that occurred in the temple's past. *Ishiyama-dera engi e* is not the only illustrated handscroll to record and illustrate historical rituals, however. *Kasuga gongen genki e* records the performance of important rituals like the *Yuima-e* (維摩会) at Kōfuku-ji, and the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* depicts a range of rituals, some Buddhist, that were performed as part of the yearly cycle of court life. But, as I will address in the fourth chapter, most *engi emaki* focus on the miracles associated with a specific deity; it is only in the Kamakura period that a more factually-based history of the temple or shrine became a prominent part of this genre of illustrated handscrolls.

²⁵ I discuss the dating, attributions, and patronage of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* and the related problems with securing this information in the following chapter.

1.2.1 Ritual as Precedent

Ishiyama-dera engi e naturally requires a long look at the history of the Japanese court and its relationship with Buddhism; the set as it exists today was created over approximately four hundred years. This long timeframe complicates the circumstances of the set's production. Seven scrolls were clearly planned in the 1300s, but all seven were not completed until the early 1800s when the final paintings for the last two scrolls were produced. Some scrolls were made during the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, following the plan of the original patrons and creators, and paid for by elite members of the court and shogunate. Scholars remain undecided on the attributions of the artists and calligraphers of several of these scrolls, and the dating of the fourteenth-century scrolls is also disputed. In spite of documentation attesting that the scrolls drew the attention of elite members of society throughout its history, the scroll set has received limited scholarly attention, largely due to the complicated circumstances of its creation. Rather than treating the later additions to the scroll as aberrations of the original, or, as others have done, thereby ignoring the implications of these additions, I ask what this long history of interest by the most powerful members of society can tell us about the appeal of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* throughout the centuries.

In addition, the contents of the handscroll set cover nearly six hundred years of history. The subject matter of the scrolls indicates an interest in representing historic events in general, and the later replacements to the set suggest a persistent interest in particular periods of *Ishiyama-dera's* past. From an overview of the rituals recorded in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* it is immediately clear that the majority of the scenes depict events that occurred during the Heian period, centered on the life of Fujiwara no Michinaga (Table 1). Thus, it is necessary to ask what the motivations were for fourteenth-century aristocrats to represent events from earlier periods,

and how this desire to represent the past was manifested in the later contributions to the scroll set.

To return to the example from the beginning of this introduction, the handscroll text of Michinaga's sponsorship of *ajari* conferment was initially drafted in the 1300s, but the illustrations and calligraphy for this scene were not created until about a century later, long after the death of the original patron, Tōin Kinkata. Thus, it is clear that this scene was important to both the original patron and those later patrons who had the fourth scroll made in the late 1400s. Kinkata had a particular interest in looking to the past to guide his actions in the present, and the individuals who acted as patrons for the later scrolls had their own reasons for preserving a glorified idea of the past; like Kinkata, they were living under circumstances in which their own political and cultural power was being threatened and, as a result, turned to the ideal of the Heian period as a reminder that the present situation had not always been so dire and in hopes that their families might one day regain the power and glory that had existed in the Heian period.

Ritual played a powerful role in helping to harness the good fortunes of the past for the present. The idea that adhering to proscribed ritual activity would result in the order and prosperity of the country was an old one by Kinkata's day, as was the tendency to credit the success of rulers of ages past to their proper behavior. The life of the court was governed by a calendar of ritual activity stretching back to the early days of the imperial court, codified in the tenth-century collection of legal codes, the *Engi shiki* (延喜式). The exact number and type of official rituals performed at court fluctuated over time, but the idea that past precedents should determine the format and performance of rituals was well-established by the Heian period. Consequently, deviation from historical norms was lamented in the diaries of noblemen and women, as well as in Heian-period literature, like *Genji monogatari* or *Eiga Monogatari*.

Thomas Conlan has argued that, during the civil wars of the fourteenth century, Buddhist ritual at the court took on a different role than the one it had played previously. Rather than ritual to reflect the existing power of the emperor, ritual activity was enacted to counter the destabilizing effects of a country divided by two opposing emperors and to offer new avenues for obtaining legitimacy of rule.²⁶ Nonetheless, the idea that adhering to precedent resulted in the order and prosperity of the state persisted. Later generations of emperors and courtiers, including the patrons of the later scrolls of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, continued to look back to the ideal of court ritual life as it had been during the Heian period as a goal to imitate in their own times. Illustrated handscrolls that depicted this glorified version of the past appealed to these patrons, and *Ishiyama-dera engi e* offered very compelling examples of the benefits bestowed upon Heian and Kamakura-period patrons of the temple.

1.3 CHAPTER OUTLINES

The dissertation is divided into three sections. Chapter one introduces the context of the creation of the Ishiyama-dera scroll set, outlining the research that has been done and the difficulties in establishing patrons, calligraphers, and artists of the scrolls. It covers the political context of the origins of the scroll set during the onset of the chaotic Nanbokuchō period (南北朝 1336-1392), as well as the changes in the roles of emperors, shoguns, and esoteric Buddhism throughout ensuing periods when new additions to the set were made. As I alluded to above, most of the research that has been done on *Ishiyama-dera engi e* has involved securing attributions and dates

²⁶ Thomas Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, 15.

for the scroll set, which has an unusually complicated history. While many older illustrated handscrolls have suffered loss and damage, this does not appear to have been the case with *Ishiyama-dera engi e*. Rather, after the first three scrolls were created, the production of the set was interrupted, probably by the instability of the Nanbokuchō period. While I primarily focus on Kinkata as the original patron of the scrolls and the person who probably oversaw their planning and initial design, I also consider the motivations for patrons of the later scrolls, several of whom shared similar concerns with Kinkata, despite their separation in time.

In the second chapter I investigate the role of lay patrons, particularly members of the imperial family, for Ishiyama-dera throughout its history. Scenes of patronage are represented throughout *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, and most are incidents of imperial patronage, such as pilgrimages of retired emperors or the commissioning of rituals for the health of emperors and imperial princes. This chapter addresses how depictions of ritual and material patronage of the temple were utilized by the handscroll's creators to emphasize the prosperity of past believers and encourage future acts of patronage. Furthermore, the examples of historic patrons put forth in the scroll advertised the identity of the temple as a site tied to the birth of imperial heirs, a detail that is repeated throughout, but which is made most obvious in the example of Retired Empress Higashisanjō-in (東三条院 962-1001), who is the only patron to have two scenes dedicated to her in the scroll. The link between Ishiyama-dera's Kannon icon, imperial consorts, and regental families is a history that was important for the fourteenth-century patrons of the handscroll, who saw in Heian-period patrons like Michinaga and Higashisanjō-in a precedent for their own status at court.

Finally, Chapter Three covers how rituals are depicted in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*. I compare the illustrations in the Ishiyama-dera scrolls to similar ones found in other

contemporary temple-legend scrolls and ritual diagrams, which were meant to preserve the proper methods for performing Buddhist rituals. I argue that the method of illustrating ritual for a lay audience reflects the experiences and needs of that audience in regards to ritual, and, furthermore, that such paintings were valued for their role in keeping alive a tradition of ritual performance, rather than accurately describing how to perform a ritual. The illustrations in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* emphasize the power of Shingon rituals by commemorating successful examples of such rituals that had been performed in the past, particularly ones that had resulted in the safety and success of the imperial family. The Shingon identity of Ishiyama-dera was being challenged during the late 1200s and early 1300s, and the unusual representations of secret rituals in the scroll paintings are tied to temple leaders' and secular patrons' desires to emphasize Ishiyama-dera's history as an independent Shingon temple.

As rituals are generally believed to have been performed to harness, establish, or reaffirm power, in the context of Japanese Buddhism, especially the esoteric schools, ritual power has been viewed as the purview of practitioners—priests who received secret doctrines from their teachers and knew the correct way to perform ritual and, thus, could control the power of the ritual.²⁷ Rituals, however, could be bought, and often, they were. It was rare that a layperson attempted to master the performance of a ritual himself (although examples of emperors like Go-Daigo and Go-Uda exist), when such an individual could afford to hire the best ritual specialists and entreaty the intervention of the most powerful deities. This dissertation asks: how do representations of ritual extend, reinforce, or strengthen the power of ritual? In the case of the rituals in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, the scenes served to emphasize the tie between the power of Buddhism—specifically, Shingon Buddhism—and the power of the imperial court. At the time

²⁷ See Bell, *Ritual theory, ritual practice*, particularly “Ritual and Power,” beginning on page 169.

when the handscroll project was begun, both the emperor and the Shingon identity of Ishiyama-dera were being threatened. Through the depiction of rituals that had been performed in the past, the patrons of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* sought to harness their benefits in a different way, channeling the successes of history into their present.

Table 1. Rituals depicted in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*.

Scroll	Subject	Date of Ritual
Scroll 1, scene 2	Rōben enshrines emperor Shōmū's icon of Nyoirin Kannon and performs secret rituals.	749
Scroll 1, scene 4	The first Nehan-e (Jōraku-e) is held at Ishiyama-dera.	804
Scroll 3, scene 2	Higashisanjō-in makes her final pilgrimage to Ishiyama-dera. Donates curtains and commissions goma and a myriad light service.	1001
Scroll 4, scene 2	Fujiwara no Michinaga has three people receive the status of <i>ajari</i> at Ishiyama-dera in thanksgiving for his success at becoming grandfather of three emperors.	1019
Scroll 4, scene 3	Jinkaku, head priest of Ishiyama-dera, is summoned to perform <i>kaji</i> healing rituals and the Nyoirin mantra for Emperor Go-Ichijō. As a result, the emperor recovers from his illness.	1026
Scroll 4, scene 4	At the request of Jōtōmon-in, Jinkaku is summoned to perform <i>kaji</i> and the Nyoirin mantra for the recovery of her son, future Emperor Go-Suzaku. As a result, the prince recovers from his illness.	1027
Scroll 7, scene 3	Annual rituals dedicated to Aizen Myōō are initiated at the behest of emperor Fushimi	Sometime between 1293-1299

2.0 MAKING A HANDSCROLL: PATRONAGE AND PRODUCTION OF *ISHIYAMA-DERA ENGI E*

Ishiyama-dera engi e is a set of seven scrolls containing thirty-three scenes depicting important historical events and miracles that occurred at the temple between its founding in the 700s and the final scene in 1299, several decades before the beginning of the scroll project in the mid-1300s. Unlike contemporary handscrolls like *Kasuga gongen genki e* (春日権現験記絵 *Illustrated Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*), *Ishiyama-dera engi e* lacks inscriptions or external documentation in diaries or records that explains how the scroll project came about and who was involved. A statement in the preface to the scroll has led scholars to assume that the project was initiated during the short-lived Shōchū period (正中 1324-1326), however, as we now know, other evidence that any part of the existing set was made during those years is contradictory. Furthermore, several of the extant scrolls were created decades or even centuries later. In recent decades scholars have come to a few conclusions concerning when the scroll was most likely created and are confident in identifying the individuals who initially funded the project as a courtier named Tōin Kinkata (洞院公賢 1291-1360) and one of his close male relatives who served as abbot of Ishiyama-dera.

My aims for this chapter are threefold: first, to outline the previous research that has been done on the scroll and question why and where gaps in that research remain; second, to provide an overview of the life of the scroll, re-inserting it into its context as a luxury object from the

fourteenth century and examining the role such objects played for both the temples that owned them and the elite lay audience for which they were created. Finally, I consider the relationships among members of the Tōin family, the imperial family, and Ishiyama-dera, and the motivations behind the creation of the scrolls and the glorification of the temple's past and the Tōin family's role in it as a means of drawing future patronage from the imperial family.

2.1 THE PRODUCTION OF ISHIYAMA-DERA ENGI E: 1324-1805

The lack of information surrounding the creation of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* is a result of the chaotic period in which it was begun. The mid-to-late 1300s was a time of considerable strife, as the old power of the Kamakura bakufu crumbled, and a new emperor, Go-Daigo (後醍醐 1288-1339, r. 1318-1339), upended the status quo at the court in Kyoto by regularly ignoring the authority of both the cloistered emperor (his father Go-Uda 後宇多 1267-1324, r. 1274-1287) and the shogun.²⁸ The chaos brewing during the early half of the fourteenth century culminated in the Kenmu Restoration and the ensuing Nanbokuchō period, when Go-Daigo ruled from a newly established Southern Court in Yoshino while members of the rival imperial line ruled as the Northern Court in Kyoto. Repeated attacks on Kyoto both during this period and during the wars that erupted throughout the following century led to the destruction and scattering of many documents, and references to the handscroll in remaining contemporary sources are scarce. The diary of Tōin Kinkata, *Entairyaku* (園太曆), is unfortunately missing sections between the years 1311 and 1344, and no mention of his involvement with the scrolls is mentioned in later sections.

²⁸ From 1336 onwards Go-Daigo ruled from the Southern Court.

This lack of source materials in part accounts for the fact that scholarship on the scrolls has remained limited, even though *Ishiyama-dera engi e* is designated an Important Cultural Property. The scroll paintings themselves are often presented as examples to illustrate aspects of medieval Japanese life and culture, divorced from the text and the context of the handscroll at large. Although the detailed paintings of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* are a valuable resource on their own, there is more to be gained by considering the scrolls in their entirety, as a set that acquired varied meanings and functions throughout its long history.

The other main reason for the lack of attention to the handscroll is the complicated history of its production. The current set of seven scrolls that makes up *Ishiyama-dera engi e* is the result of nearly six centuries of creation and re-creation. It is difficult to know what to call ‘original’ and what to call a ‘replacement,’ as it is unclear whether the seven scrolls were ever completed as originally intended. The first three scrolls appear to date to the mid-fourteenth century. It is possible that the paintings of these scrolls may be earlier, closer to the dates listed in the preface to the scroll set—between the years 1324 and 1326—however, as I discuss below, scholars continue to debate this dating. The fifth scroll was probably not created until several decades later, at the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth. The three remaining scrolls are well-documented, and by the time the first of these—the fourth scroll—was made, only four of the original seven scrolls were extant: scrolls one, two, three, and five. It is possible that a fourteenth-century version of the fourth scroll existed and was lost or destroyed, but there is no documentation to support this, and given the haphazard production of the fifth scroll, it is also possible that no original fourth scroll was ever made. The current fourth scroll was created in 1497, and the last two scrolls, six and seven, were not created until the mid-seventeenth century, when new calligraphy was produced for those scrolls; the paintings would

not be added until the early 1800s. The production of scrolls four, six, and seven are well documented in external sources, including references in the diary of the courtier Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, *Sanetaka kōki* (実隆公記 1474-1536), who provided the calligraphy for the fourth scroll. The circumstances of the sixth and seventh scrolls are explained in a colophon attached at the end of the seventh and final scroll of the complete scroll set. This colophon also outlines the provenance of the earlier scrolls, but modern scholars have called these attributions into question.²⁹ Modern scholars are not unanimous in their assessments, however, as the lack of documentation for the original fourteenth-century scrolls still leaves much room for speculation.

Japanese-language scholarship has primarily focused on securing attributions for the artists and calligraphers involved with the project, the reasons for the production of the scrolls, and stylistic analysis of the paintings. The first article to assess *Ishiyama-dera engi e* was written by Umezu Jirō in 1952, in which he re-assessed both the traditional attribution of calligraphers and painters and the dating of the original scroll set.³⁰ Yoshida Yūji and Komatsu Shigemi contributed their own analyses of the scrolls in the 1970s and '80s, questioning and refining some of Umezu's arguments and identifications.³¹ The entire scroll set has been reproduced in *Nihon emaki taisei 18: Ishiyama-dera engi* (1978), *Japanese Scroll Paintings 22: Ishiyama-dera engi e* (1979), and *Nihon no Emaki 16: Ishiyamadera engi* (1988) alongside the writings of these

²⁹ Sadanobu states that the first three scrolls were previously said to have been painted by Awataguchi Ryūkō, the fourth scroll by Tosa Mitsunobu, and the fifth scroll by Tosa Mitsumochi, but that in the Kansei era (寛政 1789-1801) Sumiyoshi Hiroyuki (住吉広行 1755-1811), an official painter of the Shogunate, made new attributions. He introduced the idea that Takashina Takakane was the artist of the first three scrolls, and argued that Ryūkō was instead the artist of the fifth scroll.

³⁰ "Ishiyamadera ekō 石山寺絵考," *Bijutsushi*, no. 6 (1952); reprinted as "Ishiyamadera ekō" in Umezu Jirō, *Emakimono sōkō 繪巻物叢考*, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1968). He published an updated version as "Ishiyama-dera engi e ni suite 石山寺絵について" in *Japanese Scroll Paintings 22: Ishiyamadera engi-e* 新集日本絵巻物全集 22: 石山寺縁起絵, ed. Umezu Jirō, (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1979).

³¹ Yoshida Yūji, "Ishiyama-dera engi e' nanamaki no rekiho 「石山寺縁起絵」七巻の歷程" in *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyamadera engi*, vol. 18, Komatsu, Shigemi ed., (Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 98-118. Komatsu Shigemi, "Ishiyama-dera engi—saionji monyō eiga no hōsai 石山寺縁起—西園寺門葉榮華の報賽" in *Nihon no Emaki 16: Ishiyamadera engi*, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1988), 98-117.

scholars. Most recently, Aizawa Masahiko has offered updated information and theories about the circumstances of creation of the scroll set in *Ishiyama-dera engi emaki shūsei* (2016).³² The first and only English-language scholarship to deal with the handscroll in any depth is Ive Covaci's 2007 dissertation, "The 'Ishiyamadera engi' and the Representation of Dreams and Visions in Pre-Modern Japanese Art," although she does not make any new claims concerning the creation of the scroll.³³

Several of these scholars disagree on the exact dating and attributions of the scrolls; currently the most likely attributions and dates are as follows:

Table 2. Production of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*

Scroll	Artist	Calligrapher	Date
Scrolls 1, 2, 3	Takashina Takakane (active 1309-1330); or his workshop	Kōshu, abbot of Ishiyama-dera (1335-1384)	Calligraphy 1375; paintings possibly created between 1324-1326
Scroll 4	Tosa Mitsunobu (1469-1523); or unidentified Tosa artist	Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1474-1536)	1497
Scroll 5	Awataguchi Ryūkō (fl. c. 1414)	Nijō Tameshige (1325-1385)	Calligraphy completed late 1300s; Paintings completed early 1400s
Scrolls 6 and 7	Tani Bunchō (1763-1840)	Asukai Masaaki (1611-1679)	Calligraphy completed 1655; Paintings completed 1805

The text of the handscroll never explicitly states when and why they were created. Scholars have interpreted a line from the preface to the scrolls to mean that they were created during the Shōchū period (1324-1326).³⁴ Umezu Jirō was the first to call these traditionally-accepted dates and attributions into question, pointing out that a closer look at the artists and

³² Aizawa Masahiko 相澤正彦 and Kuniga Yumiko 國賀由美子, ed., *Ishiyama-dera engi emaki shūsei* 石山寺縁起絵巻集成, vol. 1-3, (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2016).

³³ Ive Covaci, "The 'Ishiyamadera engi' and the Representation of Dreams and Visions in Pre-Modern Japanese Art," PhD diss., Yale University, 2007.

³⁴ 「聖化正中の暦、王道恢弘し、仏家紹隆せることをしらしめむとなり」, Komatsu ed., NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 132.

calligraphers supposedly responsible for the scrolls suggested that something was amiss. To begin with, Abbot Kōshu (杲守 1335-1384) could not have made the calligraphy during the 1320s as he was not born until 1335. This discrepancy led Umezu Jirō to compare extant examples of Kōshu's writing, including an early, unillustrated scroll of the text for the handscroll, called *Ishiyama-dera ekotoba* (石山寺絵詞), and determined that his calligraphy matched the calligraphy of the first three scrolls of the set. Therefore, he argued that the scrolls could not have been made until the latter half of the fourteenth century, not the 1320s.³⁵ He also argued that Takashina Takakane (高階隆兼 fl. 1309-1330) could not have been the artist, as he would have been nearly ninety years old by the time Kōshu would have been able to create the calligraphy.³⁶ However, Yoshida Yūji later disagreed with that argument, pointing out that there is no reason to assume that the text and paintings were completed at the same time.³⁷ He argued that the style of the paintings confirms them as the work of Takashina Takakane, and that therefore the project was probably started in the early 1300s, but work on the scrolls was interrupted by the disorder of the Nanbokuchō period, leaving the calligraphy for scrolls one through three to only be completed by abbot Kōshu decades later.³⁸ Yoshida also scrutinized the significance of the mention of the Shōchū period in the preface, arguing that the original sentence implies a connection to Emperor Go-Daigo who reigned during the Shōchū period, and the phrase concerning “the expansion of imperial rule” was intended to refer to Go-Daigo's direct rule. Yoshida also interprets the latter part of the sentence, concerning someone who was a

³⁵ Umezu, “Ishiyama-dera engi e ni tsuite,” 9-10. *Ishiyama-dera ekotoba* has been reprinted in Aizawa Masahiko and Kuniga Yumiko ed., *Ishiyama-dera engi emaki shūsei* 石山寺縁起絵巻集成, vol. 2, (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2016).

³⁶ Umezu, “Ishiyama-dera engi e ni tsuite,” 9-10.

³⁷ Yoshida, ““Ishiyama-dera engi e’ nanamaki no rekiho,” 112-114.

³⁸ Yoshida, ““Ishiyama-dera engi e’ nanamaki no rekiho,” 114.

great supporter of Buddhism, to refer to Go-Daigo's father, Go-Uda (後宇多 1267-1324, r. 1274-1287), who had donated extensive landholdings to Ishiyama-dera in 1301 in order to support the performance of annual rites at the temple.³⁹ These statements support the idea that the patron of the scrolls was someone who had close ties with the Daikakuji line of emperors. However, he questions using this reference to confirm that the scrolls were made during the Shōchū period itself. He notes that in the fourth scene of the sixth scroll emperor Hanazono's (花園 1297-1348, r. 1308-1318) mother is referred to by her *in* name, Kenshinmon-in, a title which she received in the second month of the third year of the Shōchū period, meaning that if the scrolls were begun during the Shōchū period, it could not have been earlier than 1326.⁴⁰ The idea that the scrolls date to the Shōchū period appears early on in pre-modern Japanese texts; *kanjin* campaign letters from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries reference Shōchū-period text and paintings as among the notable products of Ishiyama-dera.⁴¹ Most publications continue to use this date for the scrolls, which obscures the more complicated details of the production of the scroll set. At this point, it seems safe to say that Takashina Takakane himself and/or his workshop produced the paintings for the first three scrolls between the years 1324-1326.

Umezu was also the first scholar to suggest a potential patron for the handscroll—Tōin Kinkata. The Tōin family was a branch of the Saionji (西園寺), distant descendants of the Fujiwara. Kinkata held important positions, including Minister of the Left (*sadaijin* 左大臣) and Chancellor (*daijōdaijin* 太政大臣), at both Go-Daigo's court and the Northern court of the

³⁹ Yoshida, “Ishiyama-dera engi e’ nanamaki no rekiho,” 100.

⁴⁰ Yoshida, “Ishiyama-dera engi e’ nanamaki no rekiho,” 101.

⁴¹ Ishiyama-dera bunkazai sōgō chōsadan, *Ishiyamadera no kenkyū: Azekura shōgyō, komonjo hen*, (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1981), 563 and 567. *Kanjin* were letters soliciting donations for temples, usually to raise funds for repairs or the creations of new halls or icons. Making donations to such campaigns was believed to confer merit and spiritual benefits to the donor.

Nanbokuchō period, and emperors and shoguns alike turned to him as an expert on matters of court ritual and protocol.⁴² Umezu points out the close relationship between the Tōin family and Ishiyama-dera as evidence for his patronage of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, noting that members of the Tōin had served as abbots of Ishiyama-dera for several generations—Kinkata’s granduncle, a brother, and two of his sons all served as abbots of the temple.⁴³ Other scholars have accepted this argument and expanded upon it, and it has been pointed out that sections of the handscroll text are similar to entries in *Entairyaku*, Kinkata’s diary.⁴⁴ Komatsu Shigemi, who disputed the involvement of Kōshu, concluded that the Ishiyama-dera scrolls were the product of collaboration between Tōin Kinkata and his brother Yakushu (益守 1293-?), who was abbot of Ishiyama-dera during the Shōchū period.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the Tōin had ties to the imperial family through marriage (see table 3), which may explain the patronage of Ishiyama-dera by emperors like Go-Uda, whose mother was of the Tōin family. Regardless of the exact dates, it seems most likely that the handscroll set was planned by Tōin Kinkata and one of his male relatives, who served as abbot of Ishiyama-dera. Furthermore, if we take into consideration Yoshida’s argument that the paintings for the original, fourteenth-century scrolls were completed before some or all of the calligraphy could be finished, it is possible that the production of the scrolls spanned two generations of Ishiyama-dera abbots, beginning with Kinkata’s brother Yakushu and ending with his son, Kōshu.

The fifth scroll was previously thought to have been created at the same time as the first three. However, as with the earlier scrolls, there is some dispute in regards to the painters and

⁴² Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 3-4.

⁴³ Kōshu was succeeded as abbot of Ishiyama-dera by his younger brother Shukai (守快 ?-1405)

⁴⁴ Aizawa, “‘Ishiyama-dera engi emaki’ shōkai” in *Ishiyama-dera engi emaki shūsei*, vol. 3, 14.

⁴⁵ Komatsu Shigemi, “Ishiyama-dera engi—saionji monyō eiga no hōsai 石山寺縁起—西園寺門葉榮華の報賽” in *Nihon no Emaki 16: Ishiyamadera engi*, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1988), 116.

calligraphers and the timeline in which they completed their work. The calligraphy of the fifth scroll is traditionally ascribed to the courtier and poet Nijō Tameshige (二条為重 1325-1385).⁴⁶ He was well-placed in the hierarchy of the court and shogunate; in 1381 he received the position of Provisional Middle Counselor (*gon chūnagon* 権中納言), and he served as a *tanka* (poetry) instructor to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (足利義満 1358-1408).⁴⁷ Because he lived contemporaneously with Kōshu, it has been thought that he created the calligraphy at the same time as the calligraphy for the first three scrolls was created, under the direction of Kōshu. Some scholars dispute the claim that Tameshige created the calligraphy while Kōshu was working on the other three scrolls, as differences in the size of the paper used for Kōshu's calligraphy and Tameshige's suggest that they were not part of the same production. Considering that Kōshu and Tameshige died within a year of one another, Tameshige's contribution must not have been made much after Kōshu's, likely sometime before 1385.⁴⁸ However, some scholars also completely dismiss Tameshige as the calligrapher; Aizawa has argued that, based on a comparison with known examples of Tameshige's calligraphy, he is not the author of *Ishiyama-dera engi e's* fifth scroll. He does not, unfortunately, offer any alternative attributions.⁴⁹

It also appears that the paintings for the fifth scroll were not made at the same time as the calligraphy, as again, different sizes of paper were used for the paintings and text, and the artist does not appear to have been active during Tameshige's or Kōshu's lifetimes. This kind of variation in paper sizes is not usual among illustrated handscroll projects, which suggests that

⁴⁶ He is also sometimes referred to by the name Reizei 冷泉 Tameshige.

⁴⁷ Aizawa, "Ishiyama-dera engi emaki' shōkai," 21.

⁴⁸ Kinoshita Masao, "Ishiyama-dera engi' no hissha nit suite 「石山寺縁起」の筆者について," in Komatsu ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18. Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978. 128.

⁴⁹ Aizawa, "Ishiyama-dera engi emaki' shōkai," 21.

some time passed between the creation of the text and the paintings.⁵⁰ The identity of the painter further supports this theory—the paintings of the fifth scroll are traditionally credited to the painter Awataguchi Ryūkō (粟田口隆光 fl. c. 1414), who is known to have painted the illustrated handscroll *Yūzu nenbutsu engi emaki* (融通念仏縁起絵巻) in 1414.⁵¹ He was the son of the head of the court painting bureau, Tosa Mitsuaki (土佐光顯 fl. c. 1345-1350), but took the name Awataguchi after the name of the section of Kyoto where he made his residence. Since his birth and death dates are unknown, it was previously speculated that he could have been active earlier, during the period when Kōshu was overseeing the project. However, the identification of other, much later projects by his hand now places his period of activity firmly in the mid-1400s, making it unlikely that he was active, or even born, during the late 1300s when the text for the fifth scroll must have been completed.⁵² As a result, Aizawa has argued that the fifth scroll was probably made separately from the previous three scrolls, and furthermore, that some time passed between the creation of the calligraphy and paintings. Ryūkō, he points out, would have been a likely candidate to provide paintings for the scroll, as he was skilled in painting in the style of Takashina Takakane, the artist of the first three scrolls.⁵³

Ryūkō's involvement as artist raises some questions about the patronage of the fifth scroll. By this point, both Kinkata and Kōshu had died, although Kōshu was succeeded as abbot by his brother Shukai (守快 ?-1405), and a final Tōin family member, Zenshin (禅信 1400-1467) served as the twenty-first abbot of Ishiyama-dera during the mid-1400s. Kinkata's other descendants continued to hold important posts at court, including his grandson, Tōin Kinsada (洞

⁵⁰ Aizawa, “Ishiyama-dera engi emaki’ shōkai,” 22.

⁵¹ 隆光 Ryūkō is sometimes transliterated as Takamitsu.

⁵² Aizawa, “Ishiyama-dera engi emaki’ shōkai,” 21-22.

⁵³ Aizawa, “Ishiyama-dera engi emaki’ shōkai,” 19

院公定 1340-1399), author of the history and genealogy *Sonpi bunmyaku* (尊卑分脈), who served as both Minister of the Left and Minister of the Right (*udaijin* 右大臣) and may have had an interest in continuing the work his grandfather started. The fact that Zenshin, Kinsada's grandson, was abbot of Ishiyama-dera points to the fact that the family still maintained ties with the temple well into the 1400s. However, Tōin family fortunes were rapidly fading by this date, and Ryūkō was an elite artist who provided work for shoguns and powerful temples. As a result, Aizawa argues that a new patron was responsible for the completion of the fifth scroll, someone outside of Ishiyama-dera and the Tōin family—a member of the Ashikaga family.

2.1.1 Imperial and Shogunal Patronage: The Fourth and Fifth Scrolls

Due to the problems with the fifth scroll and the lack of external documentation, the status of the Ishiyama-dera handscroll during the early decades of the 1400s is unclear. The existence of the *Ishiyama-dera engi ekotoba* indicates that a set of seven scrolls was planned by the second half of the 1300s, but the hybrid nature of the fifth scroll suggests that the set that began with the first three scrolls was never completed in that time frame. References to the scroll set either do not mention the number of scrolls, or, by the late fifteenth-century, only mention four—presumably scrolls one, two, three, and five. It may be that the set was completed under Kōshu's direction, and that the original fourth, sixth, and seventh scrolls were damaged or lost some time later. Komatsu surmises that sometime after leaving Ishiyama-dera, three of the original seven scrolls were lost or destroyed, leaving only four (scrolls one, two, three, and five) remaining. However, Komatsu believed the fifth scroll had been completed at the same time as the first three; the evidence that this was not the case complicates the idea that the full set was completed during the

1300s. The fifth scroll may have been left unfinished at the time of Kōshu's death, or due to some other unforeseen interruption. It is clear that however many of the scrolls existed, they were considered a valuable asset to Ishiyama-dera in the centuries after they were initially created, as they continued to draw the attention of elite members of society: aristocrats, emperors, and shoguns.

Komatsu Shigemi has managed to trace the movement of the scrolls during the fifteenth century, when variations on the term 'Ishiyama pictures' appear in several records.⁵⁴ Around 1438, the handscroll appears to have been in the possession of Shōjō-in (勝定院) of Shōkoku-ji (相国寺), the memorial temple of Ashikaga Yoshimochi (義持 1386-1428), according to temple records that list 'Ishiyama-e' (石山絵) as part of the household assets of one of the temple administrators.⁵⁵ These 'Ishiyama-e' are mentioned as part of the assets that were confiscated from the office of that administrator during internal disputes within the temple, but it does not state where the paintings went next.⁵⁶ Four scrolls of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* appear in the Ashikaga treasury in 1444, when the courtier Nakahara Yasutomi (c. 1400- 1457 中原康富) records viewing them in his diary, *Yasutomi ki* (康富記).⁵⁷ After leaving Shōkoku-ji, these four scrolls must have entered the possession of the Ashikaga family and were kept at their Muromachi palace, where Yasutomi was permitted to view them and several other paintings.⁵⁸

How the Ashikaga came into possession of the scrolls is unclear. Given the proclivities of several Ashikaga family members towards art collecting, it is likely that *Ishiyama-dera engi e*

⁵⁴ Komatsu Shigemi, "Ishiyama-dera engi—Saionji monyō eiga no hōsai" in *Ishiyama-dera engi, Nihon no Emaki* 16, 98-117.

⁵⁵ Komatsu, "Ishiyama-dera engi—Saionji monyō eiga no hōsai," 100.

⁵⁶ Komatsu, "Ishiyama-dera engi—Saionji monyō eiga no hōsai," 100-101.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Komatsu, "Ishiyama-dera engi—Saionji monyō eiga no hōsai," 102-103.

⁵⁸ Komatsu, "Ishiyama-dera engi—Saionji monyō eiga no hōsai," 103.

was borrowed by a member of the Ashikaga family and never returned to the temple. Ashikaga shoguns had been patrons of Ishiyama-dera since the mid-1300s. For example, in 1338, Ashikaga Tadayoshi had prayers for the peace of the realm performed at Ishiyama-dera, and in 1341, Ashikaga Takauji (尊氏 1305-1358) visited Ishiyama-dera and donated a sword.⁵⁹ Ashikaga Yoshimitsu is also known to have visited the temple at least once, to view cherry blossoms in 1407.⁶⁰ Ishiyama-dera continued to receive the patronage of the Ashikaga shoguns throughout the Muromachi period (室町 1336-1573), including Yoshimochi, who sponsored rites of repentance (*senbō* 懺法) dedicated to Ishiyama-dera's Kannon in 1418 and Yoshimasa (義政 1436-1490) and his wife, Hino Tomiko (日野富子 1440-1496), who both made pilgrimages to Ishiyama-dera in 1465.⁶¹

Aizawa has argued that Yoshimochi is the most likely patron for the artwork of the fifth scroll, based on his patronage of Ishiyama-dera and because he commissioned other paintings by Ryūkō, and thus argues that he must have been the one to borrow the scrolls.⁶² He argues that the first three scrolls were removed from Ishiyama-dera at the time the paintings were made for the fifth scroll and remained at Yoshimochi's memorial temple Shōjō-in (勝定院) thereafter.⁶³ Unfortunately, it is unclear whether the sixth and seventh scrolls were meant to be produced along with the fifth, or whether a fourth scroll existed at all at this point. It is hard to gauge whether there was something in the content of the fifth scroll that would have led to its completion before the fourth scroll—like the other scrolls, it contains a mix of miraculous events and credits the success of famous historical figures to their belief in Kannon. It is possible that it

⁵⁹ DNS 6:4.764 and DNS 6:6.818.

⁶⁰ DNS 7: 0. 877

⁶¹ DNS 7. 31: 266, DNS 7. 908: 190 and DNS 7: 908. 196.

⁶² Aizawa, “Ishiyama-dera engi emaki’ shōkai,” 25.

⁶³ Aizawa, “Ishiyama-dera engi emaki’ shōkai,” 24-25.

was completed only because there was pre-existing calligraphy for this scroll, and not the fourth one.

The next mention of the Ishiyama-dera handscroll is found in the diary of the courtier Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, who states that in 1476 he read aloud the text of four *Ishiyama-dera engi e* scrolls to Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado (後土御門 1442-1500, r. 1464-1500).⁶⁴ It is likely that the emperor encountered the scrolls while staying at the Muromachi palace, where he had retreated from the fighting of the Ōnin War (1467-1477).⁶⁵ After this event, the handscrolls apparently attracted the attention of Ishiyama-dera, who petitioned to have them returned and, in 1487, the four scrolls were returned to the temple.⁶⁶ It was not until a decade later that a replacement for the missing fourth scroll was created. Sanetaka was heavily involved in the creation of this fourth scroll, for which he wrote calligraphy to accompany paintings by the artist Tosa Mitsunobu (土佐光信 1469-1523) in 1497.⁶⁷ Sanetaka regularly served as an intermediary and advisor for emperors on painting projects during his time at court, and he often worked on and oversaw projects with Tosa Mitsunobu, one of the most sought-after court painters of the late fifteenth-century.⁶⁸ Although Sanetaka does not state who gave the order to produce the replacement scroll for *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, the fact that the handscroll had been read to an emperor previously, plus the involvement of both Sanetaka and Mitsunobu, suggests imperial patronage.

⁶⁴ Komatsu, “Ishiyama-dera engi—Saionji monyō eiga no hōsai,” 103-104.

⁶⁵ Donald Keene, *Yoshimasa and the Silver Pavilion: The Creation of the Soul of Japan*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 66.

⁶⁶ Nakanoin Michihide 中院通秀, the Naidaijin, recorded this event in his diary. Komatsu, “Ishiyama-dera engi—Saionji monyō eiga no hōsai,” 104.

⁶⁷ Mitsunobu is the traditionally attributed artist of the fourth scroll. Mitsunobu and Sanetaka worked together on several scroll projects, so the likelihood of their collaboration on this project is high. Some scholars dispute this based on stylistic analysis, but generally agree that it was a member of the Tosa school. See Aizawa, “Ishiyama-dera engi emaki’ shōkai,” 26.

⁶⁸ Quitman E. Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan: 1475-1500*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 28-29.

Although the royal family was living in reduced circumstances for much of the late 1400s as a result of the Ōnin War, both Go-Tsuchimikado and his father, Go-Hanazono (後花園 1419-1471), were strong supporters of artistic projects, including the copying and production of handscrolls.⁶⁹ Go-Tsuchimikado is known to have acted as a patron of Ishiyama-dera; he donated a sword to the temple in 1483.⁷⁰ It is possible that the emperor's encounter with the scrolls in 1476 encouraged his interest in Ishiyama-dera and led to his becoming a patron of the temple and ultimately commissioning the replacement fourth scroll.

2.1.2 Making a Fourteenth-century Handscroll in the Nineteenth Century: The Sixth and Seventh Scrolls

At the end of the fifteenth century, *Ishiyama-dera engi e* consisted of five scrolls out of the originally planned set of seven, but interest in completing the set surfaced from time to time. The current sixth and seventh scrolls of the set are hybrids, completed during the early 1800s when paintings were created for sections of calligraphy that had been produced in the 1600s. Matsudaira Sadanobu (松平定信 1758-1829) oversaw the painting project and inscribed the final colophon at the end of the seventh scroll, which identifies both the artist and calligrapher. Asukai Masaaki (飛鳥井雅章 1611-1679), a poet and courtier, wrote the text for these two scrolls in 1655 when it was decided that copies should be made of the existing five scrolls.⁷¹ This copy, called the *Ishiyama-dera shin engi e* 石山寺新縁起絵, or “new” *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, is still held at the temple. Asukai Masaaki provided calligraphy for scrolls two through five of this

⁶⁹Elizabeth Lillehoj, *Art and Palace Politics in Early Modern Japan, 1580s-1680s*, (Boston: Brill, 2011), 43.

⁷⁰DNS 8. 15: 351.

⁷¹Covaci, “The ‘Ishiyamadera engi’ and the Representation of Dreams and Visions in Pre-Modern Japanese Art,” 268.

copy, and the paintings were done by Tosa Mitsuoki (土佐光起 1617-1691). The first scroll was painted by Kanō Yasunobu (狩野安信 1613-1685) and the calligraphy was provided by the Provisional Middle Counselor (權中納言 Gon-Chūnagon) Minase Kanetoshi (水無瀬兼俊 ?-1656). The calligraphy of the sixth and seventh scrolls has received little attention, as scholarship on the final two scrolls has focused on the well-documented paintings created at the end of the Edo period. Masaaki was a high-ranking courtier who achieved the rank of Provisional Senior Counselor (Gon-Dainagon 權大納言) and was close to Emperor Go-Mizunoo (後水尾 1596-1680, r. 1611-1629). The copy that was made involved an elite group of individuals. Tosa Mitsuoki had just become head of the imperial painting bureau the year before, and was responsible for returning the Tosa school to prominence as the official painters of the court.⁷² Little is known about the circumstances of this copy, although Kuninaga Yumiko has suggested that it was made as an offering to Ishiyama-dera, possibly during a fundraising campaign for the temple.⁷³

The text of the sixth and seventh scrolls was derived from the fourteenth-century *Ishiyama-dera ekotoba*, although there are some variations.⁷⁴ It is unclear whether illustrations were meant to be produced for the sixth and seventh scrolls at this time, but they remained unillustrated until the late 1700s, when the artist Tani Bunchō (谷文晁 1763-1840) was sent to study the scroll and produce a copy for Matsudaira Sadanobu. Why Sadanobu would want to have a copy made of *Ishiyama-dera engi-e* in the first place may be explained by his broad

⁷² Melanie Trede, “Terminology and Ideology: Coming to Terms with ‘Classicism’ in Japanese Art-Historical Writing,” in Elizabeth Lillehoj, ed., *Critical Perspectives on Japanese Classicism in Japanese Painting, 1600-1700*, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004, 27-28.

⁷³ Kuninaga Yumiko, “Mosha no chikara—Ishiyama-dera engi emaki to sono mohon nit suite,” in *Ishiyama-dera engi emaki no zenbō: jūyō bunkazai shichikan ikkyō daikōkai*, ed. Kuninaga Yumiko, Ōstu, Shiga: Ten Jikkō Iinkai, 2012.

⁷⁴ Umezu addresses these discrepancies in “Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan zō Ishiyamadera ekotoba,” *Bijutsu kenkyū*, no. 226 (1963), 24-40.

activity of a patron of the arts. This handscroll was only one of many old paintings that Sadanobu commissioned Bunchō and other artists to copy, undertaken out of a desire to record and preserve antique works of art.

A high-ranking daimyo in the Tokugawa government, Matsudaira Sadanobu served in various high-ranking positions, including shogunal chief councilor (老中 *rōjū*) and the seldom occupied post of shogunal regent (將軍補佐 *shōgun hosa*).⁷⁵ Even after his retirement in 1793, however, he continued to exert political power from behind the scenes.⁷⁶ He was born into the powerful Tayasu family, a clan only five ranks below the shogun himself.⁷⁷ Sadanobu had familial ties to the Tokugawa shogunate (his grandfather being the eighth shogun, Yoshimune 吉宗 1684-1751) but being a younger son with little chance of becoming heir to his own family fortunes, he was adopted to become the heir of the Matsudaira family, daimyo of Shirakawa, eventually inheriting the position of family head himself.⁷⁸ His main preoccupation was with the preservation of the declining Tokugawa shogunate. Timon Screech has argued that he achieved this preservation in part through the formation of a ‘Japanese culture’ that inextricably linked the present shogun with successful governments of the past in both Japan and China. As a result, Sadanobu became deeply involved personally in the emerging field of Japanese studies, going so far as to found an institute for such area of scholarship.⁷⁹ A more widespread and growing interest in defining Japanese national identity, particularly in relationship to China, supported these endeavors, and the ancient arts and literature of Japan took on a central focus. In his personal life, Sadanobu also engaged in a variety of antiquated literary pursuits, including

⁷⁵ Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture*, 17.

⁷⁶ Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture*, 27.

⁷⁷ Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture*, 23.

⁷⁸ Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture*, 18 and 23.

⁷⁹ Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture*, 39.

copying *The Tale of Genji* and writing *monotsukushi*—literary ‘lists of things’ popular among Heian-period aristocrats and authors like Sei Shōnagon (清少納言).⁸⁰ Furthermore, much of Sadanobu’s policies as chief councilor to the shogun had a decidedly revivalist bent; one samurai suggested that nine tenths of Sadanobu’s policies were “aimed at revival.”⁸¹

Subsequently, Sadanobu became deeply involved in the cataloguing of historic works of art. He sent a group of artists and experts, including Tani Bunchō, to investigate old temple holdings and verify the state and provenance of items in their collections.⁸² Copies were made of many of these works and brought back to Edo to be stored.⁸³ It is clear that the circumstances surrounding the creation of the paintings of the final two Ishiyama-dera scrolls stemmed from these endeavors.

When Bunchō arrived at Ishiyama-dera, abbot Sonken (尊賢 1749-1829) approved his request to make copies of the original Ishiyama-dera scrolls, but also asked that new paintings be made to accompany the almost two-hundred year old calligraphy of the sixth and seventh scrolls.⁸⁴ Bunchō spent approximately two years making detailed preparatory sketches, now held at the Tokyo National Museum.⁸⁵ He had seen the existing five illustrated scrolls in 1796, and in 1803 he sent several students to make copies of these five scrolls at Ishiyama-dera.⁸⁶ Variations between these original sketches and the final painting have been observed, and aside from

⁸⁰ Screech, *The Shogun’s Painted Culture*, 25 and 40.

⁸¹ Screech, *The Shogun’s Painted Culture*, 26.

⁸² Screech, *The Shogun’s Painted Culture*, 41.

⁸³ Screech, *The Shogun’s Painted Culture*, 42.

⁸⁴ Washio Henryū and Hiroshi Ayamura, *Ishiyamadera no shinkō to rekishi* (Kyoto: Shinbunkaku Shuppan, 2008), 77. Another copy not done by Tani Bunchō’s studio is also extant at Ninnan-ji in Kyoto. See Frank L. Chance, “Tani Bunchō (1763-1841) and the Edo School of Japanese Painting” (PhD. diss., University of Washington, 1986), 143, footnote on 146.

⁸⁵ Chance, “Tani Bunchō and the Edo School of Japanese Painting,” 144.

⁸⁶ Chance, “Tani Bunchō and the Edo School of Japanese Painting,” 143.

changes determined by Bunchō throughout the process, it is likely that Sadanobu and Sonken were involved in approving the work as it progressed.⁸⁷

The intent behind producing illustrations for the final two scrolls seems to have been to create paintings that would match the style of the original fourteenth-century paintings, a task which Bunchō was well-suited to undertake, having already produced and overseen the production of copies of other historic paintings. Whereas the fourth scroll sought only to maintain a coherent style with the other existing scrolls, the Edo-period additions copied specific details of composition and subject matter from other 14th century handscrolls. Bunchō's study of the previous five scrolls of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* is evident in his compositions for the scenes of the final two scrolls, in which he occasionally references compositions and details from earlier paintings in the handscroll. For example, in the third scene of the seventh scroll, his depiction of rituals for Aizen Myōō (愛染明王) offered for Emperor Fushimi (伏見 1265-1317, r. 1287-1298) visually mirrors the Nyoirin Kannon ritual performed for Emperor Go-Ichijō (後一条 1008-1036, r. 1016-1036) in the third scene of the fourth scroll, through the use of a white curtain to block the ritual from view (figs. 5 and 6). While referencing this scene may have been done in part to make up for Bunchō's lack of knowledge concerning medieval Buddhist ritual, it also builds a sense of visual coherency between the earlier paintings and the Edo-period additions and emphasizes the antiquated, esoteric rituals of previous eras.

Bunchō also made careful studies of extant paintings by artists such as Takashina Takakane, the attributed artist of the first three scrolls of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* in order to imitate a fourteenth-century style. He went so far as to borrow compositions from one of Takakane's major extant works, *Kasuga gongen genki e*, to help him create new paintings for the Ishiyama-

⁸⁷ Chance, "Tani Bunchō and the Edo School of Japanese Painting," 145.

dera scrolls.⁸⁸ In general, Bunchō seems to have selected scenes that depicted similar events and adapted them to episodes in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*. For example, in the second scene of scroll six, Bunchō copied the details of the hut, pine tree, and fence from the seventh scene of the eighth scroll of *Kasuga gongen genki e*, in which the Kasuga deity appears to a priest (fig. 7).⁸⁹ Although in Bunchō's illustration for *Ishiyama-dera engi e* (fig. 8) there is no deity in the pine tree, the continuation of the painting shows an *oni* (鬼 ogre) appearing in a pine tree to the same priest who is pictured earlier in the scene, seated in the hut (fig. 9). Subject-wise, both paintings illustrate legends of supernatural beings appearing to priests. This attention to not only the style, but composition, in re-creating the missing final scrolls of the handscroll offers insight into how Sadanobu, Bunchō, and even Sonken viewed the work—for the Edo-period patrons and creators, *Ishiyama-dera engi e* was primarily a work of historical artistic merit, valued more for its age and its connection with a bygone era than for its record of the miracles of Ishiyama-dera's Kannon.

2.2 PATRONAGE: THE TŌIN FAMILY, IMPERIAL LINEAGE, AND ISHIYAMA- DERA

The *Ishiyama-dera engi e* project emphasizes the relationship the temple had with the imperial family over the centuries, from emperor Shōmu's (聖武 701-756, r. 724-749) initial approval of the temple site to the final scene (fig. 10) in which Retired Emperors Kameyama (龜山 1249-1305, r. 1259-1274) and Go-Uda read *Ishiyama-dera engi* in the main hall. Many of the scenes

⁸⁸ Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Kasuga gongen genki e*, vol 14-15 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1981), 1.

⁸⁹ Komatsu, *Kasuga gongen genki e*, vol. 14, 55.

included in the Ishiyama-dera handscroll, particularly the scenes that record the performance of rituals, involve the patronage of emperors, retired emperors, and empresses, however, the connection between Ishiyama-dera and the Tōin family is not immediately obvious. By the 1320s when the handscroll project was initiated, several emperors already had family ties to the Tōin, which probably served as the basis for their patronage of Ishiyama-dera. It is likely that imperial interest in Ishiyama-dera during the 1300s was bolstered by the intercession of members of the Tōin family, who had a vested interest in strengthening ties between the imperial family and Ishiyama-dera. During his lifetime, Tōin Kinkata seems to have acted as a link between Ishiyama-dera and the imperial family, who turned to the temple with petitions concerning the future of their own lineage. Some scholars have suggested that the handscroll itself may have been commissioned as part of prayers for the reunification of the two imperial lineages.⁹⁰ The relationship between the Tōin family, Ishiyama-dera, and the imperial court is essential to understanding the background of the scroll set and the potentials reasons for its creation.

2.2.1 The Problem of Alternating Succession

While the imperial family had always been concerned with heirs and the security of the next generation of emperors, the fourteenth century was a particularly troublesome period. Following the reign of Emperor Go-Saga (後嵯峨 1220-1272) the imperial family split into two branches, the Daikakuji (大覚寺) line and the Jimyōin (持明院) line, and a system of alternating succession was instituted by which an emperor from one line would be succeeded by an emperor

⁹⁰ Aizawa, “‘Ishiyama-dera engi emaki’ shōkai,” 110.

from the other line.⁹¹ Umezu Jirō argued that the Ishiyama-dera scrolls show a bias towards Daikakuji emperors, citing the example of the final scene of the pilgrimage of Kameyama and Go-Uda, both of whom stemmed from that line.⁹² He offers this as part of his evidence for arguing that the patron of the scrolls was a member of the Tōin family, due to the fact that several Daikakuji emperors had Tōin mothers and consorts. However, while the Tōin certainly had a vested interest in supporting the Daikakuji line, the Jimyōin also had maternal relatives from the Tōin family. Emperors Fushimi and Hanazono both had Tōin mothers, and the third scene of the seventh scroll records Fushimi requesting Aizen rites to be performed at Ishiyama-dera. Go-Uda himself was a strong patron of Ishiyama-dera; in addition to his 1299 pilgrimage, in 1310 he donated tax revenues to the temple to support the annual performance of *kanjo* rites (灌頂会).⁹³ Go-Uda's second son Go-Daigo ascended the throne in 1318, and was the reigning emperor at the time the handscroll was conceived. Although he was of the Daikakuji line, he did not have the favor of his father, Go-Uda, who envisioned him as a placeholder emperor until Go-Nijō's son Kuniyoshi (邦良 1300-1326) was old enough to take the throne.⁹⁴ Go-Nijō, the previous Daikakuji emperor, was Go-Uda's oldest, and favorite, son, and his untimely death in 1308 left him bereft. It appears that he had only chosen Go-Daigo as crown prince in the absence of more favorable candidates, as Kuniyoshi was too young at the time, but the untimely death of Hanazono propelled Go-Daigo into the position of emperor. *Ishiyama-dera engi e* suggests none of this politicking in its final scene, which celebrates the pilgrimage of Kameyama and Go-Uda

⁹¹ The Daikakuji emperors are: Kameyama, Go-Uda, Go-Nijō, and Go-Daigo. The Jimyōin are: Go-Fukakusa, Fushimi, Go-Fushimi, Hanazono, and Kogon (of the Northern court).

⁹² Umezu, "Ishiyama-dera engi e ni tsuite," 4-5.

⁹³ Komatsu, "Ishiyama-dera engi—Saionji monyō eiga no hōsai," 112.

⁹⁴ Andrew Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 11-12.

to the temple to pray for the ascension of Go-Nijo to the throne, and credits the successes of both of Go-Uda's sons to his devotion to Ishiyama-dera.

During the mid-1300s it was beneficial for the Tōin to align themselves with Daikakuji interests, but they did not restrict themselves to this allegiance in later years. Kinkata himself served at the courts of both Go-Daigo and, after he was exiled, the later Northern emperors. At different times he condemned both as 'pretenders' to the throne, depending on which side had seized power.⁹⁵ Rather than specifically emphasizing one imperial line over the other, it is more likely that the intent of the handscroll was to showcase how belief in Ishiyama-dera's Kannon resulted in both the success of the imperial family in general and the success of aristocratic families who sought the position of regents. Therefore, it seems that the inclusion of these emperors in the scroll was less related to supporting a specific imperial lineage and more about their maternal relatives: the daughters of Tōin Saneo.

2.2.2 Maternal Connections

Since the establishment of the system of regents during the Heian period, the social standing of aristocratic men was bolstered by the success of their female relatives in becoming consorts, empresses, and mothers of emperors. The position of regent to a youthful emperor was the highest position a man could attain at court, and it was usually obtained by becoming grandfather to an emperor, although the position lost some of its power during the Insei period, when retired emperors largely took over the power of ruling from behind the throne.⁹⁶ The Tōin family had

⁹⁵ Thomas Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 126.

⁹⁶ The Insei Period (院政) spanned the late Heian period, beginning in 1086 and ending at the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185-1333). It was characterized by a system of government in which the true political power of

benefitted from forming maternal ties with the imperial family for several generations before Kinkata's time, although they were competing with women from the main branch of the Saionji family. A scene from *Ishiyama-dera engi e* commemorates the family's success in intermarrying into the imperial family, when Tōin Saneo, progenitor of the Tōin line, ordered prayers at Ishiyama-dera for his daughter, Kyōgoku-in, to give birth to an imperial heir. Saneo would go on to successfully marry three of his daughters to emperors: Kyōgoku-in (京極院, born Kitsushi 侘子 1245-1272) became consort to Kameyama and the mother of Go-Uda; Genkimon-in (玄輝門院, born Inshi 愔子 1246-1329) became consort to Go-Fukakusa (後深草天皇 1243-1304, r. 1246-1260) and mother of Fushimi, while his third daughter Kenshinmon-in (顯親門院 born Kishi 季子 1265-1336) became the consort of Fushimi and mother of Hanazono.⁹⁷

Tōin involvement in the imperial family continued in the following generations, although the main branch of the Saionji family dominated the position of in-laws to the emperor. Tōin Kinmori (公守 1249-1317, son of Saneo) adopted his granddaughter Senkōmon-in (宣光門院 1297-1360, born Jisshi 実子, the daughter of Kinmori's son, Ōgimachi Saneakira 正親町実明 1274-1351). She became a consort of Hanazono and was the mother of prince Naohito (直仁 1335-1398), who later became the crown prince of the Northern Court. Two of Saneakira's other daughters also served as imperial consorts to Hanazono and Go-Fushimi.⁹⁸

The importance of an imperial consort giving birth to a male heir meant that it was an event best not left to fate, and as a result there are numerous examples of prayers offered

the imperial court was wielded by retired or cloistered emperors while the reigning emperor, often still a child, served as little more than an official figurehead. The power of the aristocratic regent was thus largely co-opted by the emperor's father or grandfather, the retired emperor.

⁹⁷ For family trees, see Tables 3 and 5 in Appendix A: Genealogies.

⁹⁸ Komatsu, "Ishiyama-dera engi—Saionji monyō eiga no hōsai," 111.

at Buddhist temples for safe and successful pregnancies. The historical connection between imperial consorts and Ishiyama-dera is emphasized at several points in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*. The most notable example is that of Higashisanjō-in, empress to Enyū and mother of Ichijō, who has two separate scenes in the handscroll dedicated to her devotion to the temple. Two scenes at the end of the sixth scroll attest to the fame that Ishiyama-dera held as a sacred site that could ensure the birth of imperial heirs, through the examples of Kujō Michiie (九条道家 1193-1252) and Tōin Saneo, who both had daughters serving as imperial consorts who eventually became imperial mothers. I address these two scenes in detail in chapter two, however it is significant that both scenes emphasize links between the Tōin branch of the Saionji family and the imperial family with the suggestion that Ishiyama-dera's Kannon was responsible for their prosperity and influence at court.

During the late 13th century, other familial links developed between Ishiyama-dera and the Tōin family. Saneo's son Shukei (守惠 ?-1313) served as abbot of Ishiyama-dera at the end of the 13th century, solidifying the close ties the Tōin family would have with the temple for the next few generations. While there are earlier examples of sons of the Saionji family serving as abbots of Ishiyama-dera, the instances of close relatives of the main Tōin line serving as abbots of the temple had dramatically increased by Kinkata's time.⁹⁹ The ties between the Tōin family, the imperial family, and Ishiyama-dera was solidified at the end of the 13th century, when Shukei was temple's abbot. His brother, Kinmori, was serving as Chancellor (太政大臣 *daijōdaijin*) while their sister Kyōgoku-in was the empress of the Cloistered Emperor Kameyama and the mother of Retired Emperor Go-Uda. The final scene of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* commemorates the

⁹⁹ The Tōin abbots also held other high ranks, including abbot of Tō-ji (chōja 長者), a rank held by Shūkei, Yakushu, and Kōshu.

visit these two retired emperors made to the temple in 1299. At no other point in the scroll is the temple the site of a pilgrimage made by two former sovereigns at the same time, ending the scroll on a high note.

2.2.3 The Shōchū Period and Tōin Family Fortunes

The emphasis on the Shōchū period (1324-1326) in the handscroll prefaces suggests that it was significant to the creators of the scroll, although the text itself is unhelpfully vague about why this was. It was a short-lived period, and followed on the heels of an increase in death and disease in the capital. Retired Emperor Go-Uda died in 1324, along with many other powerful members of the court.¹⁰⁰ There were so many deaths in 1326 that the era name was changed again in the hope of warding off the pattern of ill fortune that still plagued the country.¹⁰¹ The Tōin family was not immune to the spate of deaths that had overtaken the capital, and shortly after, in 1327, Kinkata's father Saneyasu died leaving Kinkata as head of the family. However, it was also a period of successes for the Tōin family; they benefitted from supporting Go-Daigo, who had little love for the main branch of the Saionji family and their connections to the military government (*bakufu*). The Saionji had monopolized power in the court both by filling the post of bakufu liaison to the court (關東申次 *kantō mōshitsugi*) since the 1240s and by marrying generations of their daughters into the imperial family.¹⁰² By the 1320s, however, Saionji fortunes were failing. Although Go-Daigo's empress Reiseimon-in (礼成門院 1303-1333, born Kishi 禧子) was the daughter of the powerful Saionji Sanekane (実兼 1249-1322), she initially

¹⁰⁰ Goble, *Kenmu*, 81.

¹⁰¹ Goble, *Kenmu*, 81.

¹⁰² Goble, *Kenmu*, 8-9.

became his mistress while he was still crown prince under scandalous circumstances—Go-Daigo abducted her and kept the affair secret until she became pregnant several months later.¹⁰³ Rather than object, the Saionji attempted to use this opportunity to extend their power as in-laws to the imperial family (their ties had been previously restricted to the Jimyōin line), but they were ultimately unsuccessful in exerting any control over Go-Daigo.

Go-Daigo's attempts to lessen the power of the Saionji family occasionally resulted in benefits for the Tōin, who supported him and had been rivals with the main branch of the Saionji family for several generations.¹⁰⁴ By 1326, top posts in Go-Daigo's court were held by Tōin men—Tōin Saneyasu was Sadaijin (左大臣 Minister of the Left), and his three sons held high ranking posts. Kinkata served as Dainagon (大納言 Senior Counselor), his brother Kintoshi (公敏) was Provisional Senior Counselor, and his brother Kinyasu (公泰) was Provisional Middle Counselor.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, Kenshinmon-in, Kinkata's great-aunt and the mother of Hanazono, was given the rank of empress and granted the status of *nyōin* in 1326.¹⁰⁶ Although the Tōin were unable to secure the status of Go-Daigo's empress for their daughters, they maintained other significant connections to the imperial family. Kinkata's wife had been Go-Daigo's wet nurse, and Kinkata was also the adoptive father of Ano Renshi (阿野廉子 1301-1359; Shin-Taikenmon-in 新待賢門院), who would eventually become one of Go-Daigo's empresses.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Goble, *Kenmu*, 13. She is unusual in having two *in* names—she was later given the posthumous title Go-Kyōgoku-in (後京極院), and can be referred to by either.

¹⁰⁴ See for example the handing over the control of the Samaryō (Left Division of the Bureau of Horses), which had previously belonged to the Saionji family, to Tōin Saneyasu. Goble, *Kenmu*, 58.

¹⁰⁵ Komatsu, “Ishiyama-dera engi—Saionji monyō eiga no hōsai,” 113-114.

¹⁰⁶ *Nyōin*, a title translated as “imperial lady” or “retired empress,” was a rank originally conferred on a woman who had previously received the rank of empress and who was the mother of an emperor. It originally conferred a status on par with that of a retired emperor, and came with the appointment of an *in* name. For further information on the first woman to receive the status of *nyōin*, Higashisanjō-in, see chapter two.

¹⁰⁷ Wakita Haruko, “Ano Renshi” in *Jinbutsu nihon no joseishi 5: Seiken wo ugokashita onnatachi*, ed. Enchi Fumiko, (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1977), 117 and 116.

Renshi entered the palace in service to empress Reiseimon-in but soon drew the attention of Go-Daigo. She became the mother of several imperial princes born during the 1320s, including the future emperor of the Southern court Go-Murakami (後村上 1328-1368). Kinkata also had potential ties to the royal lineage through his sister, Moriko (守子; c. 1302-1357), a court woman of second rank who became a lesser consort of Go-Daigo and the mother of his thirteenth son, the Dharma Prince (法親王 *hosshinō*) Gen'en (玄円 d. 1348).¹⁰⁸

Although Kinkata was never as fortunate as his ancestors in becoming the grandfather of an emperor, it was clearly a position to which he aspired. This is most clear in an incident that occurred in 1351. After Go-Daigo's exile and his establishment of the Southern court during the Nanbokuchō period, Kinkata remained in Kyoto and held the same high positions in the Northern Court. He recorded in his diary that in 1351 he visited Ishiyama-dera in order to pray for Crown Prince Naohito's (直仁 1335-1398) ascent to the throne.¹⁰⁹ Naohito, the son of Hanazono, was to succeed Emperor Suko (崇光 1334-1398) as emperor of the Northern court. Naohito's mother, Senkōmon-in, was Kinkata's cousin, but as head of the Tōin family it may have fallen to Kinkata to assume the role usually played by the fathers of empresses to pray for the success of an imperial child. The fact that Senkōmon-in had entered the palace as the adopted daughter of her and Kinkata's mutual grandfather, Kinmori, only strengthened these ties. Multiple episodes in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* depict or mention prayers offered by male aristocrats for the birth of imperial heirs to their daughters, and the final scene of the handscroll recounts the pilgrimage undertaken by two retired emperors in order to pray for their descendants to assume the throne. By visiting Ishiyama-dera to offer prayers for the success of an imperial line with

¹⁰⁸ Birth year is approximate; Kinkata states in *Entairyaku* that she was fifty-five when she died. DNS 6:21. 374.

¹⁰⁹ DNS 6:15.677.

Tōin ancestry, Kinkata was acting in accordance with the precedents set by his own grandfather, Saneo, and famous historical figures like Michinaga, whose rise to power was solidified by the sons born to his empress daughters. Ishiyama-dera continued to receive imperial attention throughout the Nanbokuchō period, although primarily from the Northern Court emperors. In 1362, two years after Kinkata's death, Emperor Go-Kōgon (後光嚴 1338-1374) visited Ishiyama-dera as part of an imperial progress that also included a visit to Mount Hiei, suggesting that the temple still appealed to imperial patrons.¹¹⁰

2.3 ILLUSTRATED TEMPLE-LEGEND SCROLLS: RITUAL AND SOCIAL USE

In order to shed light on the unclear circumstances of the creation of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, it is informative to look at why similar handscrolls were created around this same time in the fourteenth century. Considering the attention *Ishiyama-dera engi e* continued to receive in the following centuries, it is also important to ask how the use of illustrated handscrolls changed over time, and how these changes might have affected the production of the later Ishiyama-dera scrolls.

Engi emaki have served a variety of purposes, the most fundamental being to record notable stories related to the temple. Usually these include the temple's founding history and miraculous events, although sometimes the genre of *eden* (絵伝), priest's biographies, which focus on prominent monks associated with the temple, are also included in the founding-legend category. While the genre of *engi* covers a wide variety of subjects, *Ishiyama-dera engi e* fits

¹¹⁰ DNS 6:24.1

clearly into the standard definition of a collection of founding stories, legends, and historical events that occurred at a temple.¹¹¹ The scroll begins with the founding of Ishiyama-dera in the mountains near lake Biwa, following the apparition of a manifestation of Hira Myōjin (比良明神) to the priest Rōben, and includes the appropriately miraculous event of an icon of Nyoirin Kannon, belonging to emperor Shōmū, refusing to move from the rock on which it was placed, thus leading to the establishment of the temple. The handscroll scenes proceed from there in chronological order, noting miraculous events, episodes of the belief and patronage of famous laypersons, and important priests associated with the temple. While some earlier *engi emaki* restrict themselves to the miracles surrounding a temple's main icon, the temple construction, or the priest responsible for its creation, by the 1300s many *engi* covered a much longer history.

How these scrolls were used as physical objects varied depending on when and why they were made, and often changed over time, as can be seen from the example of *Ishiyama-dera engi* itself. *Engi* have commonly been associated with the practice of *etoki*, the public display and explanation of images usually performed as part of fundraising campaigns for temples and shrines.¹¹² Having an illustrated version of the highlights of a temple's past certainly seems suited towards raising interest in, and as a result, funds for a site in need of repairs or maintenance. However, *etoki* practice was not widespread until the early fifteenth century, and in most cases *etoki* performers used vertical hanging scrolls, not handscrolls, as they accommodated a larger audience. As others have pointed out, scholarship on the use of founding-legend scrolls in *etoki* often fails to distinguish between handscrolls and hanging scrolls.¹¹³ However, there are

¹¹¹ For an in-depth overview of *engi*, see Heather Blair and Kawasaki Tsuyoshi, "Engi: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 1, 1-26.

¹¹² See Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan*, 109; Ikumi Kaminishi, *Explaining Pictures: Buddhist Propaganda and Etoki Storytelling in Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 8-10.

¹¹³ Nakano, "'Kechien' as Religious Praxis," 21.

also some records of handscroll *etoki* being performed at the imperial court that, in addition to spreading a particular teaching or encouraging donations, may have served a ritual function, due to the fact that these readings occurred at the same time every year.¹¹⁴ At the same time, *engi emaki* were also appreciated for their aesthetic value alongside their religious content.¹¹⁵

In the case of high quality handscrolls like *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, such costly items would not have been publicly displayed to large groups of onlookers, but rather would have been available for viewing on request by members of the aristocracy. Expensive handscrolls were almost always created under the orders of a wealthy patron of the religious institution it commemorated, who would then donate the scroll to that temple when it was completed, accompanied by specific prayers of thanks presented to the temple's principal deity. It is known that aristocrats on pilgrimages to institutions that housed such works had access to them, and on occasion handscrolls were sent to the palace to be viewed by the emperor, imperial family members, or shoguns. As a result, illustrated temple legend scrolls could still encourage both personal devotion and material support for temples and shrines, albeit for smaller, elite audiences. References to the Ishiyama-dera scrolls appear in a 1495 *kanjin* campaign letter as part of the list of notable historical events associated with the temple.¹¹⁶ Having only successfully reacquired the scroll set several years earlier in 1487, Ishiyama-dera was perhaps eager to emphasize this fact. Even if the handscroll itself was not regularly brought out and displayed as part of efforts to raise funds, temple leaders were aware that it had attracted attention among members of elite society, and perhaps wished to remind potential donors of its existence.

¹¹⁴ Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan*, 110.

¹¹⁵ Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan*, 110.

¹¹⁶ Ishiyama-dera bunkazai sōgō chōsadan, *Ishiyamadera no kenkyū: Azekura shōgyō, komonjo hen*, Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1981, 563.

Engi emaki served a variety of functions beyond attracting new supporters. On the most basic level, they provided an official, elegant record of a temple's history and legends, designed to appeal to the cultural tastes of the court. In terms of format, they resembled illustrated handscrolls used to illustrate romances or war tales, and were read under similar circumstances. The similarity of temple legend scrolls to works with a more secular subject matter is unsurprising when we consider the context under which they were made—illustrated *engi* handscrolls grew in popularity during the Heian period, and the majority of them were produced by lay patrons who then donated them to shrines or temples.¹¹⁷ While their formal similarity to secular art and literature reflects the tastes of their creators, *engi emaki* also served ritual functions for both their donors and the institutions that received them. Takagishi Akira has argued that the *Yūzū nembutsu engi emaki* (融通念仏縁起絵巻) was repeatedly copied and dedicated as part of memorial services held for generations of Ashikaga shoguns.¹¹⁸ Some scrolls, like *Kasuga gongen genki e* and *Shitennōji engi* (四天王寺縁起) were heavily restricted, with few people being permitted to see them or remove them from the religious institutions that held them. The example of *Kasuga gongen genki e* is particularly relevant to discussions concerning *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, and scholars have often pointed to it as a comparable example. A colophon clearly identifies the Kasuga scrolls as the donation of Saionji Kinpira (西園寺公衡 1264-1315), a relative and rival of Tōin Kinkata, the proposed patron of the Ishiyama-dera scrolls. The colophon to *Kasuga gongen genki e* states that after Kinpira donated the scroll, his family prospered.¹¹⁹ More specifically, scholars believe that the Kasuga scrolls were offered

¹¹⁷ Blair and Kawasaki, “Engi: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins,” 4 and 7.

¹¹⁸ Takagishi Akira, “The Reproduction of *Engi* and Memorial Offerings: Multiple Generations of the Ashikaga Shoguns and the *Yūzū nembutsu engi emaki*,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 1, (2015) 157-182.

¹¹⁹ Blair and Kawasaki, “Engi: Forging Accounts of Sacred Origins,” 7.

along with prayers for Kinhira's daughter, Kōgimon-in (広義門院, born Yasuko 寧子 1292-1357), who had entered the palace as a consort of Go-Fushimi, to give birth to a royal heir, in addition to more general prayers for the prosperity of the Saionji lineage.¹²⁰ Umezu Jirō has suggested that the Ishiyama-dera scrolls were probably created with a similar intent—to pray for the flourishing of the Tōin family and their fortunes at court.¹²¹

Another possible function of founding-legend handscrolls was the production and viewing of the scrolls as a means of forming *kechien* (結縁), or karmic bond, with the deity or holy person whose history and miracles were recorded in the scroll. Chieko Nakano has argued that the creation of illustrated handscrolls, much like the copying and dedication of sutras, were intended to create such a bond between the creator of the scroll and the holy person or deity glorified in the scroll.¹²² She also suggests that later viewers and readers of religious scrolls could share in forming this bond, as the scroll created a fixed site through which one could connect with the divine.¹²³ *Kasuga gongen genki e* explicitly states in the colophon that it was created for the purposes of forming *kechien* between those involved in creating the scroll and the Kasuga deities.¹²⁴ The aspect of forming karmic bonds offers one answer as to why later patrons might have wanted to support the creation of the unfinished scrolls. Completing a half-finished scroll, as appears to be the case with the fifth scroll, could have offered an opportunity to form *kechien* with Ishiyama-dera's Nyoirin Kannon, while also providing the patron with a connection to the history of the temple.

¹²⁰ Umezu, "Ishiyama-dera engi e ni tsuite," 5.

¹²¹ Umezu, "Ishiyama-dera engi e ni tsuite," 5.

¹²² Nakano, "'Kechien' as Religious Praxis," 18.

¹²³ Nakano, "'Kechien' as Religious Praxis," 217.

¹²⁴ Nakano, "'Kechien' as Religious Praxis," 161-162.

Illustrated founding-legend scrolls also served a secular function as objects to be read and appreciated for their aesthetic value. The art historian Karen Brock has demonstrated the extent to which handscrolls were shared, exchanged, and lent to members of the court through the example of the exchange of paintings between Emperor Go-Hanazono, his father Prince Sadafusa, and the Shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori.¹²⁵ Although this example took place during the fifteenth century, handscrolls had been viewed and shared in similar ways since the Heian period. Brock emphasizes that access to handscrolls, whether old or newly commissioned, was largely contingent on social status and personal connections to the owners of these works. The evidence that the Ishiyama-dera scrolls traveled from Ishiyama-dera to the mortuary temples and treasure houses of the Ashikaga family suggests that these scrolls were similarly borrowed and viewed by those outside of the temple, and that they were considered of interest to the Ashikaga family and other elite members of the court.

2.3.1 Copies, Originals, and the Long Shadow of Takashina Takakane

Ishiyama-dera engi e is unusual for being an illustrated handscroll project that spanned four hundred years of creation. While some older illustrated handscrolls are only known through surviving later copies, few other works saw sustained additions over such a long period of time. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the full set was ever completed as it was originally intended during the 1300s. As a result, studying the social context of the scroll has proven an obstacle to earlier scholars, most of whom prefer to focus on the period named in the preface—1324 to 1326. The content of the scrolls was almost certainly established during this period or

¹²⁵ Brock, “The Shogun’s ‘Painting Match,’” 433-484.

shortly after, however, the interest in the scroll during the later periods of its creation is also deserving of scrutiny. Numerous copies of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* were made; aside from the 1655 copy and Sadanobu's copy, a seven scroll set was made for Ninna-ji in 1825 and another copy, probably made around the same time, is now in the possession of the Suntory Museum. During the later Edo and early Meiji periods various copies of the handscroll, either of both paintings and text or text only, were made in the interest of studying and preserving historic works. The circumstances of these copies have received little attention, however, outside of a recent publication by Kuniga Yumiko.¹²⁶

Based on the evidence outlined above, I find it unlikely that the Ishiyama-dera scroll project was actually initiated during the Shōchū period, as scholars had previously assumed. The mention of this period in the preface, however, indicates that it was a significant moment for both the temple and the handscroll patrons, and there was probably a motivating event during this period that prompted the creation of the handscroll. It is difficult to connect the initial planning of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* to a specific incident from the 1320s, but there are several possibilities. Scholars have postulated that the handscroll was connected to prayers for the future of the imperial line—a concern expressed in both the final scene of the scroll and a repeated theme throughout the temple's history. As mentioned above, some scholars have speculated that the preface refers to Go-Daigo's reign, and that the scrolls were made to be dedicated with prayers for his success.¹²⁷ However, the fact that his father Go-Uda's devotion to Ishiyama-dera is also referenced, that Go-Uda's pilgrimage occurs in the final scene of the handscroll, and that Go-Uda died in 1324 presents the possibility that the scroll was offered in his memory. The

¹²⁶ Kuniga Yumiko, "'Ishiyama-dera engi emaki' to sono mohan seisaku no shosō" in *Ishiyama-dera engi emaki shūsei*, 35-48.

¹²⁷ Yoshida, "'Ishiyama-dera engi e' nanamaki no rekiho," 99-100. Original text of the handscroll in, Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 132.

elevation of Kenshinmon-in, the last of Saneo's daughters, to the status of *nyōin* in 1326 was also significant for the Tōin family. Considering that the first three scrolls appear not to have been completed until several decades later, we should also bear in mind that the initial intent behind the creation of the scroll probably changed over time, even during Kinkata's own lifetime, and certainly by the time the later scrolls were completed. Clearly the Shōchū period was somehow important to the origins of the project, as Kōshu included it in both the *Ishiyama-dera engi ekotoba* and his final text of the illustrated version. Some scholars have also speculated that Kōshu's work on the project was done, in part, as a memorial for his father, Kinkata, after his death.¹²⁸

The connections between the Tōin family, Ishiyama-dera, and the imperial family and the allusions to these connections in the scroll, suggest that the scrolls were intended to be dedicated for the continued success of the Tōin line. Starting in the thirteenth century, Ishiyama-dera greatly benefitted from the imperial patronage brought about by maternal connections via the Saionji and Tōin lines. As new generations of emperors lost that maternal connection, it became necessary for imperial patronage to be secured by other means, and an elegantly illustrated work commemorating Ishiyama-dera's rich history of support by emperors would have served as a reminder of the benefits that could be accrued by supporting Ishiyama-dera and turning to Kannon for aid, both spiritual and material. Tōin Kinkata's involvement in offering prayers at Ishiyama-dera on behalf of the Northern Court suggests that he was an active force in promoting imperial interest in Ishiyama-dera during his lifetime. During the late 1400s, imperial interest in the extant scrolls led to their return to Ishiyama-dera and the re-creation of one of the missing scrolls. In spite of the incomplete history of the scrolls, it appears that they did function much as

¹²⁸See Aizawa, "Ishiyama-dera engi emaki' shōkai," 15-17 and 109.

similar works from the late Kamakura and early Muromachi periods did—to serve as offerings made as part of requests for help in producing male heirs or as thanks for prayers answered, to commemorate the history of Ishiyama-dera, and to serve as a means of furthering interest in the temple. The completion of the fifth scroll in the early 1400s, the creation of the fourth scroll at the end of the same century, and the creation of the final two scrolls in the Edo period reflect the changing relationship elite members of society had with Ishiyama-dera in particular and in the history of Japanese court culture more broadly.

By the 1800s, interest in the scroll was firmly based on the age and high quality of the paintings and calligraphy—essentially valued as an example of a work of art in Japan. It has been pointed out that the association of the name and painting style of Takashina Takakane was probably a strong force behind the desire to reproduce and ultimately finish *Ishiyama-dera engi e*.¹²⁹ Takakane became synonymous with Kamakura-period Yamato-e style, and was revered for centuries as the epitome of this style. The desire to replicate his style can be seen in the selection of the artists from the fifth scroll onwards, and in the careful effort that was made to ensure that the later scrolls matched the style and content of the earlier ones. However, I do not think that painting style alone accounts for the continued interest in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*. As I will demonstrate in subsequent chapters, the content of the scroll—particularly the emphasis on notable historical figures like Michinaga and Murasaki Shikibu and the patronage of emperors—was a motivating factor in the level of interest the scroll continued to receive across the centuries.

¹²⁹ Aizawa, “‘Ishiyama-dera engi emaki’ shōkai,” 33.

3.0 PRECEDENT AND IMPERIAL PATRONAGE IN *ISHIYAMA-DERA ENGI E*

The preoccupations of Kinkata and his family are threaded throughout *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, and they are particularly visible in the episodes that commemorate acts of patronage. Scenes depicting devotional activities, whether pilgrimages, donations of objects, or requests for rituals, are numerous throughout the handscroll. These scenes reflect how the late-Kamakura period creators viewed the relationship between patron and temple, as well as how they saw themselves in relation to this history. While a variety of devotees to Ishiyama-dera's Kannon are illustrated, royal patrons, or patrons who had close ties with the royal family, receive the primary focus. The rituals depicted in *Ishiyama-dera engi* were all commissioned by lay people who had need of help they believed only such rituals could provide, as well as the wealth to pay for their performance. One of the reasons elite individuals were drawn to Ishiyama-dera was the perceived power of Kannon to grant the birth of children—particularly imperial heirs. As I outlined in the previous chapter, this aspect of Ishiyama-dera's history was particularly important to Tōin Kinkata and his family, and explicit parallels are made between historic patrons like Michinaga and Kinkata's great-grandfather, Tōin Saneo. However, the central figure in Ishiyama-dera's history of famous patrons is not an emperor, but an empress. Higashisanjō-in, Michinaga's sister and the mother of Emperor Ichijō, is the only patron to have two separate scenes devoted to her in the scroll, and her son is the first imperial birth in the scroll attributed to Nyoirin Kannon's intervention. Her example lays the foundation for the activities of the patrons

that follow her in the handscroll, and she is repeatedly cited as the reason later patrons turned to Ishiyama-dera with prayers for imperial heirs. This chapter explores how historic precedent was used to validate contemporary decisions; in depicting a particular type of patron in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, the handscroll presents a consistent path from the distant past to Kinkata's present.

3.1 HISTORY AND PATRONAGE IN THE JAPANESE COURT

Knowledge of and adherence to historical precedent was a defining feature of court politics in Japan from an early period, beginning with the compilation of the Six National Histories (*rikkokushi* 六国史).¹³⁰ An understanding of the past was considered essential for rulers—the early histories were commissioned by emperors and those written in later periods were written specifically for the education of imperial family members. The diaries of courtiers, similarly, were meant to preserve a record of how things had been done at court during the writer's lifetime, and were intended to be passed down for the edification of their descendants. Diaries often note when the behaviors, rituals, and procedures of the court adhered to models set in earlier times, and when they deviated. As a result, families that owned and passed down the diaries of influential ancestors maintained a monopoly on the knowledge of precedent, ensuring that they would have the cultural capital to secure their power at court.¹³¹ Semi-fictional historical accounts, like *Eiga monogatari* (栄花物語, late 11th century), *Ōkagami* (大鏡, c. 1120s), and *Masukagami* (増鏡 c. 1370s), remained a popular literary format that offered history

¹³⁰They are the *Nihon shoki* (completed in 720), *Shoku nihongi* (797), *Nihon kōki* (840), *Shoku nihon kōki* (869), *Nihon montoku tennō jitsuroku* (879), *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* (901). See Sakamoto Tarō, *The Six National Histories of Japan*, John S. Brownlee, trans., (Vancouver; Tokyo: UBC Press/Tokyo University Press, 1991).

¹³¹ See Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 18-21 for a discussion of familial control of ritual precedent.

along with entertainment in which the authors often point out the precedents for the activities of famous historical individuals and lament the loss of the practices of earlier times. At the same time, any representation of history emphasized aspects that were valuable to the authors and patrons of these histories, setting certain people and practices in a positive light while shaming those who deviated from the norm.

Tōin Kinkata derived much of his own success at court from his mastery of the rules governing court ritual. Aside from participating in the tradition of recording events of his own life for posterity in his diary *Entairyaku*, he also wrote histories for the court and encyclopedias for the benefit of the emperor.¹³² He was the tutor of the future Northern Court emperor Kōmyō (光明 1322-1380, r. 1336-1348), and there are numerous records of Emperor Kōgon (光嚴 1313-1364, r. 1331-1333) asking Kinkata's advice, including guidance on Buddhist matters; members of the shogunal family consulted with him as well.¹³³

Thomas Conlan has argued that Kinkata and his contemporaries were facing the breakdown of ritual precedent and that as a result historic precedents could no longer be relied upon to guide them during the chaos of the Nanbokuchō period. New rituals, or new applications of old rituals, were then used to authenticate rulers where historical guidelines could no longer be followed.¹³⁴ However, the court did not abandon the ideal of using precedent to guide their behaviors. The disruption of the imperial family and the question of which line should be considered the legitimate inheritors of the throne certainly required novel approaches to confirming sovereign authority, but in the following years members of the court and shogunate continued to look to the past for examples of how things ought to be done, even if they bore little

¹³² The *Rekidai kōki* 歷代皇紀. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 5.

¹³³ DNS 6. 3: 829.

¹³⁴ See Conlan chapter four, "The Destruction of Precedent," *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 117-129.

connection to the reality of the court after the 14th century. *Sonpi bunmyaku*, a genealogy and history written by Kinkata's grandson, Tōin Kinsada, attests to the significance that courtiers still attached to matters of history, family, and precedent in the late fourteenth century. Kinkata's diary was purchased by Nakanoin Michihide (中院通秀 1428-94) after the collapse of the Tōin family, and parts of it were copied by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, suggesting that his record of history and precedent was considered worth preserving, and that these individuals were aware of his importance at court.¹³⁵

Illustrated handscrolls, particularly *engi* or scrolls like *Nenjū gyōji emaki* (年中行事絵巻 Annual Rites and Ceremonies of the Court) that depicted historical events contributed to the value of turning to the past for guidance. In the case of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, it was not the precedent of court rituals that took the focus, but rather the examples of how historical elites supported the temple—through donations of land, objects, or funding—and how they expressed piety through pilgrimage and the requesting of rituals. It set their behavior into a pattern of patronage that followed earlier examples, and suggested that future believers would benefit from supporting the temple in similar ways. Kinkata's knowledge of proper behavior appeared to extend to matters concerning Buddhism as well, or at least, how to properly act as a patron of Buddhist institutions. There are various records of Retired Emperor Kōgon asking Kinkata's opinions on various topics, including the propriety of submitting an imperial prayer (*chokugan* 勅願) at a service at Saidai-ji (西大寺) in 1347 and details surrounding the performance of a service at Tenryū-ji (天龍寺) in 1345.¹³⁶ Taken in this context, the history of Ishiyama-dera's patronage by elite members of Japanese society acquires significance beyond showing off the

¹³⁵ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 4-5.

¹³⁶ DNS 6. 10: 800 and DNS 6. 9: 86 respectively.

prestige the temple once enjoyed—it also provided guidelines for how such individuals ought to show reverence and piety, and the merits that would attend them once they did.

3.2 PATRONS OF ISHIYAMA-DERA

Twenty-two of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*'s thirty-three paintings depict examples of patronage by lay people—people who either supported Ishiyama-dera in a material sense or who turned to Kannon with their petitions and received miraculous aid. Most of the scenes of patronage occur in the context of individuals who made pilgrimages to the temple, as Ishiyama-dera derived much of its fame from its popularity as a pilgrimage site during the Heian period. The majority of the patrons and pilgrims included in the scroll are members of the aristocratic class, with a significant number of emperors and retired emperors among them.

We know that the individuals depicted in the handscroll reflected the type of person who was expected to view the scroll after its completion: the final painting of the scroll depicts two retired emperors reading the legends and history of Ishiyama-dera, and there are at least two later recorded instances of the scroll being read to an emperor. As mentioned in chapter one, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (三條西実隆 1455-1537) recorded that in 1476, before he wrote the calligraphy for the fourth scroll, he read *Ishiyama-dera engi ekotoba* (the text of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*) to Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado (後土御門 1442-1500).¹³⁷ Later, the courtier Yamashina Tokitsugu (山科言繼 1507-1579) also wrote in his diary that on the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month of Eiroku 7 (永祿 1564) he presented the *Ishiyama-dera engi* scrolls to emperor

¹³⁷ DNS 8: 741.

Ōgimachi (正親町 1517-1593) for his personal inspection.¹³⁸ Another record, *Oyudono no ue no nikki* (御湯殿上日記), also records that on the third day of the seventh month of Eiroku 7, the priest Kakujo (覚怒) of the *monzeki* temple Manshu-in (曼殊院) was called to the palace to give a lecture to the emperor on *Ishiyama-dera engi*.¹³⁹ These entries show a continued imperial interest in both the temple and its history, and suggest that the contents of the scrolls appealed to later emperors. Furthermore, the handscroll appears to have played some role in later efforts to raise money for Ishiyama-dera. *Kanjin* (fundraising campaign) letters from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries mention the creation of “writings and paintings around the Shōchū period,” which would appear to refer to *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, suggesting that the readers of the letters would have been familiar with the scroll’s existence, and that it was valuable enough to warrant mention.¹⁴⁰ These letters also allude to imperial patrons, probably Go-Uda, during the Shōwa era (正和 1312-1317), stating that during this period Ishiyama-dera received donations from the taxes of imperial lands as well as personal donations.¹⁴¹ Go-Uda had set aside tax revenues from the Mushiū (虫生) estate in Ōmi province for donation to Ishiyama-dera to pay for the performance of *kanjō* rites in 1310; however, it appears that he later used these funds in 1312 to pay for prayers for the success of his imperial lineage, the Daikakuji.¹⁴²

While many of the scenes of patronage reflected the specific interests of the fourteenth-century Tōin family, they also reflected the concerns and motivations of the imperial court at large, such as a desire to align contemporary behaviors with those modeled by famous historic

¹³⁸ DNS 9. 910: 593.

¹³⁹ DNS 9. 910: 594. Kakujo was the son of emperor Go-Nara, half-brother of Ōgimachi.

¹⁴⁰ Ishiyama-dera bunkazai sōgō chōsadan, *Ishiyama-dera no kenkyū: Azekura shōgyō, komonjo hen*, Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1981, 563 and 567.

¹⁴¹ *Ishiyama-dera no kenkyū*, 564.

¹⁴² Komatsu, “Ishiyama-dera engi—Saionji monyō eiga no hōsai,” 112.

individuals. As mentioned previously, the precedents set in previous eras when the emperor and court controlled political power, rather than the shogunate, were particularly appealing to emperors like Go-Tsuchimikado, whose power had been reduced to an almost purely symbolic capacity. Not only did the creation of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* date from the last time an emperor had managed to secure any real power for himself, but the legends and history preserved within the scroll also highlighted past epochs when the court and the throne had been at its height—the so-called “golden age” of the Heian court, with the famed courtier Fujiwara Michinaga at its center.

3.2.1 Imperial Patronage: Emperors

Ishiyama-dera engi e begins and ends with the patronage of emperors. Without a doubt, the abbots of Ishiyama-dera and the patrons of the handscroll wished to emphasize that, from its foundation, the temple had enjoyed the support and patronage of the imperial line. The scroll opens with the founding legend of Ishiyama-dera, in which Rōben was charged by Emperor Shōmu with offering prayers for the discovery of gold to gild Tōdai-ji’s Great Buddha icon. Shōmu provided Rōben with his personal icon of Nyoirin Kannon for this event, which is depicted in the second scene of the handscroll as the first performance of hidden rituals (*hihō* 秘法) before Nyoirin Kannon (fig. 11).¹⁴³ Following the discovery of gold after Rōben’s prayers, construction on the temple was begun, also at the request of Shōmu. Although there are no records that indicate that Shōmu made a pilgrimage to Ishiyama-dera, his role as the founding patron of the temple is repeatedly emphasized in the first three scenes of the handscroll.

¹⁴³ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 6-7.

Furthermore, because of Shōmu's patronage the temple was designated a *chokugan-ji*, or imperial vow temple. The continued support of the imperial government is next seen in the fourth scene of the first scroll, which depicts the first performance of the *nehan-e* 涅槃会, a special memorial rite held on the Buddha's death anniversary. Although a specific emperor is not named, it seems to have been a state-sponsored ritual as the text states that local officials were present and the ceremony was paid for using state tax resources.¹⁴⁴

Patronage of the temple by imperial personages throughout the handscroll generally falls into three categories: official state-sponsored rituals, pilgrimages made by retired emperors, and rituals performed for the health of emperors. There is only one example of the first type, the aforementioned *nehan-e*. Four retired emperors are recorded as having made official pilgrimages to the temple: Uda (宇多 867-931), En'yū (円融 959-991), Kameyama (亀山 1249-1305), and Go-Uda (後宇多 1267-1324). Both emperors Go-Ichijō (後一条 1008-1036) and Go-Suzaku (後朱雀 1009-1045) received *kaji* healing rituals by the abbot of Ishiyama-dera during periods of illness, although they did not visit the temple at the time. However, in the case of Go-Suzaku, it was his mother who made the request for rituals, as it occurred when he was a child and still crown prince. A scene in scroll seven that records emperor Fushimi's request for the performance of rituals dedicated to Aizen Myōō (愛染明王) for the prosperity and protection of the country seems to have been personally motivated rather than state sponsored, although it was not linked to any particular illness or misfortune.

The first imperial pilgrimage recorded in the handscroll is the visit made by Retired Emperor Uda in 917. Reigning emperors generally did not make pilgrimages to Buddhist

¹⁴⁴ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 132-133.

temples, as it was considered to interfere with their *kami*-related obligations—emperors were expected to delay taking Buddhist vows until after they had retired, and a variety of restrictions on the performance of Buddhist ceremonies at court had existed since the ninth century.¹⁴⁵ The primary examples of patronage of Ishiyama-dera by emperors come in the form of retired emperors making pilgrimages, rather than reigning emperors, who only turned to the temple on specific occasions, such as to avert an illness, and on those occasions did not physically visit the temple. Uda is the earliest emperor for whom records exist of his pilgrimages to Ishiyama-dera.¹⁴⁶ The text states that emperor Uda often made pilgrimages to Ishiyama-dera, but the story told in the handscroll is that of his 917 pilgrimage and focuses more on the poet Ōtomo no Kuronushi (大友黒主 dates unknown, fl. tenth century) who presented Uda with a poem on this occasion. This event takes place on the shore of Lake Biwa, not at the temple itself, but it presented an opportunity to show Ishiyama-dera's connections with both imperial patrons and court culture.

The next imperial pilgrimage is that of retired emperor En'yū in the eighth month of 985. The text notes that he came to the temple to offer prayers and in addition, made donations of cloth. The text also comments that the messenger sent to the temple ahead of En'yū's retinue wore a short linen over robe (*kariginu* 狩衣), a type of informal dress worn by noblemen, which was considered a breach of precedent, before going on to state the examples of previous emperors, including Uda, who had messengers wear informal court robes (*hoi* 布衣) on the occasion of their pilgrimages. While such a detail may seem excessive or irrelevant compared to more dramatic scenes in the handscroll, such as those that depict apparitions and miracles, it

¹⁴⁵ John Breen and Mark Teeuwen, *A New History of Shinto*, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 190.

¹⁴⁶ DNS 1: 4. 831.

establishes the importance of historical precedent for emperors and places En'yū within this tradition. Go-Uda and Kameyama's joint pilgrimage in 1299 concludes the examples of imperial pilgrimage and the handscroll as the final scene of the seventh scroll. This scene has received more attention than many other scenes of imperial patronage in the scroll, due to the insights it offers into the patronage and function of the completed scroll set. It shows how the completed handscroll might have functioned in the temple after its creation—read by elite individuals while on pilgrimage. Furthermore, this scene highlights the connection between Ishiyama-dera and the Daikakuji line of emperors, and by concluding with the information that Go-Daigo had been named crown prince to his brother Go-Nijō, suggests the theme of imperial success—especially Go-Daigo's success—was tied to the scrolls creation.

Emperors also appear as the patrons and recipients of various rituals in the scroll. *Kaji* rituals requested for emperors Go-Ichijō and Go-Suzaku appear to have been requested by close family members, due to their age or illness, but the rituals were performed with the seriousness required of an imperial recipient. Since healing rituals were often commissioned by close family members, it is possible that Michinaga or, as I discuss below, the emperor's mother Jōtōmon-in (上東門院 988-1074), were closely involved in inviting Jinkaku to perform these rituals. In the episode of Jinkaku performing *kaji* for Go-Ichijō, the exact patron of the ritual is unclear. The person selected as the messenger is identified, but Go-Ichijō himself is not; that he is the recipient of the rituals is implied through the official nature of the request. Michinaga, his grandfather, is mentioned holding an audience with the emperor after the initial round of rituals, and after finding that the emperor's illness had not improved, sent for Jinkaku. The Minister of the Interior (内大臣 *naidaijin*), Michinaga's son, Norimichi (教通 996-1075) is identified as offering Jinkaku the honor of returning to Ishiyama-dera in an ox-cart after his recitation of the

Nyoirin mantra and *kaji* rituals proved successful.¹⁴⁷ The use of ox-drawn carriages was a privilege restricted to the highest members of the Japanese court, and offering such transportation to Jinkaku signaled the gratitude those elites had for his services.

On the other hand, the Aizen rituals in the seventh scroll were a direct request from Fushimi while he was the reigning emperor. I address this aspect in more detail in chapter three, but there is a clear connection between explicitly Shingon rituals and imperial patronage in the handscroll. Aizen Myōō was a deity who figured heavily in esoteric Buddhist sects, as were the ‘secret rituals’ mentioned in several scenes and the white *daimaku* (大幕 great curtains) depicted in the handscroll. Fushimi’s request for Aizen rituals initiated them as annual rituals conducted for the health and success of the emperor, with the intention that they would be performed in perpetuity. Thus, this scene establishes a perpetual ritual connection between Ishiyama-dera and the imperial family.

3.2.2 Female Imperial Patronage: The Examples of Higashisanjō-in and Jōtōmon-in

Ishiyama-dera’s most famous patron today is Murasaki Shikibu, whose bronze statue graces the slopes above the main hall. Murasaki is not the only literary woman to be associated with the temple—the mother of Fujiwara no Michitsuna (道綱母 c. 936-995) describes making a pilgrimage to Ishiyama-dera in her diary, *Karegō nikki* (蜻蛉日記) and the daughter of Sugwara no Takasue (菅原孝標女, born 1008), author of *Sarashina nikki* (更級日記) also made

¹⁴⁷ Komatsu, ed., NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 137.

pilgrimages to the temple.¹⁴⁸ While all three of these women are commemorated in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* (and their successes are ascribed to the intervention of Nyoirin Kannon), they rank low among the various temple patrons depicted in the scroll. However, perhaps due to their substantial literary fame, Ishiyama-dera has largely been remembered as a pilgrimage site favored by court women.

Throughout the Heian period, women of the imperial court frequently engaged in pilgrimages to temples near the capital, and it was not uncommon for an elite woman to take partial vows as a nun during a serious illness, or when she wished to retire from public life.¹⁴⁹ It was during this era that women were drawn to the temple as a result of the belief that praying to Ishiyama-dera's Nyoirin Kannon was efficacious in resolving issues with childbirth, pregnancy, matrimonial concerns, and general illnesses. However, it is notable that the male aristocrats who turned to the temple often did so to sponsor prayers for similar issues. Three of the five examples of patronage by male aristocrats in the handscroll concern men who dedicated prayers either for their daughters to give birth to an (imperial) heir or in thanks for an heir after the fact. Most of the women identified in the handscroll are aristocratic women of varying social levels, with only two scenes of patronage by non-aristocratic women. Compared with the entirety of the scroll, female patrons make up a much smaller percentage than males, but the instances of non-imperial patronage are nearly equal between the sexes. This suggests that, at least during the fourteenth century, Ishiyama-dera was not exclusively thought of as a 'women's temple.'

¹⁴⁸ Like their contemporary Murasaki Shikibu, these authors are referred to by sobriquets referring to their male family members, due to Heian-period social conventions dictating that it was improper to refer to an upper class woman by her given name. As a result, none of their true names are known. Murasaki Shikibu's 'name' is derived from the principal female character of *Genji monogatari*, Murasaki, and the fact that her father held the rank of Shikibu (minister of court ceremonies) at court. The Mother of Michitsuna was the Daughter of Takasue's aunt—her mother's sister.

¹⁴⁹Lori R. Meeks, "Reconfiguring Ritual Authenticity: The Ordination Traditions of Aristocratic Women in Premodern Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33 (2006): 54.

There are several reasons why more women may have been drawn to Ishiyama-dera. Temples dedicated to Kannon in general were popular with court women, particularly if the temple was known as a site of miracles.¹⁵⁰ The difficulties of travel and the fact that certain temple grounds were barred to women restricted the temples they could visit to those nearby Kyoto, making Ishiyama-dera a good candidate for pilgrimage, as it was located just to the northeast of the capital. Nyoirin Kannon, the primary deity of Ishiyama-dera, had developed a particular association with women by the end of the Heian period, when the deity was sometimes identified as a female incarnation of Kannon.¹⁵¹ Initially, this identity was primarily aimed at men: the twelfth-century ritual manual *Kakuzenshō* identifies Nyoirin Kannon as a ‘jewel woman’ (*gyokujo* 玉女) who takes the role of an imperial concubine and ultimately secures the male ruler’s rebirth in the Pure Land.¹⁵² This identity of a female Kannon taking the place of a concubine in order to relieve men of their karmic transgressions and lead them to paradise appears in the context of monks as well.¹⁵³ Nyoirin Kannon also appealed to women as a deity who could ensure the conception of male children and safe childbirth.¹⁵⁴ Ishiyama-dera’s Nyoirin Kannon was especially popular, as it was credited with aiding in the births of several emperors, including Ichijō, Go-Ichijō, and Go-Suzaku.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ The majority of temples known for their miracles were temples dedicated to Kannon. Barbara Ambros, “Liminal Journeys: Pilgrimages of Noblewomen in Mid-Heian Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 24 (1997): 304.

¹⁵¹ Fremmerman, “Divine Impersonations,” 1-2.

¹⁵² Fremmerman, “Divine Impersonations,” 2. *Gyokujo* is also sometimes translated as ‘jade woman.’

¹⁵³ See the example of Shinran’s dream in Bernard Faure, *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 206.

¹⁵⁴ Fremmerman, “Divine Impersonations,” 41.

¹⁵⁵ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 80-81.

3.2.2.1 Pregnancy and Wish-fulfilling Jewels

The heart of the connection between Ishiyama-dera and the birth of imperial children is the *nyoi hōju* (如意宝珠 wish-fulfilling jewel), a part of the Nyoirin Kannon's iconography that developed associations with both pregnancy and the imperial family. Wish-fulfilling jewels were often conflated with relic worship, and wish-fulfilling jewel rituals dedicated to a variety of Buddhist deities were performed to ensure safe and productive pregnancies for both elite women and imperial consorts beginning in the late Heian period.¹⁵⁶ The connection between the *nyoi hōju* and pregnancy is made explicit in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* in what is probably its most famous image, the scene of the wife of Kuniyoshi (fig. 12). This court lady had been married to Fujiwara Kuniyoshi (藤原国能, mid-12th century), a low-ranking courtier, for several years without bearing a child, and fearing that her husband had left her she went to Ishiyama-dera to pray for a change in her fortunes. While sleeping in the temple hall, Kannon appeared in a dream and presented the hopeful lady with a wish-fulfilling jewel and instructions to enshrine it. Upon waking, Kuniyoshi's wife found that the jewel was real and brought it home following Kannon's instructions, after which Kuniyoshi returned to her, she bore a son, and the household flourished. In the painting, the scene opens with the only depiction of a manifestation of Ishiyama-dera's Kannon in the scroll.¹⁵⁷ An elegant, golden vision, the bodhisattva stands over the sleeping body of the court lady, holding out a small sphere—the *nyoi hōju*. Although this tale links wish-fulfilling jewels and the pregnancy of a court lady, the text finishes by relating how the jewel was passed down to her son and eventually came into the possession of emperor Toba (鳥羽 1103-1156, r. 1107-1123). By illustrating Kannon as physically present in the main hall of

¹⁵⁶ Brian Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000), 215.

¹⁵⁷ That is, as an active deity, not the gilt icon, which also appears only once in the scroll.

Ishiyama-dera, this scene makes explicit the activity of the deity behind the miracles that occur elsewhere in the scroll. This scene also emphasizes the role of women as the recipients and caretakers of wish-fulfilling jewels, an element that appears in many other medieval legends in which women miraculously acquire jewels or relics and receive material and spiritual benefits from enshrining them.¹⁵⁸

A later scene, discussed in more detail at the end of this chapter, offers a further explanation for Ishiyama-dera's association with childbirth. In the scene of Kujō Michiie submitting a request for prayers for his daughter, the consort of Emperor Go-Horikawa (後堀河 1212-1234, r. 1221-1232), the text states that his reason for turning to this temple was that Ishiyama-dera's Kannon had been responsible for many imperial births due to an image of Shōtoku Taishi (聖徳太子 574-622) ensconced within the icon. Shōtoku Taishi represented an ideal combination of imperial and Buddhist authority. He was born into the royal family, and although he was never an emperor he served as crown prince and regent to Empress Suiko (推古 554-628, r. 592-628). He was also a powerful proponent of Buddhism at court, and came to be remembered as one of the earliest patrons of Buddhism in Japan. After his death he was venerated as a manifestation of Kannon and, alternatively, was closely associated with Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha (i.e. Siddhartha Gautama).¹⁵⁹ By the late thirteenth century, a belief had developed in the esoteric Buddhist sects that Shōtoku was a manifestation of Nyoirin Kannon in addition to, or possibly as a result of his usual identity as a manifestation of Guze Kannon (救世観音).¹⁶⁰ A connection between Shōtoku and Nyoirin Kannon is mentioned in the

¹⁵⁸ Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, 211-213.

¹⁵⁹ Kevin Carr, "Pieces of Princes: Personalized Relics in Medieval Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 38 (no. 1) 2011, 94-95.

¹⁶⁰ Fremerman, "Divine Impersonations," 181.

opening of the preface to *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, which states that Shōtoku Taishi had venerated Nyoirin Kannon across two lifetimes, although there is no comment on there being an icon of the prince within the Kannon icon.¹⁶¹ Various changes in Buddhist thought contributed to the idea that Prince Shōtoku was an incarnation of Nyoirin Kannon, including legends about Shōtoku miraculously producing relics as a child, which were viewed as comparable to wish-fulfilling jewels.¹⁶² Nyoirin Kannon had also come to be revered as a deity who protected the country at large during the Heian period, and connections with an imperial prince may have reinforced this identity.¹⁶³ There are further connections between Shōtoku Taishi and Ishiyama-dera's Nyoirin Kannon in particular. The main icon of the Rokkakudō (六角堂), a temple founded by Prince Shōtoku, was identified as a two-armed Nyoirin Kannon, the same form as Ishiyama-dera's icon.¹⁶⁴ The founding legend of the Rokkakudō bears similarities to Ishiyama-dera's: when Shōtoku Taishi set the icon of Nyoirin Kannon on a stone, it refused to move from the spot, and it was there that the Rokkakudō was built around it.¹⁶⁵

Michiie's prayers to a combination of Nyoirin Kannon and Shōtoku Taishi for the birth of imperial heirs are not an isolated incident. Empress Kenreimon-in (建礼門院 1155-1213) offered prayers for a son to Nyoirin Kannon at the Rokkakudō in 1178 when she was pregnant with future emperor Antoku (安徳 1178-1185, r. 1180-1185).¹⁶⁶ However, the detail of Ishiyama-dera's Nyoirin Kannon containing an icon of Shōtoku inside it may have appealed to devotees beyond simply conflating two powerful Buddhist figures. The icon of Nyoirin Kannon is

¹⁶¹ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 131.

¹⁶² Fremerman, "Divine Impersonations," 186. For further discussion of the relationship between Shōtoku Taishi and Nyoirin Kannon, see Fujii Yukiko 藤井由紀子, *Shotoku Taishi no densho*, 聖徳太子の伝承 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1999), 92-118.

¹⁶³ Fremerman, "Divine Impersonations," 186.

¹⁶⁴ Fujii, *Shotoku Taishi no densho*, 101-102.

¹⁶⁵ Fremerman, "Divine Impersonations," 184.

¹⁶⁶ Fremerman, "Divine Impersonations," 188

presented as parallel to the body of the pregnant mother, with both bodies holding a prince within them. This distinguished Ishiyama-dera's Nyoirin Kannon as being particularly suited to influencing imperial births, moreso than icons enshrined at other temples. The idea of Ishiyama-dera's Kannon being 'pregnant' with an imperial prince also reflects the connections made in the writings of various Heian and Kamakura-period monks between Nyoirin Kannon as a 'jewel woman' and as a kind of deified imperial consort.¹⁶⁷

3.2.2.2 Acts of Patronage and Devotion

While pilgrimage has been duly covered as a form of piety practiced by court women, when it comes to other acts of patronage in pre-modern Japan, the role of women has sometimes been overshadowed. Earlier scholars tended to focus on the activities of prominent men, and it was sometimes erroneously assumed that elite women did not have access to the resources to act as patrons on the same level as their male family members. However, a quick look at primary source materials, such as diaries, shows that women have acted as patrons of Buddhism, sponsoring ritual performances and presenting objects as donations, from the beginnings of Buddhism in Japan.¹⁶⁸ In turn, discussions of imperial power have tended to focus on emperors and regents, disregarding the social and political power available to women who became consorts and mothers of emperors. In the case of Ishiyama-dera, the importance of imperial women was not lost on the patrons of the scroll, whose family, after all, owed their fortunes to several imperial women.

¹⁶⁷ For further discussion of the relationship between Nyoirin Kannon, jewel women, and imperial consorts, see Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, 206-210.

¹⁶⁸ Hongō Masatsugu "State and Court Buddhism: The Role of Court Women in the Development of Buddhism from the Seventh to Ninth Centuries," in *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, trans. Masayo Kaneko (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 2002), 45-46.

There are three scenes in which the primary patrons of rituals performed at Ishiyama-dera were imperial women—Higashisanjō-in and Jōtōmon-in, both of whom were empresses and mothers of emperors. One of these scenes, the event of Higashisanjō-in’s final pilgrimage to Ishiyama-dera, depicts the most visually explicit example of patronage in the handscroll, combining pilgrimage, requests for rituals, and the donation of an expensive object—a set of icon curtains—to the temple. Furthermore, both Higashisanjō-in and Jōtōmon-in are referenced in the texts of later scenes, in which they are held up as precedents for the bestowal of imperial sons upon devout mothers.

3.2.2.3 The Model Patron: Retired Empress Higashisanjō-in

By the time she made her final pilgrimage to Ishiyama-dera, Higashisanjō-in was one of, if not the, most powerful woman in Japan. Born Fujiwara no Senshi (藤原詮子), the daughter of Fujiwara no Kaneie (藤原兼家 929-990) and the older sister of Fujiwara no Michinaga (藤原道長 966-1028), she received a variety of court ranks and honors throughout her lifetime. In 978 she became a consort of emperor En’yū and gave birth to the future emperor Ichijō (一条 980-1011) in 980.¹⁶⁹ She received the title of Grand Empress (皇太后 *kōtaigō*) in 986 and the title of Retired Empress (女院 *nyōin*) when she took the tonsure in 991 during a serious illness.¹⁷⁰

Higashisanjō-in was the first woman to be granted the title of *nyōin*, which, according to the eleventh-century chronicle *Eiga monogatari* (栄花物語 *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*),

¹⁶⁹ McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 1, 116-118.

¹⁷⁰ Most scholars translate *nyōin* as ‘Imperial Lady,’ following McCullough (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 2, 819). I occasionally use ‘Retired Empress’ as a reflection of the status of this rank. McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 135 and 164-165.

granted her the status of a retired emperor.¹⁷¹ Although scholars have often commented on the fact that the Fujiwara married their daughters into the imperial family as a means of gaining power and influence over future emperors, Higashisanjō-in held significant power in her own right. Her authority was well-recognized during her lifetime, and not always appreciated: the courtier Fujiwara no Sanesuke complained in his diary that “the imperial mother makes affairs of the court solely her own” when he was passed over for a court appointment in favor of her candidate.¹⁷² Her involvement in court politics was remembered even centuries later—Jien, the author of the thirteenth-century history the *Gukanshō* (愚管抄 1219) stated that “We hear that while she was alive the state was governed just as she wanted.”¹⁷³ Jien gives the example that it was at her request that Ichijō promoted her brother, Fujiwara no Michinaga, ahead of the expected party, her nephew Korechika, to the position of Imperial Inspector.¹⁷⁴ Similar occasions of Higashisanjō-in’s control over the appointment of court positions are also recorded, but she was by no means the first dowager Empress to play a powerful role in behind-the-scenes politics.¹⁷⁵ Her involvement in court affairs was facilitated by the fact that her son Ichijō ascended the throne in 986 at the age of six, and that her father, Kaneie, served as his regent.¹⁷⁶

Like many of her royal male and female counterparts, Higashisanjō-in regularly took part in sponsoring and attending various rituals and ceremonies, both at the court and at Buddhist institutions. There are two scenes depicting her patronage of Ishiyama-dera included in the

¹⁷¹ McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 165.

¹⁷² Quoted in Sanae and Watanabe, “From Female Sovereign to Mother of the Nation,” 29.

¹⁷³ Delmer M. Brown and Ichirō Ishida, *The Future and the Past: A translation and study of the Gukanshō, an interpretive history of Japan written in 1219*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 56.

¹⁷⁴ Brown and Ishida, *Gukanshō*, 56.

¹⁷⁵ Fukutō Sanae and Takeshi Watanabe, “From Female Sovereign to Mother of the Nation: Women and Government in the Heian Period,” in *Heian Japan, Centers and Peripheries*, Mikael Adolphson et al., ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 25-29.

¹⁷⁶ Ichijō was seven by the Japanese method of counting age. McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 1, 133.

handscroll, and, notably, she is the only lay patron to be represented more than once. At some point in her life, Higashisanjō-in vowed to make a pilgrimage to Ishiyama-dera once a year; while the handscroll text states that she was particularly devoted to Ishiyama-dera's Kannon even before giving birth to emperor Ichijō, other sources suggest that she made the vow around the time she took the tonsure, as an attempt to avert an illness. The first of the two handscroll scenes depicts a pilgrimage in 992, not long after she had taken the tonsure, and the second scene, following immediately after, depicts her final pilgrimage to the temple before her death in 1001. The first pilgrimage only depicts her entourage on her journey to the Ishiyama-dera, the painting ending as they reach the temple grounds. The text gives little indication of what she did at the temple, similarly emphasizing that she was accompanied by her brother, Michinaga, and describing the journey to and from the temple rather than identifying any rituals. The second scene, however, commemorates her final pilgrimage to the temple during the ninth month of the third year of Chōhō (長保 1001) and clearly describes her activities at Ishiyama-dera.¹⁷⁷ There are two textual sources that describe Higashisanjō-in's final pilgrimage—the text in the handscroll itself, and a description in *Eiga monogatari*. The description of this event in the handscroll bears similarities to the description of her pilgrimage found in *Eiga monogatari*, which may have provided the source for this tale at the time of the handscroll's creation. However, the two descriptions differ in notable ways. The text in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* states that Higashisanjō-in had “for many years held a deep devotion to the temple, and prayed for the birth of a son.”¹⁷⁸ According to *Eiga monogatari*, however, Higashisanjō-in seems to have begun

¹⁷⁷ McCullough notes that other sources state that the pilgrimage actually began on the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month. However, the text in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* is consistent with *Eiga monogatari* in stating that the pilgrimage took place in the ninth month. See footnote 27, McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 1, 237 and Komatsu, ed., NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 33 and 135.

¹⁷⁸ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 135.

her devotion to Ishiyama-dera and its icon when she vowed to make annual pilgrimages to the temple during a serious illness in 991.¹⁷⁹ *Eiga monogatari* suggests that her recovery from this illness may have been a result of either her decision to become a nun or because of her vows to make pilgrimages to Ishiyama-dera and other temples.¹⁸⁰ Both texts state that she had *goma* (護摩, esoteric fire ritual) performed three times a day along with a *mantō-e* (万燈会 ceremony of ten-thousand lanterns), and that she donated vestments for the temple monks and “twill image curtains” (綾織物の御帳のかたびら *ayaori mono no michō no katabira*), presumably to adorn the shrine containing the icon of Nyoirin Kannon.¹⁸¹ The *Ishiyama-dera engi e* text notes that the sponsoring of *goma* and *mantō-e* rituals differed from her usual requests. *Eiga monogatari* explains further, stating that she sponsored *goma* rites in order to burn off past transgressions in preparation for the next life. *Eiga monogatari* further mentions that she had sutras copied for the occasion, sponsored a vegetarian feast for the monks, and donated a set of silver bowls.¹⁸² It should be noted that in the descriptions of Higashisanjō-in’s final pilgrimage, she is the only recipient of the rituals she sponsors; the entire affair is centered on her personal preparation for the next life, not prayers for her son or deceased husband, something that occupied much of the devotional practices of nuns in later periods.¹⁸³

The illustrations accompanying the handscroll text offer further insight into how the event of her pilgrimage and donations were presented to readers. Following the standard of not depicting emperors in handscroll paintings, Higashisanjō-in herself is not shown in either of the scenes of her pilgrimages—her presence is represented by an oxcart in the depictions of the

¹⁷⁹ McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 164.

¹⁸⁰ McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 164.

¹⁸¹ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 136 and McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 1, 239.

¹⁸² McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 1, 237-239.

¹⁸³ Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 39-40.

procession to the temple (fig. 13), and it can be assumed that she would have been seated behind the green bamboo blinds of the *tsubone* (局) anteroom located at the top of the painting of the main hall (fig. 14).¹⁸⁴ Various aristocrats (male and female), courtiers, and monks can be seen arrayed along the edges of the space of the main hall, while at the far left the head of the presiding priest can be seen behind the red shutters marking off the inner sanctum (内陣 *naijin*) of the hall. As with other scenes in the scroll, the shrine of the Nyorin Kannon icon is not depicted. At the center of the open space in the outer hall (外陣 *gejin*) is a black table, similar to those used to hold Buddhist ritual implements in the inner sanctum, over which is spread a white cloth—the image curtains donated by Higashisanjō-in.¹⁸⁵ This scene is the only instance in the scroll where a specific donation is depicted; normally donations are represented by the long, wooden boxes carried in which they would have been transported by porters (fig. 15). The details of the curtain and the offering table on which it is presented are difficult to read in the original painting, due to the deterioration of the paint pigments, but a copy of the handscroll made in the nineteenth-century offers a clear recreation of how the original painting likely appeared (fig. 16). Where the curtains on the offering table in the original painting appear blurred and faded due to loss of pigment, the nineteenth-century copy shows sheer white curtains laid on top of a gold lacquer box placed on top of the table.

None of the rituals mentioned are particularly unusual on their own—*goma* fire rituals are one of the most fundamental rituals in Shingon, and sutra recitations were common across

¹⁸⁴ In other scenes of the main hall in the handscroll, the room behind these blinds is most commonly used as a prayer or sleeping room for elite guests. See Enyu's pilgrimage (Komatsu, *NET Ishiyama-dera engi*, 20), Takasue no Musume (40), Murasaki (41-42), Michinaga (44-45). For a discussion of the use of *tsubone* in temple worship halls see Yamagishi Tsuneto, "Chōmon no ba 聴聞の場" in *Chūsei jiin shakai to butsudō* 中世寺院社会と仏堂 (170).

¹⁸⁵ It is difficult to determine the original color of the curtains, as it seems likely that the pigment has faded over time. The current pale gray color of the curtains is probably the remains of the underpainting, rather than the intended color of the final work.

most Buddhist sects. The *manto-e* would probably be slightly more unusual, due to the large number of lamps or lanterns that would need to be provided by the patron, restricting this rite to particularly wealthy aristocrats. Although neither source states it directly, the *manto-e* was likely commissioned for a similar purpose as the *goma*, as the custom of lighting and offering lanterns was associated with rites of repentance.¹⁸⁶ The combination of these rituals, along with the comment that they were unusual rites for Higashisanjō-in to commission and were associated with preparations for the next life, suggest that this was a special event requiring elaborate rituals.

In general, however, Higashisanjō-in's donations followed a pattern of donations made by other high-ranking aristocrats. *Kesa* (袈裟), the vestments worn by Buddhist monks, were a typical donation, as the donation of vestments or the materials to make them had been considered a merit-building activity from early on in Buddhist culture.¹⁸⁷ Rolls of plain, uncut cloth could also serve as a suitable donation, at least for male courtiers. Fujiwara no Kaneie made a donation of both cloth and robes to the priests of Hannyaji, and an earlier scene of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* records that emperor En'yū donated two hundred bolts of bast-fiber cloth and three hundred bolts of silk batting during his visit to the temple.¹⁸⁸ Although formal court robes were given as gifts and rewards by (and to) members of both sexes at court, providing vestments for monks came to be associated with women.¹⁸⁹ Women in the Heian period were responsible for providing clothing for their husbands, and the creation of robes as women's labor may have contributed to

¹⁸⁶ M. W. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935), 239-240.

¹⁸⁷ Monica Bethe, "Textiles in the Imperial Convents," in *Amamonzeki: A Hidden Heritage*, Institute for Medieval Japanese Studies et al., (Tokyo: Sankei Shinbunsha, 2009), 308-309.

¹⁸⁸ Ambros, "Liminal Journeys," 323. 調布 (*chōfu*; cloth received as taxes) and 綿 (*men*) respectively. Komatsu, *NET Ishiyama-dera engi*, 20 and 134.

¹⁸⁹ Hank Glassman, "The Nude Jizō at Denkōji: Notes on Women's Salvation in Kamakura Buddhism," in *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, Barbara Ruch ed., (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 2002), 394.

the idea that providing clothing for monks was best suited to women.¹⁹⁰ Another form of women's patronage, dressing nude icons of the bodhisattva Jizō in handmade vestments further suggests an association between making and donating robes as a particularly female type of donation.¹⁹¹

Donations of land to temples were also fairly common among elite male pilgrims, and noble women during the Heian period also owned, inherited, and passed down property of their own, meaning that they possessed the resources to donate land to temples if they so desired.¹⁹² Providing vegetarian feasts for monks was a practice dating back to the origins of Buddhism in Japan, and although such feasts were held under a variety of circumstances, over time they came to be associated with memorials following the death of an emperor or empress.¹⁹³ The expense of feeding many monks restricted this type of patronage to the very wealthy—the imperial family and a few of the wealthiest aristocrats.

The depiction of the image curtains at the center of the hall interior suggests that they were considered particularly important. Mentions of other examples of the donation of image curtains in diaries and historical records are rare, particularly for the eleventh century. Furthermore, scholarship dealing with *shōgon* (荘嚴), the adornment of Buddhist icons and ritual spaces, generally omits curtains in favor of discussions of banners, canopies, and altar cloths.¹⁹⁴ Curtains of this type were primarily used by temples that enshrined *hibutsu*, as the curtains were placed around the feretory to further hide the icon from view and increase its sense of sacrality.

¹⁹⁰ William H. McCullough, "Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Heian Period," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1967): 125.

¹⁹¹ See Glassman, "The Nude Jizō at Denkōji."

¹⁹² See Ambros, "Liminal Journeys," 323 and McCullough, "Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Heian Period," 124.

¹⁹³ De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 39.

¹⁹⁴ Anne Nishimura Morse and Samuel Crowell Morse, ed., *Object as Insight: Japanese Buddhist Art & Ritual*, (Katonah, N.Y.: Katonah Museum of Art, 1995), 26-28.

Also, due to their disintegration and replacement or removal over time, there are comparatively fewer extant curtains of this type. While Higashisanjō-in's curtains appear less stiff than later styles of altar curtains, they are clearly distinguishable from ordinary curtains used in elite residences (figs. 17 and 18). In format, the curtains used to enshrine a *hibutsu* may have more closely resembled the curtains used on *chōdai* (帳台), the curtained platform used as a sleeping area and, at the imperial palace, as a type of throne room or dais (fig. 19). *Chōdai* signaled the importance of the person seated within while protecting them from the gaze of those seated outside. Surrounding an icon with curtains indicated that what was kept within was especially important and powerful, much like the emperor himself. *Eiga monogatari* mentions another instance of curtains meant to be hung around or in front of a Buddha icon (*hotoke no michō* 仏の御帳), which emphasizes their function as part of the ritual tableau. These curtains are listed among the items Michinaga brought with him on a pilgrimage to Hasedera (長谷寺). These curtains are not listed as donations, but as part of the collection of Buddhist implements that Michinaga provided in order to furnish the rituals he wished to have performed.¹⁹⁵ The text emphasizes that he brought these items so as not to be a burden on the local governor, suggesting that they would have been costly items to supply.

An association between donating such curtains to temples after the birth of a child may have developed in later periods, as with the example of the mother of Ashikaga Takauji in 1336, who donated image curtains (戸帳 *tochō*) to Kokawa-dera (粉河寺) in Kii province (modern-day Wakayama) following the birth of her son.¹⁹⁶ Kokawa-dera's main icon is also a Kannon *hibutsu*, which may offer one reason for the lack of attention given to image curtains—they are only used

¹⁹⁵ *Eiga monogatari*, vol. 32, 435. McCullough 1980, Vol. 2, 643.

¹⁹⁶ DNS 6. 3: 848.

for the specific example of hidden icons. The general lack of references to such donations suggests that they were a unique item to donate, and possibly, due to their proximity to the sacred image, something only offered by particularly devout, elite patrons. Higashisanjō-in's choice to dedicate image curtains at Ishiyama-dera likely reflected both her status as an elite member of the imperial family and her own personal devotion to the temple and its deity. There may also have been a certain appeal for a woman to donate curtains—although not robes, curtains like those used for the emperor's *chōdai* would most likely also be sewn and prepared by women. Furthermore, her presence at the ritual is represented through the depiction of her offering—not the commonly given offerings of *kesa* or the sponsored feast for the monks, but the unique and costly donation of curtains meant to adorn the icon's shrine in the most sacred part of the temple.

Unlike the multicolored, rich fabrics commonly chosen to decorate altar spaces, Higashisanjō-in's curtains are white and, from what can be gleaned from the painting, semi-transparent. The color of her curtains is never mentioned in either the handscroll text or *Eiga monogatari*, and neither are Michinaga's icon curtains in *Eiga monogatari* described as having any particular color. *Chōdai* curtains were usually white, so it is likely that *michō* hung in front of Buddhist icons would be white curtains, rather than the elaborate brocade *tochō* of later periods. It is possible, of course, that the thirteenth-century handscroll painting cannot be trusted as an accurate representation of eleventh-century altar decorations. However, the image of white curtains hanging in the altar space appears to have been believable and even significant for the creators of the handscroll. Within the context of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, Higashisanjō-in's white curtains continue a motif that is spread across the paintings of the handscroll: the concealment of the Nyoirin Kannon icon from the gaze of the viewer through the use of white curtains.

Ishiyama-dera's icon is only fully depicted once in the entire handscroll, when it miraculously flies out of the main hall to escape a fire and is shown resting in a tree outside of the burning temple hall. I address the motif of the white curtains in more detail in the following chapter, but in short, white curtains also appear in three other scenes in the context of secret rituals.

In the case of Ishiyama-dera and most temples with secret icons, the closed doors of the feretory were the primary means by which the icon was hidden from view. The curtains hung in the altar space provided an additional layer of separation and further signaled the icon's high status to visitors. The texts of other scenes in the handscroll imply that curtains were generally hung in front of Ishiyama-dera's Kannon icon. In the scene of the pilgrimage of the wife of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi, the text states that "she fell asleep and in a dream Kannon appeared from within the curtains."¹⁹⁷ Although the painting of this scene shows Kannon standing outside of the red and black *kekai* (結界) barrier, a wooden grille that separates the inner sanctum from the worship hall where the wife of Kuniyoshi lies sleeping (fig. 12), not the curtains mentioned in the text, the fact that Kannon is described as coming out from within the curtains suggests that they obscured the icon in the normal arrangement of the inner sanctum. An earlier scene also mentions curtains in a similar context. The text of the fourth scene of the fourth scroll describes a dream that a priest named Gyōson had while on pilgrimage to the temple, in which "an old priest in black robes emerged alone from within the curtains."¹⁹⁸ This priest is understood to be an incarnation or representative of Kannon. Other scenes in the handscroll also describe priests appearing in dreams to deliver omens and cures on behalf of Ishiyama-dera's icon.

¹⁹⁷“まどろみたる夢に御帳の内より観音現給て。” *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, 138.

¹⁹⁸“夢うつつともなくて御帳の内より黒衣の老僧一人出て。” *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, 138.

As with the other paintings depicting the main hall, little beyond the *kekkaï* barrier is shown in either of these scenes, thus preserving the sanctity of the inner shrine but offering no image of the feretory or where these curtains hung relative to it. Although no such curtains hang in the *naijin* today, that part of the main hall dates to 1096 and thus appears structurally much as it did when the handscroll was created.¹⁹⁹ At Ishiyama-dera the feretory is not a free-standing container but is built into the rear wall of the *naijin*. The curtains most likely hung in front of this rear wall, and based on the mentions of divine apparitions emerging out of them, would have been clearly visible to pilgrims seated in the worship hall. Furthermore, the term that later developed for the revealing of a secret icon, *kaichō* (開帳), literally, “opening the curtains,” suggests a connection between *hibutsu* and curtains as a device for maintaining secrecy. These episodes also present the curtains as a division between the divine and the mundane, mirroring the function of the white curtains repeated throughout the handscroll paintings. Rather than only serving as the means of hiding the divine from unworthy eyes, however, these episodes also emphasize the drawing back of the curtains as the method by which Kannon interacts with devotees.

Higashisanjō-in’s choice to dedicate curtains at Ishiyama-dera reflected both her status as an elite member of the imperial family and her own personal devotion to the temple and its deity. Furthermore, Higashisanjō-in’s presence at the ritual is represented through the depiction of her offering—not the commonly given offerings of cloth for *kesa* or the sponsored feast for the monks, but the unique and costly donation of curtains meant to adorn the icon’s shrine at the most sacred part of the temple. In paintings like those found in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, the most

¹⁹⁹The main hall was destroyed by fire in 1078 and rebuilt by 1096. Thanks to the support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation I was able to visit Ishiyama-dera during its 2016 *kaichō*, enabling me to make a close examination of both the *hibutsu* icon and the architecture of the *naijin*, which is ordinarily restricted to visitors.

important figures are not shown. Emperors, empresses, and sacred, secret icons are honored by not revealing their mundane, physical forms. In the scene of Higashisanjo-in's final pilgrimage, the curtains stand for both the icon, carefully hidden by clouds in the image of the hall's inner sanctum at the far left of the painting, and Higashisanjō-in herself, as patroness and empress. By donating an object that would be hung as close as possible to the icon, Higashisanjō-in could herself draw closer to Kannon, emphasizing both her personal piety and her status as the highest-ranking woman in Japan. Although she herself would not enter the inner sanctum where the icon was enshrined and temple priests would perform the rituals she had commissioned, her donation would have access to this inner sanctum.

The examples of Ishiyama-dera's history selected for inclusion in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* all emphasize moments when the temple attracted the attention of the most powerful people in the country: emperors, Fujiwara family members, and famous monks. While her donation itself might no longer serve as a reminder of the opulence and devotion of days gone by, emphasizing Higashisanjō-in's patronage and piety could still serve as a model for wealthy viewers of the handscroll, encouraging them to turn to Nyoirin Kannon in their times of need, and, of course, to honor the deity by rewarding the temple and its priests. The handscroll text describing Higashisanjō-in's final pilgrimage ends with the observation that, with her death occurring not long after her final pilgrimage, this must surely be a sign that Kannon had responded to her prayers for a good rebirth.²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 136.

3.2.2.4 Jōtōmon-in: Mother of the Emperor

The fact that Higashisanjō-in's rituals and donations were dedicated to her own personal devotion and salvation, rather than for the benefit of her male family members, points to the fact that these women pursued Buddhism on their own, not merely for the well-being of their fathers, husbands, and sons. Even as elite women lost the ability to act as patrons on such a grand level in later times, the example of an empress' donation and devotion was still presented to the elites of the fourteenth century as a model of piety and power. While Higashisanjō-in is the first and most visible of the imperial women whose patronage is celebrated in the handscroll, she is not the only one.

Jōtōmon-in, empress of emperor Ichijō, was Higashisanjō-in's successor in many ways. Born Fujiwara no Shōshi (彰子 988-1074), the daughter of Fujiwara no Michinaga and Minamoto Rinshi, and was named empress (中宮 *chūgū*) at thirteen years of age, in the year 1000 (Chōhō 2).²⁰¹ Higashisanjō-in was instrumental in securing her niece's success at court, particularly in her being named empress.²⁰² She submitted the official appointment of Jōtōmon-in as imperial consort to Ichijō, in spite of the fact that he already had a principal consort.²⁰³ Following the precedent set by her aunt, Jōtōmon-in became the second woman to receive the title of *nyōin* when she took the tonsure, but unlike Higashisanjō-in she did not receive the precepts as an attempt to avert illness. Rather, her motivations seem to have been similar to the practice of emperors abdicating and becoming lay monks—by removing themselves from official duties, emperors, and court women alike could exercise greater political power.²⁰⁴ In the sphere of religion, retiring from official public duty allowed one to more actively participate in

²⁰¹ McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 1, 223.

²⁰² See McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 1, 221 footnote.

²⁰³ Sanae and Watanabe, "From Female Sovereign to Mother of the Nation," 30.

²⁰⁴ Meeks, "Reconfiguring Ritual Authenticity," 58.

Buddhist devotions, as those with official imperial duties were expected to focus on ceremonies related to *kami* worship over Buddhist ceremonies.²⁰⁵

Jōtōmon-in took the tonsure at the age of thirty-nine, in 1026, and *Eiga monogatari* once again states that she was given the title of *nyōin* with the status of a retired emperor.²⁰⁶ The ceremony and standards of her ordination and role at court were based on the precedent set by Higashisanjō-in, and like her aunt, Jōtōmon-in was considered a significant power in the court.²⁰⁷ She often made decisions determining the appointment of court ranks and positions, and her approval was deemed necessary for the appointment of imperial consorts.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, she lived for a much longer period of time than her aunt, dying at the age of eighty-seven, and thus served as a powerful force during the reigns of not only her sons, emperors Go-Ichijō and Go-Suzaku, but also the reigns of her grandsons, emperors Go-Reizei and Go-Sanjō, and, briefly, her great-grandson emperor Shirakawa.²⁰⁹

Jōtōmon-in appears in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* as the patron of healing rituals held for her son, prince Atsunaga (敦良), future Emperor Go-Suzaku (後朱雀 1009-1045). The text relates that on the twentieth day of the second month of 1027 (4th year of Manju 万寿) the crown prince fell ill with a fever, and that Jōtōmon-in was particularly distressed and called for Daisōjō (大僧正 Senior High Priest) Jinkaku (深覚 955-1043) to the palace to perform healing rituals. He performed *kaji* and recited a mantra dedicated to Nyoirin Kannon, after which the prince was said to have recovered.²¹⁰ As with other scenes depicting rituals involving imperial family

²⁰⁵ Meeks, “Reconfiguring Ritual Authenticity,” 56.

²⁰⁶ McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 2, 713-714.

²⁰⁷ Meeks, “Reconfiguring Ritual Authenticity,” 58.

²⁰⁸ Sanae and Watanabe, “From Female Sovereign to Mother of the Nation,” 31.

²⁰⁹ Sanae and Watanabe, “From Female Sovereign to Mother of the Nation,” 31.

²¹⁰ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 137.

members, none of the royal individuals are physically depicted. Instead, the painting shows Jinkaku, entering and exiting through the blinds of the prince's quarters, while an entourage of monks recite sutras on the veranda and various courtiers approach the scene (fig. 20). Unlike the scene of Higashisanjō-in's final pilgrimage, there are no particular visual details to identify Jōtōmon-in as the patron of this ritual. It is likely that mentioning her as the force behind summoning Jinkaku, as well as Michinaga's involvement in the event, served primarily to emphasize the type of elite individuals who relied on and supported Ishiyama-dera, rather than denoting an example of personal piety and belief. While Higashisanjō-in's scenes show imperial family members and elite aristocrats leaving the court to visit the temple site, the example of Jōtōmon-in and the crown prince emphasizes that Ishiyama-dera's power also extended beyond the temple grounds and into the most restricted parts of the imperial palace.

3.2.3 Aristocrats and Regents

While emperors and empresses constituted the wealthiest and most powerful patrons of Ishiyama-dera, the majority of the patrons depicted in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* were members of the aristocracy. The number of non-imperial male patrons included in the scrolls is about the same as the number of episodes of female patronage, but it is notable that in the case of aristocratic men, prayers and pilgrimages made to the temple often concern the well-being of their daughters. Two scenes record male aristocrats requesting prayers for their pregnant daughters to successfully and safely give birth to imperial heirs. In the third scene of the sixth scroll Kujō Michiie sent prayers that his daughter, Sōhekimon-in (藻壁門院, born Shunshi 尊子 1209-1233), consort of Emperor Go-Horikawa, would give birth to an imperial heir. She later gave birth to future Emperor Shijō (

四條 1231-1242, r. 1232-1242). In the following scene, the fourth scene of the sixth scroll, Tōin Saneo sent similar prayers on behalf of his daughter Kyōgoku-in, consort to Emperor Kameyama and mother of Go-Uda. Sōhekimon-in, incidentally, was related to the Saionji through her mother's side; her mother was a daughter of Saionji Kintsune (西園寺公經 1171-1244), making her Saneo's sister (table 6). As I outlined in chapter one, the role of female Tōin family members as empresses, consorts, and mothers of emperors were the foundations of the power of the Tōin family during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Ishiyama-dera's reputation for having a Kannon who produced imperial heirs provided a link between the temple and the imperial family through maternal devotion. Although the illustrations in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* do not emphasize the relationship between Tōin women and Ishiyama-dera, as it does with Higashisanjō-in, the text of several scenes does. In the scene of emperor Fushimi's Aizen rituals, the text states that his mother, Genkimon-in, remembered her father Tōin Saneo's devotion to Ishiyama-dera, and as a result she herself also made many pilgrimages there, implying that Fushimi's decision to request perpetual Aizen rituals at Ishiyama-dera was a result of his mother's influence.²¹¹

In the painting of the first scene, the focus is the figure of Michiie, seated in the center of an otherwise empty room of his mansion, writing the prayer petition to be sent to Ishiyama-dera with a few court women, presumably members of Michiie's household, seated in an adjacent room (fig. 21). While the image reflects the bulk of the accompanying text, in which Michiie's prayer petition is copied in full, the nuances of the importance of this scene are lost. The text begins not with Michiie, but with his daughter Sōhekimon-in's name, and goes on to state her lineage as the daughter of Michiie and a descendant of Saionji Kintsune and that she was

²¹¹ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 142-143

empress of Go-Horikawa.²¹² After she became pregnant, her father sent a prayer petition to Ishiyama-dera. The text of the petition clearly outlines the importance of the precedence of imperial involvement at Ishiyama-dera, indicating that Michiie was well aware of this and, furthermore, was inspired by this history to submit his own prayers. He separates his letter into three sections, with three separate requests. The first is for the fulfillment of his daughter's pregnancy, that is, the birth of an imperial heir. He begins by listing a short history of the temple, commenting on the involvement of Emperor Shōmu and Rōben. He then goes on to list Fujiwara no Kaneie, Michinaga, and the empresses included in previous handscroll scenes—Higashisanjō-in and Jōtōmon-in, identifying and their sons who later became emperors. The petition offers these individuals as precedents for what Michiie hoped would occur in his own family, that is, an imperial son for his daughter and the regency for himself. Michiie's second request is for the future prosperity of his family. He once again compares the position of his daughter to those of Higashisanjō-in and Jōtōmon-in, asking that she also might become the mother of an emperor, and then asks that his son might follow in the footsteps of Kaneie and Michinaga, that is, to achieve the position of regent. His final prayer is for his own rebirth in the next life. The text concludes by attributing the success of the regent families to their devotion to Kannon. The information that Michiie turned to Ishiyama-dera to pray for his daughter during her pregnancy because the main icon contained an icon of Shōtoku Taishi within it also reflects a concern with imperial precedent. Shōtoku himself was an ideal patron of Buddhism—perhaps the ideal patron, considering how he was deified as a manifestation of Kannon after his death—while also a crown prince and regent, both identities that were of the utmost importance to men like Michiie.

²¹² For the handscroll text, see Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 140-141.

The next scene, which documents Saneo's patronage of Ishiyama-dera, follows a similar theme and format, beginning by naming his daughter, Kyōgoku-in, and stating that it was at the time of her pregnancy that Saneo went to the temple to offer prayers (figs. 22 and 23). The text explains that his two younger daughters also went on to become imperial consorts and mothers, and lists the successes of his son, Kinmori. The link between imperial births, Ishiyama-dera, and historic precedent is made explicit at the end of the text, where it states that the childbirth rituals for Kyōgoku-in were performed in accordance with precedents set during the Kangen era (寛元 1243-1247) with the comment that these rites were as glorious as those of the Kankō (寛弘 1004-1012) period, that is, during the height of Michinaga's power. It concludes with a reminder that the flourishing of Saneo's descendants was due to the mercy of Kannon.²¹³ The painting accompanying this scene bears similarities to the composition of Michinaga's *ajari* rituals, with the focus of the scene moving across the rocky temple courtyard to the outer hall, where Saneo (or his messenger) delivers his petition to Ishiyama-dera's abbot. Both scenes depict individuals seated outside of the temple hall on the veranda while others make their way to the interior of the hall. It is likely that Bunchō chose the earlier scene of Michinaga's *ajari* rituals to use as a model for this later scene, and in doing so paralleled the historical events mentioned in the text.

Both scenes refer to Fujiwara no Michinaga, the most famous of the aristocratic patrons depicted in the handscroll. Aside from his general fame as a powerful regent and an important figure in Japanese history, Michinaga represented a very specific predecessor and role model for the Saionji and Tōin families. The scene in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* that depicts Michinaga as a patron emphasizes his role as the father of empresses and the grandfather of three emperors. The text states that for this event, Michinaga received permission from Emperor Go-Ichijō to have

²¹³ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 141-142.

three people given the title of *ajari* at Ishiyama-dera, giving the explanation that three people were needed because Michinaga had three separate prayers to make.²¹⁴ It also states that Michinaga donated land and offered lamps to the temple, and that he gave thanks for being the grandfather of three imperial children (Go-Ichijō, Go-Suzaku, and Go-Reizei), for having received a senior office at the court, and asked for the continued prosperity of his grandsons. No details are given about the ceremony itself, but the author of the *Ishiyama-dera engi e* text goes on to state that the line of imperial regents had held a particular devotion to Ishiyama-dera, beginning with Fujiwara no Morosuke (藤原師輔 908-960).²¹⁵ This information adds another reason for the interest Michinaga, his sister, and his daughter had in making pilgrimages to or requesting services from Ishiyama-dera. Michinaga had another familial connection to the temple in the person of the priest Jinkaku, who appears twice in the handscroll, in the scenes of healing rituals performed for both Go-Ichijō and Go-Suzaku. At the time he was senior high priest (*daisōjō* 大僧正) and director (*chōja* 長者) of Tō-ji, and a resident priest at Ishiyama-dera. Jinkaku was the eleventh son of Fujiwara no Morosuke, Michinaga's grandfather. This offers yet another connection between the golden age of the Fujiwara family and the fourteenth-century ambitions of the Tōin, who provided generations of Ishiyama-dera abbots during that time.

Thus, Michinaga was not only a general example of the glories of the Heian period to which later aristocrats still aspired, but a specific one for the Tōin family. This scene of Michinaga's patronage appears to have been explicitly chosen for its connection to his imperial daughters and grandsons, as we know from other sources that Michinaga visited Ishiyama-dera on multiple occasions. Fujiwara no Sanesuke's (藤原実資 957-1046) diary *Shōyūki* records that

²¹⁴ Komatsu, *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 136-136.

²¹⁵ Komatsu, *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 136-137.

following the birth of Go-Ichijō, Fujiwara no Michinaga had saddles donated to Ishiyama-dera as payment for sutra readings conducted for a safe birth.²¹⁶ *Shōyūki* also records that in 1021, Michinaga travelled to Ishiyama-dera to pray for the healing of his eye ailment.²¹⁷ The *ajari* scene, however, highlights the aspects of Ishiyama-dera's history that the creators of the scroll were most interested in emphasizing—a site with imperial connections, particularly to the birth of imperial heirs, the success and devotion of regent families, and the power and efficacy of Shingon ritual.

Events from the golden age of Michinaga and tales of his and his family's support of Ishiyama-dera served as a model for the creators of the scroll, who lived in uncertain political times. By drawing attention to the power that belief in Ishiyama-dera's Kannon gave to emperors, regents, and historic members of the Fujiwara clan, the creators of the handscroll hoped to acquire similar good fortune for themselves and their descendants, especially in the uncertain political climate of the fourteenth century. The examples of patronage that I have addressed in this chapter emphasize exactly what Ishiyama-dera and the people behind the creation of the handscroll considered the historical highlights of the temple's past. By showing that emperors and aristocrats relied upon Ishiyama-dera's Kannon for healing and the good fortune of their descendants, the handscroll suggests that future emperors and aristocrats would also do well to put their trust in Kannon. Most of the scenes depicting imperial patronage in the scroll illustrate ways in which the power of Kannon intervened to strengthen ties between certain aristocratic families and the imperial family. Even Murasaki Shikibu's famous act of patronage

²¹⁶ Sanesuke himself was also a patron of the temple; following the pattern of his fellow aristocrats, he requested rituals to be performed at Ishiyama-dera for the birth of a daughter. See Brian Ruppert, "Pearl in the Shrine: A Genealogy of the Buddhist Jewel of the Japanese Sovereign," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 29. (2002): 6. See also Fremerman, "Divine Impersonations," 74 footnote 110; and Richard Bowring *Murasaki Shikibu: Her Diary and Poetic Memoirs*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982): 196.

²¹⁷ DNS 6.34:37.

involved the imperial family: she prayed at the temple for the inspiration to compose a story for Empress Jōtōmon-in. At a time when the imperial line had fallen victim to both succession disputes and the intervention of the military government, creating a handscroll that depicted the glories of the Heian period may have served as a means of raising hope and, possibly, asking Kannon to once again intervene on behalf of the emperor and the aristocracy.

The fourteenth-century Tōin sought to represent their family in a lineage of historical precedent stretching back to Michinaga by drawing parallels between the regencies of Kaneie and Michinaga (and the sisters or daughters who ensured that they acquired this position) and the similar situation of Tōin Saneo and his daughters. By presenting a history of imperial and regental patronage of the temple, Kinkata and his brothers established a pattern of the successes of both parties that stretched into their own era, specifically, the patronage of Go-Uda and his prayers for the continuation of his own lineage. Furthermore, members of the Saionji and Tōin families were not permitted to serve as regents, so the parallels the handscroll draws between them and the regents of the Heian period suggests that, in spite of these restrictions, they considered themselves equal in power to the likes of Michinaga and Kaneie. The Kujō family was one of the approved regental lines of the Fujiwara family, which offers another reason for the inclusion of Michiie's scene as it links (through the maternal line) the Saionji to the official lineage of regents.

The stories also appealed to the later patrons of the scroll, Ashikaga shoguns and emperors alike, for their emphasis on the success of powerful men and women of earlier eras. As time passed, the precedents set by increasingly distant historical figures like Michinaga acquired semi-mythic importance to the court and shogunate, who came to rely on court precedent to inform their own governing—namely, to add a veneer of cultural authority. The fact that

Ishiyama-dera engi e includes so many historical figures who were still remembered centuries later, including statesmen like Michinaga, emperors and empresses, and authors of classic works of courtly literature, may be partially responsible for the interest the scroll set garnered over the centuries, prompting new patrons of the temple to support the creation and replacement of the missing scrolls.

4.0 DEPICTING RITUAL: MEMORIALIZING HISTORY AND IDENTITY

The performance of rituals occupied a large part of the life of a Buddhist temple, and the Shingon sect placed a particular emphasis on elaborate rituals. It is notable, then, that within the genre of illustrated *engi*, depictions of rituals appear infrequently before the Kamakura period. Earlier *engi emaki* focused on the miracles performed by the patron deity of the temple, which were often brought about by the prayers of a devotee rather than by complex rituals, but by the Kamakura period illustrated *engi* often chronicled a longer history of the temple, including the history of its founding, famous patrons and priests associated with the site, and significant rituals performed there, in addition to miracles. Paintings that depict ritual performances have been studied primarily as a record of the more ephemeral aspects of pre-modern Japanese Buddhist culture, such as what type of vestments were worn, where participants were seated, what part of the architectural space was utilized, but no analysis has been done on why paintings of rituals were made and what purpose they served for their creators and viewers. As a result, the way in which rituals were depicted has not been considered as anything other than an accurate representation of ritual and ceremonial events, even when, as is the case with the *Ishiyama-dera* scroll, the paintings were made centuries after the events they depict. Furthermore, *Ishiyama-dera engi e* depicts rituals in an unusual way—often without showing the central ritual activity at all. These scenes of esoteric, secret rituals raise the question of what value such a scene held for the creators and viewers of the scroll.

This chapter addresses the role of depictions of ritual through two main questions. Why were these rituals illustrated at all, when the intent was clearly not to record how it was performed? This question is particularly relevant when the rituals in question are meant to be secret or hidden from the view of the attendees. This inquiry leads to my second question: what value does a ritual hold for a viewer who is far removed in space and time from its original performance? The ways in which rituals were illustrated in the handscroll offer insight into how lay viewers and patrons viewed rituals—both physically, as the curtained, restricted rituals in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* demonstrate, and metaphorically, as a means to control their own power and success. Furthermore, the majority of the events recounted in the handscroll took place during the Heian period (794-1185), a period that by the 1300s was already revered as a golden age of the court. By emphasizing the success that belief in Ishiyama-dera’s Nyoirin Kannon and the performance of esoteric rituals brought famous men and women of the past, *Ishiyama-dera engi e* offered a solution to the problems of the fourteenth-century court, suggesting that contemporary individuals would likewise benefit from the temple’s expertise.

4.1 MEMORIALIZING RITUAL

In his 1985 book *The Past is a Foreign Country*, David Lowenthal wrote, “The past as we know it is partly a product of the present; we continually reshape memory, rewrite history, refashion relics.”²¹⁸ Although Lowenthal was writing about the twentieth-century Euro-American interest in preserving historic architecture, his comments resonate with the pre-modern example of

²¹⁸ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 26.

Ishiyama-dera engi e, whose makers were very much preoccupied with presenting a certain history of Ishiyama-dera for their contemporaries. The physical history of the scroll itself is a testament to the continued interest its owners and readers had in preserving a certain type of history, even going so far as to mimic a fourteenth-century style of painting in the nineteenth-century when the last two scrolls were re-created. With the exception of the last few scenes in the handscroll, all of the events presented in the scroll occurred long before its original creators were born, making the illustrations an overt imagining of the past that reflect what the creators thought that world should look like. The fact that specific rituals were included as highlights in Ishiyama-dera's history suggests that those rituals were considered worth memorializing.

Some scholars have addressed the ways in which history was recorded and represented in pre-modern Japan. Jeffery Mass, in *Antiquity and Anachronism in Japanese History*, presents the pitfalls of assuming past eras were accurate in their representation of history, and points out the ways in which the recording of history was used to push political agendas or make sense of a chaotic present.²¹⁹ Elizabeth Lillehoj's edited volume *Critical Perspectives on Classicism in Japanese Painting: 1600-1700* covers the ways in which historical painting styles and themes—particularly those of the Heian period—were deployed in the art of later centuries.²²⁰ Although the volume focuses on the so-called classical revival of the Tokugawa period, it is clear that the art, culture, and practices of earlier periods resonated with rulers and creators throughout Japanese history.²²¹ Indeed, the memorialization of ritual—both in terms of record-keeping and in the idolization of rites and customs of the past—was held in high regard by members of the court from the beginnings of recorded history. There is evidence that the first histories of Japan

²¹⁹ Jeffery P. Mass, *Antiquity and Anachronism in Japanese History*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

²²⁰ Elizabeth Lillehoj, ed., *Critical Perspectives on Japanese Classicism in Japanese Painting, 1600-1700*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.

²²¹ Lillehoj, "Introduction," in *Critical Perspectives on Japanese Classicism in Japanese Painting*, 8.

were written down in order to create a documented past and, thus, exert control over it, establishing an imperial lineage stretching back beyond living memory.²²² Recording a history of ritual protocol similarly imbued contemporary rituals with legitimacy and decreased the chances that someone would try to deviate from them.

While the ways in which ritual was utilized to shore up power, and the role that ritual precedent played, have been addressed, the representation of ritual in art adds another layer to our understanding of the multiplicity of meanings inherent in rituals. As this chapter will elucidate, paintings of rituals were not created to preserve knowledge of how to perform them; rather, the illustrations ensured that the events, customs, and people depicted in them would be remembered in a specific way by future viewers. When historic events were depicted in antiquated styles, it suggested that they were part of a glorified past, one worthy of being documented by respected artists. The copying of historic works further implies that later readers found such paintings to be a compelling way to relate to the past. For example, the illustrated handscroll, *Nejū gyōji emaki*, offered painted renditions of court rituals (including some Buddhist and *kami* rites) in what was meant to be a documentation of the annual ritual calendar of the court. The extant *Nejū gyōji emaki*, a 17th century copy of a 12th century original, was ordered by Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa (後白河 1127-1192, r. 1155-1158) sometime after 1165. Go-Shirakawa showed an interest in reviving old court rituals that had fallen out of practice, and it is believed that his patronage of the scroll set stemmed from his desire to preserve and record the court calendar of ritual events.²²³ By the time the copy was made almost five hundred years later—also for an emperor, Go-Mizunoo (1596-1680, r. 1611-1629)—members of the court had even more pressing reasons to recall the court rituals of centuries past. As the court

²²² Mass, *Antiquity and Anachronism in Japanese History*, 46.

²²³ Komatsu Shigemi, *Nihon emaki taisei: Nejū gyōji emaki*, vol. 8, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1977), 1.

had lost much of its power to the shogun and the military elite, knowledge of ancient culture and court rituals became the only sphere in which the emperor and aristocrats could still claim to have any authority. It is believed that Go-Mizunoo commissioned the copy of *Nenjū gyōji emaki* in 1626 because he wanted to revive court ceremonies in the face of a military government that was even more determined to undermine imperial power.²²⁴ This revival of numerous court rituals that had fallen out of use over the centuries was made possible by the detailed records left behind by courtiers of the past. For Go-Shirakawa, the production of *Nenjū gyōji emaki* reflected his desire to revive and preserve old rituals that had either fallen out of practice or were considered in danger of abandonment at a time when court power was declining. Go-Mizunoo's ordering of a copy of *Nenjū gyōji emaki* points to his own pre-occupation with preserving earlier court traditions and history at another time when court power was at a low point, and suggests that painted images of rituals would play an important role in this preservation.

Lowenthal also observed that “the most compelling motive for altering the past is to change the present—to ward off global catastrophe, to secure national hegemony, to make one's own fame and fortune.”²²⁵ The fourteenth century in Japan saw a marked shift in how the past was manipulated to suit the needs of the present. During the fourteenth century, there was a shift in historical terminology, that is, rather than creating new terms for new problems, old terms were pulled from historical documents and saddled with new meanings to describe the predicaments courtiers now found themselves in.²²⁶ Describing the present by referring to the past, Jeffrey Mass argues, increased in prevalence from the Nanbokuchō period onwards. The idea of representing the present as part of a direct lineage of historical precedent became more

²²⁴ Keiko Nakamachi, “The Patrons of Tawaraya Sōtatsu and Ogata Kōrin”, in Lillehoj, ed., *Critical Perspectives on Japanese Classicism: 1600-1700*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 81.

²²⁵ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 27.

²²⁶ Mass, *Antiquity and Anachronism in Japanese History*, 59.

important the more the present actually deviated from the norms of the past. Although the creators of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* did not have to re-invent the history of the temple, they did have pressing reasons for selecting the scenes they chose to include in the handscroll, and the ritual scenes were not incidental. In the 1320s, the authority of both the emperor and the shogun were being challenged. Go-Daigo had succeeded in gaining control of the court, without the interference of retired emperors, and was pushing against shogunal authority. It was, however, an unstable situation, and both Go-Daigo and members of the court turned to the ritual protocols of ages past in an attempt to exert control over their circumstances. The patron of the *Ishiyama-dera* scrolls, Tōin Kinkata, was considered an expert on ritual precedent at court, and he was often turned to when no one else knew what was appropriate.²²⁷ However, the sanctity of ritual precedent was slipping, leaving room for new ritual interpretations and uses to supplant the traditional way of securing power through ritual. Kinkata himself disapproved of some of the new ways that rituals were being employed, without regard for precedent; he opposed the enthronement of Emperor Go-Kogon on these grounds.²²⁸ Illustrations of rituals were one approach to preserving proper ritual procedure, as can be seen in the diagrams found in ritual manuals. Handscroll paintings, however, speak to a different approach to preserving ritual—the spirit, perhaps, rather than the letter. For Kinkata, it was not lack of knowledge of precedent itself that was the problem, it was the lack of concern for it.

²²⁷ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 3-4.

²²⁸ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 137.

4.2 REPRESENTING RITUAL

4.2.1 Ritual and Miracle in *Emaki*

It is clear from a glance that the intent behind the illustrations in ritual manuals, with their simple diagrams of ritual spaces, is starkly different from that of the richly pigmented handscroll paintings. As I outlined earlier, illustrated temple legend scrolls functioned primarily as secular entertainment, following the broader genre of *emaki*, although a number also took on a ritualized use as donations presented to a temple or shrine as part of prayers and offerings to a deity. Ritual manuals, on the other hand, were intended to be consulted by priests, and included diagrams depicting how a ritual space should be set up, the ritual implements required for the ritual, the iconography of the relevant Buddhist deities, and so forth. In many cases, ritual manuals were restricted, and only the initiated were permitted to view them. Ritual manuals, which described and sometimes depicted rituals via diagrams, on the other hand, were created for this exact purpose—to preserve the correct performance of a ritual for future initiates.

Rituals first began to appear as a subject matter in founding legend scrolls during the Kamakura period. Earlier Heian-period scrolls focused more on the miraculous events surrounding the origins of a temple or shrine and the particular deities and priests involved. *Shigisan engi emaki* (信貴山縁起絵巻 c. 1175) and *Kokawa-dera engi emaki* (粉河寺縁起絵巻 twelfth century) both emphasize the miracles that pre-dated the establishment of temples at these sites. In the case of *Kokawa-dera engi emaki*, for example, the scroll narrates the miraculous creation of a Senju Kannon (千手観音 Thousand-Armed Kannon) icon and the miracles of healing and apparitions that were accorded to believers. While miraculous events remained a

significant part of *engi* narratives in the ensuing centuries, later handscrolls recorded a longer history of these temples, not just their origins or the miracles that occurred there. *Ishiyama-dera engi e* also begins with a miracle: the apparition of an old fisherman, an avatar of Hira Myōjin (比良明神), who directed Rōben to pray in the hills near Lake Biwa.²²⁹ Other miracles follow throughout the scroll, but they are interspersed with scenes of a purely historical nature, such as the first time the *Nehan-e* was performed at the temple. While some of the ritual scenes have miraculous components, such as the curing of an illness, they all document specific rituals that were performed at Ishiyama-dera. The shift from an emphasis exclusively on miracles to *engi emaki* that depicted more widely-documented historical events, including rituals and acts of patronage, may be related to a shift in the use of illustrated handscrolls and new doctrinal concerns among Buddhist institutions. With the increase in the popularity of esoteric Buddhism at the court, and the development of new sects of Buddhism during the late Heian period, tales of ancient miracles may have felt less relevant, while stories that emphasized the fulfillment of one's prayers through effective ritual performance may have resonated more strongly with Kamakura-period patrons. While some temples, including Ishiyama-dera, built up fame as a site of miraculous events, over time a growing multiplicity of approaches to Buddhism may have led temples to emphasize their sectarian affiliations in order to appeal to new patrons. This identity was more clearly illustrated through tales that explicitly celebrated the history of the temple, rather than just the miracles of its principal deity. The shift towards creating and using *engi emaki* as part of *kanjin* fundraising campaigns may also have contributed to an emphasis on sectarian history, rather than just miracles, in order to distinguish a temple from its competitors. As I will discuss later in this chapter, the connections between rituals and elite patrons are often

²²⁹ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, 131-132.

emphasized in these scenes, and the movement away from *engi emaki* that solely depicted miraculous events may also have been related to a desire to highlight these connections.

Illustrations of miracles adhere to certain formats and proscriptions, specifically when the performer of miracles is a *hibutsu*. Even in older handscrolls, like *Kokawa-dera engi emaki*, when the temple's deity is a secret Buddha, the icon is only revealed when it actively produces a miracle. In the *Kokawa-dera* handscroll, for example, the hut housing the Kannon icon is depicted open with the icon fully illustrated when it is found holding a pair of red *hakama* that a devotee had previously given to a young man, revealing him to have been an incarnation of Kannon. *Ishiyama-dera engi e* similarly follows this pattern. The icon itself is only depicted once in the scroll, when it miraculously flies out of the temple hall during a fire that claimed the main hall in 1078, thus saving itself from burning. In the painting, the tiny icon is depicted emitting golden rays, perched in a willow tree, while a monk looks up from below (fig. 4). *Kiyomizu-dera engi emaki* (清水寺縁起絵巻, 1517), although painted significantly later than the original *Ishiyama* scrolls, follows the same proscriptions against depicting its *hibutsu* icon and, in fact, contains a similar episode in which the icon escapes the burning main hall by flying into, in this case, a pine tree (fig. 24). As in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, this is the only time *Kiyomizu-dera*'s icon is illustrated in the scroll. Both scrolls contain depictions of rituals performed in the temple's main hall, and in both cases the icon is always omitted from the scene, off-stage, or obscured by clouds or, in the *Ishiyama-dera* scrolls, curtains. The only time the figure of Nyoirin Kannon is otherwise depicted in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* is when it appears as an apparition in a dream to the wife of Kuniyoshi, another miraculous event that results in the manifestation of a wish-fulfilling jewel. These illustrations diverge starkly from, for example, scenes of the Kōfuku-ji lecture hall in *Kasuga gongen genki e*, where Buddha icons are clearly illustrated. In contrast to the clouds

that fade out the inner sanctum in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* (figs. 12 and 14), in one *Kasuga gongen genki e* scene, an icon emerges fully from a bank of clouds overtaking the rest of the hall (fig. 25).

Even as the significance of rituals for the history of esoteric temples increased in importance as a means of distinguishing the power and appeal of the esoteric sects, the relationship between the sacred icon and miracles continued to occupy a special place within the history and representation of these temples. The fact that secret icons were never illustrated, even in scenes depicting rituals that would have involved the icon, points to a system of maintaining the sacredness of these icons, much like the proscriptions against depicting the faces of *kami* or emperors in illustrated handscrolls. These proscriptions in turn affected how rituals involving such icons were illustrated.

4.2.2 *Emaki* Paintings vs. Ritual Manuals

Only certain types of rituals were chosen for inclusion in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*. Daily or seasonal rituals, events that were part of the everyday life of the temple, were not included. The *Ishiyama-dera* scrolls do not present an overview of annual ceremonies, but rather particular historical events. All of the rituals depicted in the handscroll were historically significant, either because they were the first instance that a certain ritual was performed, as in the case of the first *Nehan-e* held in 804, or because an important individual, such as an emperor or Fujiwara no Michinaga, had commissioned it. Other *engi emaki* follow a similar protocol in their inclusion of scenes of rituals. *Kasuga gongen genki e* (*The Illustrated Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, 1309) is primarily focused on the miracles and history of Kasuga shrine in Nara, but also contains several scenes of rituals performed at the nearby Buddhist temple, Kōfuku-ji (興福寺), a Hossō sect temple.

Because it was created roughly contemporaneously with *Ishiyama-dera engi e* and under similar circumstances of production, the scenes can offer a point of comparison for determining where *Ishiyama-dera*'s ritual scenes follow prescribed artistic conventions. Like *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, the *Kasuga* scrolls depict rituals that held historical significance. The scroll emphasizes rituals that were unique to Kōfuku-ji, like the *Yuima-e* (維摩会), a special annual ceremony that is depicted repeatedly throughout the scroll set. The *Yuima-e* was an ancestral ceremony of the Fujiwara family, whose family temple was Kōfuku-ji, but it was also one of the three great imperially-sponsored Buddhist ceremonies in Nara. Buddhist priests were required to serve as head lecturers at the three ceremonies—*Yuima-e*, *Gosai-e* (御齋会), and *Saishō-e* (最勝会)—in order to advance to the highest ranks of the priesthood.²³⁰ An illustration of the *Yuima-e* in the tenth scroll of *Kasuga gongen genki e* depicts a lavish ceremony, with a large retinue of monks; those of higher rank wear black *kesa* and are seated inside the lecture hall, while lower-ranking monks are seated on the floor near the doors (fig. 26). The two priests presiding over the ceremony sit in black-lacquered elevated seats, and on the raised altar platform of the hall an array of Buddhist icons with a golden Buddha triad at the center are clearly visible. A similar composition is found in a depiction of the *Yuima-e* in scroll eight of *Kasuga gongen genki e*, and in the performance of the *Chōkō-e* (長講会) in scroll twelve (fig. 25). In *Kasuga gongen genki e* the lecture hall (講堂 *kōdō*) is the setting for most of the ritual scenes, probably because it was the site of the largest and most important rituals held at Kōfuku-ji, like the *Yuima-e*, because these rituals involved performative debates of doctrinal issues.²³¹ In the scenes depicting rituals

²³⁰ De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, vol. 2, 443-445.

²³¹ For an overview of the performance of the *Yuima-e*, see Royall Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 78-80.

in the lecture hall, the central icons are always fully or partially visible, and the ritual apparatus is on clear display.

Ishiyama-dera engi e's only public ceremony, the first *Nehan-e* performed at the temple, contains several similarities to the *Kasuga gongen genki e* scenes. *Ishiyama-dera* does not have a lecture hall, but the arrangement of its main hall in this scene reflects the standards set by such large-scale, semi-public rituals performed at temples like Kōfuku-ji. That the *Nehan-e* was performed in the same format at *Ishiyama-dera* as at Kōfuku-ji is probably one of the reasons it was included in the handscroll, as it suggests that *Ishiyama-dera* was an institution on par with the great temples of Nara.²³² The *Nehan-e* painting depicts the courtyard of *Ishiyama-dera*, in which a stage featuring *bugaku* (舞楽) music and dancing performed by *chigo* (稚児, young acolytes), has been set up. Visiting monks are seated on the ground, observing the dances, and as the painting progresses to the left, the main hall appears, with black-robed priests seated in rows along either side of the hall and two elevated seats for the presiding priests set up between them and a pagoda shrine for relics placed at the back of the hall (fig. 27). While neither the *Kasuga* nor *Ishiyama-dera* paintings depict much of the technical aspects of performing these rituals, both paintings emphasize that they are extensive religious performances involving a large number of high-ranking priests, as well as guests who have travelled there to observe the ceremony. The paintings of these large-scale rituals in both scrolls also depict the central icons, or in the case of *Ishiyama-dera*'s *Nehan-e*, relics. In this way the paintings make the subject matter of the rituals clear, while also emphasizing their grandeur.

²³² De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, vol. 2, 589. See also Arai Kōjun, "Nehan-e no hensen: hōyō shidai wo chūshin ni," in *Nehan-e no kenkyū: Nehan-e to nehanzu*, ed. Gangōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, (Kyoto: Hatsubaijo Sōgeisha, 1981), 21.

The *Nehan-e* was initiated while Ishiyama-dera still belonged to the Kegon sect, which, like the Hossō sect, was one of the Six Schools of Nara, the earliest schools of Buddhism in Japan, all of which were exoteric. The esoteric rituals depicted later in the handscroll naturally deviate from the standards of illustrating exoteric rituals with a more public audience. Depictions of esoteric rituals in illustrated handscrolls appear less frequently, and as a result the most common illustrations of esoteric rituals are found in ritual manuals. These manuals were written by monks in order to record details of doctrine, ritual, and the iconography of Buddhist deities, ostensibly in order to pass down this information to students and successors. Like illustrated handscrolls, they are often combined works of text and image, although the images in these works are usually simple ink sketches. A typical example of such a manual is the *Kakuzenshō*, a Shingon ritual manual and encyclopedia written around the year 1198. It contains both textual descriptions and diagrams covering a variety of subjects, including rituals for rainmaking, types of deities, mudras, and mantras—details that only a practitioner of esoteric Buddhist rituals would need.²³³ For example, in the diagram of a *goma* altar and great altar in the *Kakuzenshō* (fig. 28) the arrangement of the altars and ritual implements are clearly and simply illustrated in a plan view. The manual diagram leaves out extraneous elements, such as human figures, but includes labels denoting the position of the practitioner and certain ritual objects. Specific details are readily recognizable, like the location of a vase at each corner of the altar, a suspended rope, and the exact number of kindling required—a bundle of twenty-one pieces and one of one hundred and eight, details that are consistent with contemporary performances of *goma*.²³⁴ These details are not as evident in the *Ishiyama-dera engi e* paintings, as the inner sanctum of the

²³³ George J. Tanabe, Jr., “Kōyasan in the Countryside: The Rise of Shingon in the Kamakura Period,” in *Re-Visioning Kamakura Buddhism*, Richard K. Payne, ed., (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1998), 48.

²³⁴ Payne, *The Tantric Ritual of Japan*, 83.

temple hall, where *goma* and other altars would be arranged are obscured. Other details are familiar, upon closer inspection. The seat for a retired emperor is indicated on the diagram, sectioned off behind bamboo blinds, separate from the central ritual activity. A similar division between the ritual and lay attendees is depicted throughout *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, in which elite patrons are sequestered behind bamboo blinds in the anteroom of the main hall. A note at the bottom of the diagram on the use of *daimaku* to create a secret space for the ritual is all that indicates that, like the *kaji* and Aizen rituals depicted in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, this ritual was meant to be hidden from outside observers.

Unlike the diagrams found in ritual manuals, the handscroll illustrations are not preoccupied with instructing the viewer on the proper performance of the ritual; on the contrary, many of these scenes barely show the ritual at all, cutting off the painting just after the *kekai* barrier. Most of the ritual scenes in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* take place in the main hall of the temple, where the main icon, a statue of Nyoirin Kannon is enshrined, and follow a remarkably similar format. Most of the painting space is taken up by the *gejin* where visitors to the temple sat and prayed. Illustrations of the main hall usually end at the *kekai* divider, with little of the interior seen beyond it. Sometimes the head of a priest is visible, along with a few ritual objects, but the full interior of the inner sanctuary is never shown. Even in scenes where the ritual occurs elsewhere, the activity of the ritual itself is hidden from view, with the visual emphasis on those attending the ceremony, rather than on those performing it. In the example of the *ajari* rituals requested by Michinaga, the back of the head priest is visible through the lattice of the *kekai* (fig. 2); the scene of retired empress Higashisanjō-in's final pilgrimage to Ishiyama-dera depicts a similar scene of the head priest situated just inside the *kekai*, with altars and offering tables arranged in front of him (fig. 14). The angle from which priests are shown during these

ceremonies—from the back or side—reflects the angle from which lay attendees would have observed them from within the main hall. For the patrons and viewers of the scroll, this depiction mirrored their own experiences with Buddhist ritual, particularly esoteric Buddhist ceremonies from which they were restricted from observing. As a result, the most important part of these ceremonies, as emphasized in the paintings, is not the details of ritual performance, but the perspective of elite, lay observers.

While the text for second scene of the third scroll, the final pilgrimage of retired empress Higashisanjō-in describes the commissioning of *goma*, the rituals are not illustrated beyond the representation of a priest behind the *kekai*, facing an array of altars and ritual implements. The text states that Higashisanjō-in made a pilgrimage to Ishiyama-dera and sponsored the performance of *goma* fire ceremonies for three days, three times a day, but the accompanying painting highlights the pilgrimage procession of Higashisanjō-in.²³⁵ The scene ends with a brief view of the ritual preparations in the hall, focusing on the offering of white curtains and a lacquered box, probably a container for sutra copies (fig. 14).

The variance between methods of illustrating esoteric ritual is directly tied to the audiences of each respective work. Ritual manuals were largely created by and for Buddhist monks and priests of a particular ritual or sectarian lineage, with the intent of passing down knowledge of the proper performance of a ritual. Not being able to perform a ritual correctly jeopardized the efficacy of the ritual, and would reflect poorly on both the priest and the institution. Ritual manuals were also rarely, if ever, meant to be seen by laypeople. Particularly in the Shingon and Tendai sects, these manuals were often passed down from master to disciple or only revealed to monks of a certain sectarian lineage who had reached a certain level of

²³⁵ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 33-34.

training. Receiving such manuals was often a ritualized act in and of itself.²³⁶ Therefore, there was no need to appeal to the tastes and artistic sensibilities of the court.

Illustrated *engi*, on the other hand, were often paid for by aristocrats and often included aristocrats as calligraphers. As I outlined in the chapter on the patronage of the *Ishiyama-dera* scrolls, the handscrolls were the product of collaboration between the Tōin family and *Ishiyama-dera*, and the examples of patrons included in the scrolls emphasized the role high-ranking aristocrats and imperial family members played in the history of *Ishiyama-dera*. The religious and cultural predilections of members of the court, therefore, were a driving force behind which rituals were illustrated and how they were depicted. The *Ishiyama-dera engi e* paintings offer the perspective of how an elite layperson might have experienced the rituals, as a patron and/or viewer. Furthermore, the paintings offered a means of memorializing ritual precedents that had fallen out of use or were in danger of doing so. The desire to remember past rituals—both social and religious—was particularly strong during the period when *Ishiyama-dera engi e* was initiated, at a time when the traditional power of the court was waning and many, including the aristocrats and the rising military elite, looked to the past to find precedents for an uncertain future.

4.3 TYPES OF RITUAL: PUBLIC, PERSONAL, SECRET

Each of the ritual scenes in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* is noted in the text as having been commissioned by or for the highest ranking individuals in the court— primarily emperors and

²³⁶ Fabio Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality: A Cultural History of Objects in Japan*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 123.

empresses. The only non-imperial individual to have sponsored a ritual depicted in the handscroll is Fujiwara no Michinaga, who as the brother of one empress, the father of another, and the grandfather of several emperors, was nonetheless one of the most powerful individuals at court in his day. Furthermore, the ritual that Michinaga sponsored was the conferment of the rank of *ajari* on three monks (scroll 4, scene 2). As I mentioned previously, the rank of *ajari* required the approval of the emperor in order for it to be bestowed upon a priest. Michinaga requested that the conferment ritual be performed at Ishiyama-dera as an offering of thanksgiving for having become the grandfather of three emperors—hence three recipients of the title.

As outlined in Chapter Three, there are many other scenes that depict acts of devotion, such as praying in the main hall while on a pilgrimage or submitting prayer petitions. When compared to the episodes that record the commissioning and performance of specific rituals, it is clear that there is a hierarchy in place among the types of devotion that were available to pilgrims and how the results of their devotions were manifested. An emperor's illness could be cured by the performance of healing rituals that invoked Nyoirin Kannon, while in another episode a (non-aristocratic) wealthy man had to rely on sleeping in the main hall and praying that his daughter would be healed.²³⁷ The scenes of dream visions in the handscroll stand out and appear to be the stronger advertisement for the saving power of Ishiyama-dera's Kannon—after all, the apparition of a deity, even in a dream, seems more exciting than a ritual that no one can see. However, the individuals who experienced divine dreams are not the most elite individuals. Rather, they include noblewomen who had fallen on hard times, and the aforementioned wealthy man from outside the capital whose daughter suffered from a skin disease. Rituals, for those who could afford them, offered a guarantee of success that prayer alone could not. The lowest ranking

²³⁷ Scroll five, scene four. Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, 139.

individuals, such as a woman who sold herself into slavery to save her mother from poverty (scroll 7, scene 2) and a man who lost an important document (scroll 5, scene 3), receive salvation after quickly praying to Ishiyama-dera's Kannon. Ritual, it is clear, was something only accessible to certain believers—those with wealth and social power.

4.3.1 Secret Rituals and Hidden Faces

The most remarkable of the ritual scenes are those depicting secret rituals *hihō* (秘法), in which the ritual itself is hidden from view behind a white curtain. These paintings stand out among others in the scroll, with bright white curtains drawing the eye to what is paradoxically intended to be hidden from view. The use of these curtains complicates the question of why the creators of the scroll would depict rituals that most people were prohibited from viewing and offers other reasons for depicting a ritual beyond representing how that ritual actually appeared. The most immediate reason for the inclusion of secret rituals in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* is connected to the esoteric sect to which Ishiyama-dera belonged. Shingon Buddhism was known for keeping ritual methods secret, and this secrecy was credited with imbuing the rituals with greater efficacy. The creators of a handscroll glorifying the history of a Shingon temple would naturally want to emphasize the superiority of their own religious traditions. Furthermore, the secret rituals mentioned in the handscroll were all performed for members of the royal family, either emperors or crown princes. This combination of factors—important rituals performed for elite individuals—may have been one reason the secret rituals were depicted at all, in a way that emphasized their secrecy and without revealing what was meant to be kept hidden. Reluctance to depict the face of the emperor or deity and a focus on the outer hall rather than on the icon in the inner hall of the temple are elements found in other illustrated handscrolls of the same period.

Kasuga gongen genki e, for example, is well-known for its unusual illustrations of the Kasuga deities, in which their faces are intentionally obscured by architecture, clouds, or trees (fig. 7), and members of the imperial family, whose faces are obscured by lowered blinds.²³⁸ Yamamoto Yōko has written extensively on the circumstances under which the faces and figures of *kami* and emperors were hidden in illustrated handscrolls, and *Ishiyama-dera engi e* conforms to the standard of hiding the faces of imperial family members. The two retired emperors on pilgrimage to Ishiyama-dera in the final scene of the handscroll are known only by the hems of their robes, which are visible beneath the edge of a lowered blind. This was a typical way to represent the presence of an emperor without showing his face, well-established in handscroll paintings by at least the late Heian period.²³⁹ Earlier in the handscroll, the presence of retired emperor Enyū is hinted at by a sliver of visible robe that can be seen behind blinds in the outer hall (fig. 29), and Uda is depicted in his own pilgrimage scene riding in an oxcart, his face obscured by an open shutter (fig. 30). In both of Higashisanjō-in's pilgrimage scenes, she is similarly hidden, her presence suggested by her oxcart. Although there were not the same proscriptions against depicting the faces of Buddhist deities, *hibutsu* were subject to this convention in illustrated handscrolls. It follows that rituals that drew their power from being secret similarly would not have been illustrated as clearly as a public ceremony like the *Nehan-e*.

White curtains appear in several scenes throughout the handscroll. Due to the complicated history of the creation of the scroll set, it is unknown whether all of these scenes would have originally included depictions of curtains, or whether they were only included in the later scenes to add visual continuity between the paintings in the final scrolls and those in the

²³⁸ For a detailed study of the practice of hiding the faces of *kami* and emperors in illustrated handscrolls, see Yamamoto Yōko, *Emaki ni okeru kami to tennō no hyōgen: Mienu yōni egaku*, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2006).

²³⁹ Yamamoto, *Emaki ni okeru kami to tennō no hyōgen*, 152 and 193.

earlier ones. However, white curtains are depicted in the first scroll during the first ritual performed for Kannon on the mountain where Ishiyamadera would eventually stand, when Rōben was instructed by emperor Shōmu to enshrine his Nyoirin Kannon icon and pray for the discovery of gold. The text notes that secret rituals were performed at that time, and the illustration depicts a small hut on a hill, the entrance hung with white curtains (fig. 11).

White curtains next appear in the scene of the altar curtains donated by retired empress Higashisanjō-in, discussed in detail in the previous chapter. Rather than actively covering the icon in the scene, Higashisanjō-in's curtains serve as a visual reminder of what remains unseen—the sacred *hibutsu* of Ishiyamadera. In both scenes, white curtains serve as a signifier of esoteric Buddhist practices, as either the performance of secret rituals or the marker of a secret icon.

The two most dramatic scenes with white curtains are the scene of high priest Jinkaku performing healing rites (*kaji* 加持) and the Nyoirin mantra to cure Emperor Go-Ichijō's illness (scroll 4, scene 3) (fig. 6) and the scene of Emperor Fushimi initiating ritual offerings to Aizen Myōō (scroll 7, scene 3) (fig. 5). The fourth scroll dates to 1497, while the seventh scroll was not completed until the early 1800s. The type of curtains used in these two scenes are *daimaku*, which were generally erected around esoteric rituals from which all but the initiated officiants were barred from observing. They were in use from at least the late twelfth century, are mentioned as part of ritual apparatus in *Kakuzenshō*, and were probably not new at the time the manual was written.²⁴⁰ That these curtains were included in the fourth scroll suggests that a late-fifteenth-century audience would recognize *daimaku* as a marker of esoteric rituals. Whether an eighteenth-century audience was similarly familiar with the performance of esoteric rituals is

²⁴⁰ Nishi Yayoi, *Chūsei mikkyō jūin to suhō* 中世密教寺院と修法. (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2008), 60-61.

unclear. The artist of the final two scrolls, Tani Bunchō, most likely drew inspiration for the Aizen scene from the illustration of *daimaku* in the earlier scroll.

Kaji rituals are recorded in two scenes in the scroll, the aforementioned one offered for Go-Ichijō and, in the following scene, for his brother, the future Emperor Go-Suzaku. In both cases, successful *kaji* were performed by Jinkaku to cure the emperor and the crown prince of their ailments. In a general sense, *kaji* involved a priest channeling the power of a Buddhist deity, and when used for the purpose of healing rituals, transferring this power to the recipient.²⁴¹ *Kaji* thus relied on an intimate connection between the deity invoked by the priest performing the ritual and the recipient—in this case, between Nyoirin Kannon and the emperor. The text describing Jinkaku’s performance of *kaji* for Go-Ichijō emphasizes that he was successful where other prayers and rituals had failed, and that it was his invocation of the Nyoirin Mantra that resulted in the emperor’s healing. While the beginning of the illustration depicting Jinkaku’s healing of Emperor Go-Ichijō takes place on the temple grounds, the *kaji* rite itself was performed at the palace, and seems to have involved physical interaction between the officiant of the rite and the recipient. While the scene of Go-Ichijō’s healing only depicts the outside of the palace gates and Jinkaku’s departure, the following scene, in which he performs *kaji* for the future Emperor Go-Suzaku, depicts Jinkaku entering and exiting the blinds into the crown prince’s quarters, carrying one of the donations given to him for his service, an agarwood rosary (沈の念珠) in a silver box (fig. 20).²⁴² Both scenes involve the intentional obscuring of the central activity ostensibly illustrated in the painting—the performance and recitation of rituals and mantra at Ishiyama-dera, hidden by white curtains, and the actual *kaji* performed by Jinkaku

²⁴¹ Pamela Winfield, “Curing with Kaji: Healing and Empowerment in Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 32, No. 1, (2005): 111-112.

²⁴² Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi*, 51.

at the palace, in which the body of the crown prince is similarly hidden, but behind bamboo blinds.

Whether the use of white curtains to conceal secret rituals was intended to be continued as a pictorial device beyond the third scroll or not, when the replacement for the fourth scroll was made in the 1400s, the imagery was evidently still considered useful as a marker for esoteric rituals. The inclusion of *daimaku* in the scene of the healing rituals performed for Emperor Go-Ichijō may also have been intended as a means of signaling an esoteric ritual, even when the ritual being performed was not specifically identified in the text as ‘secret.’ The handscroll text and the Aizen Myōō at the center of Fushimi’s rituals suggest that the white curtains in this scene were intended to emphasize connections between esoteric ritual, Ishiyama-dera, and the preservation of the imperial lineage. As I addressed in the second chapter, clear parallels can be drawn between the use of curtains to hide elite individuals like emperors from the view of the public and the similar concealment of sacred icons or rituals behind curtains. White curtains, thus, served as a signifier for viewers of the scroll, emphasizing the type of rituals that would have been performed at Ishiyama-dera and reflecting the experience of the laypeople who would have viewed the scroll, whose only experience of such rituals would have been from outside the ritual space.

4.3.2 Shingon, Secrecy, and Power

Secret rituals were a central part of the esoteric Tendai and Shingon Buddhist sects, and they came to acquire significant power in the world of the Heian and Kamakura-period court. The Shingon-in, a Buddhist chapel in the palace, had existed since the 800s when it was constructed under the direction of Kūkai (空海 774-835), the priest credited with bringing esoteric Buddhism

to Japan. Shingon rituals grew in popularity with the imperial court during the Heian period because they were believed to be particularly effective in bringing about real-world results, including rain for crops, protection against enemies, and the healing of illnesses. The court attempted to control access to these powers by passing an edict in the early 900s that forbade private individuals from sponsoring such rituals, however those attempts at control were ultimately ineffective, and by the late Heian period, aristocrats were regular patrons of Shingon rituals.²⁴³ As the popularity of esoteric rituals grew, new lineages and schools developed, primarily around how specific rituals should be conducted, the number and type of altars, which deity should be enshrined as the focus of the ritual, and which mantras should be used to ensure the efficacy of the rites.²⁴⁴ The methods were then carefully guarded and passed down from teachers to their students during initiation rites.²⁴⁵

The mastery of ritual, both secular (court) ritual and the religious rituals of Buddhism and Shinto, carried cultural and spiritual power along with it, and the restrictions placed on who was permitted or able to learn these ritual forms controlled that power. Ritual acquired a certain appeal even to laypersons, and this was especially true of rituals of the Esoteric Buddhist sects. While court ritual may not be in the same category as esoteric Buddhist rituals, in both cases knowledge conferred power and the elite pursued both. Those whose political power was unstable pursued mastery of court ritual in order to shore up power in that sphere, and turned to Buddhist ritual when other avenues had been exhausted. Ritual mastery increased one's power, and to master a ritual that had last been performed in a golden age was to claim some of the

²⁴³ Jacqueline Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Buddhism*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 108. *Eiga monogatari* notes the scandal of Fujiwara no Korechika (973-1010) having sponsored the performance of esoteric rites that had been reserved exclusively for the court. See *Eiga monogatari*, vol. 31, 230-231; McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, vol. 1, 182.

²⁴⁴ Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Buddhism*, 108-109.

²⁴⁵ See Fabio Rambelli, "Secrecy in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism," in *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, Teeuwen and Scheid ed., (New York: Routledge: 2006), 116-119.

power of that past age for oneself. Illustrations of Michinaga's *ajari* rituals or retired empress Higashisanjō-in's pilgrimages were more than simple documentation of the Buddhist activities of the Heian-period elite—they were models to follow. By participating as patrons of the same temple, those living in the fourteenth century could envision themselves as connected to a lineage that stretched back to the most powerful members of the court in an era that encompassed the height of the court's power. Furthermore, Shingon ritual acquired a new potency during the reign of Go-Daigo. When Go-Daigo was an unlikely crown prince whose elders saw him as little more than a place-holder emperor, he exerted his power by reviving discontinued court rituals in which the crown prince played a central role.²⁴⁶ Later, Go-Daigo was also known for utilizing esoteric Buddhist rituals in his attempts to maintain power; for example, rituals invoked for safeguarding the supposed pregnancy of his empress Reiseimon-in had a dual use as rituals for subjugating his enemies, the Kamakura bakufu.²⁴⁷

Thomas Conlan has argued that, as the precedents for imperial rule disintegrated during the tumult of the fourteenth century, Shingon ritual became the determining factor in establishing imperial authority.²⁴⁸ *Ishiyama-dera engi e* reflects the connection between imperial power and Shingon rituals, subtly implying that imperial power is, at times, dependent on these rituals. The first ritual to be depicted in the handscroll, for example, is also the first instance of the performance of 'secret rituals' at Ishiyama-dera. The second scene of the first scroll records that in 749 Emperor Shōmu gave the priest Rōben his personal icon of Nyoirin Kannon in order that he could enshrine it on Ishiyama and offer prayers for the discovery of gold to gild the Great Buddha of Tōdai-ji. The painting does not show the icon, but indicates the performance of secret

²⁴⁶ Goble, *Kenmu*, 11. See also George Perkins, *The Clear Mirror: A Chronicle of the Japanese Court during the Kamakura Period (1185-1333)*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 181.

²⁴⁷ Goble, *Kenmu*, 74.

²⁴⁸ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 17.

rituals through the depiction of a small, white-curtained hut, in front of which courtiers kneel (fig. 11). While these rituals were not technically Shingon (Rōben, and after its founding, Ishiyama-dera followed Kegon teachings) the term *hihō* marks them as belonging to a branch of esoteric Buddhist practices. The rituals were ultimately effective—gold was discovered soon after in Mutsu province, allowing Shōmu to complete the Great Buddha. At least some of the power behind these rituals appears to stem from the fact that the main icon, the Nyoirin Kannon, used to belong to the emperor himself, an unusual case of imperial authority strengthening Buddhist power. This example stands in contrast to the last secret ritual recorded in the handscroll, the initiation of Aizen rites in the 1290s. That event, recorded in the third scene of the seventh and final scroll of the handscroll set, states that offerings dedicated to Aizen Myōō were initiated in order to ensure the longevity and health of the emperor.²⁴⁹

It is clear that by the thirteenth century the safety and health of the emperor was dependent on the power of Buddhist deities and the rituals performed for him. The final scenes record events that had occurred during the lifetime of its creators, and although these emperors were accorded the same reverence given to the historic elites scattered throughout earlier scenes, it is difficult not to read these final scenes as a prayer for divine intervention during the troubled times that had enveloped the imperial family by the beginning of the fourteenth century. The success of the imperial line was dependent on Kannon's intervention, as is suggested by the final scene of the scroll, in which retired emperors Go-Uda and Kameyama experience a minor miracle while on pilgrimage to Ishiyama-dera (fig. 10). While the retired emperors read *Ishiyama-dera engi* in the temple hall, a spider walks across a passage that proclaims that those

²⁴⁹ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, 142-143.

who have faith in the temple will experience prosperity.²⁵⁰ This is the scene depicted in the accompanying painting, and the text clarifies the ways in which the devotion of these two retired emperors was rewarded: by the naming of their descendants Go-Nijō as emperor and future emperor Go-Daigo as crown prince.²⁵¹

4.3.2.1 Ishiyama-dera's Shingon Identity

Aside from the popularity of Shingon rituals with members of the court during the Kamakura period, the religious leaders at Ishiyama-dera had more pointed reasons for emphasizing their identity as a Shingon temple in *Ishiyama-dera engi e*. During the early 1300s, Ishiyama-dera was struggling to retain its identity as an independent Shingon temple in the face of Tōdai-ji, which was slowly acquiring Shingon temples as branch temples.²⁵² Ishiyama-dera had had close ties with Tōdai-ji from its foundation, as the founding legend is based on the performance of prayers to discover gold for Tōdai-ji's Great Buddha. As Ishiyama-dera shifted from a Kegon-sect temple to Shingon, it distanced itself from the larger, and more powerful Tōdai-ji. However, factions within Ishiyama-dera during the late 1200s supported Tōdai-ji's claim to Ishiyama-dera as a branch temple. After Shūkei, son of Tōin Saneo (and grand uncle of Kinkata) became abbot of Ishiyama-dera in 1265 the internal divide between pro- and anti-Tōdai-ji factions reached a head. Shūkei had been trained at Ninna-ji (仁和寺), a *monzeki* temple belonging to the Shingon sect that regularly supplied Ishiyama-dera's abbots during the Kamakura period. Shūkei and his disciples strongly persecuted the pro-Tōdai-ji faction and, in retaliation, these monks attempted to murder Shūkei. Tōdai-ji was drawn into the dispute when

²⁵⁰ Komatsu, NET *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, 143.

²⁵¹ For a discussion of the competing Jimyōin and Daikakuji lines of the imperial family, see Chapter Two.

²⁵² Aizawa, “‘Ishiyama-dera engi emaki’ shōkai,” 13.

these same monks submitted a petition against Shūkei in 1310.²⁵³ Shūkei's abbacy was disrupted by the disputes, and he was briefly replaced as abbot in 1286 before resuming the position in 1291, only to lose it again in 1298. His removal on these occasions was the direct result of demands made by Tōdai-ji, in response to the suits brought against him by the temple monks.²⁵⁴ He secured his position as abbot finally in 1299, and held the post until his death in 1313, when he was replaced by his grand-nephew, Yakushu (the brother of Kinkata). At the same time that Tōdai-ji was attempting to claim Ishiyama-dera as a subtemple, Enryaku-ji, a Tendai temple, was making similar overtures, and conflict between the two temples arose concerning which temple would staff the position of Ishiyama-dera's abbot.²⁵⁵ Nishida characterizes Shūkei as a ruthless individual making a bid for personal power; regardless, his success both maintained the Shingon identity of the temple and secured the position of Ishiyama-dera's abbot for members of the Tōin line.

The Tōin family abbots had good reason for wanting to maintain Ishiyama-dera as an independent Shingon temple, as the role of abbot was a prestigious position for younger sons sent into the priesthood.²⁵⁶ As the scroll project was overseen by at least one, if not several, Tōin family abbots, their motivations would have played a strong role in how the temple's history was presented. Aizawa argues that the handscroll reflects the temple's efforts to distinguish itself from its past connections with Tōdai-ji through emphasizing its connections with the imperial house, aristocrats, and the imperial capitals both in Ōtsu and Kyoto, which allowed it to present

²⁵³ Nishida Tomohiro, "Kamakura kōki no Ishiyama-dera to kenmon jiin 鎌倉後期の石山寺と権門寺院," (Tokyo daigaku shiryōhensanjo, 2008), 27-29.

²⁵⁴ Nishida, "Kamakura kōki no Ishiyama-dera to kenmon jiin," 30-31.

²⁵⁵ Nishida, "Kamakura kōki no Ishiyama-dera to kenmon jiin," 31-32. For more on Tōdai-ji's attempts to claim Ishiyama-dera as a branch temple, see Nishio Tomomi 西尾知己, "Kōan tokusei to Tōdai-ji bettō no seikaku henka 弘安徳政と東大寺別当の性格変化," *Shikan* 史観, Vol. 156 (2007): 7.

²⁵⁶ Aizawa, "'Ishiyama-dera engi emaki' shōkai," 13.

itself as a temple with historical authority separate from the oversight of Tōdai-ji.²⁵⁷ Furthermore, the tradition of sending Tōin sons to Ninna-ji and then to the position of abbot at Ishiyama-dera further linked the family to imperial lineages in two Buddhist institutions, first by sending their sons to be educated at a *monzeki* temple traditionally headed by imperial princes (Ninna-ji) and then to become abbots of a temple with a history of imperial patronage (Ishiyama-dera). The Tōin family had sons who were well-placed throughout the Shingon hierarchy—Shūkei, Yakushu, and Kōshu all held the position of director of Tō-ji, and in this capacity they were sometimes called upon to perform rituals for the imperial family. Yakushu, for example, was called to perform rites for retired emperors Go-Fushimi and Hanazono at the Tokiwai Palace (常盤井殿) in 1331.²⁵⁸ Kinkata's nephew, Jitsuzei, was initiated at the Sanbōin *monzeki*, the center of Shingon power during the 1300s, and as the favored disciple of the priest Kenshun performed important esoteric rituals like the Latter Seventh Day Rite.²⁵⁹

Taken in this context, the emphasis on esoteric Buddhist ritual in the handscroll reflects deeper concerns with Ishiyama-dera's identity as a Shingon-sect temple. The visual and textual centering of Rōben's prayers performed on the mountainside around secret rituals suggests that the real power in Ishiyama-dera's history was in the performance of esoteric rituals, not the authority of the larger, Nara-capital Tōdai-ji. Furthermore, that the performance of esoteric rituals resulted in the discovery of gold to finish the gilding of Tōdai-ji's Great Buddha, as the legend in the handscroll has it, indicates a reversal of roles in which the smaller Shingon temple is ultimately the source of the glory of Tōdai-ji.

²⁵⁷ Aizawa, "'Ishiyama-dera engi emaki' shōkai," 13.

²⁵⁸ DNS 5. 905: 768.

²⁵⁹ He was the son of Tōin Kinyasu and a disciple of the priest Kenshun. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 150.

4.4 RITUAL FROM A DISTANCE

Throughout *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, wealthy, elite patrons are represented as having benefitted from the power of Nyoirin Kannon, and their support of the temple is often mentioned as the catalyst for their good fortune. Unlike the lower-ranking devotees recorded in the scroll, only these elites had access to the rituals that could secure their good health or the continuation of their lineage. It is likely, given the high quality of the scroll, including contributions by aristocrats and the head of the court's painting bureau, that the scroll was meant to be viewed by elite members of the court who were lay believers (or potential believers) in the power of Ishiyama-dera's Kannon.

The way in which the ritual scenes themselves are illustrated suggest a lay audience, those who paid for and sometimes attended rituals, not those tasked with performing them. The visual emphasis on the attendees of the rituals, rather than on the presiding priests, even when named in the text, mirrors the experiences of these lay visitors, who were prohibited from entering beyond the *kekai* where the ritual was performed and the icon was enshrined. Although of high status in the secular world, these individuals could only watch from a distance and likely knew little about the actual performance of the ritual.

Aside from the spiritual benefits, lavish rituals also served as a means of displaying the wealth and power of a patron. Depictions of elaborate pilgrimage processions of emperors and aristocrats like Higashisanjō-in, which included many attendants and offerings, served more to highlight the power of these individuals than their piety. Viewing paintings of such rituals, where the details and etiquette of court culture are represented and the splendor surrounding the ritual, if not the ritual itself, are emphasized, might have served to encourage viewers of the *Ishiyama-dera engi e* to sponsor rituals of their own.

For those who were on the brink of losing social and political power, creating a record of the successes of their ancestors may have offered some hope for their own futures. Patrons of the later scroll replacements like Go-Mizunoo saw in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* a history of imperial glory that stretched across the centuries, created during the rule of the last independently-reigning monarch, Go-Daigo. The depictions of these historic rituals served as a reminder of the height of the power of the court, with the message that their power stemmed from the benevolence of Buddhist deities—particularly, Ishiyama-dera’s Nyoirin Kannon. For Tōin Kinkata, the success of his great-grandfather, who fathered three empresses, is credited to his devotion to Ishiyama-dera; the earlier, more famous example of Michinaga’s similar success provides a precedent from a supposedly even more glorious age. Rather than merely presenting a record of the past, the collection of these scenes casts Saneo as a new Michinaga, heir to the lineage of regents in spirit, if not in practice. The emphasis on ritual patronage—Michinaga’s *ajari* rituals, Kyōgoku-in’s childbirth rituals, Fushimi’s Aizen rites—also make it clear that the successes of these individuals are not just the result of miracles, but of the superior power of Shingon ceremonies.

5.0 CONCLUSION

On the twenty-third day of the twelfth month of 1805, Matsudaira Sadanobu wrote the colophon appended to the final scroll of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*, completing the set approximately four hundred years after it was begun. Sadanobu opens the colophon with a short overview of the traditional attributions of the artists and calligraphers of the previous scrolls, placing himself, Abbot Sonken, and Tani Bunchō as the culminating members in the lineage of the handscroll's creators.

In spite of the cultural and political changes that had occurred over the centuries, the effort to complete *Ishiyama-dera engi e* in the Edo period calls to mind concerns similar to those that troubled Kinkata and his family. For Sadanobu, Sonken, and Bunchō, completing the last two scrolls allowed them to memorialize a distant, idealized past, one that held a different significance for each of them. Sadanobu's interest in cataloguing historical works of art and Bunchō's expertise in historic artistic styles indicates that it was the aesthetics and culture of an earlier era that drew their interest. Their understanding of the periods in which the scroll was originally made and their detailed attention to recreating that culture in painting belie a fantasy of an idealized past. The colophon, for example, is written in *kanbun*, the sino-Japanese language historically used to write official documents and the diaries of male courtiers. The rest of the text in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* is written in classical Japanese—the language of women's diaries and literary romances. Sadanobu's colophon thus adds an air of manufactured historicity, lending an

anachronistic seal of authority unrelated to the actual historical practice of the handscroll's original creators. Sonken, meanwhile, like the Tōin family abbots of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, looked upon the scroll as an opportunity to commemorate the history and success of Ishiyama-dera as a site of Buddhist miracles, Shingon ritual, and imperial patronage, and, perhaps, to once again draw the attention of wealthy individuals.

The political power of the Heian court was long gone, but it provided an ideal for later periods to aspire towards; it also provided a convenient comparison for lamenting the problems of later times and the misfortunes of elites who, had they been born centuries earlier, might have been more successful. This was true both for the fourteenth-century Tōin family and shogunal advisors like Sadanobu, although by Sadanobu's time the precedents of the fourteenth century were almost as idealized as those of earlier periods. While the culture of the Heian court has been recognized as a powerful, lingering inspiration in art and literature, in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* it was also cast as an era of piety, manifested through miracles bestowed upon the devout. Rituals distinctive to an earlier age provided a visual reference for the success of the older esoteric sects of Buddhism, ones which lost popularity as those who could afford their elaborate rituals lost their wealth or moved towards newer, more popular forms of Buddhism. During the period when the scroll set was begun, Ishiyama-dera's identity as a Shingon temple had been under threat from the encroaching power of temples like Tōdai-ji and Enryaku-ji for several decades. By emphasizing the combined power of the temple as the repository of a powerful, secret, esoteric Buddhist icon, the site of powerful Shingon rituals, and a temple that was responsible for the birth of emperors, the original patrons hoped to cement Ishiyama-dera's status as an independent Shingon temple.

5.1 RITUAL AS HISTORICAL MOMENT

Rituals, even those not intended to be especially secret, often carry an air of mystery. Throughout history, rituals of all kinds were performed by small groups of specialists whose knowledge of the proper way to conduct them allowed the power of the ritual to be fulfilled. It is clear that the importance of these rituals reached far beyond the small sphere of the practitioner, as in the case of pre-modern Japan, where Buddhist rituals were carried out to protect the country from invasion, drought, and disease. Individuals with more limited power than that of the emperor could commission a ritual to secure their own health and well-being or to ensure the proliferation of their lineage. The performance of ritual often includes an appeal to the superiority of the past: it has always been done this way, and if it is not, the ritual will not work. *Ishiyama-dera engi e* demonstrates that the historical weight of ritual could be employed in other ways. That is, a single ritual conceptualized as a historic event could be utilized by later non-practitioners of ritual to bolster their own piety and situate themselves in a lineage of ritual power as patrons, rather than officiants.

Ritual plays an integral role in the memorialization of Ishiyama-dera's illustrious past in the handscroll set by emphasizing the types of rituals—particularly hidden esoteric rites—performed at the temple and the types of patrons who supported them. The repetition of the visual imagery of white curtains used to obscure 'secret' rituals continues throughout the set, even in the later scrolls. This suggests that later artists recognized that this imagery was significant or, more likely by the time of Bunchō, unusual enough to warrant repetition. In the final scroll, the painting of emperor Fushimi's Aizen rituals stands out, both within the seventh scroll and the set at large (fig. 5). The contrast between white curtains and the vibrant red robes of the attendant priests draws the eye into a scene that would otherwise be unremarkable. It is

one of the shortest scenes in the scroll, with little human activity depicted. More than many of the other scenes, however, Bunchō's illustration of the hidden Aizen rituals emphasizes the main theme running through *Ishiyama-dera engi e*—the combined power of Shingon doctrine and imperial patronage, set in an idealized past. Another scene in the last two scrolls also indicates that Bunchō understood the motivations behind the original creation of the scroll set. Bunchō's painting of the scene of Tōin Saneo visiting Ishiyama-dera to offer prayers for his daughter's pregnancy (sixth scroll, scene four, figs. 22 and 23) almost exactly mirrors the composition of the temple grounds and main hall in the second scene of the fourth scroll in which Michinaga offers prayers and requests the performance of *ajari* rites (figs. 1 and 2). Both paintings begin with the trademark rock formations that gave Ishiyama-dera its name and move up a set of stone steps to the main hall. The scene then passes over the anteroom, hung with blinds, and into the outer sanctum of the main hall, where a latticed *kekkaï* barrier is visible in the upper half of the painting. The painting makes explicit, by visual parallel, the connection the original patrons were making between the success and glory of Michinaga and Saneo's similar fortune at becoming the grandfather of three emperors. Bunchō was evidently concerned with creating paintings that had a basis in the style of the earlier illustrations, but the explicit comparisons in the text between Michinaga and Saneo clearly impacted his decision-making concerning the composition of Saneo's scene. Bunchō was not only interested in creating stylistically coherent paintings, but also took care to emphasize the relationship between the paintings and their textual content with consideration for the history inherent in the scroll.

5.2 LEGACY

Today, Ishiyama-dera's fame comes from its association as the birthplace of the *Tale of Genji*. A bronze statue of Murasaki Shikibu, depicted in the standard iconography of a Heian court lady, rests on the slopes above the main hall. In the main hall itself, the *tsubone* antechamber, which once provided a private space for emperors, empresses, and aristocrats on pilgrimage, now contains a life-sized replica of Murasaki, appropriately dressed in Heian-style robes and a floor-sweeping hairstyle. Ironically, it is this court woman, a lesser member of the Fujiwara family, who has ultimately secured Ishiyama-dera's lasting fame—a fame still rooted in an idealized vision of the Heian period as the pinnacle of Japanese art and culture. Today, the temple (particularly the main hall) is largely presented to visitors as a time capsule of the Heian period. This presentation of Ishiyama-dera is rooted in the late Edo and early Meiji (1868-1912) periods when artistic representations of the temple began appearing in woodblock prints, falling into three categories: Murasaki Shikibu viewing the moon at Ishiyama-dera, the temple's identity as a 'famous place' (名所 *meisho*) near Lake Biwa, and as the thirteenth site on the Saigoku pilgrimage route. Woodblock prints had a much broader—and lower class—audience than *Ishiyama-dera engi e* was ever intended to have, and it is the interests of this audience that cemented modern understandings of Ishiyama-dera's fame and history.

5.3 FUTURE STUDY

In this dissertation, I have endeavored to explore the complex interconnected relationships between artistic representation, ritual, and patronage, and how these connections changed and

solidified throughout the history of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*. Understanding the context in which the scrolls were made and how the handscroll patrons situated themselves within a lineage of temple patrons illuminates why rituals were depicted the way they are in the handscroll. That is, these illustrations depict ritual as lay patrons would have experienced them—as lavish, public ceremonies with large audiences, powerful, but hidden from view.

Studying how rituals are depicted within the larger context of the handscroll offers a method for studying religious ritual as social praxis, with the people and power structures surrounding the performance and representation of the ritual taking precedence over religious function. This is especially the case for secret rituals of the esoteric sects, which have been addressed primarily in relation to those who had access to their secrets—those priests in a lineage who were taught secret mudras and the practical details of how to perform the rituals. Studying the illustrations in *Ishiyama-dera engi e* offers a perspective on how such rituals operated for those who did not have access to this information, but who still benefitted from these rituals. These paintings show that ritual was envisioned as a key part of history, and are as much a memorialization of court culture as a record of religious devotion. Rather than assuming that illustrations provide an accurate representation of ritual performance, future studies might consider how artistic representation offers insight into how ritual changes over time, following social trends and changes in Buddhist practice.

There is room for future research on how patronage may be viewed as part of a longer process, rather than the sole purview of the original individuals involved in a scroll's creation. Preserving or restoring an object offered other opportunities for patrons and presented such individuals with the chance to take part in a historic lineage of participation and support. The spiritual benefits relating to the concept of *kechien*, forming karmic bonds with Buddhist deities,

is one factor that appealed to patrons who contributed to replications or restorations of *Ishiyama-dera engi e*; acting as a patron of an old temple or restoring an old work of art offered secular connections as well. Those participating in the reconstruction of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* could form both a spiritual connection with Nyoirin Kannon and a secular, historical connection with Ishiyama-dera's famous patrons: Michinaga, Higashisanjō-in, Tōin Saneo, emperor Go-Uda. By the time the final paintings were completed, this historical connection was, perhaps, more valuable than the spiritual one.

There is much more work to be done on *Ishiyama-dera engi e*. Instead of only valuing study of the oldest version of a work of art, acts of copying and restoration offer an approach to understanding how people viewed history and how they reused it for their own ends. The past was not forgotten or unacknowledged; people repeatedly responded to and reshaped their visions of the past, and how they interacted with historic objects and places reflects how they conceived of the past in relation to their present. *Ishiyama-dera engi e* boasts the involvement of some of the most talented artists and calligraphers and a variety of highly-placed individuals spanning four-hundred years of Japanese history. How this temple and this handscroll continued to draw the support of such elites is worthy of further attention.

APPENDIX A

GENEALOGIES

Below are genealogies of the imperial, Tōin and Saionji families during the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. Much of the Saionji-Tōin power at court stemmed from women of the family serving as imperial consorts and giving birth to crown princes and emperors. Familial connections with Ishiyama-dera are also noted.

Table 3. Tōin Family Part 1

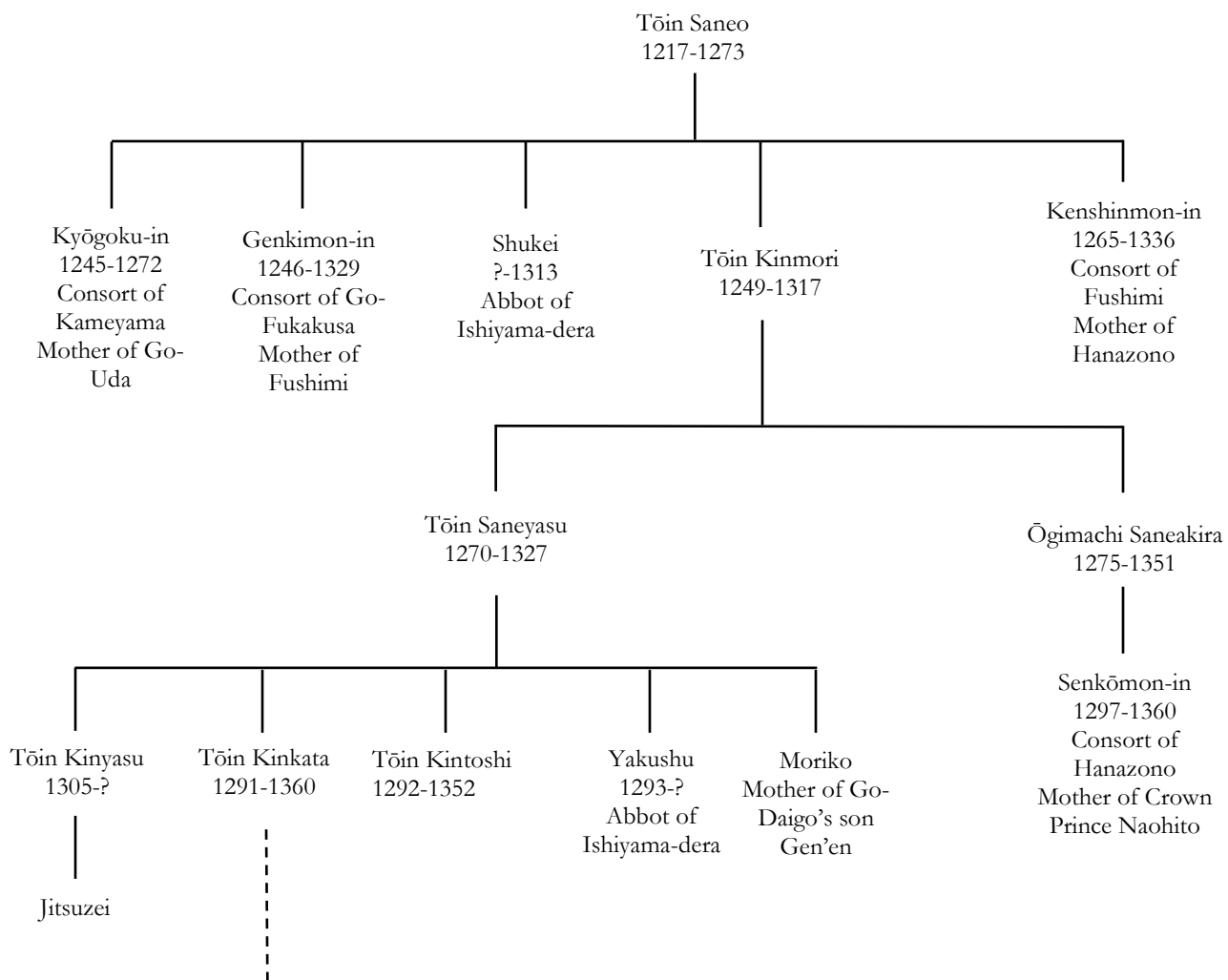


Table 4. Tōin Family Part 2

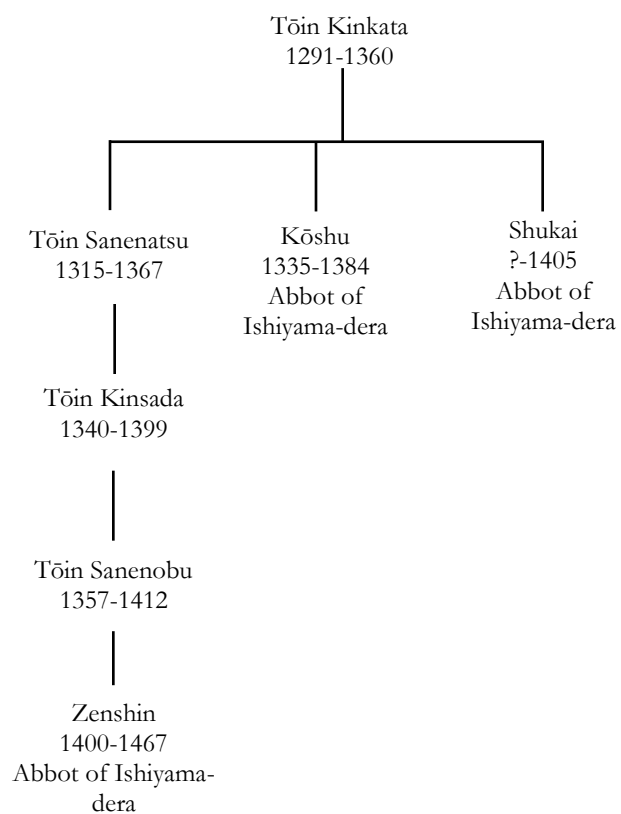
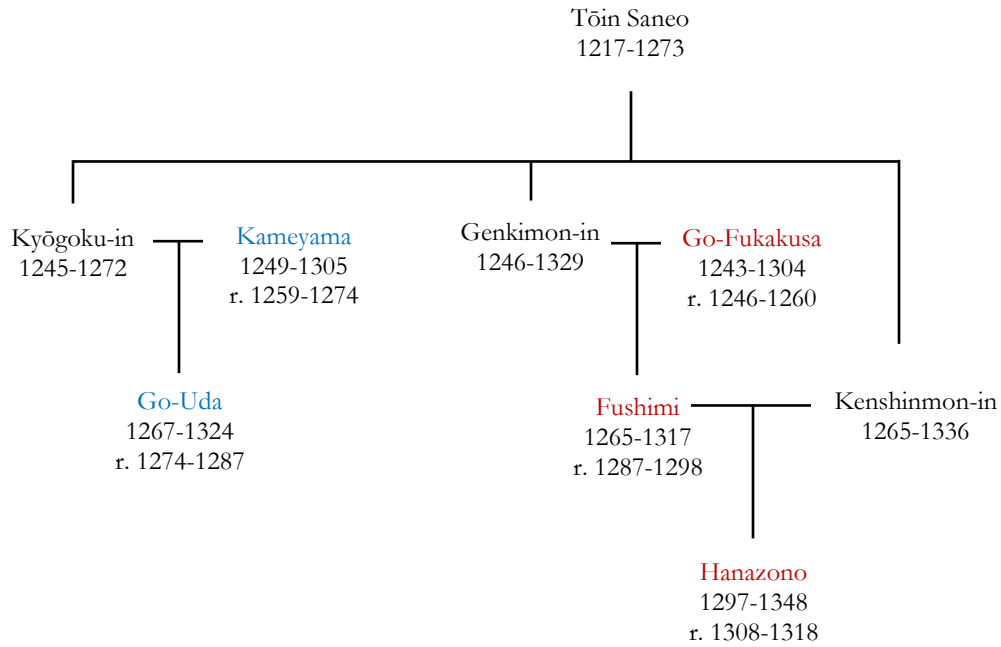


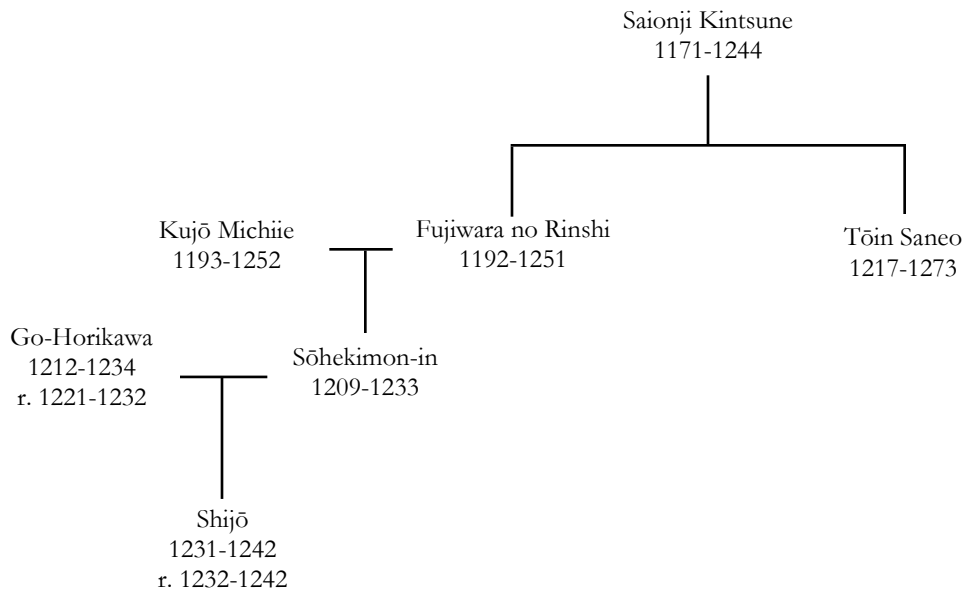
Table 5. Imperial descendants of the daughters of Tōin Saneo



Daikakuji = Blue

Jimyōin = Red

Table 6. Saionji-Tōin Family Tree



APPENDIX B

IMAGES

Scans of the images have been redacted for copyright purposes. See citations for image sources.

Figure 1. Michinaga sponsors *ajari* rituals at Ishiyama-dera. Temple Courtyard.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Nihon Emaki Taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, ed. (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1978), 44.

Figure 2. Michinaga sponsors *ajari* rituals at Ishiyama-dera. Main Hall.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Nihon Emaki Taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1978), 45.

Figure 3. The Nyoirin Kannon of Ishiyama-dera.

Source: Washio Henryū and Hiroshi Ayamura, *Ishiyamadera no shinkō to rekishi* 石山寺の信仰と歴史, (Kyoto: Shinbunkaku Shuppan, 2008), 56.

Figure 4. Ishiyama-dera's Nyoirin Kannon icon miraculously escapes the fire that destroys the main hall.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Nihon Emaki Taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1978), 54-55.

Figure 5. Emperor Fushimi commissions rituals dedicated to Aizen Myōō.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Nihon Emaki Taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1978), 89-90.

Figure 6. *Kaji* rituals performed for Emperor Go-Ichijō.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Nihon Emaki Taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1978), 46-47.

Figure 7. Kasuga Dai Myōjin appears to a priest at Kōfuku-ji in *Kasuga gongen genki e*.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Kasuga gongen genki e*, vol 14, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1981), 55-6.

Figure 8. The priest Rōchō in his quarters at Ishiyama-dera.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Nihon Emaki Taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1978), 77.

Figure 9. An *oni* appears to Rōchō.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Nihon Emaki Taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1978), 78.

Figure 10. Retired Emperors Kameyama and Go-Uda read *Ishiyama-dera engi* in the main hall of Ishiyama-dera.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 94-95.

Figure 11. The icon of Nyoirin Kannon enshrined in a white-curtained hut.

Aizawa and Kuniga, ed. *Ishiyama-dera engi emaki shūsei*, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2016), 16.

Figure 12. Nyoirin Kannon appears to the wife of Kuniyoshi in a dream.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 58-59.

Figure 13. Higashisanjō-in enters the temple grounds by oxcart.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 33-34.

Figure 14. Higashisanjō-in donates curtains and commission rituals.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 35-37.

Figure 15. Boxes containing donations in Emperor Enyū's pilgrimage procession.

Aizawa Masahiko and Kuniga Yumiko, ed., *Ishiyama-dera engi emaki shūsei*, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2016), 49.

Figure 16. Detail from the Edo-period copy of *Ishiyama-dera engi e* by Tani Bunchō.

Source: Ishiyama-dera. *Ishiyama-dera no bi: Kannon, Murasaki Shikibu, Genji Monogatari*, (Ōtsu: Daihonzan Ishiyama-dera, 2008), 56.

Figure 17. Image curtains presented by Higashisanjō-in.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 34-35.

Figure 18. Curtain stand from the scene of Murasaki Shikibu's pilgrimage.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 42.

Figure 19. *Chōdai* curtain platform in the house of Fujiwara no Tadazane.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Zoku nihon emaki taisei: Kasuga gongen genki e*, vol. 14, (Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1981), 15.

Figure 20. Jinkaku performs healing rituals for Prince Atsunaga at the behest of Jōtōmon-in.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978),

Figure 21. Kujō Michiie requests prayers for his daughter.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 81.

Figure 22. Tōin Saneo requests prayers, courtyard view.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 200-201.

Figure 23. Tōin Saneo requests prayers.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 200-201.

Figure 24. The Kannon icon of Kiyomizu-dera flies into a pine tree.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Zokuzoku Nihon emaki taisei: Kiyomizudera engi, Shinnyodō engi*, vol. 5, (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1994) 41.

Figure 25. Performance of the *Chōkō-e* at Kōfuku-ji.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Zoku nihon emaki taisei: Kasuga gongen genki e*, vol. 14, (Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1981), 78-79.

Figure 26. *Yuima-e* performed at Kōfuku-ji.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Zoku nihon emaki taisei: Kasuga gongen genki e*, vol. 14, (Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1981), 74.

Figure 27. The *Nehan-e* of Ishiyama-dera.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Nihon Emaki Taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1978), 9-11.

Figure 28. Manual diagram of Great Altar and *Goma*.

Source: Bussho kankōkai, ed. *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho: Kakuzenshō*, vol. 45-51, (Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1978), 397.

Figure 29. Retired emperor Enyū behind the blinds in Ishiyama-dera's main hall.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 21.

Figure 30. Retired emperor Uda's pilgrimage procession.

Source: Komatsu Shigemi ed., *Nihon emaki taisei: Ishiyama-dera engi*, vol. 18, (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1978), 12.

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